

# FREE SOCIETY

SUCCESSOR TO THE CO-OPERATIVE AGE.

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 2.

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WHOLE NO. 138.

## A TRUE STORY OF AMERICAN OFFICIALISM.

A FAIR SAMPLE OF WHAT WE MAY ANTICIPATE UNDER STATE SOCIALISM—HERBERT SPENCER'S "COMING SLAVERY."

## "LOOK AT OUR POSTOFFICE SYSTEM!!!"

"THE FIREBRAND" BARRED FROM THE MAILS, THOUGH ITS PUBLISHERS HAVE NEITHER BEEN INDICTED NOR AS YET GIVEN DEFINITE INFORMATION AS TO WHAT THEIR ALLEGED "OBSCENE PUBLICATION" CONSISTS OF—THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION HELD IN CONTEMPT BY ITS SWORN SUPPORTERS.

You will do me the justice to remember that I have always strenuously supported the right of every man to his own opinion, however different that opinion might be to mine. He who denies to another this right, makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, because he precludes himself the right of changing it.—Thomas Paine.

January 27, 1895, there first appeared at Portland, Ore., an issue of a paper called the Firebrand. It was issued by a group of lovers of freedom, who did not hesitate to style themselves Anarchists, in order to propagate their ideas that society can exist without arbitrary authority—in fact, that true social conditions cannot exist until such authority is first abolished.

The history of that paper has been one of sacrifice and devotion to principle. Those engaged in its publication have suffered many privations in order to keep it going.

During the entire time of its publication not more than one practical printer was connected with it at any time, and the greater portion of the time the work was done by amateurs in the "art preservative."

The first year of its existence the receipts barely paid for white paper. The second year showed somewhat better results, but still it did not return to the advocates of freedom even the bare necessities of life, to obtain which many expedients were resorted to. One of the woman comrades took in washing and during the hop season all went into the hop fields.

But with the advent of its third year its influence as an educator began to attract wide attention. Its circulation had reached 3,000 copies weekly, and whenever receipts would permit it was issued as an eight-page paper.

Financially, however, it was still a weakling, as it was not conducted for "what there was in it." But the group of propagandists had other aspirations than the mere publication of a weekly paper. There was no publishing house in America engaged in publishing Anarchist Communist pamphlets, by which means the best writings and speeches of the leading thinkers of this school can best be placed before the inquiring student.

The little group, which had grown somewhat since the beginning, contemplated issuing these pamphlets in a monthly publication to be known as the "Firebrand Library."

Preparatory to this work, however, the group decided to again repair to the hop fields, big and little, old and young, in order to provide themselves with clothing and other necessities. To this end, 11 of them went hop-picking, first having printed in advance four issues of the Firebrand. They left in charge of the office and live stock an aged comrade (A. J. Pope), who was to care for the stock, mail papers as regular dates came around, etc.

But now the hand of authoritarian bigotry was felt. One issue was seized and is yet held by the postal authorities, while a still later issue is refused

transmission through the mails, though the "speedy trial" guaranteed by the constitution is somewhere beyond the range of human ken.

The following account is by the principal editorial writer of the Firebrand:

### THE FIREBRAND CASE.

"It will, no doubt, be of interest to our readers to know the history of the famous case of the United States vs. The Firebrand, or, to put it more correctly, the United States officials against the publishers of the Firebrand.

"Several months ago Lucy Parsons took exception to an article in the Firebrand and declared herself in favor of the orthodox christian morals (the moral code that so many profess to believe in, but slyly violate) and called for the women who believed in variety to so state in the Firebrand. This called forth a number of well-written articles from the pens of as many different women.

"The editor of the Little Rock Tribune was arrested for reprinting one of these articles and some local matters that displeased the local officials. He was let go on his own recognizance, and remarked to the officers that it was funny that the article could go unchallenged in the Firebrand, and yet cause his arrest.

"Last June the then city editor of the Evening Tribune, of Portland, Ore., busied himself to find a copy of the Firebrand that he could bring before the postal inspector, evidently hoping to get sensational news.

"It is said by a friend and neighbor that a measly old methodist preacher, one of 'ornery' that his congregation 'fired' him, got some copies of the Firebrand and brought them to the attention of the postal inspector. He now wears a new hat and looks better fed, so probably he has got a job as Comstockian agent.

"Early in July the postal inspector sent a decoy letter from a town in Washington asking for certain back numbers of the Firebrand, saying to address them to A. E. Williams, Portland, Ore. I proposed that he be invited out to get the copies he wanted, but a roll of back numbers, containing the copies he wanted, was made up and sent him, and Comrade Pope got me to drop him a postal card stating that the back numbers he wanted had been sent. The inspector—an adde-pated whisky soak—then thought he had me foul, and on the 11th of September had a warrant issued for my arrest (The roll of back numbers had been mailed on the 29th of July.) and the warrant was put into the hands of a certain deputy United States marshal, Humphrey by name. He knew I lived at Sellwood, but spent six days 'looking' for me where he knew I did not stay.

"On the 17th of September he met Comrade Pope at the mailing division of the postoffice, where he was about to deposit the 19th of September issue of the Firebrand and entered into conversation with him. Humphrey claimed to be a friend of mine and something of an Anarchist himself, and inquired as to my whereabouts.

"Comrade Pope, being talkative that morning, not only told him where I was, but gave him as full a description of the affairs of the Firebrand group as he could, stating that he was chief owner of the paper. Humphrey lifted the mail bag containing the Firebrand out of the wagon and took it into the mailing division of the postoffice. Comrade Pope then went about some business and when he returned to the postoffice he was arrested by Hum-

phrey, who took him before United States Commissioner McKee and Attorney Murphy, and while a newspaper reporter drew a full-column interview from him a warrant for his arrest and for the arrest of Comrade Isaak was made out.

"On the 18th of September Humphrey came to the hop yards, where our job was finished, the day before, and arrested me. He took me to Salem, where I had to lie in jail over Sunday, the half-sour beans in the Salem jail giving me a bad case of dysentery. On Monday I was taken before the U. S. commissioner for that city, a dummy of the first water, who bound me over in conformity with the order from District Attorney Murphy. In the examination I demonstrated the ignorance of both the attorney and the commissioner, by asking if they did not know that 'A Woman Waits for Me,' the principal charge upon which I was held, was long ago admitted to the mails. They both said they did not, and the commissioner said he did not believe it.\*

"A week from the day I was examined I came out on \$500 bail and immediately began working up the defense. While I was still in jail Comrade Isaak offered to give up if \$500 bail would be accepted by the officials, and he gave up, bringing his bondsmen with him to the commissioner's office, thus not going to jail at all.

"On the return from the hop yard G. E. Miller wrote up a circular letter, appealing for aid, which was set up in the shop and printed with a mallet and planer, as proofs are taken, and these were sent out to the comrades in the various cities.

"After awhile it was decided best to start a new paper, as the Firebrand was shut out from the mail indefinitely, perhaps permanently, and San Francisco was chosen as the home of the new venture.

"Meanwhile, large numbers of letters to the district attorney, and remonstrances, with lists of names attached, were sent in, addressed to the attorney and judge. This gave rise to a column or so in the papers nearly every day. Comrade Pope—whose bond was fixed at \$2,000—was attracting lots of local attention and sympathy. The constant flow of letters and remonstrances was also attracting much attention and the officers were becoming uneasy. One day some one played a trick on the federal building janitor by sending him a bundle of empty shotgun shells. The evening papers told it as something serious, stating that the shells were loaded. I interviewed the deputy attorney next day and he told me they had some fun with the janitor and some empty shells. I went directly from his office to the city editor of the Evening Telegram, who tendered me space to correct the false impression created by the way the item appeared in that paper concerning the joke. I filled nearly a column, and turned the tide of public opinion our way, as the dirty character of such jokes and reports was very visible.

"For a while but little more was said about the Anarchists in the papers, but the pressure of public sentiment was so strong that the officers tried to get Comrade Pope to come out on his own recognizance, but he positively refused, telling the commissioner that they had no right to arrest him, and that he would sign no document that recognized their right over him. This infuriated the officers and they tried to get the jailer to 'put

\* Comrade Addis neglects to state that he is also charged with mailing obscene pamphlets, the only one sent out by him being the Barcelona supplement.

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the hoboes" until he was willing to. This the jailer objected to doing, so he was placed where no one can see him without a permit from the United States officials. This evidently is on the plan of "out of sight out of mind." Where he formerly was everyone coming into the jail saw him, and he talked to all who would listen. This created too much sympathy. Where he now is no one sees him.

"As the United States district court has no money, and cannot call the grand jury until it is supplied with money from Washington, there is no telling when the case will be disposed of. I am doing what I can to create sentiment in our favor here in Portland, and to keep the most-interested comrades everywhere posted as to the progress of the case.

"Murphy, the present attorney, will vacate in a few days and his successor, J. H. Hall, be duly installed. Just what his attitude will be I can't say, but will do what I can to convince him that it will be wisdom on his part to drop the case as easily as he knows how.

HENRY ADDIS.

"Box 94, Portland, Or."

It will be noticed from the above that the Firebrand comrades have not yet even been indicted by the federal grand jury, yet they are not definitely apprised as to just what constitutes their alleged offense, and what is of more importance still, the postal authorities will not allow the paper to be mailed. If that is not arbitrary officialism, and with a vengeance, then what is? No indictment, no trial, yet in effect a conviction secured and sentence executed! Glorious stars and stripes, what a free country you do float over!

Local opinion in Portland seems to be strongly in opposition to the damnable outrage practiced upon the Firebrand.

The ablest criminal lawyer in Oregon has volunteered his services free of charge, as have others of lesser renown.

The Portland Oregonian recently stated that:

"Printed forms have been brought into use for obtaining signatures, and no less than seven of these were received yesterday. The headings protest against further prosecution of Pope, Addis and Isaak, and inform the United States judge and attorney that in arresting these men they are violating the law, and requesting them to discontinue these unconstitutional proceedings. There are also letters from private persons, protesting, remonstrating and advising, some of them inclosing extracts from newspapers, the whole being a weariness of the flesh and answering no useful purpose."

But just the same the authorities are casting anxious glances over their shoulders in hopes of catching sight of some one coming along to help them let go, the district attorney having admitted to Comrade Isaak that he did not expect the grand jury to indict the Firebrand publishers. Then on top of this, presumably to show his power, this official instructed the Portland postmaster to refuse the use of the mails to the Firebrand.

We give below some of the many comments on the case by men and newspapers:

Alfred Cridge, proportional representation writer: "The Firebrand case is the worst case of oppression that I have yet heard of."

Extract of letter from Santa Barbara, Cal.:

"By all means, Mr. District Attorney, have these men convicted; for if they are acquitted it may cause some who are wavering in their loyalty to the state, to think that some virtue still remains in the law. This, indeed, would be a loss to us Anarchists. I must also, through you, congratulate the government for being foolish enough to play into our hands by making this arrest, because it places the government in a ridiculous dilemma. If conviction of defendants is obtained, it will be in direct contradiction of the constitution; placing the government in the role of persecutor, and arousing sympathy for Anarchists and calling attention to our philosophy, which will be a gain for Anarchism. If, on the contrary, the defendants are acquitted, we will still exhibit the state as a monstrous persecutor, and the same amount of new attention will be directed toward our social philosophy. So no matter what disposition is made of the case against the Firebrand defendants, Anarchism will come out of the case, as it has come out of all its encounters with the state—victor.

"The imprisonment or capital punishment of men who propagate the social philosophy of Anarchism

will not kill it. In 1887, at Chicago, the government thought it strangled Anarchism, but in 1897, 10 years after, Anarchism is still being dragged into court.

C. LYNCH.

Alex. E. Wight, Wellesley Hills, Mass. (Statist)—Socialists and Anarchists unite in denouncing this latest outrage committed by government.

S. Cohen, Boston, Mass.—The story of the arrest of that gray-headed man (Pope) sounded to me like a fable. It reminded me of the Spanish inquisition that dragged gray-headed men to the auto de fe.

C. B. Shaw, Riverside, Cal.—What grounds, for God's sake, has the State Socialists' pet organization for arresting our comrades? Love of power existing through ignorance must be the only one.

C. B. Hoffman, Enterprise, Kan.—What an outrage the arrest and imprisonment of the Firebrand people is! Is not Powderly cutting great capers before high heaven in proposing to exclude Louise Michel. Powderly sending police detectives to watch Peter Kropotkin's lectures! Fi!

Howard Tuttle, Milwaukee, Wis.—I carried the awful disclosures (Barcelona supplement) to a friend and asked him to insert them in his paper and I would try and have them given the widest publicity and would mail a copy to each legislator and friends whom I knew, but was informed that the publication called the Firebrand had been suppressed for giving utterance to them—being amenable to the postal laws. If these laws can be so stretched as to punish the editor of the Firebrand for the dissemination of these atrocities and calling the people's attention to the monstrous acts of these most inhuman hyenas, then in the name of all that is good—how can bibles go through the mails? How can medical books? And above all—how can those newspapers that are filled with nostrums of a filthy nature told in no uncertain or ambiguous language? It is hard for me to believe that the courts would dare stretch the meaning of "obscene matter" to cover the laudable object of the editor of the Firebrand in this connection—to convict him would be a crime against every honest instinct of justice as recognized by man.

Cyrus W. Coolidge, Oyster Bay, L. I.—I learn that Comrades Addis and Pope are in the same cell in Portland jail under arrest for mailing Anarchistic and other improper matter!! This is an outrage against which all lovers of liberty and justice should protest. I am not aware of the fact that in this "free" country it is a crime to send Anarchistic literature through the mails, but I certainly know that it is a crime to mail anything that may be distasteful to the saintly Anthony Comstock. I have read the Firebrand for the past two years and while I found many things with which I did not agree, I do not remember of having seen anything in it which could in any sense be called "obscene." Of course, we cannot tell what in the estimation of the miserable Comstockian tribe may be regarded as "improper matter."

#### ON THE DOWN GRADE.

Vancouver, Wash., Oct. 4.—United States District Attorney Murphy—Dear Sir: I beg that you will use your best efforts in behalf of Abner Pope. I know him to be a noble, honest, tender-hearted man. Teaching a higher code of social and moral life is not obscenity. What I ask for Abner Pope I ask for his comrades who were arrested.

In our rotten condition of society, with all its debauchery and hypocrisy, we need men who will cut to the core and teach people how they may live true and pure lives, and thus pave the way to that condition when jails will not be needed and man will cease to dominate over his fellow man.

A government that will imprison such men as these is on the down grade, and if they who are in power are not imbued with the spirit of justice, if they persist in following in the footsteps of those who have wrecked other civilizations, then this nation is doomed, and no power of brute force can save it. The only thing that can be education in the higher principles of life.

Man has achieved a high degree of progress in art, science, agriculture, and, I may say, in all the departments of life except in the laws of his own being and in his relations to his fellow man.

Anarchy simply means absence of government, and if these men are a fair type of that school of thought, we had better all become Anarchists and save the life of this nation. Yours respectfully,

G. L. PENHALLON.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Manhattan, (N. Y.) Liberal club, at the meeting held Oct. 8.

Whereas, Abner J. Pope, Henry Addis and A. Isaak, conductors of the Firebrand, of Portland, Ore., have been arrested and held for trial in the federal courts, ostensibly for alleged violation of the postal statutes, but in reality because their paper gave expression to opinions not acceptable to the ruling powers in church, state, and society, and because it exposed the atrocious cruelties committed upon helpless prisoners by the Spanish government;

Whereas, Abner J. Pope, a feeble man of 74 years, is still confined in cell 6 of the county jail at Portland because unable to procure bail in the excessive and oppressive sum of \$2,000;

Whereas, The Firebrand, while not condemned by any court, and therefore presumably a perfectly proper publication in the view even of those believing in the existing unconstitutional, unrighteous, and dangerous censorship of the press and mails, is denied admission and transmission through the mails, thus outraging and robbing without the sanction of even an unjust law, both the proprietors and subscribers of the journal; therefore,

Resolved, That the Manhattan Liberal club declares its unqualified disapproval of this invasion of human rights, of this trampling of constitutional guarantees, of this imprisonment and robbery of men whose only offenses are that they are poor and have done what they could to uncover the abuses and crimes of which millions of men are the victims;

Resolved, That we urge all friends of liberty and justice, of free press, free speech, and mails, to give immediate assistance to the publishers of the Firebrand, that their defense in the courts may be the best possible, and their relief prompt and adequate.

#### PRESS COMMENTS.

Not having perused the writings of Proudhon and other leading lights on Anarchy we cannot speak of its aims and objects; but as to the little colony located at Sellwood and engaged in the publication of the Firebrand, and now held before the United States grand jury for printing and sending through the mails extracts from the works of that grand old New Englander, Walt Whitman, the writer will say, that if society as now constituted, had a whit of the charity manifested by those people toward the unfortunate poor there would be no need for those self-inflicted and money-grabbing concerns called boards of charity. To do good unto others was the master's precept, and they follow it as closely as their limited means will permit. The idea that men and women who are engaged week in and week out in the legitimate occupation of publishing a paper, raising garden truck, fruit and hop picking in season, are blood-thirsty individuals is pure rot, and the powers that be could well afford to drop the matter where it stands.—Mercury, Portland, Ore.

#### THE INQUISITION AT HOME.

The Firebrand, an Anarchist paper, issued at Sellwood in this state, has been suppressed and its editors put in prison. There is just as much law for this action as there was for killing the Hazleton miners and just the same kind of law. The burden of the Anarchists' offense, as far as I can learn, was the publication of an account of the tortures inflicted by the Spanish inquisition on the Barcelona prisoners. This was displeasing to the Spanish authorities and to some folks of a similar kidney in this country, so a charge of mailing obscene literature was set up as a peg to hang a persecution on. On this charge nine-tenths of the newspapers in the country and most of our standard works in literature could be suppressed if the law should be interpreted according to the prejudices of bigots who believe in the methods of the inquisition. No people on earth ever yet had true liberty, and none has a true conception of what liberty means. But the increasing pressure and suffering is creating a desire for a new experience. Liberty is born of oppression, as Venus rose from the striving sea.

"Meanwhile the Anarchists are awaiting trial, some in jail and some on bail; and the law will be on trial as well as the prisoners, for the world is waiting for a definition of liberty broad enough to cover the requirements of an age of changing ideals."—New Dispensation, Corvallis, Ore.

#### THE PORTLAND OUTRAGE.

If the information furnished by the report of the Oregonian, from which report we quoted last week, be cor-



rect, then the prosecution is a persecution—a persecution for opinion's sake; neither more nor less. No crime is charged—the accusation being that certain articles published in the Firebrand are "obscene." "Obscenity," as every one knows, is a law-made offense not a crime, in the nature of things. Obscenity means that which is offensive to "purity or chastity of mind." It depends then upon what is in the mind of the beholder or hearer, as to whether any object or word is obscene or not. There is no obscenity except to the mind that perceives it as such. Naturally, then, the more filthy the mind of the beholder or hearer, the more obscenity he will perceive. Evil to him who evil thinks. To the mind of the pure-minded philosopher there is no such thing as obscenity, in the technical sense. Perversion, abnormality, there is in abundance, but the philosopher, the rightly instructed person, whether adult or child, views these as the physician views the signs or symptoms of disease, and is in no danger of being corrupted by them. The cure for abnormality is better education and better environment, not suppressive or repressive laws.—Lucifer, Chicago.

#### UNDERMINING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

At the first we supposed, knowing the really clean character of the Firebrand and the honest purposes of its editor, that the prosecution had been based upon serious discussion of sexual relationships. Later, however, we were informed that the objectionable matter was a supplement containing letters from victims of Canovas' malignity at Barcelona, in which was described in plain, but for the purpose, entirely decent language, the almost nameless torture which those men endured. That explanation we were unable to credit. We felt obliged to assume that the postal authorities are endowed with some degree of common sense. However, it appears that the accused themselves do not definitely know of what they are accused. They can only surmise that the prosecution may rest upon the Barcelona supplement, Walt Whitman's "A Woman Waits for Me," or upon a letter from a woman contributor.

Of the character of the letter we know nothing. Of the Barcelona supplement we have already expressed our opinion that no prosecution for indecency could be seriously thought of in connection with it. As to Walt Whitman's poem, it has been freely published in his works, and though not written for babes and sucklings, is a production which no thoughtful and clean minded man or woman would pronounce unclean.

But the most profoundly serious feature, to the rest of the world, of this Firebrand prosecution—and as to this there is no doubt about the facts—is that the paper has been denied the use of the mails without a trial. That such a thing is possible is a revelation of the arbitrary powers claimed by the postal authorities. It should call for universal condemnation, and a speedy repeal of any law that permits it or the punishment of the usurping officials if there be no such law.

The use of the mails has become a necessary part of the life of every weekly paper, and if the postal authorities can, without a trial but upon their own mere dictum that a paper has published immoral matter, deny its mailing rights, then every weekly paper exists at the mere caprice, from week to week, of the Washington administration for the time being. In these circumstances there can be no real freedom of the press. A paper which advocates unpopular theories may be suppressed at will and with impunity by the postal authorities.

Are the papers of this country cowardly enough or sufficiently indifferent to the freedom of the press, to allow this Firebrand case to pass without severe criticism? Have we, indeed, drifted so far from the democratic moorings of the founders of the republic as supinely to permit a paper advocating unpopular opinions to be summarily suppressed upon charges of criminality which have not been tried by a jury, and which, therefore, under our system that presumes every man to be innocent of crime until a jury convicts him, are presumptively false?—Recorder, Cleveland, O.

The Truthseeker, in an eminently conservative christian-ende editorial, lets itself out to this extent:

"No possible good can come from the imprisonment of these men, but the violation of the liberty of the press which it involves may, as a precedent, do immense harm. None of our institutions being as yet perfect, the liberty to criticize them is essential to improvement. The best way to deal with the publishers of the Firebrand is to liberate them and let them alone.

Anarchism, the abolition of government, may be a dream, but Comstockism is a nightmare.

The right to free speech and the liberty of the American press must not be infringed, still three men, publishers of the Firebrand, an Anarchist-Communist paper published at Portland, Ore., have been arrested and placed in jail—two of them having given bonds in the sum of \$500 each—and their paper suppressed by the United States authorities for no other reason than announcing their—no doubt honest—convictions, that government, other than self-imposed by the individual himself, is an infringement on natural rights and should be abolished.

While we may differ with these gentlemen to some extent in their opinions, still to a far greater extent do we differ with a government that will persecute and suppress any individual in the expression of his honest convictions. If this government is right, it has nothing to fear from an honest expression of opinions by the people; if it is wrong, it should either be righted or abolished.—The People's Champion, Gunnison, Colo.

The Firebrand, an Anarchist paper published at Sellwood, a suburb of Portland, Ore., has been barred from the mails by order of the postal authorities. Like other infamies of the same kind, the suppression of the Firebrand, and the incarceration of its publishers in prison, are only incidental steps in the journey of progress toward a higher and nobler civilization. Of course there is not a great deal of consolation in the statement, but thousands of others in the past, the present and the future have, and have had, to suffer at the hands of despots for acts done and words spoken for the uplifting and freeing of the human family. We contribute our mite of sympathy to the publishers of our contemporary in their cruel and unjust treatment, and hope that all persons able to will render the needed financial help to fight the scheming tyrants who would put them in a prison cell for simply giving expression to their views.—Penny Press, Exeter, Cal.

Is not this record of official deviltry and spoliation enough to damn the whole infernal system?

Article VI of Amendments to the United States constitution specifically declares:

"ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial."

This right is refused and the consequent damage to the paper is not hard to determine—nor is the motive of the infernal official thieves who deliberately rob the accused of the patronage accorded their paper.

Were it not almost a waste of time I might elaborate on the violation of Article I, of the amendments to the constitution, which reads:

"ARTICLE I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," etc.

I can only add, with the State Socialist, though with far different import: "Look at our glorious postoffice system!" F. A. C.

#### SPANISH FIENDS.

The sickening perseverance with which Spanish barbarity still continues to live and thrive makes one almost question the use of making any further reference to it. All the tortures that we have previously described with horrible variations that surpass all description are being carried out on innocent men, women and girls now. We are in receipt of a long list of fresh tortures, the detailing of which would serve no good purpose. The late Canovas' friends are very directly implicated, and the queen regent herself, has gone so far as to have Ramon Sampeon's sentence of 42 years' imprisonment changed to sentence of death. Gana's wife, his aged mother, and only brother, are being subjected to rigid persecution and have been threatened with deportation and imprisonment in Montjuich, as a result of Gana's exposure during his tour through Britain of the tortures to which he and his friends had been subjected. We are past that stage when we would like to drive home the awful truth of the reports to hand by any attempts at comment. If a plain statement of the doings of these fiends from some hell beyond hell do not rouse selfish indifference, it would be useless for the Angel Gabriel himself to undertake the task.—London Labor Leader.

#### WHAT SHALL WE TEACH OUR CHILDREN?

Teach boys and girls as nearly the same things as possible.

Teach boys that the same code of morals for both sexes is the only just and right way. That what is proper and right for the brothers is proper and right for the sisters, whether it be climbing fences and trees, riding horses bare-back and man-fashion, or any other athletic exercise. That it is prudish and foolish to say, "Don't do that! you are a girl!—now do be a lady!"

Teach the boy that it is the right thing to have his sister go hunting, fishing and boating with him, and that what will make him healthy and strong, erect and manly, will make his sister healthy, strong and womanly.

And above all else teach the brother that if the sister have strong-sex desires it is just as natural and right as it is for him; and that it is the same with other boys' sisters, and that a girl does not lower herself from a high standard of morality should she show a decided preference for a certain young man's company, and that she need not wait for him to "sneeze before she coughs!"

Teach the girl that all parts of her body were formed at the same time and each for a special purpose, and that one portion is just as good and honorable as another.

Teach her that she should dress to suit the labor to be performed or the pleasure to be enjoyed. That a long skirt covering the ankles is not the proper garment for tramping through the woods, rowing on the water or riding the wheel, and that it is no disgrace to show the legs even to the knee, if covered with a whole, neat stocking; that if the stocking is untidy, ragged or unclean—that is disgraceful and unwomanly. That the arms, neck, shoulders and legs are nothing of which to be ashamed, and that the time is coming when we will not have to cover every portion of our bodies, except the face, to prove our modesty.

As soon as a boy and girl are old enough to want to know anything regarding themselves they are old enough to be told, and told the truth! Who but a mother should tell the truth to her children, all the truths that are known to the world today? Who can tell it in a better way than the mother, than she who for nine months carried the son or the daughter close to her heart; she who alone can say, "thou art bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood;" she who had to bear the pain—of the agony worse than death—to bring into the world the boys and girls from whom we hope so much in the future?

If we expect our girls to be able to protect themselves from the libertine (not the free lover, for they will need no protection from one who is a free lover from principle) they must be taught the value of love—that they must hold themselves, their persons, as something precious; that they must never cheapen themselves, and must give and take the pleasures of sex only when both will be made happy, and that true love is something pure, deep and holy, something entirely apart and forever separated from lust—something which we all should be glad and happy to own, and not a thing of which we should be ashamed.

Mothers should make companions of both sons and daughters, should teach them that "mother" is always their best friend, always interested in their pleasures, their sorrows, their friendships and their loves. We need not fear that the boys and girls will go far wrong, or that they will wreck their happiness so long as they confide in their "mother."

When their love affairs begin to assume tangible shape, teach them that it is a crime to bring human beings into a world that is already overcrowded, unless they are sure they can provide for their offspring. That every child has a right to be born well, and that a girl or woman has no right to bring an unwelcome child into the world. Teach your girl the meaning of heredity; that the pre-natal influence is lasting as life.

Do you shrink, mothers, from all this? Then you are not worthy to have children. Do you plead ignorance? Then study. Until mothers learn to think, and to teach their sons and daughters, it is useless to talk of freedom for the sexes.

The future of the coming generations, whether for weal or woe, is in the hands of the mothers. When they learn to think, and "to think right," then and not till then will they demand their freedom, and demanding obtain it.

Man is a slave as well as woman; but I will not enlarge—having already made this article longer than at first intended.—Nellie M. Jerauld, in Lucifer.



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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.

## MARRIAGE MARKET.

[Written for FREE SOCIETY.]

"To market, to market," Mother Goose used to say,  
"To buy a fat pig"—that isn't our way!  
Wahie to the market, double quick, don't you see,  
To purchase a wife—nor wince at the fee?

Respectable people, ages past (and to come?)  
To weddings have marched, some gaily, some dumb,  
The bargain to finish—legal wife—happy state!—  
"For better or worse"—'tis thus decrees Fate.

(ASIDE.)

"Say you Fate? What a hoax! Superstition, instead,  
Unites till death parts, this clay and this lead—  
No pleasures in common; constant gibes and contention—  
Our morals insured by law's intervention!"

With the air of a master, consequential and grand,  
The buyer permits his name to expand,  
It covers the woman; labeled thus, it is plain,  
A chattel is she; her ego is slain.

A proper condition; weak in body and mind,  
Support she must have, she therefore is blind  
To slightly unjoined "wedded bliss!" Public weal  
Precedes minor claims and bids her to kneel.

A model for wifehood! Fellowmen give an ear;  
Devotion, supreme; a trifle of fear;  
Our slightest wish granted—servant, mistress and toy,  
Our eldest a son—God bless the dear boy!

And what is the payment? Oh! a home, clothes and board—  
The grade not defined—what we can afford;  
Sometimes there's position; court'ay grants her the place—  
A sort of rag-tag of plumes and fine lace!

Whatever her station, she is happy, we trow,  
And virtuously deals a very hard blow  
At maidens, imprudent, who evade regulation,  
Dare th' devils and gods, renounce reputation.

(ASIDE.)

"Come maidens, how choose you? It's a sale anyway,  
To one; to the herd; for life; for a day;  
Here's scorn from your master—social snubs—what a jumble!  
How can you do else than blunder and stumble?"

I own there are rumors floating 'round in the air—  
And whither come they? From Discontent's lair—  
Some people forever prod behind and before,  
Unhappy unless they probe to a sore!

Half human the woman, it is claimed—and what stuff—  
Who loyally bows to husband, though gruff;  
And, "Marriage is bondage," bondage dwarfs human-kind;  
We'll snap all the chains of custom we find.

How plainly you see them—lawless men who condemn  
The wisdom of sires, and spit modern phlegm.  
The old ways are sacred. Social ties tightly hold  
Or chaos ensues—the thought turns us cold.

(ASIDE.)

"We'll warrant you fevers, shaking chills, aching heads;  
Revolt's in the wind, and heavy it treads  
On the worship of ancient flumadiddles galore  
The struggle is here for Freedom, once more."

VIROQUA DANIELS.

## THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

Free Society is today, will be tomorrow, the offspring of persecution.

For over two years the country has been afflicted with sensational stories and illustrations in the San Francisco dailies over the Durrant murder case. Even did we concede the right of the state to take the life of one proved guilty of murder that would not justify the intended killing of Durrant, who has not been proved guilty. Last week a comrade overheard a conversation on the streets of San Francisco that shows how little faith the American people have in the justice to be had in the courts.

The first speaker remarked that nothing could save Durrant from execution. A second remarked that, while this was true, Durrant had never been proved guilty. A third man then said, "Yes, there is something that will save him. A hundred thousand dollars will do it." This remark was greeted with approval by a large crowd of listeners.

Another feature of the case is that when Durrant's petition for a writ of habeas corpus was refused by the court Judges Morrow and DeHaven refused to permit the filing of an appeal to the United States supreme court. Such is justice in the courts of America.

A Rothschild syndicate now owns the Mexican republic, which has contracted with the syndicate to never sell another acre of government land. That is cornering the earth in dead earnest.

The S. L. P. creed: "There is only one true god, our god, a god with wooden ears and brass face; there may be other gods, but they be false gods for they have not the trade marks of the true god—the wooden ears and the brass face. All other gods are heretical."

Under freedom each one's motto will be, "I will create and govern my own world, make my own hell, heaven or home."

"If I go in a boat with a man who cannot swim, and a storm capizes us, I may drown in trying to save him. It is safest, therefore, to go alone, or not go at all. If I attempt to pass through a wilderness country with weak and sickly men, and they give out by the way, I cannot leave them to perish, without the world's execration; so I will go, full-armed and provisioned, alone. Let every man take care of himself."

The above trite delineation of the Individualist's creed is from the book "Nothing but Money."

Phrenology teaches that the "moral" group of brains or motive center of the moral faculties is located in the top head and from its position it denotes large or small moral nature. But most phrenologists are religious and try to prove that the organ of veneration is the most commanding of all and means natural reverence for a deity. This claim only arises from their own religious belief; the veneration they outline is really credulity; this organ, if not influenced by false training, would, when largely developed, doubtless lead the individual possessing it to strongly admire the good and the beautiful; but if this organ be perverted to deity worship it will naturally allow intangible fears to gain undue influence over tangible matter, and cause a seeking of something above and beyond Nature, therefore supernatural. As we know nothing can be beyond Nature, so do we know that there can be nothing supernatural.

Let us suppose that a million of America's unemployed laborers are dumped on an island hitherto uninhabited, but prolific by nature. Some have seed, but being Individualists, keep it all to themselves, raise crops and prepare to enjoy life. But just about the time of the harvest those who have been left out of the seed distribution, believing in liberty, fraternity and equality, demand enough of the food gathered to sustain life. The Individualists object to this and, being consistent, resist the demand. What must be the result—if the great mass has any share in the brotherhood rights the Individualists must be crushed. If the Individualists succeed in keeping their property to themselves, they can only do so by force and the only logical force is government. But if, on the other hand, the seed be shared fairly at the outset and land be free to all alike and each cultivates his own plot of ground, the more fortunate sharing with the less fortunate but equally industrious, then there might be realized the benefits of brotherhood and a higher, truer civilization—one without government, save only self-government.

San Francisco is afflicted with a Society for the Suppression of Vice. Its definition of "vice" appears to be "anything outside the very limited mental calibre of our society." A new secretary had to be elected for this organization not long since, its former secretary having got a term in state prison for "crime."

All good people once believed in the "divine right" of kings to rule, but we Americans are too clever to

swallow such nonsense. We know it is not the king who holds the "divine right to rule"—oh, no! It is the law that has "divine" sanction—especially laws devised to suppress knowledge and promote ignorance.

F. A. COWELL.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

The State Socialist and the Anarchist are both wrong. One represents a theory in which man becomes simply a creature of the state, the inevitable consequence of which would be to destroy man; the other stands for extreme of individualism, the inevitable consequence of which would be to destroy society. Now man is the one thing to be considered, therefore we must study man. If we do so, we shall find that he is a social individual—on the one side finding friendship, companionship, society, absolutely necessary to his well-being; on the other possessed of sacred rights, upon which neither the state nor his fellows as individuals may with impunity intrude. The ideal government of the future will recognize this dual nature in man and hence will have the approval of all men.—Farmers' Voice.

The Voice should "read up" a little, when it will find that Anarchy is not of necessity Individualism. The ideal Anarchy, that for which we are contending is communistic.

Society is but a composite ego; it embraces all who seek to profit by that which former generations have left behind as a tribute for the temporary usage of the earth. The individual of today creates not alone for himself but for the man of tomorrow also, as the man of yesterday created for the man of today. Solidarity is the corner stone of progress.

No society can exist without it. When Individualism ignores solidarity it places a single ego on a mental plane above the composite ego.

Economically and politically the individual ego is the basis of society; but the composite ego is brought into being through the need of accumulating, storing and using the surplus energies of the world as well as of economizing the needful ones.

F. A. C.

Some time ago I began to receive letters from subscribers all over the country telling me that they had received official inquiries from the postoffice department, asking if they were subscribers to the Appeal and if they had paid for it. It is quite evident that the department is anxious as to what the people are reading. As every paper has been paid for at the established rate by someone, the list is cleaner than any of the other papers that pass through the mails; but the powers may rule that no person may subscribe for any other person—unless it be for a paper that upholds the present chaos. If, therefore, you should some fine day wake up and find that a censorship had been established and the Appeal had not been able to pass muster, don't think that I have failed to do my duty.—Appeal to Reason.

The New Era, a little Anarchist-Communist paper issued at Lake Bay, Wash., was suppressed for sending out too many unpaid copies. The authorities could not legally find fault with the paper, as it did not contain "obscene matter," so investigated the subscription book. Let this be an incentive, comrades, to pay your subscription when it falls due or else our paper may some day also be suppressed "for sending too many unpaid copies through the mail."

A. I.

## BRIEF STATEMENT OF A SAD FACT.

Within but a short time now Tom Reed will assemble in the house of representatives.—Chicago Record.  
Tom Reed has successfully formed a "trust" controlling the political patronage of the house, and those of our representatives desiring to secure some of the plunder wrested from the people must do as "Tom" says or go without it. Hence it is such a "sad fact!"

If everyone of our representatives had a hand in the "dough-dish" as of yore, the coming session of the house would be looked forward to with pleasurable sensations.

But it makes no difference to those of us who furnish the plunder for these political brigands whether one man does it out or each helps himself individually; it is a "sad fact" either way and about time we should refuse to be plucked by politicians of any stripe.

G. E. M.

All the pleasures in this life  
Are "sinful," so 'tis said;  
All the things we care nought for,  
We're told to do, instead! G. E. M.

The following is from "The Story of An African Farm," by Olive Schreiner. Lyndall is speaking:

"They say 'God sends the little babies.' Of all the dastardly lies men tell to suit themselves, I hate that most. I suppose my father said so when he knew he was dying of consumption, and my mother when she



knew she had nothing to support me on, and they created me to feed, like a dog, from strangers' hands. Men do not say God sends the books, or the newspaper articles, or the machines they make, and then sigh and shrug their shoulders, and say they can't help it. Why do they say so about other things? Liars! 'God sends the little babies!' The small children say so earnestly. They touch the little stranger who has just come from God's far country, and they peep about the oom to see if not one white feather has dropped from the wing of the angel that brought him. On their lips the phrase means much; on all others' it is a deliberate lie. Noticeable, too," she said, dropping in an instant from the passionate into a low, mocking tone, "when people are married, though they should have sixty children, they throw the whole onus on God. When they are not, we hear nothing about God's having sent them. When there has been no legal contract between the parents, who sends the little children then? The devil, perhaps." She laughed her little silvery mocking laugh. "Odd that some men should come from hell and some from heaven, and yet look so much alike when they get here."

"It must be very nice to believe in the devil," she said; "I wish I did. If it would be of any use I would pray three hours night and morning on my bare knees, 'God, let me believe in Satan.' He is so useful to those people who do. They may be as selfish and as sensual as they please, and between God's will and the devil's action, always have someone to throw their sin on. But we, wretched unbelievers, we bear our own burdens; we must say: 'I myself did it, I: not God, not Satan; I myself!'"

Olive makes the same speaker say:

"A parent is only like to God: if his work turns out bad so much the worse for him: he dare not wash his hands of it."

But Olive seems to forget that if "God" does not dare wash his hand of his badly finished work, the Christians do it for him. F. A. C.

## LAW AND ORDER.

"Law is order," shout with fervor the supporters of the existing system and the denouncers of Anarchism.

"Law must be upheld," declares the exploiter of the working people.

These declarations are caught up and reiterated by the great unthinking mass who are living in poverty and misery in the midst of plenty, and upon a land whose returns to labor are boundless and inexhaustible.

Believers in Anarchism assert without fear of successful contradiction that law is disorder; that it creates poverty, crime, slave and master, exploiter and exploited.

If the position of the Anarchists is wrong, why is it that with law we have poverty, increasing crime, and a growing army of unemployed; also increasing discontent, fewer owners of homes, more rich idlers, more rascals, more jails, more lawyers, more policemen and more dishonest politicians.

Then uphold the law; cover the eyes to facts and as you multiply your laws and increase every form of disorder, praise God, bow down in adoration of that fetish of blind, stupid servile slaves—law and order.

As your dependence upon a master increases shout the louder for government, and law and order.

As your misery increases shout still louder in praise of government, and law and order.

As your wages decrease and your house rents increase shout louder yet for government, and law and order.

As it becomes harder to find an employer or master shout again louder and louder for government, and law and order.

As the line of demarcation between rich and poor grows more distinct, and as the luxury of the few grows more extravagant and voluptuous and the misery and distress of the many extends, and becomes more intense, shout the louder, and yet again louder for that most blessed of all institutions—government, and law and order.

For fear that you may see and hear something of the strife and clash between the arrogant beneficiaries of government, and law and order, and the millions of victims of this creation of stupidity, ignorance and Caesarism, shout all the time in ever-ascending tones for government, for law, for order, and praise God that you are not like the Anarchist who believes that in proportion as you accord liberty to others you enjoy liberty yourself.

Also praise yourself that you are not like the Anarchist who believing that "Liberty is the mother, not the daughter of order," says "away with your laws decreed by legislatures and courts that we may have order, comfort and happiness."

REP.

## AN OBJECTOR ANSWERED.

No advocate of freedom could help but sympathizing with the comrades of the Firebrand when contemplating the adverse conditions under which they have labored to establish and promote that paper. Especially as it is intended as an organ through which freedom of expression may be obtained.

Nevertheless I cannot agree, however sweet their songs, profound their philosophy, and valuable their instructions, that they are infallible in reason. (1)

I cannot admit, that even the profound reflections and generous sentiments of Comrade A. I. which are so beautifully exposed in the following lines, come from a being that, were the whole nation such, an arrangement of society would be possible, in which such fraternal relations would prevail; that: "To each according to his need, and from each according to his ability" would become an active guiding principle, and especially where everyone might expect—though not a universal agreement with all his views—at least a respectful hearing; even though he were but a simple child, and fearless of ridicule.

Thus speaks the oracle:

"Since I have charged the so-called Individualists with being incapable of reasoning, some readers have asked me to be merciful with this class of Sunday school children of sociology, as they, too, strive to abolish government. I admit, their spirit may be willing, but their brain is too weak to comprehend. 'The little Anarchist,' a 14-year-old boy, would not have asked Cohen's question for fear of getting ridiculed, and I think it is nothing but wasting paper, ink and time to argue with a man who cannot see the town for the houses." (2)

Apropos: Of course my brain may be too weak to comprehend this matter, but since the reasoning of the Individualists is so susceptible of ridicule would it not be both amusing and instructive, at least to the Communists, if A. I. should present it in the most ridiculous aspect in which he can conceive it? (3)

However that may be, I doubt not that the Individualists will remain satisfied with the above disposal of themselves and their views; for though it may seem to them somewhat brutal treatment when in answer to a civil question, or the sincere presentation of their view of a subject, a minion of the law, or any other ignorant and abusive ruffian should stop them with: "Oh, you're blind! You're crazy!! You're an Anarchist!! You cannot see the town for the houses!!!" Still, though their brain may be too weak to comprehend many things, they will hardly fail to appreciate the civility, nobility and sublimity of that spirit, which has inspired so many murderous social reformers, as Torquemada, Cromwell and Robespierre, when they see it so brightly sparkle in the mind, and passionately burn in the heart of A. I., not merely for the salvation of Spain, England or France, but for the whole human race. (4)

Notwithstanding that coming as it does from a despised Individualist, it may be rejected, I will venture to remind A. I. that, the doctrines which even Communists hold, are comparatively unimportant as compared with their methods, and the principles underlying their action. He will readily see how futile was the declaration of independence as the basis of the present government, and how vain the redeclaration of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity by the State Socialists, who follow the methods of the politician, and whose faith is pledged to aggression as the way to civilization. (5)

I will even venture further and endeavour to show that though I am an Individualist I do not differ from at least some Communists as to some of the basic principles upon which the theory of Anarchy is built, and if we afterward differ in particulars referable to these principles, it is that with the Communist as with every other human, it is sometimes easier to ignore his principles and their implications, than to recognize a truth stated by an opponent.

Toistoi says that though man is not free, but moves from necessity, the attempt to prove it is like wrestling with a windmill. On the other hand it is evident from his article on self reform, that should any Quixotic believer in independent human volition make a charge on A. I.'s necessity premise he would be seriously mutilated.

Now A. I. needs fear no attack on my part from that direction for I perfectly agree both with him and Tolstoy. Indeed it seems to me very clear, that wild beasts and wild men, burglars, murderers, as well as sages, are merely varieties of modes of the phenomenon of life described by Spencer as "The adjustment of internal relations, to external relations," the

mode evidently depending on the nature of the relations, and, if this be so, they are neither to be blamed nor praised, for each merely performs his natural function.

A. I. will also agree with us, as will many other Communists, as to the potency of the principle, which has been variously stated as: "Whatever ye sow that shall ye also reap;" "Like begets like;" "Hereditry;" etc., a principle which dominates in all the ramifications of life, as witness the workings of the faculty of imitation, the greater ease with which an action is reformed, how ease and indolence incapacitate; yea madden and kill; while activity is reproductive of mobility, indefatigability and enterprise, how rapidly armies and navies grow when the spirit of violence and vengeance is propagated. (6) He must also agree with us that the proper spirit to cultivate is confidence, not in our own powers to make civilization, any more than to make a tree; but in the immutable laws of nature which make it equally impossible for a whale to give birth to a horse, a Nubian to a Caucasian, an act of vengeance to kindness; and murder to the welfare of the race. Confidence in the beneficent action and reaction of universal ambient evolutionary forces, which result in the survival of the fittest.

He will also agree that the brutal so-called protection of the policeman is invasive, the decision of the judge tyrannical, the act of the hangman atrocious, and the total deplorable results incalculable.

In all this A. I. will agree, now why does he not admit that President Carnot was merely performing his natural function? Why does he pretend that good can accrue from the murder of this individual? Whence comes his confidence in the individual powers of a particular murderer, to change the regular course of nature, and by murder reform society? Why does he countenance in the least, the meddling of this particular self-appointed policeman, approve the merciless decision of this judge, in the case of one who to his knowledge had never willfully hurt anyone? How can he regard as legitimate, and even beneficent this particular case of atrocious execution?

Why above all does he so far ignore the beneficent principle of liberty, as to give umbrage to the action of Cesario who denies to Carnot even existence?

May we not safely presume that in so blindly and wildly seeking to defend his theories he is simply exemplifying a principle whose dominion is universal, and holds sway over men, their theories, beliefs and institutions, and which is thus in part with poetical eloquence expressed: (7)

"The tree of greatest root is found  
Least willing still to leave the ground."

JOSEPH LEE.

## COMMENT.

1.—Who said they were infallible?

2.—I cannot conceive of a society in which ridicule and sarcasm will be unknown. But in regard to the "respectful hearing" I will say, that I am only too delighted to listen to a sincere question and to answer it to the best of my abilities, especially when such questions are raised by people who are looking for information. Such is not the case with most of the Individualists. We have been and are yet ridiculed by the Individualists more unfairly than by all the authoritarians or enemies of liberty put together. Mr. Cohen poses as a teacher—not as an investigator—in the radical press; he did not look for knowledge or information, for every fair-minded man could see the answer in his own question, i. e., when labor absorbs the whole product, the wage system is then impossible, but he simply was anxious to quibble, or rather imagined in his sublimity that such inferior minds as mine would not see the point.

3.—Yes, I think it would, and if I had the ability I would not hesitate to do so.

4.—Will Comrade Lee point out where the quoted paragraph manifests a "murderous" and "torturous" spirit?

5.—Very true, but in spite of such historic evidences the Individualists fail to see that all their theorizing will amount to just as much as the Declaration of Independence, as long as they fail to grasp the idea that freedom can only be realized in a condition essential to a free state of affairs and not simply by a declaration of principles. All declarations of principles and ethical teachings will have the same effect as long as the conditions and relations are not essential to it.

6.—No, I don't agree at all. Armies and navies do not increase because "the spirit of violence is propagated," but because our system of commercialism and



of private property in the means of production and distribution necessitates force and violence. For many centuries the spirit of brotherly love has been propagated, but in spite of these teachings the armies and navies keep step with the increase of wealth on the one hand and poverty on the other. You may have a preacher of love and non-resistance on every street corner and it would not change the relations of men one iota as long as this system of robbery and exploitation lasts.

7.—How do you know that I admit your philosophy and will agree with your assertions? If the sentence quoted from Spencer is logical in its premises, you ought to see that Cesario was as much "performing his natural functions" as did Carnot, a statement which I never disputed.

How strange! You condemn the action of Cesario, but say nothing of the actions of Carnot. Many innocent Anarchists were exiled to Cayenne, where a cruel and slow death was their inevitable fate, and whom Carnot had the power to "pardon" (when there was nothing to pardon); many women and children were made breadless, destitute, and thrown on the mercy of public charity. To all these victims Carnot denied existence, but that does not affect Comrade Lee in the least as long as we are submitting, characterless slaves. But when an individual, who has still some individuality about him, protests against such outrages—giving up his own life at the same time—or acts simply in self-defense, then he is a murderer.

And will Comrade Lee tell us that the act of Michele Angiolillo was simply an act of a futile murder? In the first place he "performed his natural function," which was drawn out through the barbarous regime of Canovas, and secondly even the capitalist papers admitted that such acts would be committed wherever a government would treat its subjects as cruelly as the Anarchists had been treated in Spain. Prominent writers (not Anarchists) and liberal-minded men had tried their best to call the attention of the capitalist press to the fearful atrocities and tortures committed by the Spanish government, but all their efforts and peaceable attempts to make these cruelties known to the public were in vain, until Angiolillo assassinated Canovas. Then the daily papers immediately published all about the torturing of the Anarchists, and even gave illustrated details.

A. I.

### CUSTOM.

When it comes to gods, custom outranks every other in the amount of worship which it attracts.

Infidelity to custom is more rigorously dealt with than infidelity to the christian religion. Perhaps it is because nonconformists to custom are more rarely met with than are religious dissenters.

Any person who has made one trial of ignoring custom cannot wonder that so few people desire to "beard the lion in his den." In so trifling a matter as dress, a radical change causes a terrific uproar. "Business interests are threatened, of course, but that is little thought of by the herd whence comes the loudest howl.

The "free country," of which Americans boast, is given the lie immediately when custom is infringed; at least there are portions of the U. S. where it is so. I know from experience. All over a little town near where I now reside, I am branded as "the bloomer woman," and I was refused a place to work on account of my costume. When I appeared for the first time in any part of the burg, the audiences I held were far more demonstrative than delicate in their attentions. Almost the entire place is "dead set" against the innovation. Many kind hearted, generous people dwell there, too, but custom must not be disregarded in that community unless the offender is prepared to pay the penalty. Skirts must be trailed through its streets by its women. The garments undoubtedly will, if unfashionably out, excite the laughter of resident fashion plates, but the style of make is not generally considered a matter for reproach.

Customary forms of speech are revered everywhere. The "cultured" person is distinguished from the "clod-hopper" quite as much by his pronunciation as by his habits of life. Let a man come from a part of the country not previously represented in a neighborhood; the oddities of his

dialect will be noted, laughed at or sneered at behind his back, and the peculiar words, phrases, or accents will be thrown at him in derision, good-humored or otherwise, times without number.

Less merit in ideas is demanded by the public than style in address. Strings of words, if grammatically put together, please the crowd.

The custom of marriage ceremonies is that to which the majority of people at ach the maximum of importance. If man and woman live together, without marrying, although their lives may be counterparts of those who conform to the prescribed regulations, the woman is, conventionally, debauched, just for the lack of a few mumbled words and a price paid to priest or politician! It seems preposterous that in this age tribute should be exacted for the intercourse of the sexes; but so it is, either by marriage fees or license for house of prostitution, and, more rarely, by a fine for unlawful cohabitation.

The mass of the inhabitants of all nations, bend the knee to custom. The various tribes comment and laugh over the queerness and idiocy of the customs of other tribes. The manner of salutation, of leave taking, of entertainment, table etiquette, the style of commanding slaves, the way of showing deference to masters, religious ceremonies, barter regulations etc., etc., are counted proper and important in the region where they are in vogue, and extremely ludicrous outside the boundary. And what do the whole collection of customs amount to? It is a species of ancestor worship! a mess of artificial and frivolous bosh! Where are the idol breakers to come from if not from the ranks of the revolutionists? VIROQUA DANIELS.

### PROPAGANDA BY THOUGHT.

"I've had a dream, do all reformers dream?" Yes, reform is but the realization of a dream, and the end and aim of all their dreaming seems to be a condition of liberty for the individual. This is egoistic nature, while the conservative phase ever seeks to hamper and restrict the liberty of others. It is in accordance with that "struggle for existence" defined by science as one of the underlying principles of evolution culminating in the "survival of the fittest." In the study of biology the race seems to be the care of nature. If perfecting the individual perpetuates the race, then we have as a result a perfected individual. On the other hand if the life of the race demands it, the individual is restricted, his individuality subordinated to the good of the community. The lion and higher ape are types of the perfected individual while the ant and the bee illustrate the beauty of the community. This is the result of unconscious or natural selection, which Darwin so successfully demonstrated. With the birth of Reason a new factor was introduced, affecting the course of evolution, a new rule, that of conscious or artificial selection. The application of this rule effects great changes. By study and experiments the law of cause and effect may produce a higher type of individual, but it is questionable if the fittest survive, that is to say the hardiest type.

Protection may result in perfecting certain faculties or traits, but generally, if not always, it is the neglect of others and consequently a detriment to the "life of the race."

The trouble with reformers and the realization of their dream is the conservation of old ideas, forms and customs. They posit certain so-called truths and they would subordinate liberty to these "truths." But the coming man must posit liberty as a principle and custom as an evil to be avoided or subordinated to liberty. Let education, agitation, study and experiment proceed in any and all directions, and let the rays of liberty enliven, strengthen—shining upon the endeavor of all alike—and may the fittest survive. The end may be a great disappointment to some of us as now constituted, but the coming man with new environments will have new ideas. His pursuit of happiness may lead him into new fields, but the fruits of free study and experiment and the benefit of all past investigation, the experience of humanity, enables him to take the best. He shall see "the travail of his soul" and be satisfied.

The question is, can liberty be posited as a principle? Can the children of men enjoy equal freedom? Must restriction and restraint be the rule?

The course of civilization, the evolution of humanity seems to me to be demonstrating that liberty and not restriction is the fittest to survive. Auberon Herbert says: "Have not the human faculties grown in every field just as freedom has been given them? Have men ever clung to protection, restraint and officialism without entangling themselves deeper and deeper into the evils from which there was no outlet?" But the existence of evil seems to demand restraint. How can we enjoy liberty with the criminal at large? Is it not just possible that restriction creates the criminal? We first make law creating crime, then more laws to punish the criminal. Throw down the fence; call off the dogs. The evils which we fear, with the advent of liberty would be cured with more liberty. Freedom for the few and restraint for the many have so long prevailed that men believed them necessary. As liberty has gained, restriction has lost. Restriction's defeat is liberty's victory. As civilization and the comfort of invention have engendered a generosity, freedom has been given" with the results Mr. Herbert claims, but granting it as an inalienable right of all, is an idea which has found lodgement in but a comparatively few minds as yet.

"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" was declared by our revolutionary fathers to be the inalienable rights of man. But the idea that any conflict existed between an inalienable right and the right of government never seemed to have entered their heads. Their idea was that governments were instituted among men to insure man the enjoyment of these rights. And this is the idea of all governmentalsists still, from the absolute monarchist down to the most anarchistic Single Taxer. Even the State Socialist is found advocating the "sovereignty of the individual," "the equal freedom of all," but the absurdity of the idea is demonstrated in a single sentence: Can a man be governed and be free? I realize the fact that many of our advanced governmentalsists reject or would eliminate much of the governing power, the controlling and regulating part, reducing it to a sort of police department in the industrial world, something after Herbert Spencer's "negative government." All such conceptions look upon the evils of government as the abuses of politicians clothed with power. The trouble seems to be the mantle of power has fallen onto the wrong shoulders. If they can only get the right parties in, everything would be lovely; they would reconstruct the machinery so that the "power" would run it to the benefit of all. They have deified the power and dam'd the politician, but it is the "thing in itself" that engenders the evil. Man given power will seek his own advantage every time. It is the selfishness in human nature, a most excellent thing in the individual when sovereign of himself, but clothed in the ermine of authority

"Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep."

Positing liberty as a principle we must reject all forms of government: our propaganda should be based on certain fundamental facts, chief among which are: Satisfaction of self; the pursuit of happiness; like engenders like; force creates force; love begets love; the happiness of all depends upon the happiness of each.

Mankind, the product of nature, should be subject to none but nature's laws. Born free and equal there should be no power of authority among them. Nature is no respecter of persons, and but for usurpation and monopoly engendered by government, would feed and clothe the human even as she does the brute. Government, such as man has obtained over man, is not natural but artificial, a process inaugurated to plunder and enslave. It should be regarded as an abnormal growth on the body of society, full of uncleanness and abominations. It has perverted nature. The drones eat the honey while the workers starve. The inventor and producer are plundered and enslaved that a class may be clothed in fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. The free born, blinded by the dust of politics, votes himself into perpetual bondage.

"What's to be done?" Wendell Phillips has said: "It is not truth that agitates the world." Plato, in the groves of the Academy, sounded on and on to the utmost depths of philosophy, but Athens was quiet. Calling around him the choicest minds of Greece, he pointed out the worthlessness of their altars and the sham of public life, but Athens was quiet—it was all speculation. When Socrates walked the streets of Athens, and questioning every-day life, struck the altars till the faith of the passer-by faltered, it came close to action, and immediately they gave him hemlock, for the city was turned upside down. Dreaming pre-



condemned action, but actions speak louder than words. I have essayed to place before FREE SOCIETY readers some lines of thought. In the near future I'll try my hand at some lines of action—"propaganda by deed." Porterville, N. Y. A. L. BALLOU.

### DIVIDING UP.

Not the toiler who is denied the chance to toil, but Mayor Harrison of Chicago proposes it—proposes relief to the starving in this way. Hurray for Mayor Harrison—but stop! Who is to divide and what is to be divided? Will this philanthropic mayor give a portion of his salary, and does he counsel the other salaried officials to do the same? Oh no, bless your dear hearts, he is not so green as that.

It is the poor who are to divide with each other, and it is the labor that is to be divided. The Chicago Times-Herald of June 14th says:

"Mayor Harrison has a plan for the relief of Chicago's unemployed. \* \* \* The mayor's idea is to extend the list of 1,600 eligibles on the labor list 6,000 and give every applicant at least ten days' work a month in rotation. He believes that workmen in squads or shifts will not violate the law. Laborers now employed must share with their comrades. He is confident that this plan will stand between many families and absolute destitution.

Well, now, as badly as some of the comrades dislike to hear anything about another life, or continued life, after the physical body gives out, I believe I will tell a short story of what to me is as true as that I am writing this. About 28 years ago I woke one morning with these words in my mouth—I spoke them aloud and that was what awakened me—"God damn this thievish christian nation." I had never heard the words in that form and I sensed the presence of another; felt but could not see the presence. For several months I felt this same presence; finally during the summer of '75 I decided to write a book. I got pen and paper and sat down to commence when I became clairvoyant, and not only felt but saw who it was that had made me utter that sentence, and I took it for the first one in the book which was published under the title of "Nothing Like It."

No matter what FREE SOCIETY's readers think, I am sure they will join me with what one of the characters in the book says, to-wit: "No matter how much God may damn, the work will never be done till man does the damning."

How long, oh how long will our workers continue to be cattle—how long before they learn that the wage-system must go, and then get up and damn it out of existence!

Mayor Harrison and his friends no doubt think that twenty half-starved people will be easier managed than ten decently fed and the starving ones can be. I feel like saying: "Oh, hell!" Yes, let's damn this whole system, a system which covers earth with hells, and then threatens future hells if we are not submissive.

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

The rights of property means the wrongs of humanity.—Brisbane worker.

### TRADES UNION DICTATORSHIP VS. LIBERTY.

Comrade Goldman and I had intended propaganda work and speaking to the trades unionists at Rocky Point, on Labor Day, upon the coal strike. But when we were assembling a few persons, among whom were some of Bakers' Union No. 117, of Providence, and their president, Geo. Dixon, assaulted me with the most insulting and vindictive language, and declared to his slaves that if one member attended the Goldman address he would fire them out and fine them \$20. And this is freedom and toleration! They are still kissing the hand that lashes them.

Providence, R. I.

### NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

ITALY.

There is a very hot agitation against the "forced domicile" (domicilio coatto) throughout the whole kingdom. Since the establishment of the "United Kingdom" the tyranny of government authority is steadily growing to persecute the free press and speech against the governing lackeys; the intelligent agitators are arrested and sent for years to barren or isolated places, and watched by the ~~harmless~~ <sup>harmless</sup> so they cannot leave their confinements.

There is also a popular agitation against the income tax, which was lately introduced in the sunny land. Some weeks ago there was a very violent demonstration in Rome which resulted in serious bloodshed on account of the imposing of taxes, a burden which the Italian people try to get rid of.

SPAIN.

It is clearly proved now, that Sampeon, who attempted to shoot Chief of Police Portas, failed of success on account of his generosity in firing the first shot in the air, in order to avoid accident to innocent persons who were on the street at the time.

FRANCE.

Comrade Sebastian Faure recommenced to lecture on "Crimes of God" in Paris and other industrial centers. There is a menacing strike going on among the quarriers of Trelaze which is the result of general dissatisfaction with the conditions in that town. A. K.

RUSSIA.

A terrible famine is prevalent in the province of Archangel, a government of European Russia. Many have already died of starvation. Tea is the only available article of diet.

UNITED STATES.

Irishmen throughout the United States are preparing to send large delegations to Ireland next year to celebrate the revolution of '98. Better keep their money to use in preparing for the revolution to come.

PENNSYLVANIA.

It is alleged that the miners in the Hazleton, Pa., region were obliged to work until 7 o'clock on the evening of the last election day, on pain of being discharged, thus losing their votes. But that is nothing; their sole right is to labor for a master; refusal means death.

The mayor of Reading, Pa., has signed an ordinance for a tax of 10 per cent. on all the earnings of aliens employed in city work. That's right; soak 'em; they have no friends. Good old Puritanical intolerance.

ILLINOIS.

Five hundred coal miners who have been on strike since July 4 returned to work in the Bracoville mine at Braidwood, Ill., on the 9th. The men will receive 7½ cents per ton, an advance of 10 cents. No rent will be collected for the strike period and coal will be supplied to them at a reduction of 50 cents per ton. But after four months' idleness how much did they gain?

Kropotkin, the Russian novelist, lecturer and anarchist, is in this country, having eluded our immigration inspectors by shaving off his whiskers. This speaks volumes for the wisdom of our officials, who measure a man's radical tendencies only by the length of his beard.—Appeal to Reason.

### Various Voices.

T. J. Griffiths, Montreal, Canada.—On Sunday week I was called before the grievance committee of the S. L. P. and by a majority vote it was decided, that if I continue to circulate literature opposed to the party (FREE SOCIETY) I would be expelled. I was not allowed in the meeting to talk in defense. Next Sunday I will go and give my resignation, and give them briefly and tersely a few of my reasons for leaving their nice constitutional-law-abiding scientific-respectable-shopkeeper-only-one-in-the-trade-anti-everything-else-bug-the-tiger society.

See what your paper has brought upon me from a society that declares that men do not make history? I will try and bear the terrible blow.

E. W. Councilman, Newark Valley, N. J.—Being an omnivorous reader and a fearless investigator, I sent for your paper for the sole purpose of investigating the principles of Anarchism. I am much pleased with the paper so far as I am able to comprehend the subjects therein discussed. The writers thereof are bold, independent and radical. This is what we want to shake up the dry bones of syndicates, trusts, corporations and combines. I am also much interested in the fearless manner with which the lady correspondents handle the sex question—probably the most vital subject discussed in your columns—but least understood by the masses. What a grand idea that there are a few publications that have backbone enough to handle the most-needed, but the most-neglected of any subject pertaining to the public welfare. Stella Starbright makes the assertion that it can be demonstrated scientifically that variety in sex intercourse is as necessary to the health and happiness of the race as variety in food, work or amusement. Will she give us that proof through FREE SOCIETY, and thereby gratify a great many seekers after truth and knowledge?

### NOVEMBER 11, AT 'FRISCO.

The State Socialist meeting of November 11, in honor of the memory of the martyred Anarchists was a peculiar affair. The audience numbered 2,000 or more. Two of the speakers (Hamilton and Rose) were, for Statists, exceedingly broad-minded; indeed, one of them, Mr. Rose, was so much so that M. W. Wilkins, editor of the New Charter, who also spoke, afterward declared that he would never again speak from that platform, as a damned Anarchist was allowed to close the ceremonies.

But outside the hall another scene was transpiring which was truly in accord with the Statist spirit of persecution and suppression of criticism.

Several of FREE SOCIETY's friends were present with quantities of the first issue of the paper, and they proceeded to distribute them to the incoming crowd, but were ordered by the Statists to desist. As they supposed they had a right to give away papers at a meeting called to commemorate the memory of their comrades, they continued to do so, when the Statists sent for a "boy in blue" who threatened them with arrest if they did not quit giving away papers.

Notwithstanding these kind and affectionate acts of our Statist friends all copies of FREE SOCIETY available at the meeting were distributed (probably 600 in all), and we feel sure did much to open the eyes of some of their followers.

It is but justice to part of the Statists to state that many of them denounced the action of their intolerant committee which sent for the police. But the fact remains that the committee's action stood, just as De Leon's actions prevail, though many of his followers denounce his despotic tactics. So long as they do not exercise their power under the referendum to stop these actions they cannot shirk responsibility for them. If they really repudiate these arbitrary actions proof of such repudiation is easily given. Will they give it?

If the Statists are so hungry to resort to force at this stage of the game what will they do when they get full swing—if they ever do?

### OTHER LOCALS.

Last Sunday evening another meeting of the S. L. P. was held at which the Statists called for questions. They got 'em. One question was as to why they met argument with force at the previous meeting. This stirred them up very much, one of the "scientific Socialists" going so far as to say that all Anarchists should be treated as savages since under Anarchy the "criminals and bad people would get guns and hunt down respectable people." But while he was ready enough with invective and wild assertion the gentleman (?) produced no proof, but much ridicule—which he appeared to take as applause. F. A. C.

On Thursday evening, Nov. 11, Comrade A. Klemenic addressed a large and enthusiastic audience at the corner of Grant avenue and Market street, taking for his subject "The Ideas and Tactics of the Murdered Anarchists." The speaker's address did much to dispel the old-established ideas regarding the sacredness of property rights. He will speak again this (Sunday) evening at the same place, and we hope all the comrades in the city will do all they can to make the meeting a success. J. P. W.

The San Francisco charter makers are still engaged in the gentle art of legislating away the public rights. The latest clause adopted provides that the police authorities may appoint officers for special duty without pay. This, of course, simply means that corporations and other employers may hire policemen at their own expense to club their fractious "hands" into submission. It is one of the most dangerous and disgraceful features of industrial disputes.—Coast Seamen's Journal.

The humble, those who pay the most, because they are poor, and because every new burden crushes them down; those who are killed in masses, who make the true cannon's meat, because they are so many; those, in fine, who suffer most cruelly the atrocious miseries of war, because they are the feeblest, and offer least resistance—they hardly understand all those bellicose ardors, that excitable sense of honor, or those pretended political combinations which in six months exhaust two nations, the conqueror with the conquered. —Guy de Maupassant.



To the States.  
To the States, or any one of them, or any city  
of the States, Social must, obey little.  
Once, untroubled obedience, one fully en-  
slaved.  
Once fully enslaved, no nation, State or city  
of this earth, ever afterward resumes its li-  
berty.  
—Walt Whitman.

### CLASS WAR.

Who makes the laws which I am ex-  
pected to obey? The heads of the  
churches say: "The laws which we give  
you are dictated by God." Away with  
them! your God is a lie.

Princes, who force their subjects to  
submit to their tyranny, also appeal to  
the divine will. Let them beware! their  
divine right is a lie.

And you lawmakers of the constitu-  
tional monarchy and of the representa-  
tive republic, who has given to you the  
right to make laws? "The people elect-  
ed us to do so," you reply. But often  
you do just the opposite of that the peo-  
ple desire, and the people have no power  
over you. Is that justice? No reason-  
able man will say so.

Lastly, we encounter the lawmakers  
of the democratic republic; they tell us:  
"The people who have elected us, have  
power to remove us and to reject our  
laws." Very well! Let us take an in-  
stance. A law is proposed. Many are  
in favor of it, many against it. A vote  
is taken; 1,000 declare for the law, 999  
reject it. And the minority is expected  
to submit to the will of the majority.  
Is that justice? No, it is quite as much  
an outrage as the command of a tyrant.

No individual or number of individ-  
uals has the right to dictate laws.  
Where it is done, right does not govern,  
but might.

All law making is a violation of jus-  
tice.

What is the object of law making?  
"Men cannot live peacefully without  
laws," declare the opponents of An-  
archy.

We Anarchists admit that laws are  
necessary as long as private property  
exists. Only force can protect that.

All differences of opinion, therefore,  
come to this:  
Either private property, and with it  
tyranny and slavery and the misery of  
the worker, or Communism and with it  
the freedom of the individual and the  
welfare of all. Let every man choose.

When will the social revolution break  
out? On the day when the downtrodden,  
the maltreated, the starving have  
come to see:

That it is vain to appeal for help to  
God.

That there is no recompense in heaven  
for the misery here below;

That the ruling classes have no right  
to rule;

That it is contrary to the interest of  
the ruling classes to see the wretched  
condition of the workers improved;

That all attempts to improve the lot  
of the workers by individual effort or by  
reforms within the limits of the present  
social order must fail;

That strikes and isolated acts of re-  
volt can never be successful.

That peaceable means will never  
achieve the emancipation of the workers  
of today.

Capital, having the means of govern-  
ment at its disposal, opposes by force  
and fraud not only every attempt to  
bring about any change in the social  
conditions which oppress the worker,  
but overrides and treats with contempt  
even the existent laws and the few rights  
still left to the people whenever they  
conflict with its interest. Many such  
cases have occurred lately when it should  
have been the duty of the people to over-  
throw a government that constantly vio-

lated the laws in the interest of the rich.  
But it is the old story, in America as  
in Asia and Europe, the mass of the popu-  
lation, accustomed to oppression, sub-  
mit to every kind of exaction until they  
almost lose the consciousness of their  
degradation, or until hunger and starva-  
tion drive them to revolt.

The few active revolutionary spirits  
are powerless. What can they do?

The press, the tribune and the meet-  
ing place are the only means of making  
propaganda still left to them. And cap-  
ital, becoming alarmed, attempts, when-  
ever possible, to take them away from  
them.

Little would it benefit them to take  
refuge in secret societies or to hide them-  
selves. Money is powerful and would  
follow them wherever they went.

What, therefore, can they do?

The few who are in a position to write,  
or to speak, or to arrange meetings,  
must continue to do so until either the  
power of capital destroys them, or until  
the revolution then helps to destroy it.  
—L. Steinke, in Freedom.

### WHAT FREE LABOR WILL SAY.

Some one may say to me: "How  
comes it that millions of men allow the  
Rothschilds and Mackays to appropriate  
the fruit of their labor? Alas, they can-  
not help themselves under the existing  
social system! But let us picture to our  
minds a city all of whose inhabitants  
find their lodging, clothing, food and oc-  
cupation secured to them, on condition  
of producing things useful to the com-  
munity, and let us suppose a Rothschild  
to enter that city bringing with him a  
cask full of gold. If he spends his gold,  
it will diminish rapidly; if he looks it  
up it will not increase, because gold does  
not grow like seed, and after the lapse of  
a twelvemonth he will not find £110 in  
his drawer, if he only put £100 into it.  
If he sets up a factory and proposes to  
the inhabitants of the town that they  
should work in it for four shillings a day,  
while producing to the value of eight  
shillings a day, they reply: Among us  
you'll find no one willing to work on  
those terms. Go elsewhere and settle in  
some town where the unfortunate peo-  
ple have neither clothing, bread nor  
work assured to them, and where they  
will consent to give up to you the lion's  
share of their labor in return for the bare-  
st necessities of life. Go where men  
starve! There you will make your for-  
tune!"—Kropotkin.

Make yourself an honest man, and  
then you may be sure there is one ras-  
cal less in the world.—Carlyle.

"The best way to get along in this world  
is to mind your own business and let  
your neighbor mind his own business.  
The only duty you owe to society is to  
defend your rights and refrain from in-  
vading the rights of others."—Detroit  
Sentinel.

Say, that paper hasn't turned Anarch-  
ist, has it?

"The poor have no grievances against  
the rich.—Pulpit.

The poor are benefited by the lavish  
expenditures of the rich.—Press.

"The food that the poor get fits them  
for carrying the burdens of life.—Pulpit.

The way to settle these law-defying  
strikers is to mow a clean swath through  
them.—Press.

Wages might be reduced one-half and  
still allow these fellows who talk about  
the "rights of labor" to live in comfort  
and happiness.—Press.

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quarters at 1225 1/2 Folson St. will hold regular  
weekly agitation meetings every Saturday ev-  
ening at 8 o'clock P. M. in the Universal Hall,  
512 Pacific St. Free Discussion.

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til 10 P. M.

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

The Peoples Union, a free discussion club,  
meets every Sunday evening at 905 Westminster  
St., Providence, R. I.

New York Debating Club meets and deliv-  
ers lectures every Sunday 7:45 o'clock P. M.  
at 1524 Avenue A, near 50th. Free discussion.

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and aggressive journal of liberty. Published  
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English periodicals, can be found at the new  
stand of comrade I. Eudash, 363 Grant St., New  
York City.

Pamphlets in English, Hebrew and German  
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340 Cherry St., New York City.

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hand.

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weekly paper, published in the Russian lan-  
guage at New York City, 402 E 71<sup>st</sup> St. by the  
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