

# FREE SOCIETY

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 3.

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WHOLE NO. 139.

## UTILITY.

[Written for FREE SOCIETY.]

The man of wit can snugly fit  
His fellows in their niches;  
And use as stays, in divers ways,  
All those devoid of riches.

He can't endure the very poor  
As guest at merry-making!  
But when in quest of butt for jest,  
Who's so immensely taking?

What is more quaint for artist's paint  
Than poverty a-nesting?  
We look, then feel the Common Weal  
Where Social Order's resting!

As food for gun, Toil's sturdy son  
Has yet to find an equal;  
In bloody fray, he's swept away;  
Oblivion, the sequel.

The music's piped, and glory "swiped"  
By son of Wit and Leisure;  
In roundelay, he feels the fray—  
And thrives by "bluff" and "seizure"!

In time of peace, he picks the "geese"  
Remaining from the battle;  
And at the poll ('tis very droll!),  
He calmly counts his "cattle."

'Tis Wit that sees the poor as keys  
Unlocking Nature's cellar;  
And graciously, facetiously,  
Deposits as acting teller!

Close to his hand, are seas and land;  
To hinder gross abuses,  
He chooses tact, assumes, in fact,  
Dominion of their uses.

The man, uncouth, attests the truth  
Of scientist's surmising;  
With knife and wire, the great conspire;  
Gain knowledge that's surprising.

The pauper brood provide the food  
For intellect and gullet;  
Excite the mirth of men of worth—  
Nor lives unlike the mullet!

Alive or dead, on foot, in bed,  
The poor abound in uses—  
Our Social Fable "just takes the cake,"  
And merits no excuses.

Lake City, Cal.

VIROQUA DANIELS.

## STATE SOCIALISM UNDER THE INCAS OF PERU.

[Extracts from Prescott's "Conquest of Peru," which prove that under State Socialism a people may "eat, drink and be merry" only on condition that they sink ambition and individuality and become mere cogs in the wheels of a machine.]

### PART I.

At first the progress of the Peruvians seems to have been slow, and almost imperceptible. By their wise and temperate policy they gradually won over the neighboring tribes to their dominion, as these latter became more and more convinced of the benefits of a just [?] and well-regulated government. As they grew stronger, they were enabled to rely more directly on force; (1) but still advancing under cover of the same beneficent pretexts employed by their predecessors, they proclaimed peace and civilization at the point of the sword. . . . Great care was bestowed on his [the royal offspring's] military education, of the last importance in a state which, with its professions of peace and good will, was ever at war for the acquisition of empire.

The nobility of Peru consisted of two orders, the first and by far the most important of which was that of the incas, who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. (2) As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of 100 or even 200 children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of

years to be very numerous. They were divided into different lineages, each of which traced its pedigree to a different member of the royal dynasty, though all terminated in the divine founder of the empire.

They were distinguished by many exclusive and very important privileges; they wore a peculiar dress, spoke a dialect, if we may believe the chronicler, peculiar to themselves, and had the choicest portion of the public domain assigned for their support. They lived, most of them, at court, near the person of the prince, sharing in his counsels, dining at his board or supplied from his table. They alone were admissible to the great offices in the priesthood. They were invested with the command of armies and of distant garrisons, were placed over the provinces, and, in short, filled every station of high trust and emolument. Even the laws, severe in their general tenor, seem not to have been framed with reference to them; and the people, investing the whole order with a portion of the sacred character which belonged to the sovereign, held that an Inca noble was incapable of crime.

The nation at large was distributed into decades, or small bodies of ten; and every tenth man, or head of a decade, had supervision of the rest—being required to see that they enjoyed the rights and immunities to which they were entitled, to solicit aid in their behalf from government, when necessary, and to bring offenders to justice. To this last they were stimulated by a law that imposed on them, in case of neglect, the same penalty that would have been incurred by the guilty party. With this law hanging over his head the magistrate of Peru, we may well believe, did not often go to sleep on his post.

The people were still further divided into bodies of fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, each with an officer having general supervision over those beneath, and the higher ones possessing, to a certain extent, authority in matters of police. Lastly, the whole empire was distributed into sections or departments of ten thousand inhabitants, with a governor over each, from the Inca nobility, who had control over the curacas [conquered chiefs, a minor branch of the nobility] and other territorial officers in the district.

The judges all held their authority and received their support from the crown, by which they were appointed and removed at pleasure. They were obliged to determine every suit in five days from the time it was brought before them; and there was no appeal from one tribunal to another.

The laws were few and exceedingly severe. They related almost wholly to criminal matters. (3) Few other laws were needed by a people who had no money, little trade, and hardly anything that could be called fixed property. The crimes of theft, adultery and murder were all capital; though it was wisely provided that some extenuating circumstances might be allowed to mitigate the punishment. Blasphemy against the sun, and malediction of the Inca—offences, indeed, of the same complexion—were also punished with death. Removing landmarks, turning the water away from a neighbor's land into one's own, burning a house, were all severely punished. To burn a bridge was death. The Inca allowed no obstacle to those facilities of communication so essential to the maintenance of public order. A rebellious city or prov-

ince was laid waste, and its inhabitants exterminated. Rebellion against the "Child of the Sun" was the greatest of all crimes.

The whole territory of the empire was divided into three parts, one for the sun, another for the Inca, and the last for the people. Which of the three was the largest is doubtful. . . . The lands assigned to the sun furnished a revenue to support the temples and maintain the costly ceremonial of the Peruvian worship and the multitudinous priesthood. Those reserved for the Inca went to support the royal state, as well as the numerous members of his household and his kindred, and supplied the various exigencies of government. The remainder of the lands was divided, per capita, in equal shares among the people. It was provided by law, as we shall see hereafter, that every Peruvian should marry at a certain age. When this event took place, the community or district in which he lived furnished him with a dwelling, which, as it was constructed of humble materials, was done at little cost. A lot of land was then assigned to him sufficient for his own maintenance and that of his wife. An additional portion was granted for every child, the amount allowed for a son being double of that for a daughter. The division of the soil was renewed every year, and the possessions of the tenant were increased or diminished according to the numbers in his family. The same arrangement was observed with reference to the curacas, except only that a domain was assigned to them corresponding with the superior dignity of their stations.

The territory was cultivated wholly by the people. The lands belonging to the sun were first attended to. They next tilled the lands of the old, of the sick, of the widow and the orphan, and of soldiers engaged in actual service; in short, of all that part of the community who, from bodily infirmity or any other cause, were unable to attend to their own concerns. The people were then allowed to work on their own ground, each man for himself, but with the general obligation to assist his neighbor when any circumstance—the burden of a young and numerous family, for example—might demand it. Lastly, they cultivated the lands of the Inca. This was done, with great ceremony, by the whole population in a body. At break of day they were summoned together by proclamation from some neighboring tower or eminence, and all the inhabitants of the district, men, women and children, appeared dressed in their gayest apparel, bedecked with their little store of finery and ornaments, as if for some great jubilee.

The flocks of llamas, or Peruvian sheep, were appropriated exclusively to the sun and to the Inca. . . . At the appointed season they were all sheared, and the wool was deposited in the public magazines. It was then dealt out to each family in such quantities as sufficed for its wants, and was consigned to the female part of the household, who were well instructed in the business of spinning and weaving. When this labor was accomplished, and the family was provided with a coarse but warm covering, suited to the cold climate of the mountains (4)—for in the lower country cotton, furnished in like manner by the crown, took the place, to a certain extent, of wool—the people were required to labor for the Inca. The quantity of the cloth needed, as well as the peculiar kind



and quality of the fabric, was first determined at Cuzco. The work was then apportioned among the different provinces. Officers appointed for the purpose superintended the distribution of the wool, so that the manufacture of the different articles should be intrusted to the most competent hands. They did not leave the matter here, but entered the dwellings, from time to time, and saw that the work was faithfully executed. This domestic inquisition was not confined to the labors for the Inca. It included, also, those for the several families.

#### COMMENT.

(1) The Peruvian dynasty seems to have been built up on the same plan as that on which institutions and religions were built, viz.: When weak they make a great display of love for justice and demand humane treatment for the oppressed. But when firmly seated in the saddle they have made humanity writhe. The Statists of the S. L. P. want us to believe that they are made of different clay, but we can't do it.

(2) Under a Social Democratic State there will be this difference: Where the nobles held their securities by right of birth, the beneficiaries and hangerson of democratic government would hold their "soft snaps" by virtue (?) of wire-pulling and doing dirty work for the political chiefs. Of the two the Peruvian plan is most to be preferred.

(3) How does this historical fact correspond with the unsupported assertion of many Statists that under State Socialism criminal laws will become obsolete?

(4) One thing noteworthy about the Peruvian despotism is that the people derived great material benefits from their co-operative efforts, building vast public works that outlived machine productions of later days, all being well-housed, clothed and fed. Great stores of grains were kept in reserve by the incas so that in case of famine the people could live off these stores for years if necessary. But while these benefits of communism were enjoyed by the people, the quoted extracts show only too plainly that this was true at the expense of liberty of the subjects.

F. A. C.

#### "GOD AND THE STATE."

The Russian government has just added a new penalty to the possession of the writings of the great social revolutionist, Michael Bakunin—that of death. For many years it has been a highly dangerous thing to be the owner of a copy of "God and the State," the last compilation of the various essays of this celebrated Russian thinker. It has been dangerous, that is to say, in the dominions of the czar. But the officials of the imperial despot have concluded that it is time to take more severe measures to put an end to the propaganda of the followers of Bakunin, and, therefore they announce that no matter who is found in Russia hereafter with a copy of any writings of Michael Bakunin's, that person must die. It is over twenty years since Bakunin died but there is not, it is believed, any memorial to him anywhere. The revolutionists of Berlin did try to get permission to put up a monument shortly after his death in 1876, but their proposition was frowned upon with severity, and the leaders of the Bakunin circle were arrested.

It is needless to observe that the efforts of the imperial despot beside the Neva to suppress the writings of Bakunin will be utterly futile. The only possible result the act of suppression can have is to widen the sphere of Bakunin's influence. His followers will be more than ever inspired with the enthusiasm of the martyr and they will disseminate the doctrines of their master with greater energy than ever. Bakunin's relatives, some of whom still dwell in the region of Twer, where he was born, are in possession of the great estates once owned by Michael, who, as is well known, was a noble of distinguished lineage and brilliant prospects in early manhood. His father and his grandfather had held posts of great importance under the czars, but the young Michael was a revolutionist even before he left the university. He had a wonderful

command over the English, French and German languages, as well as over his own, and his essays in all four are models of elegant composition.

Bakunin's great aim was the destruction of all government and the annihilation of the prevailing conception of God. But the most absurd misrepresentations of his views are made, even by those who profess to have read much of his writings. He did not aim at the annihilation of everything or at doing away with all control whatever. He meant only that the civilization accompaniments. The accompaniments of civilization we now have must be done away with, with all its ization are the present conceptions of the functions of God and of the State. These conceptions must be replaced with entirely new ones. The stumbling block with students of the Russian agitator's writings is their misconception of the meaning of the word God and of the word State. Bakunin, as expounded by many smug respectables, is utterly incomprehensible.

He is, on the contrary, far from being the inconsistent being his detractors would have us suppose.

It is a noteworthy fact that Bakunin crossed this continent in the capacity of a mendicant, or, as we say, a tramp. He escaped from his Siberian imprisonment after the most incredible sufferings, and reached Japan. The Russian government was seeking him everywhere at the time he landed in the mikado's empire and took passage as a common sailor for San Francisco. He was a large, strong man with many languages and sciences at command, and he managed to pick up a livelihood on his way to New York from San Francisco. He does not seem to have thought much of this country as a field for the agitation of his doctrines. It was before the war that he wandered through our wilds and, of course, he had no sympathy with the institutions and the people he found here. The long journey and the great suffering it entailed upon him to reach London would afford material for a most interesting study of a most interesting character. He got to London, at last, and at once began his agitation for the overthrow of the existing social system. But the fierce radicalism of his opinions and the uncompromising consistency with which he asserted them made it impossible for Karl Marx to keep him on the committee then in charge of the affairs of the famous International.

We next see Bakunin in Switzerland. He wrote his essays and miscellaneous papers, in which he sought to reduce the chaos into which the cause of social revolution had fallen to something like order. It is impossible to peruse his many pamphlets without admiring the learning and insight of the man, although most of his articles and studies of social phenomena are so radical that few could agree with them. It is not to be wondered at that the czar cannot peruse them with equanimity, but it is rather difficult to see why he should be so afraid of their influence as to inflict death upon all who fall into his power upon an accusation of having read them.—Twentieth Century.

#### MARRIAGE VS. LIBERTY.

Every year thousands of unfortunates hasten themselves into the realms of Minos, or at least beyond the river Styx, without any apparent cause, yet in most cases it is merely the act of last resort, when, by and through a persistent "weakness" or an unsatisfied longing, life has become valueless, if not unbearable. Why? Because society rests upon false principles, is curbed and checkmated by unnatural laws, is guided by perverse customs, is blinded by false delicacy, is misled by sham modesty, and is robbed of its birthright by and through the blindness of ignorance. Ignorance of the laws of our being is the curse, and the knowledge thereof must be the savior of mankind. Why should one part of the human body be less pure and noble than another part? Why should it be improper, nay indecent, to speak of and explain the proper functions of one organ, while it is right and proper to speak thus of another? Why should the organs of procreation, of reproduction, be called vile and debased, while we extol all the other organs? Why should we be ashamed of and in ignorance about these organs and the consequences of their proper use, as well as of their abuse, while yet they are absolutely necessary to the continuance of the human race?

Shall I shock some if I say marriage in all its forms is a blighting curse, a vile offspring of the brutish selfishness of mankind? Marriage is the poisonous cesspool of jealousy, deception and crime; the marriage law is the unnatural check which goads thousands into frenzy and madness (by and through the unsatisfied desires and longing of their nature), and thus this law often drives them to the perpetration of deeds inhuman and revolting. "Unrestricted liberty" is the essence, is the life of true love and is also the foundation upon which justice and equity must rest. All intercourse, of whatsoever description, should be perfectly unrestricted between all persons, whatever their sex, for all restrictions trying to circumscribe natural laws must ever produce results, therefore do ever work harm, ever work injustice.

For instance, what right has a husband who cannot satisfy the natural longings of his wife, because in ignorance or bravado he spent the strength of his manhood in the folly of his youth, what right has he, or any law for him, to keep her whom he professed to love, from the gratification of those longings and thereby keep her from the full and real enjoyment of life? Or, if a woman looks upon the sexual embrace as low, vulgar, vile, and therefore degrading, aye unnatural for human beings, and the husband has too much consideration for his wife's wishes to demand his legal right, must he then fight against nature, be in actual pain and think it all unnatural?

May humanity in its agonizing throes of reconstruction shake off whatsoever hinders it in the full enjoyment of life, and in its pursuit of happiness, and may it come forth the proud possessor of its just birthright—"Unrestricted Liberty"—in all the walks and relations of life.

ANTON NIEDEMEIER.

#### THIS DISPLEASED THE RULERS.

At a meeting of Branch 2, of the Social Democracy of America, held at Nathan's hall, corner Milwaukee and Western avenues, Chicago, on the 15th of August, with Mr. C. S. Boyer in the chair, the accompanying resolutions were passed, with instructions to the secretary to forward copies to the labor and reform press.

E. B. MORRIS, Secretary.

Whereas, It has pleased omnipotence to remove from the midst of human vultures one of their most aggressive champions, Canovas del Castillo, premier of Spain, a wretch responsible for all the barbarities practiced under Spanish authority; and,

Whereas, The human family at present can be divided into two parts, namely, the governing, parasitical class, and the submissive industrial class; and,

Whereas, The representatives of the first, in all ages and at all times, without consideration of race, creed or country, have made common cause against the second, that their privilege of governing and plundering be perpetuated; and,

Whereas, The second, en masse, because of enforced industrial and educational conditions, which can do naught else but breed ignorance and crime, has never been able to intelligently and humanely prevent the injustices practiced upon it by the first; and,

Whereas, It is a sad fact in political and industrial progress that less than one hundred men—moneyed men and leaders in law and religion—control at present the legislation and governments of the earth, and are responsible for all the crimes committed against the human race; and,

Whereas, There are but two ways known to us by which mankind can liberate itself from the present slavery, let, by a violent uprising of the producing forces of the world against their masters and robbers—and uprising in which millions of innocent and guilty must necessarily be sacrificed, and 2d, by a sufficient number of heroes such as Angiolillo considering it a truly religious duty to take the liberation of the human family into their own hands and select with equal intelligence and discrimination the representatives of the oppressive religious, political and industrial systems, with the courage and devotion of martyrs, remove them from this earth as humanely as circumstances will permit; and,

Whereas, It is our firm conviction that such systems are always represented and made possible by men, and that if those men are removed as fast as they appear their systems will rapidly follow, and we are further convinced that every shot fired or dagger aimed in this sensible direction is but a distant echo of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge; and,

Whereas, The governing power of this country is no more representative of the producers than the governing powers of older countries, yet presumes to speak in their name; therefore be it

Resolved, That this assemblage do most emphatically protest against the president of this country telegraphing condolences in the name of the American people to the murdering despotism of Spain, or any other despotism, when a representative of their barbaric system is executed;

Resolved, That we have nothing but unqualified applause for the heroism and sacrifice of Angiolillo, and recommend him to the affections of mankind;

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the reform press of the country.

Labor papers please copy.



## A DEFENSE OF THEORISTS.

There is a great deal said and written on "free love," some for and some against it. Those who are for it even go so far as to blame those who pretend to be free lovers and do not act according to their principles. It seems to me that these enthusiastic free lovers (who, if free lovers by deed, might have had favorable opportunities), who blame the others, forget all about the circumstances that block our way. There have certainly been a great many replies from those who blame to those who are blamed and who give their reasons for not acting according to their principles, such as political or economic circumstances of the present system, etc., but I do not think so.

I think that even in the present system we could act according to our principles, but for the following reasons, I do not blame those who do not do so:

To act according to our principles we have to find a person from the opposite sex who would agree to co-operate with us on such principles, and I think that everyone will agree with me that most of those who believe in our ideas, theories and principles, are of the male sex and that there are not even a quarter as many from the female sex. Now I ask any one of those enthusiastic free lovers what can any of them do when they do not find a person from the opposite sex who would agree to co-operate with them on their principles? Can they go against their natural impulse for sexual intercourse? Is there left for them anything else to do, than to act against their will, against their principles? I for one say, No!

As an Anarchist I certainly agree with all the theories and principles of free love, but am compelled to act here as in a good many other cases, against my will, against my principles. I am for sexual freedom as well as social and economic freedom, because Anarchy means freedom without any distinction.

But even when married, we can yet do a great deal for our cause, and that is the education of our children. How is it that we find such great difficulty in acting on free love principles? It is because the minds of our brothers and sisters are full of religious superstition—what they call christian morality, therefore let every one of us who is a lover of freedom try and educate their children in such manner that when they grow up, they shall be able to act as free men and women.

Studland, Cotlands road, J. MULLER.  
Bournemouth, England.

## SKELETON IN THE CLOSET.

To every attentive observer of the present, to all who carefully study the current events which go to make up the history of our time, must the comparative failure of most of the efforts made for human betterment be evident. Not that all activities in these directions have been void of good results, but that they have been in no way commensurate with the efforts bestowed; indeed, it can safely be said, that on the whole, in the leading lines of reform, as advocated by their most popular champions, it is doubtful whether any one has scored a marked success.

The evils of negro slavery in our own land, were depicted with impassioned eloquence, fiery invective, and martyr courage; and what availed it? The negro was loosed from the bondage of legal ownership, only to sink into a more pitiable vassalage; a servitude whose enthrallment comprises every citizen, unrelieved by the protective interest an owner feels for his own; a serfdom of body and mind, where hope is crushed, and soul is sad. The few are masters, the many are forced to obey.

The miseries of intemperance have been set forth in the matchless oratory of a Gough, by the brilliant pens of thousands, and also by the tide of sorrow and crime flowing world-wide, shocking with horror and woe; still that tide flows on, from the glitter of the palace to the squalor of the hovel. "Revelry intoxicates" yet reels its victims in downward drift to death.

The seventh commandment upon ages past has issued its imperative; statesmen, philanthropists, and unnumbered well-wishers have extolled the blessings of purity, sung sweetest lyrics of happy homes, laid bare the polluting, wrecking fire of debauch, crime and lust, and have called in legal safeguards for virtue, and penalties for vice; still the evil rears its defiant head over and in our churches, slyly lobbies among our law makers, and dazzles our towns and cities with the showy ensigns of degraded humanity. And so for others: all remedial agents yet tried have given the unmistakable

verdict, "we have been weighed in the balance and found wanting." In my next, I will give, as I believe, some of the reasons for this failure. J. M. CLARK.

## A LETTER.

You are surprised, madam, that I have become an Anarchist—I, whom you knew to be an intractable "bourgeois," full of prejudices, almost fanatic, entertaining a pitiful dude's ambition under the "holy" precepts of fashionable morality, greedy for power, and in the absence of other things, proud of fool's compliments and of the bows of servants and housekeepers.

I despised the cottage and the wearer of dirty rags, while I, unconsciously, hypocritically, practiced that charity which the fashionable morality recommends as a virtue—while such a practice only means a little restitution of the excessive robberies committed on the commonwealth by capital and individual property.

I had thus pleased what some call "public opinion" but what others and I call want of public conscience.

That makes your hairs stand on their ends, that such a product of capitalistic society could become an Anarchist? A militant Anarchist, a conscious and ardent propagandist of the theory of liberty, the new sun, the rays of which will enlighten the darkest brains, in order to cause there the flower of truth and justice to bloom.

At each reply you answer with your hate and indignations against this theory and its propagandists, of which theory you do not know the powerful philosophy and the purely scientific foundations, buried as you are in the dense walls of the narrow dwelling wherein lies the "official" science and philosophy. In your conceit you did not feel any need of examining thoroughly your capitalistic animosities prompted by groundless prejudices—in consequence of which you presume to judge Anarchy and the Anarchists, blaming them for a supposed absence of love and altruistic sentiment—while you are in this case the egotist in the full sense of the term, checking your faculties for love and reducing it to a narrow and indefinite idea.

For that reason I am not surprised that my conversion has remained to you unintelligible, though it is only the logical consequence of evolution in a thinking brain that reasons for itself without allowing itself to be stultified and blinded by the transient influence of ambition.

If I had not emancipated myself of this oppressive guardianship imposed upon me by my ancestors I could have done as anyone else then, when everything promised a happy future prepared in advance from end to end, eating well, drinking better, producing little, or nothing rather, as it suits an exemplary citizen whose brain is not molested by any significant ideas, leading the idiotic life of a good patriot.

A day came at last, a happy experience which I wish to you, when I saw all this, whereupon I felt an immense sorrow. The immeasurable social misery appeared to me in its whole hideousness, for at every step I met new victims, corpses which I in the former blindness of my conscience had overlooked. Then I understood the real hate, the intense rage of those whose endurance had reached a limit; I realized that their suffering was caused by my indifference, by yours, by that of all the contented ones and their lack of conscience. I resolved to love them with so much the more power as I knew the causes of their sufferings. This love, which you imagine to have vanished in us, in myself, we have extended its scope immensely; from the ordinary we have changed it to the sublime, extending over all humanity without limits.

These are some of the reasons that made me an Anarchist, some of the others being the irresistible logic of the theory and the grand philosophy of liberty, and still others which you may find in the books which treat on this question.

I believe that Anarchy alone can give to man his true place under the sun; it alone will end the antagonism and cruelty among men, by transforming the world into one family, where all the members are equally free, preserving all their forces for fighting the elements of nature. Do you not admit, madam, that the maxim put at the head of your letter cannot better be put into practice? You teach this maxim to your pupils, and with it all that it needs to make it remain a mere maxim to embellish the books of the conventional world: "Love one another."—Henri Perceval, in *La Jeunesse Nouvelle*.

"God and the State," by Michael Bakunin, for sale by FREE SOCIETY; postpaid, 5 cents.

## "LYRICS OF THE GOLDEN AGE."

Gems culled therefrom by Myra Peppers for FREE SOCIETY.

The end of government is to perfect the human spirit.

Laws that merely serve  
To aggrandize and elevate the few  
Destroy at last the stateliest commonwealth,  
Which topples by its own ill-balanced weight,  
Crushing the builders in its overthrow.

Better to feed on Nature's simple fare  
Than feast where slaves the kingly board prepare.  
Better wear Indian costume, far, and rule  
O'er worlds of thought, than be the tyrant's tool,  
Fettered in velvets, manacled in lace,  
And eating dust to win a lackey's place.  
Better go houseless, fetterless and free,  
Than, palace-hived, to crouch the fawning knee.

Human hearts have rights as well as kings;  
Tyranny is crime; and error springs  
Not from the inmost heart, but from the wrongs  
That crush humanity.

Despotism like a serpent feeds  
Draining man's life blood;  
Insatiate greeds of mitred  
Prelates rob the starving poor;

Because we differ we agree. Because  
Each hath a separate experience  
Valid and rich, given to no other man,  
Thought coin goes current over the wide world,  
For each man, like a Roman emperor,  
Stamps his own effigy on all he does.

The thirst of knowledge never made men bad.  
'Tis self-conceit, wrapped in its long-eared skin  
Of most supreme content, that makes men base,  
Or if it finds them base to folly adds  
Insufferable vanity, that fain  
Would make their minds the measuring rods of truth.  
Pouring the vast Atlantic through a straw  
Were wisdom to such madness. O how vain  
Creed building looks to free and cultured minds.

The man who wrongs his fellow wrongs  
His own departing manhood most of all.

The better part of human nature sleeps,  
Not dreamlessly, but as with fettered limbs  
Living for freedom in a prison vault.

The end of government is to unfold  
The social into harmony and give  
Complete expression to the laboring thought  
Of universal genius; first to feed  
The body, then the mind, and then the heart.

Mankind shall bleed,  
Shall suffer, till Humanity is freed.

The simplest truths are mightiest in their force;  
The nearer to the practical men keep,  
The less they deal in vague and abstract things,  
The less they deal in huge, mysterious words,  
The mightier is their power.

Philosophy is the harmony of facts  
Seen in their right relation. Every word  
The teacher utters should find evidence in fixed realities.

So comes that foul Authority that wraps  
Delirious minds in midnight's buried gloom.  
So comes the Despotism that enslaves  
The devotees.

There always is a class of narrow minds  
Devoid of a capacity to think  
Beyond the limited external sphere;  
They are the dupes of clergymen and serve  
To draw the ponderous chariot of sect.

The world is made through government corrupt.

War with murderous blade  
Reaps nations as the sickle reaps the corn.



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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.

## WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

In No. 134 of FREE SOCIETY I stated that Socialism is Anarchy. Possibly I might have expressed the idea better by reversing the arrangement of the words and said that Anarchy is Socialism. But whichever way it might read it would not please the Statist, or State Socialist (if Socialist he may be called, for I am forced to dispute his "social" nature). The Statists have, as was to be expected, freely disputed my statement, even going so far as to assert that Socialism has nothing to do with Anarchy. Are their assertions based upon superior and much-vaunted "scientific" knowledge or upon crass ignorance? Let us see:

One of the Statists recently admitted that he did not understand Anarchy as "some Anarchists were non-resistants, others passive resistants, and still others advocated force." He admitted that what he termed Socialists were not all agreed as to what Socialism meant, some holding that christianity was Socialism, while others repudiated christianity and had no time to waste in seeking for a "land of milk and honey" amongst the clouds.

In a pamphlet prepared (for propaganda purposes) by this Statist he gives this definition of Socialism, taken from Webster:

"SOCIALISM.—A theory of society which advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of man than that which has hitherto prevailed."

That definition is charmingly vague; it may be made to embrace anything from Single Tax to Free Trade, catholicism or christianity, provided their adherents really believe their doctrines will produce "a more orderly and harmonious" et cetera; it has been floating about for years. Perhaps when it first began its travels (It appears in the edition of 1888.) it was "according to Hoyle"—or Webster—but the edition of 1893 gives this:

"SOCIALISM.—A theory or system of social reform which contemplates a complete reconstruction of society, with a more just and equitable distribution of property and labor."

This shows clearly that the Statist in this case has not kept pace with the lexicographers, even on his own ground. In the same pamphlet he summarily disposes of the word "Anarchist" as "One who promotes disorder." Yet he is forced to admit that he doesn't know the meaning of Anarchy.

The Century dictionary's definition of Anarchy will be found near top of first column of this page. The Encyclopedic dictionary gives the following under the head of Socialism:

"Scientific Socialism embraces:

"(1) COLLECTIVISM: An ideal Socialistic state of society, in which the functions of the government will include the organization of all industries of the country. In a Collectivist State every person would be a State official, and the State would be co-extensive with the whole people. Safeguards would be provided against the formation of an oligarchy by the controlling officials.

"(2) ANARCHISM (meaning mistrust of government, and not abandonment of social order) would secure individual liberty against encroachment on the part of the State in the Socialistic commonwealth. Anarchists deny that the legislation of yesterday is enlightened enough for the affairs of today, and seek to make laws and other institutions as fluid as possible. They admit no authority except that which carries conviction, and would treat an incorrigible criminal as a dangerous lunatic. They are divided into Mutualists, who

hope to attain their ends by banks of exchange and free currency, and Communists, whose motto is: "From every man according to his capacity, to every man according to his needs."

How does this suit the Statists, who lay claim to being the "only scientific" Socialists?

It will be seen that the definitions quoted do not harmonize. The reason probably is that the lexicographers have discovered that the proper place to get definitions of unpopular subjects is not from the columns of a lying and prejudiced daily press, and have had recourse to more authentic sources of information. Dictionarians have discovered that abuse is not answer. When will the soi-distant Socialists realize the same fact?

Simpler than the above and more to the point are these definitions by J. Wm. Lloyd, an Anarchist Socialist:

"A Socialist is one who holds that present society is unjust and that human intelligence can be directly applied to the elimination of this injustice, leaving, or afterward constructively producing, an approximately perfect society.

"A State Socialist is one who holds that the perfect society is where the wisest and best control all human affairs, clothed with full power to compel obedience—ideal government.

"An Anarchist Socialist is one who claims that the one vital principle of true society is that the individual shall control solely his own affairs—laissez faire.

"A Free Socialist is always an Anarchist and, in a general sense, may be only that, but in a special sense holds that society is the synthesis of laissez faire and voluntary reciprocal co operation—the negative principle of individualism, the positive principle of comradeship combined in human harmony."

A few more definitions of Socialism, from various sources, should satisfy the Statist that he is at least not the ONLY Socialist:

Stornmonth's Dictionary: "That system which has for its object the reconstruction of society on the basis of a community of property, and association instead of competition in every branch of human industry; communion."

Worcester: "The science of reconstructing society on entirely new bases, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry.

"In the various forms under which society has existed, private property, individual industry and enterprise, and the right of marriage and the family have been recognized. Of late years several schemes of social arrangement have been proposed, in which one or all of these principles have been abandoned or modified. These schemes may be comprehended under the general term Socialism."

Encyclopedia Americana: "Socialism, in general, may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. . . . Into all Socialistic schemes the idea of governmental change enters, with this radical difference, however: Some Socialists rely upon the final abolition of existing forms of government and seek the establishment of a pure democracy, while others insist upon giving to government a paternal form, thus increasing its function instead of diminishing it."

Encyclopedia Britannica: "A new form of social organization, based on a fundamental change in the economic order of society. Socialists believe that the present economic order, in which industry is carried on by private competitive capital, must and ought to pass away, and that the normal economic order of the future will be one with collective means of production and associated labor working for the general good."

[The Britannica also classes Anarchy as one form of Socialism, crediting Proudhon with being its father.]

Blackie's Modern Cyclopaedia: "The name applied to various theories of social organization, having for their common aim the abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action. The word Socialism, which originated among the English Communists, and was assumed by them to designate their own doctrines, is now employed in a larger sense, not necessarily implying Communism, or the entire abolition of private property, but applied to any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production shall be the property not of

individuals, but of communities, or associations, with the view to an equitable distribution of the products."

Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science: ". . . There are Socialists with mild remedies and Socialists with violent remedies; the only difficulty is in the choice. But, with all their differences, there is one point on which they agree—the formal condemnation of human societies as they are at present constituted, and the necessity of erecting on the ruins an order of things more conformable to the instincts of man and to his destiny here below."

Century: "Any theory or system of social organization which would abolish, entirely or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it co-operative action, would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community."

Littre's Dictionary of the French Language: "A system which, subordinating political reforms, offers a plan of social reforms. Communism, Mutualism, Saint Simonism, Fourierism, are Socialisms."

I will add this, from the preface of "Fabian Essays in Socialism," which is widely advertised by the Statists:

"There are at present no authoritative teachers of Socialism. The essayists make no claim to be more than communicative learners."

One thing is certain: Men who are compelled to admit that they don't know the meaning of what they are denouncing have no business teaching as facts something they do not know, and calling them "scientific" facts at that. The average person knows little enough about Socialism without being misled by one who does not know. His place is not upon the rostrum but upon the students' bench—in the kindergarten of social economy.

And if these people will but attend that kindergarten there is some hope for them.

During the life of William Morris a Statist publishing house published a collection of his writings, in which appeared a sketch of our worthy comrade's life; in this sketch appeared the statement that Morris was a born Anarchist. No Statist then had the audacity to challenge that statement, but no sooner was our great comrade dead than they began to claim him as one of their intolerant clan.

In 1887 several more of our comrades died in Chicago, strangled by hatred and cowardice. For ten years the Statist press has maligned their beliefs and their memories, when, lo! the Statists of San Francisco hold a meeting on Nov. 11, 1897, to commemorate the memory of the martyrs. True they do not understand the spirit of that martyrdom; that they have not yet cast aside their intolerant methods; but there is hope for them in study, investigation and "light, more light!"

F. A. COWELL.

## WITHOUT GOVERNMENT.

Without government the pupils would make faces at the teacher instead of making figures on their slates; (1) the idle would sit down in the homes of their poor relations, if they were the stronger, and demand food; the vandals would steal every picture from public places and chip spoils from every monument in our public parks; (2) the vicious would kill our wild game for the fun of killing, (3) and the lazy would insist on riding his neighbor's horse to town right in harvest time. (4)

Without government who would risk his life to stay the arm of a murderer, or to rescue a helpless woman from some desperate character hell bent to commit outrage? (5) And who would protect the weak from the strong.

All men are never good, nor all men bad at the same time, and the good men must combine to protect themselves from the bad (6)—must combine to force the lazy and vicious into earning their livelihood, instead of plundering their weaker brothers. (7)—"Man Without a Soul."

## CRITICISM.

Is the "Man Without a Soul" merely writing in a spirit of sarcasm, or is it possible that he seriously puts these absurdities? If the latter, I only need to make these few comments:



1.—In the sense in which the word teacher seems to be here used, without government there would be no teacher, that is, to enforce unwelcome decrees.

2.—I know of but one public park of any importance in America which is not decorated with "Keep-off-the-grass" signs; that is Golden Gate park, situated in this city. Were the "Man Without a Soul" correct in his position that park would soon be devoid of grass. On the contrary, its patrons take pride in its appearance, and while they go on the grass whenever they please, for the most part they voluntarily "Keep off the grass." This they would not do were they forbidden to walk on the grass.

3.—Don't the comrade think the "vicious" do a great deal of that now? Where are the vast herds of buffalo which used to roam the American plains? An illustrated calendar issued this year by a fire-arms company shows a "sportsman" killing a deer; another scene depicts the killing of a lynx, which is presumed to be a wild animal, though I never heard of either deer or lynx shouldering a gun and tramping all day just to kill something for the mere fun of killing. MAN does that, and does it today with government.

4.—And if the neighbor insisted that he had rights that were of right free from invasion; what then?

5.—The same men who now take such risks, and some more whom the LAW will not now allow to "rescue a helpless woman from outrage" if some brute but holds a bill of sale of the woman's body in the shape of a marriage certificate.

6.—And under Anarchy who would prevent them from combining to resist invasion?

7.—Perhaps they must, but you know very well they do not and never yet HAVE done so. The "weaker brothers" are plundered now. F. A. C.

#### NOTE AND COMMENT.

How dangerous it is to be a worker is exemplified by the following grim list of special diseases: Stonemason's lung, chimney sweep's cancer, potter's rot, hammerman's palsy, flock fever, printers' phthisis, brassfounder's ague, shoddy fever, silver miner's lead poisoning, miner's consumption, etc. Besides these there is the extraordinary liability to accident on the part of all miners, those employed about machinery, on trams and railways, etc. On the latter two the employees are subject to a special form of disease known as locomotorataxy, caused by the shaking through continual traveling.—Brisbane Worker.

There is a disease called unrest for dissatisfaction with present conditions which is becoming quite general among the workers. When a sufficient number break out with it all of the above-mentioned diseases will be unheard of. G. E. M.

A sanitary bible has now been issued for use in court rooms. It is bound with white celluloid instead of leather, and can be washed and disinfected as required.—Isis Standard.

Once thoroughly disinfected there would be mighty little left but the celluloid.

Civilization has not done its work until the last soldier has had his gun and uniform taken from him and is put to work for a living for himself, and the last warship sunk in the ocean.—Living Issues.

Nor till the last statute is wiped off the books and the lawmaker set to tilling the soil.

Nor till the last politician is well buried.

Nor till the last priest and the last parson molder side by side while the bible and prayer book are only to be found in the museum of antiquities.

Nor till the last office-holder finds no office to hold and no salary to draw.

Nor till the last tie that binds men and women together for life despite all inharmony of nature and violation of the laws of life and of love shall be forever broken.

Nor till the only law observed by men shall read "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Nor till that law shall be understood and obeyed. F. A. C.

The Y. P. S. C. E. of Tulare county issued a protest against the game being played by the Bloomer girls on Sunday. Then the local pastors made a protest, which was followed by protests from the teachers and pupils of the schools, by the W. C. T. U. and lastly by the saloon keepers.

The Exeter Penny Press clips the above from an exchange and says they seem to be somewhat mixed up. But what of it? Saloon keepers are business men. In a community of cranks of pious persuasion the saloonist is quite apt to be a "moralist." Only a few years ago in Denver, the saloon keepers, gamblers, prosti-

tutes (illegal ones, I mean), W. C. T. U., Christian Endeavorers, etc., all joined hands in a "reform" crusade—republican reform at that!

A Philadelphia comrade, writing of Comrade Emma Goldman's visit to that city, says: "Our comrade by her eloquent earnestness and sincerity won the good opinion of most and the friendship of many of her hearers; all were impressed by her moderation and 'sweet reasonableness.' Some were there of course who expected to see and hear a fury and were surprised to find a sweet little woman with smiling face and friendly ways. Curious, isn't it, that we, whose mission it is to point the way to a real order in the future out of the present organized disorder, should be associated in the public mind with violence and disorder."

Not so curious when you reflect that Statists busy themselves in disseminating such false ideas.

Rev. Robert McIntyre, a Methodist minister, of Chicago, staked a Klondike miner, and some of the members of his congregation called him to task for so doing. His reply was admirable: "The fact is," said he, "I admire a miner's wealth. It is clean. There is no blood nor tears on it." Like the farmer, the miner adds to the world's wealth. The gold he finds is not taken from another's pocket. His success is not correlated with another's failure. He does not tear down others to build up himself. Every golden nugget he finds helps a little to relax the hard grip of debt. Rev. McIntyre's critics ought to go off and think a few sensible thoughts.—Exchange.

From a "property" standpoint the parson was all right. But from a humanitarian standpoint, will some parson or wishy washy reformer please tell me how many loaves of bread, yards of cloth and pairs of shoes are created by the finding of a ton of gold?

While you are talking free silver it might be well to inform yourself on the entire financial question.—People's Champion, Gunnison, Colo.

And you will find that the whole business, from gold to greenback, is but a relic of barbarism.

A workingman entered the store of a comrade in this city and asked to see some spectacles. He was shown several pairs and a copy of FREE SOCIETY was given him to read. After he had procured a suitable pair of spectacles, the customer said: "These glasses suit me and so does this paper: I am such a funny fellow; I do not believe as most people do that everything legal is just and right. I think this paper will suit me."

Father Ducey, a catholic priest, created a sensation last Sunday by delivering a sermon from which the extracts below are made. The priest sees a thing or two, but he is away off when he declares that the church must and will say "inhumanity to man must end." The church is not built that way nor for that purpose.

"As a priest of the catholic church, I say to you from this pulpit that the present condition of the poor in the United States cannot go on. The catholic church in these United States must lead in the emancipation of the people from present social and economic slavery; the church must lead as the emancipator of the working classes. The United States and its congress must make laws to protect the people's rights and abrogate laws that have been made by bribery in the interest of fraud."

"The catholic church's great mission to the inhuman civilization of our times is recognized by all thinking men," were the introductory words of the priest. And then, with uplifted hand he said: "The church can say, must say, and will say, inhumanity of man to man must end."

"Every generation of the world's history is confronted by some important problem, to the solution of which the best minds and truest hearts must lend every energy. Our time has this vast problem. The social conditions of our times have become despotic and unbearable. The great mass of the people are in revolt the world over, and unless the church of Christ, directed by the spirit of Jesus Christ, becomes the advocate of the people's cause and rights and forces into public life the truest and best men of the land, who cannot and will not be purchased by trust kings and kings of monopoly—forces into public life men who will pass just laws, based on the ten commandments, the revolt of the people now before the world will swing into a most disastrous revolution."

#### PROBLEM OF CRIMINOLOGY.

I am asked a thousand and one times, by those who fear the establishment of a society based upon personal liberty, "What are you going to do with your criminals?" But this is not a question which is half as important to me, or to those on my side, as it is to those who are opposed to any change at all. For ourselves, we are not called upon to answer that question until we have criminals to dispose of. We hold that just social conditions would reduce and finally abolish criminality. In other words the result would be to stop making them. But with the other side it is quite different. "What are you going to do with your criminals?" is already a pressing question for them. Criminality is increasing at such a ratio that it is difficult to find prison room enough to confine the criminals. What with the criminals in and out of prison (and the indications are there are more out than in), capitalism is having a hard time of it. And yet it asks, in the most confident way, what we are going to do with the criminals, as if its own solution of the problem was entirely satisfactory. But it is not. Every student of social questions knows that the growing importance of the problem of criminality and its treatment is one of the most pressing and difficult which this age is called upon to face. In fact capitalism presents no solution. The most it does or attempts to do, is to forcibly repress the expression of it. But this is like a man trying to hold a plank against a break in a dam to prevent the water from cutting the dam away altogether, although he knows that the water is rising higher and higher and must soon sweep both him and the dam away together.

So we are asking the apologists for things as they are what they are going to do with their criminals. And it is a question which they must answer, for they must do something. If they don't the criminals will do something with them. The special privileges, inequalities and injustices in society cannot continue without maintaining that stress which results in crime. The greater the stress the greater is bound to be the crime. So, pile up your repressive laws. Fortify and protect the privileges of the rich. Hold the plank tightly against the dam lest any of the water escape. See how the great fortunes are growing. The water is rising higher and higher. Well! How long can you keep it up? That is the only question.

There is another view to take of the matter. Does it pay to take such risks? Is it worth what it costs to rear a race of human wolves who are ready to tear you in pieces at the first opportunity that offers? Stop and think what those great fortunes cost you, my rich friends, who control for the time being, the destinies of the world. There is something in this world of more importance than wealth, that is manhood. Can you develop a high type of manhood in an atmosphere of greed? Do you receive anything which will compensate you for the worry and anxiety attendant upon making and watching investments, and collecting and managing their revenues? Do you not see that you are sacrificing your possibilities for personal development, your ease, your comfort, even your very safety, in order to get and keep fortunes which you can never use, and that only bring labor and worry to care for them? All any man can have in this world is what he can enjoy. If he takes more, he merely withdraws it from the possibility of others' enjoyment, without benefiting himself. Then, when some take more than they need, others have less, and there is stress in society. This requires law and the machinery of administration to protect the few in possessions which are of no use to them except to minister to their avarice and greed. It requires law to hold the people down and enable the rich to acquire and keep their riches. Do you know what crime is? Do you know what it comes from? Let me tell you: It is the natural and inevitable resistance to the laws which enable you to get and keep your wealth. I will try and make that clear. Suppose you were a mechanic and wanted to raise a column of water to a given height, you would have to apply force, in some way, to do it. And the greater the force applied, the higher the water would rise. But the return pressure of the water always exactly equals the force applied. This is a physical law of nature, and acts with unvarying certainty.

Now, the same thing applies in human dynamics. If you apply the pressure of restrictive laws to men, they naturally and inevitably resist just in proportion to the force of the restriction. They naturally seek freedom and, openly or covertly, rebel against whatever restricts them in the exercise of it. Your laws of



property, that you call "rights of property," which are purely creations of the law, bear heavily upon the people. They hinder them in the freedom of their action. If the people wish to build houses for themselves, you own the land; and the law protects you in the possession of it. If they would raise food, they must make terms with you or go hungry. Would they mine ores with which to fashion useful implements, you stand in the way. They can't even cut firewood, make brick, dig coal, do anything without paying toll to those who do nothing, but who have the law on their side. Then, on top of all this, come patent laws, copyright laws, laws of taxation, laws of debt and for the forcible collection of it, laws of interest, laws of money and for the restriction of business, private rights to the highways of commerce, private ownership of the means for employment and a multitude of others, all working to the advantage of a few and the disadvantage of the many. Even the sexes are not allowed to mate without consulting the law for the benefits and in consideration of the property rights of somebody. So the law is a constant instrument of restriction and repression in every act of life from the cradle to the grave. And, by means of its workings, the many are held down while a few get on top. Consequently, there are plenty of people all the time who resist the law; who seek to acquire wealth by methods which the law forbids, and who are called criminals. The proportion of those criminals and the degree of their criminality always exactly correspond to the intensity of the repression of the law.

The same principle holds good as to crimes against persons where no property is involved. Restrict the freedom of the individual, and the individual, openly or covertly, rebels. His aspiration is for freedom and he chafes and frets against the bonds which bind him down. That is why I say that the resistance will always equal the force of the laws; and crime must keep pace with law. The more law the more crime. And vice versa, the less law the less will be the crime. This principle holds good the world over. All the statistics of crime in every civilized country where observations have been made and recorded, prove that crime rises and falls exactly in proportion as the social conditions bear lightly or heavily upon the masses.

I say again to the rich and to the apologists for things as they are. "What are you going to do with the criminals?" You are industriously grinding out more laws every year in congress, in the various state capitols, in the common councils of the cities, in the county boards and even in the school districts; and you are getting the equivalent in an increased number of criminals in every state in the union. You haven't prisons enough to accommodate them; and yet you are making more all the time. What are you going to do with them?—W. H. Van Ornum, in Twentieth Century.

#### KROPOTKIN IN BOSTON.

Prince Kropotkin's first lecture in Boston was delivered last night in the Columbia theater to an audience which occupied about half the seats in that building. The distinguished Russian agitator and scientist had a very sympathetic reception, and his talk of nearly an hour and a half in length on "Socialism in Its Modern Developments" was followed by those present with the closest attention.

The prince began by explaining in considerable detail the social origin of industrial, artistic and intellectual production, and after thus indicating how help less individuals would be without the work of the generations that had gone before, as well as how utterly valueless houses, land, and other social utilities would be without the community in which they were located, he went on to describe the conditions which had given rise to modern Socialistic movements.

It is now, said he, beginning to be recognized, even among the professors in our colleges, that political economy is not a science of the wealth of nations, but is a science for the purpose of studying the needs of every individual in society, and of the means of satisfying his needs. The moment you take this position you discover that the present organization of society does not tend at all to satisfy the needs of the greatest number of mankind. It tends, on the contrary, to maintain a very great number of men, women and children whose needs are not satisfied, because it is only when there are poor men that there will be created the fortunes of the rich.

It has been held that the fortunes of the rich enable

the poor to live, whereas the reality is that the very foundation of all great fortunes is the misery of the masses. What would be the use of a millionaire coming into a community where everyone is enabled to get the full produce of his labor? What would be the use of stacks of gold if the man owning them put them into a box and left them there? Now, how does such a man increase that money to \$200 to \$300 and to \$500? Why, there must be some poor men—men who have nothing to eat for the next fortnight—who are willing to sell their labor for a smaller sum than it is really worth in the market.

After instancing other examples of present social conditions, the lecturer went on to say that a society constituted as ours was could not go on much longer without coming to ruin. It therefore becomes necessary, he said, to find some new issue, some new social organization by which to avert the danger which threatens us. And it is for this purpose that the Socialistic movement had its beginning.

It was at first thought that republican institutions would help us, but we have found that, even under republican institutions, the economical side of the questions remains precisely what it was under a monarchical form of government. Then it was thought that we could do something by means of co-operative institutions, it being supposed that workers would in this way gradually become the owners of capital. That again was a failure, and there are millions of men in England who, although they have practiced co-operation, are none the richer than they were 40 years ago.

Then trades unionism was tried, and I do not deny that it has brought improvement in the condition of the laboring classes throughout all Europe within the last 40 years. But the improvement does not amount to much when we take into account the terrible state of things which prevailed in Europe 40 years ago, as shown by the English parliamentary blue books, and also by the memoirs of Lord Shaftesbury.

So, after many efforts had been made in these various directions, the thought came of trying to socialize such means of production as factories, mines and railroads—municipalizing here, nationalizing there, in order to bring about a state of things in which whatever was necessary for production would not belong to a particular private individual, but would be considered as belonging to all individuals in common, since all of us are making the value of those things, and they would thus be used in the interests of all for the satisfaction of the needs of the great mass of mankind.

This is the substance of Socialism. There are different Socialistic movements. Thus one party would act by taking possession of everything in the name of the State. There would be a sort of labor parliament, which would take over all the means of production and would direct the work of production. This was the idea of the Socialists in 1848, at the time of the last French revolution, but there has since grown up in the minds of the workers a belief that this would not be a proper solution of the problem.

We have thus reached the Anarchistic direction of Communism or Socialism, which means that the issue is to be sought not in the concentration of all industries in the hands of the State, but in their concentration in the hands of an organization which would issue from the free grouping of producing and consuming organizations, and the federation of all of them. This ideal seeks to avoid increasing the powers of government.

We do not want to have a stronger authority than the one we now have. We believe that to give to the power which now exists the power to manage everything which concerns economical conditions would result in a loss of liberties which have been acquired with such difficulty during long centuries by the struggles of all classes of society.

Gradually the idea has grown up that we are too much governed at the present time, and that we could go on with much less government than we have at the present time. With the change in our economical arrangements would go the necessity of a change in our political institutions. In what direction will this change take place? To ask this question is already to give its solution.

Certainly the progress of mankind points in the direction of less government of man by man, of more liberty for the individual, of freer scope for the development of all individual faculties, for the greatest

development of the initiative of the individual, for home rule for every separate unit, and for decentralization of power.

Prince Kropotkin here brought his lecture to a close by replying to some of the objections which had been offered to the Anarchistic theory of social reorganization.—Boston Herald.

#### WHY I DO NOT VOTE.

Because I do not care to further embarrass the lawyers by placing still further barriers between them and fame.

They are at present sufficiently confused as to what is right or what is wrong, owing to the density of the legal maze that it is an injustice to render them more stupid and criminally tricky by any more statutory amendments.

I do not vote out of sympathy for the unfortunate lobbyist, who, estranged from honest toil, is compelled to wear away his brain power in the art of scheming, deceit and blackmail, depending in the end upon the hired epitaph monger at the marble yard for a cold-steel graven reputation.

I do not vote because I hate to see the senator, the representative, alderman, councilman, etc., corruptly receiving from railroad corporations what should properly be left in my pocket through the medium of cheaper fares and free transfers.

I do not vote because machine politics smothers popular intention and makes of the ballot a weapon more deadly in its application than the stiletto, and because I abhor the proposition of being a moral suicidist.

I do not vote because the church which makes a thousand per cent profit upon a problematical investment is legally relieved from all taxations, while every mouthful of food and drop of water partaken of by over-burdened toilers is mercilessly taxed.

I do not vote because the very law that creates judges and policemen places a premium upon crime by placing in authority the greater criminals to try and bludgeon the smaller criminals.

I do not vote because I would be aiding and abetting in the farther obscuring of the few simple rules of life and nature ever menacing disobedient impulse in the ever-growing volumes of legal rot upon which live an artificial carrion.

I do not vote because I don't desire to have hand, act or partake in my own enslavement or that of others.

I shall not vote while Shylock greedily snatches my ballot and applies its force to the detriment of the community.

#### WHY THE OTHER FELLOW VOTES.

Because he has more confidence in others than himself.

Because conscience torn asunder and smarting under evil doing needs protection against itself.

Because he expects boodle, position, influence, something, or he is a blasted idiot.

Because he is afraid that the free exercise of his mind might break down the barriers of superstition.

Because the hard ruts of life are veneered with sentiment, fabrication and nonsense, making the march toward ruin of easier progress.

Because there is grim humor, having been fooled himself, in fooling others.

Because he believes that the fruits of his labor should be legally stored away by monopoly, trust and combine, and returned according to his necessities at a price far in excess of his receipts, thus enabling him to feel of hell while dreaming of heaven.

Because he rejoices in subservency, is proud of being lashed, kicked, cuffed and made faces at, and is hugged by political male prostitutes and professional panel thieves.

Because it annually affords him an opportunity to grasp the hand of policy fraud, police pimp, straw baller, professional perjurer and jury healer.

Because of evident misdeeds he may some day need the aid of some one, or all of those adjuncts to law and order (?)—Fusee, in the Match.

When I see a rich man, I do not particularly envy him. I say that the wealth which has been stolen from the hands of toil, may buy him immunity from the law, may buy him power, may buy him the applause of fools and may even buy him happiness, but it never can buy him character, and it never can buy him brains, and these, after all, make the man.—Ex.



## A FUNNY "CONFESSION."

The case of the three seamen recently arrested at San Francisco on a charge of firing the whaler John and Winthrop in the Arctic, ostensibly for the purpose of getting rid of the vessel and making their way to Klondike, is an example of that form of cinching seamen known as the "confession." These men were ironed and confined on short rations in the vessel's hold. Any one who has smelt a whaler will agree that the confinement alone would be sufficient to make the average man capitulate on any terms.

In the present case two of these men signed a "confession" of their guilt, and upon that evidence they have been held for trial. The third man, Krueger, aided by a combination of strong stomach and nerves, we suppose, refused to commit himself. Consequently he was discharged and is now suing the owners for \$10,000 damages. It is probable that all three of these men are equally guilty or innocent, yet one is acquitted and two are held on the simple evidence of a bit of paper that is not worth a pipe light. The whole case is another evidence of the gross bad faith of the government, which assumes a paternal care for the seaman on account of his "weakness," inherent and involved, but at the same time uses the very evidence of that weakness against the seaman on every possible occasion.

It is generally understood that confessions, retractions, etc., obtained by force do not hold good among men ashore. Why, then, should this rule be reversed against the seamen of the John and Winthrop, whose signatures were forced from them while in a state of complete physical exhaustion, and affixed to a document, the real purport of which they had no means of finding out?—Coast Seamen's Journal.

## CHIPS AND CHUNKS.

Every noble work seems at first impossible.—Carlyle.

Nothing that is unjust can hope to continue in this world.—Carlyle.

The blessed work of helping the world forward does not wait to be done by perfect men.—George Elliot.

Inequality is the source of all revolutions, for no compensation can make up for inequality.—Aristotle.

When labor is employed, labor consumes; when it is not employed, it cannot consume.—Daniel Webster.

The great cause of revolutions is this—that while nations move onward constitutions stand still.—Macaulay.

Opulence is always the product of theft committed, if not by the actual possessor, by his ancestors.—St. Jerome.

Those who carry every trifle to the cognizance of the Supreme Magistrate are contributing all they can to the servitude their country.—Plutarch.

By all the gods, right of free public assemblage and free speech must and shall be preserved, injunctions or no injunctions.—Minneapolis Union.

It is hard to convince a man who is profiting at the expense of his fellows that anything is wrong with the system which favors him.—Common Cause.

It is the great error of reformers and philanthropists in our time to dabble at the consequences of unjust power instead of redressing the injustice itself.—John Stuart Mill.

In Pennsylvania a tax of three cents a day is levied upon workmen who were unfortunate enough to be born in a foreign country. The law is to be tested. A tax levied upon a rich foreigner would be declared unconstitutional. Will it be so declared in the case of the poor foreigner?—Ex.

There has always been, and there always will be, the brave advancing minority, the world's hope, the invincible few—not a remnant, meaning something left over, but a leadership, keeping in the van of thought, bearing and daring for what it believes to be the truth and right.—Anon.

Rent, interest, profit and taxes, these are the quartette whose influence upon social life requires the closest investigation. Financial systems and trade policies are but minor factors in the case, and are not of that importance which the attention bestowed on them implies.—Iron Molders' Journal.

## ARE WE PATRIOTS?

Your excellent strictures on government remind me of Patrick Henry (I think I am right), whose patriotism cannot be called in question. He had little confidence in a constitution, borrowed from a monarchy. (He had no confidence in the American constitution, and denounced it from the stump.—F. A. C.) He liked not a centralized government, but was devoted to state rights.

"If this be treason let George III make the most of it," which advice he should have regarded, such was the source of his fiery eloquence. An assembly of the people is terrible to the tyrant, either in argument or fully armed. Remember how Watt Tyler and his friends surrounded the palace of the king, obtaining justice by force.

This should have been listened to as soon as the people were aroused, and all violence and bloodshed could have been avoided.

Athens, in danger, should have taken the advice of Alcibiades when Thrasylbulus could have quieted the city. How dangerous to disregard the threats of the oppressed.

ALHAZA.

Liberty is a fine word, and we have heard, and even still hear, a good deal about it. 'The liberty of the subject' is a fine phrase, and a windy orator can still get a cheer from the free and independent electors by asserting, in flowing periods, that our glorious heritage of liberty shall never be tampered with while he has the strength to defend it. But what does he mean by liberty? He means the liberty the lamb enjoys, to decline to become wolf's provender, if he don't want to. But the wolf gobbles him all the same. He means the liberty the laborer enjoys, to sell his labor to the highest bidder, even when the highest bid for it is ten shillings a week for seventy hours' work; the liberty to starve when the market is glutted. He means the liberty that allows the woman to underbid her husband, and her child to underbid her, in the struggle for life. That's the kind of liberty he means.—The Clarion.

## NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

FRANCE.

The striking quarriers in Trelaze made an innovation as to the methods of resisting bossism and are thus preparing the minds for the future free society.

They simply organized their resistance on a communistic plan, all the strikers and their families eating at the same table, and most of the unmarried men are camping in a bunch.

Among the quarriers are quite a number of Anarchists who are not missing the opportunity to explain to their fellow workmen the necessity of abolishing private ownership, and the nuisance of government rule.

In spite of the watchfulness of the troops and gendarmes the strikers flooded the town with the significant words: "We want common property belonging to the workmen."

ITALY.

At Ancona, where the aggressive Anarchist paper *Agitazione* is printed, the government of Umberto thought it necessary to translocate a number of policemen as they could not arrest a sufficient number of Anarchists to satisfy the bloodthirstiness of "law and order."

SPAIN.

At last the lot of poor men accused of being Anarchists and imprisoned at Montjuich, were set at liberty October 19.

There are about 120 of them who were never before bothered by the police and not being implicated in any previous trials, they were set unconditionally at liberty; but there are quite a number of just as innocent people as the former left yet in the cold dungeons of Montjuich who were innocently implicated in other judiciary troubles and didn't get the benefit of the pardon of the queen.

It will be nothing else but the social revolution that can pay back to the Spanish vampires what is due to them, as the "Germinal" says: "Revenge will come sooner or later where we will stand eye for eye and tooth for tooth."

A. K.

Gen. Weyler, the butcher of Cuba, has returned to Spain, where he is applauding himself for his conduct in Cuba, where he says he "was a simple Spanish soldier." He is now parading as the champion of national labor. Weyler says the riches of Cuba belong

to Spain and that to permit Cuban autonomy means the disappearance of Spanish workmen from the island. Why can't Sam Gompers or Terry Powderly help him with a few valuable points on the art of labor faking?

AUSTRIA.

At Gratz, the capital city of Styria, the Social Democrats attacked a meeting of Christian Socialists, breaking it up, and incidentally expressing their friendship for their rivals by cracking a few heads, bear mugs, etc. Police charged the mob, killing one person and wounding many. Now if the rioters had only been Anarchists—but they weren't, they were simply State Socialists.

UNITED STATES.

Powderly thinks he has saved his country from the attacks of Louise Michel and is now saving the virtue of German immigrant girls by refusing to allow blooming beauties to land lest they should fall into the snare of the tempter. Perhaps he fears the Anarchists would proselyte them. Fakir Terry has grown a halo a foot wide since he became a howling office holder.

Bill McKinley is now posing as the champion of peace by refusing to consent to any congressional action looking to the ending of the Cuban butcheries. McKinley is as much of a hypocrite and scoundrel as any other pot-bellied politician.

CHICAGO.

The 11th of November demonstration at Chicago was one of the largest yet held: The floral display at Waldheim exceeded any since the day of burial of our martyred comrades. Among the most noticeable displays were a column of flowers eight feet high, surmounted by a broken wheel with five spokes, each spoke bearing the name of a murdered brother, and the inscription below, "Murdered but not dead." Another, from the International club bore the inscription, "Murdered but not revenged."

The dailies made considerable of this, but not so much as in the past, as they have found that the Anarchists were benefiting from the free advertising of the past. Under the head of "Commemorate a Hanging," the Record says:

Five red banners waved listlessly over a quiet audience that filled Twelfth Street Turner hall last night in honor of the tenth anniversary of the hanging of the Haymarket Anarchists. Even the presence of Mrs. Lucy Parsons, in a faded black gown and a faded black fedora hat, awakened no enthusiasm as she moved slowly about in the great crowd that had assembled. She was not on the program to speak, and the crowd appeared to be absorbed in the program.

All over the walls were lithograph pictures of Michele Angiolillo, the Italian Anarchist, and on a table in the rear of the room pamphlets of Anarchist literature in German and English were exposed for sale at low prices. One of the pamphlets, in English, was "Anarchist Morality" by Peter Kropotkin, the fugitive Russian prince now in this country.

An oration in German by Emma Goldman, and the announcements of Theodore Appel, the German-speaking chairman, were loudly applauded, while those of Jay Fox, the English speaking chairman met with comparative silence.

L. S. Oliver reviewed the history of the Haymarket affair and the crimes that followed it. He denounced Judge Gary, John Bonfield, the jury and everybody connected with the conviction of the Anarchists, and talked at length of "free speech and freedom." There was loud applause following Mr. Oliver's closing sentence, which was:

"We will never forget or forgive the hideous, damnable and outrageous crime committed against our comrades ten years ago."

Earlier in the day a committee, comprising sixty representatives of local societies had decorated the graves at Waldheim of Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer and Louis Lingg, the Anarchists who died as a result of their participation in the Haymarket riot, Lingg by his own hand and the others on the scaffold.

BOSTON.

Comrade Kropotkin while in Boston delivered two lectures to the attendants of the "Lowell Institute" lecture courses and chose for his subjects: "Savages and Barbarism" and "The Medieval City." The large auditorium proved inadequate upon both occasions to accommodate those desirous of hearing the speaker.

He also spoke before the members of the "Prospect Union" of Cambridge—a literary society under the aegis of Harvard university. He chose as his subject: "The Socialist Movement in Europe."

A number of other organizations in that city were addressed by our comrade and before his departure he was tendered an informal reception by comrades and friends. A very pleasant evening was the result.



## A CRITICISM.

On Wednesday evening, Nov. 17, the Socialist Labor Party held a meeting in which some very queer things were said, in my estimation. One speaker got up and said that Anarchism was nothing but a mess of contradictions. Now I wish to show how true this is of the so-called "scientific Socialists" of this city.

In the advertisements of their meetings they say that "everybody is welcome," and some of them invite us Anarchists especially. But when we get there and ask questions, or try to show the fallacy of State Socialism, some of their fanatics jump up and say, "The Anarchists should get up meetings of their own; they should stay away from our meetings." Is this not a contradiction?

Then another speaker said that they did not believe in capital punishment to prevent crime, but they believed in changing the conditions which create crime, while another speaker said that they did believe in capital punishment to prevent crime. Another contradiction, and it shows confusion of ideas on such vital questions.

Still another speaker said that the Anarchists were the most bitter enemies of the Socialists. When I asked a more intelligent Socialist whether he thought that was correct he said it was not. Confusion again.

Some speakers get up and maintain that under social democracy the state will die out, and some others bitterly oppose that idea. Again confusion.

And yet in the face of all this, the "Scientific Socialists" of this city of this city have the audacity to say that Anarchism is nothing but a mess of contradictions and that there is confusion among the Anarchists. Where is their logic? Will any of my young Socialist friends explain.

## A LITTLE ANARCHIST.

## FREE LANCE POINTS.

The ballot is a toy to amuse the workers so that they will grin while they are being robbed.

FREEDOM like charity begins at home.

The social democrat is a cobbler who would mend the present political situation with a political patch of his own making.

A POLITICAL party is like a carpenter's chest, because it is used to keep tools in so that their owner can easily find and use them.

A SUGGESTION for a motto for the S. L. P. crest: Obey thy master or beware the hammer! G. E. M.

## EMMA GOLDMAN GOES TO CHURCH.

The following press dispatch shows the extent of christian liberality:

DETROIT, November 20. — Emma Goldman, the Anarchist leader, lectured last night in the People's Tabernacle (Congregational) and proclaimed her infidelity, her disbelief in laws and her opposition to the custom of matrimony, etc.

Miss Goldman was invited to address the congregation by the pastor, Rev. H. S. McCowan, despite considerable opposition. To-day a majority of the deacons and members of the church declare the proceedings to have been outrageous and wholly without excuse. They call upon Pastor McCowan to resign, otherwise they say they will quit the church.

The Anarchists have no leaders and the capitalist press only exposes its ignorance when it talks about "Anarchist leaders."

"Everything we have is one common property."—Tertullian.

## BERKMAN RESCUE FUND REPORT.

Cash on hand last report	\$ 91 08
Printing Pressmen's Union, Pittsburgh	5 00
Typographical Union, Pittsburgh	10 00
United Cigar-maker's League, Pittsburgh	2 00
John Key and Becker	1 00
Subscription List No. 59, through Hoch	1 00
Through a lady friend, Philadelphia	25 00
Chicago comrades, through H. Bauer	108 70
J. D. Mack	25
Total income	\$248 98
EXPENSES:	
Printing	\$ 15 50
Postage stamps and envelopes	9 77
To the New York Branch of the Berkman Defense Association	5 00
Meeting advertisement	2 25
Agitation in the Pittsburgh Union	15 00
To the lawyer engaged in the Berkman affair	60 00
Total expenses	\$107 52
Cash on hand	\$141 46

"A principle, if it be sound, represents one of the larger expediences. To abandon that for the sake of some seeming expediency of the hour is to sacrifice the greater good for the less on no more creditable ground than that the less is nearer. It is better to wait, and to defer the realization of our ideas until we can realize them fully, than to defraud the future by truncating them, if truncate them we must, in order to secure a partial triumph for them in the immediate present. It is better to bear the burden of impracticableness than to stifle conviction and to pare away principle until it becomes mere hollowiness and triviality. What is the sense and what is the morality of postponing the wider utility to the narrower. Nothing is so sure to impoverish an epoch, to deprive conduct of nobleness and character of elevation."—John Morley.

"The good man will not obey the laws too well."—Emerson.

"That government is best which governs least."—Jefferson.

The spiritualistic medium always has an eye for the circulating medium.—Puck.

"Talk not to me of the abuses of government; the thing, the thing itself, is the abuse."—Burke.

"Nature created community; private property is the result of usurpation."—Bishop Ambrose (end of fourth century.)

"A man willing to work, and unable to find work, is perhaps the saddest sight that Fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."—Carlyle.

The Statists of San Francisco were eager to answer our attacks in print. We freely offered them space and up to date they have not produced a line of copy. Possibly they have stopped to study on some of the facts presented and have lost all desire to reply.

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