

# FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

AN ADVOCATE OF COMMUNAL LIFE AND INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NEW SERIES NO. 6.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALA., SUNDAY, DEC. 17, 1897.

WHOLE NO. 142.

## LABOR MARTYRS' HYMN.

Chicago soil is bloody,  
Where ten long years ago  
Five god-like heroes perished,  
For whom our tears still flow;  
Our bitter tears still flow,  
And grief dims many an eye,  
Yet we, too, for truth and justice,  
Would lay us down and die.

Ten years have come and vanished,  
While in their "gory bed,"  
Still unavenged are sleeping  
Our precious martyred dead,  
Our murdered martyred dead,  
Who ne'er forgot shall be,  
They who glorified the scaffold,  
And taught men how to die.

And now, from out death's silence,  
More eloquent than speech,  
Their messages still thrill us,  
Our souls their voices reach—  
Their "still, small voices" reach  
The slumbering souls of men,  
And the masses are awaking  
To slumber ne'er again.

The long, dark night is ended,  
The morning is at hand,  
The sons of toil are rising  
At last in every land.  
Alike in every land  
Their power they soon will know,  
And with a strength titanic  
Will grapple with their foe.

"All wealth to its creators!"  
Is now the battle cry—  
And plutocratic masters  
No more at ease shall lie;  
In luxury shall lie  
And tollers looking on,  
For lo! labor's loyal legions  
Unfold their banner—Red.

That flag, by tyrants dreaded,  
Shall ne'er again be furled,  
Soon in its crimson glory  
'T will wave o'er all the world—  
Wave o'er a new-born world.  
Since all mankind are one,  
Thus, then hail freedom's symbol,  
Our era is begun.

—Mrs. Woodman

## WHO STOLE?

In attempting to answer the speech of Geo. Cumming on "Equal Wages in Society," published in last week's issue, a local Statist being somewhat hard pressed for argument and finding his theories limping in all four feet, sprung an attempt at a sensation upon an audience he hoped to find too densely ignorant of facts to be able to prove his sensation to be merely an exaggerated case of prevarication.

Briefly, he stated that Proudhon stole his work "What Is Property?" from Karl Marx' "Capital;" or possibly it was only a portion of the work that was stolen. But whether it was only one line or the whole book is a matter of very small importance, as will be shortly shown.

In the year 1840 Proudhon dedicated his first memoirs on "Property" to the Academy of Besancon, which had previously granted him the Suard pension of an income of 1,500 francs, granted triennially to "a bachelor of letters or of science, and not possessing a fortune, whom the Academy of Besancon should deem best fitted for a literary or scientific career, or for the study of law or medicine."

But the work was of so radical a nature that the academy contemplated withdrawing the pension, and, though this action was not taken, M. Vivien, then minister of justice, was implored to prosecute the writer of such seditious and incendiary documents.

Before venturing to take this action the minister of justice (king's prosecutor) submitted the mem-

oirs to M. Blanqui, a member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, for review.

How narrowly Proudhon escaped prosecution, not as a "thief," but as an original propounder of doctrines inimical to "vested rights" is shown by M. Blanqui's letter to Proudhon under date of May 1, 1841, in which he says:

"I hasten to thank you for forwarding to me your second memoir upon property. I have read it with all the interest that an acquaintance with the first would naturally inspire. I am very glad that you have modified somewhat the rudeness of form which gave to a work of such gravity the manner and appearance of a pamphlet; for you quite frightened me, sir, and your talent was needed to reassure me in regard to your intentions. One does not expend so much real knowledge with the purpose of inflaming his country."

"That is what I said to the Institute at the time when I presented my report upon your book. I knew that they wished to proceed against you in the courts; you perhaps do not know by how narrow a chance I succeeded in preventing them. What chagrin I should always have felt if the king's counsel, that is to say, the intellectual executioner, had followed in my very tracks to attack your book and annoy your person! I actually passed two terrible nights, and I succeeded in restraining the secular arm only by showing that your book was an academical dissertation, and not the manifesto of an incendiary."

The Academy of Besancon itself on August 24, 1840, condemns the book, which it refers to as having been "published last June" and "without its assent."

By all this we have the best of proof that not later than June, 1840, Proudhon wrote "What Is Property?"

Who should know better than Proudhon himself who were his masters; from whom he got his ideas in the crude. For himself he says he was largely indebted to the bible (in an antithetical sense, it would seem), Adam Smith and Hegel.

But for the forcible and startling manner in which he put it he owes credit to no one. It is pre-eminently his own.

Now let us see when Carl Marx wrote "Capital," from which Proudhon is accused of filching.

In his preface to "Capital" (dated London, July 25, 1867) Marx says: "The work the first volume of which I now submit to the public forms the continuation of my 'Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie,' published in 1859."

Thus even a blind man, if he possess but the faintest trace of honesty, cannot but see that "Capital" was not published till 27 years had passed over the government-inspected "What Is Property?" of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, instructor of Karl Marx (unless we admit him to be the victim of Marx's plagiarism.) The economic principles taught by Proudhon and Marx were first discovered by Adam Smith and enunciated in his "Wealth of Nations." Proudhon, Marx and Josiah Warren all followed in his footsteps, though this does not prove that they stole his writings, but rather that they carried them further than Smith had done.

But if we are to give weight to the Statist claim that Proudhon filched from Marx then we must concede that the former was filled with the spirit of a true prophet; that he saw ahead 27 years; saw what Marx would write and then deliberately stole it. What a remarkable gift of second sight he must have possessed. But there is an old saying that "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." This seems to apply to our Statist friends who call attention to the seeming parallel

thoughts of Marx and Proudhon. If one of them was a thief, which one was it? Now, answer, Messrs. Statists, and answer honestly. Proudhon will not suffer from such an answer, but Marx may. F. A. C.

## VIROQUA ANSWERS.

"Emma Goldman, a female Anarchist, is going about in eastern cities addressing audiences in the interests of Anarchy. She ought to be subdued, by legal means if possible, or, failing in this, a coat of tar and feathers would be the proper treatment for her. It is bad enough for the 'calamity howlers' to assail the characters and business occupations of those who have succeeded in life, without allowing speakers to travel around for the express purpose of inciting the rabble, by their fiery speeches, to deeds of violence and outrage."—Alturas New Era.

Editor Era—In your issue of Oct. 29th I noticed a paragraph about Emma Goldman. It said: "She ought to be subdued, by legal means if possible, or, failing in this, a coat of tar and feathers would be the proper treatment for her." Will you kindly permit me to ask you and the readers of the New Era a number of questions?

Have you heard or read any of Emma Goldman's speeches? Have you read the Anarchist theories of social order as the Anarchists themselves proclaim them or is your knowledge of Anarchism obtained from the press of its bitter enemies, called by the "calamity howlers" "the capitalistic press," "the subsidized press," etc? Is it fair for you to pass judgment upon Emma Goldman or other Anarchists until you have heard their theories at first-hand? Had you heard that Emma Goldman was once in a New York prison, convicted of incendiary language, that is, for urging hungry people to help themselves from the store houses that were locked against them? Did it "subdue" her? Does not history furnish a record of many persons imbued with the revolutionary spirit that nothing short of death would "subdue"? Did it not take hemlock to quiet Socrates? Do you believe freedom of speech desirable?

Before the era of free speech (!) kings were sensitive to criticism of their methods, because they "could do no wrong" it was supposed; are the great men of our time, "those who have succeeded in life," as touchy as kings about investigations and exposures of their modes of procedure? Why should not Emma Goldman and the "calamity howlers" have their say along with the successful? How does it happen that in a "free country," where all have "equal opportunities," a rabble, the dregs of the people, should be so powerful as to be feared by the men "who have succeeded in life?"

When our lamented, but glorious, forefathers were revolutionists, when they repudiated kings, what part of the old order of things did they retain that we should now have the "rabble," with its attendant miseries, where once we had "citizens?" Are not our social evils, the rabble, etc., the consequences of laws in, or failures of, our "institutions?" Wendell Phillips told us that "governments began in the feudalism of the soldier and the bigotry of the priest," and, again, "government commenced in usurpation and oppression;" history backs him in his assertion; can an institution which originated in such a vile manner evolve into something "pure" or "protecting?" Shall Emma Goldman be denied the liberty of telling her opinion about the matter?

We, as a nation, have no crowned king ruling



over us, but we have many institutions that were transplanted from monarchical countries, and, if you will allow me to do so, I wish to invite anyone in the county to give us evidence that rent, taxation, interest and all species of profit are less oppressive and disastrous in a "free country" than in a despotic nation. And, further, to explain the phenomena of the producers of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life being poorly fed, clothed and housed in every country in the world, irrespective of the race of people or the form of government.

VIRGIL DANIELS.

Lake City, Nov. 1, 1897.

## END OF GOVERNMENT.

In answer to the question: "What will you do with the unwilling minority under Socialism?" A State Socialist speaker at one of the local meetings last Sunday said: "We will permit them to go outside society and do as they please." The speaker grinned and thought he had easily got rid of a troublesome Anarchist questioner. But he never saw how badly he had given his case away!

Government is an impossibility where it cannot enforce its mandates. Where it is possible for the citizen to say: "I will not do as I am ordered" and adhere to such a determination, government is at an end and authority and oppression cease.

If the right of secession be permitted under Socialism, it would only be a short time before all, except the office-holding oligarchy, would leave the S. L. P. bosses to tyrannize over themselves and establish communities in which liberty, equality and fraternity would be the guiding principles.

So if State Socialism with its super-governmental meddling with persons and "supervision of things" is to exist for all time as is claimed for it by its Marx mad, ballot-box worshipping devotees, it cannot permit secession. But it must be more tyrannical and enforce its decrees with greater severity than any government that ever existed in the past, because it proposes to control the individual in every one of his actions, whether sleeping or waking, from the cradle to the grave.

G. E. M.

## THE S. L. POPES.

THEY DARE NOT GO INTO JOINT DEBATE ON ANARCHIST COMMUNISM VERSUS STATE SOCIALISM.

Here are the two communications from Edel Hecht, the secretary of the Columbian branch, S. L. P. To the Editor of FREE SOCIETY:—

Mr. Klemencic having signified a desire to debate with a representative of the S. L. P., we wish to enquire if he represents the principles of Communist Anarchism? If so, we would like to know if you would add another name, making two on each side.

If this be agreeable, please send some one with authority to arrange with us a debate to take place in the near future. The minor arrangements can then be made by the representatives for both sides.

Fraternally,

Edel Hecht.

Secretary Columbian branch, S. L. P.  
The second letter.

Dear Sir:—

Your answer to me of the 7th inst. just came to hand. In reply I will say that Mr. Klemencic's challenge was not entirely his own, but was on another occasion presented to us by Mr. White, of your group. We cannot afford to arrange debates with persons who do not represent a constituency. Columbian branch, S. L. P. stands ready to debate Communist Anarchism vs. Socialism with any two representatives "FREE SOCIETY group" may select. The New Charter will publish the announcement.

Yours, etc.,

Edel Hecht, sec'y

As you can see from the above letters, the S. L. P. ring leaders want me to be a representative of a constituency, as they know very well that we, the local Anarchists, have no constituency, nor do we care for any.

I personally saw Mr. Edel Hecht Sunday night, before the opening of the "branch" meeting, and he told me that they were ready for the debate, but he said if

the Anarchists were defeated they would then say that I was no Anarchist; he also gave me the advice to call the comrades together and let them agree on the two speakers to represent the groups and to speak in their name.

How smart, Mr. Hecht! According to your theory who is going to certify that the comrades and visitors composing the groups are Anarchists? I suppose they will have to get a passport signed and verified every month by the "Great Daniel," the Lion's head of the S. L. P. in the United States.

I will deliver the lecture on Anarchist Communism vs. Social Democracy in the near future. In the next issue of FREE SOCIETY will be advertised the time and place for the meeting.

The pioneering martyrs of liberty from the S. L. P. may rest assured that they will receive better treatment than the Anarchists had in their meetings, as we have no intention of insulting anyone—not even women.

A. KLEMENCIC.

## BRAZILIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The following account of an Anarchist Communist movement appears in the Twentieth Century. Capitalist papers have tried to make out that the movement was by religious fanatics, but this is not the case:

At last, some more or less authentic particulars have come to hand concerning the strange social revolution which has been turning the interior of Brazil upside down for some months past, and if our information be not inaccurate, we have here the oddest attempt to found a co-operative colony ever heard of. The matter seems to have originated in the preachings of a native called by several names, among them San Benedicto. He is a very young man, and first attracted attention in the streets of Bahia by preaching what was styled Socialism. He would gather a crowd about him and expound the usual doctrines of collectivism. He did not attract any particular attention for a long time, but when he had gathered something of a following he and his crowds were a nuisance to the authorities. He was arrested, at last, and spent several weeks in the Bahia prison as a disorderly person, the only result being that he made many proselytes among his fellow prisoners. When he was set at liberty he found himself at the head of a devoted band, who went with him into the country and supported him by their labors while he preached to the natives. So far as can be learned at this distance, he seems to be a singular and very magnetic man and a natural genius.

The text of one of his speeches, translated into Portuguese from the native Brazilian idiom, lies before us as we write. The doctrines enunciated are unmistakably socialistic. The hearer is told, first of all, that the true explanation of poverty is that the masses of the people permit themselves to be deprived of their natural rights. The people should ignore all persons who attempt to deprive them of their natural rights through the instrumentality of human laws. Human laws are roundly denounced, and the only law worth obeying is stated to be that of common sense. The true way to labor is to labor in common. All crops should be sown and all houses should be built by communal toil. There is also considerable exposition of the blessings that would follow a communistic state of society. So far, as will be seen, this Brazilian does not differ very much from the agitators of the more civilized portions of the earth. He is rather picturesque in speech, and makes frequent use of images that would be rather absurd in a translation. We are inclined to suspect, from some of his figures of speech, that he has access to some of the classic literature of Socialism.

We noted, a few weeks ago, the preliminary stages of his crusade and the inability of the government to put him down. The latest report reaching this part of the world concerning him is that he has been able to hold out against all the forces the government of Brazil has sent against him. But he has gone a little further since last summer and has organized a perfect co-operative commonwealth. That is to say, his army of ten thousand men protects from assault a veritable city reared in the wilderness. The women and children live in huts built by the colonists. The native products are gathered in the woods and fields and are husbanded to keep the warriors and inhabitants in health and strength. The labor is apportioned among all and the products of the commonwealth are shared equally. What is more impressive than all these

things, however, is the wonderful ascendancy which the leader has acquired over his innumerable followers. He has had to contend with no rebellious spirits whatever. He inspires the spirit of perfect harmony. In this respect he is absolutely unique. His organizing capacity must also be wonderful.

As this extraordinary young social agitator is gaining recruits all the time, and as his movement appears to be founded upon the spirit which makes the most intrepid martyrs, there is no telling to what lengths this uprising will go before it is put down. Certainly, we have heard of nothing like it for a long time. To be sure, our information is incomplete and it may be that by the time these lines are in print the intrepid young agitator will be no more. But his glorious uprising can scarcely fail to plant at least the tradition of a movement that must mean as much for the Brazilians as it means for any other division of the human race. It is a wonderful tribute to the greatness of the socialistic cause that it can inspire a race credited with the utmost inherent lassitude to the performance of such prodigies. The Brazilians—at any rate the native population—are understood to be very sluggish by temperament, and yet here we see them performing prodigies of energetic heroism under the influence of ideas that mean the utmost suffering and sacrifice before they can be made operative. Let us hope the outcome will not be failure. But it cannot be failure—ultimately.

## ANTITHETIC SOCIALISMS.

There are two Socialisms.

One is communistic, the other solidarian.

One is dictatorial the other libertarian.

One is metaphysical, the other positive.

One is dogmatic, the other scientific.

One is emotional, the other reflective.

One is destructive, the other constructive.

Both are in pursuit of the "greatest possible welfare for all."

One aims to establish happiness for all, the other to enable each to be happy in his own way.

The first regards the State as a society sui generis, of an especial essence, the product of a sort of divine right outside of and above all society, with special rights and able to exact special obediences; the second considers the State as an association like any other, generally managed worse than others.

The first proclaims the sovereignty of the State, the second recognizes no sort of sovereignty.

One wishes all monopolies to be held by the State; the other wishes the abolition of all monopolies.

One wishes the governed class to become the governing class; the other wishes the disappearance of classes.

Both declare that the existing state of things cannot last.

The first considers revolution as the indispensable agent of evolution; the second teaches that repression alone turns evolution into revolution.

The first has faith in a cataclysm.

The second knows that social progress will result from the free play of individual efforts.

Both understand that we are entering upon a new historic phase.

One wishes that there should be none but proletaires.

The other wishes that there should be no more proletaires.

The first wishes to take everything from everybody.

The second wishes to leave each in possession of his own.

The one wishes to expropriate everybody.

The other wishes everybody to be a proprietor.

The first says: "Do as the government wishes."

The second says: "Do as you wish yourself."

The former threatens with despotism.

The latter promises liberty.

The former makes the citizen the subject of the State.

The latter makes the State the employee of the citizen.

One proclaims that labor pains will be necessary to the birth of the new world.

The other declares that real progress will not cause suffering to anyone.

The first has confidence in social war.

The other believes only in the works of peace.

One aspires to command; to regulate, to legislate.

The other wishes to attain the minimum of command, of regulation, of legislation.

One would be followed by the most atrocious of re-



actions.

The other opens unlimited horizons to progress.  
The first will fail; the other will succeed.  
Both desire equality.  
One by lowering heads that are too high.  
The other by raising heads that are too low.  
One sees equality under a common yoke.  
The other will secure equality in complete liberty.  
One is intolerant, the other tolerant.  
One frightens, the other reassures.  
The first wishes to instruct everybody.  
The second wishes to enable everybody to instruct himself.

The first wishes to support everybody.  
The second wishes to enable everybody to support himself.

One says:  
The land to the State.  
The mine to the State.  
The tool to the State.  
The product to the State.  
The other says:  
The land to the cultivator.  
The mine to the miner.  
The tool to the laborer.  
The product to the producer.  
There are only these two Socialisms.  
One is the infancy of Socialism; the other is its manhood.

One is already the past; the other is the future.  
One will give place to the other.  
Today each of us must choose for one or the other of these two Socialisms, or else confess that he is not a Socialist.  
—Ernest Legnue.

\*This article was written years ago when the idea still prevailed that Communism was incompatible with freedom. Legnue also assumes that ownership could exist under Anarchy, whereas use and occupancy limited by equal rights of others would constitute the sole title.

#### ARENA OF THOUGHT.

"Men can never be free unless they are educated to freedom, and this is not the education which is to be found in schools, or gained from books; but it is that which consists in self-discipline, in self-reliance, and in self-government."—Buckle.

"Whosoever eats up, robs and steals the nourishment of another, commits as great a murder, as far as in him lies, as he who carves a man or utterly undoes him. Such does a usurer, and he sits the while safe on his stool when he ought rather to be hanging from a gallows. Little thieves are put in the stocks; great thieves go flaunting in gold and silk; therefore, there is on earth no greater enemy of man, after the devil, than a money grasping and usurer."—Martin Luther.

If you don't know what you are voting for, don't vote.—Exchange.

What audacity and nerve! Here is a fellow openly and boldly advocating a sweeping restriction of suffrage—in fact, practical prohibition, in so far as concerns a universal prohibition from indulgence in the intoxicating privilege of voting. At least his advice means, in effect, that 99 or more adult male citizens out of every possible 100 should abstain from exercising the elective franchise, with the odds against the one hundredth man—who already has, perchance, sworn off in sheer disgust. But let us be charitable. Evidently that editorial paragrapher little dreamed of the full significance of his language; he had not the remotest intention of advocating universal disfranchisement.—Waco Free Lance.

What was the French revolution? It was the voice of the people. It was the equality of man. It was liberty. It was justice. It was the breaking down of oppression, the overthrow of king and priest, of throne and church. It was the abolition of the dungeon, of the rack, the thumbscrew and the stake. It was the martyr's crown and the despot's crack of doom. It was the light of reason, the glory of science. It was humanity.—S. P. Putnam.

In our lunatic asylums we frequently see persons sent there in consequence of what are called religious mental disturbances. I confess that I think better of them than of many who hold the same opinions and keep their wits and appear to enjoy life very well out-

side of the asylums. Any decent person ought to go mad if he really holds such opinions. It is very much to his discredit, in every point of view, if he does not. Anything that is brutal, cruel, and makes life hopeless for most of mankind, and, perhaps, for whole races; anything that assumes the necessity of exterminating instincts which were given to be regulated, if received, ought to produce insanity in every well-regulated mind. I am very much ashamed of some people for retaining their reason when they ought to know perfectly well that if they were not the most stupid or selfish of human beings they would become non compos mentis at once.—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

From the stand taken in last Sunday's sermon I cannot retreat an inch. In that sermon I charged that the system calling itself christianity was destructive of virtue, of reason, and of joy; and of the truthfulness of the charge I am still convinced. By the "system calling itself christianity" I meant the historic creeds, catholic and protestant, with the teachings collateral thereto; and I intended to convey the idea that the inevitable tendency of the system was to weaken the springs of moral action, to befog and cripple human thinking, and to diminish the sum of human happiness.—Rev. T. B. Gregory, Chicago.

The Socialist Labor party, representing but a fragment of social reform effort, appeals to the workmen of the world to join their ranks. They constitute one of the many elements of modern disintegration to break down and destroy the old structures, but they will never be able to rebuild that which will be demolished. The socialist labor movement does not possess a mind that is capable of defining the principles upon which the true social organization is to be founded.—Flaming Sword.

A baker in New York city has proposed to give remnants of the previous day's baking to all who apply at midnight. The applications have increased until the file of applicants is two blocks long. They are not tramps, but citizens—voters without means of supplying their families. This is evidence of prosperity in New York, but it is the prosperity of greed and selfishness, which continue to make possible the scenes of dire distress. Those who are disposed to give to the poor will never be able permanently to relieve their distress.—Ex.

The editors of the Firebrand, an anarchist-communist publication, at Sellwood, Ore., have been arrested on a charge of violating the postal laws—that of publishing and mailing objectionable literature. They are not the first to pass under the ban of criticism; others have run the same gauntlet. This publication has been sent to us for the past year or more, and if anything in violation of the postal laws has been printed in it we have failed to notice it. We are reminded of the case of Moses Harman who was imprisoned on a similar charge. The reform press of the country, and many conservative papers, joined in the protest against the unjust sentence and persecution. Some people in office seem to be getting tired of the freedom of the press; hence the effort to curtail it. Such effort is the result of the modern christian conception of morals; the morals of the people are considered to be so delicate and susceptible of inflammation that they must be protected by Comstock regulations. The restraint is no doubt good, but in the hands of the wrong parties the law may be misapplied, and the oppression often falls where it does not belong.—Flaming Sword.

The Illinois Central, at Chicago, issued a document to an ex-employee, whom it had blacklisted, containing a passage which said:

THE BEARER HAS PERMISSION TO SECURE A JOB ON ANY OTHER ROAD.

Good. He is fortunate. One cannot help wondering what hypnotic influence he used to make this soulless thing graciously grant him permission to "get a job on any other road." If he has any of the milk of human kindness in his composition, he will at once let the thousands of his unfortunate brethren know at once, so they too may get leave to toil.—Exchange.

We have been for a long time trying to make people prosperous by making them temperate. It is time to make them temperate by making them prosperous.—Frances Willard.

The old conflict between darkness and light, between truth and falsehood, has never been characterized by sham battles. When truth demands her own she brings into the world not peace, but a sword. No one can fortell the result. Yet in the long run it must in the future be against plutocracy, as in the past it has been against aristocracy, autocracy and monarchy. History shows that while truth often loses battles, she always wins wars.—Cleveland Recorder.

"The law concerns the lesser felon  
Who steals the goose from off the common,  
But lets the greater fellow loose  
Who steals the common from the goose."

It is absurd to say that wealth is a thing of such a kind that a man with plenty of it around him may perish with hunger, like Midas in the fable, who, from his insatiable wish, found everything before him turned into gold.—Aristotle.

When Pullman begged for mercy in the celestial kingdom we wonder how he felt when told by St. Peter that there was nothing to arbitrate.—International Woodworker.

"Every heart contains perfection's germ."  
"Yet learn the lofty destiny which restless time prepares for every living soul."  
"There needeth not the hell that bigots frame  
To punish those who err; earth in itself  
Contains at once the evil and the cure.  
And all sufficing nature can chastise  
Those who transgress her laws—she only knows  
How justly to proportion to the fault  
The punishment it merits."—Percy Bysshe Shelley.

"Religions are like fireflies, they require darkness in order to shine."—Schopenhauer.

If I put myself in the place of my child, and we stand in one thought, and we see that things are thus and thus, that perception is law for him and me, we are both there, both act. But, if without carrying him into the thought, I look over into his plot, and guessing how it is with him, I obtain this or that, he will never obey me. This is the history of governments—one man does something which is to bind another. A man who cannot be acquainted with me taxes me—or dains that part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequence. Of all debts men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth except for these.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

#### Various Voices.

T. GRIFFITHS, Montreal Canada—I was very much pleased to receive a bundle of FREE SOCIETY, Nos. 1 and 2. It shows the Statists we are alive, and sets some of them worrying as to the soundness of their position. The birth of F. S. is another evidence of the futility of the ruling class tactics in trying to suppress ideas, and ought also, to put some sense into the Statist would-be leaders. The S. L. P. here is practically dead. They invited me to give them a lecture a few weeks ago, which I did, on "State Socialism and Free Socialism." I showed them the tendencies to decentralism in astronomy, biology, agriculture and industry, and how their centralized authority kills individual initiative, and also the folly of teaching that a few persons in a small building called the State can do what the workers must do themselves, viz., retain the products of their labor.

Firebrand and FREE SOCIETY that the S. L. P. laughed at at first has set some of them thinking and has already done good in Montreal.

One comrade writes: "Received FREE SOCIETY and read about stopping Firebrand. Seems to me I am unfortunate in getting my good papers. The New Era was stopped on me, also, and I have not received the Age of Thought for some time; it, too, may have been stopped by postoffice Socialism, but my political and superstitious papers come right along whether paid for or not."

A Ruskin Comrade writes: "FREE SOCIETY" is a credit to the movement. Here is wishing that we may have a free society, and 100,000 more papers just like F. S. in the near, very near future."

C. H. WELLING, Selma, Calif.—Your little paper contains the most advanced thought I have seen in print. Enclosed please find 50 cents, for which send FREE SOCIETY for one year.

I have received four copies but do not know whom to thank for it; if you know, please thank them for me.



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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.

## CHECKING CRIME.

The National Prison association met recently at Austin, Tex., and among its most "important" business was the consideration of the report of the committee on criminal law reform.

The report states that the progress of crime is something frightful, and suggests that it can be most successfully checked by the following changes in the handling of criminals:

"Greater severity of punishment; doing away with all technicalities in trials; abolishment of juries, making convictions more summary and trials more speedy; depriving defendants of the right of appeal to a higher court; offering rewards for the discovery and conviction of criminals; sterilization of defectives, both moral and physical; abolishment of poverty; removing or restricting the power to pardon; prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors; reconstruction of the ethical code of lawyers; curing inherent defects in the law as distinguished from its enforcement; developing a scientific motherhood; state regulation of marriage; restricted immigration; popular education; colonization of criminals, and the reformation of criminals by the abolition of the definite sentence."

The committee admits that some of these suggestions are practically impossible at present, but if they were followed as closely as possible the morals of the country would be greatly improved and crime would be correspondingly decreased.

As governments become more and more corrupt, as the "worm in the bud" gnaws away the heart of the rose more and more repressive measures are resorted to in order to cover up the holes in the leaves. The worm must not be disturbed; either this, or the wise committee did not look for the cause of the holes.

The sapient representatives of force are going to "abolish property," adopt prohibition, going into agriculture, give away (or sell) brides, and the devil knows what else.

Is there is any worn-out theory of force that these gentlemen have not succeeded in getting into their glossary of "moral reform?"

There are two or three points in the suggestions that hint at common sense, but it may be only a hint. One of these is a nice catch phrase, viz.: Popular education; but statistics show that ignorance and crime are not necessarily running mates. In France, a generation or two ago, one author (Gronlund) tells us, two-thirds of the inhabitants could neither read nor write, there occurred in a given period fourteen times less crime than in Prussia, where compulsory education prevailed. De Tocqueville, when he visited the United States, declared that crimes increased with instruction, and according to the census of 1880, "the Northern states, with their costly school houses and still more palatial jails, are more criminal than the uneducated South."

But this no argument against education, per se. Education, such as these moral reformers have in mind, is education in greed and parasitism, and undoubtedly would increase, rather than diminish, crime.

But, one suggestion is good, "reconstruction of the ethical code of lawyers." In what does the ethical code of lawyers consist? Let us know, gentlemen, and we'll do what we can to induce this fraternity of parasites to reconstruct themselves. As to the vicious propositions in the committee's report space is too limited to be wasted in exposing such flimsy schemes for further degrading a people. F. A. C.

## POINTS.

The great Single-tax apostle, Max Hirsch, has repudiated the principles of which Henry George was the great Mahatma. They Sydney (N. S. W.) Truth states the cause of his change of heart is a disastrous defeat in politics.

The department of agriculture of New Zealand is furnishing free of cost to all applicants eggs from

which game-fighting cocks are bred, and then punishes cockfighters by fine and imprisonment.

"An illiberal liberal is as bad as a christian."

The above quotation is taken from a so-called Free-thought paper, the editor of which says editorially that he hopes the authorities will convict the editors of the Firebrand simply because they printed matter not in keeping with the christian code of morals. His attitude on the Firebrand case proves he is the same as a christian whom he denominates "bad," and that he is an illiberal liberal is demonstrated by his desire to punish those with whom he disagrees. G. E. M.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

It is with regret that we read the account given in your "paper" of this week [No. 3] of the manner in which Miss Goldman filled the pulpit of a certain Detroit minister. The incident will certainly furnish a warning to individual members of the clergy who feel inclined to act toward "a branded class" with courtesy and fairness. It is deplorable that an opportunity, so unusual and fraught with so much risk to the person tendering it, should be used in such fashion, when there are so many great things that could be said, even from a christian pulpit, in defense of modern Anarchism, yea, and acceptable things, too. We are glad to see that FREE SOCIETY is so "fair," as well as so "free," as to publish an account which certainly does not reflect credit on the cause for which it stands. M. E.

The warning to individual clergymen was not needed. They well know that they cannot proclaim the truth from the pulpit without losing their situations. Examples have been too frequent for them to have any doubt on the subject.

Yes, Miss Goldman might have taught something that would have been acceptable. When, in 1893, she mounted wagons in New York and told the starving masses that their rights as humans were superior to property rights, the speeches were so far from acceptable that she went to prison for it. Do we repudiate her on account of that? No, we respect her for it. Had she taught the doctrine of patience here, justice after death, we would have held her in contempt.

If teaching anarchistic principles is not creditable to the cause, well then there is something wrong with the cause—or with Miss Goldman's critic.

What Miss Goldman did denounce from the pulpit in question was christianity, laws, matrimony. Is that not Anarchy? As an Anarchist could she have been expected to advocate aught else but Anarchy?

True, she might have used other arguments, but she probably used those which she felt impelled to use.

This paper might also say things acceptable to the christians; it might do this and yet not repudiate Anarchy, but it could not do so and spread Anarchism among the churches. There are people who call themselves Christian Anarchists. Possibly Comrade Goldman might have pleased these with the incense of flattery; she might have told them that they could be christians and submit to the supposed authority of an intangible What and yet be Anarchists, free people, free from superstition. But it appears that instead of this she told some unpalatable truths. These tactics were doubtless the ones she was best adapted to use. Then let her use them; we need her influence—and we need the influence of her critic.

Sturm-vogel is a semi-monthly German paper advocating Anarchist Communism. It is about the same age as the new series of FREE SOCIETY, published by Comrade C. Timmerman.

A very large Socialist movement is spreading now among the workers of the mines and ironworks in Russian Poland. A great many imprisonments are taking place.—Ex.

From this it would appear that the propaganda of liberty spreads apace, for imprisonment doesn't make the prisoner love the jailer.

Six Turks were refused admittance to the United States at this port one day last week on account of their creed. They were Mohammedans and their belief admits of polygamy.—Truthseeker.

That's right. Keep 'em out. Anyone who wants to conduct his own affairs will be allowed to do so if he'll only obey all our whims, marry and give in marriage by the grace of God and Grundy.

This is a free country for all who choose to do what the rulers want them to, so it is.

We all have liberty to obey a master or get off a

privately owned earth by the decree of Powderly or some other d-d capitalist flunkiey.

Bro. Armstrong, of the Waco Free Lance, puts Chas. C. Moore, of the Blue Grass Blade, on the spit for a column of matter which concludes: "Prohibition? Nay, not even the prohibition of prohibition! Let's make men free." Put it there, Bro. Armstrong, and stick to that resolve.

The Seventh Day Adventists of Denver, Colo., have started a restaurant for the benefit of the poor. They furnish good meals at 1 cent.—Ex.

That must be the prosperity we read about. It is located at last. Ho for Denver!

If the above is not evidence of prosperity, a scheme is on foot to show that this is eminently the country where Prosperity can be found when she is at home. A gold-bug syndicate is preparing to show its love for McKinley and its admiration for his yellow conduct by having a gold statue of him made for exhibition at the Paris exposition.

F. A. C.

## REPUDIATES THE SYSTEM.

Several of the correspondents of FREE SOCIETY are inclined to place upon the postoffice system, in its capacity as an example of socialism, the blame for the suppression of the Firebrand and the arrest of its publishers. This charge, in so far as it relates to the scheme of Socialism, is not warranted by the facts.

The postoffice is in the hands of the enemies of Socialism, for the government is manipulated almost wholly in the interests of the beneficiaries of the present state of commercial war. A co-operative system at the complete mercy of those who live upon the fruits of industrial brigandage is extremely liable to be used by its virtual proprietors as a means to their own ends. It is not surprising, therefore, that the postoffice is made the tool of monopolists, religionists, governmentals, obscenists, and expropriators in general. To hold the system itself responsible for the acts of its competitive manipulators is illogical. The suppression of the Firebrand is due to government and exploitation—not to brotherhood and co-operation. It is to the postoffice as an industrial system, not as a manifestation of government, that the Socialist points with pride.

As conducted under Socialism, the postoffice would be divorced from government. (1) It would not be hampered by laws. Its regulations would be those of a business nature only, similar to those necessary for the successful management of all large industrial proceedings. Those in the highest executive positions would receive but little, if any, more remuneration than the humblest messenger of the establishment. Only articles physically dangerous (nitro-glycerine, for example) or of undue bulk would be excluded from the mails. Nobody would be forced to work for the postoffice if he preferred other employment. (2) Nobody would be compelled to make use of the service if he desired to send messages by other means (3) The words "law," "government" and "force," might be omitted from the dictionary as far as the postoffice was concerned. This is socialism. (4) Is it this to which Anarchists are so strongly opposed, or is it to a dummy Socialism made out of governmental straw, and labeled "State Control?" (5)

In brief, Socialism consists in the replacing of capitalists by the people, and the ultimate abolition of government by the only practicable method of first getting control of it. (6) Freedom is to be gained, not by ignoring tyrants, but by overpowering them. In the meantime, industry must be revolutionized, and wage slaves liberated. That is the immediate and practical work of Socialism.

ALEX. E. WIGHT.

Wellesley Hills, Mass.

## COMMENT.

1.—The Statists used, to hold up the postoffice system as a grand example of Socialism, but driven from pillar to post by the force of Anarchist logic they are rapidly dropping such a fatally weak example. Now comes Mr. Wight with the startling assertion that the postoffice will be divorced from government. If this be possible, as it surely is, then belogical enough, brother, to admit that if this department of industry and public utility can be run without government, then all other departments can be conducted in like manner, and no State is needed.

2.—This is a repudiation of orthodox State Socialism



unless we take it for granted that there will always be a sufficiency of volunteers for this work, and Voluntary Socialism is Anarchy.

3.—Again, if this be true, government would have to undergo a wonderful purification, in religionist parlance "be born again," before it would tolerate the freedom of the individual to conduct his own affairs.

4.—Now we agree. Let us add "it is also Anarchy," provided it but extend to the other functions of industry.

5.—That "dummy" was not set up by Anarchists, but if dummy it be, the Statists themselves are responsible for its enthronement. While they keep it before the people's eyes we shall continue to expose its dummy characteristics.

6.—You will be a long time in proving that it is practicable if you mean to give proof through the ballot box.

F. A. C.

### SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

To the earnest lover of humanity things seem to go very slow, but still we can say "they do move." Some 23 years since I made the statement that when the people once learned that there was no help under the present system then the system itself must go, and from that standpoint I welcome every experimental movement: Ruskin colony, Debs' democracy, and many others. I know they do not touch bottom, but they are educational, or will be, if we adhere to our bottom plank as a reminder that when these partial methods fail there is something beyond.

It has been my grief that those who claim to know that modern wonders prove a life beyond should be so carried away with that one truth as to forget that our work is here; but whether they come from beyond or from the deeper self-hood that senses the oncoming tide of a higher evolution, I will not pretend to decide, but within 10 days I have read, and also listened to, what purports to be spirit emanations that embody the principles of Anarchy—not what people are taught to believe Anarchy is, but what it really is, and to me these are signs of progress.

One of these was published in the Philosophical Journal and the other from the lips of a trance speaker. The first was a simple statement that there must be a change, one which must give equality—equal opportunity; the second was in answer to the question: "What kind of government do they have in spirit life?" Before giving the direct reply the speaker prefaced with argument and logic that called out hearty response from the audience. She then said that the only government known there was self-government, and continued by showing that were it not for existing institutions it would be all that would be needed here, and plainly indicated that it must come. None but those who have contended with that class of our people as I have, because of their narrowness in these lines, can realize how much of progress the above indicates, and while not asking that you accept our special views on these lines, I thought the readers of FREE SOCIETY might be glad to know that we were growing in the right direction.

And now permit me to give some of the reasoning I use to illustrate the falseness of the prevailing standard of justice. Whatever may be thought of Bellamy's plan in detail, he is correct as to our right to equal heirship of this earth and its products in virtue of our common humanity.

The prevailing idea is that there is merit in natural ability, when the known laws of heredity prove that the conditions under which we are gestated, together with the antecedents of our parents, have so much to do with what we are. Our cut-throat economics—our competitive system—rewards the competent man or woman, and punishes the incompetent; not directly, but just as truly. Under a just system of society this could not be.

Now the man who does double work gets double pay, while the man who tries much harder, but can do but half work, gets but half pay. Well, says one, is not that just? If we count only in the present, yes; but if we take into consideration the causes which have led to this difference of ability, no. If we count from the standpoint of value to employers, yes. If we count from the moral side, from the intent and purpose, the effort put forth, no.

As things now are they are in perfect harmony with the words attributed to Jesus: "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have"—this in justification of the course of the householder

who gave to his servants five, two and one talents, and upon his return condemned the man with the one talent because he had not put it where it would have doubled, "that I might have had mine own with usury," and this parable is given to show what the kingdom of heaven is like.

Well, I want none of the kingdom of heaven in mine, if that is the principle upon which it is founded; and yet "Father Ducey" talks of "the church of Christ, directed by the spirit of Jesus Christ" becoming the people's advocate. What nonsense! "Just men" can make no laws that will or can stem the tide of a false economic system. Father Ducey may feel, and deeply, the condition into which labor is being crowded, but he might just as well talk of making laws to control the waves of the sea as to propose the methods he names as a remedy.

But to my illustration, and I give it, not to instruct thinkers like Anarchists, for they already understand, but as a lesson to those who have just begun to read and think. Over 40 years ago I read in one of Fowler's works something like the following:

A young couple went into a new, timbered country to make them a home. They worked hard, but the tide of events was against them. They met with losses in the shape of stock, and a crop was ruined from lack of rain, and it seemed that they must fail. During the darkest time of struggle the wife gestated and brought forth a son. As a loving woman naturally does, she repressed her fears, her despondent feelings, lest she should dampen her husband's courage, but these repressed feelings were organized in her child; but she did more than that—she used up so much of her strength in trying to aid her husband that she also gave the child a weak, nervous constitution. As a man he was gloomy, nervous, unsuccessful.

But in less than a year after the birth of this child conditions changed; prosperity set in, and the next child, also a son, was the reverse of his brother in every way—cheerful, full of vitality, successful in his undertakings as a man.

Now, apply the accepted idea of justice to those two brothers, and see how it will fit. Should the younger brother give all but a bare subsistence to the other; should he remain in poverty that the first born might be wealthy, it would not then make things even, for the healthy, happy inheritance with which the second son was blest at birth was worth more than all that could be bestowed upon his unhappy elder brother. Ignorance, false conditions and overwork robbed the first born of his legitimate inheritance, and then he must suffer, be punished all through life because of that for which he was in no wise responsible. Not himself, but a false system of society, produced the conditions that made him what he was, and this same is true of every idiot, every criminal, every case of insanity, of almost every evil with which we are afflicted. Society—that society which sets property above human beings—is responsible, and when enough people learn this and act from it, when anarchistic justice prevails, we shall need no half thousand and more policemen to guard a city of this size. I was going to say a city like this, but when that time comes cities will not be like this.

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

### THE FIGHT TO FREE RUSSIA.

There may have been some disappointed persons in the audience which last night gathered in Chickering hall to hear Prince Peter Kropotkin lecture on "The Struggle for Freedom in Russia." If there were they were those who had come in the unfilled expectation of listening to vehement and incendiary anarchistic utterances from a man about whose identification with the Nihilistic activity in Russia and the cause of Anarchism so much has been written.

Prince Kropotkin was warmly welcomed as he arose to deliver his lecture. As he stood there, leaning with his left arm upon the reading desk, on which lay his notes—to which he never had occasion to refer—he looked the man of science rather than the man of action. Yet he has been prominent as both. He has long been one of the most distinguished scientists in the world; indeed, the object of his present visit to this country was to attend the recent international gathering of scientists in Toronto, where he read papers before the geological and geographical sections. But even stronger than his love for science has been his love for humanity. Descended from a noble family, older than the Romanoffs, with great wealth and a social station as high as that of any other subject in his native Russia, his life from early manhood has

been one of aspiration and effort for the uplifting of the masses of his countrymen from oppression and ignorance—a cause for which he has suffered much. A trifle below the middle height, with a bald head, fringed with dark brown hair, a moustache and a spreading bushy brown beard tinged with gray, a forehead seamed with lines of thought, eyes which beam kindly behind old-fashioned spectacles, and a mild expression of countenance, nothing about him suggested the militant Nihilist. He looked rather the amiable philosopher, whose remedy for the ills of the Russian people would be peaceable agitation and not violence; and his lecture confirmed the impression of the man.

The prince, while never at a loss for a word in his talk of over an hour, speaks with a marked foreign accent, much resembling that of a Frenchman. He is no magnetic orator; indeed, he is not even a polished orator, for he often allowed his voice to drop to an inaudible whisper at the close of a sentence. But he spoke with earnestness and conviction, and his audience followed his descriptions and argument with close interest throughout, manifesting its sympathy by discriminating applause. He used gestures with moderate freedom, but much of the time stood with one arm resting on the desk, the other extending straight down by his side.

He thanked his audience for their greeting, which, he said, he accepted as a token of their interest in Russia's struggle. Then he sketched the characteristics of the various races which go to make up the Russian empire, and showed how Russia is the neighbor of the United States. The first movement for freedom began early in this century, he went on. In 1825 the organization was discovered, and five of its members were executed, while hundreds were sent to Siberia. Their wives, who moved in the highest society of the capital, insisted upon joining them in exile, and their demand was granted. To these women, said the prince, the best pages of the Russian poets are devoted. Nicholas I, "of whom Carlyle has tried to make a hero," was then on the throne, a man of iron. Serfdom existed in its most odious form. The slightest breach of discipline was punished with an inconceivable number of lashes. The landed proprietors, even the best of them, exercised a fearful power over their unhappy serfs. The Crimean war and the defeat of Nicholas I, declared the lecturer, were great eras for Russia. Alexander II, who succeeded Nicholas, was ready to make concessions. People wrote letters and memoirs and sent reports to him, asking for the abolition of serfdom. The landlords, on the other hand, declared that the serfs, if freed, would kill them. But in the winter palace itself there was good influence at work upon the emperor, for his wife, the Empress Marie, and his aunt, Grand Duchess Helene, were favorable to emancipation. The peasant revolts, too, were beginning. Serfdom was abolished in 1861.

"I was in St. Petersburg on that day," continued Prince Kropotkin. "No man was more popular then than Alexander II." But, the first enthusiasm over, it was found that there were many things to prove that, while the peasants were no longer enslaved, they would, nevertheless, be doomed to economical ruin. The next year, in 1862, one of the leaders in the agitation for emancipation was sent to Siberia. In that year the prince, who was then a page at the imperial court, saw Alexander for the last time, and he said to himself: "This man is done. He has spent himself." The influence of the empress vanished, and it became evident that nothing more was to be expected from the central government.

Something had to be done. The peasants were being crushed under a load too heavy to be supported. "We young men" (the prince was then about 20 years old; he is only 55 now, but looks older) "were not, perhaps, strong enough to do it. Others will continue it" (speaking the words in a meditative way, as if he were thinking aloud, with no auditors near). The first question asked after emancipation was, "Must we not give the serfs education?" for almost none of them could read or write. So these earnest young men established schools in many places and Sunday schools. In one school the teacher propounded this question: "A peasant lives on £1 a year. A nobleman spends £5,000,000. How many peasants could live on what the nobleman spends?" The result of such instruction was the abolishing of the schools by the Russian government, and they were not restored until four or five years ago. "We want technical education," declared the prince, earnestly. For 25 years, under Alexander II, technical education was regarded as revolutionary.



Then he went on to tell the women in the audience of the struggle of the women of Russia for educational advantages.

In 1872 there began a great movement among the Russian youth. Their motto was: "Go to the people. Be the people yourselves." Girls of high birth and fortune went into the factories, working 14 or 16 hours a day, to get the opportunity to talk with and educate the masses, and the young men, like the speaker himself, went into the slums on the same mission. Two or three thousand persons were arrested, among them Prince Kropotkin, who was put into the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The most highly favored of the prisoners in the fortress was the prince, to whom, through the intercession of his friends in the Geographical society—for which he had just completed a scientific work—the emperor allowed the use of pen and ink. It was a gloomy prison. His cell dripped with moisture, and no ray of sunlight ever entered it. Every second day a warder took him out for a 20-minute walk, but never would speak a word to him. Men went insane under this treatment, especially the uneducated. Two hundred of the prisoners were held five years for trial, and in this period 11 of them went mad and nine "suicided themselves," to quote the prince's foreign idiom. Prince Kropotkin himself had escaped meantime, and most of the other prisoners were acquitted when they were put on trial, but the czar had them sent to Siberia. "They could hang us, they could put us in prison, but we decided that they could not flog us," said the prince, with intense earnestness. "One man was flogged by Gen. Treppoff, Alexander's satrap. We tried to publish the news in 'The Times,' but in vain. Then Vera Sassalitch shot him," sinking his voice to a whisper. There was some applause in the gallery, and the prince continued: "Then began the hunting down of men like dogs and sending them to Siberia. A whole generation of the intellectual life of Russia has been lost. The struggle took on formidable proportions, and a handful of men took their lives in their hands. You know the result. Alexander II was killed" (in a dramatic whisper).

Then came Alexander's son, who reigned 13 years. The reign of Alexander III was one of patriarchal Caesarism. There was honesty of administration, labor laws were enacted and the lands of the village communities were secured to them. On the other hand, the emperor opposed absolutely all measures for liberalizing the life of the masses and for the higher education of women. He reintroduced, too, something like the old system of manorial justice, and also all over the land the flogging of peasants.

Then the prince came to the present czar. "Now we have a young man, Nicholas II, of whom nothing can be said," letting his right hand drop heavily to his side, and speaking in a tone of hopelessness. "A young man of whom nothing can be expected," repeating the gesture. "A young man who is tired when he works two hours with his brain. In the prison a wife cannot see her husband who is a political prisoner. She can come once a year, and is told: 'Your husband is still alive.' This is the greatest refinement of cruelty. Does Nicholas II know of this? Yes."

Exile to Siberia continues, the prince went on, and the prisoners are now sent to the shore of the Arctic ocean, the bleakest part of Siberia, where Nordenskjöld once stayed in winter quarters. These people, who must live on frozen fish which they themselves catch, are the "suspects" who have not had a trial, but have been transported by "administrative process."

But there is hope of better things, the prince continued. Two movements are afoot in Russia today. One is a movement in the provinces, where the local governments are pressing the central government for their rights; and here the struggle is not waged by the young men alone, as in Kropotkin's youth, but the men of mature years also are enlisted in it. The second is the labor movement in various countries. "The Pittsburg strike, the Debs movement, all that has its influence in Russia," for these agitations are part of the history of the United States and other countries, and knowledge of them cannot be kept from the knowledge of the Russian people. A vast number of the Russians, continued the speaker, are dissenters from the established religion, and he is inclined to believe that in them lies one of the chief hopes of the bettering of conditions in his country. "Tolstoi's teachings, too, are sinking deeply into the hearts of the people. The land question dominates all other questions. All Siberia is owned by the state, so the idea

of nationalization of the land in Russia itself is not one of startling novelty. Possibly a Gladstonian law of tenancy may be the solution. Ninety per cent of the population consists of peasants, who are in abject misery. Some have suggested a parliament, or a system of parliaments, as in Canada; but, he added, "Russia can be governed neither by a well-meaning autocrat nor by a parliament. We must begin by securing the liberties of the township, the village."

"Finally," concluded the prince, "we have a youth of whom we are proud. This youth is ready for all sacrifices. Only let them mingle with the people, and you will see them educate the people. It is no sacrifice for the Russian young man or woman to live in a village and teach a school. They would have done it long ago but for the police. Russia has not the spirit of militarism."—New York Tribune.

### "SWEET CHARITY."

During the railroad strike of 1894 a man with whom I had worked for almost four years was cited to appear before a federal judge for contempt of court in disobeying an injunction of said court restraining employees from trying to better their financial condition by the now old-time method of "striking," and after some few weeks of time had elapsed in postponements and awaiting the judicial pleasure, the case was finally disposed of and the man sent to jail for a term of eight months, leaving a wife and three little children to the tender (?) mercies of the county supervisors who, after a short period had elapsed, made the destitute woman an allowance, placing it in the hands of a certain member of the merchant's association, and as I was informed, he supplied the provisions as he saw fit, which were far from being sufficient for the needs of the woman and her little ones. So an appeal was made to the associated charities of the place whose members are of the wealthy class and are prominent members of various churches, noted chiefly for their wealth, elegance and social distinction, and after ascertaining beyond the shadow of a doubt that the case was worthy of their notice, a prominent rustler or solicitor belonging to the society called on the destitute family and found the mother sick in bed with the county doctor in attendance, the little ones occupying quilts upon the bare floor of an unfurnished room, the extreme need of the family being apparent to the advocate of charity, who after turning up her cultured nose departed saying she would secure them some of the comforts of life.

The next day a mattress was delivered at the poverty-stricken home, which bore the evidence of antiquity, and if appearances count for anything might have been in the flood of which their bible speaks; however, it answered the purpose of a bed for the little ones until the mother was able to renovate it, which she did when she found the means.

The husband and father was liberated after a period of six months and twenty days had elapsed, but his health having been seriously impaired by his confinement and lack of proper food, he was in no fit condition to work, and had he been he would have found it difficult to obtain employment, having been black-listed by the railroad company and driven to seek employment at anything he could find to do, often working beyond his strength in an effort to support his family.

At length the ardent advocate of charity put in her appearance again and demanded the return of the mattress which had been cleaned and upholstered by the woman to whom she had given it, saying she had found another family whom she wished to make comfortable, and accordingly had the mattress carted away leaving the children cradled in the "wave of prosperity" which ever threatens to engulf the whole family.

Barstow, Calif.

E. A. DODSON.

### AMONG THE BOOKS.

#### "JOHN HARVEY."

All the multitude of proposed reforms and schemes by which reforms are sought to be realized, which are, from time to time, launched upon the world, resolve themselves into two fundamental methods, one seeking to realize its end by a natural growth and orderly development, and the other by forcibly changing things to conform to the assumed ideal of the particular reformer who invents the reform. One is the method of nature, not only as to physical things, but also in social relations and the development of human institutions; while the other is the method of the politician, the meddler, the man who imagines that he is competent

to rebuild the universe after a greatly improved plan, generally of his own make. One seeks to accomplish its ends by appeals to mutual interests and reason and the other by force. One is expressed in voluntary cooperation and the other in State Socialism.

John Harvey is a typical representative of the latter. While, in the development of its plot all the steps are not taken as a result of politics, yet it arrives at the same end at last. There is the same industrial army, with its semi-military organization; the same compulsory regulation of employment; and the same dependence on "skilled officers" who are depended upon to so direct industry as to produce the best results. It clothes those officers with the power to punish for neglect of work as well as infractions of social regulations. The very happiness of the people is made to depend upon the wisdom or unwisdom of the rulers. Even the age at which marriage is allowed to be contracted is regulated by law. The man must wait until 24, while the woman is permitted to marry at 18.

The author of John Harvey is gifted with an almost limitless imagination; and, instead of working out his problems on any theory of a natural development from things as they are, according to any of the probabilities, he cuts entirely loose from the present; lays his plot nearly a half century ahead; and then goes back to establish a slight connection with today. In doing so, he makes the events leading up to the change of the most fabulous kind; located in the most unpromising place; and out of the range of all previous human experience. Thus his new world is wholly one of the imagination. But in building it he has robbed it of nearly all the human warmth and soul which is the charm of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." One feels all the time as if he were looking at the figures of men and women which have been sand-papered and polished, but which are devoid of life. His human betterments come through the benevolent use of their money by wealthy men and not through the intelligent efforts of the people themselves. Everything is undertaken and carried out on the grandest scale. Great public works which ordinarily would require many long years to complete are finished in a few months; and if vast resources are wanted they are mysteriously discovered either in a wonderful gold mine or in new metals with strange qualities. Depending as he does so entirely upon his imagination for his details he has fallen into some most curious mistakes. For instance, had he taken the trouble to find out the length of time required to move great bodies of men he would have realized how impossible a thing it is, under any circumstances, to concentrate such vast armies at given points in the time allowed. The absurdity is all the greater when, within a few days, those armies are transformed from raw recruits into perfectly disciplined and trained soldiers. Perfection of discipline is only attained as a result of many months or even years of the severest drill. But the absurdity becomes ridiculous when a review of an army of 300,000 men is set for 2 o'clock p. m. and is over at 4. Just think, old soldiers, of an army corps of 25,000 men stopping in a body in front of the reviewing stand and singing a national anthem in chorus.

Another curious mistake is made by the author. Instead of giving general descriptions of speeches in congress and their effects produced, he undertakes to recite the speeches; and he makes them the tamest affairs which can be imagined. They are wholly wanting in the stirring eloquence which might be expected to produce the effect which the author claims they did.

But after all, the book is well worth reading. It will quicken the thought and strengthen the hope of many who could not be reached by a less fabulous recital. It may even touch just as many hearts as if it were proof against criticism. All men are not attuned to the same key; and what would fail to awaken a responsive vibration in one may be precisely what is needed to stir another to intensest action.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

\*John Harvey, a Tale of the Twentieth Century, by Anon Moore; 407 pp., Cloth, \$1.; Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

#### "GOSPEL FABRICATORS."

A pamphlet of 44 pages showing that the four gospels were by men who at best wrote from hearsay, and very unreliable hearsay at that. The author says: "The writers of these four little books are unknown. There is no positive information as to when or where or by whom they were written. They bear internal evidences of having been written by different persons at different times and at different places. Besides they



have passed through so many different hands—and have been inlaid and overlaid by the comments and interpolations of transcribers and revisors so many times that it is utterly impossible to imagine what the original writings were. It is safe therefore to say that no one person wrote either of the gospels as an original production.

Their contents are the mythology of Judea and other countries. We might as well ask who originated and wrote the mythology of Greece as to ask who wrote the gospels. The mythology of Greece and the mythology of Judea are each the outcome of many minds in many ages and in many places. Their beginnings are hid away in the remote and obscure past.

"In passing it is worthy of remark that Greece being a charming country, produced a beautiful mythology, while Palestine is a sterile and mountainous country and produced a hateful and cruel mythology, or religion.

"The gospels are full of fables and myths. The stories of these so-called sacred books abound in the marvelous as much as do the writings of Greece and Rome. The minds of the early christian writers were filled with superstitions, and hence almost all events appeared to them supernatural. Angels, demons, devils, heaven and hell, were familiar subjects. They were constantly receiving communications from God, through dreams, visions, revelations, angels and the holy spirit. Wonders of the most stupendous kind were transpiring every day. The people of that time were prone to look upon all events as supernatural—nothing was natural. 'In accomplishing the affairs of daily life the panorama of heaven is set in motion, God, Christ, angels, saints and devils are constantly brought upon the scene.' The masses knew nothing about science. Even the priests knew nothing of the laws of nature, and what was still worse their credulity and ignorance led them to reject science—to refuse to see its truths. Myths, legends and fables were their stock in trade, and around them their barbaric minds wove the mythology of the gospels.

"The miraculous conception of Jesus—his many miracles—his ascension to heaven—are such stupendous fables that none but the unthinking can entertain them as actual occurrences.

"These were dark ages, and the people lived in dense ignorance. The age of fable was of long duration, including the times of the apostles, church fathers and the history of the church till the 15th or 16th century."

The book concludes with a list of 175 gods "who are retiring as man advances."

By W. S. Bell, who is also publisher, Box 366, Oakland, Calif., postpaid, 15 cts.

"The Road to Prosperity," a silver treatise, by T. W. Wood; C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; price 25 cts.

## NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE.

### SPAIN.

Germinal, the word which was pronounced by Angiolillo at the time when he fired at Canovas, is the name of a periodical which is published by the exiled and tortured Spaniards residing in London.

Another publication of the same name is issued in Madrid (Calle Villanueva No. 20). The editor of this Anarchist-Socialist review is Joaquin Dicenta the author of the popular drama Juan Jaso.

This review will publish everything concerning "Socialism" in its broadest sense; every protest against the present disorder will find an echo, and every struggling thinker a helping hand.

In Valencia, the women organized a "General Women's Association" (Asociacion General Femenina) with a declaration of the following principles: La Asociacion General Femenina is not a struggle for sexual dualism, but, on the contrary this association wants to help women out of superstition and ignorance, where she is kept by all the present nations, with their economical arrangements.

The association wants to cultivate the intellect in the fanatical minds of their sisters and raise the senses of righteousness, truth and beauty in their life; to look at man as a companion; and not as a master and in this way to ennoble the mission of refinement in the nation.

### ARGENTINA.

The "Sociedad des Constructores de Carriages" (Carriage Builders), of Buenos Ayres retired from the S. L. B. in that country with the following declaration: "We retire from the S. L. B. because, we see

the futility of politics and its exclusive occupation by a few."

The above named society entered the "Protesta Humana" (Labor Federation), which is advocating the emancipation of the workmen in their economic resistance. In Inarez, also, there are organized several Anarchist Socialist groups.

### ITALY.

Bread is getting dearer every day in this "beautiful garden of the world." The mayors of the towns, and the governors of the different provinces send long reports to the head government in Rome, about the poor and miserable condition of the masses, and some of them are already foretelling "bread riots." A report from Sardens states that the poor people in many places are living on roots and grass.

From Romagna comes the report of a lot of different diseases, resulting from hunger and privation.

A bread riot took place at Fossli Nov. 13, organized by the women and children. They just went and took possession of the bakeries and bread wagons in town. A company of regulars was sent to establish "law and order." For how long? Oh, wisdom of Blackstone, for how long will the rulers stay as as blind as your authority and faith in the sacred rights of property.

### ENGLAND.

The strike of the mechanicians for an 8 hour work day is still going on, but is it worth while to spend so much money and time for such a small demand? Decidedly no, but here we have another fine example that whenever such a strike is in movement, we have to give them a push towards the "general strike," a strike of everyone who is working in the locality, and I am more than ever convinced that the dissatisfied people can grant to themselves all their demand in short order.

### AUSTRIA.

Several of the wounded policemen died in Prague. 60 of them were injured and not killed, as was reported by mistake in the last number of FREE SOCIETY.

### PORTUGAL.

The Anarchists residing in Oporto have started a school in order to give to the children a liberal education and prepare them with a better knowledge for the struggle for life.

A. KLEMENCIC.

### PHILADELPHIA.

The American Anarchists have received very great pleasure, and, we may add, profit, in every sense of the word, from the recent visit of their well-beloved comrade and friend, Peter Kropotkin. He has warmed the hearts of the various groups temporarily, not only toward himself, but toward each other. He has enriched them pecuniarily to an extent unprecedented within their experience.

Peter Kropotkin gave but one lecture in Philadelphia, which was very largely attended, not only by Jewish Anarchists, whose idol he is, but by other liberal and educated persons who were not ignorant of the position that the distinguished Russian holds in the world of science and letters.

The proceeds of this lecture were "shared up;" the "Ladies' Liberal League," at whose door the "wolf" is a frequent visitor, received a dole that will keep him at a respectful distance for a season.

An appropriation was made for a "Young Men's Anarchistic League" that had temporarily suspended operations on account of financial stringency.

A liberal sum was set aside for the purpose of trying to free a comrade from the prison in which he has been incarcerated for a number of years on account of an ill-judged and futile attack on another man's life, for which a month's sequestration would have amply answered the ends of what is usually termed "justice."

An appropriation, equaling the sum of these amounts, has been forwarded to an Anarchist paper which, for reasons not necessary to mention, has been compelled to change its location.

The Philadelphia comrades were invited to meet Comrade Kropotkin on the evening following the public lecture. At this reception some of us spent the most delightful evening perhaps of a lifetime. This is no exaggeration. Though we live in the United States, we are not destitute of the romantic sense. To those of us who have been nurtured amid old-world traditions there is something pertaining to the past of Peter Alexievitch Kropotkin, antedating his birth, that we miss in Bryan and Debs and their ilk, viz., historical association. It is true that this much

might be claimed for "Billy the Bold" and others, this historical association. We do not deny it. We are not defending ourselves from the imputation of an undue sense of the importance of an ancestry that for generations has lived above the necessity of recognizing social superiors. We conclude, whether rightly or no, that this must count in shaping not only manners, but characters.

Obscure people, who have met with "throned monarchs," nobles, and "sich," only in the pages of Shakespeare, and whose acquaintance with escaped prisoners has been confined to the prolific productions of Anthony Hope, may be pardoned for hugely enjoying one evening's close contact with "a prince of the house of Rurik," a man equably-minded enough to be able to produce scientific treatises in the dungeons beneath a Russian citadel—a prisoner who waltzed himself free from his too-attentive escort to the music of a violin played, not by chance, outside his prison walls.

To hear of those things from Kropotkin's own lips was indeed a treat that will stand out distinctly among our prosaic experiences. But this was not all. The impression that our comrade made on us extended further, penetrated deeper.

We are not a sentimental people, we Philadelphia Anarchists. We are, as the discontented Guinevere asserted of her husband, "cold, self-contained and passionless." But the simplicity, the childlikeness and joyousness of Peter Kropotkin melted even our frozen souls.

As we stood together in little crowds on the evening of the reception, after bidding him farewell, we could almost have said, with a certain ancient and notable group of poor Anarchists in the long ago, "Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us?"

One of our number, who is a marvel of cold, incisive, insouciance, said to a few of us huddled in a corner of the reception room: "The press is right concerning this man; he is dangerous; he makes people love him!"

How is it that when we are much moved we always recur to biblical forms of expressions; that when we meet with a rare man we think of the Galilean? One of us who is not a christian, never was a christian, was not subjected to its influences in childhood, has since remarked: "I felt as if I could sit at his feet," and another, "I know now what 'discipleship' means!"

How very near we must dwell to the "Beautiful and True" when one elderly, poor, frail, unhandsome foreigner can so soon, with such simple magic, transport us into heavenly places!

Yes! for two—three—hours Peter Kropotkin, exile, fugitive, affected us as noble music affects us; he harmonized us!

Whither is fled the visionary gleam?  
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?

We are scrapping already, with the New York group, about the division of the spoils! But, no matter, this beautiful experience has fallen to our lot. We are grateful. We have faith. More exquisite experiences lie close to us, at any moment the veil might be lifted. Enchanters, magic wands, are not of the past solely; they are with us today. Yea! for our eyes have seen!

"CANDY AND VIOLETS."

## "LITTLE FISHES" CAUGHT.

In the infamous suppression of the Firebrand its publishers are but suffering the punishment due to their honest poverty. The suppressors apparently look over the field for those who are poor and apparently unable to provide themselves with the means that an unjust law requires for their defense, and having found a victim financially poor enough for their purpose, the law's minions pounce upon him and another victim is found for the Comstockian juggernaut.

Our big publishers can print, and our rich and religious booksellers can sell in sumptuous bindings, the same matter for which you and I are punished. If only some good would come out of the evil, if only the people's eyes could be opened one might suffer with grace.

JOHN A. WILSON.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Conventional morality may land the individual in a palace instead of a prison, yet his pathway thence may be strewn with broken hearts, crushed hopes and saddened lives of theirs.—Labor Exchange Guide.

Only those who live close to nature can appreciate the glories of a natural life.—Labor Exchange Guide.



# PRESS CENSORSHIP.

The Congress of the American Secular Union and Freethought Federation, opened November 19, in Hardman hall, New York City. In striking contrast to the cowardly whines of the president of the Oregon Secular (?) union was the resolution of this congress denouncing in no uncertain or half-hearted language the outrageous action of certain officials of the United States postal department anent the Firebrand case:

"Resolved, That the arrest of Abner J. Pope, Henry Addis, and A. Isaak, editors of the Firebrand of Portland, Or., for an alleged offense against the postal statutes, an arrest procured by the usual methods of dissimulation and trickery, was a gross and despicable invasion of the right of discussion and transmission. Asserted to be in the interests of morals, it was in the interest only of hypocrisy and vested wrong. Were the censorship sincere it would strike at the publications which deal with certain taboos subjects in a frivolous and degrading manner for the mercenary advantage of their publishers instead of persecuting men and women who are seriously trying to discover truth, to unmask crime, to defend innocence, and to bring about reforms on what they conceive to be lines of liberty and equity. It is the shame of our legislation that it has made sincere investigation a peril; it is the shame of our jurisprudence that it abets and aggravates the outrages made possible by legislation; it is the shame of our newspaper press that, with the rarest exceptions, it attests no protest against this crime, that it silently acquiesces in, if it does not ostentatiously indorse, the suppression of freedom of speech, press, and mails. In the case of the Firebrand the arbitrary denial, to wit, by minor officials, of the privileges of the mails in absence of any possible judicial condemnation of the contents, or parts of the contents, of a few issues, which few issues are the only ones incriminated, is an invasion so monstrous and so far reaching in its ominous menace that it seems incredible that the American people have not risen in instant and forever decisive protest and repudiation of the usurpation."

## The Letter-Box.

Annie Z., London, Eng.—We received your article and were much pleased to hear from an independent thinking girl like you, but such occurrences with the bosses are so common that it would not be of interest enough to print such long articles. Let this not discourage you in contributing articles for FREE SOCIETY.

A. N. J., Hoopston, Ill.—Where can you find a free society as advocated in FREE SOCIETY? Well, you can find a small society in San Francisco, i. e., as far as possible under existing conditions, but the trouble is we are all poor and have to rustle pretty hard for our living. Greeting.

A. P., Waterbury, Conn.—All the books we have on hand you will find in the Library list. We were glad to hear that even Turks investigate our principles.

Weidenpesch, Chicago—Don't let that worry you. It costs money to print an 8-page paper regularly, but if you can't pay and want to read, remember that others often contribute something extra for propaganda purposes. After reading your copy hand it to some one who is interested in the question of liberty.

### NOT EXACTLY.

"A man and his wife are one, aren't they, pa?"  
"Yes."  
"Well, then, if a man kills his wife, why isn't it a case of suicide?"—The Examiner.

### A PASSIVE RESISTANT.

Abe Hardcase—Hello, Pete! I see you're practicing 'de noble art ob self-defense. Pete Persimmons—No; I'm practicing 'runnin'.

Abe Hardcase—I know; dat's de on'y way I ebah saw yo' defend yo'self.—Judge.

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The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

### PROPAGANDA FUND.

Report for week ending Dec. 10, 1897:  
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Ballou, Sturgis, 25c each..... 50  
Tannen..... 20

These items include only subscriptions and donations to propaganda fund. We have been getting out 4,500 copies of P. S. with 8 pages and the present style of composition (which many comrades insist upon) the expenses are over \$35 per week. The difference between the receipts acknowledged and this sum has to be made up by the group. You of course understand that we have taken up the Firebrand list. Now if all on that list who are in position to do so will pay up to date, or better yet, a year ahead, we can continue to print 8 pages and at the same time increase the circulation and influence of FREE SOCIETY; we will also be able to go ahead with an Anarchist Library publication, which is much needed.

### DO YOU SMOKE?

"Free Society" group has added the cigar-making industry to that of publishing the paper bearing its name. This department is under the direct supervision of a comrade who has been engaged in the manufacture of cigars in all the important centers of the industry in the United States and is fully alive to the requirements of the trade in all localities.

The group stands prepared to furnish to the consumers throughout the country a first-class article at a medium price. All its goods bear the Blue Label of the Cigarmakers' International Union, which is everywhere known to be a positive guarantee that the cigars bearing it are made under good sanitary conditions. Comrades and others who indulge in the "weed" can now enjoy a first-class cigar and at the same time assist in the work of publishing "FREE SOCIETY" by ordering of the group.

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The San Francisco Anarchist Club. Headquarters at 1223 1/2 Folson St.

The New Generation, 605 South Third St Philadelphia Pa., open every evening.

The German Group, Chicago, Ill. meets every Friday, 8 o'clock p. m., at 585 Blue Island av.

Financing America, "Social Theocracy and Equitable Commerce," 6905 Westworth av., Chicago, Ill.

Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 1223 1/2 Folson St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

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

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

Sturavagel, 50 First st, New York City, is an Anarchist Communist paper printed in German, sent monthly, 3c cents per year.

New York Debating Club meets and delivers lectures every Sunday 7:45 o'clock P. M. at 1924 Avenue A, near 50th.

Radical Literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I. Rudash, 363 Grant St., New York City.

Pamphlets in English, Hebrew and German languages can be had by out of town stand-keepers and comrades, by addressing A. Levin, 340 Cherry St., New York City.

Group Proletariat meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. 360 Cherry St., New York City. Anarchist lectures are being given Fridays at 48-52 Orchard st., and Saturdays at 412 Grand st.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club will meet every Sunday, 3 p. m. at 45 Winter St., Providence, R. I. Pamphlet in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

Belnicke Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 402 E 7th St. by the International Workingmen's Association of America. Send for sample copy.

Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity, of Olathe, Kan., is the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E. news and original articles, gives progressive ideas, co operative facts and advocates the correct way out of hard times. Send for sample copy.

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