

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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WHOLE NO. 159.

FAMINE.

Where the winds do sobbing blow,
Where the grasses greener grow,
Where the willow bends to kiss the rolling wave,
And the whip-poor-will's sad call
Like a judgment note doth fall,
O'er the unknown dead, the homeless pauper's grave,

In the darkest hour of night,
Twixt the gloaming and the light,
When all restless spirits walk, the people say,
A woman weird and wild
Clasps a hungry little child,
As she kneels beneath the willow, not to pray.

And all they who cannot sleep
Hear a hollow voice, and deep,
As it seems might come from 'neath the clodded sod;
Counting, chanting, one by one,
All the evil that is done,
And with these she dares accuse the silent God.

"O thou wonderful White Lie,
O'er your dark clouds riding high,
Why do men pray to empty things like thee?
Why do they beg and yearn
Lest their souls in hell you burn,
When already steeped in depths of hell they be?"

"Thou Ex- use, from thee are grown
All the bitter wrongs we own, [knave;
From thee have sprung the priest, the king, the
Through these are our hearts torn;
Each gold-shrouded baby born,
Means a million workers sent to unknown graves.

"From these, hid' in slimy marsh, [bound;
Where the weeds grow rough and harsh,
And rubbed like brine his wounds, the slave, chain-
Even white-haired, sick and old; [bound.
The black slave's blood ran cold,
When he heard the crack of whip, and growl of

"Babes and children, starved to death,
Men and women 'left of breath;
Do these lies before your altar feel no pain?
That some thief to cap his fame [rain?"
For his daughter buys a name
With the gold for which they spill our blood like

Even in depth of winter's night,
When all else with snow is white,
The kneeling woman passing can be seen to go;
And the willow, green it waves
All about the silent graves;
Is as green as if 'twere never touched by snow.

MARY HANSEN.

REFLECTIONS.

War or peace, which? This is the question that hangs like a pall over the great body of the American people at present; and it is pregnant with much good or evil for not alone the toilers of the United States, but in its effects even for the welfare of the workers of every land.

I start with the assumption that the disinherited, now as ever, will have to do the fighting for both the tyrant and the oppressed, and yet this need not be so and would not be so if labor agitators and reformers had in the past understood their cause and their mission, and had the courage to live up to their convictions. Had they acted as the fundamental necessities of their cause demanded for the past twenty years, the laborers of field, factory and shop would now be thoroughly organized and educated to such an extent that they could meet with a smile of indifference and contempt every attempt of commercial, political and religious pirates to involve them in a war that can only yield to the rank and file, in most cases, an unknown grave. But alas, for the past two decades at least, we have been the victims of fake, adventurous and cowardly parasitical "leaders," and as a result our unorganized and ignorant condition will again, as of old, be taken advantage of by land-sharks, money-sharks and all other kinds of sharks, and our bodies will be fed to fire and bullets. Our

wives, children, mothers, sisters and sweethearts will be left to scratch out a miserable existence for themselves, while we gather the honey of life for looter and pirate to feed on.

How sad it is to contemplate in these closing years of the nineteenth century, the destiny of the workers, the producers of the world's wealth, hanging on the interests of a few money changers, internationally allied for purposes of plunder; and still more sad is it to see the "great republic" of the west, which a century ago was the hope of all liberty-loving mankind, today in the firm grasp of usurious murderers, moving as bond-holding interests direct, as monkeys move at the check of their begging master's chain.

Still, there is a silver lining to this cloud of despair. Peace at home means the inevitable overthrow of domestic plutocracy, while war abroad—with Spain—means revolution; the downfall of that old barbarous dynasty, the overturning of the catholic church, and repudiation of shyllock's immense claim on Spanish toilers. It may also mean—I hope it will—the erection of a guillotine for use on nobles, clergy and politicians, the blood suckers who have left the Spanish workman a miserable wreck on the shores of humanity's advance.

—O—

Again the sweat shops of New York are the theme of newspaper discussion and the object of a proposed investigation. Another ambitious politician named Maher, a member of the assembly is preparing a resolution of inquiry into the management of the factory-inspector's office. In his rounds of investigation, in company with Joe Barondess and Mr. Spaulding, the politician has discovered little children working in violation of the child-labor-law of the state and of course he is shocked, or pretends to be; but in view of past experiences, I am exceedingly suspicious of politicians' moral shocks.

I well remember when assemblyman John Martin used to shed tears over the deplorable conditions of the 'long-shore-men, and when Jimmy Graham's tender heart used to throb with pity(?) over the misfortune of the poor ill-treated card-drivers of Brooklyn, but this was when both John and Jim were looking for something more in a political way than mere assemblymen. I have not heard of any wails or tears from such quarters lately. I also remember that John and Jim had their fool pilots. I would gently suggest to brothers Barondess and Spaulding to allow the new "friend of labor" to paddle his own canoe.

When the factory-inspector's office was established, it was a concession to labor fakirs who wanted the office for themselves, and when they were appointed by that political mountebank, governor D. B. Hill, they instantly became silent on labor wrongs, and this has been the case in every state of the union where factory boards have been established, except in the one case of Illinois during Gov. Altgeld's administration when Mrs. Kelly was the incumbent, when both she and her assistants made heroic efforts to enforce the law and failed as they always must under present industrial conditions.

—O—

"Sweet charity" is getting credit from the newspapers for doing some good work in the way of cleaning Chicago's streets. We have here a medical mission and in the fulness of its generosity and christliness it blackmails the timid and wealthy

few, and then doles out one-half or one-third of its receipts to keep the starving in legal order.

What an exalted opinion those hypocrites have of a "tramp's" intelligence! T. P. QUINN.

A FATEFUL LEAFLET.

Karl Nold and a comrade by the name of Paul Eckhardt occupied the three story house of No. 5 Cherry St. at Allegheny. The first story was occupied by Eckhardt, the second by Nold, and in the third the Anarchist-Communist group had started a printing establishment.

During the first week of July 1892, when the Homestead strike was at its height, some comrades thought it advisable to issue an address to the strikers in the English language. We soon had the manuscript, and two comrades—one of whom was Nold and the name of the second of whom as well as that of the author we cannot mention here for plausible reasons—set it up and printed it. It was then distributed by myself and two other comrades.

The pamphlet was worded as follows:

"Strikers! Brothers! Read and Think! 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God!' That was the battle-cry of our ancestors at the revolution of 1776 under the leadership of Washington, Payne, Jefferson, Franklin, etc. We strikers are obliged to witness how tyranny is trotting at Homestead; to see how the greatest fraud and hypocrite of Pennsylvania, the 'philanthropist' Carnegie, has transformed his factory, created by us workmen, but robbed from us by the thieves Carnegie, Frick and Co. and by law and privilege, into an armory, and has thus actually declared war against us workers whom he has robbed of their wealth. They ask us to work upon conditions which we can not accept unless we are cowardly curs. None but curs will lick their master's foot after being kicked. Brothers! You all know that Carnegie wants to pay us starvation wages and means to lower us into a condition unworthy of human beings. He wants us to be his obedient, meek servants; his submissive, fawning slaves; and since he is importing into our peaceable community the suspicious tools of the robberclass,—murderers, deputy sheriffs and Pinkerton assassins—for the purpose of shooting us down because we are not willing to starve to death, we are obliged to resort to effective methods of defending our lives and our rights.

"Carnegie was the first to adopt violent measures against us; he is intent upon starving and suppressing us even if he has to butcher us cold-bloodedly to accomplish it. Are we workmen who have created all of Carnegie's wealth, to suffer this? No! a thousand times: No! These infamous Carnegies, Fricks, and their ilk are forcing revolutionary methods upon the working people and are indeed destroying all hopes of a peaceable solution of the economic problem. Brothers! We have no alternative but to meet force with force. We have seen several of our brothers murdered in cold blood by the Pinkerton assassins. He says we attempted to prevent the landing of his hellish army, but it was a dear attempt. These murderers are armed with Winchester rifles while we have but revolvers and stones. What absurdity! We ought to prepare for war in times of peace. If we have no Winchester rifles like themselves or something superior it would be suicidal to fight the Pinkertons. Remember that, brothers, and do not be killed on account of a trifle. If you wish to fight capitalism you ought to be sure you have superior arms or else yours will be all the dead and wounded. Remember that and act accordingly!

"The present system of production, distribution, and transportation created Carnegies, Vanderbilts and Jay Goulds, etc. on one side, and poverty-stricken wealth-producers, tramps, beggars, prostitutes and criminals on the other, and as the cause of all our troubles. Strikes, boycotts, and arbitrations will never bring

about a change of system. All peaceable methods are in vain to begin with.

"The modern strikes must be carried on in different style from those in the past. The factories, mills, machinery, in short all of Carnegie's wealth was produced by us and by rights belongs to us. We therefore ought to remain in the mills and factories belonging to us and ought to defend them against all invaders. If we adopt revolutionary methods, we ought to be consistent and change the infamous system of production which is the cause of all of our troubles. Brothers, become Anarchists!"

Equipped with 5000 of these leaflets and several thousand copies of anarchistic papers in the English, German, French, Bohemian and Italian languages I and those two comrades boarded the train in Pittsburg at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of July 8, 1892, which was to take us to Homestead, a distance of seven miles, where two days ago the power of the workers had been manifested in such brilliant and unmistakable manner. The pamphlets were divided into three packages and each of us carried one under his arm. Various nonsensical reports in the daily papers to the effect that there were some Anarchists among the strikers and others on their way there from other cities with a view of exploding the Homestead ironworks with dynamite, may have been responsible for the fact that we were already on the train the object of curious inspection by our fellow travelers who appeared to be scenting dynamite in our suspiciously looking packages. Noticing this, we opened one of the packages and distributed pamphlets to everybody on the train. All of us being almost strangers at Homestead it was a rather hard task for us. Fortunately one of my traveling companions remembered that he had an old acquaintance at Homestead, and we concluded to hunt him up first. After arriving at Homestead our packages aroused the suspicion of the strikers who kept a watch over the depot and the arriving trains and persons. We were mistaken for scabs and interviewed. In reply we distributed some literature and inquired for the old acquaintance of my companion whose residence we soon learned and whom we soon visited. He did not seem very enthusiastic when he learned our mission and found out that we wanted him as a guide; yet he took us to the Carnegie ironworks up to the board fence and showed us the place where the battle had taken place two days ago. As the works were vigilantly watched on the inside by the "faithful" of the company and outside by armed strikers who were marching up and down in squads we could not think of entering. We distributed pamphlets among all of these groups of workers, and among all we ran across and noticed that they were received and read with delight. We traveled around the works until we were stopped; then we returned and went into another street, and our pamphlets were everywhere devoured like hot cakes. We furnished Bohemians and Italians who regretted their inability to read English with literature in their own languages and even supplied some Frenchmen. They were all surprised about the existence of radical literature in so many different languages. Some Americans paid our bill at a saloon and made us promise to call at the strikers' headquarters. There was a general hand-shaking, and great satisfaction was evinced; our arrival seemed to please everybody. The people offered to distribute our pamphlets. We gave then the largest part of them and we were sure that they had been properly distributed from the fact that we saw people reading them on the streets we subsequently passed. Our guide had left us under the pretense of going to supper. We too entered a restaurant and ordered a plain supper. We were asked whether we belonged to or at least sympathized with the strikers, and when we answered in the affirmative we were served with as sumptuous a meal as Pittsburg Hotels would charge 75c. for. We grew rather down-hearted over it, for we neither could afford nor desired to live in such high style. But imagine our astonishment when we were told that our bill was only 20c. each "because you are friends of the strikers." Evidently we had struck a restaurant where scabs were not served or at least, had to pay three or four times the amount of the strikers and their friends. On leaving the restaurant we met a friend, a reporter of the "Pittsburgh Volksblatt" who committed the folly upon the following day to have my name figure in his report.

Now we went to the meeting place of the strikers in order to distribute our literature. Some strikers going the same way offered to secure our admittance to the

hall, in which they succeeded without trouble. We had been asking ere this for the strike leader, Hugh O'Donnell, but were told that he was absent; we therefore asked for the secretary and strike committee now. The latter was just in session, and as the hall was rapidly being filled with strikers, we distributed the balance of our literature without having received the permission of the committee thereto. Thus this hall full of people gradually turned into a quiet assemblage everybody being occupied reading our literature. Several of them came up to us, expressing their satisfaction with the literature and conversing with us very pleasantly. Several hours were spent in this very harmonious manner when suddenly a couple of men forced their way to the front and cried out: "Where are those three men who distributed this pamphlet?" It was brought to us and when they had hardly reached us, one of them exclaimed: "Where are you? Who gave you the right to distribute these pamphlets here? Who sent you here? Frick sent you here; you are Pinkertons." The person making these exclamations in quick succession without listening to what we had to say was a tall strong built man with a red bloated face indicating the immoderate use of liquor. Excitedly and impudently, without listening to our explanation he roared: "You are Pinkertons; you have been sent here by Frick and pretend to be Anarchists. Even if you were Anarchists we don't need you; we got rid of the Pinkertons without your assistance and will do the balance without you." By this time we were surrounded by all present, and as we were gradually being forced into the center of the hall we could notice the accusation that we were Pinkertons in the service of Frick had traveled like lightning through the audience. Being actually unable to gain the floor for an explanation, it was no wonder that the sentiment turned against us; for although we properly met all the questions put to us, the noise in the hall was so great that we could not possibly be heard all over the hall. A tumult seemed unavoidable. Not minding the crowd one of my companions at last burst out in a loud voice: "We are of the International Working People's Association, an organization battling against oppression in every shape. You are forgetting in the excitement of your victory over the Pinkertons that you have not yet won the strike and that you will finally lose it if you don't listen to experience." But it availed nothing. The tumult and noise increased and some fists were visible. At this moment someone shouted: "Take them into the lock-up." This was done, and amidst the howls and curses of the excited crowd we were led to the lock-up. Those only who were leading us retained their composure, allowing nobody to touch us. The distance to the lock-up was but a short one. When we arrived there all the three of us were put into one cell and the door closed after us. We were alone for a few minutes which we took advantage of for a consultation. From without the flattering cries were heard. "Out with the Pinkertons! Hang them!" We thought our last hour had come and concluded to sell our lives as dearly as possible if they were wanted. But as bad luck would have it we were not even well armed; we only had one dagger and one revolver. Now several men approached the cell asking us whether we had no friends or acquaintances at Homestead by whom we could prove that we were no Pinkertons. We were obliged to answer in the negative, for we neither could nor would refer to the man who served us as a guide; besides he only knew one of us anyhow. We said we were in possession of union-cards as well as membership cards of the Pittsburg Turner Society and presented them. One of my companions showed a card of his local union of Pittsburg which belonged to the Amalgamated Association to which body the strikers belonged. We also showed our return tickets stating that it had been our intention to return by the next train. As we answered all questions to their apparent satisfaction the men retired to hold a consultation as they claimed. The big bluffer who had attempted to put us down as Pinkertons in the hall, was not present.

Without the tumult grew with every minute. The crowd seemed to be in a frenzy. A dozen voices were heard screaming: "Take 'em out! Hang 'em!" The lock-up was only a small one-story building consisting of but one room and several cells, all on the even ground, and there was consequently great danger that the crowd would tear down the whole building. Thus we were naturally extremely anxious to learn the result of that consultation. We were not to wait

a great while; the men soon returned with our cards and told us in a friendly tone that an attempt would be made to take us through the crowd to the depot. We were advised to keep quiet on our way there; they would protect us, as it was pretty hard now to convince the excited crowd that we were not Pinkertons and if we remained in the place, we should certainly be hanged during the night. Directly some other men came and offered to take us to the railroad depot as the train was to leave soon. The door of the cell was opened; there were about twenty men in the corridor armed with rifles and sticks. They surrounded us and made their way with us through the crowd. It was about ten o'clock at night. The lights seemed to have been put out, but when the crowd noticed that we were to be taken away an uproar ensued that beggars description. Again were heard the suspicious cries: "Here are the ropes; hang them!" Others shouted: "Take the god damned Pinkertons to the river and dump them!" Attempts were repeatedly made by some of the crowd to approach us but they were beaten back by the rifles and sticks of our protectors and we finally reached the depot. And soon came the train that was to liberate us from our painful position. We were shoved in, the engineer received a hint to pull out immediately and we drew a breath of relief.

Not until now when the train was running fast had I noticed the pale faces of my two companions. I stretched out my hands to congratulate them upon our narrow escape from an almost certain death, which would have been so much harder for my companions; for I think it will not be indiscrete for me to state that they were both young men, married to handsome women and had lovely families, while I myself was single. The reader may well understand our reflections upon our experience gathered in the few hours at Homestead. One of my companions exclaimed: "I never in my life was so close to death as today; one is apt to lose all his ambition for agitation!" "These people ought to be left to their misery," replied the other. And I added: "They will get there anyhow. They will be given an opportunity to study the contents of our pamphlets after the failure of their strike."

On boarding the train we had noticed several strikers getting on with us; we therefore suspected that they would make an attempt upon arriving at Pittsburg to have us re-arrested there. We therefore jumped off the train at the first station of the south side of Pittsburg and hurried through several dark alleys to a friend who had been anxiously awaiting us for several hours. His astonishment was great when we arrived at eleven o'clock at night and related our experience to him.

The pamphlets—so fateful to us—were distributed. But little did we think that midnight when I arrived at comrade Nold's residence at Allegheny and related our experience at Homestead to him that these pamphlets were destined to work still more mischief for myself and for him who had not even been connected with their distribution. But the tragedy ended in four years' imprisonment for comrade Nold and myself.

H. BAUER.

SHERIFF MARTIN'S ACQUITTAL.

Sheriff Martin has been acquitted of the crime of murder by a jury of citizens of Hazleton, who were not prejudiced in his favor by personal, social or political associations. The jurors were men who take part in the activities of life in that region of the country, some of them being engaged in the occupation of mining.

This jury, after hearing all the evidence, decided by its first and only ballot that Sheriff Martin acted within his authority and justifiably when he ordered his deputies to fire into the ranks of striking and threatening miners, who had refused to obey the mandates of the law as set forth in the riot act which was read to them.

It will be remembered that on September 20, 1891, Sheriff Martin, at the head of a posse, intercepted a body of striking miners on the road from Hazleton to Lattimer, and by peaceable persuasion tried to prevail upon the strikers to return to their homes. The men were en route to Lattimer with the avowed and threatened purpose to use violence to force out of the mines the miners who had refused to join the strike.

The sheriff first counseled the men to go back home, but they surrounded him, and with angry imprecations threatened to proceed to execute their purpose. Then

he read the riot act. A few minutes later he was hemmed in by a howling mob, the leaders of which assumed a hostile attitude, defying the power of the sheriff. Twenty-one men were killed by the deputies and many more wounded. The mob did not go to Lattimer.

The verdict of the jury goes to show that Sheriff Martin proceeded to the execution of his duty well within the law. He was neither rattled nor premature. The provocation that caused him to order the men to fire was a violence done to the law and not to his own person. The lesson of the incident must be a wholesome one. It is a stinging rebuke of mob violence.—Detroit Journal.

There you have it in plain English. Whenever you do "violence to the law," even if not to any person, the sheriff can order you slaughtered on the spot, "well within the law." How do you like it, you law-loving citizens? As long as you uphold law and government you have no room to kick at such outrages. H. A.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

V.

So much for the ownership of things that are in and of themselves limited and cannot be reproduced, as gold, coal, land, etc. Now let us pass on to the ownership of things which can be reproduced in unlimited quantities, as gas, electricity, railroads, etc.

In the case of commodities that can be reproduced it might be impossible for a few men to control the prices, since they could not possibly control an unlimited industry. In such a case, say where the commodities are of a reproducible nature, there might be any number of producers struggling to get the trade, and the price would have to come down to a little above cost. The margin of profit would depend upon the number of people able to get into that business, that is to say, in proportion as competition would be free or limited. This, as experience has taught us, is a check upon the capitalist's charging enormous profits. Many men producing large quantities of a given article, throw it into the market ready for sale, thereby opening the field to competition, and the purchaser has his option. He is a freeman. He buys where the terms are most satisfactory for him. The merchant cannot charge much above cost. He must do as well as others do, with reference to satisfying his purchaser, or he will be replaced by the better and more accommodating merchant. The capitalists know that, hence their efforts to limit competition, to increase trusts. They form combinations wherein all are one and there is not much chance then for anybody else. The purchaser's liberty is destroyed. He has no choice of merchants. He must buy from the trusts or nowhere. Competition is dead. Trusts become the masters and the purchasers, the people, their helpless slaves.

But these combinations, though existing, have not been quite successful. There happened to come into existence another combination. One was competing with the other and here again the purchasers were the gainers. Competition was again open and the purchaser was more or less free to choose between the two or more firms who were after his trade. These rival concerns offered various inducements to the purchasers, all of which had the tendency of reducing unreasonably high profits to what was more or less reasonable. It had the tendency of inducing the manufacturer to give to his customer better terms, more goods for the same money. That the people in this case were the gainers nobody can deny.* But the capitalists did not think this too safe an enterprise. They were bent upon being on the safe side all the time. To do this they had to use government means. It is the best "servants of the people," its authority is unlimited. They got at it and made it work in a

* That the people are the gainers, I certainly deny. If the manufacturer sells for less, he also reduces the producers', or the purchasers', wages. His profits, therefore, are just as great, and as he gets the products he uses, for less, he, the capitalist, is the gainer, not the people.
P. VAN D.

manner that surpasses all their expectations. Not only does it answer the purpose of limited monopolies, such as gold, coal, etc., but it is even better. In the case of naturally limited commodities there are a few men here and a few there in another land, owning the coal, gold or iron, etc. True, all together own all and can control prices; but the ownership is scattered and the owners of one land often compete with the owners of another. This is a trouble which our fellow monopolists sought to overcome by calling upon the government.

Here government interference plays its part openly. It fears no one and does not conceal its true function, which is to invade the non-invasive and protect the invaders in their ill-gotten wealth against the resistance which might come from the invaded. It lends a hand to the robbers so that they might more effectively plunder the people, for whose interests governments are supposed to be instituted. They provide a government order prohibiting any body from coming to this country to sell a certain thing cheaper than these monopolists wish to charge. "Yes," they say, "you may come to sell your products here; but you must pay so much to the government (supposed to be the people) for the privilege of selling." This, in political nomenclature, is protective tariff. In plain English it means: "We, the monopolists of these United States of America, have appointed agents to see that there shall be no meddling with the prices which we set upon certain commodities. Should any one dare to come over here with intent to sell his products, the kind we have the honor of producing here, these agents will see to it that such an impudent fellow is made to pay so high a duty, that he will be unable to undersell us. This is the way our laws are made for the protection of 'American industry'." "We want no pauper labor" is the theme of the politician before the elections. He then speaks of "the dignity of American labor," for the purpose of passing a law which will enable the domestic monopolists to levy a tax upon the people, a tax which would be unthinkable in an open field of competition where the most reasonable, the cheapest, and for that purpose, the fittest must eventually survive. Having passed this law, trade becomes restricted and the chances of competition disappear. Their better equipped rivals are shut out from the field by unfair means and the few American monopolists become the masters of the situation. With the aid of the government they have put themselves in a position, otherwise impossible for them to attain, from which they bind us hand and foot and make us bow to their capricious desires. Then we complain of their power. Then we ask the government to pass laws prohibiting their thriving.

We make up a government, metaphorically speaking. When it is made to pass certain laws, the monopolists buy it and the laws are not passed. But when it costs too much to buy the whole government—for when the government is not bought it is only because when bought there will be nothing in it for the monopolists—the law passes and it is rejected by the supreme court. One judge does the business. It's cheaper. Now our worthy representatives will know a good thing when they see it. The money is just as good to them as it is to that venerable judge of the supreme court. Any price will do the work. Surely the laboring man, the purchaser, has no bribery to offer. What chances does he get for legislation to come his way?

DALLAN DOYLE.

CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

Persons:—Bennett, Chief of License Robbers' Camp;

J. A. K-J., a Toller.

Scene:—Headquarters of civic robbers and debauchers of the Goddess Liberty.

ACT I.

J. A. K-J.—(While being despoiled of \$2 as a preliminary agreement that he may be allowed by the said robbers to try and earn an honest living for his family, or rather, promising to keep their hands off him for three months, the victim shows his wares.)

Bennett.—"Oh, have something new, eh?"

J. A. K-J.—"Yes, quite, and health preserving."

Bennett.—"And will you sell me one?"

J. A. K-J.—"Well, what do you think I showed them for?"

Bennett.—"Just so, and will you leave me one?"

J. A. K-J.—"Yes."

Bennett.—"You will have to pay \$7.50 for a Peddler's License then."

J. A. K-J.—"I was told by an official here two years ago that a \$2 steal would cover my business."

Bennett.—(savage) "Well, it won't!"

J. A. K-J.—(angrily) "Show me the law then!" (Law produced; victim reads, links of his family, planks down \$7.50, gets his license and departs to work for his two landlords (office and home) for the rest of the day. No time left him after the robbers had done with him, to work for himself that day.)

ACT II.

Three months later.

J. A. K-J.—"Give me a \$2 license, I am a peddler no more; I have seen the enormity of the crime. It must be a crime or you would not try to stamp it out with a \$7.50 license. If a poor man cannot live in this free country without peddling he had better die!"

Bennett.—(Takes the license and passes it on for a new one to be made out, but does not utter a word.)

J. A. K-J.—(Throwing down a notice as near the face of the robber as possible) "There is a damnable insult!! 'Renew the license immediately to avoid arrest!' I was never so insulted before, and you brutally stamp the insult twice in red at the head of your insolent notice; not content with once, you emphasize it by repeating it! Government!!! What is government?! Nothing but brute force, moved by the money power!!"

Bennett.—(Retired to his inner den and shut the door, but never uttered a word.)

Assistant Robber.—"You need not get excited."

J. A. K-J.—(excited) "It is a gross insult!"

Assistant Robber.—"Oh, that's nothing."

J. A. K-J.—"You haven't a spark of honor in your composition or you could not talk like that."

Assistant Robber.—"I have been arrested." (he looked like it.)

Another Assistant Robber.—"This is not the place for you to talk."

J. A. K-J.—"I have as much right to talk here as you have, and will do so. I propose to educate you fellows for a few minutes. Ireland ranks far higher in nobility than America. Ireland has never been conquered; she always kicks, never takes her oppression quietly. You Americans lay yourselves down in the gutter, and invite the monopolists to walk over you, kick you, spit on you! Labor is getting it pretty hot now, but you'll get it hotter yet. And the worst feature is, that it is the gold standard which England forces on you, that allows these conditions to exist. Yet like whipped slaves you go on your knees to England and say: 'Please, may we use silver?' America is strong enough, rich enough, and should be wise enough to say: 'We will have our own money, scientific paper money.' Then, and not until then will Labor be free, and able to stop the daily drain of \$1,500,000 on American Labor.* Perhaps you fellows do not know this is a fact, and only possible through the gold-bugs of Lombard St. ruling this great country. Shame on you!! When will you rise and assert your freedom? (Exit, with a \$2 license, and probably the curses of the assistant robbers for exposing the present meaning of stars and stripes.)

* With money enslavement began, and as long as we have this medium of exchange, the shrewd and cunning will be able to subjugate the masses, no matter how scientific(?) this medium might be. Gold, silver or paper-bugs are all alike in the end. A. I.

ATTENTION!

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

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

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

ROBERT REITZEL.

A meteor has shot through space, and its brilliant rays have dazzled the intellectual world of this planet. Robert Reitzel is no more! Who was Robert Reitzel? Little does this prosaic name betray the beautiful soul it used to label. Few Americans knew Robert Reitzel, for although American by choice, he was German by birth and education. But he was well known and beloved by the literary and especially by the radical element of German-Americans. Robert Reitzel was the editor and publisher of "Der Arme Teufel" (The Poor Devil) a German weekly Anarchist journal of Detroit, Michigan. He was author, poet, philosopher and agitator, but above all he was a man; a man with a heart full of the deepest sympathy and tenderest emotions; a heart whose every throb went out with compassion for the poor and suffering; with a mind and intellect towering above the millions of his fellow beings like a giant over a sea of dwarfs; with talent as unique and rare as the blossoms of a century plant; with an education and accomplishments that would have made it an easy matter for anyone else equipped with similar advantages to make a "shining mark" among the conservatives and amass a fortune in worldly possessions. Yet Robert Reitzel died poor! For with all his rare qualities, talents and accomplishments he thirsted not for gain. Unlike most of talented and capable people of this age who, though perhaps radically inclined in their youth, are too weak to run against the stream of unpopularity and ostracism, gradually, at their ripper ages, prostitute their talents in the service of mammon;—unlike these Robert Reitzel was faithful to his ideal and convictions unto the last breath he drew.

It was not my privilege to be personally acquainted with our great dead; nor do I know his history in detail. And indeed I am glad I do not. For being human he must have possessed faults as well as virtues, and not having known his faults they can not corrupt my judgment and weaken the exalted opinion I entertain of his character. But I well know his journal, the "Poor Devil." I have laughed and wept over it; for Robert Reitzel was one of those few authors who could sway the mind and heart of their reader from one extreme to the other; from the tragic to the comical; who could accomplish the difficult task of making the tear in one's eye unfaithful to its source; turn sorrow into mirth. Very correctly does the "Tageblatt," a German State Socialist daily of this city, say, Robert Reitzel was another Heinrich Heine.

The number of radical journals now published in the "civilized" world is legion, and even anarchistic publications are numerous, yet there are few whose editors unite the manifold qualities that went to make the "Poor Devil" a success. Robert Reitzel was many-sided. While an enthusiastic and almost fanatical Anarchist his clear-sightedness made him see the danger of one-sidedness and monotony against the effects of which most of his contemporaries are unconsciously battling in the struggle for existence, and he turned his wealth of knowledge in many directions as well as his superb humor to excellent service in making his journal entertaining and spicy as well as instructive. The rich as well as the poor, conservatives as well as radicals used to read and devour the contents of his bright journal with avidity, and it is well known that upon his list of readers are even a number of clergymen.

Yet with all that our mourned comrade never for a moment lost sight of the motive power actuating his publication, and was ever ready to "jump into the breach" in defense of our principles. In the eventful dark days of 1887 when our brave comrades in Chicago were undergoing their ordeal, and even after their noble lives had been sacrificed upon the altar of mammon by the contemptible butchers and demons calling themselves dispensers of justice, in those days of reaction when to espouse the cause of Anarchism meant unpopularity, ostracism, persecution and even jeop-

ardy of life—then Robert Reitzel was one of those isolated, grand and sublime characters who regardless of consequences by word of mouth and with his brilliant pen arraigned, exposed and denounced in scathing terms the cowardly, villainous, conduct of the powers that be.

For the last four years preceding his death Robert Reitzel had been suffering from spinal consumption and was an invalid, obliged to keep to his bed, yet he was cheerful and jovial to the last moment, wrote the editorials and attended to the management of the literary department of his journal. Few of his readers who saw his last issues would have noticed what an heroic effort it must have cost this great sufferer to display the equanimity and the cool contempt of death manifest in his lines.

My modest comrade who occupies the next chair to me, who has raised and kept aloft the banner of this little protestant against wrong and oppression these many moons, claimed he feels incompetent to do justice to the memory of our illustrious dead, and with a tear in his eye assigned the task to me. My strong sympathetic impulse led me to yield in spite of my inward conviction of my equal incompetency. But I now realize that I have "rushed in where angels fear to tread." For how could I, the insignificant little worm, do justice to the memory of this giant?

I am impotent; but others are not; and the history of the radical movement will record in golden letters as one of the most fearless and brilliant pioneers in the cause of genuine progress and true culture the name of Robert Reitzel.

S. D.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

All comrades who are anxious to see Jean Grave's book "Moribund Society" published in the English language should communicate at once with comrade Voltairine de Cleyre, 620 North Eighth St., Philadelphia, Pa., and state in what manner they can assist her.

Here you have patriotism in a nutshell:

"A Washington correspondent of the New York Telegraph furnishes new proof for the deep love our loud-mouthed patriots manifest for their country and people in these days of trial. He publishes truly pathetic examples of patriotism.

"One half of the shrapnel shells purchased and tried at Fresno, California, were worthless. More than one half of a hastily purchased quantity of powder would not explode. A New York firm received a contract for furnishing \$300,000, worth of arms on which it will make a clear profit of \$200,000; and the manufacturers of 4,000,000 cartridges ordered for the army will make a clear profit of \$12.00 per thousand pieces.

This will probably enlighten some of our unsophisticated friends from the rural districts upon some of the ulterior objects of the war enthusiasm of our great patriots who are so anxious to send "themasses" to fight while they themselves stay at home—to "protect their firesides," of course.—Ex.

The S. T. & L. A. is of the opinion that the miners have nothing to gain and everything to lose from continued membership in the United Mine Workers. Consequently, the best thing is to pull out altogether and join the S. T. & L. A. In that way no dues will go to support fakir leaders, and the market price of these will fall when it is known they have no followers, i. e., nothing to deliver;—which in itself clears the labor atmosphere.—The People.

In other words you transfer the market value of the fakirs to the S. T. & L. A. leaders, which of course, is more to the liking of their chief mogul, the editor of the People. Every man who urges voting has a market value proportionate to the number of votes he can "control," and DeLeon is very anxious for himself and his co-workers to control the votes that are now, and have been, controlled by Powderly, Gompers, Sovereign, et al.

We may reasonably look for considerable activity in the "labor movement" this year—it is election year.

Office holders have favors to distribute. Men out of office know that. In order to increase their chances of election they promise to distribute these favors in a certain way in return for the assistance of those who they believe can help them get elected, if they are

successful. "Influential" men apply to these candidates for the job of boosting them into office, and when all the official favors have been promised away as often as is safe a little ready cash comes into play. Thus the man who can promise official favors to the largest number of vote "influencers," and put up the greatest amount of ready cash, gets the office. Once in office he must sell out, job and steal in order to get back his campaign expenses—and yet some people talk of reform by the ballot!

Keep your eye on the candidates for office, and on the "labor leaders," in the coming campaign, and you will learn some valuable lessons concerning the utility of the ballot.

In the final analysis there are but two principles that can be used as guides of action in human association. They are the opposites of each other and cannot be followed both at the same time. I refer to the principles of authority and liberty. Where authority begins liberty ends. If we accept the principle of liberty as our guide to action, the exercise of authority is impossible. If we accept the principle of authority, then liberty becomes impossible just to the degree that the principle of authority is followed. Which do you prefer?

The confused and much-abused Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, was in town again this week and spoke to good-sized audiences. She criticised the Socialists in her well-known style, and declared with great positiveness that freedom will come only through Anarchy. Miss Goldman is undoubtedly earnest in her desire to improve society, but it is not probable that the people will accept her methods to reach emancipation. There is no Anarchist movement anywhere worth considering. The people (that is, the workers) are embracing Socialism—and any person doubting this statement should watch this year's elections—and all the capitalists, Anarchists and other confusionists cannot prevent it. Make a note of it.—Cleveland Citizen.

My, how the pumpkins grow! For unabashed boasting the above takes the cake. Our Socialist friends cannot see any Anarchist movement because we are not organized, but if they will keep their ears and eyes open they cannot fail to perceive an ever increasing sentiment in favor of liberty—an Anarchist movement, even if our noses are not counted by the labor fakirs or the government.

H. A.

LEROY BERRIER CONVICTED.

Leroy Berrier was convicted in the U. S. Court Saturday of sending obscene literature through the mails and sentenced by Judge Lochran to, pay a \$500 fine and serve two years in the penitentiary.

Berrier published a scientific work of great benefit to the human race and its contents were not any more obscene than those of the bible.

This shows up the hypocrisy of modern christianity which secured the enactment of the famous Comstock law. All christian denominations use the bible as the foundation of their creeds. It is kept in all their churches and in every christian household in the land and yet they cause the enactment of a law that will send any person to the penitentiary if convicted of sending it through the mails. What is this but discriminating hypocrisy?

We insist that the Comstock law should be amended so as to make the bible the standard in the courts as it is in the community and churches, and that no person should be convicted for sending obscene literature through the mails unless it be clearly proven that such literature is more obscene than the bible.

If it is the word of God, in use in all of our families and churches, then let it be also admitted to the U. S. mails.—T. H. Parsons, in X Rays.

The above are Mr. Parson's views of Leroy Berrier's conviction and of free press.

The conviction of Mr. Berrier is another outrage added to the constantly increasing list of judicial scandals. It is another warning to thinkers and publishers that the sex question must be let alone; that we may learn and teach concerning sex in bees, cattle and any and all animals except the human animal, but that ignorance of the deepest kind must prevail on this the most vital question in the problem of human existence.

No time is being lost in any part of the United States in doing everything that can be done to suppress all discussion of the sex question, and to curtail the freedom of the press. Every little thing that can

possibly be taken hold of by the officials, the agents of reaction, the stiflers of progress and destroyers of knowledge, is being magnified into a mountain of iniquity in order to convict the advocates of freedom and suppress the dissemination of knowledge.

This is another glaring illustration of the necessity of a continuous, tireless agitation for free press. The majority do not know how concerted and determined a fight against the freedom of the press is being made, nor do they dream of the remorseless suppression that is being practiced.

The tyranny of it all is greatly heightened by the fact that the mail service is a monopoly, a complete, absolute monopoly, no competition being allowed, and in order to circulate papers, pamphlets, etc. it is absolutely necessary to make use of it. If competition in mail carrying were possible the matter would not be so bad, for the competing companies would ask no questions as to the character of the literature mailed. But the governors know all too well that in order to maintain their pet institution, the postal system, and use it to their advantage, it is necessary to make it a complete monopoly.

This case, like the Firebrand case, is another illustration of the fallacy of the Statist doctrine that government managed institutions are best and most useful. It is a solemn warning to grant no farther power to the government, but rather to kill the thing and set all persons free. Away with all authority! Assert your liberty and be free.

HENRY ADDIS.

THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

Two weeks ago Strawn-Hamilton, a distinguished member of the S. L. P. lectured on "Liberty" at one of their regular meetings. Although once during his address he inferred that the State really had no right to interfere with the conduct of its subjects outside of the "industrial administration," yet the quintessence of his deduction on liberty may be summarized in the sentence that "society would have to lay down a rule of conduct for the individual." Nevertheless he seemed to have used too many liberal phrases, for on leaving the hall I heard another prominent State Socialist exclaim in disgust: "Hamilton is an Anarchist, and if he is not soon expelled he will pull the whole crowd over into the Anarchist camp."

Mr. Hamilton said in beginning his speech that even learned people made the claim that Socialism would result in the greatest slavery mankind had ever known, and he would disprove this unwarranted assertion. But instead of repudiating authority in all its phases he proved the claim to be true. It is not Socialism, however, but the interpretation that is given by many of those who label themselves Socialists. Not long ago I listened to the Rev. Bliss, who calls himself a Christian Socialist, and his definition of liberty was far in advance of those calling themselves "Scientific Socialists." He said, "Liberty means: the power and opportunity to be our ownself, without any let or hindrance." No Anarchist will disagree with Mr. Bliss on his definition of liberty, but Hamilton has yet to learn that freedom with a proviso is not freedom.

On this occasion I would like to remind our reformers of the following declaration of a Greek philosopher about fifteen centuries ago: "They who voluntarily put power into the hand of a tyrant or an enemy must not wonder if it be at last turned against themselves;" or of the opinion of Auberon Herbert on the subject of compulsion: "Compulsion has an evil magic about it which turns every good into evil. Our educational and sanitary reformers are in that perverse mental state that they can do nothing, or rather that they think they can do nothing, without compulsion. Instead of our reformers being a blessing to the world they are rapidly becoming the other and the opposite sort of thing."

The election law of this city was fully explained in the Examiner, and the reporter concluded thus: "This is what the voter has to do. The counting of the ballot will be left to the politician."

I wish the advocates of political action would take a few lessons on politics from this capitalist reporter:

With an overwhelming majority the Swiss people have voted in favor of government ownership of railroads, and the workmen joyfully turned somersaults over this victory. What a delusion! The workers will pay the bill and walk as before, while the parasites

will ride in first class cars. It is always pointed out how much profit this or that government derives from owning the railroads, but the advocates of government ownership ever fail to show how much it has benefited the producers of wealth. Information is wanted.

According to the newspapers many adults have recently been found dying in New York for want of food. I wonder if our congressmen will shed tears, declare war to New York and appropriate a few millions in order to relieve the starving people of this "independent" country?

The "Torch of Reason" is very indignant about a Presbyterian catechism which "contains absolute lies" and quotes the following question: "Who made you?" the answer being "God." Pray, Mr. Hosmer, how do the so-called freethinkers answer this question of an inquisitive child? "The doctor brought you," or "We found you in a cabbage leaf," etc. This is not a lie, is it? "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

"Ah, you are one of those who want to abolish all laws and governments!" said a preacher, putting his hand on my shoulder, after he had been listening to my arguments in a little crowd on the street.

"Yes sir," said I, "I am one of those."

"Well, suppose you have all laws repudiated and I would ravish your wife or your daughter, what would you do about it?"

"I don't think you would commit any such brutality in a state of freedom. By the way, have you ever lived on a farm?"

"Yes sir, I was raised on a farm."

"Very well; did you ever see animals committing rape upon each other when left free in the pasture?"

"No sir; but you will not compare me with animals, will you?"

"No sir," said I, "because that would be an insult to the animals—they don't need laws and policemen preventing their committing rape, but you do."

The preacher hurried off without any further arguments. A. I.

Various Voices.

J. Meitus, M. D., Cincinnati, O.—Comrade Emma Goldman delivered a lecture upon "The Aim of Humanity" before the Ohio Liberal Society, Sunday evening, March 27th, in the G. A. R. Hall, and Sunday in Workmen's Hall.

The Ohio Liberal Society, whose meetings are always well attended, has not held such a large and enthusiastic meeting for a long time. The lecture was listened to by an intelligent audience and very enthusiastically applauded. The plutocratic papers said, "Anarchy's high priestess has been greeted by a packed house which cheered her most radical utterances."

We do not know how it is in other cities, but in Cincinnati we have been accustomed to see an Anarchistic speaker ridiculed and prejudicially condemned by the capitalist press, and unwillingly or at least indifferently listened to by the Freethinkers. We have therefore been pleasantly surprised in this case to see the press give a fair and unbiased report of the lectures and to see Emma Goldman so cheerfully greeted by the Freethinkers. Whether this is a symptom of the times or due to ability of the speaker or both, I will not attempt to say, but the fact remains that Comrade Goldman has tilled a very rich soil for other Anarchist lecturers to reap the harvest. Let us hope that they will be more numerous and at shorter intervals.

After the lecture the audience was given an opportunity for questions and criticisms. They were numerous and some very vehement, but all to the point; they rather bore the character of earnest investigation than mere antagonism. The criticisms were answered to the great satisfaction of the audience in the same spirit and in a most acute way. In short, the lecture was unanimously regarded as a success, and the speaker was invited to lecture again.

Although the meeting Monday evening was arranged at short notice it was well attended and Emma Goldman spoke for two hours in German and English.

J. W. G., Los Angeles, Calif.—Love, so much written and talked of, and found everywhere and exercising such a tremendous influence upon human destinies, is really very little understood. People do not generally know that it has grown up like everything else, and from very simple and entirely sensual beginnings.

Especially are women and American women ignorant of the real origin of love; they spiritualize it, think of it as a sentiment floating in the air and which has come pure from God or some mysterious source. Nevertheless they are sensual and practical enough in reality, though they declare love is a "pure" and super-sensual emotion.

I must say the conviction of Ruedebusch goes to the ultimate of moralistic idiocy. It belongs to America—the State of the people—I think it could not have occurred in any European State—no, not even in Russia. God keep me from the despotism of a people!

I am a man of peace, but I am pretty sure that if I were in the shoes of Ruedebusch I should seek out Mr. Comstock as the representative of American moralism and American law and liberty, and I should put his head "in chancery," as the prize fighters call it, and hammer it till I felt I had earned my enforced lodging in a jail.

What curs are American editors, writers, artists and men of science that they see in silence such outrages upon literature and thought!

THE FOLLY OF WORSHIP, OR THE CURSE OF GODISM.

I should like to republish the above pamphlet, and if I can get sufficient encouragement will do so. Single copies 10 cents. By the dozen or hundred from three to five cents. If I can I should like to issue 10,000. In that case I could let them go much cheaper and not suffer loss. Who will help me? Address me in care of FREE SOCIETY. LOIS WAISBROOKER.

The Letter-Box.

J. B., Forest Grove, Ore.—Yes, we all seem to get a taste of the bitter cup of life, but this is not altogether due to our lack of experience; it is to a large extent due to the lack of knowledge and comprehension. There are many people who have seen all the horrors of war, and yet they will cheerfully enlist again when their patriotism is aroused. My boys have never seen war, but at the same time they hate the idea and could not be drafted; neither are they "patriotic." Many women experienced nothing but misery, and yet they marry again and again. They argue like the voter that they did not select the right man, not realizing that the thing itself was bad. Now, our girl has had no experience in marriage, and yet I don't think she will ever marry. She realizes already that marriage is an institution of slavery and will avoid the experience. It is a great mistake for parents to believe that the children will learn to avoid all evils by experience.

E. H. Ventura Calif.—If every reader would try to induce only one of his friends to subscribe for FREE SOCIETY, the strength of our movement would soon be apparent without having our noses counted by the ballot-box. We are always glad to receive the addresses of liberal-minded people and supply them with sample copies.

Edith G. B., London, England.—You may obtain the book "The Old and the New Ideal" from Wm. Duff, 9 Carlin St., Govanhill, Glasgow, Scotland. The book is prohibited from the mails in this "free country," but not in monarchical England. This fact may give your State Socialist friends occasion for reflection on the theory of a government "of, for and by the people."

M. S., Chicago, Ill.—Yes, your name is on the list and the paper mailed regularly.

"Corporation Slave," Socorro, New Mexico.—If all the sample copies sent out would bring such results we soon would live in a free society and enjoy a happy life. Many of the old comrades seem to think that we have money stored away and are trying to get rid of it by publishing the paper and pamphlets.—Literature and papers have been forwarded to your friend at Colfax, Wash. Greetings!

R. H., New York City.—I am not by any means a prophet, but if your assertion is correct that "in the highest state of society there will still be forcible control," I fear that all your efforts to gain greater liberty are in vain. Authority once set up has not a decreasing tendency, but it grows until liberty is utterly subverted. This has been the case in all nations, no matter what provisions the people made against governmental abuse.—The mentioned article will appear.

Literature.

"Mysteries of Creation and other Poems" is the title of a new pamphlet in the Jewish language; L. Rabotnik author and publisher. Address: L. Rabotnik, 526 Washington Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

"Blahobyt Vsem" (Wealth for All) by Peter Kropotkin is the title of No. 3 of the Delnicke Library in the Bohemian language. Price 10 cents. Address: Delnicke Listy, 402-71 St. New York.

MATING OR MARRYING, WHICH?*

BY

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

The distinctions of sex seem to extend throughout all nature, certainly through all animate nature; and there is reason to believe that it does not stop at the limits of what is termed the inanimate. In fact, who can say that nature is anywhere inanimate? Every atom of the universe seems to possess the power of selection, by which it is able, under favorable conditions, to attract to itself certain other atoms widely diverse from itself in physical properties, which, together form new substances and manifest new attractions. Along with these attractions and their correlative repulsions goes the active interplay of natural forces, which, throughout every part of the universe, is working evolutionary changes not unlike a progressive growth. Even deep below the ocean's bed, or far beneath the foundations of the everlasting hills, under pressures so great that they cannot be estimated, heat, electricity and magnetism, combined with chemical reactions are changing old forms into new ones in a manner strangely suggestive of vital action. Even there, the separate atoms are moving freely among each other and arranging themselves in definite order, building up crystals always according to certain patterns, each after its own kind.

No matter how much people may differ in opinion as to the First Cause of all this power of selection in nature, there can be no difference of opinion as to the fact of its existence. There are certain ways in which things act under certain conditions; and those conditions being the same, the same actions will always follow. It is convenient to call this uniformity of action a law of nature, taking nature to mean the sum total of the universe in which we live, with all the forces operating in and through it, including the possible First Cause, if there is such a First Cause. We may say then that the power of selection is inherent in every sentient being, every plant and every atom of the universe; and that the impulse to exercise it is a law of nature. All this may not be sexual selection; but sexual selection is clearly a part of it. It is a part of this universal impulse which drives different animals, different plants and different atoms to blend with others, either for their own perfection or for the production of others distinct from themselves. There is just one thought right here that is worth noting, because it is likely to have an important bearing upon our conclusions. Each separate animal, plant, or atom possesses this power of selection for itself and not for others; and its own impulses are adequate for the proper exercise of it, without interference from others. At least, this is the case with everything below the human animal. Why should it not also be true of him?

This natural selection, as applied to sex when free from outside interference, is what we will call mating; while a union under formalities and regulations, imposed by society as a prerequisite to any union, constituting a limitation of the natural freedom of selection, is what we will call marriage.

Our purpose is not to enter into any elaborate consideration of the sexual relations of other beings than mankind, further than to throw needed light upon that important subject. Much has been written and spoken during the last twenty years on natural selection; but when it comes to elucidating the way in which natural selection works, in every day life, among human animals at least, and its consequent bearing upon social customs and moral standards, it does not seem to me that much light has been shed upon the subject. And yet, it is highly important that we understand the practical workings of a natural law which exercises so great an influence over the lives and characters of individuals; and, in a larger way, over the life and character of the race.

Marriage consists in certain formalities which society imposes upon individuals for certain purposes, as a prerequisite to the granting of its permission to the sexes to mate at all. Not that society rightfully has anything to say as to who may or may not mate; or the conditions of the mating; but it assumes to determine these questions as a means of perpetuating the institution of private property, and the inequalities which grow out of it. The necessity and the only necessity for the exercise of any regulation whatever, on the part of society, of the relations of the sexes, arises from the necessity of preserving private fortunes. If private fortunes are to be preserved and perpetuated from one generation to another, then it is necessary to maintain the integrity of the marriage relation and the control of society over it. It is for this purpose that the distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate children; that is, to preserve the succession of estates: to protect one man against being saddled with the expense of the support of another man's children, and so be made to suffer in his estate. And again, if a system of property rights is to be preserved according to which each person's claims are to be weighed and measured against the claims of each other person; if we must continue to take from some by law, to confer upon others, according to certain predetermined rules which the greedy will find ways to break whenever they think they will not be caught; if the present scramble for individual fortunes is to be kept up, with its resulting inequalities and injustices; if there must continue to be born into the world certain persons with more and better rights than inhere in others, the right of succession to estates, for instance, then it is necessary that society should continue to interfere in the natural right of individuals to mate as they please; and to preserve the marriage relation intact, or as near intact as theological dogmas, moral codes and statutory enactments can compel. No matter at what expense of suffering, of suppression of natural instincts, of consequences to offspring born of low ideals, ruined from conception in their physical and mental constitutions: I say, no matter at what expense of all these, the marriage relation must be preserved. The reason to be for the institution of marriage lies in the institution of property. When that falls, marriage as a compulsory institution will fall with it.

Let those who entertain any doubt as to the truth of the statement that the purpose of the institution of marriage is solely to preserve private estates and determine who is to get the property in cases of succession, study the laws on the subject of marriage, both civil and ecclesiastical, in every country in the world where private

* Revised and enlarged from an address delivered by the author, before Lucifer Circle of Chicago, in October 1896, on the subject of Natural Selection.

property prevails. Everywhere they tell the same story: the fact of the marriage is the thing that determines the right of the child in the estate of the parent. In order the more certainly and effectually to control the actions of individuals in this matter, the church has made marriage a religious sacrament; and so surrounded it with supernatural terrors, which it visits upon those who mate independent of its sanction. In this, the state has largely acquiesced; because its own object is identical with that of the church; and it recognizes the effectiveness of its methods. In my other works I have shown how completely our whole social fabric is built upon property as a foundation.

It has become quite the thing among a class of would-be reformers to talk of freeing women from the dominion of men; and yet, not one in a thousand of those who indulge in such talk have any adequate conception of what the source is of that dominion. What good is it to preach to women to assert their independence and become a law unto themselves, when they know that if they are to fulfill their manifest destiny they must be individually dependent upon some individual man for the bread they eat? Women know that they cannot fulfill the office of motherhood and still rely upon their own powers as breadwinners. It is true that some women do raise families and practically support the whole household at the same time; but no one will undertake to justify it, or recommend its extension to women in general. Therefore, those who are so anxious for "woman's emancipation" will do well to go deeper than the surface of things: to strike at the root of the evil, which lies in the institution of private property.

There are two powerful influences at work, which seriously interfere with the natural law of selection; and which prove effective props to the institution of marriage. One is the Church and the other the State. One assumes to speak in the name of religion and the other of morality. One enforces its decrees by appeals to the superstitious fears of its adherents and the other by the penalties of the law. One binds the soul and the other the body.

Let no one misunderstand me. I say, the Church assumes to speak in the name of religion; but it is in a foreign tongue. Religion, so far from being the same thing as ecclesiasticism, or even a system of theology, is entirely distinct from either. It is a social force proceeding from the emotions and operating upon the emotions of others, for the purpose of softening the asperities of mankind and fitting men for association one with another in this life. It has nothing necessarily to do with another life. The conception of a life to come belongs to the domain of theology and not religion. It is a dogma of the church and not an impulse of the heart. For a fuller analysis of religion, see my forthcoming work, "Co-operation, Past and Present." But the thing that the Church teaches as religion is quite another thing. It enjoins a love and veneration for something supernatural, that is, above nature, as a source of authority and as a guide to human conduct. If a question arises among those who acknowledge the sway of the Church, respecting what may or may not be done, appeal is made to the authority of their pretended, religious books or teachers. The question is settled strictly on authority—by a "Thus saith the Lord." Reason, or human needs do not enter into the question at all. It is easy to see then, how powerful must be the influence which the Church wields over its subjects to cloud their perceptions as to any matter in which its authority is acknowledged. The teachings of the Church are based wholly on authority; and just to the extent to which that is acknowledged, reason and love, the supreme guides in all things, are dethroned; or rather, are never permitted to become enthroned, because, to enthrone love and reason is to dethrone authority.

Morals, on the other hand, have their origin in human needs. I say, that is their origin. They may outlive the needs which gave them rise; and, in that way, become just as great a hindrance to human progress as the authority of the Church or the State. But while the need remains they perform a salutary part in determining human conduct. The term "moral," has a Latin derivation and signifies, a mode, a fashion, a custom, or habit. And like all customs which arise among men, in their origin they spring from some real or supposed need. But their tendency is to outlive the conditions which made them necessary at first, and thus to become clogs and hindrances to human development. The needs of mankind change from one age to another as development progresses; and therefore the customs: that is, the morals, must change with them correspondingly, or else moral codes become a curse. They act to cloud the judgement; hinder the enthronement of reason; and prevent the march of progress. Statute laws are only a concrete expression of so much of the moral codes as have been formally enacted into law.

It is time now, to consider the mating of the sexes, with and without the sanctions of marriage, and see if we can determine the relative effects of freedom and restriction respectively. To do it properly, it will be necessary to consider the effect upon all the parties in interest. Those are, first, the individuals who mate; second, their offspring; and third, society at large. While it will be necessary to study all these different aspects; yet it is impossible to separate their effects upon the different persons. For instance, the relations between mother and child are so intimate that whatever affects one is apt to affect the other; and therefore, it will promote clearness to consider them together.

Broadly stated, the objects for which the sexes mate at all, are, first, the happiness and improvement of the contracting parties; and second, the production and rearing of offspring. It will scarcely be denied that love ought to be the basis of all union between the sexes, and that too, a love unmixed with sordid considerations of every kind. In fact, natural sexual selection, or mating, is only the expression of love apart from any thought of property, rank or station in life. Where the sexes are so united, they need no law or regulation of society to keep them together or determine their conduct. They will remain together just as long as the love continues which brought them together at first, law or no law. And when that ceases, the relations ought to cease, as will be made manifest in the course of this work. To continue them is no longer a continuation of the natural selection. Love cannot live when the relations cease to be voluntary; it always dies whenever compulsion becomes necessary.

We cannot carry our study much further without taking into account the differences between the sexes; and the part those differences play in the accomplishment of the objects for which the sexes mate at all.

In the first place, we will note those characteristics of the female which most distinguish her from the male, and the part which they perform in determining

the character of the offspring. What are those characteristics? Wherin does woman differ most widely from man? Admitting that this is a subject which is open to a wide difference of opinion, I will only undertake to present my own idea, based upon my observations, which must stand or fall upon its own merits. To me that difference, in the main, lies in her sympathetic, emotional and intuitive nature. These, I think, are the qualities which most distinguish her from man. And these are precisely the qualities which have most to do in determining the character of her offspring. While a man will reach his conclusions after an elaborate course of reasoning and calculation; a woman, being generally more in rapport with the "soul of things," brushes aside his figures and details; and goes directly to the heart of the subject, as if by some intuitive impulse. She acts more spontaneously—more impulsively. And it is open to question if she is not quite as likely to form correct judgments as the man. Certain it is that this makes her more imaginative. She deals more with ideals. She is constantly seeking ideals in everything. And those ideals partake of the predominating characteristics of her own constitution. They express her longings. If, by training, temperament and association, her own ideals are gross and sensual, she will seek the gross and sensual among her male friends. If, however, she has learned to value something higher, even if she is unable to attain to it herself, she will form a higher ideal; and strive to realize it in her association with the other sex. This quality of ideality, resulting from her emotional, intuitive and sympathetic impulses, is the great distinguishing characteristic of the sex: the characteristic which has more to do in determining the character of the child than any, perhaps than all other causes combined. It rises superior to heredity. It can absolutely neutralize the influence of heredity, just as a strong and robust man, in the full vigor of health can throw off the germs of disease and prevent them from obtaining a lodgment in his system. There are men, and I doubt not women also, whose vital forces are so vigorous that they can, with impunity, expose themselves to the contagion of small pox without taking them. Some even, are able to overcome venereal diseases where the exposure is by actual contact. The vital forces, when acting vigorously through the physical system, enable the individual to pass unscathed through dangers which would be fatal to those in whom they are less active. And so, with a woman soul free, with her woman's nature unhampered and in vigorous exercise, she may bid defiance to the laws of heredity, so far as any taint that can attach to her offspring. If a woman mates with the man who best meets her ideal, or whom she thinks meets that ideal, she will stamp that ideal upon her child. I say, "whom she thinks meets that ideal," for the question is not so much what he is as what she thinks he is. His real character may differ as wide as the poles from the conception she has formed of him; and yet, it is her ideal that she will stamp upon her child. The powerful influence which the imagination of the mother exerts over the offspring is well known, especially in cases of malformations and abnormalities. Have we any reason to suppose that it is less powerful when operating along beneficent lines? If now, a woman who has yielded herself to the man who has won her affections, whom she believed was the embodiment of all that was noble, generous and true, finds that he is not all that her fancy had painted him; but, on the contrary, that he is mean, vulgar and heartless, so that her ideal is destroyed which she had formed of him, her child will certainly partake of the new characteristics she has discovered; and if she continues to mate with him, the disgust and loathing which takes the place of love is likely to find expression in a moral or physical monstrosity according to the degree of the mother's repulsion to her mate. It is from this that come deformities, congenital and hereditary defects, degenerate reversions and monstrosities. Here is where we get our Guitaues, our Prendergasts and our Jesse Pomeroyes. If married, the woman no longer finds her ideal in the man who claims her by legal right; but law and custom still compel her to submit to his embraces; or else she is placed under circumstances in other ways which call into activity the characteristics which are afterward found impressed upon her child. There is a consciousness of degradation and she makes actual, in her offspring, the degradation which she feels. Therefore, it will be seen, how important a part love plays in the development of the child, and, in a larger way of the species; and also, how absolutely sexual relations should cease when love no longer exists.

It will be seen from all this that the influence of the male upon the character of the child, except at the time of connection, is wholly secondary: that is, it is an influence exerted upon the mother, through her emotions and her imagination; and by her impressed upon the child. Undoubtedly, at the time of connection his influence is of the utmost importance. Some have regarded it as so great that it makes little difference what the mother may be if the father is all right. They have claimed that it is the father that fixes the character of the offspring; that the mother does little more than furnish a receptacle into which the seed is dropped and in which it develops until birth. Such claim that the child will follow closely the characteristics of the male parent with little regard to the female. But this ignores some of the most obvious facts in nature.

(TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.)

A BRAND NEW PHILOSOPHY.

In a late number of FREE SOCIETY I pointed out a contradiction into which Comrade Addis had fallen in declaring that one might take delight in misery—that is, might be happy in unhappiness. Of course no careful thinker would make such a break, and I wondered greatly when I discovered it in Addis's notes. It now develops that he has a new philosophy by which to "explain" the seeming incongruity. I have detected outcroppings of this "philosophy" before, but attributed our difference at the time to a mere misunderstanding on a few minor points.

Comrade Addis goes back to antiquated Webster for definitions on which to base a brand new philosophy. I do not know, and do not care whether the definitions he credits to Webster are correctly quoted or not. I do not accept them. And to my personal knowledge, Comrade Addis does not accept Webster's authority in all definitions.

If happiness is "that which happens, or comes suddenly," etc., then happiness may be either pleasure or pain. Every intelligent person knows that, what-

ever the word may have meant in past ages, today it means the opposite of pain, or a highly pleasurable state. If Comrade Addis does not accept this meaning of the word, how does he explain his reference, in the fourth paragraph of his article, to "the fact that we prefer pleasure to pain, or happiness to misery"? He denies that this admitted fact is proof of my claim that we constantly seek happiness, and makes the absurd claim that to prove it I must prove that we are constantly in one or the other extreme state. But this goes beyond my claim, it being only that we seek—that is, consciously desire, and act accordingly. This claim he has already admitted, hence his claim of "indifference" is also absurd. Indifference to pleasure and pain is impossible to sentient life, and is always proof of the non-sentient.

But if indifference were possible, it would not explain the claim that one may "delight" in pain. That is like standing up so straight that there is danger of tumbling backwards—it is going "straight," or "indifference," several "better."

Comrade Addis thinks that for the most part our actions are automatic and we do not consciously "seek" anything. How, then, does he explain the claim, which he sets in opposition to mine, that "we seek to do and to be," regardless of pleasure or pain? To what extent action is unreasoning and automatic does not affect my claim, since it is admitted that we do act in some degree consciously and reasonably. I know that the heart beats, and that the lungs, without our volition, take in the regular supply of air. I do not claim any object or purpose for such or similar automatic action. But when I found that an inherited contracted chest was likely to send me into consumption (which is ill-health, and consequently pain), and I voluntarily increased my lung capacity by five inches chest measure, by deep breathing and other exercises, I was in search of health, which is happiness as compared with the pain of sickness.

It would seem to me a waste of space to go on with an extended criticism of Addis's absurd philosophy. I don't think his indifference to pleasure and pain will lead to self-mutilation or the use of strychnine for sugar in his coffee. I believe his constant seeking after pleasure and happiness will lead to the proper care of his person and continued seeking to better social conditions. And if he should risk injury to himself to save another in mortal danger, I should say, "How unhappy he would have been to have seen a fellow being perish without being able to render assistance!"—even though the condition had "happened" very "suddenly."

J. H. M.

KEYNOTES FOR A FREE SOCIETY.

The terms "commonwealth" and "co operative commonwealth," now becoming so familiar in the propaganda of Socialism and in socialistic literature, may be set down as a "keynote" of immense significance. It means the commonwealth—equality and liberty for all. To secure this a complete social revolution will be required. The co-operative commonwealth requires that each man, woman and child shall strive to secure and enhance the good of all others, which, of course, will include their own good.

This general proposition represents the objective ideal social system toward which altruism [Why not egoism? A. A.] in all its various phases, aims, and demands from each according to their ability, and guarantees to each according to their need.

All the various reform organizations, such as the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Social Democracy of America, the Socialist Labor Party, the Union Reform League, the Anarchist-Communists, and other similar social movements profess to be aiming at this object, differing only as to the best and most desirable methods of reaching it in some possible and practical way.

Efforts continually being made in the line of scientific research and their sure and inevitable result, the further discovery of great nature's methods will gradually and surely harmonize, or remove these differences, and finally unite us upon a natural and practical basis.

Already there has been, and is continually being made, much substantial progress along these lines. The methods of nature being stable and immutably fixed, can always be relied upon for universal application. For instance the dual law of attraction and repulsion, of aggregation and segregation or disintegration, corresponding to the relations of concord and discord in music, is applicable to all processes of creation. Attraction draws the elements that are in affinity together; repulsion drives the uncongenial asunder. The relations of musical sounds, as illustrated by the degrees, the steps and half steps of the musical scale of eight notes, is evidently just as illustrative of the relations of men and women. Their voices exactly counter-parting and blending harmoniously at the octave, that is the voices of women being exactly eight notes higher in pitch than men's voices, would seem to prove it, or at least suggest a "key" for thorough investigation.

Another very significant fact should be noted here, that is: one and eight of the musical scale constitutes the key from which all other relations of the scale are calculated. So, if we have the "key" of human relations in the relation of the voices of men and women, from it all others may be calculated. Still another point is, that the relation of the octaves in music is the sweetest, most concordant and harmonious of all musical relations, complete counterparts—two in one—exactly corresponding to a true love or conjugal relations of the sexes. This central fact of the uniform relations of the voices of men and women, of all men and all women exactly at the octave, in music, is at least pretty strong presumptive evidence that the law in nature that fixes and governs the relations of musical sounds, may be universal in its application and the very same that we have discovered to fix and govern human relations, in regard to their voices at least. And presumably that their economical, social and political relations may be as harmoniously regulated, by tracing them by this key. If not, why not?

All the notes of the musical scale can be so related and adjusted in a musical composition, no matter how complex and elaborate, that if correctly performed, no discord can find expression. It must be remembered, however, that not a single note can be neglected, or be out of place and harmony with the whole without endangering the harmony of all the rest.

In the next article I will show that every note of the musical scale, and of the scale of human relations as well, is of equal value and importance. M. E. M.

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A SUCCESSION.

Those interested in Godology should ask one of the Salvation Army and allow them to look at the picture they are now wearing on their breasts, then with thanks say: "I am interested in seeing all the little gods I can, because the great God of America, enforced on her by England (Gold) is so very retiring in this year of grace 1898, that a working man seldom can see him, much less feel or possess his inanimate Majesty who rules over all the other Gods." This was practiced a few days ago, and the student is not sure whether he left the disciple thinking or swearing, but inclines to think the latter. Father Booth and son Booth divided into two camps on the question of divying up this same God.

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