

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

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

NEW SERIES NO. 31.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JUNE 12, 1898.

WHOLE NO. 167.

DARE AND DO.

Dare to do right, with Liberty's might
Dare to stand up and be free!
Dare to stand up and break the long night
That has covered the earth and the sea.

Dare to strike blows, that shall let the world know
That Liberty is planted for aye!
Dare to be true, to "the red, white and blue"
In spite of what tyrants may say.

Dare to be just, and let that cause be first
Which breaks all the yokes on land or sea.
Dare to do right, with all your might,
Till Liberty reigns o'er humanity.

Dare to say, to all tyrants who may
True rights and justice assail,
That tyrants and thrones, with all their dry bones
Can never, no, never prevail!

Dare to use truth, while yet in your youth
To conquer old error's foul stains,
That when we grow old, it shall never grow cold
While man inhabits earth's plains.

Dare to be a man, as in the great plan
God intended all men to be,
Then the dark night, shall be turned into light,
And all of the earth shall be free.

Dr. O. STODDARD.

Providence, R. I.

EVOLUTION AND ANARCHISM.

By C. L. JAMES.

There is exactly one way to take the doctrine of Evolution correctly. There are three fundamental ways to take it incorrectly. The latter are capable of being variously mixed. Among those who take Evolution incorrectly, some confound hypothesis with truth; some speak as if metaphysicians; and some know nothing about the doctrine but its name. The first class are represented by a galaxy of writers for whose absurd pseudo-scientific speculations see the latter part of the article "Evolution" in the Encyclopedia Britannica. The remedy for all such extravagances as theirs is to learn the difference between hypothesis and truth. Truth is the unknown, the unattainable, the spouseless virgin, the ideal end of research. Hypothesis is merely a useful method of research. When a few phenomena have been observed and recorded, it becomes necessary to further research that they should be reasoned about, for which purpose they must be classified. But that is not a good working classification which does not appear to explain the relation of the phenomena to their efficient causes. In order to make a serviceable classification, we must therefore guess at the efficient cause of those phenomena we propose grouping together. This is hypothesis. That it should be true is neither necessary nor likely. All we ask of it is that it shall supply a phraseology not at variance with the facts yet known, in which those facts, for the purpose of proposing further experiment or observation, may be discovered. It is no more a part of science than a scaffold is part of the house whose builders erect one. As the scaffold makes possible a second story, so does hypothesis raise us from the empirical to classificatory stage of science. As a scaffold may sometimes be worked into the building, so may a hypothesis sometimes, though rarely, be verified by crucial experiment, and become part of science. But science consists in facts, not hypotheses, as the wall consists of bricks, not scaffolding. And as the only use of the scaffold is to promote brick laying, so the only use of hypothesis is to aid induction. It becomes an insecure foundation when not united to the mass of facts. He who erects upon it a Babel tower rising into empyreal regions beyond that of experiment and observation, does not understand

its nature or its function. The application to social problems of evolutionary phraseology, derived from evolutionary hypothesis, is very largely an error of this sort. The terms are too large and loose for their argumentative purpose. They are too capable of being used on both sides. They leave too largely the meaning of Everything in General, which is equivalent to Nothing in Particular. It is easy to show that the disposition to obey and the disposition to legislate are, as a matter of natural history, reversions towards the ape-like imitativeness of our remote ancestors. It is easy to show that these co-operating tendencies are, as a matter of political history, the standing obstacles to physical discovery, aesthetic development, and the operation of natural and sexual selection. It is correspondingly easy to make out from natural and political history an exceedingly strong case for absolute individual freedom as against State Socialism, which must rest upon obedience and legislation. But the case which can be made out for the same view from the concentration of matter and dissipation of motion is much less intelligible and clear, though I do not doubt its being sound.

At the head of metaphysical evolutionists stands Herbert Spencer himself. We have seen that a hypothesis is necessarily subjective. It is a "view," not a fact, still less a truth, which means a fact realized in its actual relation to all other facts. This Mr. Spencer knows, for he styles his philosophy "the Subjective." But he does not give his intellect fair play. He is interested in pushing his view of universal progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. He does not perceive, or does not choose to enlarge on, the correlative view of progress from the manifold to the individualized, which has been pointed out by the German transcendental school. He does not see that, however useful either of these views may be for the purpose of guiding research into particulars, they cancel each other when advanced as theories of nature. For all his elaborate refutation of absolutist thinking, he has never adequately realized that the Infinite does verily transcend comprehension,—that Everything in General is indeed equivalent to Nothing in Particular. A like absolutist, or metaphysical turn of mind is at once revealed by such an expression as "the brotherhood of man" is a humbug." The strife of Egoism and Altruism is as old as Zeno and Epicurus. It ought to be hushed above their graves. If the hostile war-cries Virtue and Pleasure are to be raised again, we shall have the old result—nothing will be added to the sum of either of pleasure or virtue.

A capital example of the man who knows nothing about Evolution but the name, is the fellow who says he is for "Evolution not Revolution." Evolution includes Revolution. Evolution is opposed to the miraculous, which has no real existence; but it is posited by its apostles as including all which really does exist. The man who thinks it excludes the cataclysmal or revolutionary, evidently knows nothing about it. And similarly the man who tries to make out that something—i. e. extreme egoism—is not to be condemned on the ground of conflict with moral sensibilities because it may lie in the line of evolution, clearly knows nothing about the scope of evolution. Evolution has nothing to do with ethics or teleology. Evolution includes all we call evil as well as all we call good. It makes the tiger's heart as much as the woman's. Nothing repugnant to the moral in-

stinct can be inferred from it anymore legitimately than from those theological and metaphysical theories of which it is the successor. Like them, it is but a crude generalization of facts, whose stability depends wholly on its being kept in touch with facts as these accumulate. Once made to stand alone, whether through ignorance of what hypothesis is good for, or metaphysical habit, or misunderstanding of its own meaning and nature, it is but a new ontology—a theory of Everything in General, which means Nothing in Particular.

The right way to take evolution is as a hypothesis alone. Anarchy in speculation—repudiation of all authority—is the first principle of every philosopher from Socrates downwards. But only those who dare to carry Anarchy into practice are consistent about it. Let us try to be so, and we shall at once see that all which is called logic rests on authority, therefore must be repudiated. It proceeds *ex precognitis* et *preconcessis*. But we reject authority, therefore we precognise and preconcede nothing. The foundation of formal logic are removed, and the superstructure necessarily falls. In its ruins it brings down every phase of applied logic. The arguments of the Pyrrhonists and the Neo Academicians against Mathematics, are theoretically irresistible. Mathematical theory may be useful as hypothesis; but as alleged truth, it is based on formal logic, and with formal logic it falls. Metaphysics are down already, so I won't kick them. Morality is deduced by the sophistical method of formal logic from such precious *precognitis* et *preconcessis* as the sentiments of our barbarous ancestors. When the judgment is convinced, and nothing is needed but to inspire the imagination or uphold the will, an appeal to these familiar principles serves a good rhetorical purpose. But they are totally unsuitable for the basis of a science. That should be "buttresses of adamant." They are "flimsy material only fit for perorations." With Morality go Religion, Law, Politics—all which presuppose it. Yet these things have certainly served a function in their time. Can we supply their place into the philosophy of Materialism and Utility, which rests upon the senses? Not a bit of it, the senses are notoriously fallacious; the method of deduction from their testimony only that which we have discarded; the result a new metaphysical system, distinguished from the old only by being the most shallow. Well, then! we have certainly made a pretty clean sweep. That rejection of authority which all philosophy posits, that discovery of universal contradiction which Kant effected and Hegel applied, leaves us nothing to start with except force, subjectively revealed. Our disposition to be doing something is a primary fact. But we are guided to doing what we propose by observation and experiment only. The inductive method is therefore the one whose results defy criticism. What uses it makes of hypothesis, evolutionary and other, we have seen already. It has not led to truth, which, being transcendent, seems to be unattainable. But it continually leads to facts, which are the material of truth. Its capacities have no apparent limits but our perseverance. By its molecular psychological and social researches, it finds approximate answers even to those ultimate questions, which, in their abstract form, have puzzled innumerable generations and may puzzle as many more. For example, it teaches us—me very emphatically,—that the tendencies represented by these terms, scepticism, faith, reason,

imagination, egoism, altruism, are equally facts of human nature; and that their antinomies present no practical difficulty to any man who will take them for part and parcel of his inheritance. These, however, are the flowers and leaves of the inductive philosophy; not its roots, nor yet the edible fruit. Their chief use is diverting from idle controversy, which I am sorry to see reviving among those who derive their better thoughts from other methods that I have thought worth while to hold forth at this length. Macauley was right—the true positivism is a philosophy of works, not words. It is in the pedestal of Bacon, not on that of Epicurus or any who have since reverted to Epicurus' dogmas, that those noble lines should be inscribed

O tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
Qui prius potuisti, illustras commoda vitæ.

THE EVIL OF ESTABLISHED THINGS.

Habit is a powerful factor in the formation of society. Starting from the simple biological principle that motion travels over a path once taken more readily than it seeks out a new one, it follows on, influencing the conditions and activities of all mankind until it finally builds up barriers to progress that are almost insurmountable. The opposite principle, that which makes for differentiation, is the element of progress; it is the eternal rebel, and continually tears from the hardening grasp of conservatism the power that, unmodified, would petrify the world. So far as habit, custom preserves that which has been learned or discovered; or attained in any way, it is beneficial to the race; but when it predominates as the constant tendency is, it becomes a menace, an evil to mankind.

The masses follow custom, precedent, the few only dare to strike out in new directions. Any act performed once, is apt to be repeated; copied many times it becomes a thing to be respected; followed up for a generation, it grows to be an authority; a century of repetitions makes it as sacred as the gods. Nothing is harder, more cruel, more implacable than "ancient usage."

A thought may be in its inception a benefit, a new step forward; but let it once become crystallized into an institution and it soon becomes a stubborn, unyielding obstacle in the pathway of civilization. Conditions, circumstances, needs, aspirations, change with every passing day; the institutions established under one phase of human development, become unsuitable, even dangerous, under the next. Yet they are so rigid, so deeply rooted they cannot be readily removed, so sacred and so revered they must not be touched by irreverent hands. The worst of institutions existing today were once the new thought of some rebel, some iconoclast, or radical. Christianity in its first simple form, was a declaration of universal brotherhood as opposed to the old pagan philosophy which ignored the rights of the lower, slave classes. It was then but little more than an altruistic sentiment. But as its adherents grew in numbers, rites and ceremonies intended to perpetuate its principles were introduced, and in time, the observance of these ceremonies became the most important part of the religion; the original idea of love to all mankind was lost sight of in a mere blind, habitual obedience to leaders and priests. The religion became an institution deeply rooted in the foundations of society; it gained in strength and power as it grew older; and history tells what bloodshed, what infinite suffering, what sacrifice it has cost the human race. It has for ages stood an immovable, stubborn hindrance in the way of science and knowledge as well as of a true conception of right living. Undue power is always used against the good of mankind, not for it.

The idea of written laws and governmental institutions had its origin in a desire to modify the power and tyranny of monarchs. In the beginning, they served a good purpose, limiting the insatiable demands of both the kings and the barons who were jealous of them. But they have existed so long, have become so respectable with age, so unyielding, so sacred, that however unfit for the present state of society they may be, however great the evils they inflict, they cannot be removed. They are far behind the times; they do not represent the economic interests of the people and they are not abreast of the scientific discoveries and inventions of the day. They hinder the equality and justice that nearly all thoughtful people believe should prevail today. They are starving and torturing the

children of earth, for whose benefit they are supposed to exist. Yet their very age, their fixedness, their revered aspect prevent a change that all desire.

Radicals should see the danger of establishing anything, no matter how meritorious it seems to be. The masses of the people are worshippers of established things. A judge will go back to a "precedent" two hundred years old enacted when people's ideas were crude and the conditions altogether different from those of the present, and his listeners accept it as the wisest decision possible. The masses believe only in the accustomed methods, in recognized, well established authority. They hesitate to try liberty. Even if once led so far along that they recognize the evil in an old institution, they dare not co-operate to remove it until something else is ready to fix in its place. No sooner do they cry "The king is dead," than they must add "Long live the king!" They dare not trust their own Christ's words when he said "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" and "Take no thought for the morrow," etc.

But surely a social student, a radical, need not fear freedom. He should know that the highest and best thought in the world, if crystallized into an institution, will sometime work injustice and harm to the people. Surely enlightened people now know enough to preserve whatever is good without establishing a form, a fixed, legal, code or enactment. Even though that blind force which our Marxian Socialist friends are always referring to, has a tendency to establish institutions, let us counteract it all we possibly can. Every day belongs to itself and can take care of itself. We have no business making bonds for a future day or a future generation. What we believe is best and wisest today let us live up to; let those who come after us have a chance to do the same.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

AN APPEAL.

We inform all those that are anxious to see Comrade Berkman released that his case will be brought before the Board of Pardons next July, and will come this time to a definite decision.

But there are not yet sufficient means on hand to defray the necessary expenses, and we therefore appeal to all friends and comrades to send in their mite immediately. Let us do all we can at present. We hope that our efforts will be rewarded with the liberation of our young comrade.

HARRY GORDON, Treasurer.

P. HELBERT, Secretaries.
H. BAUER,

73 Springgarden Ave. Allegheny, Pa.

THE SEXUAL ENSLAVEMENT OF MEN.

So much is now being said on the sex question, and its effect upon the world, especially upon woman and children, that I want to present the man's side as it appears to a woman. Men have fought bravely for every step in advancement for woman, and now why should I not enter a plea for the men? Whenever an argument is presented to show that womanhood is degraded and enslaved by the present condition of society, that argument is immediately met by one equally true, that woman is not the only sufferer. "Men are bossed by their wives"—"they are made to support woman who live in their houses as their wives without fulfilling their marital duties;" a woman relentlessly takes all of a man's earnings for dress, and gives him cross looks and tongue lashings because the sum is so small;" cross woman cry and fret all the time a man is in the house, and instead of providing mental rest and physical comfort so far as it is possible, they destroy the conditions necessary for restoring mental and bodily equilibrium, strength, and vigor." One needs only to live in a flat to hear enough to prove this. Not only this, but these women in their irritable tempers abuse the children their fathers love and work so hard to support. After the man has labored ten hours to earn something to make his little ones happy he is met with a scowl, and given a half-cooked, or a luxurious, extravagant dinner, served amid frowns and scolding, or more unendurable silence. The darling babies he loves so much (half sick from the indigestion caused by the unscientific cooking done by the ignorant mother, or her servants, or from the unnatural, unhealthy way they are dressed), cry, or are naughty, and are sent away from the table, if not spanked and sent to bed unhappy. This is the life of the larger part of the laboring men of the world to day.

Among the wealthier classes the misery is as great, but takes other forms. There the father may see his child consigned to the care of a nurse, ignorant, incompetent, and wholly undesirable, or perhaps all his fatherly love must be suppressed, while his wife lavishes what is supposed to be maternal affection upon a poodle, or a cat, or even a snake. If she is a mother the chances are that she gives the child to an inexperienced girl to care for, while she drives or walks with her favorite cur, and talks small talk to any one she knows. When the husband comes he is to be entertained by an account of "how jealous the dear little dog became when I took Mrs. So-and-So's baby in my arms," or perchance the sweet little fellow is sick, and she tells her husband she shall never become reconciled if he (the dog) dies. The husband cannot see the dog for alienating his wife's affections, but must live with her on this dog plane, his only consolation being that as yet dogs cannot inherit his property.

This is only what anyone may see, and hear, on all sides, and on all occasions. Still we do not see the worst. Man has so long been taught that he is strong, and somewhat of a stoic, that woman is the weak, sympathetic half of humanity, and that any indication of tender sympathy, or suffering, is effeminate—that, through pride and shame, he hides his agony as much as possible, and his theoretically sympathetic female companion can punish him unmercifully without arousing the suspicion it would cause if he treated her in that same way. Many women consider it a credit to be "sensitive," and really are more sensitive than sensible, and thus tyrannise over men who, in the real meaning of the word, are more sensitive than the women who rule them. I have seen a brave, sensitive man, who was enslaved by thinking a woman suffered as much as he would be suffering if he made as much fuss as she did. His life was given to trying to make her as happy as possible, his own miseries hidden in order to leave her mind untroubled.

So far as my experience and observation go, neither mentality, sensuality, nor what is most often termed spirituality, is the attribute of one sex more than the other. We have been taught to believe that woman is a frail, gentle, little thing, needing care and protection. She is the clinging vine and man the sturdy oak around which she twines her tendrils in love and attraction. In some instances this is true, but in many he is the whole-hearted man on the journey through the forests of existence, and she is the boa constrictor which coils around him to envelope his life in slime, and ultimately to swallow him.

I do not think these assertions can be refuted, or that any thoughtful lover of man has failed to perceive the facts upon which they are based, but what is the reason of it all? It is simply the sexual enslavement of man. No person wants to spend a life alone, and a man seeing beautiful woman about him naturally loves one of them, and asks her to share his home, his heart, his fortunes, with the results here pictured. Many times she gives him love for love; but many times she sees only a way to get away from some unhappy condition; she thinks she will have an easier life, that she will be supported. She expects her husband to give her a good living, to provide bountifully for her and his children, and she repays him by carrying his name around in a dignified manner. When his utmost effort cannot give the luxuries she desires, when his expressions of love are not exactly what she craves, she becomes ugly, resentful, unattractive, and relentless. Never desiring him herself, she does not allow him the society of others; she thinks if he cannot supply her needs, he surely cannot have a smile for another. She does not realize that conjugal happiness is a condition between two persons, and that it is not to be had by a mental demand. He must be a husband to her, even though to be such brings children they do not desire, and thus this man is almost forced into paternity while robbed of all its anticipated joys. If she has children, she will blame him, and will call his sexual expression a lower passion, many times claiming it is so low and brutal that it ought not to find gratification; but when advised not to bear so many children she will say, "Well, what would my husband do? I can't make him abstain from passion." Yet, although her unnatural, unhappy experience makes her accuse him of grossness and sensuality, she will consider he has deprived her of all the sacredness and chastity of home if he gives his "gross" expression to another; to one who wants it, and who would save her, while if he tries a life of continence she accuses him of going to others. She knows he has all this wickedness to ex-

press, and as his wife she demands that he give it all to her, and she returns it to him in all its hideousness in children, who receive her ugliness and abnormal development as well as his supposed uncontrollable sensuality.

His earnings are taken from his control and cooked up, and made into clothing, of which he may not approve, and which he knows might be improved, with a little good sense. And this condition is produced by marriage. Because he loved a woman, he gave himself and his all, to have his peace thus destroyed. Occasionally we find peace and contentment in a home. Gentleness and kindness and sisterly love for the husband remain after the abandonment to attraction has lived itself out. But seldom is the real alive love manifest after a few years.

"The lover watched his graceful maid,
As 'mid the virgin train she strayed,
Nor knew her beauty's best attire
Was woven still by the snow white choir.
At last she came to his hermitage
Like a bird from the woodland to the cage.
The ray enchantment was undone,
A gentle wife, but fairy none."

At best, this is what marriage gives the man, the husband. Often, more often, the situation is better described by Kipling in this way:—

"A man there was, and he made his prayer,
(Even as you and I)
To a rag and a bone and a hank of hair.
We called her the woman who did not care,
But the fool he called her his lady fair.
(Even as you and I)."

I see no happiness for men and fathers until there is sexual freedom. While a man must promise to support a woman for life if he acknowledges he loves her now, he is made a slave to her, and is sentenced to labor to support her. If he had a right to express love, love that she feels as well as himself, love that asks only love in return, and love that asks only love now in return, he might learn to what heights and depths of love he is capable of attaining. When he wants one child he can make arrangements with the woman he loves, to have that one, and to her satisfaction provide financially, in a business-like way, for its material support. Love will not be held by a contract, even if one is made, but real fatherly love needs none. Being free, the father can have more happiness, the two can limit the number of children as they choose, and a great step forward in the happiness of the world will be taken.

We have all had the woman's side of this question; all have heard that the sexual enslavement of woman produces half the misery connected with the relations of the sexes, and all intelligent men believe that it does. It has been proven conclusively. Now if I can only prove to the thinking portion of womankind that the other half of the misery of social life is caused by the sexual enslavement of man, we may begin practical work for sexual emancipation regardless of all this talk about which sex is most invaded, or is most to blame. I grant you we have equal slavery—shall we work for equal liberty?—M. Florence Johnson, in the *Adult*, London, England.

ANARCHY AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Under "Various Voices" in *Free Society* of April 10, B. H. of New York City says: "I would like to know how many Anarchists put their ideas into practice with their children."

I reasoned Anarchy out in the beginning of the war in 1861. My first of three sons was born then, to whom I never gave a command, but was careful to inculcate the truth to them as early as they could comprehend it; that they had equal rights with me or any other living being; that they had the same right to disobey me that I had them, if either so forgot himself as to give a command in an authoritative tone.

We lived on a farm which I improved on a scarcely settled prairie, where my boys had every opportunity to develop every muscle of their body and every faculty of their mind. I kept plenty of literature, including an *Unabridged Dictionary* and the "*American Cyclopaedia*." They walked two miles to winter school, but never went to Sunday school and very seldom to church. They excelled in every athletic sport and every game known in the country. I taught them all the games I knew with cards, and they never gambled. They were the most perfect physical and mental organizations in the county, if not in the state. They are the most highly respected for their intelligence and integrity of any men in my knowledge. Our

whole family has been a living example of Anarchy. I never owned a weapon of any kind; never killed anything but a chicken; never went to law; never ran for office, and shame the professed Christians. I write Anarchy for our county papers; talk Anarchy and distribute anarchistic literature. I think a great good can be done in that way. I also advocate the so-called "Single Tax" as a long stride toward Anarchy.

I think our comrades make a great mistake in criticizing the Single Tax. They should inform themselves better concerning it before they do so. I think any elimination of man made laws, is by so much an advance toward Anarchy. There has been no economic measure proposed with any show of adoption, that would eliminate so many laws and give so much freedom as the Single Tax.

I kick against an arbitrary tax as much as any one can passively. I tell my Christian friends who favor a war with Spain, that I am opposed to war, and if they want war to pass the hat for contributions to pay the expense, just as they do to pay their preacher; that my moral sentiments against war are just as sacred as my religious ones and they have no more right to tax me for war than for a church.

Tax is defined to be a levy imposed on property for governmental purposes. The so-called Single Tax is not a tax. It is simply the taking, or a giving of the annual value or economic rent of land for the privilege of possession or use of land. It would be as voluntary as Anarchist-Communism after trial.

All value of land is the production of all, and if anything belongs to any one or all, the value of land does. No single person ever added value to land, for it takes a community to produce value. There is no other value in the world that all people equally produce. The value of sites of land would exist even under Anarchy. It is not an imposition as a tax is, it is not on property as a tax is, it is not for government as a tax is. It is taken, whether needed for government or not, to be distributed to the people who jointly produce it. The argument for the Single Tax is not dependent on government. Government is entirely ignored in the discussion of it. It is argued upon moral principles.

I admit that the Single Tax would disappear in a condition of pure ideal anarchistic mutualism; but the Single Tax is the next thing to it. The Single Tax is the coming question and will catch the Anarchist and the Socialist. It socializes the land for the Socialist, and it is individualistic enough for the Anarchist. It would give us free trade and simplify the tax laws very much. If considered as rent, the tax would be paid to oneself, instead of to a monopolist of natural opportunities.

I never made an argument for the Single Tax involving any governmental consideration. My ideal of Anarchy is that exchange value will become obsolete. But the last thing to lose exchange value will be land sites. The time will never come when every location will be equally desirable. Desire makes value, and the most desirable places now, as society is constituted, is in the midst of the greatest population, and the man who occupies the most desirable portion of land, should compensate others who have an equal natural right to it, for the privilege of the monopoly and security in the possession.

The theory of Anarchy is based on moral principles foundationed on nature. Our opponents assail us from an expediency standpoint only. The Single Tax theory is argued from the standpoint of natural rights, and is shown to be expedient, for whatever is right, is expedient. All wrong is supported by the argument of expediency, oblivious of the truth that right must precede expediency. If all people would begin at the right end to reason, there would be more unanimity.

A. I. says: "Land ought not to belong to the people, but should be as free as the ocean and the air are at present, and no mode of distributing the land can be available." Then how are you to make it free as air? I admit that all have an equal right to land as air and water, and all three are equally necessary to life. Land differs from the other two in the trinity, air and water, by being immovable. Air and water are fluid and continue to change localities and choice is not admissible. Choice in locality is a natural impulse and one of the first and most important in life. "No mode of distributing the land can be available," says A. I. True, but as choice or desire for a particular site on land creates value, either some persons must enjoy more freedom than others by occupying the most desirable sites or compensate others who have an equal natural right to them.

That value in excess of the least desirable land is economic rent which the Single Tax would take and distribute with all, for all are equally entitled to the land and all made the value of it. Outside of a community, land has no value for no one desires it how-ever fertile for vegetation.

A. I. speaks of cultivating and tilling land, and I suppose he meant as agriculturists. The most productive, and the most desirable land because the most productive, is found in cities. The more people there are on a given area of land, the more real wealth there is produced in proportion to the population. The land in Chicago, with two million people, produces four or five million times as much wealth as one man alone remote from a populous center. With our differentiated and complex division of labor, only a portion can be pure agriculturists or farmers, but in the last analysis, all are in a sense farmers, almost as truly as if they followed the plow. The first dawn of civilization was when one man found his neighbor more skilled in grinding grain in a mortar and said to him: "If you will grind my corn, I will raise yours." The man who ground his neighbors corn was as truly raising corn as if he had digged in the earth. The man skilled in making bows and arrows for others who brought in the game and exchanged for them, was as truly hunting and bagging game as if he had gone to the forest and killed his own game. So in all our complex industrial system—all are farmers in a sense, and all use and cultivate land. One acre in Chicago produces \$500,000 worth of wealth in one year. The trouble is, one man gets the wealth of that acre and all of the 2,000,000 people of Chicago produced it. It is true, all the people could not occupy it, but they could enjoy the value of it if distributed.

Yes, land differs from air and water. The air can have no rental value. I stood on the top floor of a building in Chicago, 302 feet above the pavement. They built it skywards, for the air had no rental value. The ground it stood on cost \$2,000,000 and the building cost \$2,000,000. The height nor the number of bricks in the building did not add a cent value to the land, it was the number of people centering there that gave the value to it. Now, I, as a citizen of Illinois, have an abstract right to an acre of land in Chicago, as much as the man or men whom the government protects in monopolizing it. But since we cannot all occupy it, I am content if he or they pay the annual value into a common fund that I may get my share of it.

As Henry George said in reply to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Jr. who wrote to him apologizing for not accepting the Single Tax theory sooner, saying: "I don't think the Single Tax is a panacea for all the evils of society." George replied: "Neither do I; but freedom is." So I say, I am an Anarchist first and a Single Taxer as a long step to freedom.

Hindsboro, Ill. J. C. BARNES.

TO REACH THE HEATHEN.

Lucius Demonicos, the great restaurant keeper used to say that "the profits of a restaurant go into the swill barrel." The profits of reform papers go into the scrap basket, and it is reformers who put them there. I am not less busy than most men either in money grubbing or in real work, but I never let a piece of literature which could make anyone discontented or show anyone the real remedy for discontent to be wasted. If possible, I mark an appropriate or striking paragraph and send or give it to someone. If not, I leave it in a barber shop, restaurant, car or letter-box. So Anarchist, Single Tax, Socialist or Populist papers find there way into hands that would never get them otherwise.

If all reformers would adopt this simple plan we would double the usefulness and shortly the circulation and advertisements of the agitating press.

BOLTON HALL.

"Physician in the House."

As a special premium to any one who will send us five dollars and the names of ten yearly subscribers to *Free Society* or *Free Society Library* we will send the large volume entitled "A Physician in the House," price \$2.75, written by Dr. Joseph H. Greer, a well-known Chicago physician of the reform school, and who has been an earnest friend and generous helper of *The Firebrand* and *Free Society*.

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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.

Notice.

A. Hamon, editor of *L'Humanite Nouvelle*, requests authors or publishers of books, pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets, etc., on Socialism or Anarchism or pertaining to the social question generally, to send him sample copies of such literature for review.

His address is: A. Hamon, 3, Boulevard Berthier (XVII) Paris, France.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The Social Science Club, which was called into life through the efforts of Emma Goldman, has met twice, since she left, on corner Sixth and Market streets (No. 1191 Market). The attendance has been small, but the discussions on various topics were lively and it is hoped that the meetings, which take place every Monday evening, will finally attract all those that are interested in the social movement.

"A man who patiently submits to the continuance of an evil thereby gives his consent to it," says the *National New Era*. This is well to remember for those who continually point out that "we cannot free ourselves as long as this system lasts." The question is how will we ever free ourselves if we patiently submit to be slaves in every respect. Who will free us if not we ourselves?

According to our newspapers peace is restored in Italy, but they forget to tell us at what cost the uprising has been suppressed—on the surface. The hungry were given bullets instead of bread; hundreds of men, women and children have been slaughtered; thousands of the most intelligent men are in the penitentiaries and military forts. Labor and Socialist organizations have been dissolved, and their leaders, who did their utmost to prevent violence, are nearly all arrested and will be tried (?) as common criminals. Even the co-operative societies of workmen, which through many years of hard labor and intelligence had become self-supporting, have been dissolved and their managers arrested. Thus peace is established. "Mankind will live in peace," a farmer once said to me, "when the last king is strangled with the guts of the last priest."

"Is there anyone who can give a clear, definite idea of freedom between man and woman, between parents and children? One which they would be willing to practice," asks Nellie M. Jerauld. A queer question, indeed. There is no definite ideal of freedom. What we consider freedom today may appear to us a slavish condition tomorrow. Freedom of action, however, always must be our goal, and as soon as we realize that non-interference or to "mind our own business" is the safest method to bring about happiness, the question will be solved. Men and women are under no obligations to each other, neither are the children to their parents. Every one of us must be free to act according to his or her feelings—our individuality must have full sway to develop. Trying to interfere with the actions or feelings of our mates, called husband or wife, is to be a tyrant. It is none of my business with how many men the woman I may happen to live with associates or loves, neither ought she to interfere with my private affairs. If others are able to draw more love from her than I, the fault lies with me and not with her, and vice versa. Therefore I mind my own business, and want others to mind theirs.

Some comrades in Chicago have established a Free Reading Room, as will be seen on page eight of this issue. Anyone having books to spare should send such to the Library and thereby assist our comrades in their effort.

Nudity is in danger at the Omaha exposition. A salvationist lassie noticing there a group of cupids and

other nude characters in art, recently armed herself with an axe and struck out at these "imps and aids of Satan," until she was arrested. It would be interesting to know if she also kills her children who undoubtedly enter this world in a nude state.

Comrade Bauer in his article on "The Usefulness of Bibles in Prisons," in plain, strong terms describes one of the many peculiar practices of prison life. A very common mistake, one that no Anarchist should be guilty of, he makes, however, when he refers to certain parts in the Bible as "dirty" and "smutty." Comrade Bauer writes of sexual abuses in prisons—recording facts—and the Hebrew writers referred to had evidently a like useful purpose in view. What we Anarchists claim is the right of free speech and free press the Hebrew agitators were allowed, and we certainly weaken our case by misrepresentation of the work of others.

A comrade from Philadelphia asks for what purpose the Maine was sent to Havana. The answer to that is that the American and Spanish governments being engaged in a heated dispute over certain "interests and practices" the American government sent the Maine to emphasize the fact that on its side was not only right but also might. Some fool Spaniard touched an electric button and the American and Spanish people are doing the rest. The bond holders will reap the benefit.

Not long ago I wrote to the *Examiner* of this city the following:

"ONE PHASE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

"J. A. K. J.—I have this day paid \$370.15 to the Custom-house as duty on \$300 worth of cloth imported from Ireland. If this cloth had been in my possession on March 1 the Assessor would have still further robbed me of \$7.40 (2 per cent on the amount of the customs extortion), because the duty must be added to the original cost of the goods. Then a licensee must be submitted to before the merchandise can, with safety as to personal liberty, be sold. If the dealer after paying duty, license and rent, and probably interest, is driven through hard times to peddle his wares, he is mulcted of a still further amount of \$7.50. Admitted that these things must be to enable Widbers and Supervisors and Boards of Education to steal, one can only think how heavenly the conditions would be if we could revert to those observed in Connecticut for fifty years, as recorded by the historian, Ridpath, when people lived in great happiness, without any laws whatever; none being rich, none being poor, and none had the fear of poverty."

I signed the article, "Not a poor Cuban, but one of the millions in America who are being crushed, nigh unto death, or revolution."

They evidently thought the sting lay in the tail, so they cut it off and put J. A. K. J. I did not expect it would be published.

An English clergyman, about to proceed to another fold where there was more gold, thus addressed his sheep in valedictory: "I am not sorry to leave you, for you do not love me, you do not love each other. God does not love you; if you loved me you would pay me better for my services; if you loved each other, there would have been more marriage services for me to perform, and as a natural consequence more christenings. If God had loved you, he would have taken more of you to Himself, and there would have been more funerals for me to conduct." Nothing but gold was what he wanted. Civilization is a wonderful good thing for kings, presidents and parsons; the latter rake in the gold at birth, wedding and death of their sheep, living on their fleeces from the time they produce wool till they die.

The devil's uniform is supposed to be black, and there appears to be an unwritten law that this is the correct dress for men attending God's house. The legs have kicked somewhat and taken some licence, but the officiating director to heaven should be black as to legs as well as body—strange coincidence. How the devil would lose his hold if all black coated beings observed the first law of nature and earned their living in the sweat of their faces.

The first step toward freedom, is, severing connection with all churches. The State cannot exist without the Church, nor the Church without the State.

Stop the supplies to the Church and "the day of salvation" is near. You, who still pin your faith to some church, do for the sake of love and truth, think this matter out dispassionately, for yourself, and by yourself.

J. A. K. J.

"NO RENT."

Lord Scully owns (but did not make) 55,000 acres in Marion County, Kansas, (nor did he buy it from the Maker). It is taxed on an assessment of \$4 an acre, market value being \$15. He gets an average rent of \$2 per acre. He takes \$110,000 a year for allowing Americans to work on American soil and spends or invests this money in England! He also owns (?) like tracts in Illinois, Iowa and Indiana.

Following up the suggestion in last issue, caused by the action of Comrade Weaver in South Vineland, N. J., would not Marion County, Kansas, be a suitable place to begin the proposed "no rent" plan? Will some comrade send us the names of all Scully tenants in Marion County, that we may offer the idea for their consideration. If such action were taken the National Guard and Militia, if any happen to be left in the neighborhood, would certainly help guard the land from the alien despoiler, and also realize that they were enjoyed in a far nobler (call it patriotic if that would please them better) work than that of their brothers at the Philippines, Porto Rico or even Cuba.

Supposing the National Guards and Militia failed to view the matter in the right light; there is little doubt, that an invitation from those tenants deciding on such a righteous step, for assistance to repel any invasion of their rights, comrades in sufficient numbers would rally to their help.

J. A. K. J.

NOT WISE TO INTERFERE.

Some few weeks ago we had quite a romantic love affair which started some to talking, others to thinking. A gentleman aged 41 years had been engaged to a young lady of 17 years, at first with the consent of her parents, then for some reason they suddenly changed and forbid the daughter even speaking to her lover. Of course there was trouble, heart-ache and misery on all sides. The daughter was talked to, reasoned with and threatened, but all to no avail. When asked, "Will you give him up?" she quietly answered: "No sir." "Do you still intend to marry him?" "Yes sir," was positively answered. The mother brought M— to spend the day with us. We knew nothing of the trouble, but noticed that there seemed to be a coolness between them.

After dinner the mother went shopping, and in a few moments in walked Mr. P. with a bow and smile to the rest of us, he turned to M—, saying, "Put on your hat and we will take a buggy ride." It was done and before I could realize the full purpose of it all, I heard the mother commanding M— to "get out of that buggy." She was not obeyed and in two days the two came back legally married. Mrs. T. had told me some of the trouble before she left for the store and to some extent I sympathized with her. I had one side of the story, after seeing the bride and groom I had the other side of the same story. I do not want to go into detail, though it would make a pretty romance. I have just given the skeleton, fill it to suit yourselves, but there is a principle under this that we want to find. The strangest part of it all is that the father of the girl is a firm believer in freedom in all matters, but more especially sex freedom.

When our children have their love affairs we with older heads and wide experience can be an aid to them especially if they are taught the fundamental law of nature. That whatever we sow that we must reap. My daughter remarked after the elopement: "I never would have to run away, for mamma would tell me just what she thought of the man and then tell me to do as I please." I answered: "Certainly, when you will take the responsibility of your acts and understand its consequence, that is just the course to pursue."

Too many parents forget that they managed their love affairs to suit themselves and are not smart enough to manage their children's, and really have no right. Orthodoxy still clings to us; it is hard to rid ourselves of the barnacles. We preach freedom but find it very hard to practice it. We want to save our children from suffering and the very means we take causes them pain. If I knew that my daughter's lover was a gambler, a saloonkeeper, etc., I would tell her so; show her what seemed to me to be the folly of

trying to get happiness from such association and then let her follow her own inclinations. Sooner or later she would do it anyhow, and opposition only strengthens the determination. If there is any sentiment in which reason is lacking it is in head-strong passionate love. Love is free—it goes straight to the one to whom we are attracted. It is but the natural law of attraction working its own will, then how foolish to try to change a natural law. Each one has his or her own ideal of love—the ideal around which they weave the romance of their lives; but too often that beautiful ideal is found to be the commonest kind of clay. Barely is it that we love "till death do part," and the law of repulsion takes the place of attraction and then love is changed to hate. Some time we drift half way and reach the equilibrium and friendship is the result. It is hard to tell which is the most satisfactory, but if we can not practice freedom let us not preach it. Is there any one who can give a clear definite idea of freedom between man and woman, between parents and children? One which they would be willing to practice.

NELLIE M. JERARD.

REFORMERS.

It is a well known fact that very good people may be very poor musicians. Among these latter—rarely among the former—we must count those human beings who have certain patent remedies for the social diseases of our times the existence of which they do not deny, and which remedies they are convinced, or at least claim to be convinced, will certainly abolish these ills.

These poor musicians call themselves reformers. They indefatigably ride their hobby-horse upon every conceivable occasion. Though the track be a very narrow one, nevertheless if they be honest, they feel convinced of the importance of their mission.

The characteristic of such reformers is their capability of tightly and stubbornly shutting their eyes against anything and everything that interferes with the application of their patent remedy. They see nothing but the creations of their small mental horizon, in short they are narrow-minded people who do not comprehend that the formation of society and the prevailing system is the result of thousands of different causes and effects and influences and that their little patent remedies would be inoperative upon them.

These reformers are all specialists. A specialist for poor teeth gets hold of a patient whose whole system is thoroughly diseased and undermined. He can not cure him; all he can do is to repair his teeth, and let the poor patient go and continue suffering. Thus with the reformer and sick society. His eyes for instance catches the victims of prostitution. He sees their suffering. Immediately he gets onto his hobby-horse: "Let us give the girls better education," he shouts "and let us inculcate moral principles into them. Let us check immorality by educational institutions, orphan asylums and houses of correction." Of course, that is no remedy. Our reformer as usual has simply mistaken effect for cause. Immorality is to him the principal cause of prostitution. This "immorality," however, is but the effect of constitutional defects and diseases of the social organism which our reformer with his narrow views and limited conceptions of things is unable to approach.

All reformatory efforts are surface work and can not possibly reach the underlying cause nor discover effective remedies for its abolition.

Where there is but a radical remedy the reformer would operate with his palliatives. Where the question is to eradicate the root of the evil, the reformer is satisfied simply to carefully trim a branch or twig here or there.

The reform movement means neither flesh nor fish. Instead of having a salutary effect upon the progressive tendencies of society, it is reactionary and resultant in disappointment, weakness and inactivity, and leads to procrastination and humility.

It is not reform that is to redeem society but abolition.—Chicagoer Arb. Ztg.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN PORTLAND.

Emma Goldman has come and gone. Her advent into Portland was under the most adverse circumstances. A political campaign was at the highest pitch of its heat. Halls were hard to get and meetings of various kinds, political speeches, concerts, dances and various kinds of entertainments were in progress

every evening, all drawing away some attention from her meetings.

Owing to the making of dates too soon, and the consequent disappointment, many interested parties from the surrounding country failed to attend. Then, too, owing to the political campaign, the papers gave very little space to notices of her coming or her lectures. War news and politics was to them more important.

Owing to sundry misunderstandings there was a bit of coolness between her and the comrades when she arrived, but the enthusiastically good humored crowd that bid her good-bye amply testified to the fact that all misunderstandings had been cleared up and the most complete fellowship established.

Her lectures were fairly well attended, considering the circumstances, and what was lacking in numbers was made up for in critical interest. It was a typical audience, such as I have seen at hundreds of meetings of various kinds in this city. There was but little noisy enthusiasm, but little cheering, but every word was heard, weighed, and its value calculated. Such audiences are far better soil for permanent results than the noisy, enthusiastic throng that cheers one sentiment today, and another tomorrow if it be couched in beautiful words or delivered in a more dramatic manner. That element was attending the various political meetings and did not hear Emma.

She delivered three lectures, one on the Woman Question, a very fair report of which appeared in the Morning Tribune, one on Authority vs. Liberty, and one on Patriotism. About the same number of persons attended the two meetings in Arion Hall, at which the questions were, The Woman Question and Patriotism, while quite a number more attended the meeting at Turner Hall, it being more central and up one flight of stairs only.

That she made a good impression and caused the starting of much discussion is very evident, and she has promised to return next spring. We confidently expect to be able to get out much larger crowds then, as we will not have the difficulties to contend with that we had this time.

Financially her trip to Portland was a success. In spite of all obstacles, and our disappointment of meetings on dates first announced, we paid all expenses, including hall rent, advertising, room rent for her while here and all incidentals and handed her \$40.25, out of which she paid \$26.50 for R. R. ticket and tourist sleeper berth to Chicago.

Much credit is due comrade Henry Christ for getting the rent of the halls reduced, so that a saving of \$10.00 was secured on that item alone. He also got advertising cards printed at such rates as to save over \$3.00.

Altogether we feel to congratulate both Comrade Goldman and ourselves on the happy termination of what at one time seemed an ill-fated event—her advent into Portland.

HENRY ADAMS.

MORAL CONDUCT TO ATTAIN ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

My definition of Anarchist-Communism is: Anarchist—one who governs his own conduct so as to obviate the necessity of someone else's doing it for him. Communism—common family-like interest in the possession of the means of production where such means are more available with assistance; the distribution of the products of associated labor to conform to a previous arrangement among those directly concerned. Anarchist-Communism—a system of ethics and economics which obviates police protection in any form; an ideal form and system of association. New Ideal Society—the name for an association of individuals whose mode of living conforms to the principles as outlined in the work entitled "The Old and New Ideal" by Emil F. Roedebusch. In this book fundamental ethics are discussed which are pre-eminently anarchistic, with a tinge of communistic economics.

In conversation with people of ordinary intelligence or no intelligence, I find myself too frequently confronted with arguments and interrogations that show clearly a misconception of motives and a misunderstanding of principles; obstacles often too difficult to overcome for various reasons. Having every reason to believe others to be in the same position, I deem it advisable to write upon the actions of an individual which tend to make up a moral conduct to attain Anarchist-Communism.

For some time past I have perceived that the individual commonly known as a citizen, a unit, one of a

number of which a nation is composed, most needs conform his or her actions to such principles as will decidedly lead them out of the miserable conditions which at present are instrumental in disrupting all so-called civilized nations.

From observation I am forced to conclude that it is a common error among the Socialists, that we need the help of the masses of the people to inaugurate a new order of things. For various reasons, as I will show hereafter, it is firstly impossible and secondly needless to postpone the inauguration on that score; on the contrary, I consider it a very dangerous policy to bide the time for action. I have also had occasion to observe that certain actions of the Socialists frustrate the object aimed at in consequence of wrong deduction from their principles; and it is also due to our actions, largely, that the odium is cast upon Anarchist-Communism by our opponents.

About the land question I have, wherever opportunity presented itself, argued thus with my opponents: If nobody owned any more real estate than he or she could utilize for themselves, everybody would possess his or her own. There would then be no sensible reason for anyone to be land or houseless. That being true, let every body divert himself of all property he holds for hire.

What I have to say regarding the labor question, to the workmen may at first appear harsh, but its logic cannot be disputed. A workman may consider it an inalienable right or a duty to those dependent upon him and the simplest and easiest way to get the means of subsistence, by working for a boss; but I say he has no reason to do it; he is not compelled to do so. He may do so temporarily with a certain object in view, but to continue his existence as a submissive wage-slave puts him on, if not below the level of domesticated animals. He has no excuse except that others of his or any other craft do likewise or that every avenue for self-help is closed. Every present day business man who in his earlier days has worked for wages is proof of this. I do not imply that every workman should embark in business for himself; that would be nonsensical in the face of our present day requirements in the production of wealth. Instead of forming Trades unions to compel someone to do something that is not in his interest to do—to pay higher wages and reduce the hours of work to others, form associations for self-culture and self-help with a view of forming joint or department workshops, or anything that tends in a direct way to eliminate the wage system.

It is unwise to go on strike to force demands upon others whom you recognize by your actions in every day life as your masters and benefactors. If you, instead of spending your leisure time and money in public places, had searched the volumes on natural and social science and art, and than gone and meditated upon the knowledge acquired, you would not feel so helpless when out of a job. I have tramped this country for nine years and Germany for about two, for the sole purpose of acquiring knowledge. I saved no money for I did earn but little not having a trade at the time. I was not striving to acquire riches when I landed here eighteen years ago, but I intended to insure myself the means of subsistence so I would not suffer want—a steady income from the products of my own labor. I would have succeeded, had it not been for the greed of the rich and the taint submission to events of the workmen. I own my tools and machinery necessary in my business and I did what I could to induce others to do likewise in conjunction with me. But, alas! they all lacked self-reliance and initiative. And then "it is much better to work for a boss, for when the week is up I know what I have got which I do not working for myself." Very well, but blame no one but yourself when in distress. Your very Trades union is an obstacle to your emancipation for it is based on the wage system. Abolish the wage system and your Trades union falls flat. When you cannot find employment your Trades union might be in the moon for all the good it does you, for it is not an employer of labor nor does it encourage self-help of its members.

In the two years and a half past I have earned on the average from five to six dollars a week out of which I defrayed all shop and living expenses. I cannot support a family so I have none. Nevertheless, if there were a dozen more or less of my equals, I am positive that all of us would live well and reasonably at ease. For what I did earn I was not harnessed 60 hours a week every week to the treadmill; about half

of the time I sat in my room adjoining the shop meditating upon the questions at issue for the emancipation of wage-slaves. My place has always been a meeting place for Anarchists, and I never cared a snap for what others might think, say or do about me, outside of my place. I never catered to the whims or patronage of my opponents. I always maintained my right as a citizen to give expression to my thoughts when an opportunity presented itself regardless of consequences in a business way. I always held that, if my work was satisfactory they would call me again when they need me, and perhaps respect me for my honesty of purpose in a political way.

For the last couple months I have had but a dollar and half per week to spend for my living; I can't help myself at present, but I expect to pull through till I shall make an effort to raise the bane of poverty now over me. I would like to work for a boss, just now temporarily if I could find one to give me work and wages, but that is in my interest solely, to raise enough money to put me on my feet again. The "boss" is good enough to help me out when I need him, but to consider him a god or a god-sent institution for the benefit of big children is beyond my comprehension. It is very nice for workmen to bring home some twelve to twenty dollars a week from their employers, but it is at the expense of their manhood, freedom and independence. Every once in a while I am told the story how he has earned it by hard work, saved it by stint, why did I not do likewise? Well, I feel the insult implied, but I would not give my health and universal knowledge for his wealth and universal ignorance, for he is one of the—asses, over which the privileged high-way robbers by the grace of God and Grundy ride roughshod. They are not capable of an independent thought or act.

Capital are all means of production of wealth created by labor. We must exclude all, what now is classed as capital by the learned gentry of political economists. Land, money and interest-bearing debts—also a stock of goods, which latter is wealth.

I hold that a workman is better able to maintain his independence if he accumulates all tools and machinery that he can use in his line of work whether single-handed or in company with others. It has always produced a pang in me, whenever I heard of a workman disposing of his tools for various, apparently plausible reasons. Dispossess yourself of your tools and you will be either a slave or a drone, most likely the former. It is very easy to dispose of a set of tools if one wants to, but a very difficult job of procuring when one needs them.

Whenever a number of workmen are engaged in the production of wealth in a co-operative system, they should under no pretext hire any one for wages or should figure wages to themselves, for they thereby maintain the very system which they want to abolish.

To establish a workshop and procure the raw material is not so very difficult as it may appear, provided no fixed salaries, wages or any other charges are contracted. By proper management of funds, and scheming in various ways considerable can be accomplished.

L. BOENDECK.

NUDITY AND PURITY.

"Daniluch, I axed her about them actions of theirs. Says I, 'Do you live with your old man?' She laughed. 'Why, yes, says she, 'of course I do.' 'Then,' says I, 'what makes you act as you do? You never see him without his clo'es on, as though you wan't his wife.' And says she 'It's because I don't want him to see me in dishabilly, so as to keep love in the house and git rid of quarrels.'"—Tchernysheffsky's "What is to be Done?"

Tchernysheffsky, the Russian apostle of sex freedom, was not entirely free from prejudice, if the above quotation from his famous novel expresses his own views. Why did he make Lopouschoff and Vera Pavlovna "act as they did," if he was not under the impression that men and women who see each other in "Nature's garb" cannot love and respect each other? But is it true that love is a matter of clothing? Is it true that the face only is fit to be seen? With due respect to those who think that clothes make the man, I wish to say that the man who cannot love and respect a woman in a state of nudity is not a real man, but a poor apology of a man.

It is claimed by Mrs. Grundy that nudity is immodest, that it tends to excite the "base" passions of man, etc. Well, it may be true that the majority of

men cannot stand the sight of a nude body, but does it prove that a nude body is in itself indecent? If men and women have perverted minds, it is perhaps not as much the fault of nature as that of our false education. What can you expect of a man to whom the female body is a terra incognita? He may naturally be a man of pure mind, but he cannot help wishing to know how the female body looks, and if he cannot satisfy his curiosity, he may in the course of time become a sex maniac. There is no reason why sex should be kept a secret; there is no reason why men and women should be ashamed of their bodies. Speaking for myself, I am of the opinion that nudity, far from being indecent, is the very essence of purity and refinement, and that the really pure man is not he who protects his purity by the aid of rags, but he who can see and touch every part of the human body, the female as well as the male, and keep his mind pure.

Let us get rid of Mrs. Grundy's notions of purity; let us understand that man consists of flesh, bone and blood, not of rags, and that the sex organs are in themselves no more "vile" or "naughty" than are other parts of the body; let us teach our children to hold the body in esteem; let us tell them the truth about the uses of the various organs of the body. Above all, let us know that if we want our children to be pure, we must commence with ourselves. Let us then learn to mingle in nudity and purity; let us get accustomed to see each other in a state of nature; let us impress upon our minds the truth that free love does not mean free indulgence in the sex act at every opportunity, that men and women can love and caress each other and yet keep themselves under perfect control and that if we desire to indulge in the sex act, we should be ready to meet and welcome the consequences. Let us do all this and the most of sex abuses will disappear.—Cyrus W. Coolidge, in Lucifer.

THE USEFULNESS OF BIBLES IN PRISONS.

To explain to one of our 19th century christians that the Bible in the hands of young people, but especially in the hands of prisoners separated from the opposite sex, has not only a demoralizing but also a most degrading and degenerating influence upon the readers mentioned, would be as fruitless an undertaking as to explain to a lunatic that he was crazy. For this reason I do not note the following in the hope of being rewarded by converting at least one of the "lamps"; for the mere reading of anything against their creed would be temptation and sin for them.

While working in the matting department of the Western Penitentiary, Allegheny, Pa., in March 1896, a fellow prisoner with whom I had been slightly acquainted for three years, came to me during a brief vacation and after exchanging the usual "how are you, old boy," he made the remark that he had never seen me in church on Sundays. I told him that I found it more comfortable in my cell than in the church. Then the following dialogue took place:

"Have you ever read the Bible from beginning to end?" he asked.

"I have," I answered, "but why do you ask this question?"

"There are some good pieces in the Bible, don't you think so?"

"Yes, though it is largely a matter of taste; what I find worth reading perhaps you would not like at all. What parts of the Bible, for instance, do you call good?"

"Do you remember the piece about the woman that went into the street and said to a young man: 'Come, let us take our fill of love; I have perfumed my bed, the Goodman is not at home,' etc?"

I well knew that he alluded to a certain part in the Old Testament (Proverbs, vii; 18), yet I did not tell him so but said:

"I am not quite certain what piece you mean; is it in the Old or New Testament?"

"I do not know," he replied, "it is page 431, somewhere in the middle of the book; which is the first half of the book, the New or Old Testament?"

"The Old Testament is the first part and it contains the piece you mean; I remember now," said I, "but if you quote the Bible you should not quote by the number of the page; you should quote the name of the book or the writer and the number of the chapter and verse."

"Yes, I know," said he, "yet the trouble is I cannot

read the Roman figures, I only know from one to twelve as they are to be seen on watches and clocks. Why, say, there are other good pieces on pages 14, 16, 25, etc; do you know them?"

He mentioned the numbers of about twelve different pages in the Bible, all of which gave a fair description of old time immorality, sodomy, polygamy, etc., in fine, touching language—language that could not be misunderstood—upon the sexual relations.

This prisoner could not tell Roman figures, he did not know whether the Old or New Testament was the first part of the Bible, yet, to my surprise, he knew the correct numbers of pages and was able to quote by heart verse after verse, even chapter after chapter, of the most dirty parts of this "holy book," which indicates that he must have read and reread these chapters and verses many times, and for what purpose? He gave me the answer himself, here it is:

"I was wont to read all the sensational books, such as exciting love stories, detectives', robbers', and cow-boys' adventures. As such books are not permitted in prison, I read the juicy stories of the Bible."

This confession amazed me to such a degree that I resolved to cultivate this prisoner's acquaintance, and having succeeded in doing so, I soon found out that generally on Sunday evenings he read the mentioned pages of the Bible which contain the most smutty pieces in order to arouse with the aid of the holy book his unsatisfied sexual desire to the highest pitch; sitting at the table, holding the Bible in one hand, and with the other, under the table, trying to "satisfy" his sexual desire in a manner which I need not describe plainer.

Making further investigations by speaking more often with various prisoners about the Bible, I found that most of them were very well acquainted with nearly all Bible chapters relating to sexual matters, while about other chapters they were just as ignorant as the Church of the 14th century could have desired them to be.

And why should the lambs know the few chapters of the Bible that are worth knowing? Any knowledge on their part would be an obstacle for the shepherds when shearing the flock.

But the usefulness of the Bible, at least in prisons, I should think is herewith clearly demonstrated.

H. BAUER.

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

This is the Kernal of the Sermon on the Mount, and is the doctrine of all true Anarchists. Parsons as a class, follow the teachings of the Nazarene less than any other class of human beings, not excepting even politicians, whose actions they most closely resemble. The latter do their robberies with impudent boldness, but the former under the cloak of arrogance and deceit. A forcible example was related to me this week by a man who on a tramp from Manchester to London, England, called on the clergyman of a parish, and on asking for work, was refused. Being hungry he asked for food. The man of God gave him a soup ticket. The starving one then called the attention of the fat sleek parson to the fact that the ticket stated the soup kitchen would open on Thursday, but this was only Tuesday and he was hungry now. All he got in reply was the advice to be thankful for small mercies, cheap assurances that all his sufferings here would be more than compensated for in paradise, and instructions how to grow wings and get there. The man willing to work then became deeply interested in this sky-pilot, and found, that the wolf in sheepskin held two "livings" (Rectories): one left him by his father, and the other obtained in some equally unjust way. The wolf kept both the superstition shops running, by paying a curate twenty-five shillings a week to conduct the force at one church, the high priest pocketing about ten times that amount for doing nothing.

Crispi, the Italian ex-premier, says the Catholic church has ruined Spain, and made it ignorant, brutal and incapable.

Churches are most criminally responsible for the robbery of land. The old barons could never have held their vast estates—but for the aid of the churches with their superstitions to frighten the people, and prevent them thinking for themselves. Today land-monopoly and money-monopoly are upheld by the churches because they know how they obtain their living, as did the men who made silver shrines for the

goddess of Diana, who was supposed to have been thrown out of heaven. If Diana was thrown out of heaven by Jupiter, it is evidently not the safe place the "special agent" pulpsters boom it to be. A Mr. Devil, according to report, was also one of those enjoying the golden pavements of the Celestial City up to the time of that dreadfully wicked act of thinking for himself and objecting to the government, becoming an Anarchist, and was consequently thrust out of his "fathers" house. Probably some church exists which says that this Mr. Devil left voluntarily to follow Diana. However this may be, it is absurd to expect those who submit to church government, to revolt against political government. Anyone submitting to the domination of a person is useless as a factor for better conditions. No one can be an Anarchist who contributes toward the support of any person, or allows his thoughts or actions to be governed by them, or acquiesce in any other confidence-game.

The parasite persona generic was never before so frightened as to the possibilities of continuing their easy luxurious mode of living, therefore most of them are preaching one or other of the many reforms that will not permit liberty, thus hoping to retain command of the brains and pockets of their dupes.

R. S. Knight, Lancaster, Ont., writes: "I think the best government I ever lived under was in Turkey as a British subject. The Turks could not lay a finger on me. No one could arrest me except the British Consul's police officer. I paid \$1.25 a year to the British Consulate and eight cents a month to a Turkish watchman, and that was all the taxes. I had no vote and did not want any; there were no coroner's inquests, and everybody did as he liked. I never realized before how little government people really want."

No doubt the eight cents a month to a Turkish watchman was a voluntary act; this is the goal of Anarchy for Americans as well as Cubans and Armenians. Knight's statement is enough to make an Irishman (unless he be one of the police) discontented with even this land of the free. (?)

If every Anarchist can by precept, or example, reduce the number of persons who support churches, either by attendance or contributions, even if only one each week, the advance toward our ideal would be rapid; if we are one thousand strong now, we could thus convert the whole city before next Presidential election day.*

Let us sow the thought, that whatsoever things ye would that men should do to you, do ye ever so to them, so the principle of Anarchism, trusting that acts will grow therefrom.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

REPLY TO BARNES.

Comrade Barnes assumes that Anarchists and Socialists do not advocate the Single Tax on account of not being familiar with this economic palliative. The fact is that there are very few Anarchists who have not read or studied Henry George's works. They have found though that the proposed measure would in reality alter nothing in favor of the producer, and that it is more practical to go straight for what we want, instead of indulging in visionary schemes of miraculous transformations. Before the Single Tax can have the remarkable effect its advocates attribute to it, it would be necessary to abolish property in land, and considering the time and energy such step would require we might as well struggle for FREE land.

To say that value in land is due to labor is simply absurd, and to contend that it also would have purchasing value under Anarchist-Communism is ridiculous. It is labor that creates wealth and it is for this reason that land cannot be taxed: it is always labor that is taxed and has to pay tribute to those that monopolize the land. Therefore any tax is an imposition and arbitrary.

How are we going to make land free as air? Simply by abolishing monopoly. In cities where it was possible to monopolize water it has a purchasing value, and if it was possible to monopolize air it would have rental value and we would have to pay tribute to monopoly for the use of it. The land in Chicago produces much less than the land outside of the city. It is labor that creates all the wealth in Chicago and not the land. Land creates no value whatsoever unless

labor is applied to it. Tax a piece of land on which there is fine timber, coal or gold, and see if you can collect one cent of it unless someone goes there and commences to work. Consequently labor is the only factor determining the production of any and what wealth from given material, and if you attempt to tax material you can levy nothing unless at the expense of either your own or another's labor.

Henry George must have been aware of the inefficacy of his theory when he replied that freedom was the panacea for all evils of society. He struck the key-note right there, and therefore let us struggle for freedom and not for any palliatives.

A. I.

CLIPPINGS.

The Tocsin echoes and earnestly advocates the general acceptance by Victorian workers of the May Day resolutions against war. It reprobrates the Spanish for butchering his Cuban brothers, as he has been doing: it reprobrates the American jingoes and capitalists with hustling their country into another butchering expedition: it reprobrates the men who allow the charm of action and circumstance to dull their abhorrence of murder: it reprobrates those women who betray their atavism by their hysterical anxiety to bear children to professional man-butchers. Save for liberty, all war is unjustifiable as murder is, and to the worker, hateful. We commend to every worker consideration of the fact that in the present war it is the Cuban worker and his family, the Spanish worker and his family and the American worker and his family who will suffer, will pay the cost, will be decimated by a war that he or they are not responsible for at all. And so it is in all national wars.—The Tocsin.

Our contemporary, Solidarity, published under the heading "Poverty and Morality" the following:

"Mr. Neefe, the Breslau statistician, publishes an interesting paper, from which the following important facts are taken

"In the year 1896 it appears that the death rate of the poorer classes was nearly three times greater than it was among the rich. The amount paid in rent is given as a criterion of means, the figures being as follows.

"Out of every one thousand who paid a rent up to 300 marks, 20.7 died; out of every one thousand paying a rent of from 301 to 750 marks, only 11.2 died; and out of every thousand paying a rent ranging from 750 to 1,500 marks, only 6.5 died, the average being 17.6 persons dying to each 1,000 living.

"According to these figures the mortality of the Breslau poor populations is at least three times greater than that of the rich, but as a matter of fact it must be much greater, the deaths of servants, journeymen and persons who die in the hospitals not being included, and they in all cases belong to what are called the poorer classes. The same article shows that more than one-half of the children born belonging to the poor population died in infancy, while the deaths of the children of the rich amounted to only about one-sixth of the total number born."

"We must have a stronger government. The wealth of the country demands protection. Its rights are as sacred as the rights of the paupers who are continually prattling of the encroachments of capital. Without blood, and rivers of it, there will be no political change. To avert fearful bloodshed a strong central government should be established as soon as possible.—Senator Sharon, deceased millionaire."

It is a great pity that Sharon is in the grave, for he would now realize that we are on the road to "a strong central government." It was only necessary to arouse patriotism in order to be able to carry out the Senator's proposition undisturbed.

"War has commenced between what they call America, and what they call Spain. It has commenced between the blackguards of the American democracy and the blackguards of the Spanish aristocracy. A lot of low, mean, and contemptible American thieves and society criminals, backed up by the most selfish of speculators and the dirtiest journalists in the whole world, have set out to steal the rich land of Cuba from a crowd of tyrannical Spaniards. These Spaniards are very religious, and these Americans ask us to believe they are very humanitarian. The bombastic humbug, cant, and hypocrisy of these Americans is

very edifying indeed. Judged by the standard of morality that the few men, such as Henry George, reach in every community, which is the standard demanded of every man to-day, the Americans as a nation can hardly be said to have attained civilization. The people who can be made to believe that the cause of humanitarianism could be allied with a war of aggression, and a war of revenge, must be both ignorant and immoral. And yet it has never been proven that the Spanish Government caused or was privy to the destruction of the Maine, no more than France has proven that Dreyfus was guilty. Notwithstanding this undoubted fact, the American military, journalistic and political blackguards, the bosses of America to-day, have set out on a war of revenge for a crime that has not been proven, in the same callous way as French scoundrels are torturing to death a Jew against whom nothing has been proven. This is the picture which the two great (so-called) republics of the world present to-day. It is not a pretty one. It is hideous. It is horrible. It is damnable.—The Tocsin.

"It seems that all governments arrive, sooner or later, at this conclusion: That government and liberty are incompatible; that liberty and government cannot co-exist; and that in self-preservation government must destroy liberty. It is overlooked, however, that the people are still there, and that they may decide, that if the true government is incompatible with liberty, or liberty incompatible with government, then they will have no government and try Anarchy. A very great number of persons of all classes are Anarchists now, and their ranks are extending.

What, in fact, is the use of governments whole duty, as shown by example? To wage war on other governments and to extort money from its own people for its support, and to enrich its courtiers and partisans. In this country, and in nearly every other (we certainly know no exception), the government also makes war upon its own citizens.—The Pilot, Norfolk, Va.

The Letter-Box.

The Altruist, St. Louis Mo.—For pity's sake don't mark articles which are disgusting to read. You don't seem to know the first thing about Egoism and Altruism, or of the forces and motives which prompt our actions. If you ever should be so fortunate as to get acquainted with genuine Anarchists, you will not find them to be "misers," but men that have the greatest sympathy and consideration for their fellow men. As a rule, the self-boasted "altruist" is the "miser." It is not the fault of the Anarchist that your ideas are fossilized and sterile.

E. D. H., Ventura, Cal.—I was really glad to hear that some of you are trying to "work out" Anarchism practically—it is the straight road to freedom. It does not matter what method they pursue as long as they bid defiance to authority and public opinion.

C. P., Chicago.—Three letters and money duly received. If we had only a few more comrades of your calibre the Anarchist press would soon be a susceptible means of propaganda in this country.

J. H. C., Providence, R. I.—The two new names given were recorded. Your name was stricken off the list on account of being in arrears with subscription. Comrade Addis' articles in the last issues were not due to "his latest efforts," but selected from The Firebrand and published as a pamphlet which is now ready for sale and distribution.

N. J. J., Salt Lake City.—Copy of No. 4 Library has been sent again. It makes my blood boil when I hear that Anarchists lay and die in penitentiaries simply for advocating a higher ideal of society, but it will be so until all penitentiaries are blown to atoms.

K. S., Boston, Mass.—H's address is changed now from Jamaica Plains to Boston.

Mrs. M. E. R., Los Angeles.—Your letter gave me more encouragement and satisfaction than money although we cannot get along without the cursed metal at present. People that have the courage to stand up for their rights and defy everything that hampers their individuality I always rejoice to hear from. Emma is liked for this reason by many free-minded people. Every body admires an independent character, but shrinks and squeals as soon as his wife or her husband attempts to claim self-ownership. Theory and practice are two different things with them. Give my regards to the other friends.

FOR BUFFALO.

Comrade G. Lang has volunteered to collect subscriptions for Free Society, and we hope the readers in arrears will make the task as easy as possible for him.

* And if the whole United States were thus converted before next Presidential election day there would be no more occasion for elections or presidents, the people then being able to take care of their own business without the interference of robbers & robber-systems (politics). S. D.

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Radical papers should also announce that strange comrades, after legitimization, can receive information and the addresses of comrades, at said Reading Room.

THRO. APPEL.
 1360 N. Rockwell St., Chicago.
 N. B.—Anarchist papers please copy.

Prof. John Fiske, the historian, in a recent sketch of the early history of Cuba, relates the following: Hatuey, it should be said, was a native Indian chief. In the year 1511 came Diego Velasquez, and it was not long before poor Hatuey was tied to a stake and fagots piled about him. While the flames were licking the flesh from his bones a blackrobed priest held up the crucifix and begged of him to repent of his sins and secure a place in heaven. "Where is heaven?" cried Hatuey; "are there any Spaniards there?" "Yea, many," quoted the priest. "Then," said the writhing victim, "pray let me go somewhere else."

A visitor from Pitcairn Island has arrived in England. He is a great-grandson of a middy on the Bounty. The island was peopled by the mutineers from that vessel. The inhabitants now number 140. There is no money on the island; everything is shared by the people in common.

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Volne Listy, a Bohemian Anarchist monthly, published at 50 cents a year. Address: Franta Letn-r, 43 Johnson Ave., Brooklyn N. Y.

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

Solidarity, an International Review of anarchist-Communism. A semi-monthly, 50 cents a year. Address: J. H. Edelman, 50 First St., New York City.

Sturm und Drang, 50 First St., New York City, an Anarchist Communist paper printed in German, semi-monthly: 80 cents per year.

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