A Vision.

In dreams I saw the earth's old sorrow fade;
A cloud of error lifted from man's soul.
The galaxy crushed in dust; the whole
Of cowardly hate, and fear obeyed.
A world-wide sin and vanished. Unburdened,
Man chanced his heaven in the sweet central
Of love; and life had found its fitting goal
In justice, fellowship, and mutual aid.
The human heart wide open on many a plain,
Their banners marked with, "Man hath liberty;"
The songs of rapture rose in glorious strain,
Promising to man's noblest victory.

The wonder woke me. With the vision's wake
A voice spoke to my ear. "This yet shall be."
—William Francis Barnett.

Herding or Growth?

The minds of many persons who are both
bright and powerful have failed to grasp
the great underlying principle of growth,
or development; and confound it with herding,
or worse yet, with regimentation. I will
say nothing about regimentation, the plan
of the State Socialists, as it belongs in the
category of political action—of compulsion.

Let us look for a minute at the propositions
of those who propose to herd together,
calling it "education," or association, thinking
thereby to solve the questions that vex
and perplex all thinking persons at the present
time. They propose to "round up" a lot of persons of varying opinions, habits,
desires and occupations in a certain place,
and by all these persons working together
form a new society, "based on justice and
equality," as they put it, and thus showing the world a better way to live. Their intentions
are as good as need be, and they lack not for energy. Their plans cannot fail
their dreams, however, and no matter how much they may strive, they cannot succeed
as they expect. The reason is simple: it is this: they are attempting to work in an artifici
manner. I am free to admit that most that we do is artificial; but growth is a natural
process, and cannot be made, but must be allowed.

In order to make clear why the herding
process, that of gathering people together
provisionally, is inadequate as a method of
beginning the work of reconstruction, it is
only necessary to point out the "law of
growth. The work and study of scientists
for ages has shown that all growth is due
to accretion. An atom exists. Another
atom is attracted to it, and they become a
body. Other atoms are attracted to this
body, and it grows in size. Thus the work
of accretion goes on as long as the vitality
necessary to attract other atoms remains
in the body. Little by little the growth proceeds from the simple to the complex;
from one atom to many; from a single
function to numerous ones. Natural process never "rounds up" a lot of atoms, nor tries
to herd a lot of ungenial atoms together.
The human race is subject to the same
natural processes; and each individual is,
in a sense, an atom, and will unite with other
individuals when attracted by them, but
will fail to unite when they are ungenial.
That is why the herding plan—like the To-
polobamba and other colony schemes—will
not work. On the other hand where a nu-
cleus is formed, even tho' it be of but a few
individuals, if it contains vitality enough—has a definite purpose in view—to attract
other individuals, it will grow.

With these facts in view it is plain to be
seen that in the process of reconstruction it
is a waste of energy to try to herd; but direc
tly in line with natural processes to form
nuclei, here and there, and let the natural
accretion of individuals who are in sympathy
with the ideal of such nuclei be the proc-
ess of growth. Then congeniality of the
individuals composing the group, and their
oneness of purpose, will insinuate harmony, and,
little by little, the ideal held will become
known to others; and as fast as others learn
to desire the medium of this ideal, they
will seek to attach themselves to an existing
group, or to unite with a few others and
form a new nucleus.

To make a practical application let us
point out that colony schemes that propose
the indiscriminate gathering of persons into
colonies or associations, holding out recruit-
ments and charging admission fees, are not
in line with natural growth. On the other
hand it shows that small voluntary groups,
drawn together by a common purpose, hold-
ing out no inducements but a realization of
the ideal that prompted their union, and
charging no admission fee, are directly in
the line of growth, and as they grow they
will develop from the simple to the complex,
not only in numbers but also in occupation.

As their numbers increase the possibility
of diversifying their occupations will become
apparent, and one industry after another
will develop in their midst. This gives
to the hope of beginning the reconstruc-
tion of society even now, in the present vile
system; for, while complete reconstruction
cannot take place until the barriers raised
by law and custom have been broken down,
yet groups living very much nearer the ideal
of Anarchists than its members now live,
can grow up, here and there, and do much
to prepare the public mind for the general
reconstruction. Not only that; for as the
groups grow up they can open up communi-
cation with each other, and the toilers in
the city can supply the workers in the coun-
try with clothes, shoes, gloves and such
other things as can best be produced in the
city. In return the country comrades can
supply the groups in the city with butter,
egg, milk, fruit, vegetables, honey and such
things as the city people must get from the
country folks. These exchanges can be
accomplished without the use of money, and
then the idea of association without money
will grow up.

By working in this way a network of
groups can eventually be spread all over the
country, all in touch with each other, offer-
ing ready assistance to all comrades who
may meet with calamities, or come in dis-
tress; showing to the mentally lazy, by ex-
ample, what can be done voluntarily and
without rules, laws, or compulsion of any
form. It would also tend to stimulate fel-
lowship, that sensation which inclines the
will toward generosity and forbearance;
toward general good-will and kindness for
all others.

In localities where transportation is a
serious question the comrades can establish
a system of transportation between groups
that will best answer their purpose under
the circumstances. If there is navigable
water a boat can be built. But all these
things will suggest themselves as the num-
er of groups multiply and their sizes in-
crease by accretion.

Many of the comrades have bemoaned
their life in the present dog-eat-dog life of
bondrous society, and implored concerning
colonies. I hope they will not try to herd;
but will cooperate along the line of least
resistance, by congenial persons, no matter
too few, forming nuclei, and these nu-
cleuses growing by the natural and perma-
nent process of accretion—the attraction of
genial individuals.

Henry Adams.

Government.

Government is built up on a foundation
of fictitious, and its continued existence is
maintained solely thru the medium of fic-
tions. The right of any one man to be the mas-
ter of any other man is nowhere assumed.
The most that is claimed is that he may de-
gate his rights to another, or that he may
surrender by agreement the rights and privi-
leges which God, or nature, originally gave

him. The veriest tyrant that the world has ever known always feels that it is necessary to make some excuse for his attempting to exercise authority over others. He will either claim his right from God, the deity, or that the subject voluntarily surrendered, or that he exercised to the situation under the rule of the monarch.

But can a man make a contract binding his posterity? And can he be made a contract by which he can bind his posterity to a condition of bondage? All government originates in some attempt at formalism, some unimportant performance that might serve to give the affair the semblance of legitimacy. A few men, self-constituted, self-selected, get together and pass some resolution or make a government of some kind, as our political parties do in their caucuses. But how could their acts or their resolutions bind anybody but the participants themselves? How could they bind those that are not present at the meeting, and particularly those who were not born at the time?

A few men called delegates got together and agreed upon a national constitution for the United States in 1787. It was supposed that the government would work solely of these men, or of a majority of them; it merely indicated their sentiments, their views, their wishes. What they finally decided upon was no more binding upon the people of the generation that followed their death than upon the people of France or Austria. But in due time, after a couple of years delay, the authorities of the different States surrounded and accepted the new constitution as it had been prepared by those unknown delegates, the same of them submitted much against their wishes. These States did not construct or devise the constitution, nor any part of it; it was in no sense a law binding upon them. But in order to avoid trouble, or for some similar reason, they made no resistance and thus came to the new rights and they have permitted the general government ever since. The power cannot be lodged in two places at the same time; if the general government has the power, the States have none; and if the States have power, they do not, have the power likewise. The States have no rights except such as the general government is willing to concede. There can be no such thing as a sovereign under a sovereign. A sovereign under a sovereign is properly a subject or vassal. The prevailing fiction is this: that when one does not resist, he consents, and further, that when one consents, all consent, even including those who have had no cognizance or control of the matter. Then there is the other fiction that God has commissioned the rulers to tyrannize over their race. How many revolutions are going on in the name of God, in the name of Christianity, in the name of the people, in the name of justice, in the name of charity? It is a practical mockery, a pretense, a sign of men to "steal the liberty of heaven to serve the Devil in." If Old Satan did not carefully conceal his own feet and hide his hideous tail, nobody would have anything to do with his many lies. Men tend to authority which they never possessed and to presume upon conditions and contracts that have never existed.

FREEDOM.

We repeat again, and we hope it may never be forgotten or overlooked, that all government is based upon fraud and misconception, rather than upon force. The power always lies in the people, and in the people only. Men are constantly selling, as Esau did, their birthright for a mess of pottage. They trade the happiness and comfort of a life time for a few moments' enjoyment at the time, because they love to be deceived and imposed upon, and they wonder at last how the trick could have been performed so skilfully. No, people should cease to talk about the wickedness and brutality of their oppressors. They should prate more about the irreversibility of force. As we have intimated before, it is not force that does the business. It is deception, intrigue, strategy and strict attention to affairs that always do the work. It is the minority—often a small minority— that rules the majority. The rulers are always the few, and the subjects, the slaves, are the many. The number of slaves in Greece far surpassed the number of free men. A few scores of policemen in New York with a star on their breast and a club in their hands suffice to keep a great city in subjection. The star is far more potent than the club. The people could get along in some way with the club, but the star—representing as it does the Empire State, or perhaps the United States of America—is another thing entirely. The star strikes people with awe and it leaves them in a sort of comatose condition. That is the reason why they surrender so readily. The State gets people under its control in such a manner as serpents are supposed to get their victims into their power—by some sort of enchantment. —From "The New Dispensation," by J. Wilson.

A Reflection.

I had to stop. Everybody stopped. On the sidewalk for half a square and extending midway into the street was a crowd of men and women such as, for size, is seldom seen together on the street except during riots or at rare outdoor festivals. But this was hardly a riot, for it was not riotous. Everyone, it is true, was doing his best to crowd out his neighbors, but otherwise the crowd was still and peaceful. It kept on increasing and increasing constantly, however, because of rapid car traffic was fairly arrested. Already a "string of cars" waited for passage, and still the human blackhole could not be raised. It grew, on the contrary, more and more formidable. What was it that brought out this "sea of humanity" which for fully thirty minutes interrupted the traffic of one of our busiest thoroughfares? It was one of our theaters giving a specially attractive play. Had the cause or occasion of this blockage been an outdoor labor gathering or a poor street vendor, we would have heard much talk of "the obstruction of public highways" and, possibly, of one or more arrests by the representative of law and justice. And yet, as we are told that in this country the rich and the poor are equal before the law.

D. A. MORELL.
Comrade Lewis has found fog in my article "Methods of Science," only by putting it in. I never professed to have "discovered" anything; I merely made the terms of mathematics. I suppose everyone knows that. I never said the elements of mathematics entailed my essay in any particular way. I find them there, independently of the essay on physical education; and that's all I know about it. I am sure, however, they are not derived from "numbers or other mathematical characters"; but, as Mr. B. H. Y. says, "on the contrary—quite the reverse."

What I said about physical science is by no means accurately quoted. I cannot say Comrade Lewis' account of how abstractions are built, at all enlightens me, tho I seem to have heard it before. I hold to no "philosophic dualism," or monism, or trinitism. I utterly reject all schemes for explaining the relation of subject and object, and have nothing to do with them. I say to a man who is as full of materialism as that it strikes me as the shallowest of the lot. But this is not to say that subject and object are really two distinct things; they may be really one, only to prove it impossible, because every step must recognize their formal opposition. In mathematics we reason from subjective will; and our ideas, such as the circle, are exact, because we make them. In physics we reason from objective impressions, and lack exact ideas because, so far as we know, we did not make the things. That is all I meant today.

To my friends, the anti-vaccinators and antivivisectionists, I say, I hope for the last time, the pleasure of hearing full. Since I met their brave men—the ones they had who knew enough about science not to talk nonsense before me—and made it clear that there was nothing else for them to talk, I have always been much inclined when I should waste breath by bestowing any on the little fishes—which have no ears—and now I am sure of it. I read in Small's "letter a handful of trumpets over which Dr. E. B. Pugh did at Cleveland—and already Dr. W. E. D. had with some success—vaccination! I read in Brown's that when said Comstock had a chin on the regular physicians; as if my chief charge against the Movements in Favor of Ignorance, were not always true, that it is an octapod, which can fasten one tadpole or another upon any one who cares more for something else than abstract truth. I read in last "vaccination (not for the first time) no argument to prove that smallpox is a blessing! Very consistent from an anti-vaccinator, I allow; but I cannot say as much for the glorification in the same magazine of Dr. Friedrich's theories of menstruation, and now disowned, disgraceful in the disavowal of him, in the same paper which published the article referred to. In other publications of the same school, I have read within a month recommendations that doctors who treat the distemper in a house shall be assassinated complaints that doctors who kill their patients than palpable ignorance actually can be punished as malicious impostors; and, in conclusion, avowed sympathy with Deaconnas, because they induce some people to refuse vaccination, and to think surgical cases can be treated without knowledge due to vivisection. If the writers of such stuff as this want another fight, they must find it another "Leveron. I desire nothing better than that they will write more of it. My only purpose in talking the matter up was to show Anarchists that antivaccination and anti-vivisection are phases of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, and to show other people that we are not the anarchists that the latter purpose, I have merely accomplished. The former, the nativists are not turning more effectually than I possibly could; therefore I shall no longer try to teach them better."

C. L. JAMES.

Is Government Necessary?

From "Pure Sociology," a pamphlet issued by J. Herbert Rowell, Austin, Texas. I select as follows: "From the standpoint of pure sociology, a certain kind of government is necessary and very essential."

With right statements! But right statements here is a very pertinent question, viz.: what is that kind? Government, as I understand it, is usually conceived as the force brought to bear on another or others to compel them willing or unwilling to act in accordance with the will of such others or of others. Such a view I cannot accept. I believe that only Anarchists really believe in genuine government. To govern is to control, to exercise force upon. The question now arises, can we control without having mastery over the being or thing controlled? And what is there among beings or things that in an approximate sense we cannot do with? Is it one's self?

I am aware that the opponents of what is called free will, will at once exclaim self-government is impossible, because we do not have perfect power over all the forces of our being, that we are all more or less limited in our desires and achievements by our conditions; that like the currents of the ocean, man is the simple product of chance. I have no power, mean by control simply, that he can do what seems to him best at the time of doing, without being overwhelmed by the undesired force or compulsion of any other. Self-government is the result of the action of all governments, 'very useful' and absolutely necessary—it alone is uplifting and life-inspiring to men. I will in future enlarge upon this topic.

J. M. CLARKE.

One of our comrades here, a hard working man, has three children, two girls and a boy. Owing to the nature of his work—turning—he lived a little outside of the city, and more or less secluded, and his dwelling was as many farm houses are all over the country.

His children never did a stroke of work, altho their ages range from 15 to 18 years; the father and mother devoting all their efforts to making life for the young ones easy, too easy I would say. In fact all three of them lived a life of idleness when not at school, going where and whenever they pleased. However, the girls had ambitions, and life in the woods became tiresome to them, at least to one of them. One day she was one run away from home and appealed to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to C. I. I.

FREE SOCIETY.

The girl in question stated that her father was an Anarchist, did not allow her to attend church and had connections with protestantism schools in various towns, and also in Paterson.

The first question therefore asked by the agent was, "What is your religion?" "No religion" was the reply.

"What! none? Then you are an Anarchist?"

"Yes, of course!"

A few more similar questions, and then an attempt was made to penetrate the house and inspect the women's bedrooms, in which he was stopped by our comrade's wife, however.

The agent then informed the father politely that, having admitted his disbelief, etc., he would not get his child back, as long as the society considered him unfit to bring up his children.

The father will not contest the possession of his children (17 years old), as he reasons that a child who has lost so far her only affection for her parents, is not worthy of any, and he will be better off if she can forget her.

Boston, Mass.

K. S.

Tyranny.

Tyranny is the power of the people. It is one of the most revolting crimes in this and other lands, where they have been committed under the cover of the argument of that country or behind its superstitition, and that to question it was usually called down on the questioner the weight of all the "conservative" do's and their father's deeds, even to the prison and the gallows? Sometimes they have been done in the name of Liberty! "No Liberty, Liberty! How many crimes have been committed in thy name?" Blinding obedience is sometimes mistaken for patriotism, and the load of dishonor of patriotism often made, is only the last refuge of a rauc. Do not forget that a thing is right or wrong, that it relates to the establishment and maintenance of our rights or wrongs, and that the flag, Ah, even old glory may be used to cover crimes that if continued may cause her to be "hauled down" and bring about the destruction of the republic, as Lincoln feared. Old glory only symbolizes certain things when they are subverted, and the people refuse to see the fact that their belief is not patriotism, but a kind of idolatry. The most foolishness that shows there are at least two kinds of "yours"-you and me, and does his best for progress, the one that lives in the head of the past.
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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1890.

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If these figures correspond to the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

Thus the liberality of the Boston comrades, we have been enabled to publish the article "Origin of Anarchism," which appeared some time ago in FREE SOCIETY, in pamphlet form, and it is now ready for distribution.

The essay has been considerably elaborated by the author, C. L. James, and it dispels the idea that Anarchism is a "foreign plant" or that it means "the destruction of society." The philosophical references and logic of the essay will not fail to impress the professor and his ilk. It should have a wide circulation. The price is $2 per hundred. Ten copies, 25 cents. Single copy, 5 cents.

To anyone sending $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $5 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

The International Defense Committee is conducting the defense of Comrades Grossman and McQueen. Contributions are solicited, and may be addressed to the treasurer, A. Salberg, 20 Paterson St., Paterson, N. J.

The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p.m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave. September 28, either W. B. Barmard or A. Irian will speak.

The Tolstoy Club meets every Saturday evening at the home of Dr. Mary K. Corby, 70 W. Adams St. Tolstoy readings and discussions.

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday night at 8 p.m., 278 Blue Island Ave. September 28, H. Gillis will speak on "The End as We See It," in Jewish.

New York.—The Radical Reading Room will send a collector around to visit the subscribers in arrears. Those in arrears are requested to leave money or word at home, so that the committee volunteering his services may not have his labor in vain.

FREE SOCIETY

Philadelphia.—The Social Science Club will hold weekly meetings at the Hall 920 Girard Ave., (entrance on Hutchinson St.) commencing September 28, 8 p.m. The exercises will consist of an opening address on some subject of religious, social, ethical or political interest, to be followed by free discussion by the audience. The subject for September 28 will be the "Coal Strike." The speakers: Ed. Moore, J. C. Frost, G. F. Stephens, and Geo. Brown. Admission free.

Splinters.

In Chicago we have had a striking illustration of the versatility of the "philosophical Anarchist." Several of them wished to amuse themselves by flunkying around anti- Anarchist Roosevelt, so they got themselves appointed on a committee to entertain the president on his visit to Chicago. Of course tongues were soon wagging on the unusual spectacle, the police got a shaming scare, the newspapers got hold of the thing, and E. F. Benson, that master of the "philosophical" Anarchists—in the same sense that Emerson was one, according to Professor Triggs—was summarily hounded, as he deserved. (In diplomatic language it is called "categorical neglect.""") That sort of sympathetic popularity does not bode well for his republic in his ridiculous position; rather it is to be regretted that the lesson did not more thoroughly go over Rosenthal's shoulder and hit higher, as it did to some extent.

Recent disclosures in the St. Louis bribery scandal show that it was organized in a systematic manner, and not carried on spasmodically. A number of members of the house of delegates were in a combined for the sale of legislation. It is not said whether regular prices were quoted or not; but most likely the legislation went on the auction basis. Of course the respectable people are thoroughly shocked; and remedies are proposed galore; that is, everything has been proposed except to abolish the house of delegates and the whole gang, which would finally settle the boodle question in St. Louis. The New York Tribune proposes curbing the power of municipal legislating bodies; and repeats the hackneyed advice about "elect honest men to office." The former suggestion is a slight advance, for it will solve the question just insofar as power is taken away from men; the latter is a chimera, pure and simple. The people have been charged "honest men in office" as long as there were offices; and they are remarkable for their rarity. Men of the Jones and Johnson stamp are the exception, not the rule; which is sufficient reason to condemn the whole system. The remedy for the evils of governing is not to govern.

Special correspondence to the San Francisco Bulletin from Alaska, brings out the fact that the United States government, thru the enforcement of a recent game law, is bringing starvation on the natives of that territory. Hiding are their only resource for a food supply, and agents of the treasury department are destroying their primitive fish traps, for which the reason is now on. In a short time the winter will set in, when access to the outside will be unable to reach the northwest of that region on account of the water being all frozen. The law was intended to reach the white canners who depopulated the rivers and territory of game; but with its usual stupidity the law falls heaviest on innocence. The canners and white hunters will simply leave; but the natives, who have no other place of habitation, must stay there and starve. It is another case of the "civilized man" repaying the hospitable aborigines with shame and treachery. The peaceable Eskimes did not even resent the intrusion; and the new item states there is no case on record where they have refused to share with the whites their last supplies. The white men, demoralized by a system of commercialism, do not understand the primitive Communism of these people. The white man's object is to get rich quick, no matter how much he ruins the country; while the natives fish and hunt for food. And the whites make the natives pay dearly for their own stupid folly.

The Observer of the New York Truth Seeker is on the lookout for arguments just now, so he steers into me for stating that government originated in war, and "wants to conquer with sticks" that this "the natural condition of civilization. It is a rather poor guess, for so far as known the first group did not "organize" into what bore a resemblance to a State ... chiefly to support a Church for the worship of ancestors." The first groups filed together in small tribes for the "conquest of bread," which engendered war, and the strongest or most politic warrior finally became a permanent chief; and he evolves from the robber into the more respectable "governor"—with practically identical functions. Supersition is his lever in perpetuating his job. And the "first group" did not "worship ancestors," primarily, but rather the totem, which was, however, sometimes regarded as the first ancestor. Totemism, the protecting animal or plant, is the most prevalent custom in primitive life. The worship of ancestors is more common than worship of many other things, such as the sun, moon, the wind, the water, and what not.

The article "Herding or Growth," by H. Addis, written several years ago, is still applicable; and I hope will receive the general attention of all who contemplate connecting themselves with colonies.

Jr.

Chicago Meetings.

Last Friday night a debate took place, in Schiller Hall, between Mr. Simons (Socialist) and Mr. Hardinge (Single Taxer). Both speakers met with loud applause in their analysis of present conditions, but were exceedingly weak in reflecting the theories of the equitable adjustment of prevailing wrongs. The gist of Mr. Simons' argument was that the tendency of the present "economical determinism," pointed to the concentration of capital as the source of the present commonwealth, while Mr. Hardinge contended that monopoly and ignorance were the sources of present inequalities, and that the Single Tax would make land free—remove monopoly. Mr. Simons referred
that taxation levied on land would not make it free, and that the owners of the tools of production would also own the laborers. Mr. Harrigan alleged that free competition—which we had not at present—and the taxation of land only would quickly adjust things to the satisfaction of both laborer and employer; but he wanted to know how the Socialists would compensate laborers, who varied so greatly in their capacities, which in his opinion could never be justly done by the time-check or men-only system. He had asked Mr. Simon, who, evidently by reason of absolute immunity from criticism by his blind followers, boldly renounced the idea of an equal compensation under Socialism. It was an absurd utopia, and admitted that developments would perhaps be such as to inaugurate a system of high and low wages in the beginning of the era of Socialism.

The somberness of the philosophy of "economic determinism" are strange performances indeed.

Last Sunday afternoon, handel Hall of the Philosophical Society was crowded, to listen to the well-known speakers, Raymond Robins and Clarence S. Darrow, on the subject "Municipal Ownership." Mr. Robins stated that the old parties were politically dead, and a cry for industrial freedom could be heard nowhere. He could hear the rumblings which were foretelling the doom of plutocracy. So, for men had constantly been forced to the political scene, it was necessary to elect men with principles and character. Municipal ownership, he thought, would remove the temptations for exploitation. Municipal industry would perhaps not be as profitable as private enterprises, but it would make free men and women. Only a handful of devoted and honest men would be sufficient to intimidate plutocracy. He deplored the lack of men with ability and inclination. To see such devotion to their principles among the Socialists as would put millions of Christians to shame, he said among other things.

Mr. Darrow disappointed the municipal ownership advocates. Having seen Tolstoy's books for sale in the hall, he opened his discourse by stating that he believed in Tolstoy—the greatest, thinnest produced in the American School, and thought that he would much rather have called on Tolstoy than on the subject at hand. He had been too long in Chicago not to be able to size up his audiences, and knew very well why so little enthusiasm had been manifested. He had little confidence in the remedy proposed and thought it waste of time and energy to meddle with politics, and would not be forthcoming against them. The Anarchists would not vote for him, who entertained the grandest ideal ever dreamed of; but how to realize the ideal was the question. Municipal ownership was coming, whether right or wrong, but he was rather pessimistic regarding a more rational remedy. One hundred thousand would cheer a brutal murder, like Roosevelt, where only one would listen to reason. And if it comes of labor performed, with Roosevelt's mountings, one is apt to think that we are retrograding instead of progressing. Thousands of years of preaching had accomplished very little—the few still rob the many. Government was not organized to protect the weak, but to keep the poor and weak where the powerful wanted them to be. Law is a club—a machine to crush the toilers to death. He quoted, for the best proof of this, the case where the toilers would get redress without seeing lawyers, and old age pension laws, also the way he would rather see an age where pensions would not be needed. Municipal ownership might help in bringing about a better state of human affairs for which we are all striving. Such a movement might be the beginning of the spiritual power, but to use its influence to encourage effort toward a radical and permanent cure of social evils.

A. Isaak said it was not surprising when workingmen looked upon municipal ownership as a reform from their hardships, for the average toiler was always looking for some kind of a savior; but he could not understand how men of learning, who knew from history that both municipal and government ownership had been tried and proven a failure, could believe that such insignificant and petty reforms would alter the condition of the toilers and transform the politicians into honest men. Nothing but intelligence and political enlightenment could do nothing for the improvement of the race. If public sentiment was against the measure; and once the people were intelligent enough to know the cause of their ailments, they would accomplish the necessary change in short order—without delegating their power to this or that political party. Changes in society proceed laws. He admitted that very little had been done in the direction of government ownership, but this was due to the fact that people had ever dealt with the evil effects of government instead of removing the cause.

Another speaker moved in a circle, always arriving at the same spot of corruption and oppression from which it tried to escape. The Anarchists are called dreamers, but in reality the governmentalists are the dreamers. For thousands of years you have had the government, but the dream never realizes. The Anarchists is accused of favoring violence, but government was born and maintained by violence. Mr. Darrow admires, has clearly shown that all legal legislation is organized violence. And if the speakers, whose honesty of purpose I do not question, would devote their influence and energy to enlightening the people as to the evil remedy, instead of urging petty reforms, their work would soon be less room for pessimism.

"I have listened with pleasure to the able and scholarly criticism of Mr. Darrow, and do not disagree with him to any great extent," said Mr. Darrow in conclusion. Yet he was constrained to say that logic was irreconcilable, as Herbert Spencer had pointed out in his best work. This latest work of the legalistic social movement was the man who could arouse the feelings of men.
A Question of Practice.

"I said to him: 'If I should consent to marry you, it would be with the understanding that you would see to the full ownership and control of my body.'"

"And what did he say in reply?' I queried.

"Well, at first he gave me a queer kind of look, said, 'I don't know,' and I suppose you should continue to own your body. Only consent to become my wife—I'll promise anything—and all these little matters will be settled.'"

"And you believe him? Do you think he understands what you mean?"

"Yes, to both these questions. He's very liberal in his thinking; and also the idea was evidently new to him, and a surprise, I believe he would soon come to see the justice of it, and abandon any thoughts he may hitherto have had as to 'marital rights,' and adopt the new idea of marital opportunity and permission."

"He? Then let you and I, my friend—believers in the justice of the demand you make, examine, and see what this self-ownership is worth to you. Perhaps you yourself don't know what you are demanding. He doesn't for he calls it a 'little matter.'"

The speaker was fine looking, red-check'd, black-eyed young woman, who had been rendered somewhat hard, by her part in the struggle, with a sprinkling of 'liberal Christians' thrown in. She thought in a loose way, very much as such people think, especially as to the right of woman to vote, and earn her own bread, and to choose her own quarters. But she was not asked to give an account. Of late she had come in contact with Anarchist people and literature, and her imbued mind of their spirit. The man in question was a good kind of fellow, of five feet ten inches, and a number seven hat, and had been to Klonky in search of gold. That he had found some he showed by wearing 'nuggets' on his shirt front and watch chain. He didn't take much if any stock in churches; but evidently had not thought at all concerning ultimate questions, God, government, right to the land, and the unjust and maddest condition of things. Possibly, indeed, it is a case of a betterment by revolution. "Getting on" was his great object in life, with perhaps a vague idea of going to college at some future time—when he had made his pile—for an education. Thinking he saw his way clear to making a competence; and being in love with the girl and with him, he had proposed marriage, previous to returning to Klonky to grauf out more gold; evidently a sensible man and likely to "succeed."

So I proceeded in my discourse with the maiden. Said I: "It is quite likely that this dear man of yours—whom, by the way, you cannot see, because of the ideal man who occupies your thoughts, standing right in front of him [that lifted her eyebrows as this]—understands you to mean by "owning and controlling your body?" that you are not to be opened"—he said, "no, but you are to yield to his demands as a husband unless you are quite willing. If you desire to occupy your separate bed or room at any time, he will not insist on your doing so.""

"We may assume that thus far he understands your meaning; and further that he will not ask, nor compel you to bear unwelcome children. So far, very good. This is an improvement on the current idea of married life, and speaks strongly in favor of your suit.

"But suppose now that, after a brief honeymoon he returns to Klonky, and stays five or six months. Thinking on his return to give you a pleasant surprise, he enters the house without your knowing, and finds you sitting on the soft with a boy, Mr. Johnson, billing and cooing—your arms around each other—in short, making love! Would he accept the situation as matter of course, and say: 'This is what she demanded and I was cowed before we were married; he is shaving her body and kissing her lips, evidently with her consent; and may not a woman do what she wills with her own?'"

She shook her head and said:

"I doubt if he would take that view of the case—but of course this would never occur with me."

"Then why do you make the demand if you are sure you will not wish to use your freedom? Or, suppose further that, having been gone more than a year he returns, with a full poke of gold, perhaps, and finds his wife, who—meets with some difficulty, to make it all right, and he is not likely to have got there yet, and he still with many smiles and a warm welcome—nursing a month old baby; or perhaps with an unborne babe beneath her apron. What do you think?"

"I think quite sure, he would think I had gone too far in demanding my right to do as I please with my own body."

"But surely, I said, "that is what self-ownership means—""

"Yes, indeed," she replied; "but I don't think in our case he would ever have to experience such a shock as you suggest. I love him too well."

"Yes," said I, "at present. But the other fellow, and the other woman, with your notions might have the experience. Should you condemn her?"

"How little," she said, without answering my question, "do we comprehend the full meaning of the words we use: until now, I certainly did not see these implications: but now I see that marriage means giving up one's self-completeness as a composite of mutual ownership, mutual slavery if you please, neither less nor more."

"Thinking to learn something further of her real sentiments, and how far she understood the problem confronting her, I suggested:

"Suppose now, you should say to John [John Smith is his name]—'John, I can't consent to marry you, for I will not be bound; but I love you, and am willing that you shall come to live with me during the short time you remain here; and when you must return to Klonky, both you and I will be free to live our separate lives as heretofore, and free to be married or not, on your return, as may happen.'"

"That's about like 'The Woman Who Died,' she said; "but her was too disastrous an experience to repent. No! that would never do. And there are more than one. Why John would despise me—although he might accept my offer—for suggesting such thing: he isn't far enough advanced in freedom's way to see that mere marriage—a priest's blessing, or a magistrate's permit merely—does not make any difference in the purity of sex association. He would think me immoral, and a wanton! Moreover, my friend, you know how I make my living: I am a bookkeeper with a fair salary, employed in one of our leading establishments. Now a mere washer of my living with a man, not my husband, would lead to the termination of my engagement at once; and as I am not made of the stuff maidens are made of—you see! If I were a washer-woman, or worked out at menial work, one's ideas would be different; but a storegirl, or a bookkeeper, a dressmaker or a schoolmarm, a seamstress or a typewriter, or a house servant; to these respectable is the very breath of their nostrils; they must be very careful not to run against Mrs. Grundy."

"Further than that," I suggested; "living with a man is apt to entail consequences, which this not unfavourable to themselves, are inconvenient for bookkeepers to carry along with them to the counting house."

"What is to be done then?" she asked.

"Such women as you who have emancipated yourselves from the Church, and who repudiate as far as we can, government and the State, bow down the end in the dust to Mrs. Grundy, and follow her precepts; or otherwise live a life of great crudeness and childlessness! Shall we go back to filthy, disease-ridden, and diseased, nulce foos and chronicle small beer—and occupy our minds with gewgaws, the illustrated magazines, diamonds and elegant fittering—nothing of this sort (1) of us coexist with Theosophy, book-binding, or transcendental geometry?"

No! A thousand times no! But after all, this is the problem we confront: a great many of women desire of realizing in free association with the men of their choice, the blissfulness of motherhood: shall we marry, or shall we retain our liberties—"
FREE SOCIETY
than prudence) violate or disregard marriage conventions. Even the rejection of the priests or ministers of the marriage ceremony, and a revolt instead to the magistrate or registrar, has its good effect; for it aids in blotting down the idea that there is a sacred sacramental about marriage; and helps to place it in the same category with the other arrangements of life. It must be borne in mind that there are many individuals who are not interested in and indeed they are not so thoroughly convinced of the propriety of running counter to current usages, as things now stand, as to lead their lives or even marry. They are content to make only a small advance to drop the wedding ring for instance, to forego the show of bride's maids and best man, and the ostentations of the wedding gathering and feast, and instead, after paying tribute to Caesar by going before the square—to go quietly to their new home or on a journey and say nothing about it.

Some of this kind of people will, when they are married, be content to do no such thing as write to their friends that the marriage is to be used merely as a screen, to shelter them from espionage and from the reproach of society; and that, as between themselves, they are as brother and sister. Others, however, demand a change of title.

People cannot be free from each other in marriage unless both are economically independent. They must be able to support themselves, then they have a selfish desire for a free life in any respect in the coarse of bread. It is the recognition of this fact that determines some—Kropotkin for instance—to leave the sex question alone. That will settle itself, they say, when the earth and its fulness is open to all men and women to use as they please.

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