

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.

VOL. V. NO. 19.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 207.

AWAKE! ARISE!

Hark to the sob of the crying,
Oh, ye of the cross and crown!
List to the strain of the dying,
Respond with thy meek frown.
Pray to thy infinite God of love
And stamp my plea in the slumber:
Yet Nature rules mid her spheres above,
And eternity is but her time.

Behold the state of the living
Who yield to the tyrant's rod,
Then, implore the spirit forgiving,
But shame to this monstrous God,
And the relentless sweep of his sword
That filled these oceans of blood;
Then shame to a merciful Lord!
Who created the Red Sea's flood.

Think, fool, of the eternal fires
That blaze in this faith alone,
Weigh its weight from gilded spires
To the crumbling foundation stone.
Perceive the weak and the wanton,
The failures of him who tries,
Think of the hearts that are rotten
With this burden of pity and lies.

Then, prate of your God and devils,
Then, preach of your heaven and hell,
Then, sing of the good and evils
And ring forth your gospel bell.
But never a thought of the victim,
The soul-deep curses of hate,
Never a care for the pitiless dictum
Of man's inexorable fate.

The song of the realm is so low,
The heaven of man is on earth;
The serpent glides with the morrow,
And hell is created with birth.
The book of life we are making
And reason is the salvation theme,
While fallacy the weaklings are taking
And exchanging their worth for a dream.

Oh, soul! that sluggishly slumbers,
Oh, hearts! that are given to show
The Church your advancement encumbers,
Strike now your strongest blow.
Grasp here the standard of nature
And smite all these agents of shame;
Arise in strength and in stature,
Or bow at the shrine of fame.

I laugh o'er their fiery threats,
Defy their great judgment morn;
I curse their God with my spleen
And brand their heaven with scorn.
I hate the system of soulless sin
And break down their gilded throne,
For there is a conscience crying within,
That man's life is his own.

Life is the bridge we're passing
In an endless march of the years;
Condition has wrought our classing
Amid these smiles and these tears.
It matters not from whence we came
Or whither these ruins go,
Nature's forms are not twice the same
And angels are ghosts, I trow.

Death is the silent senseless thing
Which nature sends to the mind
That ignores her mandate. Its sting
Instills new life, leaving the old behind.
The engine's breath is struggling steam
Whose life departs with the day;
The spirit mingles with cloud and stream
And the iron moulders away.

Only the living are wonders,
The dead are gone, yet we con,
Perchance, the immortal thunders
Whose silent cause leads on,
Amid the federation of the sphere's
Conspiring ends that appeal to men
Of science throughout the coming years.
Thus doth mind and matter blend!

I dwell amid nature's solitude,
A miser of her speechless joys;
Love is my mistress, fancies her brood,
And mysteries her tempting toys.
Here is the shrine of the free,
Here is the mind's sacred fame,
Truth, Reason, and Right—the Trinity
That throttles the innocent's bane.

Light up the torch of Reason,
Faith's ambition's smouldering flame!
Vindicate not a friend of treason,
And pity cast over shame.

Awake! Arise! for right is right:
We're clanging the liberty bell,
Or weep and sleep! for night is night,
And it governs the laws of hell.

ROBERT MONTFORT LOCKY.

Williamstown, Kentucky.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

Like the history of every lost cause, that of the Paris Commune has been written by its enemies. Until a very few years since scarce a single work in the English language was in existence which gave a fair and impartial account of that series of wonderful events, and even at the present time the ignorance and consequently the prejudice of a great majority of the people concerning the Commune is really appalling. To mention the Paris Commune to the average citizen is to conjure to his imagination bloody-minded fanatics fairly reveling in riot, arson and murder. The most dreadful crimes are laid at the door of the Communists who held the great city in their keeping for several weeks. But the accounts of the Paris Commune were taken for the most part from the Paris newspapers of that time, which a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* shortly afterward characterized as willful lying. Those accounts were made use of in the so-called histories of the uprising which have since been written and from which the ordinary reader must obtain his information. Fortunately on the side of justice and truth, however, the real facts in regard to this, the most stupendous event of modern times, have been revealed by a few unbiased writers of unquestionable veracity. To the accounts of Frederick Harrison, the well known English writer, of Frank M. Pixley of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, both of whom were in Paris during the entire time the Commune held sway, and to other unprejudiced eye-witnesses, we are largely indebted for the facts as they have been published. Articles published by these fair-minded bourgeois writers, together with the more complete histories of the Commune written by Vesinier, ex-member and Secretary of the Commune, Lissagary, a soldier of the Commune, and by the American, a work of quite recent date, form the literature which supplies us with a detailed and circumstantial account of the great uprising.

Some years ago, before the *Argonaut* became a venomous organ of plutocracy, Frank M. Pixley wrote:

"During the weeks in which the Commune prevailed—weeks of menace from without and suffering from within—I saw and heard of no single act of pillage or murder. . . . I saw no act of vandalism. I saw no plunder. I saw organization and order. During the week of government victory I saw scenes of unparalleled brutality. I saw a hundred inexcusable, bloody acts. . . . I do not believe that the Communists either burned or attempted to burn Paris. I believe that the whole petroleum story comes from an absurd scare."

Concerning the alleged attempts of the Communists to destroy the city Frederick Harrison in the *Fortnightly Review* of August 1871 asked this pertinent question:

"If the Communists desired to destroy Paris why did they not do it, and why is it that the richest quarter, from the Madeline to the Porte St. Martin, including the two opera houses, is practically uninjured?"

Regarding the attempted justification of the wholesale slaughter of Communists by the government troops, this same writer said:

"It is urged as a defense that the wholesale slaughter of the people was in retaliation for the burning of the buildings, etc., but it must be remembered that the slaying began early on the (Monday) morning after the troops gained entrance to the city, while the burning did not begin until noon of the following day, and it was not until Wednesday night that the archbishop was killed. During that time not a prisoner escaped the fury of the government troops; everyone taken—men, women and children—were shot. They also tried to justify their acts by citing the use of petroleum; but there is the best evidence to show that the petroleum never existed, and that they never burned anything."

WM. HOLMES.

A ONESIDED VIEW.

Not long since I was talking with a gentleman who is quite radical on many points, but who maintained that government was necessary; his experience convinced him of that. He said that in Alaska they at first had no law; everyone did as he pleased. It was found that men who were good citizens at home, were not everywhere reliable, because when thus out of the reach of law, they were reckless of the rights of others, "and," he continued, "we had to hang a few of them before we could have anything like safety or order."

At first sight this reasoning seems very plausible, the conclusion inevitable; but suppose we look a little deeper. Can it reasonably be expected that men who have been reared under a system which is so unjust that it must be maintained by force—can we expect that all of them will be true to the system when the force is no longer in sight? What were the motives that took those men there?

True, perhaps one in a hundred went, as this man said he did, for the purpose of getting a solid financial basis, from which to use his influence and means to aid in advancing reform movements; but with ninety and nine the purpose was, and is in all such efforts, to secure a position under this robbery system that will enable them to legally rob the masses. Of course they do not put it to themselves in that ugly shape, but such is the sum and substance of the motives which prompt most men to brave the perils of that land of snow and ice in search of gold.

It was the same system of property relations they had left behind them that must be carried out there, that was enforced by public opinion even to the hanging of the violators, and yet such violations of a robber system are given as evidence of the necessity of government.

Police force, judges, jurors, hangmen are a needed part of the present system of things, and when these are lacking, those who have not become imbued with the so-called moral growth that holds one true to the system itself, those who have always rebelled in spirit, no matter how submissive seeming, such when visible force is absent, naturally become reckless of the rights of others. Test such under a system of natural justice before you make your decision.

Yes, this present system of things, this system of cannibalism, this system in which the few live upon the many, this system that puts woman—motherhood—under masculine control, this system based upon the idea of a great masculinity called God, who has a right to do as he pleases with a world of slaves created for his own pleasure—such a system must have organized force to sustain it, and one of the first ideas that a lover of humanity needs to have firmly rooted in his or her mind in order to do effective work, is that the system itself must go—that to reform it is an impossibility.

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

Santa Ana, Cal.

Suitors in the law are as birds; the court is the bait, the judges are the nets; and the lawyers are the fowls.—*Pope Pious II.*

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.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Comrades who are desirous to profit by a new invention may communicate with R. Bulioni, 315½ Market St., Paterson, N. J.

Comrade Otto Rinke of St. Louis, Mo., died March 1. Broken down from hard work, he had been suffering for many years, yet Comrade Rinke aided the workers to his last.

News reaches us that comrade Pietro Gori has started a new magazine, *Moderno Comunismo*, in Buenos Aires, Argentine.

The Radical is the name of a new monthly. Its editor and contributors are clever writers, and unmercifully scourge hypocrisy and sexual ignorance prevailing in society. Price \$1 per year. Address: Stockton, Calif.

According to *The Radical* the large percentage of recruits rejected was not due to the cigarette-smoking habit, as the sensational press made the people believe, but the majority of the boys were rejected on account of the effects of self-abuse.

The citizens of Pana, Ill., are now convinced that government does not protect the life and property of the common mortal, and have petitioned the governor to withdraw the troops, who were simply guarding the interests of the mine owners. The citizens have now formed a voluntary protective association, independent of city and state government.

According to the *Cleveland Citizen* a picture of the "Virgin Mary" decorates the wall of a public school in Cleveland, Ohio, and the result is that the children of Jewish parentage are already annoyed by those of Christian parentage. Blessed be the public schools!

"Miss Gould sold herself for a 'title,'" says *The Star*. "She is honored. Some women sell themselves to live. They are despised." Correct.

Free Society readers of New York and Brooklyn, who are in arrears with their subscriptions, are kindly requested to pay the amounts due to M. Maisel, 163 Henry St., New York. Comrade Maisel may also be seen at the meetings held every Friday night at 165 Broadway, New York.

A FEW QUESTIONS TO DOMINICO.

I would like to ask how Dominico will realize his ideal system, of which he speaks in No. 16 of *Free Society*. He tells us that to do away with rule, people must assert their will. How shall we assert our will? Shall we go one by one to Emperor Mac and tell him what we want, or shall we organize and go in a body? (1) But in organizing we must agree on some points in order to make it effective, and as soon as we agree on a certain proposition our liberty is restricted to that extent. (2)

Dominico says further, "all these social iniquities are the result of monopoly, that is government." Not so, comrade, the social iniquities are the result of ignorance, which permits the government to monopolize the product of the producers for the benefit of the favored few. When society produces collectively and each producer receives all he or she may consume, then it is as much monopoly as now, only that justice is done to each member. (3)

Our friend has no confidence in the ballot box. Now, please, tell us how will you assert your will in regard to the regulation of production and distribution, if not by making your desire known in one way or another; how shall we decide which is good and which is better? (4)

Anarchists demand unlimited liberty for every human being, but such a thing as unlimited liberty does not exist in the whole universe.

There is the law of gravitation; it permeates the whole universe, it attracts and repulses; it controls every earthly as well as celestial body; we cannot extricate ourselves from its influence, its rule. (5) We must organize for defense in case of invasion; we must have some plan to go by; we must select some one out of our ranks to take care of production and see that the system is efficient, but must not put anyone above us, for by so doing we degrade ourselves. (6)

The individual must know how to use freedom, he must be educated in its use, for it can be used for good or bad like a two-edged sword.

No, friend! We Anarchists do just as much voting by staying away from the ballot box as we would in putting in our votes, and I think that by helping and pulling together with the most radical party, we could have a force to gain more liberties so essential to our propaganda, or at least to hasten the issue. When our forces are strong enough to beat our adversaries at the ballot box, then we are sure that they will suffice to beat them with bullets. When the ballot box is used for the purpose of managing the industries for the benefit of all, then there is no advantage in it.

We shall at least first try the ballot before we use force. I think a man to cowardly too to go to vote for his conviction is a poor fellow to fight for it.

E. F. ROTSCHECK.

1—Had friend Rot-scheck read my little article carefully, his questions would have been fewer and less extensive. How we shall assert our will? By acting in accordance with our convictions. There are no other means to achieve freedom. Our forefathers did not go "one by one" to King George and asked him for liberty, neither did they organize for that purpose. A few courageous men armed themselves and defied the English import laws, and the so-called masses followed like sheep.

2—That our liberties are restricted when we spontaneously agree with our fellowmen to achieve a certain end, is an absurdity. Only when force is employed to enforce the agreement are our liberties restricted.

3—Of course ignorance is at the bottom of all our iniquities, and if people were aware of the disastrous effects of monopoly, privileges would soon be abolished. To say that where the means of production and the resultant products are at the disposal of all human beings is monopoly, is another absurdity. Only when individuals have the exclusive right to land, machinery and the necessities of life, does monopoly exist.

4—That a professed Anarchist recommends the toy called the ballot box is amusing indeed. Did our forefathers vote on the proposition of freeing themselves from England? Or let us take for an illustration the city halls of Bremen, Hamburg, etc. in Germany. These buildings are from 600 to 1000 years old; solid and artistic. How did the old Germans come to build them? Did they use the ballot box to express their will? No, the desire for a beautiful collective building was stimulated by energetic individuals; the citizens met for weeks and weeks to argue the proposition until they came to a final agreement. As money was scarce mechanics volunteered to erect certain parts of the buildings gratuitously, and their artistic taste is admired even at the present time. And nobody was compelled to contribute anything to the erection of these buildings unless he had a desire to do so. How does that compare with the ballot box?

5—If Rot-scheck has read my article on "Anarchy," he must have noticed that I said, "Anarchists demand unlimited liberty, that is to say, we demand for every human being the right and the means of doing that which pleases him, to satisfy all his wants without any other limits than natural impossibilities," consequently I am not combating "the law of gravitation;" but we can "extricate" ourselves from man-made laws and customs, without fearing that the "celestial bodies" will collide.

6—Anarchists do not object to management, but if people "select someone to see that the system

is efficient," then they establish authority, which is incompatible with liberty.

7—Friend Rot-scheck may vote all his heart desires. It does not require much courage to drop a piece of paper into a box, but those that defy the laws and obnoxious customs by their actions in life, often suffer death and imprisonment, yet they are the real pioneers of freedom and pave the road for others. And if the bullets are used for the same purpose as the ballot box, that is, to change masters and to subjugate the minority—and that is all the ballot box can ever accomplish—then I feel sorry for the lead and blood wasted.

DOMINICO.

ENLIGHTENMENT ENDANGERS OPPRESSORS.

Raise a discriminating standard; and let all those who maintain and nourish mankind by useful labors gather round it; and you will discover the enemy that preys upon you.

The standard being raised, this nation divided itself at once into two bodies of unequal magnitude and contrasted appearance. The one, innumerable, and almost totally exhibited in the poverty of its clothing, in its emaciated appearance and sunburnt faces, the marks of misery and labor; the other, a little group, an insignificant faction, presented in its rich attire embroidered with gold and silver, and in its sleek and ruddy faces, signs of leisure and abundance.

Considering these men more attentively, I found that the great body was composed of farmers, artificers, merchants, all professions useful to society; and that the little group was made of priests of every order, of financiers, of nobles, of men in livery, of commanders of armies; in a word of the civil, military, and religious agents of government.

These two bodies being assembled face to face, and regarding each other with astonishment, I saw indignation and rage arising in one side, and a sort of panic in the other. And the large body said to the little one: Why are you separated from us? Are you not one of our number?

No, replied the group; you are the people; we are a privileged class, who have our laws, customs and rights, peculiar to ourselves.

People.—And what work do you perform in our society?

Privileged Class.—None; we are not made to work.

People.—How, then, have you acquired these riches?

Privileged Class.—By taking pains to govern you.

People.—What! is this what you call governing? We toil and you enjoy! We produce and you dissipate! Wealth proceeds from us, and you absorb it. Privileged men! class who are not the people; form a nation apart, and govern yourselves.

Then the little group, deliberating on this new state of things, some of the honorable among them said: We must join the people and partake of their labors and burdens, for they are men like us, and our riches come from them. But others arrogantly exclaimed: It would be a shame, an infamy, for us to mingle with the crowd; they were born to serve us. Are we not men of another race—the noble and pure descendants of the conquerors of this empire? This multitude must be reminded of our rights and its own origin.

The Nobles.—People! know you not that our ancestors conquered this land, and that your race was spared only on condition of serving us? This is our social compact! this the government constituted by custom and prescribed by time.

People.—O conquerors, pure of blood! show us your Genealogies! we shall then see if what in an

* This dialogue between the people and the indolent classes, is applicable to every society; it contains the seeds of all the political vices and disorders that prevail, and which may thus be defined: Men who do nothing, and who devour the substance of others; and men who arrogate to themselves particular rights and exclusive privileges of wealth and indolence. Men living in idleness at the expense of those who labor.

individual is robbery and plunder, can be virtuous in a nation.

And forthwith voices were heard in every quarter calling out the nobles by their names, and relating their origin and parentage; they told how the grandfather, great-grandfather, or even father, born traders and mechanics, after acquiring wealth in every way, had purchased their nobility for money; so that very few families were really of the original stock. See, said these voices, see these purse-proud commoners who deny their parents! see these plebeian recruits who look upon themselves as illustrious veterans! and peals of laughter were heard.

And the civil governors said: These people are mild, and naturally servile; speak to them of the king and of the law, and they will return to their duty. People! the king wills, the sovereign ordains.

People.—The king can will nothing but the good of the people; the sovereign can only ordain accordingly to law.

Civil Governors.—The law commands you to be submissive.

People.—The law is the general will; and we will a new order of things.

Civil Governors.—You are then a rebel people.

People.—A nation cannot revolt; tyrants only are rebels.

Civil Governors.—The king is on our side; he commands you to submit.

People.—Kings are inseparable from their nations. Our king cannot be with you; you possess only his phantom.

And the military governors came forward. The people are timorous, said they; we must threaten them; they will submit only to force. Soldiers, chastise this insolent multitude.

People.—Soldiers, you are of our blood! Will you strike your brothers, your relatives? If the people perish who will nourish the army?

And the soldiers, grounding their arms, said to the chiefs: We are likewise the people; show us the enemy!

Then the ecclesiastical governors said: There is but one resource left. The people are superstitious; we must frighten them with the names of God and religion.

Our dear brothers! our children! God has ordained us to govern you.

People.—Show us your credentials from God!

Priests.—You must have faith; reason leads astray.

People.—Do you govern without reason?

Priests.—God commands peace! Religion prescribes obedience.

People.—Peace supposes justice. Obedience implies conviction of a duty.

Priests.—Suffering is the business of this world.

People.—Show us the example.

Priests.—Would you live without Gods or kings?

People.—We would live without oppressors.

Priests.—You must have mediators, intercessors.

People.—Mediators with God and with the king!

Courtiers and priests, your services are too expensive; we will henceforth manage our own affairs.

And the little group said: We are lost! the multitude are enlightened.

And the people answered: You are safe; since we are enlightened we will commit no violence; we only claim our rights. We feel resentments, but we will forget them. We were slaves, we might command; but we only wish to be free, and liberty is but justice.—From Volney's "Ruins of Empires."

WICKED CALIFORNIANS.

"Wants a day of prayer for rain."—"An Oakland minister says that California is being punished for sin."—"The governor should act."—"The Reverend N. R. Johnson wants ministers to call upon the executive for a fast day."

The above are catchline headings in the Sunday Examiner's collection of garbage, and then follows:

The Rev. N. R. Johnson of Oakland has come to the conclusion that the present dry season that has

already extended over two seasons is a visitation of the wrath of God upon the State of California for the sins of the people." "and that governor Gage be petitioned to declare a day of fasting and prayer in order to avert the impending calamity."

He then gives the Jonah Nineveh story.

The greatest sin of the day is, that parsons are obtaining money under false pretenses. The Church calls on the State to order its praying. If a fast day were proclaimed it should be for the parasites only; the toilers who produce all the wealth fast too much already. The State to order prayer!! Why, they have a man now at Sacramento who makes them at \$4 each; let one extra special prayer be ordered at, say \$20; if God does not hear that, then save us the \$4 daily. What a sight up there just now! The Church and the State are the sinners—not the people; the people are only fools for submitting to the domination of such imposters as parsons and statesmen.

The Reverend advocates stopping a day's pay for Labor, knowing that his dollars will roll in just the same. Does he not know that if Labor had his birthright—free access to "Our Father's" land—one barren year in seven would not be a calamity? Does Johnson know anything about "the sabbath of the seventh year," or can he earn a small part of his pay by informing us who Cain's wife was? The ordinary reader of the bible learns that God made Adam, the first man, out of the dust of the earth (the nigger said it must have been clay as the dust would not stick together); then he made Eve out of a rib. These two, then, made Cain and Abel, so there were only these four people in the world, and yet we read, "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord (the omnipresent, please note) and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east side of Eden, and Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and bore Enoch."

Think a little, Johnson, and suggest that the professor who manages the "weather bureau" be changed! Or, that free access to God given natural opportunities be reverted to, and thus avert the impending calamity. This would abolish most of "the sins of the people." One more suggestion: Eat your bread, Doctor of Divinity, in the sweat of your own face, instead of from the sweat of the other fellow's face; in short, be a man and not a parasite. Get off Labor's back and let him have a chance to be free. Fish tales will not do in 1899. Study the land question and the money question. Perhaps Johnson did, and knows full well, that if natural laws were turned on these two points he would have to work for his bread, and this would come hard on him—the Lord's anointed! By the way, why didn't the Lord anoint me to live on those other fellows' sweat?

If Johnson's God made Johnson to teach Jones, Smith, Brown, Robinson, and Pecksniff McKinley how to live, then Johnson's God is a fool, for he has made a fearful hash of it; for Johnson is "most fearfully and wonderfully badly made—on a wrong line entirely."

If the labor that has been wasted, aye, worse than wasted, on churches, conventicles, and superstition shops in general; in maintaining parsoncrats in luxury to practice deceit; if this labor had been used to construct storage and irrigation works in California, taken in conjunction, of course, with free land and free exchange, we should now be in the full enjoyment of heaven. But instead they give you a hell of doubts and fears, and "blessed are the poor" here, and then the chances of a "toss up," if you ever get a seat on the edge of a damp cloud.

KINGHORN-JONES.

A RADICAL "PENNY MAGAZINE."

George Francis Train, the original, radical millionaire, who discarded the conventional "Mr." and adopted the plain "Citizen" as his title, and who during the Chicago tragedy on account of his threat to muster a hundred thousand men with whom to march upon Chicago and liberate the martyrs was only saved from being railroaded into an insane asylum by the U. S. authorities through his flight to Canada, is now editing a journal which, if the following quotation of a daily be correct, is destined to create a sensation and to awaken the stupid slaves as well as the vicious masters out of their slumbers. Thus the once great *Twentieth Century* has at last found an able successor in the *Penny Magazine*, La Crescent, Minn. Success to the successor!

We quote the following from the *Examiner*:

THE LATEST ASTONISHING OUTBURST OF CITIZEN GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

"ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT.

"Certain things are plain to every man who sees, namely:

"That governments, as a rule, are controlled by the plunderers of the people.

"That the condition of the people under any form of government, environments excepted, is about the same.

"We are speaking now of civilized nations. Those earlier conditions of society, the family and tribal states, observed a more natural order.

"Speaking of nations, let us pronounce a definition for that word: Imaginary lines dividing one crowd of thieves from another crowd.

"As the intellectual status of the people rises the laws become more distinct; as the means for producing wealth increase the laws multiply; statute books become codes of ethics legalizing plunder.

"Land, the natural inheritance of man, is controlled by a few who extort from those who till it about nine-tenths of all their product, in the shape of rents and profits.

"Money, an invention to assist the distribution of wealth, is monopolized by a privileged class called bankers, who limit the output so that its purchasing power is about ten times more than it otherwise would be. This steal is called interest.

"If there were no robbers—cloaked in the authority of law—there would be no one to impose rents, interest and profits.

"Debts are forced upon the people through the necessity to borrow; they are paid by the penalty of foreclosure or eviction.

"Why the people submit to it is a conundrum. Carlyle calls it a miracle.

"A thousand men bending their necks under overburdened loads, this way and that, at the command of some loafer, is a spectacle for the gods.

"Those who sympathize and dismount to alarm them are stamped into obloquy by the spiked heel of ostracism.

"Those who arise from them to alarm them are imprisoned or hanged.

"The destiny of the people is left to the fates. The deplorable fact remains that when the fates are with them they do not know it.

"EVOLUTION OF LIFE.

"Ages pass, continents rise, mountains are lifted up, valleys erode, life unfolds from type to type, till at last it culminates in man.

"Himself the last, he takes from the Archean rocks the first, the Eozoon—the first life dawn—the Rhizopod, the first life form—Man the last.

"The perfect physical man now is; the perfect mental man a coming fact. Nature has yet to obliterate the cunning, selfish, thieving attributes from the brain, then man will sing to nature, his mother, his only song: 'I accept thee and thee alone!'" S. D.

The Letter-Box.

M. S., New York.—"The Speeches of the Chicago Anarchists" will be out after a few weeks, but whether we will have the means to publish "Morbid Society and Anarchy," and Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread," we cannot tell, for there are yet many dollars lacking to pay the bill of presswork and paper of the Speeches. *Free Society Library* was suspended for lack of means.

C. O., Worcester, Mass.—The address of *Liberator* is 1394 Congress St., Chicago, Ill. Will try to exchange with *Forsaker*, Minneapolis, Minn. Thanks for contribution.

R. W., Philadelphia.—The title of the book quoted is "Man Without a Master" by J. Wilson, Ph. D., Newark N. Y.

M. S. M., New Haven, Conn.—Thanks for the translation. It is an excellent sketch, but unfortunately we cannot publish it until we publish 8 pages again.

L. F., Burton, Kansas.—That we are "all equal before the laws" is now illustrated in California. An assemblyman is charged of manslaughter, yet he will not be arrested and tried until he has been given an opportunity to make some more ludicrous laws for the common mortals. "Laws are divine," you say. "So far," says *The Radical*, "the General Assembly of asses have given birth to a dozen unsavory scandals and several bills so foolish that a ranch mule would be ashamed to trace his parental ancestry to either of the authors." You see, Americans differ in their opinion about the "divinity" of lawmakers.

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

For St. Louis.

Comrade Emma Goldman will lecture in St. Louis as follows:

March 25, 8 p. m., at the Commune Festival, Bohemian Gymnasium, 9th & Allen streets.

March 26, 2 p. m., at the South West Turn Society, Cherokee and Texas Aves.
March 28, 8 p. m., at Bricklayer's Union No. 3, Dewey Hall, South B'way and Shenandoah Ave.

March 29, 8 p. m., at Machinists' Union No. 394, Dewey Hall, South B'way and Shenandoah Ave.

March 30, 8 p. m., at Cabinet Makers Union No. 12, St. Louis Hall, Biddle and N. B'way.

April 1, 8 p. m., at Brewers Union No. 6, Dewey Hall, South B'way and Shenandoah Ave.

REACTION AGAINST COVENTIONAL RELIGION.

Under the above caption the following circular is being circulated, and we hope all our readers who are able to do so, will not miss this splendid opportunity to bring our ideas into the university:

The seminary of the Psychology of Religion at Stanford University is attempting to study the various phases of religious experience. It is believed that a study not only of conversion but of negative conversion, of belief but disbelief, of faith but apathy, cannot but prove helpful in bringing into terms of the understanding the intricate forces at work in the spiritual world. This questionnaire, therefore, is addressed to those who have outgrown the religion into which they were born, or who have always stood outside of the conventional form. We do not assume the doctrinaire attitude, but insist on letting the facts of life as they actually express themselves in human experience, speak for themselves. Consequently, we trust you will have no scruples in replying freely and frankly. Name and address optional. You need not answer all the questions; even a very brief statement of your experience will be of value.

I. YOUR PRESENT POSITION.

Give Age, Sex, Nationality, Temperament, Vocation and Name and Address.

Presuming that you have experienced any form of religious reaction or that you are for any reason out of sympathy with the usual forms or creeds, what is your working basis of life—your faith?

What is your conception of the power or spirit, or force or whatever it is, governing the world? What do you believe in regard to its wisdom? Have you faith in, or do you distrust its goodness? What are your ideals, your highest purposes in life? What qualities must one possess, in your opinion, to live a wholesome, well-balanced life?

Your conception of duty—to what extent do you feel a duty toward your fellows or society? Or do you feel that duty is completely involved in being true to yourself? Do you feel indifferent toward religion or does it weigh on you as a life-problem?

Has the general conception of a Deity any æsthetic charms for you? How do you feel on entering a church, hearing church-music, beholding religious art?

Are you prone to introspection, to scepticism, to worrying over problems of

life? If religion as commonly conceived has no significance in your life, what seems to fill for you the place which it holds in the lives of others?

What is your explanation of the dominant and powerful sway that religion has always wielded over organized society?

II. HISTORY.

Outline your religious growth marking out as definitely as possible the stages, and give in each case the approximate age. Describe each stage in terms both of your subjective feelings and of your attitude toward the World, Nature, God, the Bible, Church, State, Art, Music, Social Amusements, and the like. Give the outward circumstances and causes leading to each of the stages—as, health, contact with nature, stimulus of a crowded city, travel, successes and misfortunes, etc.; what do you owe to science and history, to the theory of Evolution, to philosophy or to any system of study or reading? Give the record of your development in your own way, making use of the following questions merely as suggestions.

Describe your early religious environment including influences both for and against religion.

When and in what way did you first reflect on religious matters yourself?

Providing that you were under the sway of a strictly orthodox regime when and under what circumstances were you first impelled to react?

If your reaction came as a more or less definite break with surroundings, describe it; give age, what brought it about? Was there a protracted struggle because of the dread of hurting friends, jeopardizing your worldly position, crushing out of ideals? Describe fully. How long did it last? How did the struggle end, if at all?

If you were at any time since childhood actively religious, describe it, giving the age and circumstances.

Work out any other change as for example, periods of indifference; despair; working out a harmonious experience from a painful one, etc.

Had you a child to bring up, how closely would you model his religious environment and education on the lines of your own early experience? What changes would you make?

Please Address Replies to

ANNA SEBASTY,
Stanford University, California.

RECEIPTS.

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For Pennsylvania.

All comrades of Western Pennsylvania that are anxious to distribute *Free Society* and the *Freiheit* among their acquaintances, can receive them free from the undersigned by request.

I have also the latest books and pamphlets, published in Germany, England and America, for sale. H. Bauer, Allegheny, 73 Springgarden.

Alexander Berkman.

Some friends of comrade A. Berkman had a photographer sent to the penitentiary and his picture taken, which can be had for 25 cents. The proceeds will be utilized for the benefit of *Free Society* and *Freiheit*, London, England.

The pictures are sold by Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York; H. Bauer, 73 Springgarden, Allegheny, Pa.; and *Free Society*.

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