

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. 23.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 16, 1899.

WHOLE NO. 211.

BALSCHAZZAR'S BURDEN!

Take up Balschazzar's burden,
And meet Balschazzar's fall:
When your glory's at its highest,
—Your doom is on the wall.

Fill full your vaults with plunder,
—Bid EVOLUTION cease:
Proclaim Balschazzar's gospel—
"O Baal, preserve the Peace!"

And drill your bannered cohorts,
The pride of Babylon:
And drain your brimming goblets,
—O'er human hearts, march on!

Take up Balschazzar's burden,
And meet Balschazzar's fate,
Pave with skulls your Temples,
The torch is at your gate.

Train up your black Praetorians,
Your Ethiope "boys in blue":
(They come!—the Medes and Persians,
To whelm your Gods and you.)

Plant guns around your booty,
—Bid all contention cease!
Acclaim Balschazzar's anthem—
"O Baal, preserve the Peace!"

And when you think you've triumphed,
And reached the goal you've sought:
Then watch the lowly Match Box
Bring all your Power to naught.

Take up Balschazzar's burden,
And meet Balschazzar's fall:
When your glory's at its grandest,
The flame is on the wall.

RED PENCIL.

CONSOLIDATION OF REFORM FORCES.

Dear Sir, I received the five copies of *Free Society* you sent me and read with considerable interest the articles on constitution. I have no dissent to make against the spirit manifest or the sentiment expressed, but it seems strange to me that among all the branches of the reform elements, and considering the energy and zeal that is manifested by each branch, and considering, too, the fact that all are aiming in the same direction, there has not yet developed a principle or animus sufficiently strong to unite them into one solid force. Whatever can be done toward ameliorating the conditions of life and bringing us under a more satisfactory discipline of society and government, must be a work of political effect, if anything short of revolution; but with revolution there is a twofold uncertainty. As parties now stand, the republican party maintains every feature of governmental policy to which every reformer is opposed. That being admitted it is strange indeed that some should support that party against their own advocacy. We are informed that John Most supported the republican party,* which would give color at least to the conclusion that men of his thought would follow suit. If such presumption is correct then the rational conclusion must be that their reason for so doing is based upon the conviction that nothing short of revolution can ever produce their ideal and hence to hasten that revolution by supporting the cause of it is the most consistent course of action. But it seems to me they err, because even if their conception of what constitutes the true ideal of government be right, they must recognize the fact that the great body of thought is slow to move and cannot be hastily brought into harmony with any new theory or one that has but limited advocacy, and if a revolution should be brought about in the near future it would not be possible for them to dominate the masses, and even if the revolution were successful it would at best be but a step in advance

* That John Most or any other Anarchist "supported" the republican or any other party or political organization is an absolute error and an absurdity. John Most, when interviewed regarding the relative merits or demerits of the single and double standards, simply considered the single standard the most appropriate under the present paradoxical social conditions; that's all. Politics and Anarchism are antipodal, the one representing authority and the other liberty.—Ed.

towards a perfect ideal of government. There is, however, a still more alarming uncertainty to be dreaded by all Communistic people in such case, for their zeal and activity would necessarily bring them into prominence, and all the conservatism in the world would lay at their door the charge of insubordination, disruption and treason, and the majority of sentiment would be crystalized into antagonism, so that their status would be hurled back a hundred years in the great question of governmental evolution.

Would it not therefore be wiser for such to work in perfect harmony with other elements of reform? As it is now there is a strong tendency among a large class of reformers toward the Communistic idea, so much so that some of our workers are making special fight against it. By judicious action and sympathetic work this tendency could be held and strengthened, and every step gained by the united forces of reform would place the most radical element upon advantageous ground for more effective propaganda work.

The declaration of American Independence brought conditions most favorable for the growth of Communism. This was all accidental and without a shade of Communistic contribution, but it was a long step in advance toward the grand ideal. If the trend of human thought is in that direction independent of Communism, and the time seems imminent when another step is to be taken, should not the present standing and strength of the Communistic idea be sacredly guarded against any revision of opinion in the advance movement? I recognize the significance of the fact that points with prophetic finger to revolution, but I sincerely hope that such awful forebodings may be dispelled and that the conditions of life may yet bring us to more favorable conditions of life under a revised system that shall be more in harmony with our conceptions. But no God—no system of theocratic inspiration, can or ever will help us. Religion is of a parasitic character that strives only to adapt itself to any and all conditions. This is why it is always found subservient to the strong party, or the party that most freely provides its parasitic wants, for its stability and toleration. With permission to exist it finds a way to subsist and not even the poor escape its blood-sucking propensity. C. PUTNAM.

COMMENT.

Mr. Putnam's letter, on which I have been asked to make a few comments, breathes a commendable spirit of investigation and desire to find the truth. We have too many special pleaders, and too few independent thinkers. A cause which cannot pass through the ordeal of the most searching criticism is unworthy of support. Mr. Putnam is a staunch advocate of the freedom and independence of the individual in the realm of thought and in the expression of thought in language. The philosophy of Anarchy recognizes the fact that human welfare demands that in action also each man shall be in truth himself, and not the pale reflection of another man, nor even a composite photograph of the majority of his clan or nation. Without liberty there is no progress, save that which arises from the determined struggle for liberty. The government of man by man, even under its most favorable aspect, negatives individuality, developing a sameness which is fatal to all growth.

The desire for a consolidation of all reform forces has long been a favorite dream with many. Earnest and able leaders have arisen who have striven with all the power of intellect and character to inaugurate a united political movement which should lead us all forward. The People's Party, the National Party, the Liberty Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Public Ownership Party, represent so many dismantled wrecks in the political ocean. Where are the Nationalist Clubs, where the "Union

for Practical Progress," and the multitude of other organizations which have striven to offer a common ground for all reformers? Each and all have founded on the rocks of governmentalism and majority rule. The varying schools of reform will not consent to surrender to one another. Each is too tenacious of its own program to accept a subordinate position. Each wishes to coerce, not to be coerced. Anarchy alone boldly tramples on all these elaborate platforms, and stands for liberty and complete non-invasion. The palliatives offered on all sides leave the heart of the problem untouched, merely requiring a certain re-adjustment of machinery for grinding the masses.

Communism, a genuine solidarity of economic interests, if rightly understood, is undoubtedly the true solution to the industrial problem. Each for all, and all for each, is a good motto. But a compulsory Communism or Socialism might become the most intolerable of tyrannies. We are not mere beasts of burden, to labor, eat, sleep, and be content. Our natures crave expansion and the free play of all our powers. Majority rule or any rulership of man by man denies the right of private judgment. To be well fed, housed, and amused, was the lot of thousands of slaves a generation ago. Yet without liberty the satisfaction of their material wants left them little better or more intelligent than animals. We contend for entire religious, industrial, social, sexual, and political freedom, because we believe in a free and noble manhood and womanhood.

That a sanguinary revolution lies between us and the downfall of the present system of vested outrage, is believed by many. We do not seek an appeal to force. Our whole effort is directed toward reaching the minds of men, and preparing them for liberty. We aim at no revenge for the past. We strive to exchange the misguided sense of self-interest, which has built up systems of fraud and oppression, for a more enlightened principle which shall lead to the welfare and happiness of all. Not a drop of blood need be shed, not a hand raised against a fellow-man. But experience teaches that men are slow to learn. The over-confident autocrats of the world are rushing blindly onto their doom. It is they who are preparing to invoke the aid of violence, and who will perish in the conflict they have begun. It may take the human race many years or centuries to appreciate the fuller meaning of liberty; but it is not too early to point out the right path. Perhaps new governmental experiments have yet to be tried, ending, like those of the past, in confusion and tyranny. Nevertheless our work is not thrown away. The seed scattered broadcast on the winds is finding lodgment here and there. Not all will perish by the wayside or be choked by weeds and thorns. The hands of the sowers are not yet weary; for we look down the vista of the ages, and see, gleaming white on a myriad fields, the glorious harvest of liberty.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

"In politics every one is governed in his choice of party by his passion and his interests; the mind is submitted to the imposition of the will; there is no knowledge, there is not even a shadow of certainty. In this way, general ignorance produces general tyranny, and while liberty of thought is written in the charter, slavery of thought, under the name of majority rule, is decreed by the charter."—Proudhon.

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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.

There is considerable trouble brewing in the universities of Russia, many of them being closed. Strikes are breaking out all over the empire and troops are held ready for action.

Leroy Berrier of Minnesota, who was imprisoned for violating the Comstock laws, has been pardoned. The same day I read this news a postal official gave *Free Society* a "fair warning" to quit sending "obscene matter" through the mails. I remonstrated I was not aware of having ever sent obscene matter through the mails, and when asked what he would call obscene, he said: "Anything that relates to sexual intercourse, or anything that incites passion." A. I.

St. Louis, April 5.—A decision was rendered by Judge Peabody in the City Police Court to-day that under certain conditions a husband has the right to beat his wife. Judge Peabody said in passing judgement:

"In this case the wife was more guilty than the husband for trying to contradict and thwart her husband's will in the presence of the children, and so setting them a bad example, which he had a right to rebuke. There are times when a wife irritates her husband to such an extent that he cannot control himself and uses his hand or fist. As long as no serious harm is done I don't believe in his punishment."—*S. F. Examiner*.

Are there no "times" when husbands "irritate" their wives? And if so, are the wives to be excusable also if they "cannot control themselves and use their hands or fists" upon them? In that case this tipped official Peabody, who is a decent a good judge of whisky but a most disgraceful teacher of the principles which should obtain in the adjustment of domestic relations, ought to have his wife and some spirited neighbors' wives administer to him his own "hand or fist" medicine, for his brutal "decision" has not only "irritated" but insulted every woman possessed of the slightest degree of intelligence and of the smallest spark of independence. A good coat of tar and feathers would certainly "do no serious harm" to monster Peabody and might in future prevent the repetition of such abominable "decisions."

However, this deplorable condition is but the natural outcome of the deepseated superstition of human beings that they must ask the permission (licence) of some fool or fools (state) for cohabitation and that as soon as such fools' permit is obtained they must belong—body and soul—exclusively to each other—be mutual slaves.

Moral: No slavery—no fists. S. D.

The *Iron Age*, the leading organ of the American iron and steel manufacturers, says regarding our pretended prosperity:

"Prosperity has come, but it is a prosperity that is based upon a permanent reduction of wages."

That such an opinion is rendered by employers in whose interest it would seem to be to mislead the workers rather than to make them discontented by a statement of the plain truth, is proof positive of the seriousness of the situation. A boom has been created; the export of American goods has assumed larger proportions, it is true; but all of that has been accomplished by artificial methods, by that "permanent reduction of wages" which condemns the worker to semi-starvation. It is nothing but a gigantic and audacious swindle!

Our modern methods of government prove, among other things, the advance of humanitarianism. While in former ages quartering, the rack and burning were the punishment of refractors, we have passed beyond that stage and do not require such brutal methods

any more to insure respect for our wordly as well as divine authorities. Government has adopted more refined methods. It is keeping itself entrenched behind the superstition of the masses, one of the greatest superstitions of the age being the imagination of the poor drudges that they are the rulers. The phrases "popular government" and "universal suffrage" have turned the heads of the poor wretches to such an extent that they are oblivious of the facts that majority rule aside from its resting essentially upon a wrong principle, namely the enslavement of the minority, becomes a sham and a fraud when the natural resources of a country are monopolized. Yes, humanitarianism has made rapid strides, and the masses of "sovereigns" in all "civilized" countries are content to meekly submit and starve to death and fall victims of this most fallacious phantom of majority rule.

Wendell Phillips thus expressed himself regarding the system of "blacklists" which, during his time, was only beginning to spread in the most developed New England states:

"If this system should take root in our industry, a new species of slavery would be engendered which would be more oppressive in our individual and national life than that of negro slavery."

It would not be necessary for Wendell Phillips to-day to point to the New England States, for all the large industries throughout the country are honey-combed with the blacklisting system; Wendell Phillips' apprehended new slavery is a matter of fact.—*Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

TRUE VS. SHAM AMERICANISM.

It is hard for the man with a sane morality to read of the ruthless butchering of helpless Filipinos by this scoundrelly government without feeling a strong desire to blow the whole soulless and dirty crowd into eternity. I am profoundly ashamed of being an American which is now synonymous with all that is base, rascally, cowardly and untrue. It is only distance and other obstacles that prevent my sympathy from taking more practical shape. The presidential, senatorial and legislative rascals of this country have put themselves beyond the pale of all the laws of humanity.

I would write this to the *Examiner* or *Chronicle*, but they would not publish it for fear of its striking a responsive chord in the aching hearts of thousands of men whose sympathy might take a form and shape dangerous to the ruling rascals and their parasitical upholders. Long live the Filipinos! May they lick every dirty foreign thief from the face of their fair Islands.

HENRY J. WEEKS.

THE WAR AND ITS LESSONS.

If the principle had been established that no person has the right to kill another, there would have been no war in Cuba. For if no person possesses the right to kill, or the right of power to kill another, then no body of persons can possess such right. Consequently no body of persons can, by consent or otherwise, give, transmit or in any manner bestow upon another body of persons, called government the right to kill a fellow-being; in which case Spain would have possessed no power over Cuba. Cubans would have had free possession of their own land, and as a people, of the fruits of their own labor, and would not have been forced to contribute to the queen-regent of Spain and their boy king and their hangers-on—the queen's council, ministerial officials, etc., and the privileged classes in general among her subjects.

What is government anyhow? Well, if we go back a thousand years before our Christian era, we find the government of Spain, from that time up, to have been a succession of professional murderers, who with the aid of their followers—the common people who have always been foolish enough to live or die fighting the battles of the governing classes—have slain millions; vanquished their opposers and succeeded to the government of Spain. So we find government is force power, an unnatural right—which is not a right.

The common people of Spain had no cause to fight Cubans. No doubt their patriotism was appealed to and they were told that they were fight-

ing for their right to the possession of Cuban soil; fighting for their country. They did not think far enough to see that they have no country; that they possess none of the soil or wealth of the nation; that "the country" is owned entirely by the governing classes of "the country;" and Spain is no exception. They did not see that all the interest they possess in the government of Spain is the interest of a beggar begging for opportunity to labor and produce wealth for the privileged classes; the producer's share being a bare living. So it is the world over—and "you ought to thank God you are well and able to work." It is a question if the common people of Cuba will be any better off for the gain of freedom from the rule, or government of Spain. Unless they are far-sighted enough to organize a new and improved industrial system they will not be. Already we hear that syndicates are forming in the United States to buy up and take possession of Cuban soil; thus private interests are to be served, and Cubans will work for them like slaves—or rather as slaves; for although we have abolished chattel slavery we still maintain a system of wage slavery infinitely worse—and it will make little difference to the working people of Cuba if the land of Cuba is owned and controlled by private interests in the United States instead of private interests in Spain. This is so because man assumes to make laws and the few make the laws to promote their interests to the disadvantage of the many. Man-made law is contrary to Nature, or natural law—else there would be no occasion for man to make law or what he calls law. Nature's laws enforce themselves; man-made laws do not; hence to be operative, they must be enforced by man himself, by force of arms; hence the occasion for war. Nature has made the same law for all nations; but the governing classes of all nations make different laws to govern the governed classes by—for government means a class that governs, and a class that is governed.—"Law-and-order people" tell me "we must have law—government—because human nature is so depraved," but if human nature is so depraved is human nature fit to make laws? fit to govern? We have natural laws to govern us, and if we violate any of Nature's laws the result is evil even though we violate them in obedience to man-made law. In obedience to man-made law man assumes the right to kill.

Blackstone says: "No human law is of any validity if contrary to the laws of Nature; and such of them as are valid derive all their authority mediately or immediately from this original."

Thomas Paine says: "A great deal of what we call government is really nothing more than arrogance and impertinence. The higher the civilization the less cause for government, because civilized men govern themselves. All the laws society needs are the laws of Nature, to obey which no one needs government. We obey them because they are in our interest. The business of governing has been monopolized since the dawn of mankind by the most ignorant and worst of the human race."

By what right did the Spanish government claim to own, possess and govern Cuba, Porto Rico, the Ladrone, the Philippines, etc? Surely by no natural right; for these islands by natural right belonged to the people of these islands. They were claimed and held only by force, and for the sole purpose of making the native-born people poor day-drudges in support of Spanish aristocracy. No wonder the people of Cuba were exasperated to the point of rebellion. Will they profit by their experience?

The government of the United States is on a tour through the south. The government consists, in this case, of President McKinley, some government officials, and some of the government professional man-killers, and a train of followers. In the course of his speech in Atlanta, Georgia, President McKinley said: "The flag has been planted in two hemispheres, and there it remains, the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its pro-

testing folds? Who will haul it down?"

George R. Peck of Chicago, responding to the toast, "The New Union," said: "American sovereignty follows the American flag," and: "the flag cannot come down!"

By what right "divine" does American sovereignty follow the American flag—since the "divine" right of kings, and monarchs is exploded? The United States cannot have acquired a better right to governorship than that possessed by the nation we forced to give us what right they possessed—and as a result we have decided that the Spanish nation possessed no such right. The Spanish flag has come down but it would not had they been strongest. Surely the American flag has no better natural right to float than the Spanish flag—and the free air of heaven will not float it more gracefully. So long as the world upholds the barbarous system of private ownership it is possible the American flag may "come down;" if a bigger bully than we comes along and fights for it; that is how we attained the right to float the American flag; our sole right is the right of the bully, the conqueror. We—the people—supposed we were fighting to "free Cuba." Most of us did not see the workings of scheming demagogues to pamper the interests of privileged classes—the rich and influential. President McKinley says, "the flag remains the symbol of liberty and law." Yes, "liberty" for the rich to rob the poor, and "law" to abridge the rights of the poor and thus aid the robbers.

News from Havana, December the 15th comes to us that the entire stock of the street railway system, amounting to \$1,600,000 was sold to a syndicate. One-half the stock was taken by capitalists in the United States and Canada, the other half, by capitalists in London, England. Thus is "Cuba made free." "That flag has been planted in two hemispheres" and the islands over which it floats have been made "free" for the use of monopolies such as we are fighting here today. Poor Cuba! suffering under the symbol of "liberty" and "law." The islands over which the "symbol of liberty and law" floats were governed by "law" as Spanish colonies; they are to be governed by "law" now. "President McKinley, before leaving for the South, signed an order establishing a customs tariff for Cuba, to go into effect January 1."

This customs tariff law is framed, not in the interest of Cubans, but in the interest of capitalists in the United States, to aid them in robbing the poor people at home; at least it is framed so that the annexation of Cuba shall not jeopardize their "legal" right to rob; it is a renunciation of the authority of natural right.

When we went to war with Spain, "our" servants of God all began praying to "our" Heavenly Father to help his children on our side to kill his children on the Spanish side, for humanity's sake. But when, by our system of corruption and industrial warfare, there occurs a war between the capitalist employee and the wage slave; between the privileged robber and the robbed people, "the" servants of God all go to praying to "their" Heavenly Father to help his rich children to murder his poor children, for the rich man's sake—who supports the servants of God so liberally out of the gain of his spoils. One lesson we should learn from this war is that we have not reached perfection in praying nor in governing for the good of all mankind; that we should not shut our eyes to the fact that there is room for improvement. It will be time enough to boast of the prospect of the symbol of liberty and law floating over the islands of the southern seas when there is no longer suffering at home, under that symbol, because of misgovernment. Freethinkers, awake! cast off the yoke of ancient superstition and tradition and commence at once the study of the great social question (which embraces all questions) with the same liberal spirit you have followed the study of the religious question.—A. A. Orcutt, in *The Independent Pulpit*.

CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

The barbarities perpetrated upon the poor Filipinos by the American soldiers would make Australian Bushmen shudder. According to the *Star* private Tom Lynch of this city writes to his father that "every soldier in Manila was just dying to get a chance at the black devils." He says the motto of the Americans is, "The only good Filipino is a dead one; take no prisoners; lead is cheaper than rice;" and that "an orderly came on board and reported that they (the Tennessee men) were killing every native in sight, whether a soldier or not;" that his (the writer's) party were then recalled by General Otis to guard the palace, "while the rest of the boys were enjoying themselves shooting niggers on the run." Then he goes on:

"Our own battery and regiment * * * charged a cemetery that was full of natives and piled them up till you couldn't count the dead. He [the Major] rode at the head of the column, urging the men forward and telling them to spare not even the wounded, thrusting his own sword through every wounded insurgent as he passed." (Italics are ours.)

After such effusion of joy he tells his father that the California regiment is "having a swell time at the expense of the Filipinos, dining three times a day on chicken, which they can get by foraging."

A man who has been a resident of the Philippines for fifteen years has an extensive communication in the *Star*, and referring to the surpassing savagery of the Americans, says:

"Relentless it has been with a venegance, in the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children rushing for safety from their homes, ruthlessly fired by American soldiers, and the wanton bombardment in the middle of the night of defenseless towns and villages, without any previous warning to allow non-combatants and women and children to be removed to places of safety, contrary to all rules of civilized warfare."

A dispatch from Manila to the daily press reads:

"Occasionally a Filipino would fall forward apparently dead, wait until he was fairly under the heels of the Americans, and then foolishly rise and attempt to gain safety. To shoot a man at six feet range with a Springfield rifle is a hard thing to do, but the orders were to let no insurgent live, and off would go the whole side of his head, or he would fall with a wound through the abdomen large enough to drop a potato through."

A fine lot, these "heroes" are! Is it any wonder that women and children are fighting in the trenches against American barbarians, who by far surpass Weyler, "the butcher," in their cruelties? And what a howl the instigators raise when a single parasite is stabbed by an Anarchist! A. I.

THE ART OF FOOLING THE PEOPLE.

The *Examiner* has entered on a grand campaign of duplicity to increase its circulation and ads, having only the Almighty Dollar in view. The following is the stereotyped heading now used for this purpose:

AN AMERICAN INTERNAL POLICY.

- First—Public Ownership of Public Franchises. The Values Created by the Community Should Belong to the Community.
- Second—The Destruction of Criminal Trusts. No Monopolization of the National Resources by Lawless Private Combinations More Powerful Than the People's Government.
- Third—A Graduated Income Tax. Every Citizen to Contribute to the Support of the Government According to His Means, and Not According to His Necessities.

Wishing to test Hearst's sincerity I sent the following for "Letters from the People" column, with stamped addressed envelope for its return if not used. Of course it was returned in preference to publication. The sentence "No Monopolization of the National Resources by Lawless Private Combinations more powerful than the People's Government" struck me as puerile, seeing "The Monarch of the Dailies" does not suggest anything "more powerful than the people's government" to overpower the "lawless private combinations," and not wishing to suggest revolution as the greater power, I used *The Examiner's* words in my letter without the usual quotation marks.

THE ONLY WAY OUT OF MONOPOLY.

The criminal trusts are a natural evolution of unjust money. Prof. Bonamy Price defines money as "simply a tool of exchange, and nothing more; it is not a measure of value, nor a standard of value, nor a representative of property; it transfers property from one party to another, as a wagon hauls goods from one place to another."

Mrs. Partington's attempt to sweep back the Pacific

with a twentyfive cent broom is on a line with the attempt to prevent the monopolization of the natural resources by lawless private combinations more powerful than the people's government so long as the medium of exchange is based on a metal or metals. The gold standard enables lawless private combinations to be more powerful than the people's government; in plain unmistakable words: gold governs. No step can be taken in the direction of better conditions for "the people," other than demonetizing both gold and silver; as soon as this is accomplished, the criminal trusts will not only be dead, but buried. People may fret, and fume, and dance all round, and fool over the question of bettering the condition of the toilers—nothing will free them except free exchange of Labor.

Trusts are announced with a capitalization of four billion dollars. Half of this is water—the interest on this amount is a vast sum of itself, and has to be squeezed out of the toilers. Labor must produce the interest, and be robbed to that extent. Three years ago the University City of Boulder, Colorado, issued \$40,000 Labor scrip and with that as a medium of exchange repaired serious washout damages, including rebuilding bridges, etc. No gold or silver was used. Our city should create and use \$7,000,000 of such money annually. The result would be magical. The convenient excuse of being unconstitutional will not hold. Nothing is so seriously injurious to any constitution as starvation. Are we to be held back by a roll of dead skin? San Francisco should not be behind Boulder, Colorado, in showing the world the way to avoid revolution.

Albion W. Small, head professor of Sociology at Chicago University, has given the nation a warning with no uncertain sound, by saying: "If the present tendencies continue, it will not be very long before the men whose business it is to communicate ideas, will be gagged by those who publish ideas, and publishers will be shackled by the makers of paper, and paper manufacturers will be held by the transportation lines, and the transporters by the producers of steel, and steel industries by coal operators, and coal miners by oil producers, and oil magistrates by stove makers, and cook stove men by the sugar trust, and sugar interest by Wall Street, and stock brokers by labor unions, and labor unions by farmers, and farmers—God help them—by everybody. . . . These very business men, who claim to have a monopoly of the practical common sense, have involved themselves and all the rest of us in a grim tragedy of errors. They are already beginning to ask how it is all to end. Whether they realize it or not, our vision of freedom is passing into the eclipse of universal corporate compulsion in the interest of capital. The march of human progress is getting reducible to marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang."

The *Examiner's* figures (March 31) show how the United States has been robbed during one hundred and nine years, since the formation of the Union, by the gold standard of England, in the departments of exports and imports only, thus:

Excess of specie exports	\$1,460,473,261
Excess of merchandise exports	972,241,498
	\$2,432,714,759

And yet we do not cry: hold! enough! or decide to transact our business with genuine American money—greenbacks!!!!

Non-interest bearing money will stifle monopolies of all kinds, even including land.

KINGHORN-JONES.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN ST. LOUIS.

For eleven days she was on the war-path in this city, defending here, attacking there, and encouraging everywhere. In ten meetings, most of them well attended and more or less successful, she spoke in English and German. Her words fell on good soil, for all her lectures were delivered before organized bodies, the members of which had all some understanding of the social question; thus the sensation and curiosity seekers were excluded and a lofty spirit of tolerance prevailed, which enabled us to get subscribers for the papers and to sell literature, though the extent was moderate. The start is nevertheless promising, and the comrades will see that that has been gained will not be lost again. To see Americans, maintaining radical ideas, coming to the front, is indeed an encouraging sign, after having spent years and years in a hard struggle, bringing prison and death for some and misery and pessimism, hissing and scorn for others. Our aim is now to get another lecturer to St. Louis and thus keep up the propaganda.

Anyone interested in our organization and agitation may correspond with the undersigned at 110 S. 16th street, St. Louis, Mo.

COURT NORMAN.

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THEORIES, FACTS AND SUPPOSED FACTS.

About three months ago I asked some questions of the happiness-seekers, and got answers from W. F. The answers were straightforward but not satisfactory.

My first two questions dealt with a sincere christian and sincere materialist who are afraid to invite death under circumstances where, according to their respective doctrines, it would be the best thing for them. W. F. lumps these two questions together with the answer that they are not sincere. On the face of it this is a dodging of the questions, which asked, "How do you explain it when they are sincere?" W. F. must therefore mean that it is impossible for them to have been sincere, so that the question supposes an impossible case. Then he is decidedly bound to prove the impossibility. My questions assume cases which seem, as far as can be observed, to come up tolerably often in real life. In many such cases all the concomitant circumstances appear to indicate that the professed belief is sincere. Now, if W. F. makes it a premise of his argument that the testimony of an honest man's professions and of his general life must every time—every time—be rejected under the circumstances proposed, he is assuredly bound to prove that premise. Let me suggest again that I don't believe he can prove it except by saying that the way they acted was the way that seemed to them likely to give most happiness; that I don't believe he can prove this except by saying that the fact of their acting so proves that they expected happiness by it; and that this would be a bald begging of the question. It is the happiness-seeker's usual line of argument for all that, and what I am after is to get one of them to offer a substitute for it.

My third question was the case of a materialist who enjoyed life, expected nothing after death, but gave up his life immediately for a cause in which he was interested. The answer is "He might have thought that had he not acted it would always have been a matter of regret, and so he died to escape." I should call that rather a morbid temperament that would let its whole after life be embittered, so as to be worse than non-existence, by the recollection of having failed in duty on one great occasion. I believe that some martyrs are men who not only take a cheerful view of life, but would expect to be able still to enjoy it if they refused martyrdom. Take any heroic martyr whom you happen to admire; are you in the habit of conceiving him as driven to his martyrdom by the tormenting thought of the remorse he would have if he didn't do it, or rather by enthusiasm for the positive good of the deed itself? W. F.'s explanation takes all the brightness out of life as far as martyrs are concerned; and I know that therein it is out of harmony with facts.

Nobody yet seems to have been inclined to answer my other question, how it is possible, in a world of evolution by natural selection, for a race of beings such as the happiness-seekers describe, who always act with a view to their own greatest happiness, to come into existence. The theoretical chances are almost infinitely great against the existence of such a race. I know that

purely theoretical considerations on such a subject are unreliable; but they may do here, since I have not heard of any except purely theoretical considerations on the other side. The happiness-seekers set up their principle as something which they consider theoretically probable, and their argument thenceforth consists solely of more or less successful attempts to explain away the facts that seem to prove against them.

STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.

The Letter-Box.

L. B. C. Sewickley, Pa.—Yes, science can demonstrate "on the physical plane" that all producers are entitled to the luxuries and comforts they produce, and have the right to possess such, and that it is nothing but the ignorance of the masses and the weakness of the few intelligent workers that deprives them of what they create. Of course, there are scientists who claim that "competition is the law of life," but there are also scientists who repudiate both competition and mysticism. That some would-be "individualists" consider those foolish who risk their heads "for the mob," only proves their own ignorance and servility, for only those lose their heads who rather sustain their individuality and face death than to conform their lives with laws and customs. If it can be demonstrated to me that "spirits" or the "astral body" can be photographed and Theosophists. But so far I have found it to be a contemptible fraud. That a change can only come about by acting consistently, I agree. But consistency often means prosecution for the pioneers.

M. L. S., Ft. Hunter, Pa.—The Radical is suspended on account of a "warning" received from the postal authorities. We were also "warned" since not to send "obscene matter" through the mails, yet we have not promised to be a "good boy" in the future.

K. J., City.—The many typographical errors in the issue of two weeks ago have caused us a severe headache than you can imagine, but when proof-reader and "editor" are sick, the "printer's devil" gets his work in.

O. Frenzel, San Jose, Calif.—Your offer to pay us 50 cents for 10 copies of *Free Society* weekly for free distribution is joyfully accepted. If many more readers would do as you do our ideas would be promulgated broadcast and difficulties in carrying on the printing of papers and books would all vanish.

J. M. L.—Thanks for contribution. We were glad to hear that *Lucifer* and *Free Society* have been instrumental in removing the mental shackles placed on the people by a perverted education and environment. Once the intelligent minority is freed mentally, the fate of the oppressors will be decided.

T. W., Chicago, Ill.—You are right: if the workers were aware of their condition and power as Mark Hanna is of his there would be no "industrial question" to be solved. It may interest you to hear that you are the first subscriber of *Free Society* who signed his letter "a plutocrat" and wage master, yet our heart is with humanity."

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 *Freedom*, London, England.

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

For Pennsylvania.

All comrades of Western Pennsylvania that are anxious to distribute *Free Society* and the *Freely* 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.

For Chicago.

Emma Goldman will lecture on the following subjects:

Monday, April 17, 8 p. m., Schoenhofen's Hall, cor. Ashland and Milwaukee Ave., for the Freethought Society. Subject: Religion. (German.)

Thursday, April 20, 8 p. m., Vorwaerts Turn Hall, 1168 W. 12th St., for the Turn Society "Forward." Subject: Politics and its Corrupting Influence on Man, (German.)

Saturday, April 22, 8 p. m., Thomas Hall, 198 E. Madison. Subject: Authority vs. Liberty. (English.)

Monday, April 24, 8 p. m., at Jung's Hall, 104 Randolph street, Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 5, in English. Subject: The future of Trades Unionism.

Wednesday, April 26, 8 p. m., at Aurora Turner Hall, cor. Ashland ave. and Division street, Aurora Turner Society.

There will be some more meetings arranged which will be announced later.

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Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.

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Proceeds from a Tea-party, Philadelphia, Pa., by Natasha Nokin, 320 E. 12th St., Hicentges, Roser, each \$1.00. Woodroff, 75c. Nokin (sales) 60c. Peterson, Callmelle, Lang, Langton, Bohl, Syllins, Schuetz, Bergman, Wisnizky, Laikis, Almone, Maclocco, Williams, Taylor, Good, Messer, Perry, Levin, Streutker, Langmecker, Heyne, Kessler, Campbell, Leggaassa, Clarke Weigle, each 50c. Cravello, 25c.

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