



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 351.

The Prophets of Revolution.

I dream—and lo, before my wandering eyes
There passes by a great fantastic throng;
All wrapt in ruddy light, they move along
Against the June day's lingering sunset skies;
Wan, haggard faces, under crowns of thorn;
Heads, bowed 'neath dust and ashes; eyes that shine
As stars from heaven with light of love divine;
And bodies thin, by inward ills outworn.
And I demanded: "Tell me, who are ye
Who, beckoning to me, smiling, past me go,
Silent and beaming in the glorious glow
Of yonder setting sun?"—"The heroes we.
"We are the tragic, the inspired host
That on the battlefields, the barricades,
'Mid ringing, fervent hymns and clashing blades,
Offering our breasts to death, gave up the ghost.
"Lo, the ill-fated heroes we of thought,
Th' exhausted phalanx we who, still unbent,
Our lives in strenuous endeavors spent,
In futile search of truth, unflinching fought.
"Soldiers and martyrs we with iron will;
Strife, sacrifice, and shame were our reward,
Our brows rent open by the hostile sword,
And yet we sobbed in falling: Forward still!
"By an infuriated mob to be
Insulted, stoned, and mocked on every side,
We lived but to be tortured, crucified;
We had no rest, no home!—The heroes we."
I rose and cried: Oh, why so many sighs?
Why so much pain, so many a broken life?
Why so much suffering and so much strife?
Why an unending round of ceaseless cries?
Why ardent after an ideal rove
That as a flash appeareth but to flee?
Why should the soul in tears and weeping be
Consumed with vain desire, delusion, love?—
Oh, why?—And still before my dreaming eyes
There passes by that great fantastic throng,
All wrapt in ruddy light, moving along
Against the June day's lingering sunset skies;
A calm that is not of this earth doth lie
Upon their radiant faces, and they raise
Their great dilated eyes in rapturous 'maze,
And, smiling, upward point to heaven on high.

—Ada Negri.

Barbaric Relics.

Some time ago I read that six white men were to be hanged during the month of February in the State of Georgia for the crime of burglary. Will someone, acquainted with the laws of Georgia, please explain in FREE SOCIETY when the monstrous enactment became a law; that human beings might be legally murdered for the act of "housebreaking at night with intent to steal," this being the definition of burglary. I am well aware of the terrible crimes committed in the name of law against human beings in all so-called civilized countries, but I confess that this news item staggered me. I can hardly believe that on the threshold of the twentieth

century men can be legally murdered for stealing.

Aylmer Maud, in the introduction to Tolstoy's "Slavery of Our Times," states that "there are places where it is now impossible to get anyone to become a hangman; and even in England, comparatively brutal as we are, it would be impossible to reenact the penal code of George III, under which one hundred and sixty crimes were punishable with death." Stealing was one of those crimes, and it seems that the barbarous penalty inflicted by the England of a century and a quarter ago, still survives in darkest Georgia. Capital punishment is the supreme disgrace of our age, yet it is never assailed by the pillars of society; and when those poor forsaken mount the scaffold to demonstrate, by their death, the sacredness of property in Georgia, their last moments will be enlivened by the attendance of sanctimonious hypocrites, who will impress upon them the awfulness of their sin, the justice of the law, and the love of God, who is the author of the justice that is about to fasten the rope about their necks. Then they will shake hands with the sinners; the drop will fall; and when life has passed out of the poor struggling forms, all concerned, the pious gentlemen included, will go home wearing that "holier than thou" air which is so becoming to their work and position. The executioner and the clerical gentleman! how the mention of one calls up the other, how lovingly thru the ages have they rubbed elbows on the scaffold, bestowing their last attention upon the unfortunates whose faltering steps are ever heard, an endless procession on the way to the gallows. Between the law and the gospel humanity is crucified again and again; and the hangman and the priest are the representatives. Perhaps some day human sympathy will be an ideal guide for human action, in the place of God and the law, and these things shall cease.

There is an instrument of torture used in the Kansas State penitentiary, which I call the "wooden virgin," because of a slight resemblance to the iron virgin used in the Inquisition. The latter was made of iron, shaped like a coffin, with daggers fastened in the door in such a manner that when the victim was placed inside and the door closed, the daggers would pierce the eyes and vital organs. Thus the iron virgin was an instrument of death, while the Lansing virgin is only an instrument of torture. The descrip-

tion of the latter was given me by an intelligent man who was employed in the penitentiary. It is a wooden box shaped like a coffin, but larger, the door being made of wooden lattice work to admit air. When an unruly prisoner is sentenced to the wooden virgin, he is first placed in a straight-jacket, a sort of leather vest, inside of which they fold his arms, which he then cannot move; his legs are fastened in the same manner. It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to realize how a man would suffer after a half-hour of such confinement. But to add to his misery he is then placed in the wooden virgin and the door closed, to abide the number of hours his jailors are pleased to inflict upon him.

A year ago there was a revolt of the convicts at work in the mines belonging to the prison. They captured their guards and held possession for forty-eight hours, demanding better food and an hour's less work a day. They were finally betrayed by a treacherous convict, and captured. I am told that one of the ringleaders, a colored man, was sentenced to the wooden virgin. At that time he weighed 170 pounds; when released his weight was 130 pounds. Is comment necessary? And does it not seem true that

"Every prison that man build
Is built with bricks of shame
And bound with bars, lest all should see
How men their brothers maim?"

Any system that men have built, under the impression that they were protecting their interests, so long as its operations and effects shock natural sympathy and that fine sense of what we owe a fellow being, must be a false system. It is nature's still small voice speaking within us, that all the platitudes of learned (?) ignoramuses concerning what is due justice and society cannot strangle. That our prison system is shocking and repulsive is proven by the efforts many good men and women make to reform prison methods and make the condition of the prison more pleasant. But their efforts may be likened to those short-sighted individuals who in the days of chattel slavery spent all their energy in trying to abolish the evils of slavery, not seeing that slavery itself would continually bear evil so long as it existed. So it is with our prisons. Our so-called criminal class is but an effect of a cause, government, which from time immemorial has managed to degrade and rob the mass of men by enacting laws that create

and sustain a privileged class. Thru legal privilege, the power to monopolize land, factories, mines, transportation, and control of modern inventions, has sprung an economic system that enables a few men to wring from the working class all they produce above a bare living. This is the slavery of our times that Tolstoy paints with the mind and hand of a master. Government, which means slavery, produces criminals, the worst and most fiendish types being found among the ruling classes. Therefore we must dig at the root of the evil, and by abolishing government stop the production of criminals; and turn prisons and halls of legislation into schools and places of amusement. So long as a prison stands, it means human suffering, and tyranny and all the crimes that flow from power over one's fellows; and because it means these things, it is the condemnation of government.

Caplinger Mills, Mo. KATE AUSTIN.

Lombroso and the Anarchists.

In a former issue of FREE SOCIETY I commented upon Lombroso's essay in *Everybody's Magazine* as far as he criticized the theory of Anarchism. Let us now turn to what he has to say about Anarchists.

"The worst of it is," he says, "that a party among the Anarchists believe the supreme remedy for their ills to be the destruction of property and proprietors, and even of the government."

In this sentence you will find, upon close analysis, as many fallacies as lines. Which party does he refer to as believing in the destruction of property? We are against *private ownership* of property, not against property. No Anarchist is for the destruction of proprietors. The professor cannot point to any Anarchist speaker or writer who advocates the destruction of proprietors. Such a misstatement is paramount to calumny, and is entirely unbecoming a great "scientist" searching for the truth. But the nicest of it all is when he bristles forth with the latest discovery, that there are some Anarchists who believe *even* in the destruction of government. Has he ever heard of Anarchists who do not believe in the destruction of government? There are some of us who do not believe in violent destruction of the State, but all Anarchists are against it. How could they be Anarchists otherwise? And further:

"But by this means they hope to bring about the radical changes they wish for at one sweep."

Now, this again is not true, professor. We never expected to bring about those changes at one sweep. We are well cognizant of the fact that nothing in human society is accomplished permanently by improvisation or a catastrophe; we are in fact the staunchest of all evolutionists. We also know that "success gained by crime only provokes counteraction from an opposite source." And for this very reason we oppose government, which is nothing but the violent domination of the few over the masses, always using force and coercion in order to hold the nations in subjection. The most heinous crimes have always been committed by the rulers against the ruled, and not by the ruled against the bosses.

Anarchists do not wish to coerce anybody at all. No Anarchist believes in force *per se*. We all want peace, harmony, and universal brotherhood; but we also want everybody to get off our backs. And if they do not get off, we are compelled, as a last resort, and as a matter of self-preservation, to shake them off. We claim that absolutely nobody has a right—divine or other—to rule us without our consent and against our will, a right that even the Declaration of Independence repudiated.

Have not all governments gained their success by crime, violence, bloodshed, and extermination? What are the united powers doing to poor peaceful China? What are the 250,000 British soldiers doing in Transvaal? And "our own" 40,000 deluded recruits in the Philippine Islands? Are they not slaughtering thousands of innocent men, women, and children? These wars are wars of aggression, and will go down in history as the most outrageous of crimes ever committed by the governments of our twentieth century civilization. Now, then, must not success gained by such crimes also "provoke counteraction from an opposite source"?

"There is thus some truth," Lombroso again hastens to admit after all the rubbish he has heaped upon our poor heads, "in the Anarchist idea, especially in the criticism of government, and in the spur given to individual initiative." But as to the means suggested for carrying out the improvements,—"they are absurd."

But he does not make the least effort to prove why they are absurd, or whether any other radical changes in history have ever been achieved other than by revolutionary means. Here he gets nearer home riding his own dear hobby of degeneration, madmen, criminals, etc. He says: "And when one comes to examine personally, not the theorists of Anarchy, but its soldiers—not to say its executioners—one is confronted by a number of the wildest animals. In order to have reached this militant stage a tremendous degeneration must have taken place, not merely of the intelligence, but also of the moral sense."

The question naturally arises, Why are not the militant governments—which all of them necessarily are—degenerate and immoral?

With the militant Anarchist "crime and action are the same thing, and human life is not sacred." This again is not true. Just because we think human life sacred we aim at the abolition of all government, with its militarism, wars, and gallows. You would no more think of the life of a tyrant than of the ferocious hyena that is about to devour you. The people always act on the defensive and the government on the aggressive. If they do use force, it is only when the oppression of the tyrants has reached beyond their endurance.

"There is, in fact," continues our critic, "a large number of madmen and criminals among the Anarchists. We have regular criminals, like Pini and Ravachol."

Now, everyone who has actually come in contact with Anarchists must have been struck by the fact that there are proportionately very few cases of insanity among them. Regular criminals are rare, but political ones frequent, especially in countries where

absolutism and tyranny hold sway.

But let us hear what Lombroso has to say about European rulers, that we may compare notes. Basing his researches upon models, he comes to the conclusion that all the crowned heads are more or less afflicted with insanity or imbecility. The czar is a plain lunatic, not criminally inclined, but a melancholy idiot, and a very flexible tool in the hands of his flatterers. The head of King Edward VII shows general degeneracy, incapable of considering anything abstract—a very common fellow. Kaiser Wilhelm and the sultan are both irresponsible, born incorrigible criminals, and had they been thrown in contact with a low class of people, the sultan would have become a bank robber, and the kaiser would have become the greatest scandalist, who would have inevitably ended either in prison or on the gallows.

"Even Jean Grave, who was (?) no criminal, wrote: 'Appropriation by force must be the Anarchists' prelude to the wholesale insurrection which they will sooner or later enact.'"

So because Grave wrote this he is in the eyes of our professor a criminal, altho he was no criminal before! And if this is so, why doesn't Lombroso make matters short and apply his rule to all the revolutionary Anarchists as a class and be done with it? Why pick out a few only when we all believe in expropriation?

"Commonweal wrote: 'Theft is the recovery by violence from the rich of that which the rich have taken by violence from the poor,'" and of course "he" is already a criminal type and should be hanged—the poor London weekly *Commonweal* edited at one time by the most terrific madman, Wm. Morris. It seems that our great Cesare sees nothing but crimes and criminals thru his criminological spectacles. How wonderfully learned!

He has himself "found typical criminal characteristics in thirty-four out of one hundred Italian Anarchists, and in forty per cent among fifty North American Anarchists."

I heard of a joke some Anarchist in Germany played upon this professor by sending him a model or photograph of a very beautiful lady and telling him that, as she was a rabid Anarchist, he would like to hear his opinion as to what type of criminals he would classify her with. To which Lombroso promptly answered that he studied the model carefully, and found it to belong to one of the most dangerous criminals living. The lady mentioned happened to be of the royal family, and the greatest society leader of Berlin.

I do not guarantee the accuracy of this story, but it is very characteristic of those hobby riders in psychology, who see nothing but pathology and degeneration in everything and everybody.

Listen for a moment to his proofs. The first "proof" is that he himself found so many—and so many criminals among the Anarchists he examined personally. "Further proofs of their criminal proclivities," says he, "are their use of thieves' jargon, their songs peculiar to jailbirds, and their addiction to tattooing."

Well, I give it up. And I have always thought I knew something about Anarchism and Anarchists! I have to confess I know

absolutely nothing. For the last fifteen years I had the good fortune of meeting thousands of Anarchists both in this country and in Europe, and I have never heard one of them using thieves' jargon, singing jailbird songs (what sort of songs are these, anyhow?) and never saw a tattooed Anarchist anywhere.

Is Lombroso talking wind, or is he a plain everyday charlatan who caters to John Wanamaker and his kin for a few American, In-God-We-Trust dollars? Else why is he wilfully telling such wretched falsehoods?

Then he goes on to tell us that there are among Anarchists many epileptics and half-witted people whom he calls mattoids, who "believe themselves persecuted, and when carried away by a paroxysm of their malady, or stung by poverty or ill-treatment, end by committing a crime."

So that everybody who commits a crime after being stung by poverty or ill-treatment is a half-witted imbecile, and as almost every common mortal would end by committing a crime, if stung thus for any length of time—the professor included—the whole human race is nothing but degenerates and murderers.

"Some Anarchists are victims to alcoholism." Yes, and a good many archists are, too. In fact you will not find one-tenth as many drunkards among Anarchists as you will among a corresponding number of law-worshipping conservatives. I have never found but one or two alcoholics among Anarchists in all my life.

He knew a man, he says, who became "furiously Anarchistic(!) against his prison guard after drinking a quart of wine." And that man is classed among the types of criminal Anarchists, so that every common "drunk," who kicks a policeman or a prison guard, is "furiously Anarchistic"!

"Other Anarchists are indirect suicides," says the criminologist. And if you cannot comprehend this curious phrase, ask the professor. He will inform you that it means one who kills a king because he is glad to find an opportunity of being put to death for it.

"But a majority of them are criminals by temperament. Some of these even have fine faces, like Bakunin and Sassulich,* and among the criminal Anarchists of America, Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Fischer, Schwab, Neebe, and Schaubel (Schnaubelt), had ample foreheads, clustering hair and beard, soft eyes, and altogether gentle mien. Most of this category are very young. *They never have accomplices.* The police endeavored to find some in the cases of Oliva, of Sand, of Passanante, of Moncusi, of Bresci, and of Czolgosz, but they did not succeed. *It is a fact that the alleged Chicago conspiracy, which cost so many Anarchists their lives, was an invention of the police.*"

Italics mine. It is curious to hear such words uttered by a Lombroso in *Wanamaker's Magazine*. Now, why are the police who invented that conspiracy not punished for having deliberately caused the murder of five innocent men? Why doesn't Lombroso dissect and analyze the brains of a Grinnell, a Gary, a Schaak, and a Bonfield? Why doesn't he try to classify the type of crim-

inals this government is composed of?

"Several Anarchists, too, have led blameless lives," says Lombroso. Perfectly true. Not only several but nearly all true Anarchists have led blameless lives. "Spies was so charitable," again says Lombroso, "that of a small weekly salary he gave part to a sick friend." So you are morbid and criminal when you are kind and honest, if you happen to be put to death by the law.

"Czolgosz confessed to having been incited to crime by the speeches of Emma Goldman." This is not true. The Chicago police had to release Goldman and the other "conspirators," for the reason that Czolgosz did not even mention any of their names.

MICHAEL COHN

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Australian Letter.

FREE SOCIETY received. I have made some of the items the text from our "Holy and consecrated Stamp" in the Sydney Domain for the last three Sundays in succession. We continue to have big crowds to listen to us.

I have great hopes of practical results from our last few years of propaganda. We have had many workers who from time to time have taken a turn at the work of sowing ideas—some of them are *still* in the ranks of the great majority; others have had to fold up their tents or starve; a few comparatively of the older fighters remain, but a newer crowd are springing up—alho I sometimes indulge in the grim humor of thinking how they would stand a year like 1893-94, when a reign of terror was in full blast, aided by the boodle hunters in the labor crowd here. I hope they won't have to face such music. Andrews, Petrie, Rosa, Dwyer, Dodd, Douglass, Burke, Robinson, Shellenberg and others, altogether about eighty went to jail for the advanced movement in Sydney; while immediately after, the shearers out west broke out in open rebellion, burnt river steamers, stations, woolsheds, besieged the troopers and in cases put them in cells to see how they liked their quarters.

But wiser (?) councils prevailed and a score or so more were added to those in prison, everything was to be settled by peaceably electing members to parliament.

A few Sundays ago about one thousand women marched thru the main street in Sydney to the "Domain"; they were tailoresses on strike. Some earned twelve shillings and sixpence a week, some fifteen shillings. They demanded higher prices for their work and better sanitary arrangement in workshops. The unions spontaneously helped them and the girls collected £50 in a single Saturday afternoon in the streets by means of collecting boxes.

But great is boodle; the Trades Council got hold of the matter, obtained a few petty concessions and ordered the strike off. I enclose hand bill showing what the girls thought of this piece of downright smooching.

Herewith I send you a copy of the *People* of today. I have marked several paragraphs and the leading article. These may be of some interest as showing how the class conscious Marxian crowd here have turned on their quondam friends because they have

scored billets. In effect they say "make us your masters instead of those other fellows." Holland is the editor, formerly a Salvation Army man, and one time a fervent worshipper of the Labor Party. He now scores them for all he is worth, in fact no name is too bad for them.

The Socialist League is not of much account anyhow. It was founded by a few good men a long while ago; most of them have left it, Andrews, Ewing, and others; including myself, McNamara, and Joe Schellenberg, being of that number. Anarchists were formally excommunicated at the time of the Chicago executions. Of course we went out of the thing.

They put up Socialist Labor candidates last general election here—and scored about 300 votes in the entire State, and the party they term bogus secured the return of 25 members to the Legislative Assembly. About 30,000 votes were cast for the N. S. W. Labor Party. To read this sheet, the *People*, one not knowing the facts would be led to think that the reverse was the case and that its supporters counted most heads; and by the way the "Australian Socialist League" has absolutely no existence outside of Sydney, years ago it had connections but these have ceased to exist.

O. Sullivan is minister for works for New South Wales and the Socialist league helped him to get there.

Last Sunday we had a big crowd, also today. I read some *Discontents* to them and some paragraphs from FREE SOCIETY. The police take great interest in our welfare, the dear creatures.

JOHN DWYER.

Sydney, 704 George St.

Definition.

What is the correct and complete definition of the State?

G. E. LIND.

1. The organized epitome of the sum total of human villainy. 2. A fetish, which has hypnotized into hopeless lunacy a goodly lot of Socialistic rainbow chasers, including G. E. Lind.

R. W.

The Letter-Box

Tom Saunders.—No, Tom; I do not think that, had the ship bearing Prince Henry went down in its passage to our shores, that the American police would have arrested the Atlantic Ocean for assassination, as you playfully suggest; but they probably would have held the Anarchists as accessories. The authorities have a peculiar way of looking at some things, you know.

F. T., City.—We notice that dissension exists among the Socialists of this city; but why should we criticise them for it? Dissension signifies life; harmony, death.

H. C., Campbell, Cal.—"Physician in the House" and a collection of pamphlets as a "premium" for propaganda purposes have been sent. Greetings in spite of the "dear sir."

M. G., City.—We are not at all "opposed to reforms and improvements in society." On the contrary, we welcome any and all improvements, and object only when such reform propositions are paraded as panaceas for all the ills in society. We never forget that a society based on authority ever leaves the causes which produce the iniquities intact, and no amount of plastering and patching will remedy the evils.

J. W., Paris, Idaho.—We see no reason why you and others should not continue to elect "honest officers" to fleece you. Neither would we have any objection to "the best men" ruling those that want to be ruled, if these "good men" would not assume rulership over those that do not consent to be governed. After reading our literature you will perhaps change your mind on the subject.

* Sassulich was never an Anarchist, and is at present a Socialist leader in Switzerland.

FREE SOCIETY.

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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

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

Notes.

Comrade W. McQueen informs us that on March 15 he will publish a new monthly Anarchist paper called *Liberty*. Price 50 cents a year. Address 69 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

In the issue of FREE SOCIETY of two weeks ago, there appeared a list of Anarchist journals published in America. We have received some additional information by way of correction; and will note here, that *Egoism* was published and edited by Henry and Georgia Replogle, W. S. Bell being connected with it only as contributor; and that the *Free Comrade*, J. Wm. Lloyd, editor, is still published. We return thanks to Messrs. Replogle and Lloyd for the corrections, and ask for further information from our readers concerning the Anarchist press.

Radical Reflections.

The specter that is haunting the world today is Anarchism. And side by side with Anarchy is another phantom more frightful still—the Social Revolution. Authority and privilege, the Siamese twins of political and industrial society, are delirious with fear, lest their lust and greed shall pass beneath the guillotine of the people's wrath as the result of Anarchy's educational gospel. So dungeon walls and prison bars are invoked to stay the on-sweeping force of Anarchy's intellectual tide. The bayonet-propped thrones of power and privilege, whose foundation is the security of the sword, is shaken with the tread of a giant—the giant of awakened thought. Thruout the world today, the "red specter" haunts the horizon, beyond which the ruling powers, with prophetic vision, behold the scarlet and sable lights of the judgment day.

The crimes of the centuries rise up to confront the gigantic criminals. The world's awakened conscience has placed a tongue of flame in the dumb mouths of the voiceless

FREE SOCIETY.

victims of the murderous crew, whose blood-stained hands have clutched for centuries the throat of toiling, oppressed humanity.

A ghost has appeared at the banquet table, and the feasters try in vain to banish it from their startled sight. That ghost is the spirit of oppressed humanity.

Labor, supporting the burden of the world and bowed beneath the weight of the centuries, stands at the bar of the world's conscience, demanding justice.

Privilege, throned upon the State, and bulwarked by law and creed, is confronted by the demon of retribution.

The graves of the victims of oppression yawn, and out of them arise a countless host whose voiceless silence impeach the established order.

And I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain, and they cried aloud, saying, "How long, oh holy and true, shall we be not avenged?"

Every crime committed by the State has had the blessing of the Church. These twin vultures, hatched from the same egg of ignorance, have gone hand in hand, side by side, down the centuries, one holding the crucifix, the other grasping the sword, and both ruling by fear and force. And if we follow the past behind them we will see the blight of their desolating rule on either hand, in each age, in every land and clime. With them go the dungeon and the gibbet, and behind them are the sickening butcheries of the battlefields, the famished forms of want and hunger, the horrors of the slave pens, the wrecked lives, the joyless homes, the homeless outcasts, the robbed and plundered victims of all the ages, and countless martyrs of thought and genius. But suddenly, there rises before them the Red Specter, whose uplifted hand bars the way.

That Specter speaks to them in tones that makes them quail. Now it is thru the interpretation of a Marx, a Proudhon, a Bakunin, a Kropotkin, or a George. Again it speaks in tones more harsh, but not less plain, as interpreted by a Vaillant, a Henry, a Bresci, or a Czolgosz. And whether it be the voice of reason or that of dynamite that commands, it serves notice to these monstrous twins, that for them the day of judgment is at hand.

And so the State and the Church seek to banish this awful specter from their path, but in vain. Pulpit thunderings are no longer potent, man-made law can no longer stay the on-rushing tide of awakened thought; and all the prisons and gibbets of the world cannot subdue the spirit of liberty.

But what shall we say of the White Terror? The defenders of the existing order have much to say about the crime of violence, when some victim of their own violence yields to human impulse and strikes back. But they, the exponents of law and order, are the real and the only evangelists of violence, the only consistent and eternal exponents of force and murder. It is they who today, in South Africa and the Philippines, are preaching the gospel of love and peace with musket and cannon. It is they who

murder by wholesale and devastate by continents. It is they who are manufacturing dead men at Barcelona and Trieste, in the name of government and law and order. They, the blatant hypocrites, dare raise their bloody hands in horror when some nameless victim of their lust and greed is driven into a corner and in despair sends some pampered parasite to his deserts. Let power and privilege, State and Church sheath the sword, and take their murderous clutch from the throat of humanity, and there will be peace.

But, until this is done, the Red Terror will confront the White Terror, and there will be no peace. Those who resort to violence have invoked a genii that knows no master. And if the American congress, forgetting the lesson of '76, shall undertake to stamp out the peaceful propaganda of Anarchism, a social philosophy that denies all violence, it will create a propaganda of terrorism, as an inevitable protest. Beware, then, how you tamper with the sacred right of free speech. It is a safety valve. Suppress the voice of reason, and the discontent of the oppressed will speak to you, perchance, in a voice you have heard before—the voice of dynamite. ROSS WINN.

Current Comment.

In France and other countries there was once a tax on windows, and the poor were thus denied the blessed light of the sun. A bill has been introduced in several legislatures in this country, to tax windows. They would again take the light from the poor. I hope the poor will some day return good for evil, and provide these tax raisers with at least a lamp-post!

The pampered parasites of Spain have been trembling in their palaces during the past few weeks. The spirit of manhood asserting itself in the workingmen of Barcelona, as manifested by their street fights with the police and soldiers, startled the rich robbers with a lurid vision of the Social Revolution, that seemed about to break upon them. Speed the day when the workingmen of America shall manifest the same spirit of revolt.

The Canadian parliament was opened last week. In the "speech from the throne," the governor-general said that Canada might have to join with the government of the United States in suppressing Anarchy.—*The Truth Seeker*, New York.

I have no doubt that the United States government will need all the help it can get in "suppressing Anarchy." In fact, the job will be about as hard to accomplish as that undertaken by the Catholic Church when it attempted to suppress the globular theory; or the one Brother Jasper annexed himself to when he attempted to Joshua the sun.

We must have a government to protect our rights and liberties. This great truth was again demonstrated the other day, in Charleston, S. C., when Charles Pearson was sentenced to ten days in the chain gang for making a Socialist speech. As the political Socialists never tire of proclaiming their love and reverence for the law, it is now in order for the S. L. P. to expel Pearson for

his Anarchistic lack of respect for the laws of South Carolina, for violating which he got the sentence above mentioned.

What is the matter with H. Gaylord Wilshire, of Wilshire's Wilshire, formerly of America and now of the British empire? The last number of his magazine contained only two pictures of himself. Besides, nearly a third of the reading matter was devoted to topics other than his personality. Why is this thus? What is the meaning of this coy modesty? Has Gaylord grown weary of seeing himself in print?

I am also worried about Charleyboy Moore, of the *Blue Grass Blade*. The last issue of his paper contained not a single editorial on himself. What dark, unfathomable mystery is back of this unaccountable silence I wot not. Whether the *Blade* office is short on capital's, or whether its editor, like the Hindoo mystic, is lost in a profound contemplation of himself, as the sublime center of his own universe, I do not know. But I am worried about it, for I know that something is wrong.

Should the proposed anti-Anarchist bill become a law, it will be a crime to circulate the Declaration of American Independence, because that document contains "teachings which are calculated and intended to breed lawlessness and crime against and culminate in the destruction of government" (section 3, of the bill). Its a good thing for Thomas Jefferson that he is beyond the reach of the police, if this bill becomes law. We shall doubtless have to put up, in future, with expurgated editions of American histories, for no publisher will dare to publish either the speech of Patrick Henry, or the Declaration of Independence, both of which preach sedition and rebellion against government, and tend to the destruction of political authority.

The Russian government is determined to suppress all centers of social agitation. The minister of the interior, M. Sipyaghin, has, without legal form and simply by an arbitrary decree, abolished every artisans' guild in Russia. The guilds date from the time of Catherine II (1762). Many of them possess very valuable property, which will now pass into the control of local bureaucratic administrators.

R. W.

By the Wayside.

In a controversy in the *Worker's Call*, Seymour Stedman sarcastically encourages the Socialist voters by the news that in 1878 they polled twelve thousand votes and "the party has grown to such proportions that it now polls less than 50 per cent of that vote." At this rate the Cooperative Commonwealth seems to be quite a ways off indeed.

While the English government is engaged in the noble occupation of killing off the Boers, and in preparations for the coronations of a fat scamp, there are 55,000 children in London who are too hungry and feeble to attend school. A few unscrupulous scoundrels inaugurate wholesale butch-

eries in Africa and the Philippines in order to fill their pockets and to live in idleness and luxury, while the millions of producers are bleeding and sweating in order to cover the bills. And yet Comrade Winn tells us there is a "class struggle."

Apocryphal the "class struggle." There was a time when the mass of mankind paid homage to one individual—the pope of Rome. Kings, emperors, and the humblest slave alike feared his anathema and trembled at his wrath. What a "class struggle" indeed: one class the pope and the other class the rest of humanity!

It were perverted ideas, or rather sheer ignorance that made mankind crawl before a pope, and it is ignorance today that makes people reverence emperors, kings, laws, and government. It is a struggle between darkness and light, the idea of authority and freedom, the old and the new ideal. And when Comrade Winn tells us that two of the "three distinct classes" are now joining hands in order to combat the tyranny of a few oligarchs, he reduces his class struggle theory to an absurdity.

Likewise he defeats his "practical suggestions" regarding the general strike. He advises us to combine forces with Socialists and Single Taxers in order to inaugurate a general strike all over the world. Let us cease speculating and philosophizing on the future and organize for destruction, he says. Well, for thousands of years people have destroyed, revolted and rebelled against the rich and the rulers. Rulers have been replaced and property changed hands, yet the producer is still a slave. But "the laborer must possess three qualities," says Comrade Winn. "First, an uncompromising determination. Second, a total disregard for the laws of the State and the lies of the Church. Third, the instinct of destruction." Here is the rub. The Socialist parties ridicule the general strike, and the Single Taxers believe in the State, to say nothing of the mass of workers who still worship Church and State; and it will require considerable philosophizing to convince even the Socialist and Single Taxers in the futility of their political efforts. But these questions are worthy of discussion, and those interested in the subject should read the chapters "Too Abstract" and "Revolution and Anarchy" of "Moribund Society."

INTERLOPER.

Chicago Meetings.

At a meeting of the Jewish comrades, February 15, at 332 S. Morgan St., Dr. Chas. J. Lewis traced the theory of democracy from its first appearance among the Greeks, thru Rome, England, France, the United States, and Switzerland.

In all historic times there has been a conflict between the one, the few and the many for leadership in human society. From monarchy came aristocracy, and from aristocracy there may come a democracy. The desire of the people to be freed from the tyranny of their rulers culminated at intervals in bloody outbursts such as the American and French revolutions which were fol-

lowed by a slight amelioration. Thus we can trace in nearly all communities the age-long political struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed.

The most enlightened of each generation would cause their communities to oscillate between some form of oppression and a modified form of democracy. In this manner, nearly all of the brain-culture was dissipated in removing from the people an oppressive burden laid upon their shoulders by their masters instead of exerting their powers against the undeveloped forces of nature. Thus the State becomes a barrier to human progress, while, if man lived in a democracy, which is still coming tho but slowly, it is hoped, he will advance the sciences, social economics, develop "liberty, fraternity, and equality" to such a degree as to amount to individual sovereignty limited only by the necessities of voluntary associations.

W. F. Barnard addressed the Philosophical Society, Sunday, February 23, his subject being "The Heritage of Humanity." He defined the heritage of humanity to be self consciousness, the power of self-assertion. His lecture was able and interesting thruout, and evidently met the appreciation of the large audience.

Next Sunday Walter L. Sinton will speak on "The Economic Question."

At the Society of Anthropology, Professor Triggs, of the Chicago University, spoke on "Browning's Caliban," Sunday afternoon, February 23. He compared the ideas and moral conceptions of Browning's savage, with the mental development of man from savagery to civilization, and concluded that only free men are capable of reaching any true or advanced plane in morals or social ethics. Next Sunday the Rev. E. J. Gleason, S. J., of St. Ignatius College, will address the Society on "An Inquiry into the Basis of Society."

Authority.

King Lear.—What, art mad! A man may see how this world goes with no eyes. Look with thine ears: see how yond justice rails upon yond simple thief. Hark, in thine ear: change places, and handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief? Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar?

Gloucester.—Ay, sir.

King Lear.—And the creature run from the cur? There thou mightst behold the great image of authority; a dog's obeyed in office.

Thou rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand!

Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back;

Thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind For which thou whipp'st her. The usurer hangs the cozener.

Thru tatter'd clothes small vices do appear;

Robes and furr'd gowns hide all. Plate sin with gold,

And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks:

Arm it in rags, a pygmy's straw does pierce it.

—Shakespeare, "King Lear," Act IV.

The Rejected Gifts.

The man lay in the sunlight; soft breezes blew about him, the far sky stretched o'er him, and the hazy warmth mingled with the moist breath from the river enchanted and bade him dream—

For he was young.

And lo! a field opened to him: the flowers therein were fair women; and unto him, with outstretched hands came she of the purple robe, saying, "I am Fervor; take of the food I offer, and you shall speak and all men shall praise you." But he remembered that praise feeds not, and shook his head.

Then she of the white robe came and said: "I am Truth; take of this fruit, and you shall not lie, and tho men doubt and crucify you; you have reached the highest." But he remembered that few men speak truly, and fewer believe, and turned away. And she of the golden robe said: "I am Hope; take of the seed I offer and tho disaster follow ever in thy wake, thou shalt not heed nor see her, thine eyes shall be turned to the future, wherein I dwell." But the man was of today and answered, "No!"

Then from the dusk came one more beautiful than all, her sad eyes glanced at him, her hands were closed, and she said, "I have naught to give, my gifts yourself must earn; but of this I warn you, that as you find you must grant to others, lest the very joy turn as a serpent and sting you; for I am Liberty!" and she too passed with the others.

Then from the dusk came a wondrous vision robed as the heavens, and she stretched out her hands and said: "I am Imagination; eat from the fruit I offer and the gifts of all these shall be yours. You shall mount with the highest. The joys of Love, Hope, Liberty, and riches in abundance you shall have, (the man stretched his hand,) but ere you eat, know, you shall likewise feel the degradation of the lowliest of creature; the ambitions, success and failures of great and little alike you shall feel!" And while the man stopped to consider she passed on.

Years passed, the man grew rich, for he knew not the pains of those he used his friends fell beside, and he grieved not; his wife turned from him, yet it hurt him not, Gold piled up, but it gave him no pleasure, and he sought forever the thing he could not reach. Men talked of joy, and tho he attended banquets he found it not; of love, yet it never came to him.

Men spoke neither good nor ill of him, and women were flattered by his wealth, but ever was there something he sought and could not find.

And on a day when he lay in the sunlight his hours were numbered, for he was an old man now, and his friends stood about, fearful, lest he fail of the sleep that should lend them of his wealth. He dreamed again. And lo! the garden stretched before him, and he walked thru; at the far edge a golden pool was flowing, and on its brink were men and women drinking.

Some but dipped their palms below its surface, whilst others went deeper, a few were bold and dived under: to drink of the waters which flowed from a great changing jewel at its bottom. He knew this he had been seeking, for he saw, Imagination was the mother of Sympathy, who makes beautiful the heart of things.

MARY HANSEN.

How will a Free Society Operate.

I am glad to know that Celia B. Whitehead is investigating Anarchism, and I judge with some confidence, inasmuch as she is willing to cast her lot with us on that "Isle of the Ocean" the politicians propose to give us. And she is not the only one I guess who "is puzzled to know how they (the Anarchists) propose to abolish government and usher in a free society." It was quite a puzzle to the Abolitionists how they would abolish slavery. Anarchists are somewhat divided on that question. But they are very unanimous in their opinion that it ought to be abolished, and it is said that "where there's a will, there's a way." Our sister evidently sees the beauty of our belief, but is doubtful about our method. She seems to think that it requires authority to establish liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity. But she is mistaken. These things do not exist because of forceful authority. Cannot she see that liberty is impossible under government? Religious liberty did not exist until the authority of the Church was abolished; and I think she will find that legislation had very little to do with its abolition. The people's refusal and the Church's division, new denomination that were willing to teach without a tax, I imagine did it. I remember hearing a long "descant on priestcraft" that was written by an ancestor of mine which paid his tax. It concluded as follows:

Now grown sick of blood and slaughter,
Fuss and bother that was made,
We'll have better times hereafter,
Many jockeys spoil a trade.

And it may be the increasing number of political jockeys will spoil the trade of government.

Sister Whitehead seems somewhat imbued with the principle, so harped on by our Socialist friends—"the indebtedness of the individual to the Community." They always capitalize community. She says, "the amount of wealth created, or possible of creation without the cooperation of many individuals, is very small." This she said to offset Ross Winn's statement that "individuals create wealth and individuals should enjoy it." I fail to see the point. If individuals cooperate to create wealth, they may cooperate to enjoy it. But the enjoyment must be an individual affair. When the community enjoys it, it will be discovered that a few individuals get the cream. She quotes from a former article of mine, which she credits to Ross Winn, and says that it is exactly what Socialists say. I know the Socialists say many things about liberty and equality, but their methods belie their talk. I suppose she means State Socialists, all others are Anarchists, and it seems to me those Socialists, not Anarchists, who advocate political action are the most consistent. There is no middle ground. The "Cooperative Commonwealth" is another name for government. It is a "social organism," a centralized government, to be administered by certain individuals. I ask her how can men be free and governed? The fact is their cooperation is coercion. Their liberty is simply license. We have some liberty now, we can get away from government. But when

State Socialism "takes possession of the government and the means of production and distribution"—God help us, if there is a God. What is there in this new regime to make officials incorruptible? I want her to contemplate this Socialistic State. Will its politicians be better and purer men than the politicians now? But the "Anarchists have not seemed to me to present any plan of action." Well, the governmental plan has been proposed by a good many parties, but wherever and however tried has completely failed. The Anarchist has no "plan of action" to force men into some regime. They advocate liberty, and liberty cannot exist under regime. State Socialism may abolish poverty, wages and commercialism, but they establish what is worse—dependency—slavery. I was acquainted with a Socialistic society in New York State—the "Eberezer Society." Their men and women, horses and oxen were fat and lazy. They used to have five meals a day and all the beer and coffee they wanted. And yet, strange as it may appear, they could not keep their young people. They would jump the hedge and marry into the homes of the poorer farmers round about. It got too civilized for the colonists, and they sold out and went out into the wilds of Iowa, I believe. It is called now the Amanna society. It was a great success financially, such schemes always are, until they get to fighting over the property. Yes, I admit the Socialists plan is "definite and easily understood," but all the experience we have had of its working is not according to my idea very encouraging. It is an institution, a centralized organization, that is to say, individuals are to be organs to be moved by a central head. If I was sure it would be a Whitehead, I might be tempted to join its ranks. I have great respect for Whiteheads. My wife's people were Whiteheads. But no, the ubiquitous politician will be their head, and can you trust him? I ask our comrade to analyze this organization, in the light of historical events. When and where did an organization exist, having power over its members, that did not become corrupt and tend to defeat the very object for which it was called into existence? I want her to question the fact that this organization, like all government organizations, has its "plan of action" on lines of policy determined by certain individuals. Another fact: Human nature is about the same all around; its principle is self-interest. Give him power and he will advance that interest without any consideration of others. And this organization would monopolize all wealth, would assume industry and direct all distribution. And you tell me that the people would be free? "Angels and ministers of grace defend us." And our comrade tells us that she can conceive of no means except that of the Socialists for bringing about the condition Mr. Morton spoke of when "no man would have either motive or opportunity for thriving at the expense of his fellows." What is it that gives a man such a "motive or opportunity?" Is it not that he has been given power over his fellows? How are these officials to live, if not at the expense of their subjects?

Of course I can see the position of our sis-

ter comrade. She looks out upon the vast system of capitalism. She sees its wonderful adaptability to the wants of the people. She also sees, its awful cruelty and oppression, a veritable juggernaut crushing blood and bones beneath its wheels. Thousands are thus sacrificed to the greed of gain. The Socialists would preserve all the conveniences and comforts, and abolish all the evil. The vast transcontinental railways would be doing business at the old stand; the transportation of men and means would be vastly augmented. The post office would carry letters from Denver to New York with greater facility and all gratis. The new system would eliminate all useless endeavor, all cruelty and oppression making the world's wealth common to all. Is it not a beautiful picture? Yes, alas! but impossible. Can this monstrous machinery be run without the greed of gain? Without its victims of drudgery and danger and despair? Will men sacrifice all their comfort and convenience, simply to make others comfortable and convenient? I think not, without a good deal of compulsion. They have some hope now, by saving, and scamping, and starving they may accumulate a little capital, begin a little business, and by beating and cheating obtain an eminence, when they can look down upon the less fortunate. But State Socialism would strangle all endeavor, and could only be maintained by absolute slavery.

Now what of Anarchism, or absolute liberty? She has "no faith in private enterprise." And why? "Because of the evils attendant on monopoly." But the Socialistic State would be all monopoly. "But no one or few would be benefitted." How does she know? Would the power in State Socialism be unselfish? "But who would operate the machinery." What could be operated by individuals or the cooperation of individuals for individual interests would be preserved; the rest would rust. Decentralization would be the plan or plain of Anarchism.

A loss tremendous monopoly sustained.
Great source of profit, crumbled to the dust;
Machinery was wasted but liberty regain'd
And Labor no longer a slave to the lust
Of Profit and Power, has never complain'd
Of the toil entail'd, by machinery's rust,
For great were the harvests, and luxuriant the soil.
When all men were laborers, and willing to toil.
Tho' great was the loss, humanity's gain
Was greater still, think of the time employ'd
In toil, and moil, the scramble and the pain
Of gathering riches, which the very few enjoy'd;
Tho' cities are deserted the countries remain
To bloom in greater beauty, being devoid
Of all the hustle, bustle, ramming, jamming crew
Who jangle in life's highway, filthy lucre to pursue.

A. LE ROY LOUBAL.

Observations.

I have often heard Professor Taylor, who is chairman of the weekly meetings at the Commons, say that he had been chairman of these meetings for six years, and never had any trouble or disturbance, altho they had free speech. I believe this to be correct; but lately it seems that they no longer have a free platform, if one refers to the last two meetings, especially the last (February 18). Several persons wanted to speak, but could not get the floor, while the chairman actu-

ally compelled another man to speak, and let him have ten minutes without a request for an extension of time. Now since it is a rule at the Commons for each critic to have three minutes, why did these rule-loving people not apply them in this case? If one can trust the utterances of several visitors at the Commons, Professor Taylor has made the inexcusable remark that "we" (meaning the management of the Commons) "must get ride of the Anarchists and Socialists." If this is the case, Professor Taylor, say so, and they will stay away, and you can stop your meetings; but you cannot stop the Anarchists from talking in your meetings by simply not recognizing them. Bear in mind they are rebels, and kick against all inequality and injustice.

I would suggest to such philosophical Anarchists as Wat Tyler (who by the way has given a bad odor to that grand revolutionary name) to publish a paper for themselves, and not tire the non-"philosophicals," the "bomb-Anarchists" with their word-quibbling. Think of the advantage they could gain thereby: they would not be classed among the bomb-Anarchists, and avoid all the troubles of the latter by pointing to their official organ.

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

The Ladder.

A fable narrates that the upper steps of a ladder once said in an arrogant tone to the lower steps:

"Do not think you are our equal; you are placed in the dirt while we are dominating the space. The hierarchy of the ladder has been introduced by nature and consecrated by custom; it is legitimate."

But a philosopher who was passing, heard this discourse, smiled and turned the ladder upside down.—Heinrich Heine.

Effect of Child Labor.

If we are to believe Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, current jests about the perpetual weariness of the tramp frequently hides a deeper meaning than most suspect. She finds that many persons slip into tramp life thru physical and moral exhaustion, resulting from overwork in childhood. In a recent address on this subject before the Chicago Business Woman's Club, Miss Addams said: "Child labor undertaken too early or performed in excess is responsible for a large number of the tramps and ambitionless wayfarers of America. The boy or girl who works too early is surfeited with labor, bankrupt of ambition long before the time when work should begin at all."

The belief that trampdom often is recruited from the ranks of youthful toilers who have been overcome by an intense and terrible physical and moral fatigue because they overtaxed their strength is not new, but so far it has hardly been made the subject of careful investigation. At Hull House those facts have been observed for a number of years, and data are being collected. "We notice," says Miss Addams, "that the child workers who were bright and eager and ambitious when commencing work some six or seven years ago, are different now. Nearly all of them are dull and lifeless, lack-

ing energy and without ambition. Many are actual tramps."—Boston Transcript.

International Notes.

A series of riots and street fights between soldiers and striking workmen have taken place in Barcelona, Spain, during the past two weeks. The papers of February 19 announce that 80,000 men had joined the strike. The city is under martial law, and the situation is considered critical.

In the province of Catalonia, Spain, a strike movement of extensive proportions has been inaugurated. The government has established a strict censorship, and no accurate news can be had. The present state of affairs in Spain is the outgrowth of the agitation of the general strike idea, and the outbreak of the Social Revolution may be the ultimate result. At least, we hope so.

In Trieste, Austria, another series of disturbances have occurred, as the result of a strike; and the conditions there are similar to those prevailing in Barcelona. Martial law has been established, and three Austrian warships sent to the harbor, from which marines were landed to cooperate with the military against the rioters. Thus we see how the naval power is to be used against the people when occasion demands. The Austrian government defends the wholesale arrest of workmen there on the ground that the riots are the work of Anarchists. In the Reichsrath a bill authorizing the establishment of martial law was passed to its first reading, after a heated debate, in which the Socialists violently denounced the troops and the governor of Trieste.

The Russian students refused the government's concessions regarding student's organizations, and declare that they will strike, unless their demands for free speech and complete autonomy be granted. Disorders have broken out in Kieff in consequence of this attitude.

Tolstoy is reported to be critically ill in Yalta, Crimea.

As a result of the "No Rent" campaign now being carried on in Ireland by the United Irish League, forty farms in Roscommon have been sold, and many other sales are pending. A similar campaign in this country would be an effective means of propaganda for the idea of free land.

Attention!

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchy" by Jay Fox, including an article on "Communism," by Henry Addis, is now ready, not containing 32 pages, as was formerly announced in FREE SOCIETY, but only 16, which enables us to sell the booklet much cheaper and thus further its distribution. We think the articles are very appropriate for propaganda purposes at the present time, and hope that the comrades will send in their orders immediately. The price has been reduced to 3 cents single copies, postage paid. For free distribution we will charge only 1 cent per copy, in lots not less than 25. Send all orders and money to R. Fritz, 267 Madison St., New York, N. Y.

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— BY —

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