



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 359.

The Song of the Shirt.

With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread—
Stitch! stitch! stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt;
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch
She sang the "Song of the Shirt!"

"Work! work! work!
While the cock is crowing aloof!
And work—work—work,
Till the stars shine thru the roof!
It's oh! to be a slave
Along with the barbarous Turk,
Whom no woman has ever a soul to save,
Who is Christian work!
Work—work—work
Till the brain begins to swim!
Work—work—work
Till the eyes are heavy and dim!
Seam, and gusset, and band,
Band, and gusset, and seam,
Till over the buttons I fall fast asleep,
And sew them on in a dream!

"O men, with sisters dear!
O men, with mothers and wives!
It is not linen you're wearing out,
But human creature's lives!
Stitch—stitch—stitch,
In poverty, hunger, and dirt—
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt!

"But why do I talk of death—
That phantom of grisly bone?
I hardly fear his terrible shape,
It seems so like my own—
It seems so like my own
Because of the fasts I keep;
O God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!

"Work—work—work!
My labor never flags;
And what are its wages? A bed of straw
A crust of bread—and rags,
That shattered roof—and this naked floor—
A table—a broken chair—
And a wall so blank my shadow I thank
For sometimes falling there!

"Work—work—work!
From weary chime to chime!
Work—work—work—
As prisoners work for crime!
Band, and gusset, and seam,
Seam, and gusset, and band—
Till the heart is sick and the brain benumbed
As well as the weary hand.

"Work—work—work
In the dull December light!
And work—work—work,
When the weather is warm and bright—
While underneath the eaves
The brooding swallows cling,
As if to show me their sunny backs,
And twit me with the Spring.

"Oh! but to breathe the breath
Of the cowslip and primrose sweet—

With the sky above my head,
And the grass beneath my feet!
For only one short hour
To feel as I used to feel,
Before I knew the woes of want
And the walk that costs a meal!
"Oh! but for one short hour—
A respite however brief!
No blessed leisure for love or hope,
But only time for grief!
A little weeping would ease my heart;
But in their briny bed
My tears must stop, for every drop
Hinders needle and thread!"

With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
Plying her needle and thread—
Stitch! stitch! stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt;
And still, with a voice of dolorous pitch—
Would that its tones could reach the rich!—
She sang this "Song of the Shirt!"

—Thomas Hood.

War or Submission--Which?

From the beginning of last century, but more especially from the middle (1864), strikes have become a powerful weapon in the struggle between Labor and Capital. Their number is increasing, their sphere widening. There have been strikes of some ten men, there have been strikes of hundreds of thousands of men. Their economic, social, and moral influence upon the life of the working classes all over Europe has been immense.

In an economic sense all increase in wages and diminution in hours was obtained by strike only.

Socially, all the so-called labor legislation adopted by different parliaments and governments in this country, as well as on the continent, was always imposed on them by popular agitation, by well organized and vigorously conducted strikes.

Morally, they have raised the energy, courage, and dignity of the individual, and created a strong feeling of solidarity among the workers of every nation and country. And great was the significance of the first step in this international solidarity.

With what enthusiasm the French, Belgian, and Swiss workmen speak of the first financial help sent by the Trade Unions of this country to Paris during the metal workers' strike in 1867, or of the help from Paris and Brussels received by the Geneva strikers in 1868. From that time down to the present, this international solidarity has been growing and spreading all over the industrial nations of Europe and in the

United States. Now every organized trade and each thoughtful individual worker fully understand what a pressing and urgent duty it is for them to be always ready to help their fellow workers in the fight against the tyranny of Capital.

But, on the other hand, the capitalist classes and employers clearly understood at once the growing danger to them of these organized workers with their unions and their international solidarity. At the very beginning, during the above-mentioned strikes, the capitalist press with the *Times* ahead began to urge the governments of Europe to unite against (as was alarmingly expressed) the "social peril" threatening the very foundation of the existence of the governing and capitalist classes. At first governments seemed disinclined to attack, prevent, or violently suppress the strikers and their helpers by means of troops.

Why were the State and the ministers so tolerant? First of all, they still remembered well the lessons which the oppressed proletariat had given them in 1848 all over Europe. They know that popular indignation can be very easily awakened and directed against them, and they had not the slightest disposition to repeat the journeys of Louis Philippe, Pope Pious IX, or Prince (afterwards King) Wilhelm of Prussia, and others.

Secondly, the middle classes, the true plutocracy, had not yet gained their full ascendancy, and the aristocracy with the governing families were rather pleased to see the shopkeepers, bankers, and employers a little humiliated by united labor. But capitalism procured within these last thirty years—on behalf of general scientific and technical development—an unprecedented progress, and definitely converted to its purposes the State machinery and government, the aristocracy and the Church. In our days, all are overpowered by money-grubbers; in their associations, in their companies we now see dukes and bishops, lords and generals, members of parliament and ministers. Everybody is at the service of capital, is bought and guided by men like Rhodes, Beit, and Chamberlain. All is crushed or assimilated. Only organized labor, with its continual and international solidarity, stands firmly and courageously against it, defying all efforts of federated employers united in international trusts. Naturally, the capitalists obliged both government and parliament to protect their interests, to fight for their cause. And we see all over Europe as well as in this country and in the United States that in

each more or less important case of dispute between Capital and organized Labor, the latter always has to face the State and its whole machinery: army, police, injustice, etc.

Not only does the government of every country side with the employers and by its police and soldiers protect their interests, but in some cases, for instance in Italy, soldiers are employed as blacklegs to replace the strikers. The young workers and peasants are forced to fulfil their compulsory military service in the so-called highly patriotic duty of defending the fatherland against its enemies, against its invaders. So that, by sending them against the strikers, the government proves in fact that for it the enemy is the people; at the same time showing cynically that a soldier is nothing else than a tool for killing everybody who is rising against the capitalists, those true masters of the State with all its means and strength.

This union of the plutocracy and the government is not a new phenomenon. In former times also, those who possessed the land and capital were the real masters of the State; but the present shameless and brutal coalition is of modern date. When capitalism and aristocracy became convinced that any employers' federation or the most powerful trust might be unable to resist the workers' federated unions, it was decided that in future the strikers must be dealt with by the authorities, police and army, that any energetic claim from the workers' side should be suppressed by lead and steel. So we see, especially for the last eight or ten years, the strikers shot in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Belgium, in Germany, and in the United States. It is very important that the people should understand this new phase in the social struggle. They must realize that in every strike they may be obliged to face death at the hands of the army; whether under the different names of militia, Pinkertons, gendarmes, mounted police or regular troops—the fact remains the same, the strikers must be prepared to fight or to submit to the will of their masters. The recent events of Trieste and Barcelona, Chalons, Pittsburg, Martinique and Petersburg have once again taught this lesson.—*Freedom*, London, England.

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Government or No Government?—Which?

VI

The local governments in this country were also transplanted from England. When the English founded the colonies in America, their institutions, such as the township, the manor, the parish, the borough, the town, and the city, as well as the hundred and the county, were brought along with them to the New World. The county or shire had lost its original importance, since its government had been taken out of the hands of the ancient representatives from townships and hundreds, and had been committed to justices of the peace, appointed by the king.

Some of these local governments were given up shortly after. The parish was the most common name for the township area, when the English came to America. The church was the most striking institution in the township. It required a large tax for

its support, and constant care to protect its property, of which it has always managed to get the lion's share.

"In no other place," says Macy, "has the township reached so perfect a development or filled so important a place in the scheme of government as in New England. By transportation to New England new life seems to have been infused into the remnants of the ancient town meeting which had been preserved in the towns, parishes, and manors of England. The New Englanders were at first left almost entirely to themselves. The passengers of the Mayflower, before landing, drew up and signed a brief statement, which was to be their guide in founding a new State. In their chosen home they acted much as their ancestors are believed to have acted two thousand years ago. Being surrounded by hostile Indians, they built their homes near together, and provided a common defense. *Much of the land was held as common property.* The holding of common pasture land and common woodlands by New England towns has survived till recent times. . . . The towns at first possessed all the powers of government. They were neglected by the home authorities, and not restrained by any general government in the colony. The town of Plymouth executed one of its citizens for the crime of murder. The early towns were not set up by a central authority; they organized themselves. They were also self-propagating. Groups of families from the older towns would unite with immigrants from England, and build together a new town upon the unoccupied waste. When the central colonial governments began to provide for the founding of new towns, *they followed the model of those already founded.*"

The church played a great part in the life of the New England town, whose first act was to build a church and provide for the support of a minister. In many ways the life of those early settlers—all of them Congregationalists—centered in the church and the school, which was closely connected with it. In some of the colonies only church members had a right to vote.

In its form of government the New England town was a pure democracy. All the townsmen met together in town meeting to make laws for the township and provide ways and means for their execution.

ORIGIN OF THE STATES.

Our States were not transplanted from the Old World. Above the shire, in England, stood the king and his ministers, the parliament, and the high courts. But during the century in which colonies were founded here, the English government was in a state of chaos. The king claimed that all power, legislative, executive, and judicial, rested in him; that it was the duty of parliaments and the courts to assist him in governing. And he was perfectly right and consistent in his claims. Was not he the head of the whole government, the highest authority of the whole country? Were not all the people, including the ministers, lords, commoners, and judges his subjects?

But parliament claimed that the making of laws was its business, and that it was the duty of the king to observe, obey, and execute the laws of parliament. The judges,

being appointed by the king, were naturally subservient to his will.

And in this unsettled condition of the government at home, the colonists came here with the definite intention of preserving English liberty by founding a free State in the wilderness. Their love of liberty and their devotion to religious convictions for which they had been persecuted at home, had most to do in determining the character of government in America.

Many of them were men of unusual religious fervor. They would rather die than disobey conscience. Persecutions brought them to America. Persecuted Puritans and Pilgrims founded the first colonies in Massachusetts; persecuted Quakers founded Pennsylvania; persecuted Catholics found for a time a refuge in Maryland; persecuted Protestants, from France, found homes in the southern colonies. These all might have lived peacefully at home, had they been satisfied to violate their consciences.

But where are all those Puritans, Quakers, and Pilgrims now? What has become of their staunch hearts, their religious fervor and invulnerable consciences? You see nothing about you but compromise, hypocrisy, and cringing backbones. Wherever you turn your eye—cowardice, corruption, slavishness and wretched Mammonism stare you in the face. You dare not speak of ideals, principles, for you are sure to be sneered at and damned as an agitator, rioter, Anarchist, or demagog. We are living in an age of cynicism, *par excellence*, when everything human is measured by one standard only, the standard of money, the (in God we) trustified dollar. "How much is there in it?" is the first and most important question of this our lowly son of that great pilgrim father of three centuries ago.

M. A. C.

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Leon F. Czolgosz.

Who was Leon Czolgosz? Was he a governmentalist or a free man? Was he a State Socialist or an Anarchist?

Let us see. He was not allowed to make a public statement before electrocution, and since then we have had but the silence of the tomb. He has been put down as an Anarchist, but there is no evidence to prove that statement. If it were true it would stand to his credit, for it takes brains to be an Anarchist and understand the philosophy of Anarchism.

Czolgosz was an American, the son of Polish parents who came to this country over forty years ago and lived for many years in Cleveland, Ohio; he worked as a wire drawer in the wire mills in Newburg from 1893 to 1897, during which time his father ran a saloon on Tod street, over which there was a room where a Polish section of the Socialist Labor Party held its weekly meetings. Leon Czolgosz joined that section, and became an active member of the party. He agitated both in English and Polish; he distributed literature where he worked, and thru this made a number of enemies among his fellow workers.

Several German workmen, partly owing to Leon's radical views and partly on account of the difficulty of pronouncing his name, nicknamed him "Niemand," a Ger-

man word which means NOBODY. This name he finally assumed, and soon became popularly known as Leon Niemand.

Leon had a large heart and loved humanity. He keenly felt the injustice which the government in social and public life imposed upon him. He saw the cause of the unequal politico-economic struggle for a miserable existence, and eventually sacrificed his own life, taking with him as he thought the bold-est servant of the capitalistic system.

Leon Czolgosz belonged to the English section of the Socialist Labor Party before and after it split into the kangaroo and kickapoo factions.

It was reported that he had attended a lecture delivered by Emma Goldman at Cleveland upon "Modern Phases of Anarchism." The meeting was large and represented all shades of opinion, and a half dozen secret service detectives and regular police were present. The lecture was purely educational, heartily applauded, and in no instance appealed to force.

May 19, 1901, Leon Czolgosz sought the acquaintance of several members of Liberty Association after its session, introducing himself as "Leon Niemand."

When asked about his political principles, he said that he was a Socialist, and that he had affiliated with the Socialist Labor Party up to a half a year ago; since then he had worked on his brother's farm in Bedford. When asked why he did not remain with his party, he replied that it was due to the split of the party into two hostile political organizations, and also that as a student seeking information he had become tired of mud-slinging and personal abuse. As to whether he had ever read any Anarchist literature he answered "no."

He was then given a book to read containing the speeches of the eight Chicago martyrs, as delivered in open court during their trial in Chicago in 1886.

Czolgosz then asked us whether Cleveland Anarchists were secretly organized or held any secret meetings. We told him no, and that all our meetings were public, because secrecy was no part of Anarchy. His question and actions created a suspicion in the minds of his new acquaintances.

When he returned the book, he said he had not read it for lack of time; suspicion now grew stronger and he was finally looked upon as a spy. Several weeks after this, it was ascertained thru a former party friend of his that Niemand was not his real name.

Several weeks before the assassination, Czolgosz went to Chicago; where thru similar behavior as here, he was also suspected as a spy. A week before the Buffalo tragedy, FREE SOCIETY published a pen picture concerning this man "Niemand," cautioning all comrades against him.

This is a true statement concerning Leon Czolgosz in his relation to the State Socialists on the one hand and the Anarchists on the other.

It can be proven by quite a number in this city that he was a State Socialist, and not an Anarchist, which shows that the blow struck at Buffalo was the deed of a governmental. Why, then, was Czolgosz classed as an Anarchist?

Czolgosz was a self-confessed State Socialist; but no party is responsible for the act of an individual.

Even State Socialists can afford to stand by the truth, and let men fall where they may, for men may change or die, but principles never. Anarchists are not so unfair as to hold the Socialists collectively responsible for the act of Leon Czolgosz, which was the act of an individual. This article would not have been written but for the misrepresentation in speeches delivered immediately after McKinley's assassination by prominent Socialist leaders, published in book form and distributed broadcast in order to prejudice the public mind against Anarchy. Truth may be crushed for a while, but it will prevail and chickens will come home to roost.

Anarchists believe in dealing fairly with all progressive minds; they have no bone to pick with simon-pure Socialism, but we are sorry to say that the Socialist leaders in this city and the Socialist party press of this country, have proven themselves liars, cowards, and traitors to one of their own number; to one whom they sought to educate against a cruel system of economic slavery; to a man who fought and suffered side by side with them; a man who could no longer stand the strain of further exploitation, but with such a power of will in his struggle against the oppressors of the people, which have but few parallels in history.

WALTER C. BEHLEN,
Pres. Lib. Ass.

Cleveland, Ohio. EMIL SCHILLING.

The Law and Its Horrors.

In a former article in FREE SOCIETY, published about the first of March, I gave a short account of a mode of torture practised on unruly convicts at the State penitentiary at Lansing, Kansas. I wish to make a few more statements relative to the same. My informant is a well known Kansas Free-thinker, and if asked to do so would undoubtedly give his name, as he was an officer at the prison several years ago and knows whereof he speaks. In a late letter, my friend in answer to a request for more explicit details in regard to prison torture, writes as follows:

"The 'wooden virgin' was known as the sweat-box at Lansing. It was kept in the stone house in the prison yard where men received punishment. The box was a little larger than a coffin, to allow for bedding when necessary, as men were put in the thing in all sorts of weather. The box was made tight like a great chest, except the corner made of slats a few inches apart to let in the air, which closed down like the lid of a trunk. The victim before he was placed in this receptacle had both feet thrust into a leather case called the boot, extending to the knees; both legs were then strapped together. His hands likewise are put inside a leather tube extending to the elbow and strapped tight across his chest. Then the poor wretch is lifted up, laid inside the box and the lid shut down and locked. He is fed bread and water once a day." "There," says my friend, "the man must lie unable to move hand or foot, altho he can turn on his face. I will state that this mode of punishment is supposed to be used only on *insane incorrigibles*, but while I was at Lansing it was in frequent use, and I knew of one convict who was kept in that box eleven days. This I know to be true, for I

was there at the time. But in regard to the length of time the Negro leader of the mutiny was kept therein I cannot state positively. The account was published in the *Kansas City Daily Times*, in October, 1901, and charged that the Negro was kept in the box forty days. The article claimed to be an expose of prison torture at Lansing."

The only comment I care to make further is this: tho it seems almost incredible to me that a human being could live eleven days in such a hell hole, I am convinced that my friend tells the exact truth; but I would rather know that he is a liar than to think helpless men can be subjected to such torture in this age; and if any man can dispute and prove that there is no such an "infernal machine" at Lansing, the information will be gratefully received. But, as I said in my former article, to know that the sweat-box is a part of the institution at Lansing is to know men are tortured.

If the thing is used only in the case of "*insane incorrigibles*," where does the legal permit come in to torture a class that we are told the law does not hold responsible? and where does the *right* come in to torture any man or any fellow creature even lower in the scale of life? The right only of might, of brute force, which authority permits to run the full length of its ferocity.

I have also tried to get additional facts in regard to hanging men for burglary, and reading not long ago that Johnson and Foster, one a white man, the other colored, were hanged at Asheville, North Carolina, for burglary, wrote the postmaster for details, and if it were true they hanged men in his State for stealing. I give the substance of his polite reply.

"No, we do not hang people for stealing in North Carolina; but this State has a law, and many other States a similar law, that if a person attempts to burglarize a dwelling house or any building where a person sleeps, it is a capital offense. Johnson and Foster were hanged here at the date you mention. The crime for which they met death was as follows: They broke into a store where the clerk slept. A fight took place, the clerk was badly wounded, but recovered. Both robbers also received gun wounds at the time. No sympathy was felt for them; one especially bore a very bad reputation."

Just why it is a more heinous offense to rob a man in his house, than in the open field, or to rob him in the store where a clerk sleeps, than in the barn where no one sleeps, is one of those mysterious dispensations of the law that frequently illustrates in a terrible manner the inequality of punishment practised upon unfortunate criminals in the name of justice. In Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina it is a capital offense to rob in a dwelling house or any building used as sleeping quarters. In Missouri it is grand larceny to steal even the merest trifle from a dwelling house, or inside the private grounds of a residence. What reason exists that one man should have his neck broken with a legal drop at the end of a rope, for doing precisely that for which a brother thief in some other State gets from two years up in the penitentiary? None, as I can see, but to find any reason in law pertaining to either *human rights*, would be a hopeless task.

KATE AUSTIN.

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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.

Clarence Darrow will speak on "Tolstoy" before the Philosophical Society, 26 E. Van Buren St., on Sunday evening, April 27.

The publication of C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" is now assured. Those who have subscribed for the book, but have not yet sent in the money, are requested to do so at once. All who contemplate procuring this excellent history of the French Revolution, should send in their advance subscriptions without delay. This work shows Comrade James at his best, being concise, accurate, with a wide scholarship and a broad comprehension of events. It is an important contribution to the literature of the Revolution; and proves clearly that the events at this interesting period, always held up as an infallible argument against the Anarchist philosophy, are one of the strongest vindications of it.

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Splinters.

The experience of Spain with the brutal Weyler proves clearly that these military heroes are as ready to kill workers at home as rebels in foreign lands "for the glory of the flag." But yesterday he was killing Cubans, and today it is the Spaniards who occupy his attention. And Kitchener, even more brutal than the former, who is today shooting Boer women and children, tomorrow will be doing the same to the wives and daughters of Englishmen. Does a soldier see any difference between strikers in America and "rebels" in the Philippines? Not if he has orders to shoot. It is your Major Waller who will be torturing Americans on the day after, as he did to Filipinos yesterday. Militarism is an evil that ultimately always strikes home.

It is said that John D. Rockefeller's over-worked stomach has gone on a strike, and the man is starving. All his wealth, which he got by starving (and blinding) other people, cannot help, for the stomach refuses to be coaxed, bribed, or cajoled. Even an injunction or incendiarism is an expediency that fails in this case, and he has had to take some of that healthful exercise called

honest work. It seems if the workers had as much common sense as that, and refused to be exploited by him, he would have had to do this long ago.

And now John D. Rockefeller, Jr., rises to state that Jesus did not mean what he said when he stated that a rich man could not enter the kingdom of heaven—except thru the eye of a needle on a camel's back. Some preachers agree with him. Of course. These worshippers of gold will explain away anything; but perhaps the young man will find that gold will not bribe the keeper of St. Peter's gate. But who knows? Maybe an alderman or a legislator has the job.

James F. Morton, Jr., of *Discontent*, is a good example of what may be termed the "intolerance of toleration." He hardly ever tells us anything without first exhorting us to receive it in a tolerant spirit, and saying that he will be as tolerant as he can (which qualification seems eminently necessary), and that we all should be intolerably tolerant by intolerant tolerableness. He reaches the climax in *Discontent* of April 2. Here he tells us to have "courtesy and respect" for "honest" lawyers, legislators, marshals, judges, and jurymen. Altho' he has as yet omitted the hangman, a marshal is sometimes quite synonymous with that gentleman, so that the chain is quite complete. And all this in the name of "courtesy." Disgusting flunkeyism could go no further. Because a hangman believes he is doing his "official duty," is that reason for us to respect and "tolerate" him? Or because a lawyer, judge, or jurymen takes the first steps of the way, at the end of which the hangman logically stands, for the same reason, do we owe him respect and toleration? Because the Russian czar considers it his official "duty" to repress rebellion, and decorates with his own hand an official who ordered women stripped and dragged thru the streets by the hair, do I owe him any respect for all that? Because King Humbert thought it his "official duty" to send a hundred thousand soldiers to Milan with an offer of more, as his "official dignity" had been snubbed by the city council, do I owe him any respect for the reason that he was probably sincere, his environment making any other view impossible? If Morton can show me any difference between the first and last of these, I would like to have him do so. Altho I know that FREE SOCIETY is not free from sins, either of "commission or omission," I hope it may be spared from such "tolerance."

ABE ISAAC JR.

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Current Comment.

Some of the pencil pushers of the Socialist parties never weary of asserting that the workingman who refuses to vote the Socialist ticket is as much a scab as the one who takes the place of his brother worker when on strike. This has become one of the platitudes of political Socialism, but it lacks several degrees of being true. It is born of the arrogance of political intolerance, that assumes that whoever does not vote for the Socialist politician is either a fool or a knave.

Brutality and barbarism, that would dis-

grace an army of Boxers, and shock the ethical nature of cannibals feasting on babies, characterizes the conduct of the American army in the Philippines. A military investigation now in progress reveals the fact that American commanders have been guilty of every cruelty towards captured and helpless Filipinos that heartless savagery could invent. Yet the American people with profound indifference, raise no protest, and silently approve these infamies, and continue to venerate such rascals as Roosevelt and other political pirates, who carry on and are responsible for these inhuman crimes, perpetrated in the name of war and Christian civilization. Damn such civilization, and everlasting shame upon its official and uniformed exponents.

The Anarchists of Germany are to hold a congress May 18, at which the chief topic of discussion will be the general strike. The general strike idea is fast becoming the rallying point of the international Anarchist movement, or, at least, of that part of it that is really and distinctly revolutionary. The general strike, the real import of which is so little understood by its critics, is the vanguard of the Social Revolution, which in turn, is the harbinger of Anarchy. Three cheers for Anarchy, the Social Revolution, and the General Strike!

Rumors of peace seem to have a greater charm for the British ear than rumors of war, just at present. John Bull is becoming dimly conscious of the fact that, in his land-grabbing exploits in South Africa, he grabbed a hot potato, one of Boer baking, and he is beginning to make more wry faces than a pig with its tail under the gate. The world empire business, as practised by England and America in South Africa and the Philippines, seems to have slipped its trolley; and the jingo brand of patriotism, in consequence, is a little lop-sided just now. Those saintly exponents of Christian civilization who piously propose to bring the world to Christ with a Krupp cannon, and who have established a close connection between prayer and gun-powder, are experiencing that tired feeling so graphically described in the patent medicine circulars. Here's health to the Boers and Filipinos! May they continue to shoot and shoot with improved aim.

Another fresh and frolicsome female, who would a missionary be, proposes to imitate the notorious "Miss Stone," and to launch into fame and trouble by going into the wilds of Syria, to proselyte a savage people, who hate Christians worse than a politician does the truth. The people of Christendom, who spent a few hundred dollars to send Miss Stone to the heathen of Bulgaria, and paid several thousand to get her back again (which was a good deal more than she is actually worth), had better go after this wandering miss with an injunction, else there will be another drainage of Christian dollars for the benefit of the poor heathen. As the Bulgarian bigwigs found Miss Stone as easy as a gold brick scheme, it is fair to conjecture that the Syrians will appreciate a good thing when it comes their way. Now that the heathens have discovered that there

is really something in the missionary business, they may be expected to warm up somewhat on the subject of the Christian religion. They will not object to the Church's attempt to "capture the world for Christ," so long as they can capture its female missionaries and cash them at advantage at the exchequer of Christendom. The missionaries really appear to do some good for the heathen.

The editor of the *Appeal to Reason* states in his paper that government as it will exist under Socialism, will have no legislative powers, but will simply exist as the agent for transacting the public business. I suspect, however, that, by the term government, Bro. Wayland meant the officials. He would have the legislative power intact, to be exercised by the majority. He has perfect confidence in the wisdom of the majority under the Socialist State, but I notice that he lacks respect for the majority that rules at present. He evidently expects one dose of his political Socialistic purgative pellets to make every little nigger in the land a scholar and philosopher and supply the majority with brains made to order. Wayland is an optimist.

The universal unrest that manifests itself in Barcelona riots and the Socialist disturbances in Belgium of the past few weeks, may be a sign of prosperity and social order, but I doubt it. The army of wealth and the army of want face each other across ramparts of the social order, and, in spite of the time-server's siren serenade, sooner or later there will be powder burned, whether good comes of it or not. Modern society's Madam Pompadours may yet be interested spectators of the deluge they so rashly invoke.

We are a great nation, we Americans,—great in gall and gab and grab. Having annexed ourselves to the white man's burden, we have set out to civilize and Christianize the Filipinos, and we are doing it with the Maxim rifle and Gatling gun. We are supplying the poor heathen with rum and religion, bombs and Bibles, and incidentally covering ourselves with honor and martial glory. For example, the American commander in the Philippines issued a general order to his gallant soldiers to kill every Filipino over twelve years of age. This is teaching the Bible by practise as well as precept, for it is carrying out God's injunction to the army of Moses, which in a similar invasion of a heathen country, was told to spare alive nothing that breathed. American newspaper denunciations of General Weyler's barbarities in Cuba would be interesting reading today, in the light of our military achievements in the East India archipelago.

I presume that Kate Austin considers the French Revolution, the American revolution, the abolition of chattel slavery, the Reformation, etc., all failures, not worth, as to result, the cost of effort, simply because they did not achieve the ultimate, and were the result of the blind action of the masses, directed by intelligent leadership. Let us have confidence in the logic of human events.

R. W.

Echoes from Europe.

Under the heading "Enlightened Republican Government," the Russian monthly *Svobodnoye Slovo* (Free Word), in London, writes anent the labor troubles in Paris:

"March 2, on the streets of Paris—the capital of a 'free' republic—several thousand workmen gathered on the streets in order to demonstrate publicly that lack of employment had brought them and their families down to starvation and beggary. The local authorities ordered the police to attack the workers, who were clubbed in a most terrible and brutal manner. After a few days they were tried—not the criminal police—but the beaten workers, many of whom were sent to the penitentiary, among whom there were also four Russian Socialists, who had been caught in the crowd. Other Russians who were at the time in Paris, claim that the brutality of the police was even more inhuman and aggravating than the brutal outrages perpetrated a year previous by the Russian government in St. Petersburg; and, what was more strange yet, that the French people expressed no indignation at the police atrocities, but took the occurrence quite indifferently,—as a matter of course.

"It is to be wished that such events, like the police outrages perpetrated upon the French workers, should be made known to their comrades, the Russian workingmen; for in Russia people who still believe that the conditions of the poor can be improved by a change of government, often circulate among the uninformed populace entirely unfounded ideas, namely, that other nations have achieved freedom long ago. In reality in all countries, no matter what form of government there may be, the rich dominate and exploit the poor; and when the poor workers, being brought to despair, attempt to call public attention to their unbearable condition, the governments always proceed as they did with the starving and suffering toilers in Paris. It is about time to disillusion the people of the possibility of a 'good government,' and to understand that all government,—be it autocratic, a constitutional monarchy, or even a republic as in France, chosen by the people,—ever becomes the oppressor of the working people. And in this, the governments of the different countries always support each other. 'One hand washes the other.' 'Princes and emperors rule over the people, but among you it shall not be thus,' said Christ. And indeed, the salvation of the working people from oppression and exploitation does not consist in the changing of governments, but solely in the refusal to recognize any kind of human power, and obey nothing but our own conscience innate in us all."

The refusals to serve in the army are becoming more and more frequent in Europe. In France a young man, Graslen, was sent to the penitentiary for two years because he flatly refused to be trained to murder his fellow men. Characteristic is the testimony given in court by his employer. "He has always conducted himself rather strangely," said the good Christian employer. "He always carried the gospel with him, and preached humanitarian and religious ideas among his fellow workers; and besides, this good-hearted youth even managed to help

the poor families of fellow workers from his little earnings. In short, I think Graslen was a little demented." Strange, indeed, that a young man should refuse to kill, advocate humanitarian ideas, and even help poor families! And the prosecuting official was perfectly thunder-struck at such sentiments—refusing to be a legalized and professional murderer. "Where would we be," he exclaimed, "if everybody was left free to obey only his religious and political convictions? Assuredly very soon we would have no army."

In Russia sixteen families were exiled to Siberia "for disseminating the teachings of Jesus Christ and refusing military service." The idea of passive resistance is also spreading in Finland,—a mode of rebellion which alarms the government greatly. Nearly one half of the communities have refused to elect the obligatory members for the conscription committees ("uppbadsnæmd"). The governor is enraged and threatens to impose a heavy fine upon the stubborn communities, but the latter have so far paid very little attention to the intimidations of the governor. If the people would take up arms, it would be an easy problem for the government, but to deal with whole communities who will neither fight nor obey is a puzzling novelty to a power which is used to emphasize its "arguments" with rifles and Siberia.

Even Austria has its troubles with these "fanatics," as those are called who try to obey the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." Seven young men are held in prison awaiting trial. Besides, a young artist, G. Greser, has recently been arrested for the same reason.

According to dispatches the immense strike in Belgium, in which 400,000 workers had laid down their tools, has abruptly been declared off. The failure was complete, and disgraceful to those who so maliciously and wantonly played with the sincerity and aspirations of the duped workers. It is at present impossible to give a detailed account of the cause and failure of the strike; but certain is that the Socialist leaders are to a great extent to blame for the vicious sacrifice of lives and the freedom of those imprisoned in order to gratify their ambition and play a political game. We all know that the Socialist leaders threatened a general strike, a revolution, if universal suffrage was not granted by the government. In order to gain greater prestige in their demands, which were justified as long as they believed in the efficiency of the ballot, they did not hesitate to compromise with the Liberals. But the latter collapsed when things began to assume a serious character, and the consequence was that the Socialist leaders also became frightened—and retreated. And now they have the audacity to claim that the strike was provoked by the government in order to strike a blow at the Socialists.

It is only a few weeks that Iglesias, the Socialist leader in Spain, expressed great indignation at the "Anarchist pillagers and destructionists," as he spoke of the strike in Barcelona, and so we are anxiously waiting for his comment on the Belgium strike.

INTERLOPER.

— o —
The desolating hand of power.—Hallam.

A Thousand Dollar Shot.

A few weeks ago a newspaper announced that a parasite who believes in "law and order," and who lives on the sweat of the toilers, would be willing to "give \$1,000 to have a good shot at an Anarchist." Now, where is this vicious and generous "wolf in sheep's clothing" going to get the money? What does he (Senator Hawley) do for a living? Does he till the soil? Does he work in a coal mine? Does he make shoes or clothes? Does he do any useful work that will be a help and blessing to humanity? No! Then where does he get the \$1,000 from, that he would willingly give to have a shot at an individual who believes in freedom—an Anarchist?

Senator Hawley is a man who is supposed to help his fellow parasites at Washington to make laws pretended to protect life and property, but is the senator or his laws protecting life in his willingness to shoot a liberty-loving man? Mr. Hawley is a fair type of the supporters of vicious laws and social disorder.

I have no doubt all the law mongers, political shysters, and hypocritical religious bigots (clergy) thruout the country would give something to have a shot at an Anarchist. If Senator Hawley would give a \$1,000 for a shot at an Anarchist, how much would he give for a shot at a Socialist, or a Single Taxer, or a Trade Unionist? One Anarchist in Philadelphia has invited the senator to a good shot free of charge. But why go to Philadelphia when he, if he will but open his eyes, can find lots of Anarchists in Washington?

The spirit of discontent and revolt is growing; the vicious and cowardly government, which Senator Hawley worthily represents, is and has been paying thousands and millions of dollars to shoot the freedom-loving and discontented Filipinos. The government of the State of Illinois paid thousands of dollars in order to hang four Anarchists fourteen years ago. Yes, our dear United States pays millions of dollars annually to shoot strikers who dare ask for a little liberty; and let Mr. Hawley remember that notwithstanding all the Anarchists that the governments of the world have killed, not one spark of the ideal for which Anarchists stand has been extinguished yet. Would Senator Hawley give \$1,000 to shoot Peter Kropotkin, or Leo Tolstoy, or Thomas Jefferson, or Thomas Paine? Would he shoot all those who have written and expressed Anarchistic sentiment, among whom are Emerson, Buckle, Herbert Spencer, William Ellery Channing, Ibsen, Hawthorne, Goldsmith, and even Jesus, and many others?

Those who are keeping pace with history and are closely observing the social unrest thruout the world, can easily perceive the spirit of discontent and revolt that is prevalent everywhere. Anarchism is growing rapidly; the governments of the world are standing on their last legs; they are drawing their last breath. The peace on earth and good will among men, which was proclaimed 1900 years ago by a young carpenter called Jesus, is near at hand. The good time which the philosophers have prophesied and poets sung is approaching. Toilers of the world, if you want freedom, peace, and justice, withdraw your support from

these monstrous, powerful governments which oppress and rob you, and which pay millions of dollars to shoot you for daring to demand a little more pay. Do not support the army and navy; let the idle rich parasites guard their plunder themselves, or else let them work for their own living. Be ready to defend yourself from such bloodthirsty hyenas as Senator Hawley, for, as Goldsmith said,

"Self-dependent power can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows of the sky."

Religion and government are the foes of sciences, and their unjust threats and foolish laws have filled the world with hatred and crime, and the countless victims that have died in defense of their honest convictions can never be avenged until the last vestige of religion and government shall have faded away from the earth, and every dogmatic claim and falsehood of the Church has been exposed; until the clergy—the laughing-stock of science, the obstructors of progress, the preachers and inventors of hell—shall take their supplies beneath their arms and wrapping the Bible in the tattered fragments of their forgotten creed, shall take their place among the relics of antiquity.

JAMES MYERS.

The Essential Spirit of Reform.

II

(Concluded from last week.)

The state of things which has been so inadequately depicted is called Christian civilization, a perversion of language little removed from blasphemy. It is confidently asserted to be the outcome of the working of natural law, to arise out of the right of every man to do the best for himself in the rivalries and competitions of life. Yet is it Christian that every man doing the best for himself shall involve the treading down of his fellows? To term our present society natural is sadly ludicrous. The general prevalence of Christianity, there may be some ground to believe, would do away with all poverty, suffering, and crime; yet these admittedly prevail to a frightful extent among peoples to whom Christianity has long been preached, while their absence among peoples looked upon as quite low in the scale of progress is commented upon by credible observers. Can that be truly progress which, whatever changes are introduced in its course, brings into prominence such evil conditions? In civilization millions come into the world forestalled of opportunity, millions make the start in life with a handicap the effect of which can be overcome only by the development of remarkable abilities and tremendous effort, while a few thousand of every generation are born to advantages and position, including power to command a trained corps of professional servants to assert the justice and propriety of these arrangements, ever seeking to consolidate and multiply privileges and share in their advantages. Even with the perversion of ideas to which all are so accustomed, it is still naturally repulsive to reason and the common sense of justice that a mere infant, who has contributed nothing whatever to the world, should represent power over the lives and labor of hundreds, even thousands—not as a hereditary ruler, but as an heir to the tribute-laying power called wealth.

It is not the purpose of this writing to present in detail any specific scheme of reform, but merely to consider the subject in its broadest aspect, to outline the state of society aimed at by reformers of every shade and phase. No rational view contemplates an attempt to level all physical and mental distinctions, nor even any social distinctions resting upon a righteous basis. To do so would be to render it worthy the opprobrium it so often receives. Equality of strength, equality of intellect, equality of energy, equality of ambition, equal capacity for enjoyment of works of art, the developments of science, and the refinements of literary culture can never be. Nevertheless reform looks for a levelling up and not a levelling down. Its scope embraces all classes so completely that it cannot be truly said to think of benefiting any one more than another. It conceives primarily the destruction of everything that gives rise to anxiety and distress of mind in relation to material welfare, and this proposition applies as well to the rich as to the poor under the social disorder which now prevails. While under its reign destitution and degradation would disappear from the scene, they would be accompanied into oblivion by all sordid ambition, the desire to "get ahead" of one's fellows by the accumulation of worldly goods, avidity for social rank founded on artificial distinctions, apprehension of loss of standing following loss of possessions.

Little observation and reflection are needed to convince us that wealth and the distinction by which it is accompanied do not assure happiness. Desires expand in greater ratio than the attainment of means. Few are in the first rank of wealth, and all below suffer from want by just so much as they realize the difference between their possessions and the greater estates of those reckoned above them. The desire for additional and rarer jewels, for houses and yachts, for a higher degree of social recognition, is as real in narrow circles as the daily need of food and shelter to the humble toiler, and these unsatisfied wants certainly give rise to actual distress. The struggle to maintain social position, the apprehension of its loss, and the exaction of time and thought incident to the care, management, and preservation of great properties, are real trials to those considered among the favored classes. The trials and terrors of wealth arise largely from the fact that the tribute-laying power depends to a great extent upon purely artificial property, and that the acquisition of wealth does not consist in production to any considerable extent, but in snatching from others the stakes constantly wagered in the fevered struggles of the desperate game called business. The success of one in very many instances means simply loss to others.

History discloses with harrowing detail the grief and anguish that often fall to the lot of those in exalted station, when the poor and humble are secure in their obscurity. Philosophical reflections, however, afford little relief to the present pangs of hunger consequent on penury. Whatever conflicts and trials may be incident to exalted station, balancing in greater or lesser degree its advantages, still the obscure man who is unacquainted with these conflicts sees nothing

ing in wealth and rank but that affluence which is the cause of his poverty. He envies the rich those pleasures to which they are so accustomed that they have lost all relish for them.

What then does man want to be as happy as he can be? Certainly the first requisite is present subsistence and, if he thinks of the future, the well founded hope of continued enjoyment of that blessing. The yearning for independence is one of the first instincts of every right minded and honorable man; independence is desired above all things as a prime condition of development in which is involved the nearest approach to perfect happiness. The enjoyment of this primitive right with a moral certainty of competent subsistence is a much higher assurance of felicity than the possession of wealth as a member of a distinguished class, carrying with it servitude to prejudices and fashions constantly reminding of the loss of liberty. Independence in the sense in which it is here presented does not mean the ability to live entirely apart from others, but the attainment of a status in which everyone may deal with every other on equal terms, asking nothing except in fair exchange for something of equal use in contributing to the welfare of the other party; obliged to accept no favors with servile gratitude, but conscious of complete ability to reciprocate as occasion may arise.

The real end of every effort looking a single step beyond the mere momentary gratification of passion or appetite is independence as here depicted, and connected with it is the idea that the highest state of society is that in which there is an absolute equality of power to provide for bodily wants, subject only to variations in physical and mental abilities inhering in the individual; no man starting in life overshadowed by privilege in others, nor any man controlling the living of others. Every human being willing in his day and age to do fair service in the world in contributing to the well-being of his fellows, should be absolutely secure in a fair living, not under any circumstances doled out grudgingly or as a charity, but accorded as unquestioned, unquestionable right.

Living independently in the world under existing conditions does not depend upon the power to do useful service, nor upon the disposition to do so, nor even upon the fact that some ancestor has done useful service. The only security for a comfortable living at ease, aside from inherited fortune, is the possession and exercise of a faculty entirely outside of useful service. It is the faculty of accumulation, notably wanting in many reckoned even among the great of the earth. This faculty often exists in connection with small capacity for production; and large capacity for production is frequently associated with entire lack of accumulation. Accumulation frequently marks disregard of the rights and welfare of others in a greater or lesser degree. The result of the exercise of this faculty is sometimes called independence, but it is far from true independence. The rich are in many cases the most dependent creatures, glorying too in their dependence, relying upon swarms of servants, unable to produce anything for themselves or to provide in any degree for their own necessities.

But they have acquired or inherited power over the labor of others under established conditions of inequality. The services commanded are yielded only on compulsion in fact, because some, as a means of living, must share in the distribution of the tribute laid by the "independent." This is not freedom of exchange.

Why should there not be real independence for all? It cannot be truthfully denied that there is in the world an abundance of all material goods to afford provision of food, clothing, means of shelter, and the satisfaction of every need of the mortal frame, or if not so that production may be increased indefinitely to the supply of every deficiency. Why may there not be such a rearrangement of distribution—and of production as well if it is required for the solution of the problem—that the streams of abundance now obstructed and diverted to individual aggrandizement may reach all and everyone? Then the energies of mind and body relieved from the demands by which they are now cramped to incessant toil merely to supply bodily necessities, will be free for culture in every direction, to the general as well as individual good. Is it not admittedly a reproach and a shame on our boasted civilization that it has not long ago solved the problem of distribution, which even in this day receives a degree of attention so little proportioned to its importance?

The view that to end the prevalent system of preying on one's fellows, to extinguish the possibility of acquiring and perpetuating distinctions of wealth and of social rank founded on wealth, would destroy all ambition and reduce life to a dull monotony, is a highly unacceptable view of human nature even as it has been developed under these conditions. Man naturally rejoices in the felicity of those about him, not alone those to whom he is bound by the closest ties of association and affection, but all with whom he comes in contact. The charm of so-called polite society is the supposed equality of condition of those of whom it is made up, the absence of care and solicitude. Would not then all enjoy a degree of happiness now scarcely dreamed-of, if all knew that all were happy? The lives of the humane, even those comfortably situated in the ordinary sense, are embittered by the sorrow and distress constantly forced upon their notice. Why then may not the idea of happiness for all find hospitable entertainment? Is it inherently repulsive? If the supply of man's common wants in abundance were assured, would not mechanical invention, the cultivation of literature, art, philosophy, the development of science, the investigation of the exhaustless field of nature's workings—pursued for the pleasure of the pursuit and the pleasure of receiving and communicating to the pleasure and improvement of others—still afford scope for effort and opportunity for distinction which none would envy, being founded on individual worth, not as too often in the present state on circumstances that confer no credit, rather the contrary? While the removal of motives for wrong-doing would tend to elevate the general level of sentiment and conduct, there would still be a limitless field of emulation in the development of moral character.

Those who cry out against the destruction of "vested rights," against robbing widows and orphans of accumulated savings or of investments from which income is now derived, seem to imagine only a "dividing up" among those at some given time in existence, after which everything is to go on as before; simply an overturning, elevating one class by the dragging down of another. Shallow as this idea is, it is apparently the only one they are able to conceive. But if the change suggested is a complete wiping out of the artificial distinctions that now exist, if in taking away the tribute-laying power that pertains to certain classes there is given in compensation assurance of maintenance in ease and comfort free from the harassing cares that inhere in present conditions, if in taking away the power of handing down to descendants accumulated estates there is bestowed a confidence that, whatever comes, the hardness and cruelty of the world are things of the past, that innocence and helplessness are supreme claims upon tenderness and consideration; that while everyone is expected to make some contribution to the general welfare, none are burdened by exhausting toil, and that the talents and energies devoted to individual aggrandizement are to find ample scope in moral, intellectual, and esthetic cultivation, then it would seem at least new objections must be sought for.

The response, "This can never be," has no relevancy to the presentation of the subject at this time. It is not intended to show that it can be, but only to show what it is that reform contemplates. Suffice it to say that there have been exalted souls in every age of the world who believed it possible. Philosophers have discoursed upon it, poets have sung of it, many have spent their lives in endeavoring to bring it about, some have died for it. To discredit it is to declare the teachings of Christ impracticable, and the effort to propagate his doctrines without hope, for it is Christianity indeed, and has been so viewed by its purest apostles. The purpose of this writing has been only to exhibit as clearly as possible the central thought of all reform, not to expound any scheme for bringing this about. And what has been stated in brief is beyond question what is aimed at by every imaginable scheme of social reform now demanding attention, including those of Socialists, Communists, Single Taxers, nationalists, and every other shade or sect akin, even those who call themselves Anarchists, for the connection of reckless violence with the theory of society intelligently known as Anarchy is as gross a mistake as any other false impression in relation to social reform.

To bring about the state of things herein depicted but two things are required: to convince a sufficient number that it is possible, and to instill an effectual faith that all will be happier under such conditions.

ALDEN S. HULING.

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Government is a quarter in which liberty is not nor cannot be preserved. If we are wanting to ourselves, and unattentive to our great interests in this respect, it is the height of folly and unreasonableness to expect that government will attend to them for us.—Malthus.

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