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WHOLE NO. 364.

Scorn's Failure.

I question if Scorn ever made
A bad man good, 'tis an ill wind
That blights, like vengeance, or like shade,
The seed of Love within his mind.
A child who knows not good or ill
Will touch a monster with good-will.
All evil here is lack of head,
An erring search for happiness;
Love turned within on self is dead;
Given to the world it lives to bless.

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

What are Governments? Is it Possible to Exist without Government?

The cause of the miserable condition of the workers is slavery. The cause of slavery is legislation. Legislation rests on organized violence.

It follows that an improvement in the condition of the people is possible only thru the abolition of organized violence.

"But organized violence is government, and how can we live without government? Without government there will be chaos, Anarchy; all the achievements of civilization will perish, and people will revert to their primitive barbarism."

It is usual not only for those to whom the existing order is profitable, but even for those to whom it is evidently unprofitable, but who are so accustomed to it they cannot imagine life without governmental violence, to say we must not dare to touch the existing order of things. The destruction of government will, say they, produce the greatest misfortunes—riot, theft, and murder—till finally the worst men will again seize power and enslave all the good people.

But not to mention the fact that all—that is, riots, thefts, and murders, followed by the rule of the wicked and the enslavement of the good—all this is what has happened and is happening; the anticipation that the disturbance of the existing order will produce riots and disorder does not prove the present order to be good.

"Only touch the present order and the greatest evils will follow."

Only touch one brick of the thousand bricks piled into a narrow column several yards high and all the bricks will tumble down and smash! But the fact that any brick extracted or any push administered will destroy such a column and smash the bricks certainly does not prove it to be wise to keep the bricks in such an unnatural and inconvenient position. On the contrary, it shows that bricks should not be piled in such a column, but that they should be re-

arranged so that they lie firmly, and so that they can be made use of without destroying the whole erection.

It is the same with the present State organizations. The State organization is extremely artificial and unstable, and the fact that the least push may destroy it not only does not prove that it is necessary, but, on the contrary, shows that, if once upon a time it was necessary it is now absolutely unnecessary, and is, therefore, harmful and dangerous.

It is harmful and dangerous because the effect of this organization on all the evil that exists in society is not to lessen and correct, but rather to strengthen and confirm that evil. It is strengthened and confirmed by being either justified and put in attractive forms or secreted.

All that well-being of the people which we see in so-called well-governed States, ruled by violence, is but an appearance—a fiction. Everything that would disturb the external appearance of well-being—all the hungry people, the sick, the revoltingly vicious—are all hidden away where they cannot be seen. But the fact that we do not see them does not show that they do not exist; on the contrary, the more they are hidden the more there will be of them, and the more cruel towards them will those be who are the cause of their condition. It is true that every interruption, and yet more, every stoppage of governmental action—that is, of organized violence—disturb this external appearance of well-being in our life, but such disturbance does not produce disorder, but merely displays what was hidden, and makes possible its amendment.

Until now, say till almost the end of the nineteenth century, people thought and believed that they could not live without governments. But life flows onward, and the conditions of life and people's views change. And notwithstanding the efforts of governments to keep people in that childish condition in which an injured man feels as if it were better for him to have someone to complain to, people, especially the laboring people, both in Europe and in Russia, are more and more emerging from childhood and beginning to understand the true conditions of their life.

"You tell us but that for you we should be conquered by neighboring nations—by the Chinese or the Japanese—" men of the people now say, "but we read the papers, and know that no one is threatening to attack us, and that it is only you who govern

us who, for some aims, unintelligible to us, exasperate each other, and then, under pretense of defending your own people, ruin us with taxes for the maintenance of the fleet, for armaments, or for strategical railways, which are only required to gratify your ambition and vanity; and then you arrange wars with one another, as you have now done against the peaceful Chinese. You say that you defend landed property for our advantage; but your defense has this effect—that all the land either has passed or is passing into the control of rich banking companies, which do not work, while we, the immense majority of the people, are being deprived of land and left in the power of those who do not labor. You with your laws of landed property do not defend landed property, but take it from those who work it. You say you secure to each man the produce of his labor, but you do just the reverse; all those who produce articles of value are, thanks to your pseudo-protection, placed in such a position that they not only never receive the value of their labor, but are all their lives long in complete subjection to and in the power of non-workers."

Thus do people, at the end of the century, begin to understand and to speak. And this awakening from the lethargy in which governments have kept them is going on in some rapidly increasing ratio. Within the last five or six years the public opinion of the common folk, not only in the towns, but in the villages, and not only in Europe, but also among us in Russia, has altered amazingly.

It is said that without governments we should not have those institutions, enlightening, educational and public, that are needful for all.

But why should we suppose this? Why think that non-official people could not arrange their life themselves as well as government people arrange it, not for themselves, but for others?

We see, on the contrary, that in the most diverse matters people in our times arrange their own lives incomparably better than those who govern them arrange for them. Without the least help from government, and often in spite of the interference of government, people organize all sorts of social undertakings—workmen's unions, cooperative societies, railway companies, *artéls*, and syndicates. If collections for public

* The *artél* in its most usual form is an association of workmen, or employees, for each of whom the *artél* is collectively responsible.—Trans.

works are needed, why should we suppose that free people could not without violence voluntarily collect the necessary means, and carry out all that is carried out by means of taxes, if only the undertakings in question are really useful for everybody? Why suppose that there cannot be tribunals without violence? Trial by people trusted by the disputants has always existed and will always exist, and needs no violence. We are so depraved by long-continued slavery that we can hardly imagine administration without violence. And yet, again, that is not true: Russian communes migrating to distant regions, where our government leaves them alone, arrange their own taxation, administration, tribunals, and police, and always prosper until government violence interferes with their administration. And in the same way, there is no reason to suppose that people could not, by common consent, decide how the land is to be apportioned for use.

I have known people—Cossacks of the Ural—who have lived without acknowledging private property in land. And there was such prosperity and order in their commune as does not exist in society, where landed property is defended by violence. And I now know communes that live without acknowledging the right of individuals to private property.

Within my recollection the whole Russian peasantry did not accept the idea of landed property.*

The defense of landed property by governmental violence not merely does not abolish the struggle for landed property, but, on the contrary, strengthens that struggle, and in many cases causes it.

Were it not for the defense of landed property, and its consequent rise in price, people would not be crowded into such narrow spaces, but would scatter over the free land, of which there is still so much in the world. But as it is, a continual struggle goes on for landed property; a struggle with the weapons government furnishes by means of its laws of landed property. And in this struggle it is not those who work on the land, but always those who take part in governmental violence, that have the advantage.

It is the same with reference to things produced by labor. Things really produced by a man's own labor, and that he needs, are always defended by custom, by public opinion, by feelings of justice and reciprocity, and they do not need to be protected by violence.

Tens of thousands of acres of forest-lands belonging to one proprietor, while thousands of people close by have no fuel, need protection by violence. So, too, do factories and works where several generations of workmen have been defrauded, are still being defrauded. Yet more do hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain, belonging to one owner, who has held them back till a fam-

* Serfdom was legalized about 1597 by Boris Godunoff, who forbade the peasants to leave the land on which they were settled. The peasant's theory of the matter was that they belonged to the proprietor, but the land belonged to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours," was a common saying among them till their emancipation under Alexander II, when many of them felt themselves defrauded by the arrangement which gave half the land to the proprietors.—Trans.

ine has come, to sell them at triple price. But no man, however depraved, except a rich man or a government official, would take from a countryman living by his own labor the harvest he has raised or the cow he has bred, and from which he gets milk for his children, or the *sokhas*,* the scythes, and the spades he has made and uses. If even a man were found who did take from another articles the latter had made and required, such a man would rouse against himself such indignation from every one living in similar circumstances that he would hardly find his action profitable for himself. A man so immoral as to do it under such circumstances would be sure to do it under the strictest system of property defense by violence. It is generally said, "Only attempt to abolish the rights of property in land and in produce of labor, and no one will take the trouble to work, lacking the assurance that he will not be deprived of what he has produced." We should say just the opposite: the defense by violence of the rights of property immorally obtained, which is now customary, if it has not quite destroyed, has considerably weakened people's natural consciousness of justice in the matter of using articles—that is, the natural and innate right of property—without which humanity could not exist, and which has always existed and still exists among all men.

And, therefore, there is no reason to anticipate that people will not be able to arrange their lives without organized violence.

Of course, it may be said that horses and bulls must be guided by the violence of rational beings—men; but why must men be guided, not by some higher beings, but by people such as themselves? Why ought people to be subject to the violence of just those people who are in power at a given time? What proves that these people are wiser than those on whom they inflict violence?

The fact that they allow themselves to use violence toward human beings indicates that they are not only not more wise, but are less wise than those who submit to them. The examinations in China for the office of mandarin do not, we know, ensure that the wisest and best people should be placed in power. And just as little is this ensured by inheritance, or the whole machinery of promotions in rank, or the elections in constitutional countries. On the contrary, power is always seized by those who are less conscientious and less moral.

It is said, "How can people live without governments—that is, without violence?" But it should, on the contrary, be asked, "How can people who are rational live, acknowledging that the vital bond of their social life is violence, and not reasonable agreement?"

One of two things—either people are rational or irrational beings. If they are irrational beings, then they are all irrational, and then everything among them is decided by violence; and there is no reason why certain people should and others should not have a right to use violence. And in that case governmental violence has no justification. But if men are rational beings, then

* The *sokha* is a light plough, such as the Russian peasants make and use.—Trans.

their relations should be based on reason, and not on the violence of those who happen to have seized power; and, therefore, in that case, again, governmental violence has no justification.—From "The Slavery of Our Times," by Leo Tolstoy. (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.)

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P. Kropotkin and C. Pobiedonostseff.

In the *North American Review* of September, 1901, there appeared an article by Pobiedonostseff, entitled "Russia and Popular Education, a Reply to Prince Kropotkin." In the article Pobiedonostseff admits that "historically considered this system (of administering the universities and schools in Russia) reveals a whole series of mistakes and wrong measures for which the government is responsible." But Russia, he says, must be considered as a "world" apart, and must not be judged by the criterion of the more advanced Western countries.

"The password 'liberty,'" says Pobiedonostseff further, "is not a talisman capable of opening all secrets and solving all the questions of human existence." It may have been true, he says, of the schools of the times of Kropotkin's living in Russia, but since then, education has kept on progressing steadily. Kropotkin is biased, ignorant of the true facts of the question at issue, Pobiedonostseff avers, and then, in the next breath, tries to hunt around for excuses and reasons why Russia is so much behind the West in her popular education, and says:

"The population is very much scattered; there are no roads, and the people live on the steppes, in the woods, in the marshes. Their dwellings are sometimes separated by five to eight hundred versts of uncultivated and impassable country; and the inhabitants themselves, without culture, here and there even barbarous, gain a scanty living, far from all means of communication and the necessities for industry and commerce. Is it possible for human power to supply all these spots and out of the way places with regular schools and masters? And yet they contain human souls and Russian subjects. Happily, even in the least cultivated regions, churches are to be found.

"The main thing in these regions," says the holy procurator, "is not that of beginning at once to instruct in the sciences, but that of cultivating in the people's minds notions of what is right and wrong, just and unjust, true and false, teaching them the principles of the gospel, spiritual truth, the alphabet and writing."

And thus the Holy Synod and the drunken *gorodovoy* (policeman) are looking out for these things, of course. They provide the *moujik* with those lofty principles of right and wrong, just and unjust, true and false, spiritual truth, etc. They are taking care of the souls of the poor sinners.

The village clergy is not incapable, says Pobiedonostseff. All that may have been in Kropotkin's time, but it is all different today. Everything bad about the czar is false, mere gossip and invention. The emperor had nothing to do with the decree concerning the military service of students guilty of disturbances in the universities. All he does is to confirm and sign the decisions and decrees of the various executive councils and ministers.

But now read this remarkable sophism of our great statesman:

"What is unfortunately true is, that the measure in question (the sending of students into the army) was applied at once to one hundred and eighty students, which gave it a peculiarly vigorous character; whereas the law was meant to apply only to a few exceptional cases."

"Kropotkin's article," he continues, "furnishes another striking example of the monstrous lies spread abroad by the press concerning the internal condition of Russia, as also Kropotkin's complete ignorance of the country to which he formerly belonged."

He "soaks" Kropotkin heavily for proposing for the happiness and welfare of Russia "the ever-recurring nostrum of professional politicians, 'the constitution,' 'the chamber of representatives,' and 'the power of the majority.' Being an Anarchist he chooses what in reality would be the surest means of bringing about Anarchy in the country he has abjured. He says that, to speak plainly, Russia has outgrown the autocratic form of government. But, even if we were to admit the truth of this, God forbid we should seek for the amelioration of this form of government in the remedy proposed by Kropotkin. If it were attempted, all Russia would rise against this worst of tyrannies, *tyranny in the mass*. He ought to know that today almost everywhere in Europe we may say, the various States have outgrown the *representative form* of government, and that everywhere serious minds are protesting against the tyranny of parliamentary majorities at once incapable and turbulent. There is plenty of solid literature on the subject; for example, in America, Godkin's book on "The Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy." France, Austria, Germany, Italy all feel themselves powerless to make headway with their badly working representation and their parliamentary machinery."

Of course we all heartily endorse these last sentiments of the procrator. All Anarchists will agree with him that tyranny in mass is bad, that the majority ruling and the representative sham are played out; they have been weighed in the balance for the last hundred years and found wanting. But does Pobiedonosteff think that the constitutional countries are on the point of being Russified? Does not this Jesuitic bigot manifest too much hypocrisy when he pretends not to conceive that the world is moving toward less ruling and more liberty? That we are not about to be converted to Russian autocracy and inquisitorial fanaticism?

In the *North American Review* of April, 1902, Kropotkin replies to Pobiedonosteff's criticism, and I shall review the same in a later issue of FREE SOCIETY.

MICHAEL COHN.

Echoes from Europe.

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a liberal bourgeois daily in Germany, we find the following interesting report from Geneva, Switzerland:

"Wind and rain have marred this year's May Day parade considerably, especially as far as the participation of children was concerned, for which arrangements had been

made by the Chamber of Labor. The day was suitable for this novelty because Thursday is a half holiday for all schools in Geneva; but the weather was unfavorable and so only about a hundred children marched at the head of the parade. Besides, the parade had to pass over a distance of about three quarters of an hour. This is the distance from the gathering place, the national monument, to Carouge—the place of the festivity.

"The most striking feature of the arrangement was the union of all otherwise antagonistic groups. The parliamentarians, the trades unions, and the Anarchists walked side by side in the parade. Leaflets were distributed, pamphlets and papers sold without offense to the opponents. Such is hardly the case in any other city. Here it is due to the fact that all the three factions are of about equal strength. A new phenomenon in the parade were the Zionites, mostly Russian-Polish female students. They also carried a red flag with the inscription in golden letters: *Droits des peuples, droits la science, droits au travail!* Very numerous were the Russian, French, and Italian students. Also members of the local Tolstoy colony were present in greater numbers. There were about thirty banners, among them the historical banner—originated in 1864—of the International Workingmen's Association, which association has played such prominent part in the international labor movement. The speakers were outsiders. For the evening two banquets had been arranged—one by the Germans and the other by the French and Italians, the two latter being mostly Anarchists.

"How strong the Anarchists are in Geneva is difficult to ascertain, for their mode of organization is such that repudiates recorded membership. They associate in voluntary groups, of which there are six here. The most active, altho not the strongest, is the *Groupe du Réveil socialiste-anarchiste*, which publishes both of the Anarchist papers, *Le Réveil* and *Il Risveglio*. Besides Bertoni, who has become known thru the recent Swiss-Italian diplomatic incident, this group embraces the whole editorial and managing staff of both periodicals. Their main activity consists in the written and verbal propaganda, which they carry into all domains. The other groups specialize their efforts more or less as their names indicate. The *Groupe d'art social* mainly endeavors to cultivate arts, while the *Groupe l'emancipation sociale* battles for economical freedom and is very active in the trades unions. The *Groupe anti-militaire* consists mostly of adherents of Tolstoy. In aiding and defending persecuted comrades as well as battling for the freedom of thought the *Groups pour la défense de liberté d'opinion* is very active, while the student's *Groups des étudiants révolutionnaires* seeks to extend its activity everywhere.

"The associations are thoroly free. One comes and goes at pleasure. There are no duties imposed upon the participants. As their are no 'members' there are also no lists, which would indicate the strength of the separate groups. But we will not be mistaken to suppose that of the 2000 subscribers of the *Reveil* half of them are in Geneva.

"After Sebastian Faure, who delivered here

three lectures in February, comes on May 29 the almost eighty years old Louise Michel with Janvion, editor of *Aurore* in Paris, to deliver a lecture here, on the subject, 'The History of Thought in its Historic Development.' This might be the next sensation in Geneva, for the non-Anarchists also frequent these meetings very numerously. Sebastian Faure always spoke before thousands of listeners. One of his lectures, 'Les crimes de Dieu' (the crimes of God), even today yet occupies the minds of our population.

"After at the lecture some ministers have argued against Faure—which is not a rare case here—a pastor from Lyon will speak tomorrow on 'The Atheistic Propaganda'—a reply to Sebastian Faure."

Observations.

The newest in the line of trades unionism is that a union man can scab the members—and all he needs to do is to pay the reinstatement fee of \$10, and he again becomes a member in good standing. Just like the Catholic monks in the Middle Ages, who sold absolution (*Ablass-Scheine*) all over Germany to every sinner who wanted to buy, and sometimes in advance, that is before the sin was committed. But don't be impatient, the unions are still progressing, and it won't be long and they will sell them in advance too.

According to recent reports from Europe, the Socialist party of Germany, which with a good many other reformers and even some Anarchists, call the general strike a general nonsense, have contributed 10,000 marks to support this general nonsense.

The spirit of rebellion which was expressed by the Belgian workingmen will be fully appreciated by every impartial social student. But the cowardice and the traitor policy which was impersonated by the leader of the Socialist party could only be defended by a man of the same caliber. I wonder if the American Socialists, who always point out Europe to us when they speak of getting somebody into the House of Representatives, and tell us that they could do better because this country is nevertheless more "free" than any other, will not betray the working people a little more.

But then the retreat of the Socialist leader in Belgium was for the good of the poor working people. Who says no? I bet it is an Anarchist!

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

A Protest.

I want briefly to protest against the report in FREE SOCIETY of May 18 headed "Anarchy in New York" by J. F. A good many comrades in New York feel that it is a most biased report; and one that does not do credit to the circumstances of the case. I will pass over the fact that J. F. is guilty of gross egoism in his reference to his own speech; but I think that his reference to MacQueen's speech is entirely uncalled for and is calculated to breed bad blood. MacQueen's speech was not a "harangue"—on the contrary he had the support of almost every person in the vast crowd in in what was really a very logical attack upon government and its methods. It is not worth while to pursue the matter further, but I would like to suggest to J. F. that he has acted very uncomradely and has given a report false even the capitalist press has descended to.

New York.

ELISE SANTORO.

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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.

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

Sunday, June 1, 12 p. m., the 25th anniversary of our valiant German contemporary, the *Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*, will be celebrated at Ogden Grove. As it is the only daily of this city which has always stood for the workers in their battle against exploitation and oppression, it has thousands of friends among the toilers, and the celebration will undoubtedly be a grand affair. Tickets bought in advance, 15 cents; at the entrance, 25 cents. Tickets can be had at this office.

The pamphlet "Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchy," which is so unpalatable to the New York police authorities, can be obtained of R. Fritz, 267 Madison St., New York, N. Y. Single copies 3 cents; in lots of 25 or more one half cent a copy.

Comrade Morton is engaged in collecting material on Comstockism, with the intention of preparing a book on the subject. Anyone possessing data on this subject can aid him by sending the information. Address him at Home, Wash.

Splinters.

A puny, sickly boy, weak in body and in mind, has been set upon the throne of Spain to represent the kingdom. Although personally he is of no account, he may still become historically interesting on account of some experiences he is perhaps destined to share, as for instance like Louis XVI. The kingdom of Spain, for centuries domineering and oppressing, at home and abroad, seems at last approaching the vortex of bankruptcy, where all insolvent institutions are called upon for an accounting. "Great," says Carlyle, "is bankruptcy: the great bottomless gulf into which all falsehoods, public and private, do sink, disappearing; whither, from the first origin of them, they were all

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doomed. For nature is true and not a lie. . . . Pity only that it often had so long a circulation: that the original forger were so seldom he who bore the final smart of it!"

It is said that the noted Italian brigand Musolino will be elected to the Chamber of Deputies. He is extremely popular, and this will exempt him from further prosecutions. The Italian Chamber bids fair to become at least humorously interesting.

The coal miners of Pennsylvania are again on strike for better conditions. They demand the eight hour day, a small increase in pay, fair weighing, and recognition of the union. These are modest expectations indeed. Yet the operators would not even listen to them. It is to be earnestly hoped that the miners will win all of their demands, but it can hardly be hoped for, considering some of the stupid follies they commit.

The only way to settle the coal miners' troubles permanently is for the miners to take possession of the mines, and operate them for their own benefit. The earth belongs to its inhabitants equally; and only the most monstrous absurdity recognizes the title of a few monopolists to all the coal mines. All natural utilities should be as free as the ocean; and until this shall be so all "settlement" of labor troubles will be mere makeshifts. But in the present state of sentiment, it is useless to expect any body of workers to act in this rational manner.

What, then, can the miners do to gain their demands? All means conducive to this end should be employed. Tales of filthy hovels which the miners are compelled to inhabit, of the frequent injuries which they sustain, of the bad conditions under which they work, etc., all these will not effect the operators. The only way to reach them is thru their pockets, and that is the place to strike them at. Now it has long been the policy of the United Mine Workers Union to protect the property of the mine owners, by allowing members of their unions to take care of the mines during a strike, preventing them from being flooded, etc. Considering this fact the operators may well smile at strikes. With large supplies on hand, all they need to do is to raise the price of coal and wait. They do not suffer at all.

But suppose the miners withdrew all their men from the mines at once. Suppose they did not give the operators long months of time to lay up supplies; suppose they let the mines flood and the property be ruined thru want of care. The demeanor of the operators would then undergo a sudden change. While workers may die and children starve, profits must not cease. Then the miners could not only gain two hours less slavery a day; but also what is more important: to realize that labor alone is essential in production. "Capital," Wall street capital, is entirely superfluous.

The *Labor Clarion* of San Francisco contains the information that the postal offi-

cials there allowed the railway company the use of the mails against the union men. Evidence is furnished of one case where a letter was allowed to be photographed for the handwriting of the address. This is one more feather for the postoffice!

A lassie in a university at Cincinnati had herself billed to speak on "Education as a Cure for Anarchy." Seeing the announcement in a newspaper, a comrade sent the young woman some literature and a polite letter. On learning the small package was from an Anarchist, she feared to open it, and called in a detective to do so! He found the pamphlets free from dynamite. And such ignorance presumes to prescribe "education as a cure for Anarchy"! We need a little more Anarchism as a cure for "education"—university education. JR.

Current Comment.

At last we have an official solution of the industrial problem. It is made by an official of the department of agriculture, Washington, D. C. This profound economist, in discussing the meat trust, revealed the whole of this vexed problem. He says that the whole trouble is that *the people eat too much!* There you have it at last. Why didn't we think of it before? The discontented working people who clamor for better wages and a more equitable organization of the industrial system have entirely overlooked the cause of their distressed condition. They simply been eating too much. The full dinner pail is a snare and a delusion. If the people will only stop the wasteful luxury of eating, all will be well. This is official.

The readiness with which the world came to the relief of the far-away people of fire-swept Martinique, again demonstrates the feeling of solidarity and common brotherhood which lies latent in humanity, and which forms one of those natural traits or instincts which even our false civilization of commercial greed has not eradicated. Upon this great fact is based the Socialist-Anarchist philosophy, which asserts with certainty that an intelligent comprehension of humanity's common welfare alone is sufficient to guard the interests of all against those encroachments which the advocates of the existing order say will ever be an unavoidable evil of human society. Humanity only needs to be educated to trust itself. And the Anarchists and Socialists alone are doing this work of education.

The great Tolstoy showed his greatness a few weeks ago by addressing the czar, in a personal letter, as "my brother." After all, we truly are all brothers, but I cannot affirm truthfully that I am really proud of some of my family relations,—my brother Teddy, the Rough Rider, for example.

It is asserted that Andrew Carnegie proposed to President McKinley to repay the \$20,000,000 which this government gave Spain for the Philippine Islands, on condition that the Filipinos be given their independence. I do not know whether this be true

or not, but it has all the ear-marks of falsehood. If Carnegie really wanted to free anybody, he might have done something of that kind for the wage slaves whose stolen wealth this sham philanthropist is giving away as tho it really belonged to himself. My candid judgment is that Carnegie is a humbug and hypocrite.

It is quite plain that the leaders of the Church are at sea as to what attitude to assume towards Socialism. They begin to dimly perceive that the world is lining up upon the great social and industrial problems, and that the Church soon will be compelled to take side one way or the other. But what side?—that's the question. On the one hand is wealth, fashionable, proud, arrogant. To antagonize wealth means the loss of those millions which hypocrisy pours into the greedy palms of the Church. But Socialism (in its broader, truer sense) is taking hold upon the masses, and it is becoming strong enough to deal the Church some hard blows. So the old harlot, caught thus between the devil of plutocracy and the deep sea of Socialism, has taken her bedraggled skirts in both hands and climbed the fence pending the uncertainty of the feline's movement. In other words, the Church, as usual, is waiting to see which way the cat jumps before she climbs into the band-wagon of the successful party and grabs everything in sight. The Church has worked this racket so often before that it is time her sins were being found out.

Miss Stone, the missionary who proved such a comfort to the Bulgarian brigands, states that she owes her release entirely to God. Those good souls who put up the hard cash to pay her ransom are thus ignored, while God, who, so far as I know, never clipped in a solitary nickel, gets the honor and the thanks. 'Twas about always thus. But if this Stone really believes herself indebted to God for her release, why does she not lay some of the blame for her captivity upon him also? These orthodox people are sad logicians. Every event supposed to be beneficial to mankind, individually or collectively, is credited to God, but when something unpleasant happens, they ransack the universe of ingenuity to prove an alibi. This is perfectly absurd. If God's hand is controlling human destiny, he alone is responsible for both the good and the bad. Let the orthodox religionists stand up and admit that their personal, three-headed deity is to blame for the bad as well as the good, or else give up the man-god delusion. R. W.

Certain Comments.

The present management of the postoffice is a fine example of the inner workings of public ownership. A careful study of Maddenism ought to teach even State Socialists that the economic question is not everything. It is true that the "scientific" Marxians will retort that the postoffice is not an example of real Socialism, but of capitalist public ownership. And with that, they will claim to have settled the question. But is the evasion satisfactory?

Maddenism is simply a phase of the arrogance of power. That this power is at pres-

ent wielded by an economic class, does not make the difference that Socialists seem to think. If Madden were the agent of any other element, the principle would be the same. Where there is rulership, there must be a division of society into classes, but this need not be an economic division. The attempt to suppress free speech is the old device of the party in power, which seeks to perpetuate itself. It matters not what interest this party represents, or whether its central aim is material advantage, social position, or the satisfaction of religious fanaticism. The overthrow of capitalism is but one element in the struggle for liberty. The Blue Laws of New England were not an outgrowth of a struggle between economic classes.

Anarchism is the least levelling of all doctrines. It recognizes the enormous differences in human nature. No two persons are exactly alike, in features or in mental attributes. And the higher the development of the race, the greater the heterogeneity. Each nature, when given free course, seeks to express itself in its own way. In social life, the constant intermingling and self-assertion of the different individuals cause standards of comparison to arise; and each aims at a certain superiority. In a free society, there can be no harm in this, as recognized superiority in any direction will win only the voluntary tribute of appreciation and respect. The man who displays the most desirable qualities will attract others to him, and will thus have the most friends. Naturally this will make his life more pleasant than that of the disagreeable man who is not regarded in so favorable a light. But the latter is not trampled on in any way. He is not placed at any disadvantage in comparison with others.

In a governed society, the case is entirely different. As all cannot exercise rule simultaneously, all governments, including the dreamed-of cooperative commonwealth, essentially involve the control of some by others. Whether the ruling power be an individual, a fixed patrician, priestly or economic class, or a shifting majority, the principle remains the same; and the consequences will be identical in kind, if not in degree. If the economic factor be eliminated, its place will be quickly supplied by other motives for establishing an arbitrary uniformity. As men are not alike, there will always be an advanced minority, whose opinion will be looked on with suspicion by the majority. Under freedom, this will cause no friction, since the minority will go their own way, try their experiments, and leave them to be judged by the results. But a government—even a Socialist government—will always put obstacles in the way of new ideas, which disturb the current routine. Religious, moral or social prejudices are offended; and instantly all officialdom is in arms against the innovator. An excuse is always found for summary proceeding; and a majority is just as wanton in its abuse of power as an individual or a class—perhaps more so, since its power is more firmly established.

Let it, therefore, be granted that the present postoffice is a capitalist, and not a Socialist institution. It remains true, none the less, that Maddenism is the expression of

the governmental spirit, and not simply of capitalism. Authoritarian Socialism furnishes absolutely no guarantee against similar manifestation of power; and the total indifference of its chief organs to the principle of free speech offers little ground for hope. The Anarchist position remains the only tenable one.

It will be a few weeks before we can learn definitely just what to expect, as a result of our efforts to secure the restoration of the Home postoffice. Meanwhile, the community is thriving as well as ever; and there is no thought of discouragement. The Waisbrooker-Penhallow trial is our main anxiety, owing to the small amount yet in the defense fund. Surely the friends of liberty do not intend to desert these two women, and the principle they represent, in the hour of greatest need. Delays are dangerous, in a case like this. All who wish to help are requested to send contributions *at once* to Oliver A. Verity, Home, Wash.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

A Woman.

Nature had been kind in bestowing her gifts on her; beauty, goodness, strength, will and energy, she possessed all these in the highest degree. She might have been happy, she chose instead to embrace and devote herself to the "cause" which spreads fear among cowards and government.

Life had just commenced to smile on her, when the Italian war of Independence broke out.

Three of her brothers took up arms to deliver their enslaved motherland.

She had already been asked in marriage, but refused. "I cannot think of marriage," said she, "while my brothers are risking their lives on the battlefield." And she valiantly remained at home to take care of her mother, her father, and her fourth brother who was blind.

She preferred celibacy to a rich marriage, poverty to luxury, solitude to the empty noise of society, suffering to the joys which so often prove false in life.

She worked to help her parents, nor ever forgot her brother who was imprisoned and persecuted. She buried her old parents and became the "Antigone" to her blind brother, to whom she was as a mother all her life.

Her love for her brothers, the supervision of their correspondence, their trial, and the many incidents of their lives, became her only care; she embraced their principles with enthusiasm, and became a Socialist after she had dispersed every vestige of belief in a religion she had learned to abhor.

Monarchy could not strike her directly: it took revenge on her remaining brother by throwing him into its prison cells.

She found herself thus alone between the prisons which enclosed her beloved brothers. Known as an Atheist, a Socialist, a revolutionist, government spies forced their way into her house on every occasion, searched everywhere, upset, smashed everything, in the hope of finding compromising papers—which she knew better than to keep.

To terrify and force her into submission, these ignoble searches were, thruout forty years, carried out during night-time. Al on

well, she was made to get up; they shook her bedding, knocked about her furniture, in order to search for correspondence from her persecuted brothers.

All this only added fuel to her hatred against monarchy, the priests and the bourgeoisie, and increased her attachment to the social cause.

Her home, once filled with a numerous and happy family, had been depopulated by death and persecution. A lonely woman, she calmly withstood the implacable enmity of the monarchy's secret spies, who respect neither virtue nor honesty, nor sorrow, nor illness, nor death.

But this strong-hearted woman gave way to nothing, bent low before no one; neither the ferocious persecutions directed against and which reflected upon her, nor the misery, nor the solitude, nor even death itself, drew a complaint or a tear from her brave soul.

She did cry, however, but with joy; it was on the day when she embraced her brother after an absence of thirty years spent in battle, in prison, in exile. They had parted as children, they met when old.

In her youth—and even in her last days—her dream was to fight and die for the social cause side by side with her brothers.

But her brothers will not have the consolation of seeing her a standard-bearer in the great fight which is preparing everywhere!

On December 12 of this sad year now drawing to a close, she died.

She died smiling and tranquil, for her blind brother had been by her side day and night.

The Romagnol Socialists, who adored her, gave her a funeral worthy of her virtues, her strength, her courage, and her Socialist convictions, which she retained to her last breath.

Her name was Amelia Cipriani.

She was my sister.—Amilcare Cipriani.

— o —

A Resignation.

Rev. Wm. Thurston Brown, of Plymouth Church and Society, Rochester, N.Y., recently resigned his pastorate. From an excellent letter of resignation, the following remarks are taken. After expressing his appreciation of the cordial support received, he says:

"But several circumstances make it imperative that I not only resign as your minister, but also that I decline to again become a servant of the Church.

"During my four years here I have been, as you know, under a somewhat severe nervous strain. No blame therefore attaches to anyone. As a public teacher I have acted and spoken only in obedience to the compulsion of conscience and conviction, and I have no regrets for the course I have taken in that respect. As a self-respecting man I had no choice but to give utterance to my honest convictions. No other course seems to me to be honorable for the individual or safe for the community. . . .

"Moreover, I am unwilling any longer to permit the financial sacrifices which the maintenance of Plymouth Church under my ministry entails. . . .

"When I made choice of what is called 'the Christian ministry,' it was not because I felt that men and women were in danger of a future hell, but because I was convinced that the chief end of human life was the es-

tablishment of the kingdom of heaven or happiness on the earth; and it seemed to me then that the Church was the most natural and suitable agency for that purpose. I assumed that an institution that took Jesus as its head could have no other aim.

"Of course, I discovered my mistake. I found not only that the Church as an institution nowhere contemplates any such program, but that it does not possess in its equipment, whether material or intellectual, any of the agencies that can realize such a result. I heard much talk of the 'brotherhood of man' and the 'fatherhood of God,' but I saw that these phrases meant nothing and were taken to mean nothing in men's social and industrial relations.

"At first, like many another clergyman, my mind dulled and stupefied by the teachings I had received, I was inclined to blame individuals for those social conditions which make all our talk of 'brotherhood' and 'fatherhood' a species of hypocrisy that completely discounts anything the 'scribes and Pharisees' of Palestine could show. But I have discovered my error and am convinced that men of all classes are about as good as their environment will permit them to be. And I understand that men's social and industrial relations are determined by forces over which either religion or the Church has no more influence than they have over the motions of the planets.

"Accepting the ideas of origin and development as enunciated by Darwin and others, my whole thought of social problems and personal duty has radically changed. To my mind, the whole philosophy of religious and so-called philanthropic activity is mistaken, and the Church and charitable institutions are simply manifestations of misdirected energy.

"My hope of moral progress lies in the direction of enlightenment and of the development of such a sense of personal and class interests as will make the people the masters of their own destiny. I have long ceased to believe that any outside being or force is going to help men in either their personal or social life. The forces which are to solve our problems and bring us emancipation from all kinds of slavery are within and about ourselves. Believing thus, I look forward with hope to the advent of industrial democracy as giving promise of a larger freedom and a better life for all.

"But the most imperative reason for the action which I take relates to the question of personal morality. No man can continue to think worthily who does not square his deeds with his words. We can know only in proportion as we do. A man's life is his creed, and if his personal action does not reflect the ethics of his teaching or his convictions, he is bound soon or late to crystallize into a hypocrite. In our modern world, conformity has taken the place of morality. We are not free souls—we are only monotonous reflections of customs based on economic slavery.

"For my part, if I am to retain my own self-respect, I must at least make the attempt to gain freedom. I must at least make a break for it. In my judgment, the world can have no severer judge, no holier mesiah, than freedom. And by freedom I mean

the absence of all formal coercion. Only in the light of freedom can we really know ourselves or the world we live in. Only in freedom can life find fulfilment. If we have any sacred bequest from the past, it is that of freedom of conscience and the heroism consequent thereupon. For its sake the Pilgrims came to Plymouth—the rock, not the Church. For its sake the Catholics came to Maryland, the Quakers to Pennsylvania, the Huguenots to Georgia. For its sake it is possible that men and women will in the future do likewise.

"I cannot let you be responsible for me in any way. My conscience requires me to assert my freedom, to express myself. I wish no being any harm. I want everyone to be free and happy. I want justice and liberty. If I must choose between an exploiter and being exploited, I choose the latter."

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The Free Speech League.

Dr. Conway's letter to the Free Speech League is a truthful setting forth of the tyranny which has come upon our country in the past few years. Our officials have become little despots, tin gods of officialdom, and seem to hold themselves responsible to no one. Our army is being used to oppress a whole people who desire to be free; our postoffice has become a censorship bureau; our police are the oppressors of the friendless, and at the same time as corrupt in their own morals as any thief they ever sent to jail. Free speech is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. As Mr. Conway says, the country has gone steadily backward in love of liberty, justice, and peace.

The acts of our government in the past few years have shown the danger of the imperialistic spirit. The war against the Filipinos is as unrighteous as England's war against the Boers. It is a war of conquest to extend trade. The postoffice censorship established by Mr. Madden, the third assistant postmaster general, is illegal, unconstitutional, and oppressive. One Socialist paper has been driven to Canada because it was not edited as the postoffice officials thought it should be; an unorthodox "healer" in Florida has been characterized as fraudulent, while the Christian Scientists are undisturbed; the people of Home, Wash., have had their postoffice closed because of their published radicalism; four men in New York are under the harrow for "incendary" utterances, and a woman was recently sent to prison for trying to teach marital ethics. None of these people have harmed anyone; they have stolen nothing, committed no assault upon any person, injured no one in any way whatever. They are in the toils of the law because they were indiscreet, and exercised the right of free speech in a way to offend the officials of the State.—*The Truth Seeker*.

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Elements Revolt against Man's Outrages.

What a terrible holocaust in the island of Martinique! And yet it was but another wholesale murder to be charged to the god Mammon. Scientists have known for years that those little islands are but volcanic upheavals, as unsafe for habitation as the Dismal Swamp. But profit and plunder would send its slaves into the bowels of

Dante's Inferno to pillage, nor give a damn when the thing exploded and slaughtered a race. I sometimes also think nature herself is in deeper sympathy than philosophers dream of with that mysterious force called thought, and that, when the machinations of mankind torture victims as well exemplified by "our government's" savage acts in the Philippines, the mystic cord that connects man with the earth from which he sprang, that joins the mental to the material, vibrating with the shudders of murder and hate back to the hidden battery of creation, burst forth in awful response to human deeds of violence. Vesuvius trembled and vomited its molten rain when Caesar's government tortured and burned the followers of the gentle Jesus. Mount Pelee and La Soufriere, escape valves of the earth's fierce furnace in the western world, blew off their tops and rained destruction at a moment when the forces of hate are gendering murder again against the souls who "preach glad tidings to the poor" and would "set the captive free."

This may be foolish,—and yet it may be true. At any rate, it seems to me that the news from the "Christian" seat of war—the water torture, the butchering of Tagal infants, the murdering of Boer patriots, and the starving of their widows and children, alone is enough to cause the universe to consider the advisability of blowing itself up. And perchance the universe—mysterious, silent, and as yet unknown—thinks.

HARRY M. TICHENOR.

— o —

A Call.

For some years I have been trying to instigate thought in others thru agitation as well as to investigate and experiment for my own development. Unfortunately, or otherwise, I have been one of those reformers who have not made a living by it, good or bad, but have borne alone the opposition which has prevented financial success as I could. Why? Because when I have sought aid, my ideas have not appealed sufficiently to any class or ring to secure cooperation.

I believe I have developed in a tedious way some very grand ideas that are free enough to satisfy true Anarchists, yet I find they are considered practical by members of good business organizations. What I need is a band of self-reliant, firm, capable comrades to aid me in perfecting and introducing them practically to the public.

A long time ago, it seems, God made a piece of land for me, altho I am not certain that he put my initials on it, yet some good brothers at the county seat tell me I can have the enjoyment of it only so long as I pay tribute—a little less than \$16 a year—to the myth called government. To be sure, there are only thirty-six acres, but there are chances for more to be done on it than I can do. It is in many ways an ideal spot for a home. I have named it Wren's Nest, in the hope that many cheerful, industrious workers may like to share it with me while engaged in public benefits,—workers who will be glad to join me in efforts which I believe will be of lasting benefit to humanity. I have

* I cannot help reflecting, in that case Mount Pelee should have been situated some distance closer to Washington!

evolved a systematic plan, which I call the Order of the Red, White, and Blue, an original industrial society.

Briefly stated, the plan is to build internal improvements free for public use, thru voluntary cooperative efforts. The work will be welcomed and a monument to heroic endeavor.

Comrades, who will lend their heads and hearts and join hands for such experiment? Inquiries should be accompanied by stamp for reply. (Mrs.) E. W. CRUMB.

Harveyville, Kans.

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Announcement.

The numerous cooperative enterprises that have failed on account of their isolation, have taught us that, in view of the immensity of such an undertaking, all our forces must be united; and so far all the cooperators to whom we submitted our proposition look favorably upon it. The adhesion from this city and the country is already sufficient to start this new enterprise, but we deem it best to give it some publicity before we begin, and invite all comrades to join us.

Our plan is very simple. All dealers belonging to this association agree to work for a salary and give the net profits to their customers of whom they will keep a list of what they produce or possess. Those lists will be sent monthly to headquarters, which will classify the people and organize them for cooperative production.

A convention will be held at the beginning of each season, to nominate the officers and committees, discuss all vital questions, such as remuneration, hours of labor, price of goods, etc., to be submitted for adoption or rejection to all adults of the Federation.

Our first meeting will be held Monday, June 2, 8 p. m., at the Chicago Commons, cor. Morgan st. and Grand ave., where we will organize. All cooperators are invited to help us to make the undertaking a success.

Promoters: J. W. HUGHES.
CHARLES LEVY.

— o —

Medical.

If my last letter was correctly printed in FREE SOCIETY, Mr. C. L. James has exposed a solecism on my part, for if I wrote "anesthetics" I erred;—it should have been *anesthesia*.

I have no time to read over the letters I write, averaging more than hundred daily; nearly all in reply to persons requesting information with regard to the infamous vaccination laws and the murderous rite of vaccination.

Few of my correspondents are so dogmatic in their lack of knowledge as C. L. James. Most of them are seekers for truth; few, very few, except official doctors, keep themselves self-blinded.

What was good in Lister's work was his insisting upon cleanliness in all operations, whereof up till his time the general run of M. Ds. had been woefully heedless. His operations under such conditions of cleanliness were made possible by the use of anesthetics.

M. A. C.'s suggestion (see p. 5 of your issue of May 18) has been carried out. Verestchagin has immortalized part of the story of American infamy.—Its perfidy however is incapable of graphic expression.

In the *North American* of Philadelphia for May 11 rude copies of Verestchagin's works are to be seen. I hope the originals will be exhibited in this country.

They preserve forever the damning evidence of American brutality which good patriotic (?) Americans refused to believe when I told them of such and worse doings.

LEVERSON.

Brooklyn, 81 Lafayette Ave.

May 19, 1902, Year Two of the Empire.

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The Immigration Question.

"Ah' so th' meetin' if th' Plymouth Rock Assocation come to an end. But if ye wud like to get it together, Deacon Hinnissy, to discuss th' immygration question, I'll send out a hurry call f'r Schwartzmeister an' Mulcahey an' Ignacio Sharbaro an' Nels Larsen an' Petrus Gooldvink, an' w'll gather tonight at Fanneilnoviski Hall, at th' corner iv Sheridan an' Sigel sthreeets. All th' pilgrim fathers is reyquested f'r to bring interpreters."

"Well," said Mr. Hennessy, "divvle th' bit I care, on'y I'm here toorst, an' I ought to have th' right to keep th' bus fr'm bein' overcrowded."

"Well," said Mr. Dooley, "as a pilgrim father on me gran' nephew's side, I don't know but ye're right. An' they'se wan sure way to keep them out."

"What's that?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"Teach them all about our instichoochins before they come," said Mr. Dooley.—P. F. Dunne.

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Here and There.

The grand jury at New York has refused to indict Comrade MacQueen. This ends the case.

E. W. Chamberlain reports in *Lucifer* that Mrs. Ida C. Craddock whose case is known to our readers, has been brutally and forcibly vaccinated in the prison, as she objected to it and resisted.

The governors of Vilna and Kharkoff, Russia, who have been arguing with the students and peasants by flogging, had a narrow escape from being assassinated. In Saratoff people failed in the attempt to release eighty political prisoners, but in Shivel, in the Caucasus, a score of prisoners were liberated by their fellow workers.

In Paris, at the Pere Lachaise Cemetery, the police caused a riot by attempting to prevent the people from placing wreaths upon the tombs of the Communards, and sixty men were arrested.

The Anarchist Conference in Mannheim, Germany, has taken place. Police in disguise were present. Details will be published later.

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Home Defense Fund.

Previously reported, \$73.78. J. L. A., Alaska, C. R., Cal., Friends, Group Freiheit, Pa., each \$5. Dr. G. P., \$3. Mrs. L., Wash., \$2. J. T. N., Miss B. A., E. G. B., New York, Thru Lois Waisbrooker, A. D. W., Mass., each \$1. W. M., H. B. M., Wash., T. W. C., Mass., each \$0.05. Total to May 20, \$105.28. O. VERTY.

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ERRATA.—In the issue of May 18, p. 5, M. A. C.'s article, third line, read "heads" for "hands"; and third line from last, read "statue" for "statute."

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions to FREE SOCIETY.

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CHICAGO—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Av.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 4 Elwell St.
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FOR CHICAGO.

The Young Men's Club meets every Saturday evening, 8 p. m., 332 S. Morgan St., where subjects pertaining to the social problem are discussed. Friends of liberty are cordially invited.

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Oswald, Miller, Brinkerhoff, Kruse, Cicognani, each \$1. Severino, Arcangeli, Wittrock, Mueller, each 50c. Carra, 25c. Donations:—Robins, \$1. Appel, 50c.

JOHN M. CLARKE'S New Method Language Lessons. They include (if desired) Practical Mathematics and Elementary Natural Science. This method is a radical departure from usual routine. Personal interview desirable for anyone interested. Lessons at 777 Walnut St., Chicago.

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BY
PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known Anarchist and scientist, is one of the most important books of the Anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime, as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half-century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp.

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ANARCHISTS IN COURT
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ALTGELD'S REASONS FOR PARDONING
FELDEN, NEEBE, AND SCHWAB.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages.

Price 25 cents.

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History of the French Revolution.

— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

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