



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 369.

### Onward.

Onward! and ever towards the nameless goal:  
We must not idle in this pleasing shade,  
Nor sip too long the nectar of the glade,  
Lest ease intoxicate and cheat the soul.  
Onward! and ever eager in the quest:  
How little have we gone, and, lo, 'tis night!  
How far above and dim the destined height!  
Ah, Comrades, one more effort ere we rest.  
Yes, let us hasten ere it be too late;  
For life is slipping fast and soon we die:  
We have no time to sorrow or to sigh,  
And cry protest against a hapless fate;  
Nor waste our little strength in bootless hate  
The while the weighted moments hurry by.

—William Mountain.

### Origin and Creed of Anarchism.

[Readers of FREE SOCIETY will learn with pleasure that as the outcome of the universal agitation on the subject of Anarchism last fall, the Alumni Association of the Boys' Central High School of Philadelphia offered a gold medal for the best historical essay on "The Origin and Creed of Anarchy." The essays were to be of not more than 3000 words and to be handed in to the president of the High School, Dr. R. E. Thompson, before May 1. Between eighty and ninety contestants presented papers, this being the most popular of all the prize essay subjects.—The Committee on Prizes consisted of six prominent men of Philadelphia connected with educational work. The prize was presented by Judge Hanna at the annual commencement exercises to Albert Strickler, a member of the junior class, in the classical course. Honorable mention was also made of the essays of Louis Spivak, Alain Le Roy Locke, and Eugene Anbruster Phillips.—The essay for which Mr. Strickler received the gold medal is, with his permission, given below. It will touch our comrades most to know that he is young and poor, and working hard for his education at great disadvantages. V. de C.]

The fundamental principle of Anarchism, that of the sovereignty of the individual, is of very ancient origin, numerous expressions of it occurring in early Greek philosophy, and recurring thru the long succession of ecclesiastical and political writers to our own day. The vision of a society in which none shall exercise a restraining influence over his fellows, seems to have been a haunting dream of the human mind since the first emergence of the "ego" from the tribal conception of existence in the unrecorded days of primitive Communism. But Anarchism, as a distinct and well-defined expression of that longing, Anarchism as a revolutionary political factor, Anarchism as a great modern intellectual and social movement, Anarchism as such, takes its rise only in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century.

Contrary to general impression, its first exponent was an American, Josiah Warren by name, who, in the year 1829, put forth in a small book called "True Civilization" the political and economic principles upon which,

in his opinion, such a civilization must rest, these being in brief "the Sovereignty of the Individual" and "Cost the Limit of Price." Working upon these, he sought to show that there was neither necessity nor room for government of any description, and that the evils which government assumes to be in existence and which it desires to correct, are, in reality, the result of the interference (well or ill intentioned) of that same government. Not satisfied with a theoretical presentation of his idea, Warren made three practical experiments in colonizing, the third and most successful having been named New Harmony, in Indiana. The unhealthy climate, however, as in so many cases of early American colonization, finally proved fatal to the enterprise, and, broken-down under ill-health and repeated discouragement, the resolute reformer sank into an obscure grave.

His most learned and enthusiastic disciple was Stephen Pearl Andrews, lecturer and journalist, associated with Greeley and others in the Brook Farm experiment. In 1849 Andrews delivered in New York City a course of lectures expanding and expounding Warren's principles. These were afterwards published under the title "The Science of Society," and with some slight modifications would probably represent, more correctly than any other single book, the principles of the so-called "Individualist school" of Anarchists.

Meanwhile the no-government idea had taken root and spread thruout Europe, tho its expression was of a distinctly different order. In the year 1840 Pierre J. Proudhon, a French litterateur, member of the Academy of Besançon, published a memoir entitled "What is Property," in which, essentially, the theories of Warren were developed in a style both strong and elegant. (It is almost certain, however, that neither Warren nor Proudhon had any knowledge of each other's work.) For a period of eight years, the indefatigable author continued to pour forth books, pamphlets, and essays dealing with social-economic reforms, always voicing the double tendency of non-interference by government and mutual federation and initiative action of the workers.

In 1848, he issued two pamphlets, both entitled "Solution of the Social Problem," the second of which dealt with the organization of Credit and Circulation, and summed up economic progress as a gradual and continuous reduction of rent, interest, profit, and wages. Later he put forth a

proposal to organize a "Bank of the People"—a bank which was to have neither stockholders, profits, nor interest—for the purpose of utilizing the credit of the numerous working people's associations whose members might thereby employ themselves and dispense with the capitalist. The project was enthusiastically received and had enlisted 37,000 people, when the hand of the government fell upon Proudhon. Having attacked Louis Bonaparte, who had not yet executed the *coup d'état*, but whose professions of popular principles did not deceive the veteran reformer, he was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. The projected "Bank of the People" had to be resigned, and from that time till his death in 1865 prosecution and persecution, either active or threatened, prevented him from renewing the practical experiment. Without assuming the name of Anarchist, his life-work was an unceasing effort to promote the conception of progress described by Herbert Spencer as a "passing from the régime of status to the régime of contract," . . . that is, from the State to the free individual.

Meanwhile from another quarter of Europe, there came another voice in the chorus demanding extension of social rights, that of Michael Bakunin, a Russian, author of "God and the State." Owing partly to the personal character of Bakunin, which was of the active revolutionary type, and partly to the general political and social development of Europe, the no-government idea, or rather its partisans, assumed a warlike attitude which is no part of its essence, but which, in the popular mind, has become confused, or even substituted, for it.

From the period of the general uprising in Europe in 1848, the Socialists had been gradually working toward a division of forces. Karl Marx and his adherents in the International Working People's Association, who, at the outset, favored political, that is parliamentary action only as the means for propagating the revolution, had, thru the mellowing influence of time and defeat, become tame and more inclined to play the waiting game of politics than to force revolts which could only end in worse oppressions. Bakunin, however, and with him the more resolute tho smaller percentage of the Association, loudly cried that the Marxians had been seduced by the tricks of the ruling classes, and that the organization had entered upon that slippery path which leads always to corruption and the frittering away of en-



ergy in futile palliatives. For themselves, they refused to accept the humiliations of becoming a machine for the elevation into power of demagogues, to their own further duping; they would abate no jot of their whole demand for a complete overthrow of the system of private ownership of the means of production, and they would preach direct action by the people and protest against any and all political parties.

Thus was formed the so-called "Black International" in distinction from the "Red International" or Marxian party, neither of which has at present any vital existence, each having proceeded along its line of divergence, the one towards the vague spiritual federation of the Anarchists, the other towards the well defined, steadily concentrating party of Social Democracy. It will be seen, nevertheless, that at the outset of their career these two parties had a common aim, the realization of the economics of Socialism. Hence the confusion existing in the minds of those unacquainted with the movement; hence also a degree of confusion existing among the Anarchists and Social Democrats themselves. For the "Black Internationalists" were Socialists who had reasoned themselves into the no-government idea as the only practical means of realizing Socialism, while the Proudhon and Warren Anarchists had reasoned themselves into individualist economics as a sequence from the no-government principle, which they had accepted as the legitimate sequence of the course of history, the logic of the premises that "just government can rest only on the consent of the governed." It was as Socialists preaching revolutionary action that the Anarchists appeared in Europe; it was as peace men preaching the extension of commercial activity that they appeared in America, when Benj. R. Tucker, a young Boston journalist, undertook the publication of *Liberty* and the issuance of translations of Proudhon's works, the letters of Lysander Spooner, the lectures of Andrews, Green's "Mutual Banking," and similar books. Thus the movement in Europe appealed to the rebellious element of the proletariat, while that in America was almost unknown in the workshops but somewhat discussed in universities and counting-houses.

Such was the state of the case in the early 80's, when the rapid development of capitalism in America, with its attendant phenomenon, the combine, the imported laborer, the rush, the ensuing idleness, the panic, ever recurring on a more extended scale, began to crush heavily upon the erstwhile comparatively free workman. Socialism began to spread: the ghosts of Marx and Lassalle stalked; and beside them their relentless opponent, Bakunin.

In Chicago a group of workmen of various nationalities began publishing the *Alarm*, a weekly paper, Socialistic in its economic teachings, and openly advocating the preparation of the workmen for a forcible revolution—not of offense, as has been alleged, but of defense. Two German papers of similar advocacy were likewise published in Chicago and New York, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* edited by August Spies and *Freiheit* by John Most.

In 1885, a hitherto weak and little known union of workers, the Knights of Labor,

leaped into sudden and gigantic proportions. Seven hundred thousand workmen felt the fever of unrest and swarmed together in numbers which might have been formidable had there been a corresponding coherency; a wave of strikes swept over the country, and during the progress of one of these, on the evening of May 4, 1886, the social atmosphere felt the cleavings of an electric bolt. A bomb had been thrown in Chicago! Some Anarchists being suspected of committing this deed were arrested. Then came the long and tedious trial, prolonged through a year and a half, and finally resulting in the execution of five of the accused men and life imprisonment of two. The justice of the trial has been questioned not only by the Anarchists, but by men of impartial spirit in all ranks, and the pardon of the prisoners seven years later was justified by Governor Altgeld in a precise and concise review of the legal procedure.

Meanwhile, the trial made manifest to the public that Anarchism must be something more than was proclaimed in the first hue and cry,—whether a good thing or a bad thing, it certainly was not the thing it had been represented by the press in the first furore after May 4. For from all over the world came the evidence that good men and great men in the world of science and letters as well as among the ignorant and wretched had adopted the obnoxious label. Elisée Reclus, whose magnificent work on geography is a standard of reference the world over, saluted the doomed prisoners of Chicago as his brothers. Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince, had stepped down and out of his nobility, and taking his rank with the earth's toilers, declared himself Communist and Anarchist. Escaping from his Russian prison, he helped to establish several papers in France, in Switzerland, in Italy, and in England. Several of the great English and American reviews have published articles by Kropotkin in which he has sought to establish Anarchist Communism upon a biological and historical foundation, under the caption of "Scientific Bases of Anarchism."

Reading these articles, as well as others, by the various writers who in the several languages of Europe voice the present development of the idea, it is seen that there has been considerable drift from the original point of divergence in the Socialist organization, and that while Social Democracy has pursued a steadily narrowing and simplifying direction, its objects having been condensed within the limits of a political platform, Anarchism has, on the contrary, broadened to include the whole scope of human activity, i. e., spiritual, intellectual, and moral, as well as purely material effort. The result of this broadening has been to diminish the relative importance of mere economics and to supplant an extensive centralized association for action in that direction by the spontaneous group devoted, here to inquiry into social relations, there to the application of the Anarchist principle to education, elsewhere to some other phase of the problem; an association having no machinery, no constitution or laws, no regulation or officialism within itself, and no connection with other groups save that of a spiritual union, such a union being sometimes expressed in the form of a conference in

which opinions are exchanged but no decisions rendered, the execution of any proposed project being left entirely to the voluntary selection of the persons present or such as they can persuade to cooperate with them. The rigidity of the "thoroughly organized" body has thus given way to the flexible, intangible, ever dissolving and ever reforming autonomous group whose strength lies in its weakness. The order of mind which seeks for visible accomplishment of definite reforms has no appreciation of such strength, and turns aside in disgust from so indefinite a design, so ineffective a method. To such the old International with its positive and limited program of expropriating landlord, usurer, and capitalist, appealed much more strongly. But those to whom economy is of value only as a means to a greater end, the liberation of the human intellect and spirit, are instinctively drawn with increased attraction to this free association which endeavors to realize individuality and equality within itself, and to embody the principle of voluntary action as the only means of genuine release from all forms of slavery.

With this relative exaltation of the spiritual side of the problem, and decline of the preponderating influence of the material, there has grown up a conviction among the newer disciples of both the Individualist and Communist schools of economy, that fixed plans as to the future material development of society are not so important. The Communism of Kropotkin and Wm. Morris is not the Socialism of Bakunin, nor even of the Chicago men. The concentration of capital, production on the large scale, vast aggregations of workmen, federated groups of administration, with their threatened bureaucracy, form no part of modern Communism.

Basing itself on a few simple principles, communal possession of land and all tools necessary to production in common, it accepts the redistribution of the population over the liberated land as a necessary sequence, and the multiplication of small communes out of the division of the great city; local production, in the place of the feverish world exchange of present commerce. The elaborate schemes of Marx and his successors for the determining of each man's production and the amount of his claim against society is abolished by the simple proposition: Let each give and take freely, without worrying as to the balance; true economy arranges so that each shall have enough without undue exhaustion, and as to what is over and above it is a common possession free to the first comer.

Individualists, on the other hand, they who were at first inclined to refuse the title of Anarchist to their Communist contemporaries, saying that Communism invariably led to government, have likewise seen that the sequence of free land, free capital and exchange, would be cooperation, with a form of Communism in the distance, when price, upon the Proudhonian principle of continuous reduction, shall have been lowered to "nil."

Both seem to acknowledge that in the absence of government economic arrangements of very different nature might be tried in varying localities, according to the social



traditions and instincts of a people, without destroying freedom.

Again the advocates of aggressive attack upon government and the advocates of peace at all costs, as well as the intermediates who advocate expediency as the measure of either course, have so far agreed to admit that the final arbiter of any individual's action must be none other than himself; and therefore while the abstract principle of aggression or of non-resistance may be reciprocally disapproved, no man conscientiously putting his own principle into action, even by an act of assassination, may be condemned. The act may be deplored, the individual may not be judged.

Thus it will be seen that the "creed of Anarchism" is, in the usual acceptance of the word, non-existent. The single principle upon which all Anarchists unite is that of the supreme sovereignty of the individual over his own thoughts, speech, and action. With this declaration upon their lips, meet prince and proletarian, artist, student, artisan, peasant, each in his own respective way, laboring for the upbuilding of a free humanity. If this nebulous mass shall ever succeed in evolving a creed it will be in pursuance of a development utterly opposed to its present tendency, which is, as I have shown, away from system making either in economics or ethics. A party which includes the revolutionist Kropotkin and the non-resistant Tolstoy (whose recent book "The Slavery of Our Times" as well as his "Resurrection" contain the most direct and severe arraignment of government from a moral point of view), a party which includes the Communist Reclus and the Individualist Tucker, the altruist Lloyd and the egoist Mackay, can have no creed appreciable as such.

It may be said that a party without a creed will forever remain non-effective, and it is quite true that visible results in social change are generally produced by groups of men who want few things but want them clearly and unite to obtain them. Visible results however are but the final link in a long chain of invisible ones; and long periods of history show that unreckoned factors were often the most powerful, partly because so long undetected or disregarded. It is unphilosophical therefore to conclude that the great permeating influence of Anarchism, however elusive when we seek to define it, will not have a powerful effect in modifying the course of history,—whether for good or ill depending upon the degree of enlightenment with which it shall be received or rejected.

#### Paterson and Its Lessons.

Who could foretell that which happened in Paterson, N. J., on June 18-19? Why, the police—the protectors of life and property—were even out of town, a sign that trouble was not expected. But if you will but trace up the panoramic march of events a great deal will not need explanation.

Paterson and cities in its vicinity contain many mills, mostly those connected with the silk industry. The men employed there are mostly "foreigners"—Italians and Germans. Most of the Italians are brought to the mills soon after landing on American soil by a band of human monsters who con-

stitute what is called the padrone system. By this system the wages of the men are more or less controlled and the men more or less subject to petty persecutions. Men, driven out from Italy by hunger, are ready to accept the most miserable terms and conditions.

Then, again, enter into the life of these and other toilers, the squalor and dirt of their dens at home and in the factory; their victuals; and the life of their families, and speculate what the aspirations of such men can be.

The greater the pressure, the greater the resistance. People are the product of their environment. The same conditions, the same causes exist everywhere and manifest the same effects. Strike after strike, defeat after defeat, concession after concession—victory? alas! how seldom is it recorded in the labor history of Paterson—as elsewhere.

What labor history reads like is well known: strikes, bloodshed, lockouts, and the general asinine following of the toilers of their fake leaders.

For the last few months was brewing a clash between the employers and employees. Leaders were needed and the right men came,—came from the Anarchist ranks!

The toilers of Paterson are permeated with radical ideas. The Anarchist movement flourishes there. The Anarchists in the unions are the men of trust. It could be foreseen that a general strike would be necessary in the silk industry, and consequently some comrades were invited to address many large meetings in different towns of New Jersey. The organization of the workers was a success; a strike, and then a general strike were declared—the most peaceful weapon in a labor struggle.

I am dealing here mainly with conditions and I can not exclude one very important fact—the flocking of the unemployed to the mills to get employment. These men, the reserve force of the capitalists, are very often the cause of the loss of a strike. These men were also employed some time ago, but the progress of machinery has put them on the streets. Desperate conditions compel these men to sacrifice every bit of manhood in them, and they accept employment obtainable only at such times. These men will even use rifles against the strikers, in order to hold their positions will risk their lives to feed their families at home.

Desperate conditions produce desperate men.

The strikers, too, became desperate. The success of the strike which they declared was threatened by the flocking of "scabs" to the workshops; and when the strikers, marching from mill to mill calling out these "scabs," were met by the police with drawn pistols and clubs, the opposing forces clashed, and every shot from the police was answered by the inexperienced shots of the workers. The 4,000 men easily overcame the small number of police, but men were wounded on both sides, factory doors were smashed by the broad shoulders and able arms of the toilers, the scabs were called out from the

mills, and three mills were demolished by the strikers.

With the usual ceremonies the militia were called out, more so, because Paterson is the center of Anarchist agitation, and so public opinion could easily be turned against the strikers, the cry went up in the air, "Anarchy must be wiped out." The troops are there for the express purpose of crushing the strike. Every mill was turned into an arsenal; deputy sheriffs were sworn in by the score; the fire department was armed and, if need be, I presume, every government employee will be armed. This is what the strikers have to face.

How to face it is the problem to be solved by the strikers. If they submit that will mean ruin to them, and to enter into a battle with mammon is to enter into the jaws of death. But to quote Shakespeare:

Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel, but, being in,  
Bear 't, that the opposed may beware of thee.

It is war to the knife, and no man with mind and heart will advise the strikers to use passive resistance in opposition to the methods employed by their opponents.

To the superficial observer such a state of affairs would certainly give his mind a turn of pessimism. But to some this strike should make them more or less optimistic. We certainly cannot again have such a strike with such determination on the part of the opponents. We cannot teach a more practical lesson to the strikers as to who are their opponents and what methods they employ. And the part the Anarchists play in this strike will doubtless have a lasting influence with the toilers.

When a resort to arms is the only appeal the strike will be crushed, but in this lies the root of our optimism. The next struggle that will appear in the long chain of struggles the toilers will be more prepared; the struggle will be fiercer and the effect and results will be more widespread. The reaction that may come after defeat will serve to make the next steps of progress more impetuous and swifter.

There are gains for all our losses—the losses are but momentary; the gains—experience and cold facts—are everlasting.

New York. SAM'L MINTZ.

#### Home Defense Fund.

Previously reported, \$166.38. A subscription from comrades in New York, sent by F. Piccinelli thru *La Protesta Umata*, \$7. S. T. B., Mass., \$5. B. G., Colo., \$1; W. S., England, \$1; Mrs. E. K., Wash., \$1. Total, \$181.38. OLIVER A. VERTY, Treas.

Home, Wash., June 23, 1902.

P. S. Trial is set for July 8.

#### For St. Louis, Mo.

Readers of FREE SOCIETY, *Freiheit*, and all friends and comrades are invited to a family picnic which will take place Sunday, July 20, at the "Red House," Catokia, Ill. Take ferry boat at the foot of Sidney St. In case of rain the picnic will take place the following Sunday.



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

## Notes.

Comrade T. Appel is collecting subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY in Chicago. Those in arrears may expect a call from him at an early date.

Comrade MacQueen writes us from The Tombs that he is there awaiting extradition papers from New Jersey, where he will be charged with inciting to riot. He requests us to announce that *Liberty* will be published uninterruptedly in spite of his imprisonment. If anyone who has ordered it does not receive it regularly, he should write again to *Liberty*, 69 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

"Pages of Socialist History" by W. Tcherkesoff, is now ready. This book is recommended to Socialists of all schools, as it deals with the history of the "International," and the attitude of Marx and Engels towards Bakunin. Paper cover, 25 cents. By mail 30 cents. Send orders to Chas. B. Cooper, 114 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

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.

Comrade Jay Fox, 210 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y., will furnish information to comrades interested in Cosmos Colony, such as to the best means of transportation, fare, etc., to Brazil, and other useful intelligence.

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## Splinters.

The Philippine war has cost \$170,000,000 so far. Some senators charge this does not include all the items. All this money was expended for wanton destruction, pure and simple. But when a constructive work is to be undertaken by the government, it takes several million dollar commissions and globes of red tape before it is (not) done. But whenever mischief needs aid, governments are always on hand first.

Paterson business men are going to at-

## FREE SOCIETY

tempt to run the Anarchists out of that town by an underhanded persecuting campaign. This is an excellent plan to make all Anarchists meek and repentant: that is by starving them down to desperation.

But so far this is all bragging talk. Last fall at Spring Valley a meeting of citizens ostentatiously boasted they would drive the Anarchists out of town. A committee of three, of whom a local clergyman was one, was appointed to warn the Anarchists to leave. They stood at the gate of one house half an hour urging each other to enter. They were finally politely informed the Anarchists proposed to stay. The citizens have not yet been heard from.

Comrade Schneider thinks we should accept without question the actions of our comrades. If a criticism is made on other's actions, he declares it is setting up a standard of morals. I demur. I always reserve the right to reject all ideas presented to me, and to criticize them, whether they come from the pope of Rome or a comrade. And I also extend this criticism to the actions arising from such ideas. And if anyone's ideas of strenuous life lead him to dominating invasion, I claim the right of resisting them also. And if a comrade's ideas of strenuous propaganda lead him to a line of action which I think inefficient or mischievous, I see no reason for refraining from criticism, the more so as I am deeply interested and affected. No standard of morality is set up, nor rule of action imposed; it is simply an appeal to reason, either in a gentle or vigorous manner. But to deny the right of criticism can be justified only by the doctrine of infallibility. There is no reason why the criticism of comrades should not be taken in good part. It promotes our inefficiency, and arouses hostile feelings only in egotism and bigotry.

As to Dr. Levenson's request for us to help him in obtaining a commission from the New York legislature, it is declined for reasons too numerous to mention here. JR.

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## By the Wayside.

"The present form of government is wholly coercive; in Socialism it will be purely administrative," says Eugene Debs. Perhaps Brother Debs does not know that the process by which the political prisoners in Russia are sent to Siberia is also called "administrative."

Nowhere can the exploiters of labor enjoy their prey in peace. When the State parliament in Melbourne, Australia, was about to be opened, the unemployed assembled at the building and greeted the "representatives" with banners bearing the annoying words "Unemployed," "Dispossessed," etc., and a picture of a skeleton. But as the legislators were unable to cope with the problem of the unemployed, troops "restored order."

While the toilers everywhere are struggling for better conditions, and in some places successfully have defied injunctions, pusillanimous labor "representatives" have

cowered all winter before the lawmakers in Washington to have an eight-hour and an anti-injunction bill passed; but all in vain—the bills were "shelved." When will these "leaders" learn that there is no legal road to freedom? Had the money and energy been spent in educational work, which would make the workers conscious of their slavery and its remedy—the overthrow of the wage system—instead of crawling before legislators, labor would not have humiliated itself, and much good would have been accomplished.

Even had the representatives of labor been successful in having the bills passed, we all know what a legal eight-hour day means, especially for government employees. The mail carriers are supposed to work only eight hours according to postal regulations, but in reality they are twelve hours at their posts, as every mail carrier will tell you.

The following is a fair illustration of how public opinion is manufactured by the associated press. Some time ago the Australian papers stated in connection with the king's visit to the Portland prison that—

So delighted was one of the party of convicts at the sight of his majesty that, setting at defiance all prison rules, he shouted, "Three cheers for the king!" The cheers were given with great heartiness, and his majesty smilingly acknowledged this surprising outburst of loyalty.

But according to English newspapers, the facts were as follows:

His majesty visited the prison, and a special dinner was given to the convicts, consisting of syrup and pudding, which, having been eaten, they were called upon to stand up and sing, "God Save the King," which they did, his majesty being present. Just as the scene ended they were called upon to give three cheers for the king, whereupon a voice shouted out from the ranks, "Now then, old Johnny, what are you going to do for your white slaves?" The king made a hurried exit without replying to the query.

According to some dailies, "Anarchy reigns in the coal districts," which, however, is a gross misrepresentation. It is Christian civilization and capitalist robbery that reign in the mining regions and elsewhere. If "Anarchy" would "reign" in the coal regions, we would see happy coal miners working only three or four days a week; we would see them in their libraries and club rooms reading and enjoying themselves; we would hear the laughter and songs of happy mothers; and we would see the jolly youngsters strolling to beautiful school buildings or hear their joyful laughter on the play grounds. But where "law and order" reign, where Church and State dominate, we see starvation, drudgery, ignorance, strife and bloodshed, discontented and worried toilers and weeping mothers. INTERLOPER.

## For New York.

For the benefit of the radical press a picnic will take place Sunday, July 13, in Liberty Park, Cooper Ave. and Ridgewood, 25th and 26th Division. Music, songs, prize-bowling, and other amusements. Tickets 25 cents, which are good for six glasses of beer.

The park can be reached from all ferries. Take the street car or the elevated train to Ridgewood, transfer to Cypress or Myrtle Ave. cars. From 34th St. Ferry: L. I. R.R. & Myrtle Ave. Station, fare 5 cents.



## Persecution in Providence, R. I.

Altho there is in Providence no great outward demonstrations of Anarchism, partly for the want of good speakers and the want of funds to hire halls and advertise meetings, yet each comrade constitutes himself a light and does what he can as a propagandist in a private way. One comrade, who is a good speaker, addresses street gatherings twice a week. Another who is good with the pen writes frequent letters to the local newspapers, giving the Anarchistic view of public and economic questions of the day.

Last fall Comrade John Cook attempted to hold street meetings on a spot which the Salvation Army had just made holy ground by their prayers. But the police promptly arrested him before he got thru with his first address. He was fined \$27 and costs. Had he possessed means he would have appealed the case to test the equal right to speak on the streets. The police had been waiting a long time for a pretext on which to arrest him. It was years ago, when Emma Goldman was arrested here, that he was singled out for persecution for the stand he took in Comrade Emma Goldman's case. The chief of police warningly said to him: "Cook, we shall keep an eye on you!" Now they have again arrested him. A street car strike is on, a few cars were running one evening, both sides of the street was lined with people sympathizing with the strikers, and the police were busy making arrests, when to their joy they spied Comrade Cook crossing the street ahead of a car that was waiting for a wagon to get out of the way. Here was their chance; he was hustled to the police station and held for trial on a thousand dollars. After a few days in jail bail was secured. The charge was that he obstructed the street cars, for which the punishment is a fine of one thousand dollars or two years' imprisonment.

When he appeared for trial another charge was added, that of promulgating Anarchist doctrines among the prisoners and speaking disrespectfully of President Roosevelt. Policemen were the only witnesses for the prosecution, contradicting one another.

The case will come up for trial before the Supreme Court next October. What other charges may be added one cannot know, for even the charge of obstructing the cars was an afterthought; the first charge was "revelling." The prosecution seems determined to convict him on any kind of charge. The defense will be expensive, especially if an appeal has to be taken. The local comrades will do what they can, but they have not the means to meet the outlay that will be required; therefore it becomes necessary to appeal to the comrades everywhere for contributions. If FREE SOCIETY will help us by calling attention to this case we shall be very thankful. The contributions will be received and acknowledged by the treasurer of the defense fund. Further information will be given by the secretary, same address.

J. F. HARTMAN, Sec.  
S. BOOKBINDER, Treas.

Providence, R. I., 49 Robinson St.

## Philosophical Society.

The Chicago Philosophical Society has suspended its meetings for the summer months. In doing so we wish to express our thanks to the friends who so nobly sustained us in our determination to exercise our constitutional right of free assemblage and free speech.

For about seven months we met and discussed great public questions. That our friends have been satisfied is testified to by their efforts to raise a fund which will enable us to secure Handell Hall at a monthly rental of \$65 for the next season. This is one of the best known auditoriums in this city, and has a seating capacity of 600. We shall start again on the first Sunday afternoon of September next.

The friends who have collection papers still in their possession will please make a final report and return the papers.

T. P. QUINN.

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## Ideal or Idiotic?

Isaiah, the prophet of old, in one of his spasms bursts forth, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy, and eat: yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." Matthew quotes Jesus as saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

These ancient gentlemen are somewhat vague, for they give no location of store, street, village, town, city, or country where blessings are dispensed, and it is evident the Salvation Army is not in the secret, or there would be, with the present prospective price of beef, a stampede for the place. They still retard progress by teaching the poor to be content with the position in which, they say, it has pleased God to place them, whereas it is God that has cursed and robbed them.

The Anarchist ideal is far beyond Isaiah's; it is nothing short of free land, free air and plenty of it—slums unknown, free beef, and even free whiskey—going the old gentlemen one better on the drink question—knowing that the demand for fire water would be very small among free and intelligent people.

There is a difference between the sublime and the ridiculous, and between the idiotic and the ideal; but to some minds the ideal and sublime are idiotic and ridiculous. The texts quoted may appear to some Anarchists as ridiculous and idiotic; it is certain, however, that the Anarchists' sublime ideal of everything free, including, in fact necessitating complete individual salvation, without any appeal of the Martinique and South African Jealous, Vengeful, and Capricious God, will appear to all churchites as idiotic and ridiculous. Further still, the ideal of free production and free consumption would entirely do away with money, "that root of all evil," without which no woman would prostitute her body, and no man would be a parson and thus prostitute his mind.

KINGHORN-JONES.

San Francisco, Cal., 36 Geary St.

## Voices.

The national conference of Charities and Corrections wants an investigation into the tramp problem. The tramp problem is too easy to need investigation. It is explained by the millionaire microbe. Idle luxury and idle misery always come and go together. They belong together. The millionaire hobo and the ragged hobo are products of the same cause. They are manifestations of the same social disease. They made their appearance at about the same time. Each is a parasite upon productive industry. Each is supported by the labor of the industrious. And the ragged hobo is the less virulent manifestation of the disease: he doesn't cost so much to keep.—*The Public*.

When Major-General Hutton went on board the troopship which was to convey the Sydney section of the lingering Second Commonwealth Contingent to South Africa, he found that all who were there were drunk, and all who were sober had deserted, taking their advance pay with them. This shows the advantage of being sober.—*Melbourne Tocsin*.

Here's a rhetorical gem. It emanates from the cranium of the one and only Alderman Bridges, Brooklyn's most unique possession. Says he in all earnestness: "I see motormen standin' onto a platform of a car with one hand on the brake and one hand on the 'lectricity, and I see that them there hands was frozing so that if a woman or a children had been on the track he would have been killed, because the motormen's hands was frozing. I want to beg this committee not to let this bill go to sleep, but to keep it awake. This bill has fell into a hole onet before, and has been covered up in its silent grave, and I want to say that I hav dug up this bill from its silent grave, and I don't want to see it fall into on hole again."—*Brooklyn Daily Star*.

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Man is only a reed, the feeblest in nature; but he is a thinking reed. It is not necessary that the whole universe should rise in arms to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water, suffices to kill him. But if the entire universe were to crush him, man would still be more noble than that which slays him, because he knows that he is dying; and of the advantage which the universe possesses over him the universe knows nothing.

Thus all our dignity consists in thought. It is that upon which we must take our stand, not upon space and duration. Let us, then, labor to think well; that is the principle of morals.—*Pascal*.

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## LETTER-BOX.

V. Z., Los Angeles, Cal.—Never mind, comrade; we are satisfied to hear from those in arrear with their subscription. Your photo has been duly added to the "Cranks' Gallery." Thanks

N. J., Salt Lake City.—The red flag has lately scared some Socialist sections, and it was for this that R. W. made the remark. The term "organization" is often used when voluntary association is meant, and hence the confusion. See Javies' reply to Simpson in this issue, which answers also your main questions.

M. S., New York City.—The paper was mailed as usual on Thursday, but for the last two weeks an "accident" occurred in the postoffice with the bundle addressed to your city, and thus some subscribers may not have received their copy, which, however, will be gladly furnished on request.

A Political Pointer.—If you don't want a thing done, appoint a commission to consider how to do it.—*Puck*.

Socialists talk much of the brotherhood of man, but they seem to forget that Cain and Abel were also brothers.—*De Klopper*.



## A PAINFUL RECOLLECTION.

It was long past midnight, and I was walking down the Strand. The Strand was deadly with the icy breath of Robin Hood's *bete noir*, the thaw wind; the Strand was hateful by reason of the driving sleet, and filthy because of the two-inch depth of melted snow and slush. Men were out shoveling heaps of snow into carts, or struggling against the Slough of Despond with hose and jet. The streets were nearly empty of passengers, for no human being of average reason was likely to be there of choice in such inclement weather. Even a Polar bear would have found it cold. I was there because insomnia had kept me on the rack all thru the dreary preceding night, lying in the dark in a back bedroom at the top of a cheerless hotel, counting the quarters as they chimed from the distant clock tower of the house across the Thames. Dreading another such experience, I had come out intending to pass the night in the doleful street under the wintry sky.

I had wandered as far as the Grand Hotel, and was half-way down Northumberland Avenue, when I passed two girls. Both these girls were well dressed, both were good looking. One of them followed me, and, laying her hand upon my arm, said: "You look kind. Will you speak to me?"

"I hope I am not unkind," I replied, "but you must not come with me."

The girl retained my arm, and I stopped. Then she said: "Please give me a penny to buy my mate and me two cups of coffee. We are so awfully cold. Don't we look cold?"

I thought the girl was joking; but I saw that she did look cold, and that her thin shoes were soddened with the penetrating snow-broth. I asked her: "Do you mean it? Have you no money? Are you in want of a penny?"

She said, half smiling, but evidently in sober earnest: "I do, really. I haven't a farthing, and neither of us has eaten a morsel all day."

I gave her a shilling, and said, "Good-night." Her friend came up, and they both thanked me very gracefully and went their ways.

Half an hour later I passed them again. They were walking by a snow-cart, when one of the men threw a handful of wet snow at them, and with it a brutal jest. The two girls turned back and answered him in words that made my cheeks tingle. I hurried out of earshot as quickly as I could.

Again in half an hour, as I was holding parley with a half-frozen policeman at the corner of Wellington street, the two girls came up and spoke to me.

This time it was the elder of the two who spoke, and she assumed a familiar manner, calling me "dearie," and asking why I was out so late on such a night.

I answered, seriously, that I was going home soon, and advised them to do the same. Then the elder girl—she would be about twenty, and had a nice, frank, cheerful face—came and whispered to me, and my heart felt sick, for the words the poor creature spoke were such as I dare not have repeated, even to another man.

I shook my head, sadly enough, I dare say, and said: "My girls, this is a bitter cold night, and you have both bad coughs, and

your feet are wet. Would you not be better in bed?"

Then said Alice, the younger, a graceful, sweet-eyed girl of seventeen: "We can't go home without money. They wouldn't let us in."

And Marian, the elder, said, simply: "I have a baby. It has no milk. I must have the rent and something for the baby. If I had a shilling the woman would sell me some milk and a bit of coal."

"Are you so very poor?" I asked.

"We are awfully hard up," said Alice. "We have been out in this weather since five this afternoon, and not got a penny but what you gave us. We were out till three last night."

"It's hard times," said Marian, "the Strand last night had no one in it but policemen and girls. It was pitiful to see it."

"Would you like to go home?" I asked. They said yes, if they could.

"If I will give you both some money," said I, "will you go home and stay there till morning?"

Marian said: "We shall be very glad. You are awfully good."

Alice said, smiling: "I knew you were kind. Marian said you had such a stern face, and she was afraid to speak to you. But I knew you were kind."

"You are a good man, aren't you?" asked Marian.

I said good men were few and I not of their number, but that I was sorry for them and would help them if I could.

I walked with them across the wind-swept Waterloo Bridge, Alice looking at me now and again with a smile of friendly trust, and Marian preserving an almost comical manner of respectful awe. In all the shameful nights she had walked the Strand I fear she had found little truth or chivalry in the hearts of men.

I said: "My dears, your life seems a very hard one. Shall I offend you or hurt you if I ask why you don't leave it?"

Marian shook her head. "What can we do?" she asked. "We have no characters. London is crowded with poor women wanting work."

"Who'd take us as servants?" asked Alice, and added, "They don't want us anywhere, not even in the Strand."

"But," said I, "this life of yours is painful enough now—while you are young. But some day you will be old."

"Yes," said Marian, quietly, "I think of that sometimes when I see the poor old women selling matches in the streets."

"I gave one of them a penny just now," said Alice, "and Marian stood her a cup of coffee. It does you good that coffee, nights like these."

"Some girls do get out of this," said Marian, thoughtfully. "Some get married, some die in the hospitals. That's better than being old. Even the river's better than that."

"And some," said Alice, quietly, "go to the river. There was one went last night; down off Cleopatra's steps."

"They got her out," said Marian, "but she died. The water's so cold, and she'd be empty, poor thing," Marian sighed.

"I saw you just now," said Alice to me, "as you passed the snow cart. You musn't think too hard of us for what we said to the man. He threw wet snow at us. We girls

have a lot to bear; we have to take our own part."

"I know," I said, "I know; I have often done worse things myself."

"I'm sorry I said what I did to you," said Marian; "I didn't know. You have no idea what it's like to get a living—in the Strand."

I had no answer to this, except to say I did not blame her, and could understand.

"You're married, ain't you?" asked Alice.

"I've been thinking perhaps you've some little girls of your own," said Marian, "and that makes you good to poor things like us. I've only one baby. One gets to be very fond of a baby soon. It's little of its age, but it takes notice."

And with this pitiful touch of nature to make us kin we came to the end of the dreadful bridge, and the two poor girls stopped, Alice pointing down a turning on the left. "We live down there," she said.

I gave my poor sisters a few shillings each, shook hands with them, and raising my hat with careful ceremony, wished them both "Good-night."

Some hours later, as I walked wearily up Whitehall, a wavering shadow loomed upon me out of the misty rain, and an outcast woman came shuddering thru the night.

She was wrapped in a faded old red cloak, trimmed with worn-out fur. She went along huddled up, and shivering so violently that I could hear her teeth chatter as she passed me. Her poor dress was sopping wet, almost as high as the knees, and her boots were mere rags. I let her pass, then repented and turned back.

She could not speak to me, she was too cold. I never saw a human creature so cold. I remembered what Alice told me about the coffee, and that I had passed a stall at the end of Westminster Bridge; and I took the shivery creature back there and gave her coffee and bread, until she recovered her speech, when I saw her to the throat of a horrible court in the Westminster slums, and giving her also a few shillings, left her.

It is wrong, say the charity organizers, to give promiscuous alms. It is worse wrongs than almsgiving that feed the trade of open shame with the sweet bodies and white souls of English girls, and cast poor victims out to struggle thru a pitiless winter's night without food or shelter.

Besides, if a man cannot sleep himself, may he not logically enough restore the average of life-giving slumber by giving a bed to a woman who can?

I am not going to moralize, nor to expound. Alice and Marian speak their own cause. Let those find the lesson who have souls to comprehend.

Perhaps some respectable reader will take offense at the plain dealing in this article. Perhaps some respectable person will misunderstand me. The respectable person is often very severe and not always very bright. The respectable person somewhat resembles Sarah, the wife of Abraham—and Sarah was bitter. The respectable person is usually a person with no sins to answer for. The respectable person has seldom suffered much. Now, when a man is conscious that he is not perfect he is usually more prone to charity. And when a man has gone thru the small sieve he knows he is not very large potatoes.



Adversity is a good school. A fellow starts out in life with a good deal of hope, and a good deal of conceit, and if he doesn't get any falls he becomes, perhaps, a trifle bumptious. But some fellows have the luck to have the conceit taken out of them very thoroly. Grief comes and wrings their hearts; disappointment comes and humbles their expectations; death strikes down the brave and the fair at their side; they make mistakes, and become modest; they do wrong, and are ashamed. When success has exalted them, when pride and self-righteousness have almost made them into prigs, the fates come along and hit them on the cheek, and kick them in the chest, and trip them by the heels and roll them in the mud, and jump upon them and mop the earth with their hair, and they rise up sore and sorry, and full of knowledge of life and of pity for the living. A queer world, my masters, a queer world; and I am sorry for all women and young children.

The nation that reveres and defends its women may be sure of its honor and its men. But in England, in London, in the Strand!—Nunquam, in the *Clarion*.

#### What is Freedom?

That is what I want FREE SOCIETY to explain. So far Mr. James has not made it clear to me. He says in the absence of human law we are free. And he goes on to say that by human law he means pretty much what Austin meant. So leaving aside the legal quibble between an ordinance and a law, there stands out clear this idea that Mr. James means by law a uniform rule of action, and that any uniform rules are opposed to freedom. Consequently if I with others who believe in the law of equal liberty, organize for the defense of that equal liberty, and give it out that as a uniform practise we shall defend that equal liberty, it would appear, from Mr. James' point of view, would it not, that we are opposed to liberty.

My second question in No. 366 was not answered. I asked if Mr. James was prepared to organize for the defense of the liberty he is advocating, and he says he does not know what else Anarchists as such are doing than agitating, etc., for the emancipation of the individual from government. I want to know if he is willing to defend the liberty he advocates by joining an organization for the mutual protection of that liberty.

To step from the philosophic to the concrete, does Mr. James consider the action of the Jewish women, so highly praised by Jay Fox, to be one of those active measures for the emancipation of the individual from government by law? We are told that "a committee stationed itself outside each butcher's shop and challenged anyone who wished to enter; and meat found in possession of anyone in the street was destroyed by the liberal use of coal oil. In many cases they wrecked the butcher shops." This was kept up for two weeks—a rather uniform rule of action, eh?

Was this in accordance or in violation of the idea of liberty, as propounded by FREE SOCIETY?

A. H. SIMPSON.

I rather think I said that law was an uni-

form rule of action imposed by a superior power. At any rate, that is what the law books say. There is no law, in the proper sociological sense, and nothing which conflicts with liberty, about a man's adopting an uniform rule of action for himself. Neither is there about the bye "laws" of a strictly voluntary society, whose members can withdraw from it at option, and whose rules are imposed on none but members. I suspect, however, that those "who believe in the law of equal liberty, organize for the defense of that equal liberty, and give it out that they will defend that equal liberty," are likely to have considerable bother with the practical application. The French National Assembly tried it. Their Declaration of the Rights of Man affirmed the Individualist doctrine in good set terms—"every man has a right to do as he pleases, provided he does not injure others"—and the Reign of Terror followed, to show that, as old Bill Allen of Ohio would say, it was "a d—d barren ideality." "To make liberty equal, all must surrender some." How much?

It seems I answered all Mr. Simpson's questions about what I would do for absolute personal freedom, except whether I would join an organization. Now, why should Mr. Simpson be so curious to know that? Will it do to say that I will consider when I see the organization which I am to join; and that, so far, Anarchists have managed to do an exceedingly lively propaganda without any? (A "group" is not an organization, but a meeting as public as a church. No profession of any principle is necessary to the privilege of attending.)

Was the action of the Jewish women, about whom Jay Fox wrote, a measure for the emancipation of the individual from government by law? I don't know. Likely enough they were Socialists, or only poor people who found themselves incommenced by the trust. If they recognized in the trust a monopoly founded in the first instance upon law, and proposed to weaken law by breaking up the trust, then their action was a measure for emancipation of the individual from government by law.

Was it in accordance with or in violation of the idea of liberty as propounded by FREE SOCIETY? It was in violation. It was war. War and liberty don't go together; for which reason, as ought to be generally known by this time, Anarchists are very peaceable people. Nevertheless, the Quaker who found he was not entirely sanctified yet, may stand for the type of a great many, perhaps all of them, when law, the offspring of war, gets them actually into a corner. The argument against fighting even then, as advanced by Tolstoy and others who have not been in the corner, is unanswerable. To fight you must form an organization, which forthwith ceases to be voluntary; and impose, by superior power, a rule of action, which, in case of victory, will be extended from the victors to the vanquished. I have nothing to say against it all, except this—that I cannot recommend trying experiments upon my own consistency. The man so nearly sanctified that he wastes no force in blowing, and threatening, and sparing, is exactly the one to be nasty if you do manage to rouse the Adam in him after all.

C. L. JAMES.

#### Medical.

Mr. C. L. James' article in your issue of June 15 seems to me to disclose, either such an incapacity for reasoning or such a determination not to understand, that it is useless to continue the discussion, so far at least, as he is concerned.

I will at once put his honesty to the test. For several years I have succeeded in getting introduced into the legislature of New York a bill for the appointment of an impartial commission to investigate vaccination and seropathy. It was opposed by the official doctors on every occasion. One of the members, surprised at this fact, said to me last March, "Get your bill introduced into the next legislature, supported by petitions in its favor numerously signed, and your bill will go thru." I asked what he meant by "numerously signed"; he replied by "from two to three hundred thousand citizens of New York State."

I have no funds to apply to such a work; but I have had 2500 copies of the bill and petition printed, and I enclose you a copy of each; and I appeal to you, sir, and to Mr. James, to urge all persons in New York State to write to me for a copy of the petition and to get from fifty to a hundred signers to each. Also to contribute towards the expenses of circulating the petition.

If two or three thousand dollars were subscribed for this purpose, the 300,000 signers could soon be got. At a meeting for *Physical Culture*, held at the cost of Mr. Bernarr Macfadden, at the Grand Opera House, without previous organization, I obtained five hundred signatures—including quite a number of M. Ds.

What will Mr. James and his friends contribute to that end? Remember it is only a commission to investigate I am seeking. Will Mr. James find any excuse for not desiring an impartial investigation?

LEVERSON.

Brooklyn, 81 Lafayette Ave.

The great trouble with the majority of people is that they fail to examine problems to their roots. If children work in the mills at an early age, "pass a law" restricting the age at which children shall be allowed to work. If parents are too poor to send their children to school, needing the amount their poor little hands can earn, "pass a law" compelling children to go to school a certain number of months in the year. If sweatshop workers make labor days of sixteen or eighteen hours, "pass a law" limiting the hours of work. But only by real reformers are we told we must so change social conditions as to enable men to support their families in comfort, and to send their children to school, without the interference of compulsory laws. But at present the need is so great that people who want to "do something now" postpone the day of reckoning which will surely come. It is for those who see the real cause of this condition to advocate firmly and continually the true remedy, accepting no palliatives.—Florence A. Burleigh, *Conservator*, January, 1899.

Whatever may be the pressure upon a conquered people, there will come a moment of their recoil.—Hallam.



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