



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, AUGUST 31, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 377.

Lines of a Prostitute.

(The following poem is taken from Wm. W. Sanger's "History of Prostitution." It was found on the death-bed of a prostitute.)

VERSES FOR MY TOMB-STONE, IF EVER I SHOULD HAVE ONE.

The wretched victim of a quick decay,
Relieved from life on humble bed of clay,
The last and only refuge for my woes,
A love-lost ruined female I repose.
From the sad hour I listened to his charms,
And fell, half forced, in the deceiver's arms,
To that whose awful veil hides every fault
Sheltering my sufferings in this welcome vault,
When pampered, starved, abandoned, or in drink,
My thoughts were racked in striving not to think!
Nor could rejected conscience claim the power
To improve the respite of one serious hour.
I durst not look to what I was before;
My soul shrank back, and wished to be no more.
Of eye undaunted, and of touch impure,
Old ere of age, worn out when scarce mature;
Daily debased to stifle my disgust
Of forced enjoyment in affected lust;
Covered with guilt, infection, debt, and want,
My home a brothel, and the streets my haunt,
For seven long years of infamy I've pined,
And fondled, loathed, and preyed upon mankind,
Till, the full course of sin and vice gone thru,
My shattered fabric failed at twenty-two.

— O —

Government and Anarchy.

The days of the nations bear no trace
Of all the sunshine so far foretold;
The cannon speaks in the teacher's place,—
The age is weary with work and gold,
And high hopes wither, and memories wane;
On hearths and alters the fires are dead;
But that brave faith hath not lived in vain—
And this is all that our watcher said.

—Francis Brown.

Governments derive their assumed powers not from the *will*, but from the *laxity* and *ignorance* of the governed. All governments are bad: since they are all founded upon a similar basis. Government means restriction, and man, endeavoring to embrace each opportunity accorded him which will allow of his social elevation and add to his personal comfort, finds himself thwarted in his struggle for advancement by the restrictions and tyranny of the narrow-minded governmentalists. To restrict is to rob, and governments—satisfied at first by mildly restricting individuals in the interest of what they have cunningly termed "the public good"—have extended their ramifications and placed restriction after restriction upon the statute book, which has finally led to the robbery of the land, and debarred man from the gratification of all natural desires.

The governmentalist continually harps upon the necessity of choosing from the

least of two evils, maintains that governments are necessary for the protection of law and order, and exultantly calls our attention to the fact that "some laws have really been passed in the interest of the laboring community," never pausing for one moment to give the least consideration to the general composition of all ruling bodies, but assiduously apologizing for the defects and evil tendencies of government by using the rather ancient and axiomatic excuse, "No matter how bad government may be, it is needful, and we must support it." Let us briefly review the position of the governmentalist, and by consistent and logical reasoning ascertain what the functions of governments really are, and whether or not their existence is really necessary.

Parental rule, developing gradually into tribal control or chieftainship by the assimilation of the family groups, led to the establishment of communities and a state of clanship or Communism, which in time, by continuous war and depredation, evolved into an aggregation of the whole, and the establishment of the State.

As the parent ruled the family, so the chieftain endeavored to rule the tribe. The chief was surrounded by blood relatives; each tribesman was his kinsman; and with such a ruler, inequalities in the tribal group were impossible. The commune endeavored to model the government of the community upon that of the tribal group, but when the communities emerged into Statehood the power of a centralized government had to be coped with: that is, the chief of the strongest community, assuming control of the State, ruled others with whom he had nothing in common; and when striving to rule in the interest of his own kinsman, quite naturally the interests of others were neglected. Added to this, the ruling chief placed his kinsmen in various offices, which gave the office-holders the power to rule over members of other communities which had been subjugated by the stronger commune, thus commenced the rule of the tyrant, the advancement of the few, and the enslavement of the many. While natural government prevailed inequality was impossible; and while the various tribes and communes were in possession of unrestricted freedom they governed themselves in the manner most suited to their surroundings. It was not until after the establishment of despotism that the model of parental government was thrown on one side, and with the decay of parentalism the growth of des-

potism and unnatural rule became more apparent.

Thus you will readily perceive that primitive man was governed more or less by his own actions, and that useful or self government has been transformed by the self-interested few into the useless and despotic government of our day.

The government of our day is but a congress of representatives or delegates convened for the purpose of legislating in the interest of some person or persons with whom they are connected. The politician proclaims himself the defender of law and order. The politician being in unison with the commercial rulers, naturally the commercial ruler will harmonize with the politician, until the army of law and order, recruited from the floor of every stock and produce exchange, from the office of the manufacturer, from the palace of the aristocrat, from the homes of the landed nobility, and from every political club, find themselves arrayed against—what?—the brain, the sinew, the muscle, the very life of the country. And thus government is *necessary*, but for what?—hearken to the thundering reply—PROTECTION!

The great function of government is therefore the protection of the supporters of governmentalism. The government, therefore, exists *only in the interests of its supporters*: the members of the community who require no protection, and who have no voice in the regulation of the government are beyond the pale of the law and are in no way bound to acquiesce in the demands or rulings of our law-and-order respecting parliamentarians.

No man requires protection until he accumulates more goods than he can comfortably afford to look after individually. The moment the individual acquires possession of more useful material or goods than he himself can use, just so soon does he become the exploiter or robber of the fruits of others' productivity. The governmentalist requires protection for that which he cannot use, and this same protection will deny to others the right to use that which is being foolishly protected and harbored for speculative purposes.

For instance, palaces, mansions, and terraces of flats remain untenanted, and protectors of law-and-order are paid by government to prevent countless numbers of homeless people from occupying rooms which would afford to them a comfortable shelter. Grain rots in our great granaries while

millions live in a state of semi-starvation. People die for lack of what is being stored and protected.

If there is enough for all, and protection allows some to hoard while compelling others to starve, why should you help to protect?

Fellow workers, by your exertions and productivity countless blessings are obtained, but what remuneration is accorded you in return for your labors? Blessings and comfort are extracted by the few from the proceeds of your toil, but you who produce must live in the midst of a hellish pandemonium teeming with misery, want, and abuse. Who requires protection? The idlers! Who gives protection to the idle? The government!

Then, since protection is accorded only to the idle, protection is an evil, and the government which protects the evil is an evil in itself, therefore *abolish the evil of protecting the wrong*. Away with protection! Away with government!

No permanent happiness can be secured until man is absolutely free. Freedom is essential to man's happiness, and only in a happy state can free men be found. Governments have employed themselves in undermining the liberties of the people, they have made themselves chieftains and rulers, and rivetted shackles of slavery around the limbs of the producer.

So we, the ruled and despoiled, have raised on high the banner of revolt, and with the shackles of slavery still hanging to our limbs we go forth to array ourselves against the protected, determined in the near future, to plant above the cairn of governmental authority, the blood-red flag with its dazzling inscription "ANARCHY!" "AWAY WITH GOVERNMENT!" "HURRAH FOR ANARCHY!"

"Slaves of gold, whose sordid feelings
Tarnish all your boasted powers.
Prove that you have human feelings
Ere you proudly question ours."

—G. W. R., in the *Commonweal*, London, July 8, 1893.

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What is Government?

Curious the shrinking is that comes to the mind for an entirely new idea. No government—do away with government—dispense with government? What can the fellows mean? They must be unbalanced. It is impossible, such a notion. Why—why—why, what should we all do then without government? Give over everything to plunder, everybody to be murdered? What folly to talk of no government, indeed!

Gently, my friend; calm yourself and consider a little. What is government in reality? Protection, of course, you say. Protection to our lives and goods and liberties—protection to—One moment! there is no need of rhetoric: we will call it protection. Government, then, is protection; how does it protect? Why, by maintaining an army and navy and police and courts and so on,—there is no need of cataloging.

But suppose that somebody—somebody of advanced ideas probably—thinks some of these mistaken,—superfluous? Suppose, for instance, that one of the most humane minds whom you, as a lover of virtue, must admire—suppose such a one thinks the vast

expenditure on a navy, for instance, an entire mistake, a condescension to antiquated brutal methods for an enlightened nation that in other aspects is the patron of international arbitration, a slung-shot in the pocket of a nineteenth-century gentleman; or suppose that another whose mind tends toward the perfecting of justice—another instance of virtue for you to admire—objects to the constitution of courts and police methods as injustice full-grown, prefers—either of these objectors—to dispense with protection rather than to receive what he thinks is at best inadequate and at worst retrograde and repellent to refined minds,—what will you do? Don't you see that to force another to pay for such protection as you, with your majority behind you, choose to give, is not protection at all, is quite the opposite of protection, is attack—nothing less.

So that government in its best sense, in the sense in which only the freest minds of the past and of the day have permitted government at all, as self-protection,—in the best sense government is invasion, government is the enslavement of the forwardest minds to the backwardest.

But government as it exists is far more than a minimum of coercion for mutual protection. As it exists, it is an engine which the majority uses to compel the rest to do what the majority calls "right." Half the time, yes, nine-tenths of the time, the majority is but a blind fool in the hands of a few who play upon the "moral sense" of the community, the "patriotism" of the masses, the "religious fervor" of the crowd, and the other sentiments which obscure the sight and bind the hands of men, for their own distinctly perceived pocket-profit.

In this sense, the supporters of government are of the same moral status as a band of White Caps, bent upon beating and burning, not for any benefit to themselves, but to enforce a moral ideal.

The very first instinct of a free mind is to let people alone. In ordinary social intercourse this rule is imperative. To offer advice to others upon how they shall bring up their children, or how they shall conduct themselves; to suggest, for instance, that it would be more agreeable if they would deal the cards without wetting the thumb,—is not tolerated.

It is only where the mind is enslaved by religious and moral frenzy, by custom of the past, by prejudice of the present,—in brief, by fear,—that people are willing either to "govern" or to submit to being governed.

Let others do as they will so long as they interfere not with my doing as I will; should our desires conflict, I will yield as far as possible, will refuse to yield only where a rational agreement with mutual respect of each for the liberty of the others is refused by the other side.—John Beverley Robinson, in *Liberty*, New York, February 24, 1894.

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A Socialist Critic.

I enclose clipping from Salt Lake Tribune giving account of Socialist convention, that is of "liberal faction," which includes the unofficial or anti-"boss" (anti-archist) Socialists. Among these anti-boss Socialists are many that I classify as rational Anarch-

ists, tho we do not call ourselves Anarchists at all. We believe in the widest personal liberty compatible with a rationally systematized and economic plan of production; and are not above anything that promises any relief to the exploited wage earner, even political action. We resent the false statements of many of you Anarchists that all Socialists aim to establish a tyrannical bureaucracy in industry, and deny that *direction* and *plan* of the more expert in any industry means domination at all.

In FREE SOCIETY of July 20 under head of "Certain Comments" J. F. Morton says: "Economic justice is the daughter not the mother of freedom."

This would seem to imply that he thinks that freedom is possible without economic justice. This seems to be a denial of the postulates of all schools of radicals and revolutionists in regard to the commanding influence of economic conditions on all other conditions. Economic justice seems to me to be the prerequisite of opportunity for culture and mental development necessary to even a rational conception of freedom. And I hope I may be allowed freedom to express my honest conviction that abstract freedom thrust on the masses now would not mean "Anarchy" as you understand it, but a chaos under which we would be under the tyranny of all that is worst in human nature, poisoned and warped as it is by the slavery and degradation under which we have suffered. Most Anarchists seem to want freedom without its correlative responsibility; but I believe that in this compensatory old world we must learn that they go together, and the greater the freedom the greater the responsibility.

Another "bogey-man" of the Anarchists is the tyranny of the majority. ("Wretched and hopeless.") Chas. Fargurson in a recent article in *Wilshire's Magazine* uses the term "balance of personal forces." This is nearer the truth than that the majority rules. As to that "rigid uniformity"—I know of no one among radical leaders of any school who believes in same or advocates it. I think it about time the Anarchists quit fighting windmills and "tripping up" comrades of other branches of the revolutionary army. Tell Comrade Morton that because a man is traveling east towards Chicago it does not necessarily mean that he will keep on going and walk into Lake Michigan; and because we believe in the use of simple-common horse-business sense in the "administration of things" it does not follow that we are going to tell him what kind of breakfast mush he must use, or the texture or color of his necktie. I would not even insist on his remaining an old maid, if he could find a mate to suit him. I think a certain amount of compromise of personal freedom would come in right here in this simple matter even, or where the freedom and individuality of the mate? But enough of this, tho I hope I love all of you Anarchists well enough to give you a "shake" and a douse of cold water when I see you going into hysterics. FRANCIS M. McQUIVEY.
Park City, Utah.

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However distinguished by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal.—Junius, 1769.

One of the Blind.

A "sample copy" of your paper now lies before me. Its contents having been read and considered. Anarchy might do all right in a society where people were all sages and philanthropists. In truth such a society would have no need for prohibitory laws; no more so, indeed, than a sound man would have for a crutch. But how about a society that is largely ignorant and vicious, as most societies now are? Could Anarchy be trusted in a society like this? I think not. If we would protect the best interests of society we must keep the tiger chained. So I think, and so I shall act, unless I should view the matter differently.

Oakland, Ky.

W. S. JONES.

REPLY.

If Anarchy is to be applied to the present society with its gross iniquities—great wealth and revelry on top and poverty and suffering below—it is natural for Mr. Jones to think that the "tiger" ought to be "chained." But no Anarchist contemplates the abolition of government and leaving the present condition unchanged. And a little meditation should make it clear to Mr. Jones that not ignorance and viciousness, but government is the tiger which we ought to kill. Not the individual governor, but the idea that government is a necessary evil.

Man is not ignorant or vicious by his own volition or for the sake of pleasure. Carroll D. Wright, the government statistician, tells us that nine-tenths of the crimes committed in the United States are offenses against property. Now, if property in the means of production and natural resources were abolished, thus removing the cause of misery and servitude, the incentive for "viciousness" would be decreased to one-tenth. The crimes of the latter are mostly due to passion, according to Wright, such as jealousy, rape, etc., which spring from perverted customs and restraint.

Jealousy is largely due to the idea that the woman is the property of the husband or lover who support or think they support her. In a free society, where the woman will be afforded the opportunity to sustain herself without let or hindrance, the men will soon find that the woman's choice is to settle the quarrel. Rape is the result of restraint and the slavery of women. Among barbarians, where the sexes are permitted to gratify their natural desires without the permission of Mrs. Grundy and the priesthood, rape is unknown. In other words, sexual starvation is one of the main causes of sexual outrages.

In fact, punishment and restraint do not prevent, but foster crime. There is no capital punishment for common murder in Russia, yet among these "semi-barbarians" less murder is committed than among the "enlightened Americans," where murder is punished with death.

Governments have always justified their existence under the pretense of protecting the weak against the strong, but in practise this huge and expensive machinery does nothing of the kind. Its sole purpose is to protect the rich and hold the poor in subjection, and our judiciaries are simply dealing with the effects government itself creates.

A. I.

The downcast eyes of timid acquiescence have paid to impudent authority the tribute of a thoughtless yes.—R. G. Ingersoll.

Here and There.

The Filipinos are not yet civilized enough to be void of manhood like our "sovereign" workmen. According to reports, they do not submissively endure insults and abuses from their "superiors" without protest. One "mutiny" after the other is reported, with the result that the American officers on the vessels are either killed or badly injured.

According to a report from the Social Democratic party in Spain, which appears in No. 173 of the *Vorwärts* (Berlin), these "revolutionary Socialists" successfully aided the Spanish government in crushing the general strike in Barcelona. "We did not support the movement in Barcelona," says the report among other things, "but we opposed it, believing to render the Spanish proletariat and international Social Democracy a great service."

Last May the Social Democrats of Stuttgart, Germany, agitated for a strike of the street railwaymen. As soon as the men went out, the police sought to restore order by clubbing and splitting the strikers' heads. For this bravery the police commissioners, consisting of four councilmen, decided to reward the police with 3000 marks, and the Social Democratic councilman, Kloss, voted in favor of the reward, while a conservative member of the commission, Schickler, protested against the rewarding of police brutality. Try another one, boys.

From a private letter from Russia it appears that the Russian police has invented a new method to combat rebellious women. During the riots of last April nearly all women arrested were given a yellow passport, which stamps them as prostitutes, and they are subjected to a weekly medical examination.

Not long ago a recruit in the Russian army, Ivan Labezny, was incarcerated and charged with insubordination. When he came before the examining officer he said: "Your government defies the laws of Christ, and I deny yours. Why do you forbid common soldiers to read books? You keep the people in prisons and penitentiaries; you condemn unjustly and deceitfully; you preach one thing and practise another. I told you before that I would neither serve nor obey. For this I am ready to suffer and to die. Your judgement will be wrong anyway." This young man, whose conscience forbids him to murder his fellow men, is still in prison awaiting his fate.

In few countries has free Socialism and Anarchism so successfully been propagated among the rural population as in Holland, especially in the Northern provinces. The Social Democratic paper *Het Volk* (*The People*) complains that their meetings for universal suffrage in these districts are poorly supported by the laborers.

The chief of police in Amsterdam, Holland, is inaugurating American methods in the land of the Dutch. He has issued an ordinance, which in American language is practically an injunction, against picketing by the strikers. The Building Trades Council appealed to the different organizations to devise means to combat this measure, and fifty-three organizations responded. It was decided that each organization should con-

tribute one half-cent for each of its members to defray the expenses of a movement against this police outrage, and the B. T. C. and National Labor Secretariat were instructed to devise a plan of action. The supreme court, some time ago in a similar case in Rotterdam, decided that picketing was not a criminal act, and therefore pickets could not be punished by law. But law or no law, the international official rogues usually do as they please.

In the Cantons of German-Switzerland temperance societies have been organized, for the purpose of combatting alcoholism among the priests. The bishop of St. Gallen has been made the patron saint of this new league.

Many people will have read the short notices in the press that the farm hands in East Galicia, Austria, went on a strike. Little attention has been given these notices and were, perhaps, soon forgotten. And yet this movement surpasses in significance many of the gigantic strikes of the industrial workers of England and America, which are always widely discussed. This movement signifies nothing less than the awakening of an enslaved people from a millennial servitude.

One who is familiar with the conditions of Eastern Europe, one who has come in contact with the Ruthenian peasants—to him such news is surprising and unexpected.

Being robbed of their sap and strength thru a millennial servitude under the Tartarian, Polish and Russian yoke, the Ruthenians, who number about twenty-five millions, have not been able to achieve a civilization of their own. They remained up to the present time peasants in the full sense of the term, without a middle class and industrial proletarians, yes, fortunately, also without a nobility.

A liberal-minded man is seized with deep grief and despair at the sight of such a peasant, who will take off his hat at a long distance before a tolerably well-dressed European; who submits to all sorts of humiliations, and who kisses the hands of his master; and who, when outrageous rapacity has reduced him to beggary, undertakes a walking-tour—lasting for weeks—to the emperor in the naive credulity that he will attain "justice" there.

And these people have at last risen, have abandoned the ancient belief of gathering help from above, and perceive that the improvement of their miserable condition, their liberation, can only be brought about thru their own efforts.

Shortly before harvesting time they notified the landlords that they would not work for fifteen to twenty Kreutzer (about eight to twelve cents) any more, and asked double the amount. And as there were no "scabs" who would take the place of their struggling brethren, they were soon victorious everywhere.

Certainly the government would not suffer the strike to be settled without its beneficent interference. Troops were sent among the strikers, and wholesale butchery and imprisonment was the result.

Many of the students, numbering 600, who agitated among the peasants, have also been imprisoned. (In this country the students prefer to take the striker's places.)

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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.

"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 this office.

As was announced some time ago, the Philadelphia comrades have issued a pamphlet on the New Jersey anti-Anarchist law. It places in striking contrast the constitutional guarantee of free speech and free press and this law. It should have a wide circulation in New Jersey. For copies address N. Notkin, 242 N. Second St., Philadelphia, Pa.

The International Defense Committee is conducting the defense of Comrades Grossmann and MacQueen. Contributions are solicited, and may be addressed to the treasurer, A. Salzberg, 30 Paterson St., Paterson, N. J. We have on hand some subscription blanks, which will be furnished on request.

"Pure Economy," by J. Herbert Rowell, is an excellent pamphlet for propaganda among people who are not radicals. The price is 10 cents for single copies; for retailers and distributors, if purchasing not less than 20 copies, 5 cents a copy. Order from FREE SOCIETY.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society will resume its course of lectures on Sunday, September 7, at Handell Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave. W. F. Barnard will speak on the "Social Parasite." The speaker is no stranger to the radical thinkers of this city, and the purposes of the club as well as Mr. Barnard and his subject should receive an enthusiastic endorsement by a general turnout of progressive people to fill the hall and hear him.

FREE SOCIETY

Splinters.

Some of those who carry a lot of messages, but do not receive any, would like to know how many messages the recipients carry themselves. Perhaps Fra can give information on this point. It is easy to tell the other fellow to do it.

A Boston newspaper contains an account of a police clubbing affair. There is nothing unusual or uncommon in that; but the remarkable thing about this case was that two policemen were clubbing each other, (one of whom was drunk,) instead of cracking the skulls of peaceable people. This is a decided improvement. Let those who think they need clubs use them on each other, and the other people will be relieved of much nuisance.

Paterson is in bad odor in official circles. A man by the name of Toneti who had lived in Paterson went back to Italy, and was arrested there on general principles, altho he was not an Anarchist. Now I hear a patriotic citizen exclaim that such foolish things are not done in America; but I am not thru telling about Paterson yet. A man coming from Italy, and bound for Cleveland, was asked by the American immigration officers where he was going. As he had forgotten the name, and as Paterson is more familiar to Italians since July 29, 1900, he inadvertently mentioned Paterson as his destination. *The man was sent back to Italy.* A comrade (not bound for Paterson) who came over on the same steamer, was a witness to this affair. The competition to excel in official stupidity is certainly not confined to one country.

Had the anti Anarchist bill become a law in the last session of congress, we might be edified by the spectacle of several trust magnates being the first ones tried under it, as several of them are said to have assaulted Attorney-General Knox on account of his "official character." But there is a well grounded suspicion that the law was not meant for distinguished victims, and reaches only the helpless and poor.

Several more scandals have developed recently on account of corruption in the political arena. Officials in the California State penitentiary at San Quentin seem to have taken lessons from their "charges." State officials in Illinois are shown to have robbed their subordinates of five per cent of their pay for political funds. From the Illinois State Insane Asylum at Kankakee comes a story of abused inmates, sane men imprisoned for ulterior motives, and general corruption all around. Here is more work for the "reformer," whose complacent good nature never allows anything to discourage him. He needs to be reminded of the small boy who tried the rotten apple experiment.

A sensational murder mystery in Chicago, known as "the Bartholin case," has brought to public attention the police abuse known as the "sweatbox." A prisoner is arrested, and he is not informed of the charges against him. He is threatened and intimidated and harrassed in numerous ways until he don't

know what he is talking about, when it is easy to entangle him in contradictions. A shrewd criminal knows beforehand what to expect; but an innocent person, irritated and nervous, not even aware that he need answer no questions, is trapped in a fine web of words. Mayor Harrison is quoted as having said the "sweatbox method is to use persuasion or something stronger to obtain information." One of these "stronger" methods is to use a flashlight or "bullseye" lantern in repeatedly waking a prisoner up as soon as he falls asleep. This is a nervous shock to the entire system, and after a few hours puts him in a low state of vitality. With no combative energy left, he is then taken to the inspector's office and "sweated." Of course the whole business is against the law; but the police have a notorious contempt for the law when it does not conduce to their power.

Nowhere is the effect of persecution more strikingly exemplified than in Spain. Not many years ago, when the Anarchist movement began to make itself felt, the Spanish government inaugurated a "stamping-out" crusade on lines that had not been heard of since the days of the Inquisition. Newspaper publication became out of the question. Indiscriminate arrests followed in wholesale fashion. Even organizations which were not Anarchistic in purpose, but perhaps contained a few Anarchist members, were all arrested. Several times torture episodes occurred that horrified the world when they became known; and made the name of Spain synonymous with barbarism. Several executions and numerous deportations took place for certain alleged plots. But the reaction came with unerring hand. Popular agitations soon began in behalf of the victims; the promoter and instigator of the shameful torture was assassinated; a revision of the sentences against living victims in many cases had to be granted, and many were liberated. The sympathy of the people was with the Anarchists, and induced a study of their principles. At the present day the whole of the worker's trade union movement is openly Anarchist; and nowhere do we find a wider and heartier sentiment of solidarity among any people. Events are already taking place there, and they will happen in quicker succession in the future.

In the article by G. W. R., reprinted in this issue, the writer holds that parental rule evolved into the State. Comparatively recent investigation into the primitive condition of man, by scientists of note, such as Sir John Lubbock, MacLennan, and others, show to a tolerably certain degree that government had its origin in war. The family and "parental authority" are far later than the tribe.

Current Comment.

A Socialist critic, whose letter appears in this issue of FREE SOCIETY, thinks that an equitable and rationalized economic adjustment must take place before we can have freedom. This is the ordinary Socialist reasoning which persistently substitutes the part for the whole. Human freedom is something more than even the most desira-

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ble economic status. It includes that; but it also includes much more. With the disappearance of the State, comes inevitably the evanishment of all that makes monopoly and economic coercion possible. Such form of free cooperation as best suits the interests of all will be the natural and inevitable result. On the other hand, the mere transformation of the State into an industrial collectivity furnishes no guarantee of liberty, or of anything more than a simple equalization of economic advantages.

My critic fears the result of "absolute freedom thrust on the masses," as if this were a possible supposition. When the masses are educated up to the point of desiring freedom, they will be ready to use it; and until then it will be impossible to "thrust" it on them. To be sure freedom brings responsibility; but it also enlarges the capacity to meet that responsibility.

The Socialist finds it easy to brush away from his own mind the fear of the abuse of majority rule. Nevertheless, the danger still exists; and there is nothing in the Socialist proposition to nullify it. Oh, to be sure, there is "no one among radical leaders of any school who believe in same or advocates it." Really? And how about Millerand, who was so hostile to free speech as to join with the rest of a capitalist ministry in prohibiting an Anarchist congress from holding a peaceable conference in Paris? How about the many Socialists who boast that the legal marriage system will be enforced under Socialism even more rigidly than under the present system? How about the Socialist Labor Party, whose organ brags of the censorship of the private affairs of its members, and of the expulsion of free lovers from its ranks? How about the Socialist papers and conventions of this country, scarce one of whom utters a breath against anti-Anarchist laws or Comstock outrages, or considers the tremendous issue of free speech worth a single editorial or a line in a party platform? These are not very strong pledges of liberty.

But these indications are of comparatively little consequence. It is not a question of what the few Socialist leaders of today advocate, but of what would be the probable result of their system. The founders of the American republic meant well; but that did not prevent the degeneration of democracy into imperialism. The study of history and psychology teaches us that the power of men over their fellows is always abused, even tho no pioneer champion of a new scheme "believes in same or advocates it." If the majority has power under Socialism, it will do what majorities (or minorities) in power have always done, even tho the Socialist leaders of today may preach liberty and toleration. We cannot trust the State, either capitalist or Socialist. Freedom may be trusted to bring about cooperation; but cooperation alone cannot be trusted to bring in freedom.

As Comrade Ross Winn meets me more than half way, I will only add that Markham's name was placed in a list of living writers, and that by no means complete. A complete list of the notable poets of the past would be very long. If I omitted the name of Morris, so I did those of Marlowe,

Chapman, Ben Johnson, Dryden, Pope, Byron, Keats, and many more whom I read with keen admiration. As to Whitman, I should like to write a whole article, or several articles, but will refrain. I only hope that Comrade Winn will dwell with him until he comes, as I have come, to love him as a deeply imaginative poet, no less than as a sublime prophet.

Five volunteer regiments, that "served" in the Spanish-American war, without having a single man killed or wounded, have thus far presented 2,997 claims for pensions. Evidently "patriotism" comes high among these self-devoted "heroes."

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

The Strikers at Work.

We are indebted to the gentlemen who seem to know for the soothing information that this country is now enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity. I say indebted, for did not these gentlemen volunteer the information, I fear we would be sadly ignorant of the fact. I accept the fact, and supplement it with another, equally as easy of demonstration, namely: the country is chafing under a strain of unexampled poverty and anguish. Here is a genuine paradox for him whose economic horizon extends to the extreme of his nose point; but to the man of broader vision both propositions are quite clear. The existence of dearth and poverty never before equaled, beside the most towering mountain of wealth the world has ever seen, furnish us with a problem that is attracting the greatest minds of the world to its solution. All men, in fact, are working on this problem, but not all are laboring consciously. King Morgan, the greatest man capitalism has yet produced, cannot be justly charged with an interest in reducing the wealth and poverty of the country to a civilized equality; yet he is hastening the time when such an equality will exist, by increasing the inequality and misery of the present. There is another way by which Morgan works, unwittingly, for the dawn of equality.

He organizes a great trust. Immediately the services of a large number of intelligent men are dispensed with. Many of them held responsible positions under the individual employers who have merged the interests in the trust. Being now cast out upon the street from their comfortable jobs, the question of the future becomes at once serious and menacing. Dark clouds now gather thick and fast over the homes which but yesterday were full of sunshine and hope. Suddenly confronted by a new condition full of doubt and fear, these men, who have been forced into the vast army of the unemployed, are sure to lose their reverence for the present order of things, and become the enemy of a system they but yesterday upheld and defended. Such men are dangerous. A pamphlet slipped into their hands makes them doubly so. Beware, ye systems, beware of the intelligent, discontented man with the Anarchist book.

This is but a mite of what Morgan is doing for the future. Now what of the great men and the small men that are consciously working for the great cause? And

I also mention woman in this great struggle, for altho she is usually included when man is mentioned, yet she will object to her identity being swallowed up in the "man," and I appreciate her objection and will certainly respect her wish and gladly so. Woman, I say, is also playing a grand part in the cause, and with the numberless strikers, and a myriad voices and strong arms working for it, the free society ought not be far off.

JAY FOX.

New York, 210 E. 19 St.

Literature.

PURE ECONOMY. By J. Herbert Rowell, Austin, Ill. 56 pp. Price, paper cover, 10 cents.

This is an excellent little book for propaganda purposes, particularly among people who are not familiar with radical thought. The subjects are treated in the form of a dialog between a newspaper "Reporter" and a "Free Man," which makes it interesting and comprehensible. The author analyses "productive labor, unproductive labor, and destructive labor" and the methods by which the workers are robbed of their labor so successfully; but the perniciousness of government could have been made clearer and stronger; yet it will not fail to provoke thought in those who look upon government as a "necessary evil" or an immortal deity. His immediate remedy is rather optimistic and hardly applicable, which fact, however, does not lessen the merits of the analysis.

The book contains the following chapters: "The Trader," "The Landlord," "The Banker," "The Church," "The Official Class," "The Military," "Transportation," and "Conclusion." The large enfolded chart in the book, which cleverly illustrates our present pernicious social system, will serve as a stimulant for a thoro perusal of the subject.

A. I.

"The Word and Will of God," "as understood by Gabriel Z. Wacht," (Sawtelle, Cal.,) and containing said author's opinions on various things, from the medium of exchange to future life. Here is an extract from the little brochure: "Do to others only what others want you to do to them, and what you are self-willing to do."

"Do you know, James, what leading a strenuous life means?"

"Sure, Pop; it means kicking de stuffin' outter someone wot's weaker an' you is."

Chicago American.

For Boston.

An International Picnic will be held Sunday, August 31, at Comrade Buitta's farm, at Newton Upper Falls. All friends and comrades are cordially invited. Refreshments and eatables can be purchased on the farm.

Take subway cars to Newton Boulevard, there take Norembege Park cars and transfer to Newton Upper Falls; get off on Oak St. and walk down to the Pumping Station, then turn to the right to Highland Ave.

In case of bad weather the picnic will be take place on Labor Day, September 1.

"LOBSTERS" I HAVE MET.

THE PROSPEROUS ELEVATOR "BOY."

I had only recently moved into the flat, and did not know how the building was managed. The elevator "boy" was about twenty-five, very polite and obliging, but looked a bit "raw." One night I came in after 11 o'clock. He was at his post, as usual. "Great Scott!" I said, "you took me down at eight o'clock this morning; what are your hours, anyway?"

With a rather feeble smile, he replied: "From seven in the morning till twelve at night."

That was a scorcher to me, and I remarked: "If you'd put in a few more hours you would have a steady job, wouldn't you?"

"I guess that's right, sir," he answered, meekly.

I was interested to know how a young man like this could accept such a position.

"How long have you had this job?" I asked, with much show of interest in his welfare as I could muster up at that late hour.

"Only about three months, sir," he replied, wearily.

"What do they pay you?"

"Twenty-five dollars a month."

"And cakes?"

"Wha—I don't know what you mean."

"Do you have to pay your own board?"

"Yes, sir."

How nice, I thought.

"What did you do before you came here?"

"Worked on a farm."

"Why did you leave?"

"Cause the hours were so long, and there was nothing going on."

"Were the hours as long as they are here?"

"Well, no, not exactly; but there was nothing going on. Everything is so quiet on a farm; can't have any fun."

"Oh, I see. You thought you would come into town where you could attend the theater and ball games and horse races?"

"Ye—yes, sir," he answered, feebly, as if he appreciated the irony of my question.

"Been to the grand opera this week?"

"No, sir," with a half-suppressed laugh.

"Now, as a matter of fact," I said in a more serious tone, "you are really no better off here than you were on the farm, are you?"

After a moment's reflection he said he didn't think he was.

It was just after the November election in 1900, and I wanted to satisfy another curiosity, so I asked him for whom he had voted. He replied that he had voted for McKinley. Somehow I suspected that before I asked the question.

"Why did you vote for McKinley?" I asked.

"Well, I was afraid if Bryan was elected I might lose my job," he replied, as if he was sure that was a good reason.

"Why, man?" I said, with possibly some show of feeling, "you could get a better job than this if you went over there to the jewelry store and threw a stone in the window."

"Wha—wha—I don't understand what you mean, sir," he gasped, almost gagged by the suggestion.

"Why, if you did that they would send you to the penitentiary, where the hours

are from seven in the morning till six at night, with an hour for dinner at noon."

"Is that so?" he said, seemingly pleased with the prospect.

"That's what it is," I replied, "and if you went there you would get everything you get now, and have the advantage of being compelled to work only ten hours a day instead of the seventeen you have here."

With that I bade him good-night and left him thinking it over. I felt pretty certain he would do some tall thinking, too.

The next morning we bade each other the usual "good-morning," no reference being made to our conversation of the night before. But when I came home about nine o'clock that night the janitor was running the elevator. I was somewhat surprised, but thought I knew what was up.

"Where is the elevator man?" I inquired of the janitor.

"The boss let him off at seven o'clock," he replied, sullenly.

"Night off?" I asked.

"No, it's going to be a regular thing," he replied.

"You going to run the elevator every night now?" I asked, with a show of interest in the situation.

"I'll run it to-night, and maybe to-morrow night, but I'll be d—d if I run it the next night," he answered, angrily.

"How did the boss come to make the change?" I asked, as solicitously as I could, while trying hard to keep my face straight.

"The elevator man told him he would quit if he didn't get shorter hours, so the boss let him off at seven o'clock and told me to run the elevator from then till twelve," he replied, as if I were to blame for it.

I said I was sorry for him and bade him good-night. Poor fellow! I was sorry for him, but couldn't help laughing to think of the commotion I had caused.

When I met the elevator boy next morning he was all smiles. "I don't have to work nights any more, sir," he said, delightedly.

"Is that so?" I said. "What hours do you have now?"

"From seven in the morning till seven at night," triumphantly.

"Do you have an hour for lunch?"

"No. I have to have my lunch brought in to me, and eat it on the elevator."

"How about Sundays?"

"I have to work from eight in the morning till twelve at night every other Sunday."

"Well," I said, reflectively, as I stepped out of the elevator, "you are just two hours a day worse off than the men in the penitentiary; besides the Sundays you have to work. They don't work Sundays in the penitentiary."—M. J. Foyer, in the *Public*, Chicago, August 23, 1902.

Many politicians of our time are in a habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty until they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.—Macaulay.

Inequality in Divorce.

..... Ordinarily the opponents of divorce are haunted by a vague dread of impending social chaos in the event of any commutation of what Edward Carpenter terms the "life-sentence." They would preserve the sanctity of the home by a profanation of love. Ingersoll has too just an appreciation of the value of freedom to fall into this error, and too practical a mind to ignore the consequences of such a fallacy on the offspring of the coerced; but that does not prevent his countenancing a relationship still more dishonoring to women. With the best intentions, he would have them sell their birth-right for the merest mess of pottage. Not thus, O women, will you gain freedom! Everything has its price, but here the cost has been estimated too highly. The petty advantages to be given in exchange are not worthy to be compared to the joys attainable by the untrammelled, self-poised soul. Let our faith in freedom be above doubt. Our timid little concessions to expediency trail it in the dust. We do not give it a chance to soar aloft where it may command the homage of upward-striving humanity.

Being as yet mastered by and not the masters of our instruments, our efforts are fraught with pain. In marriage, as elsewhere, mistakes involve suffering. But this fact is inherent and beyond our power to circumvent. Artifice will not avail. It is important to note, however, that the inevitable suffering is greatly aggravated by the dominion of false ideals, and that it will not be lessened by external pressure. What was stated above, with regard to the effects of enforced companionship on material comfort, applies with infinitely greater force to mental and spiritual well-being. The point which Ingersoll seems sometimes to miss is the one permanent factor,—the value of the results of experience to the individual. At some stages of growth the soul can only evolve thru suffering. Thence it emerges, not embittered, but seeking for the expression of the love-force higher channels. The true source of strength has been sensed by those who remain steadfast, who rise above disappointment, and who continue firm in faith and of good courage. Prescient with the wisdom that no vicarious experience can confer, they refuse to chain themselves to the past, and the future heaven stands revealed. "When half-gods go the gods arrive."

It is the perception of that which lies deeper than all personal ties which urges representatives of diverse schools to unite in opposing the arbitrary attempts, whether of minorities or majorities, to regulate other lives in accordance with approved models. If men and women find their highest in life-long unions, the open door will not entice them. Neither will unity be secured by turning the key. The eternal verities cannot be violated, but reality may be mocked by the preservation of a hollow semblance. Equality seems the hardest lesson to be learned; we trifle with it continually and accept unworthy substitutes.—From "Whitman's Ideal Democracy," by Helena Born.

Early prejudice accustoms men to consider restraint, even upon themselves, as advantageous.—Hallam.

Child Labor in the South.

The evil of child labor seems to be a growing one in certain parts of this country. According to statistics given by the Rev. E. G. Gardner in a recent pamphlet, it increased in the South during the decade between 1870 and 1880, 140.9 per cent.; between 1880 and 1890, 106.5 per cent., and between 1890 and 1900 the increase was 270.8 per cent. In North Carolina out of 45,044 operatives in textile manufactories 7,996 were under 14 years of age, and their daily average wage was 29 cents.

The estimate is made that some 22,000 children are working in manufacturing establishments in the South, and that between 9,000 and 12,000 of these are less than 12 years old. Understanding by these figures that these immature individuals are kept at constant work for long hours, the outlook for their future can be imagined, and the formidable character of the above figures of the increase of this abuse can be realized. It is bad policy for a State to encourage the increase of degeneracy in this way, to say nothing of the questions of humanity involved. Whatever may be thought of some of the other demands of the labor agitation of the day, that for the abolition of child labor, as it exists in some of the southern factories, can be endorsed by our profession and should be by the public generally. —Editorial, *The Journal*, of the American Medical Association, Chicago, August 23, 1902.

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An Anarchist Catechism.

If people are fair and upright, do they need to be put under power to force them to act fairly?

If most people are fair and upright, can they not be trusted to deal properly with unfairness without law?

If wicked and foolish, will they choose rulers to govern wisely and well?

Does not experience show that the best laws do ill and are tools of fraud?

Is it likely that any good man will want to have his brethren in his power by becoming a ruler?

If "opportunity makes the thief," does not authority make the tyrant?

Is it not wrong for some to be privileged to have the rest in their power and some to be bound to obey?

Is it not easier for people who freely associate for any common purpose, to do what they really want without some being privileged to dictate and the rest bound to obey?

Is not authority then needless, hurtful and wicked in its very nature, and are you not therefore now—AN ANARCHIST?—*Anarchy*, New South Wales.

— o —

Since President Baer has made it known that the rich are controlling the earth—and what is in it—by the grace of God, and President Roosevelt has pledged himself to look after the interest of labor, and, last but not least, Mark Hanna is shedding bloody tears for the poor miners in Pennsylvania, the American Federation of Labor had better turn the organization over to these well-meaning gentlemen and wait for the millennium.

INTERLOPER.

The Way of Rulers.

Having heard rumors that the harvest was poor the caliph sent for his grand secretary and said:

"Whence come these rumors of the scarcity of grain? Why is not the yield of wheat as much as usual?"

"It is because of lack of rain, O ruler," was the reply.

"Then make proclamation that the yield of barley shall be twice as much."

"But for lack of rain the barley is also short."

"Then we must have more corn."

"Alas, but one-half the crop is burned up."

"S'death! Am I the caliph or a dog? Proclaim a bountiful harvest of potatoes."

"I can proclaim, O ruler," replied the secretary, "but the taters will not be there. Owing to the dry weather the harvest is a failure."

"And how about the turnips?"

"These are so few that they will sell by the piece."

"But there must be pumpkins and squashes galore?"

"Alas, but one may travel a whole day and not find a dozen."

"Caramba! Thou wouldst make out that I am no more than a wandering pig! We must surely have had an unusually big crop of hay."

"There is hardly enough to feed your horses, O wise one. Even now I am arranging to import thistles from Egypt to eke out the scanty supply."

"Say you so? Then must our loyal subjects turn to roots for a season to prove their patriotism. Make a proclamation that the roots of the burdock and the dandelion are luscious, good eating and full of nutriment."

"It can be proclaimed, O ruler, but the people had to turn to them long ago, and I doubt me if a burdock can be found within twenty miles of us."

"But I am the caliph!" shouted the ruler.

"That is true."

"And I must rise to the occasion."

"That is true, but how will you do it?"

"How? How? Why, you wooden head, make proclamation that owing to the general failure of the harvest and the dire distress prevailing thruout our dominions the tax rate will be raised one-half this year, and either the cash or the heads of my subjects must come rolling in with promptness and dispatch."—C. B. Lewis, in *Daily News*.

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A Word to James.

C. L. James says that he is not in the "class" with anti-vaccinators and anti-vivisectionists. No doubt this is true. But Mr. James' love for the "regulars" has greatly increased since he wrote the article in which the phrase "The Movement in Favor of Ignorance" first appeared in the *Truth Seeker* of January 28, 1884. Then he saw that Comstockism had secured the backing of "the 'regular' practioners—a most powerful veiled interest," to quote his own words. At the present hour, the "regular" practioners constitute as powerful an interest as they did in 1884, and, moreover, their financial "interest" in vaccination is far less "veiled" than was and is their interest in Comstockism. Mr. James could see their self-interest

in Comstockism, but seems to be blind to their self-interest in vaccination and other dangerous unscientific fads. H. M. BROWN.

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LETTER-BOX.

G. W. H., *Ila, Ga.*—I do not think you can point out that FREE SOCIETY "is favoring or cultivating a sentiment of violence." On the contrary, we are Anarchists because we are against force and violence. All government and "legislation is organized violence," says Tolstoy. But while we are trying to cultivate a desire for freedom, and appeal to intelligence, we are cognizant of the fact that resistance is necessary to defy the encroachments of wealth and power. True, Tolstoy is against violence under all circumstances, but he is by no means "a non-resistant." He vigorously resists tyranny with his pen, and never fails to encourage the young man who resists military service. In short, Tolstoy does not advocate submission to tyranny. Would you feel justified in killing a snake in your house which threatens to poison your family? If so, why object to resisting the tyrant who commits wholesale murder, year in and year out, in order that he and his satellites may glitter in luxury and idleness? Or if you were on a train and the engineer was drunk and threatened to wreck the same, would you favor force to remove the drunkard, or would you rather have hundreds of passengers killed and mutilated? Or would you have favored submission to England until it would have pleased the kings and lords to relieve the Americans from their grip?

F. T., *El Reno, Okla.*—Of course "there are Socialists who do not believe in tyranny"; they fail to see, however, that majority rule is under all circumstances tyrannical. And we are inclined to think that, when all the means of production and distribution be controlled by the majority, the Anarchists will not be allowed to use the printing establishments and the mails to advocate the abolition of the "administration of things." When even the editors of the *Comrade* are ignorant enough to assert that the Anarchists are a stumbling-block to progress, it is not very likely that the majority or the "administrators of things" will display a greater amount of intelligence, and Anarchists will be muzzled "in the interest of society and progress."

— o —

Our present social organization has been an appointed stage in our growth; it has been of good use, and has enabled us to do great things. But the use is at an end and the stage is over. Ask yourselves if you do not sometimes feel in yourselves a sense that in spite of the strenuous efforts for good of so many excellent persons among us, we begin somehow to flounder, and to beat the air; that we seem to be finding ourselves stopped on this line of advance and on that, and to be threatened with a kind of standstill. It is that we are trying to live on with a social organization of which the day is over.—Matthew Arnold.

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Certain Hindu philosophers claim that the earth was at one time inhabited by a race to whom food was unnecessary. They sustained life by breathing certain elements in the air. If there are any of the planets inhabited by such a race today, and the capitalists find it out, there will have to be more stringent immigration laws. That's the kind of workers the coal barons are looking for—air eaters.—*Coming Nation*.

— o —

Statement.

Collected for the purpose of publishing the pamphlet "Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchy"..... \$120.57
Expenditure:
Paid the printer..... \$118.94
" " Rad. Reading Room..... 1.63 \$120.57
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— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

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