



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 379.

"Why!"

(From "Songs of the Army of the Night.")

*"Why is it we toil so?"**Where go all the gains?**What do we produce for it,**All our pangs and pains?"**Why it is we toil so,**Is because, like sheep,**Since our fathers sought the shears,**We the same course keep.**Where go all the gains? Well,**It must be confessed,**First the landlords take their whack,**And the Masters grab the rest.**What do we produce for it?**Gentlemen!—and then**Imitation snobs who'd be**Like the gentlemen!**"What, is it for such as these**That we suffer thus?"**Fuddle-brained and vicious fools,**Vermin venomous?**"What, is that why on the top**Creeps that Royal Lounge,**The prince of bruisers and cigars,**Of ballet-girls and grouse?"**Yes, that's why, my Christian friends,**They slave and slaughter us.**England is made a dunghill that**Some bugs may breed and buzz.*

—Francis Adams.

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Law Humbug.

Every day brings about new events which go to prove that the law, even in a democracy, is only a dazzling fraud, conceived for the purpose of still more enslaving the proletariat.

The advancement of the workers against prevailing order, however much instinctive, is nevertheless effective, and the bourgeoisie have realized the necessity of changing the tactics of the "class struggle," which they direct more than they submit to.

Yesterday the exploiters refused to arbitrate with their wage workers, and the slightest resistance of the workers was met with gun and bayonet, which soon reestablished "order" in the factories. The predominating principle of every politician in the economic field was *laissez faire, laissez passer*.

Times change. Shooting is still done, tho much less. Not because the lives of the workers are more valuable or respected by the rulers and their satellites, but because the unions have in spite of everything become a power.

Even the Catholic workers have become conscious of their slavery, and the more intelligent of the bourgeoisie—refined by ex-

perience—protest against these murders. In fact, the sound of musketry creates too much noise, especially as all parties in opposition to the ruling party raise a howl in order that they may in time become the rulers.

Today the bourgeoisie are expending all their energy to make the labor movement a political one.

Parliamentary Socialism is a helpful agent to them. Thru the demands of the workers, and oftentimes revolutionary events, social laws are enacted which do more to secure the capitalists and bourgeoisie in their possessions than repressive measures.

The ruling classes are playing with fire. Mediation is blossoming, and with the assistance of Socialist parliamentarians, demands which had hitherto been a menace to capitalistic interests were, thru legal jugglery, transformed into very tame laws.

All these hypocritical laws are far more injurious to the interests of the workers than the worst criminal law now in force. So is it with the Suisse bill in Belgium concerning disputes of labor organizations, which is now elaborated upon in all the cabinets of the labor ministry. The Labor Party (Socialist) were asked for their opinion of the bill, and their answer, which is in favor of the bill, weakens the employees' interests in favor of the interests of the employer, for the reason that it aims to suppress strikes instead of inaugurating them, thus making it impossible for one to be successful. In word, the principle of government triumphs. That which violent measures could not accomplish laws, the delegates, and suffrage, have achieved: the muzzling of the workers.

But this is only one side of bourgeois mediation. That which the lawmakers begin the courts complete.

Oh, these brave workers demand laws in their favor, and are no longer satisfied with the law under which "all are equal." Oh, no. They want the protection of the ruling power, the police, the spies, and the judges. They want the machinery of law, government, to work for their benefit. They will be shown that the State is the tool of the dominating clique of exploitation. And it is the courts which have taken it upon themselves to make this plain to the workers. They render verdicts which nullify that which the law makers hypocritically established. The laws remain dead letters. They can no longer be applied. It is enough to declare them unconstitutional. Admirable

Jesuits! Law nullifies the law if the laws are against the interests of the rulers, but the law is sacred when it acts against the interests of the workers.

This movement emanated in the United States, where the judges, as is the aim of every good Socialist, are elected under universal suffrage, declared the eight hour workday, which was made a legal workday in different States, unconstitutional. Nothing was left to the workers but to rely upon their own strength. But the idea forced its way and conquered England. New tribunals have limited the right of organization thru the extension of law. In France fraudulent creatures are trying to make the law of 1864 regarding the right of organization illusory. The wisdom of jurisprudence is working to pervert the text and meaning of that law. The means are simple. It consists in prosecuting the workers, when they leave the shops without notifying their employers eight days in advance, for damages. Thus the tribunal decided in Montbéliard in 1900. Thus decides the supreme court. In Lyons several such decisions were rendered in rapid succession. . . .

The Belgian courts could not help but emulate such alluring examples. The article 310 of the penal code was passed in the interests of the wage workers. But a large printing establishment refused to employ union men. When summoned before the court, the owner was rebuked. But he appealed against the verdict. This time he was acquitted in the name of bourgeois freedom, which fools and Jesuits, who claim to be Socialists, constantly confound with Anarchy or individualism.

So we see such tactics employed more and more. They complete in an admirable manner the demoralizing actions of the lawmakers by which the workers are lulled to sleep. They bring the so-called labor laws to naught. But it does not matter! The Socialist parliamentarians nevertheless still uphold their belief in law. They see the laws misinterpreted and look upon the fact with comfort. They will continue to demand new laws, which will be violated and ignored as formerly, such as the mine inspection, traffic-system, adulteration of food-stuff, child labor in factories, etc. And when an Anarchist points all this out to the workers, and makes them see that in the present society everything works hand in hand, possession, religion, Church, courts, police, army, and that this must be abolished instead of improved or reformed, he is

told that he is too hasty, because the worker demands bread and not beautiful words.

The new laws apparently give bread. The workers do not see that it will be impossible for them to obtain bread, comfortable shelter and clothing under the present institutions, —as long as these necessities are possessed by idle frauds who enrich themselves in this way.

And when after ten more years' anxiety and hope the Bertrands and "comrades" will have uprooted every revolutionary sentiment of the workers—during which period the sincere and intelligent Socialists will flee the "committee meetings" which suffocate all self-reliance, liberality, and action,—then the workers will see at last that they have only created one fat sinecure after another. Meanwhile thousands of poor devils, who hoped so much, will have perished from cold, hunger, want, and serfdom.—Lucien Hénault, in *Neues Leben*, Berlin, August 13, 1902. (Free translation by Interloper.)

Clarence Darrow on the Strike.

I am glad of the chance to speak here. It shows that a feeling is arising among the clergymen in this city of the right sort. They are devoting a little more time to bringing about a right condition of affairs here on earth, and taking the other world more on trust. The earth needs it. At present the miners need, and the clergy are nobly responding, along with the masses.

I fear for the men who are taking up the collection, however. Judge Jackson might hear of it and, as he jailed men for feeding the striking miners, he might send those who are taking up this collection on the same road. We can talk all we like about Morgan and Baer and the advantages of arbitration, but I don't censure them and I don't want to arbitrate. Are we merely fighting for \$8 coal instead of \$10 coal? If so, I hope they'll screw the price up another notch.

I am sorry for these men, women and babes in the coal regions who are starving to death. And I know that they are dying by hundreds from the effects of the strike. But I say "keep it up." How many have been made to think as a result of this strike? How many clergymen have turned their attention from the celestial to the earthly as a result of the strike?

I don't blame Morgan and Baer. I blame the American people. They have let Baer enter his partnership with God. They deny it, but that is all. He says he has been placed in charge of the welfare of the poor man, to look after him. Have we asked him with Mr. Dooley, to divide the profits?

Don't ask for arbitration. Stand up and say we demand this and this. We demand recognition for the worker. We demand living wages. If Baer and Morgan have a right to the mines, what have they to arbitrate? They don't own the mines, and they must settle this strike. Tell them so.

I have no patience with those who say the coal is Morgan's or Baer's. The Almighty Providence didn't hold the coal supply till Morgan came to take it in charge, and it will be here after Morgan has gone. Why, then, do we submit to such tyranny?

Let the American people stand up and say

"settle," and the sound of its voice, rising and falling over the country, will roll upward and onward until the limbs of the Morgans and the Baers fail them and they fall and bow in awe and reverence to the greatest power beneath the heavens—the American people.—Clarence Darrow, in a mass meeting on the miner's strike, Chicago, Sunday, September 7, 1902.

Mind and Brain.

C. L. James asks "why is exactness possible in mathematics? Because," he says, "the terms of mathematics are absolute creatures of the human mind." These words are from his article headed "Methods of Science," in *FREE SOCIETY*, August 24, 1902. To say that the mind creates the terms of mathematics is of metaphysics, not of physics.

Altho James jumps at once into his subject, he works harder to blaze his way out of a brain fog than the generality of writers. But how does he get out of the woody myth in the thicket of which he discovered(?) that "mind" makes the terms of mathematics.

This is the way: for him mathematic terms, operations, quantity, are all abstractions. But in defining "the objects of a science we do so as they appear to the mind as objects independent of itself and only to be described analytically." Why the distinction and: where the fallacy? It is that he in common with nearly all writers on this subject, holds that the elements of mathematic knowledge enter our heads from other sources than those for objective knowledge. Most philosophers deny that it is from impressions gathered from Roman numerals and other characters that the brain constructs the terms of mathematics. The facts are, however, that we reach conclusions in precisely the same manner as when observing "Sugar," which James says is only the name of a "Thing." When the brain has arranged a number of related ideas into a proposition we have a concept. Concepts are never formed out of ideas, except when representative of objects. Hence, to say that mathematic terms are abstractions, the elements of which were not taken in the first instance from numerals or other mathematic characters, is untenable. James practically concedes this for circle, "which he can correctly tell what it is—because he knows how it is made." So, all James needs to abandon his abstraction theory, is to know how abstractions are built. The physiologists build them something as follows: emanations (sense stimuli) from objects that enter sense organs, are moulded by them into sense-forms(?); and, in turn, when these get into the brain, its cells work them into ideas of the facing surfaces of the objects that sent out the emanations (phenomena) in question.

When this can be shown as clearly as James does the circle, we then will know that the unsynthesized increment (sense stimuli) of mathematic terms enter the sensorium thru the sense organs no less than do the phenomena the brain fabricates into scientific knowledge.

Holding to a philosophic dualism, James, in common with many others, makes the mistake of treating mind as if it had power

to do work. It is obvious that this view has obtained from the fact that the brain is geared up with the muscular system in such a comprehensive manner as to make of it a very efficient mechanism for expressing its ideas.

By dualism, philosophers have for an age-long period humiliated the Brain, by putting in it a tenant—a Squatter—by others called Mind. And it is passing strange to a scientist, that this Squatter should have had car loads of adulations given him; in addition to his having to listen to millions of miles of peans sung in his praise; while the Brain, the real operator, has been ignored, traduced, cursed. Such settings are not becoming Anarchists who reason by induction, seemingly permissible in the deductive Socialists, Christians, and authoritarians.

Mind has no power except that of position of gravity.

What does Mind do? Wait for the brain to produce it, just as the fetus waits for the love-sick couple to produce it.

Did either expect it? No. But it often happens.

What does the Brain do? It produces ideas out of the modified sense stimuli it receives from the sense organs, and upon occasion, sends out (wills) the ideas that are constructed from them, in the form of concepts, judgments, imaginings; emotions, delusions or hallucinations, as already stated, to muscles for expression.

C. J. LEWIS, M. D.

Chicago, 733 Carroll Ave.

Endorses Reitzel's Article.

I wish to express my high appreciation of your publication *FREE SOCIETY*. I with others know the effort, work, trial, and patience necessary to keep such a valuable exponent of life's forces in existence. Yet I presume there is pleasure in effort in a cause that engages the heart. Especially was I pleased with the article entitled "The Song of Selfishness."

What life, joy, and hope-inspiration lies in that liberty of contributing to another's joy, well-being, and pleasure in a free, active way, separated from mental aberrations that make specters and phantoms and leave the soul to linger, wither, decay and die in its own egotistic ebullitions. Egoism is in harmony with the development of our whole nature by action that brings reflexively the highest, calmest, and most ecstatic state because in accord with nature's laws, ways and means.

Those whose sex nature's are blighted by the machine practises in obedience to authority of Church and State may not be able to fully enter into the spirit and meaning of Robert Reitzel's able presentation of those sacred and life-giving forces and facts. Yet all will be made to feel that there is somewhere, in the great realm of thought, feeling, and action a source of power and pleasure that has made life desirable, and pointed the soul to a higher destiny. This has been in all ages the same life-giving force, because pleasure-giving principle that has controlled the universe. There is in this article, so well presented by the translator, food for thought, an inspiration to a higher, freer and holier life. That disease worse

than the black plague that shows its symptoms in every place because of the repression or perversion of sex-forces—that enervation and terrible cyclonic manifestations which shock our sensibilities—that pale-faced, lifeless, loveless army of men and women that await their release from earth's sorrows as their only hope, have in the truths suggested by this article their antidote.

J. P. MITCHELL.

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A Parable.

The following is a translation made from the first chapter of an ancient manuscript, discovered at a place called Grazeinrode, near the towns of Kingskros and Obern. The characters in which it is written are very curious, resembling somewhat the old Hebrew rock inscriptions, and is believed to be a lost fragment of the Holy Bible. Experts assert that it probably dates from the year 2,342,001 B. C. The translation has been made at an enormous cost. The original manuscript may be seen at our office any day (Sundays excepted) between the hours of two and four.

CHAPTER I.

1. And it came to pass that on a certain day there met at the ferry a wise man and an Anarchist, and they were constrained to cross the river together.

2. And the wise man knew the other that he was an Anarchist; and he said in his heart: "Here indeed is a chance! Behold, I will question this poor fellow, and will thereby greatly amuse both myself and this ferryman."

3. And when they had come to the middle of the river, the wise man lifted up his voice and said: "Friend, I know that thou art an Anarchist, and that thou would'st not punish a man for any crime he might commit. Now what should be done with me if I threw thee into this water?"

4. And the Anarchist (knowing not that the other was wise) answered and said: "Friend, thou mayest be a fool, but scarce foolish enough for that; but even if thou wert to do as thou sayest, how would any punishment which they might inflict on thee mend my plight?"

5. And the wise man answering, said unto him: "It would not benefit thee, truly; but it would deter others from doing likewise."

9. But the Anarchist shook his head, and answered: "Not so, my friend; no precept, nor example, nor any device which the originality of man could invent would hinder a born fool from committing folly."

7. Then the wise man marvelled greatly, yet not perceiving wherein the fallacy of the answer lay, he contented himself by putting yet another question.

8. And he said: "Three men desire the same woman in marriage; which of those should have her?"

9. And the Anarchist answered and said: "That one only whom she desires."

10. "But peradventure she desires neither of these three, but has set her affections on another, who cares nought for her, how wouldst thou then?"

11. And the Anarchist answered, and said: "That is a question which the gods themselves could scarcely answer, and which a simple Anarchist like thy servant is totally ignorant of. Yet, lest thou shouldst think me unwilling or unable to give thee any information, I will even tell thee, if thou carest to know, how many hairs are on the tail of a one-eyed horse."

12. Now the wise man looked askance at the other, fearing;

13. But thinking there might be useful knowledge extracted, even from this unfortunate man, he lifted up his voice and asked: "How many?"

14. And they had come to the other side of the river, and the Anarchist stepped out of the boat and he laid the forefinger of his right hand to his nose and smiled.

15. But the wise man marvelled exceedingly.—Jack Fowkes, in the *Commonweal*, London, July 22, 1893.

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After James.

It is indeed amusing to watch C. L. James pat himself upon the back for his erudition and controversial powers. Behold him—monarch of all he surveys—Alexander seeking more worlds to conquer.

James does not seem to realize it (of course it would be surprising if he did), but he has one unpardonable failing from a controversial standpoint. This weakness is so dominant that it overcomes all his usual methodical reasoning; and he at once forgets to be even fair to an antagonist; and everything is thrown to the winds for the sole purpose of obtaining a temporary advantage. One thing we must all admire in him; he has nerve, and does not know when he gets a blow below the belt, but just comes up smiling with a "never touched me" air.

I write this to call the attention of the readers of FREE SOCIETY, that they may more fully realize the necessity for a differentiation in judgment when reading anything from the versatile pen of Comrade James.

Terre Haute, Ind. FRANK D. BLUE.

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Thinks James Wrong.

Comrade James' position on the vaccination question is just too comical for anything. About the time his latest dig at Dr. Levenson appeared in this paper, this old M. D. was being released from quarantine, at Niagara Falls, N. Y. where he had been for two weeks taking care of Dr. Wm. Hodges, who had been sick with smallpox. James is on the wrong side on this question, and it is about time for him to own that he is beat.

Since Dr. Martin Friedrich, of Cleveland, Ohio drove smallpox from that city by adopting up-to-date sanitary measures the people are fast learning that vaccination hasn't a leg to stand on.

The people of the United States are under a large obligation to Tom L. Johnson for giving Dr. Friedrich a chance to show the world the proper way of fighting smallpox.

And they might do worse than make Johnson the next president. J. T. SMALL, Provincetown, Mass.

Here and There.

The Awakening of the Slaves (*Le Réveil de L'Esclave*) is the name of a new monthly, published by the anti-military group of Paris, France.

In one of the articles, "The Anarchists to the Recruits," the military deserters appeal to their younger comrades to refuse military service. The article concludes: "The first duty of free man is to desert the army."

The new monthly introduces itself in the following salutory:

The Awakening of the Slaves will neither serve politics nor any organization, but will be a revolutionary organ. We will not stop at philosophical abstractions,—the paper will be engaged chiefly in the interest of labor, and combat all prejudices as well as the institution of the army, government, religion, and property.

We are anti-patriots and repudiate all reforms concerning the army, because we know that the abuse will disappear only with the institution.

We do not accept the demands of the opponents of militarism who believe that they can reach their aim by inducing a two years' service or the militia system, but we combat the army in principle, because we hold it to be foolish for the workers of different countries to murder each other for the benefit of the capitalist.

We want the workers to understand that they can expect nothing from the reforms of the politicians; that they must rely upon themselves, and that mankind will not be free and happy until they have thrown off the yoke of the capitalists by means of a general strike.

We appeal to all groups and trade unions to aid us in our propaganda. Let us not forget that enlightenment among the people is a great step toward freedom, and that social liberation will be accomplished on the day when the oppressed shall refuse to be hangmen and slaves.

Louis Janovitz has committed suicide in Yakutsk, Siberia. He was a member of the Polish Social Democratic organization, The Proletariat. In 1884 he was arrested, and after thirteen years' confinement in Schluesselburg, was deported to Siberia. According to an announcement of the police, he left the following note: "No one is to blame for my death. The reasons of my death are my shattered nerves and weariness as the result of along imprisonment and banishment (altogether eighteen years) under the severest conditions. In reality the Russian government has murdered me. May the responsibility of my death rest on it, as well as the misery of an unending number of my comrades."

An Italian Anarchist, Guiseppe Sbernini was banished from Zurich because a pamphlet, "Die Gottespest," by John Most, was found on him.

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The second point of Bible doctrines that is strictly fundamental, is the hope of reward. Do this and you shall be rewarded. Not, do this because it is right or necessary, but do this and you shall have your pay for it! And if you refuse you shall be punished—that is, you not only lose your reward, but you will be punished in the bargain! A person would suppose that these two leading motives, fear and hope, would keep everybody in the straight and narrow way, but it is well known that they do not. And why not? Because people learned a long time ago that threats and promises cannot be depended on. In nine cases out of ten they fail to materialize—some men escape the punishment they deserve and others fail to secure the reward that was promised. There could be no worse system of government than that based on threats and promises. It always has failed, it fails today, and it always will fail. As a matter of fact, people cannot be controlled by other people in their doings—they can only be controlled by themselves.—*Newark Courier*.

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ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1902.

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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.

ATTENTION.

A grand concert and Russian tea party, given by the Progressive Club, for propaganda purposes, on Saturday, September 20, 8 p. m., at Ruehl's Hall, 220 W. 12th St. Tickets 10 cents. Russian songs and other attractions will entertain the guests.

Notes.

Thru the liberality of the Boston comrades, we have been enabled to publish the article "Origin of Anarchism," which appeared some time ago in FREE SOCIETY, in pamphlet form, and it is now ready for distribution.

The essay has been considerably elaborated by the author, C. L. James, and dispels the idea that Anarchism is a "foreign plant" or that it means "the destruction of society." The historical references and logic of the essay will not fail to impress the professor and toiler alike. It should have a wide circulation. The price is \$2 per hundred. Ten copies, 25 cents. Single copy, 5 cents.

A number of comrades have volunteered to collect subscriptions in their districts in Chicago. The delinquents may therefore expect to be called on at an early date.

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.

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.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at Handell Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave. September 14 Louis F. Post will speak on "Economic Exploitation."

Note that the above meeting takes place at 2:30 p. m.

FREE SOCIETY

Workmen's Educational Club of Chicago meets every Saturday night, 8 p. m., at 278 Blue Island Ave., first floor, to discuss pertinent social questions. There is also a free reading room which will be open every night from 6 p. m. to 10 p. m. On Saturdays and Sundays from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Comrades who have literature to spare, in any language, will oblige the club by mailing the same to Comrade Reach, above address.

New York.—The Radical Reading Room will send a collector around to visit the subscribers in arrears. Those in arrears are requested to leave money or word at home, so that the comrade volunteering his services may not have his labor in vain.

Splinters.

Winn's Firebrand, which was announced some time ago in FREE SOCIETY, made its first appearance in August. It is in a neat and excellent shape typographically, and the reading matter is well divided between fiction and levity, and serious articles. Comrade Ross Winn, editor and publisher, has written the latter himself, and is too well known to need introduction. The Firebrand is a valuable acquisition to Anarchist literature. Address the Brandcroft Shop, Mount Juliet, Tenn.

The Social Question, issued weekly as a supplement to La Question Sociale, Paterson, is a new Anarchist paper, and is to supersede Liberty of New York. It is in plain and simple style, and is especially useful for gratuitous distribution among the unthoughtful who need to be startled into a new light. Address Box 1639, Paterson, N. J.

Some time ago H. M. Brown wrote to the effect that workingmen are responsible for strike violence because they use violence first. Such an assertion seems preposterous, to say the least, when instances of workers unprovokingly assaulted and shot down abound. To mention just one, let Brown explain Lattimer.

The sensation caused by an exposé of the Kankakee insane asylum has hardly been smothered in an "investigation" and "censure" which was buried in official secrecy, when a new scandal has developed in the State institution of Massachusetts, the Bloomingdale State Insane Hospital. Twenty four nurses went on a strike there because they could not stand the abuse heaped on patients and attendants alike. The Boston Traveler of August 3, contains a detailed account of the affair. Neglect, vile food, patients made to sleep on the floor, the nurses overworked, trustees and relatives being deceived, are some of the charges made against the superintendent doctor. There is hardly a government institution in the whole land where the inmates are not robbed in the matter of food. A certain sum per capita a day is provided, and this furnishes an incentive for someone to turn a penny by economy. The whole State business is reeking with rottenness, from top to bottom.

By the Wayside.

"There is too much individualism nowadays," said a prominent Socialist recently in an Anarchist meeting, and I pitied the poor soul. Does he really think that the 150,000 miners in Pennsylvania, who are fighting for a mere pittance, or the mass of laborers who patiently drag away their lives like so many machines, are exhibiting too much individuality? The trouble with these petrified Socialists is that they persistently confound special privileges and the system of exploitation with freedom or individualism.

Labor Day, which was gracefully sanctioned by our lawmakers, is aptly characterized in the German Workingmen's News of this city. The editor says:

From the top of a tree, where greedy caterpillars had spun their nests, the leaders of the caterpillars said to the root of the tree: "Thou art our only support. Thy strength supplies us with fresh vigor. Without the nutriment which thou gives to us thru the leaves, we would die of hunger. O dear root, thou dost not know how much we honor thee. Thou art a very respectable person."

But among themselves the caterpillars spoke: "Thus we have to speak to the foolish root. It is stupid enough to feel honored by it. Let us continue in this manner and the silly person will remain in darkness and continue to supply us with food and luxury, and feel flattered that he is permitted to do so."

Such is American Labor Day.

The old saying, "There is nothing new under the sun," evidently does not apply to the Argentine republic. In view of the fact that the Anarchist colonies multiply there with great rapidity, "anti-colony laws" are contemplated. Their aim is mainly against "the foreigners who endanger the security of government by means of practise and theory." There we are. Whether the Anarchist "preach violence" or colonize peaceably—they are under all circumstances "dangerous," which signifies nothing less than the bankruptcy of government.

Because Roosevelt invited a colored man to dinner and exhibited kindness toward "poor little kittens in distress," the editor of the Free Thought Magazine is tempted to vote for him at the next election even tho Roosevelt called Thomas Paine a "dirty little atheist." It takes but little wisdom to rule the people, said a European monarch long ago, but it seems to require less wisdom to secure the vote of a so-called freethinker.

INTERLOPER.

The Strikers at Work.

John Mitchell was the Labor Day orator in Philadelphia. During his speech he said: "I am one of those who believe the time is not far distant when the workers will have to solve the labor problem. I look forward to the time when the workers of this country will have to take possession of their own country." According to Mitchell, the laborers will soon solve the problem by expropriating the wealth and the land now held by the parasites, which proves to me that Brother Mitchell has been doing some thinking, more perhaps than many of us radicals are willing to give him credit for. Expropriation is the remedy, is the solution, and no amount of sophistry can cry down

the steadily growing voice of labor which will shortly be singing this strain from the house tops.

Mitchell is being condemned in some quarters for his conservatism in advising the soft coal miners to remain at work, and from their earnings help their hard coal brethren while the latter are endeavoring to force better conditions from the railroad barons of Pennsylvania. I do not reside in these quarters. Mitchell was confronted with a condition, not a theory. The condition which he had to face was this: The miners of this country are very poor. But few have more than enough to feed them for a week if they strike. To remain out of the mines they must be fed. Will the workers of the country, of the world, respond in sufficient numbers to the call of aid, provided all the men quit the mines? Is the spirit of solidarity sufficiently strong and universal to rouse and bring the united worker to the duty of feeding the miners while engaged in their struggle? This was the question upon which Mitchell had to decide. He decided in the negative, and advised the soft coal men to stay at work. Condemn him if you like for this, I certainly shall not.

The progress of events have proven Mitchell's diagnosis to be correct. Altho less than half the miners of the country are on strike and the rest of them paying a heavy assessment toward their support, yet the strikers are hard pressed for food. And now thousands of them are being evicted from the companies' houses, and are living by the roadsides, with no roof but the gloom of their miserable situation. The trade unions are responding to be sure, many of them valiantly, but not in sufficient force to give the strikers the succor they deserve. Here in New York many unions have assessed themselves fifty cents per capita a month. This is collected by the Miners' Defense Committee, which has also arranged for a series of theatrical performances which are sure to net a snug sum, there being no expenses attached.

It must be remembered that there are one hundred forty seven thousand miners, who with their families added make at least seven hundred thirty five thousand people to feed. This is a vast army, and to keep it in food requires the exercise of the powers of those whom apathy or ignorance does not dominate. It takes the warm impulses of brotherhood and the keen, clear thought of solidarity to move the workers to a worthy activity in behalf of the starving miners. This stage of development has not yet been reached by a number large enough to sustain a great army. Mitchell foresaw this and therein lies his "conservatism."

On Saturday, September 13, a monster mass meeting will be held in Madison Square in behalf of the miners, under the auspices of the Miners' Defense Committee.

New York, 210 E. 19th St. JAY FOX.

Some people are as careful of their religion as of their best service of China, using it only on holy occasions.—Douglas Jerrold.

The Class Struggle.

IN FREE SOCIETY of August 17 S. R. repudiates the idea of the class struggle. Now, as far as I understand, he wants to show that the fighting at the present time in the Pennsylvania mining regions is simply a struggle between the working people themselves, and as far as the mine owners are concerned, they have nothing to do with the struggle at all. But, is it not the mine owners who hire the scabs? Is it not they, the rich, by means of their (?) millions, who have the police, deputies, and the troops, if need be, to shoot and kill the working people whenever they demand more pay?

It is true, should there be no scabs, there might also be no fighting, and the struggle between the so-called working classes might disappear; but how could one imagine a system of private property with the absence of scabs?

Under a system of private property, there will always be a horde of unemployed, and, if there is a strike, those in search for work, driven by poverty and despair, are in a position to take the places of the strikers, and then shooting and killing occurs.

If the mine owners enjoy their vacation in Europe or in Newport, this does not alter the case; it is they, the property holders, who, altho being absent from the arena, that lead the struggle, and therefore it is in my opinion a struggle between the property holders and the working people, between the possessing and non-possessing classes. As to Russia, well, I acknowledge that there is no class struggle at the present time.

The struggle that goes on in Russia is mainly for free speech and free press, whereby the working people could be made to understand that the only reason why they suffer, is because there is a class which owns everything; and when the working people comprehend that there is such a thing as a possessing class, then, and not before, will there be a class struggle.

Lawrence, Mass.

S. S. RICH.

REPLY.

No, I did not want to show that the mine owners in Pennsylvania had nothing to do with the fighting. The rulers in Europe, as well as in this country, have certainly something to do with wars; yet not the rulers but the ignorant and deluded slaves do the fighting. The same spectacle is witnessed in the mining regions. While the "possessing classes" enjoy life and fill their pockets by increased prices, the "non-possessing classes" do the fighting and suffering. And the miners do not struggle to abolish the property holders as a class. On the contrary, with few exceptions they vindicate the present property system, and simply are on a strike to gain a greater share of the wealth they dig out of the earth. Consequently the struggle lies wholly in the idea of property rights, the idea of government, which protects property holders.

If the "class struggle" is meant to be a fight between the possessing and non-possessing classes, then the Socialist parties must recognize a "class struggle" among themselves, for many of the prominent Socialists, especially in Europe, are possessors of wealth. "The Socialists of Belgium are very active," said a comrade who recently

was in that country, "but their leaders are a stumbling-block in the movement. Being all well-to-do, some even very wealthy, have no anxiety for a speedy realization of Socialism, but rather live in permanent fear that any radical measure may jeopardize both their position and property." Now, if the Socialists recognize a class-struggle they ought at least have sense enough to select their representatives from the ranks of their own class. But the social problem is not to be solved by shifting wealth from one class to another. As I have said before, it is a struggle between ideas. This does not eliminate the fact, however, that there are class interests.

Neither in Russia nor anywhere else have people sacrificed their lives for free speech and free press, simply "to make the workingmen understand . . . that there is a class that owns everything." That is obvious even to the Kaffirs in Africa. But the principal object is to teach the exploited and oppressed that such a state of affairs is not justifiable; that they have a right to rebel against exploitation and despotism; and that none of us is justified in "owning" the earth and its resources.

S. R.

Modern Slavery.

W. C. Freeman was convicted of selling whiskey in Georgia. The judge who sentenced him urged the governor to pardon him, as he was guilty, not in fact, but by a technicality. The governor pardoned him and supposed he was set at liberty. But months later finds that Freeman was still deprived of his liberty in one of the "convict camps!" It is now discovered that the sheriff SOLD the man to the contractor, and the latter refused to give him up until he received back the \$90 that he paid for him! How is that for slavery, citizens! The governor had to send officers to compel his release because the officers holding him refused to obey the governor's pardon! Thus white men enslave white men for money—for the profit they can make out of it. Ye gods! Have you no think box, that you can stand such things in the United States? To what are things coming? This is not an isolated case. A thousand instances have been proven—not only south, but north. Talk about chattel slavery—was it any worse? No, not as bad, for the contractors do not care as much about the convicts as the master the slaves that cost him much money. PROFIT is the rule. Humanity is not considered. Get rich, no matter how. Private wealth is a curse, and brutalizes its owners and everybody else. The property class control, and this is how they control. In cities men and women are arrested for the fees, when they have committed no crime. The police records are bloody with such cases. And you, reader, who vote and support the social system that produces these incidents, are as much guilty of the crime as those who actually lay violent hands. They would not have the opportunity under an industrial system that did not admit of private capital. "Ignorance of the law excuses no man," and ignorance of the social system does not exclude you, either.—Appeal to Reason.

The Psychology of the Anarchist.

(Concluded.)

In view of his love of the new and his curiosity to know, the Anarchist possesses a *supple* intelligence. By suppleness in psychic systems M. Paulhan understands: "Their more or less great facility of transformation, of absorbing new elements, and of adopting themselves to new circumstances without being distorted or dissolved." Suppleness is the synonym of plasticity. The Anarchist has a plastic, sometimes a too plastic intelligence. Does he not at times accept ideas as good only because they are new? Does he not assimilate badly ideas he has too rapidly absorbed?

The realization of his ideal is the end which he pursues; thanks to his appetite for proselytism he is always thinking of it; thanks to his altruism, he is always seeking to make it better. But it results that he fails to see the obstacles to its realization. He sees the end but not the means to reach it. He accepts the means proposed to him without applying to them his spirit of criticism; he assimilates them rapidly but ill, because the ideal to be realized, and soon realized—he is convinced of that—has partly clouded his intellect, because his imagination is rather vivid, tho tempered by reason and the love of abstract principles, as we shall see further on.

His intelligence is supple; his character is stiff, whole, inflexible, proud, sometimes rude. Such was Proudhon, in his frankness devoid of artifice. He is inflexible because his mentality is characterized by the spirit of criticism, the sentiment of justice, the sense of logic, the zeal of proselytizing. He has the certainty of knowledge, and the will to communicate it. Thus nothing will make him yield or bow; not poverty nor the apprehensive oburgations of his friends, nor prison, nor hard labor, nor death. The more violent are the prosecutions and the punishments which befall him, the more he perseveres in his opinion, the more he hardens himself in his opinions, the more he is convinced of having the truth. The great things in a nation, says Renan, are usually done by the minority. The Anarchist is convinced that this aphorism is accurate, and this confirms him in his ideas and his ideal.

The Anarchist is *proud* because in his mentality there exists the love of self, the love of others, the curiosity to know. He is *impressionable*, for our psychic analysis has revealed to us his keen sensibility. His emotionality is inhibited by reflection. Habitually the individual scrutinizes his impressions. He takes care that his reaction shall be rational and not impulsive. His reasoning bridle his passion; and in him reason and sensibility equilibrate. This balance does not lead to indifference, as he reacts easily when he undergoes any shock, and he undergoes a shock every hour, inasmuch as his sentiments, his ideals, are wounded by all social phenomena. He is impressionable because he is affected by proselytism, altruism, the spirit of revolt, and the sentiment of justice.

In respect of his curiosity to know, the Anarchist belongs to the *intellectual* type. He does not study, however, for the pleasure of study, but in order to spread the "good

news." That is the important thing for the Anarchist. His intellectualism is strongly modified by his proselytism. He has more of critical than of creative faculty. He does more reasoning than imagining. The psychological analysis has shown us, in fact, the existence in the Anarchist of the characteristic of the critical spirit and the sense of logic. The imagination, in spite of this subordination, is not annihilated, for we have shown in the Anarchist mind the spirit of innovation, *philoneism*.

Being impassioned, the Anarchist on this side of his psychic nature belongs to the "affective" type, to use the terminology of M. Paulhan. "The affective type," says that psychologist, "has a horror of reasonable conduct: it wilfully opposes the impulses of sentiment to 'cold reason'." Generally speaking, the Anarchist has no horror of reason. He piques himself as acting rationally. His "affectivity" is thus tempered by his reflectivity. He lives as much by "the heart" as by the brain. These two lives, the "cardiac" and the cerebral, are with him harmonious. In respect of his affectivity, he reacts rapidly; in respect of his reflectivity his reaction is inhibited in its rapidity.

Evidently the Anarchist is *vain*. He loves his "Me"; he has strong convictions; he believes himself to possess the truth. Inevitably vanity leads to *ambition*. But his ambition is of a peculiar sort, for there intervene the psychic factors: love for others, love of liberty. He prefers influence to domination: his zealous proselytism is the proof. With the Anarchist the love of celebrity, of glory does not ally itself to ambition, to vanity, as is so often the case. This alliance does not exist in him because in the Anarchist personality there exists the spirit of proselytism. What he aspires to above all things is the diffusion of his ideas. It is observed that the Anarchist loves to preserve anonymity.* He does it not in order to evade his responsibilities, not thru fear of any punishment. By reason of his passion for propaganda, he faces with indifference, often with pleasure, the heaviest punishments.† No; if he keeps anonymity it is that thereby he is better able to propagandize. While free, he can the better fulfil his proselytizing mission. In respect, further, of his love of liberty, he seeks to preserve individuality: not wishing a master, he desires to be master of nobody. To that end, it is necessary that his doctrine should not be symbolized in individualities; it must be elaborated by anonymous writers. The love of liberty overrides the love of self, which would logically push the individual to the love of glory. Still, the Anarchist loves glory for his ideas. He would have his doctrine approved and followed by all. He rejoices when an action, a thought, a phenomenon of any sort, calls public attention to the Idea which he has made his own. He is vain for the idea, not for his own name. This sufficiently rare state of mind is only exhibited among those impassioned for an idea. We find it for example, among the first Christians.

All the same, when we look into the An-

* The journals *La Révolt*, *Le Père Peinard*, were anonymous, and also *Freedom*, *Die Fackel*, *Der Anarchist*, *El Despertar*, *La Liberté*, etc.

archist mind, we recognize the presence of a certain self-love, of a certain vanity for the self. He is as it were surrounded by a thick layer generated by the intensity of proselytism, the altruism, the love of liberty which belong to the Anarchist nature. The anonymity of the journals is more apparent than real; the names of the writers are known, and there results a notoriety, sometimes a celebrity, which agreeably tickles the personal vanity common to all men. This personal vanity is overlaid, but it is there. There was repeated to me a saying of an Anarchist, after the adoption of certain special laws: "Ha!" exclaimed he, laughing ironically, "it is for us that they have legislated; it was even on account of me alone!" There appeared in the tone even more than in the words the personal vanity which indeed exists in all men in a greater or less degree of development. In the Anarchist mind, however, it is in some insignificant, if we compare it to the pride in ideas, to the ambition to influence men intellectually.

If by cynicism we understand indifference to the blame or approbation of others, the Anarchist is a cynic. He outrages received ideas, is careless of proprieties, defies the laws. He affirms his idea, and avows his faith. This is the reason of his contempt for worldly ideas, for rules of every sort. This species of cynicism implies pride in the individual, and still more an intensity of sentiment, as M. Paulhan has noted. The ardor of the passion allows no consideration whatever to check the expression of the sentiments, of the ideas. The Anarchist is cynical because he has the critical spirit, keen sensibility, the appetite of proselytism.

Like all initiators, revolutionaries, and popular leaders, the Anarchist is affected by the love of abstract principles. With some men, disinterested social passion overrides all personal considerations and the interests of social groups.* Proudhon would have sacrificed France itself if civilization and freedom of thought had demanded it.† This sacrifice of the fatherland, of the family, of even the Individual, for the Idea, is characteristic of every Anarchist's feeling. They are all with Proudhon. In the talk of the workshop or the parlor, in the declarations before the tribunals, in the articles of the journals, in the essays in the reviews, the Anarchist never fails to affirm that to the Idea, if need were, he would either indifferently or gladly sacrifice his fatherland, his family, himself. And the truth of this assertion is seen proved by facts. For the Idea which they hold to be the truth, how many have endured imprisonment; have fled their native soil, which in reality they love; have broken friendly and long-standing ties; have broken with loved ones; have refused situations, honors, money! Like the Christians of old, they have preferred the intimate joy of knowing the truth, and confessing it, to worldly joys and riches. Naturally the sacrifice varies in intensity with every individual. All, however, testify their faith. And so, everyone more or less, according to his idea, each throws in holocaust his friendships for others, his ambitions for himself, his love of the family-hearth, of his father-

* Fr. Paulhan, *Les caractères*.

† Correspondence, VI, 155, cited by Paulhan.

land. Always however, their appetite for martyrdom, the effect of their emotionality and of their passion for proselytism, is balanced by their reflectivity, the effect of their sense of logic and of their critical spirit. As a rule the Anarchist elaborates his thought lengthily. He acts by deliberation. He has faced the consequences of the expression of his thought, and he only takes action when he considers the probable results for the Idea adequate to the certain disadvantages for himself. His sacrifice is reasoned, reflected.

The disinterested social passion (disinterested in the sense of being purified of the motives popularly called low*) predominates powerfully in the Anarchist. Impassioned, social, affected by the love of abstract principles—does he not love humanity more for what it ought to be (what it will be) than for what it is?—he is so in virtue of his keen sensibility, of his critical spirit, of his intense proselytism, of his sentiment of justice, of his sense of logic. If the Anarchist ardently desires the general amelioration of society, seeks well-being for all, aspires strongly towards an infinite progress, he does not symbolize this appetite in an individual, as for instance do the Caesarists, the royalists, as have done the Boulangists in a recent moment of French history. His social passion is "pure" in the sense that it is not mixed with parasitical passions, which sometimes intensify and sometimes diminish the social passions. The Anarchist generally does not even symbolize his love of social perfectionment in a God. To him may be applied the words of M. Paulhan: "The love of perfection, the love of the true, the beautiful, and the good, of all which constitutes for believers the intellectual and moral attributes of God, subsists, but without the attribution of them to anyone. They keep their abstract form."† And this philosopher adds that those who have such a love for abstract ideas constitute the laic and atheistic type of saint.

To possess his ardent love of the Just, of the True, of the Beautiful, of the Good,—according to his conception of them—the Anarchist has no need of symbol, because sensibility and reflectiveness are in equipoise in

his cerebral system. This non-need to symbolize his passion he owes to the combination of characteristics: spirit of examination, love of liberty, sensibility, sense of logic, curiosity to know. "Few things in us are more disturbed by our own faults or those of others than our instinctive tendencies to the True, the Good, the Beautiful. The Real is cruelly opposed to the Ideal, and in opposing it, imposing it, imposes itself on and in a certain measure creates it. Reflection goes on and the conscious tendency is formed, is developed, lives its own life, and tends to become the rule and the motor of conduct. And if once we realize the scope of the tendency and the universality of its object, if we consider it as a general principle, as one of the foundations of universal order, one of the forms of the moral life of the world, we have in fact the love of God without the person of God: among the dreamers or the sensitives a sort of mysticism without God may very well arise and grow. At bottom, philosophy so understood will not differ essentially from religion: the words even may be preserved, and we may have the whole series of states of mind from Catholic mysticism to the adoration of the Protestant or the Deist; to the intoxication of the Pantheist, for whom God is the infinite substance in whom we live; and even to the emotion of the Atheist, for whom 'God' is reduced to a combination of moral laws; to an ideal which is not realized and doubtless never will be. And the idea of God does vary much more from the Deist to the Atheist than from the Catholic to the Deist: among the Pantheists there are even those who lean to one side, and those who fall to the other."‡ So writes M. Paulhan, and he expresses a truth. Among the Anarchists, it is often verified. Philosophy inclines to religion, as M. Daniel Saurin has rightly noted. Deist, Pantheist, or Atheist, the Anarchist has for his ideal a sort of cultus. His love for that which he conceives as truth is really religious. The Anarchist has a religion; but it is without rites: it is purely intellectual, and its object is his conception of the True, the Just, the Beautiful. Like the ardent Catholic, like the stern Calvinist, like all the sectaries of whatever creed, the Anarchist has a faith, an invincible faith in the realization, in the near or distant future, of a new social state in which humanity shall possess great happiness. For the Anarchist, the Idea is God. His philosophy inclines to religion: does not, so to speak, differentiate from that. It is rightly said by M. Aurelien Scholl that "Anarchism is a religion." It is so because the cerebrality of the Anarchist includes the factors: altruism, love of liberty, proselytism.

Indifferent to the details of the material life, to money, to good cheer, to comfort, to luxury, the Anarchist concentrates his activity on one point. That point is what he conceives as Truth, the Good. His activity is great because he is ardent and impassioned. He belongs to the "unified" type, with a predominance of the social passion. He possesses a robust personality, for he loves and cultivates his Me. He is not a pale reflexion of his environment; he is not an insignificant puppet. While the mass of

men reflect the opinions of a minority as mirrors reflect images, the Anarchist thinks for himself. He absorbs ideas, phenomena, and he assimilates them; he nourishes his intellect on them: he creates for himself an intellectuality as one creates a body with aliments.

To sum up, the Anarchist in his mentality presents these dominant qualities: the spirit of revolt; love of liberty; love of self; love of others; the sentiment of justice; the sense of logic; curiosity to know; the spirit of proselytism. These psychological dominants, in their aggregate, construct the specific mentality of the Anarchist. In respect of that, he is "unified," master of himself, reflective, oppugnant. He has fixity in his ideas, largeness in his character, purity in his tendencies, suppleness in his intelligence. He is ardent in his enterprises, audacious, energetic, persevering towards his end, inflexible in his opinions, of which he is proud, very impressionable, as affective as intellectual, more critical than creative, vain, and ambitious to influence men. With him the dominant is the social passion. His supreme characteristic aim is proselytism, to the end of leading humanity to establish what he conceives as the social ideal. A. HAMON.

NOTE.—This article gives the psychic type of the Anarchist; that is, like all others, an ideal average, which corresponds exactly to no Anarchist in particular, but corresponds exactly to all Anarchists taken collectively. Each individual Anarchist participates in this type, that is to say, he has the tendencies of which we have spoken. These are found in different degrees of development, and undergo various distortions to the other psychic tendencies peculiar to the individuals.

LETTER-BOX.

D. R., Columbus, Ohio.—I was well aware that the "Song of Selfishness" would shock some goody-goody people and other befogged minds; but there is no advancement unless our old ideas are shocked first. So far none of our old readers have refused the paper on account of the article, but we have gained a few new ones who appreciated it. (Greetings.)

J. A. E., Cripple Creek, Colo.—We had neither the time nor money to spare for a perusal of "Mary MacLane," but we should be glad to hear from our readers who have read the book.

W. K., New York.—The paper is mailed regularly. Have sent some back numbers. James' "History" will be mailed as soon as we obtain it from the printer, who has unreasonably protracted the job. The delay has been as annoying to us as to the subscribers.

B. G., Denver, Colo.—We don't know where you could obtain a copy of A. Spies' "Autobiography," but if any of our readers have a copy to spare we hope they will let us know.

J. C., Spring Valley, Ill.—The idea of writing for the Chicago American editorially is nullified by the fact that they will not accept articles from Anarchists. It has been tried. Not even Socialist papers will do that.

M. L., City.—Don't be annoyed. Such vermin (Philistines call it newspaper reporters) cannot injure the movement. Their malice and insinuations recoil upon themselves. They are mental prostitutes, and shame is a quality they are not afflicted with.

Liberal minds are open to conviction. Liberal doctrines are capable of improvement. There are proselytes from atheism, but none from superstition.—Junius.

You cannot legislate virtue into people. There is no man ever any better than he wants to be.—Elbert Hubbard.

* I find myself obliged to use a common terminology. From the psychological point of view the lowness or elevation of sentiments, of ideas, of motives, matters nothing. It counts only from the moral point of view. The qualification "low," then, has here no reprobativ or approbative implication. I am writing neither an apology nor a diatribe: I am studying in the temper of a man of science the psychic state of the Anarchist. The motives commonly described as "low" are: love of riches, of power for its material advantage, of places and functions; of glory for its material advantages, etc. If as moralists we consider the persons affected by the disinterested social passion, we find that their moral character is high, is superior to that of the persons whose social passion is interested. This is easily proved by an analysis of historical phenomena. Men have always regarded those socially inspired by high motives as better and greater than those socially inspired by low motives. This superiority or inferiority of motives we repeat, has no psychological importance, for in the last analysis, every man seeks happiness. Every act, every thought, has for its end pleasure or less pain, which is a mode of pleasure. This not the place to demonstrate anew that that truth, already magisterially established by a thinker whom science has unhappily lost too soon. We speak of M. Guyau. The curious may read with profit the works of this moralist, and particularly his "Esquisse d'une Morale sans obligations ni sanction."

† A saying of Emile Henry. Cited in *La Libre Parole*, May 25, 1894.

‡ As cited, p. 192.

* Work cited, pp. 192, 193.

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