



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. IX. NO. 38.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 380.

### Tears the Cost.

(From "A Woodland Greeting.")

Hear then my tale: Dost know these shining dames  
Who toil not, neither do they spin? Their names  
Spell gold—yet tears I see on every thread  
Of costly clothing; by their side the dead  
I smell who died to weave that cloth! Canst tell  
Them from the lilies of the field? 'Tis well!  
Or in the still hours of the night canst tell  
The sobs of children from the dreadful noise  
Machines make, when—deprived of childhood's toys—  
The little ones in factories tall stand guard  
O'er flying wheels and thru the night work hard,  
Robbed of their sleep and play? Worse still, O God!  
Where daylight slants upon the factory floor  
And frightened children crowd around the door—  
A pretty child has slipped upon the stair  
And others pressing forward crush her there!  
They fall and fall  
In panic all;  
The fire bells call  
Crazed mothers wildly weeping—  
And ladies languidly come idly creeping—  
To stare unmoved with cold and curious eye  
On baby faces upturned to the sky—  
As in the sunlight of a blackened world  
Around their feet the little forms lie curled—  
Those winsome feet  
In slippers neat  
Of those who dance on Easy Street  
While children die.

—Caroline Pemberton.

### Laws.

Men are supposed to be governed wholly by laws—not laws made by themselves, either in whole or in part, but laws emanating from some higher authority. But who shall presume to make laws to control our actions? It could be only someone who is wiser and better than ourselves. But among men there are no such persons. The only legitimate lawmaker is God. And what evidence have we that God ever made any laws for the government of men in their relations with other men? We have no such evidence. We cannot point to a single law and assert with any kind of assurance that this came direct from God. All the laws that we know anything about are man-made. Those in the Bible are certainly man-made. It is admitted that men wrote them, that men interpret them and that men execute them. There is not the slightest evidence that God had anything more to do with what is contained in the Bible, or in any other book of laws, than there is that God dictated what is found in this book now before the reader.

However, up to a recent date, a hundred years ago or so, all human laws were made in the name of God. God was supposed either to have dictated them or to have

sent some representative to legislate in his stead. But latterly in lawmaking, God seems to be left entirely out of consideration. All human laws are now man-made, and for that reason alone they cannot be binding on men whose wishes were not consulted when these laws were enacted.

As a matter of fact men want and need no laws, and especially no written laws. Written laws are inflexible; they lack elasticity. They afford but one and the same rule for all the varied and multifold circumstances that are found in every-day life. They are a Procrustean bed. It is well known that a rule may be just and proper in one case, and quite unjust and improper in another and a different case. No general law or rule can be devised which shall harmonize with justice; and if a law is just for one, it is certain to be unjust for some other person. No two cases are exactly alike, and so no one law can justly apply in both cases. Again, no law can be framed so carefully or so wisely that the wicked cannot evade its provisions. In practise, the wicked evade the law whenever they find any inducement for doing so, leaving the simple and unsophisticated alone to follow the strict construction of the law. Laws are not made for all men to obey; certain it is, that it is only a portion of every community that obey the law. No matter how excellently a law may be drafted, plenty of lawyers can be found who can twist the construction into any imaginable shape. All laws, no matter who writes them, have to be interpreted, and the interpreter has an all-powerful influence upon their application and effect.

Nature has no law, no rules, no mandates, and men need none. Nature allows men to do as they please, and then they must take the consequences as they come. Nature does not forbid men to jump into the fire, if they desire to do so, but it leaves them to suffer when they decide to take such a foolish step. Men should do the same thing in their dealings with men.

The only laws for enacting which there could be any excuse, would be local laws. Men who desire to live in a community should adapt themselves to the feelings, wishes and sentiments of those with whom they find themselves associated. Those who are unwilling to make themselves agreeable to those among whom they reside, should seek some other location. The wishes of the community, expressed in any plain or intelligible manner, whether called a rule, a law, or a custom, should be observed by all.

Such rules are not to be enforced, for no one has any power or authority over another, whether in the community or elsewhere. None the less will every man find it to his interest to recognize the sentiments of every community so long as he remains one of its members. The same rule should prevail in the case of a community that we find in every well organized society. Every member observes strictly the conditions laid down in the constitution, or he seeks other associates.\*

Free men need no laws; and brave men will not tolerate them. Laws are for slaves only.

All laws at the present day are mere contrivances by which the purposes of a few designing men can be most easily subverted. They are not precepts, they are not rules, they are not principles to be applied at all times to all men. They are merely enactments passed by those who happen to have the power at the time, which enactments are usually mere permits for certain men to carry out their plans and accomplish their purposes without the risk of being punished if detected. Laws originally were decrees of kings or rulers; now they are the decrees of the party in power. They are declared in the name of the people, but usually the people have little or nothing to do with them, except to yield prompt and faithful obedience after they are published.

Laws never make men better; they make men worse. If there were no laws, there could be no violations of laws, and the enacting or the publishing of a law is itself an inducement for violation, for there is nothing that people so delight in doing as that which is forbidden. No command emanating from human sources has any power to do good. Law at best is only an empty mandate, and people are at liberty to obey it or not as they choose. The power of law lies solely in its enforcement, and this depends wholly upon the will of men. Men may or may not enforce laws as they prefer. Even the Bible, inspired as it is said to be and coming direct from God, is overburdened with laws that no one thinks of observing. People vainly imagine that there is protection in law, but there is absolutely none. Men alone protect, and they do this wholly as they wish or feel.

Law itself is conservative; it is opposed

\* Here the author errs. If all men would strictly observe the customs and rules prevailing in a community, it would mean stagnation and decay. There is no advancement unless the more progressive members in the community begin to defy antiquated customs. A. L.



to all change, progress or development. All great movements are uniformly opposed to laws as laid down by men.

Law does not render men moral; law is usually opposed to good morals. Law never made, and it never will make, any man good. Men do not do good because they are given certain commands. There is no goodness in obeying commands. Men do good solely because they are good, and if they were not good, their course would certainly be evil. Legislation never suppresses crime; it is really the source of crime, the occasion and the cause of crime. Every crime that this world has yet known had its origin in some enactment, some rule, some law, some mere dogma. The aborigines of America and the old Germans never knew such a thing as a crime in the proper sense. Among these people punishments as we have them, were not known.

The effect of law lies wholly in its execution, and if it is not executed, it has no effect at all. No matter how a law reads; the important part is, how it is interpreted and enforced. It is a matter of no moment how many or what laws are on the statute books, if they are not executed. The real lawmaker is the one by whom it is enforced. Law does not control a man's action. Every man does as he pleases at last law or no law. It is true, he sometimes is pleased to do what he does not like. Legislation finally depends upon the courts, the interpreters and the executors of the law, rather than upon the original lawmakers themselves. This is a vital point and should not be overlooked. It is a matter of small moment how a law reads; the important question is, how is it understood and how is it applied?—From "The New Dispensation," by J. Wilson.

#### — o — "Pure Economy."

This is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Free Socialist Union, Austin, Ill., J. Herbert Rowell, author.\* I am glad to notice this work, as the subject has been in my thought for many years. It is this, that the people can take care of themselves by "pooling their issues"—cooperating to supply their needs. Pure economy is for each to care for himself, provide for himself by producing and exchanging with his comrades. Buying and selling for profit is a false economy, resulting in "unproductive and destructive labor." Comrade Rowell prefaces his work with a chart, illustrating the seven parasites, that constitute false economy, "the trader, the landlord, the banker, the Church, the official class, the military, and transportation." These are the factors of commercialism. He says:

From the standpoint of pure economy business is simply gambling. . . . This whole idea of producing human necessities for the purpose of selling them as we are doing today, is the height of folly. . . . I am advocating the idea of producing things for use, not for profit.

His economy would do away with monopoly. Each producing for his own need, no middleman could exist. It would do away with "wage slavery." He proves the only object of employing help "is simply to make a profit on the labor of each employe. If they are successful in their undertaking

\* The author's address is now Independence, Minn.

they usually get rich," while the producer remains in poverty. The more men the capitalist employs the greater his profit.

The employes, they part with a portion of the products of their toil cheerfully and willingly: actually pouring wealth into the strong boxes of their masters. . . . It is customary, it is fashionable, . . . and in the last analysis every day they work their employer makes a profit, every time they purchase anything the dealer makes a profit, . . . and the game goes merrily on, under the name of business, trade, industry, commercialism, export and import. And the whole system is so complicated, and has so many ramifications, that the dear people don't know how it happens that they, the toilers are always poor and the other fellows are rich.

He quotes from Professor Robert E. Ely, the secretary of the League of Political Education. Mr. Ely's figures are drawn from the federal census. He says:

The wage earners of the United States number some 15,000,000 men, women, boys and girls of ten years or over. Their average individual earnings a year are \$400; but on an average two persons are dependent upon each wage earner for support, which means that three people must live on that average monthly wage of about \$33.33.

Investigation has shown that about a quarter of a workingman's wages go to rent, and about half to food and fuel. Thus this average workingman with his family of two, will have left each month, after paying for the roof over his head and the food needful to sustain life, about \$8.30 a month for clothing, medicine, recreation, and a bank account against a rainy day or the time when he shall become superannuated. Professor Ely very naturally says in the face of these figures that the terms of our economic problem cannot be solved by thrift alone; and indeed the poorest encouragement to thrift is the knowledge that with the utmost pinching economy for years the savings of a family will be inadequate to meet the needs of six months of idleness or two months of costly sickness.

"Pure Economy" would ignore the landlord. "Land is not a product of human labor, no more so than sunlight. . . . The only valid title to land is occupancy. The idea of an individual or a concern claiming ownership to more land than they are using is wrong." His economy would not seek to overthrow such claims, but undermine them. "There are still billions of acres of cheap land in this country . . . on which the producer can settle without paying tribute to other people who are known in society as landlords." He would utilize the facts brought out by Kropotkin in his "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," which deals with "subjects which are of vital importance, because they deal with improved methods of obtaining human necessities on the basis of the least effort."

Pure economy is based on the fact that labor produces all wealth. To be sure our comrade makes a distinction, giving capital credit with labor in the production of wealth, but the fact that labor must in the first place create capital seems to make the distinction quite useless.

Under "The Banker" he tells the uselessness and wastefulness of metallic money, and how the money lender by his rate of interest is enabled to live upon the labor of others.

"The Church" comes in for a whole lot of criticism. Our comrade is writing for the eyes of the multitude, and to lampoon the Church is getting quite popular with the masses. I skip all this and come to "King & Co." This he handles rather gingerly. He evidently does not want to shock his readers with Anarchist arguments. He says:

From the standpoint of pure economy a certain kind of government is very useful and even necessary, but

. . . Do we need a government? If so why? To keep the peace? Yes, everybody wants peace. . . . Let the government keep the peace, but let it stop right there; and let everybody do as he pleases, so long as he is peaceable. . . . The government which simply keeps the peace is no longer a government at all: it is an organization for defense, and is therefore opposed to government. . . . You can always tell who the governor is: it is the gentleman who collects tribute by force.

And he goes on showing the absurdity of government: the impossibility of liberty, the meddlesomeness of the machinery of government, and how the law defeats the object of the lawmakers, until we begin to see that he was "talking thru his hat" in claiming "a certain kind of government useful and even necessary." Yet he devotes a goodly portion of his argument to "King & Co." and leaves them in a decidedly bad shape, and the average readers may catch ideas that will do them good.

Under "Transportation" he deals commercialism a tremendous blow, showing that it "is part and parcel of the gambling system which is commonly called business."

There are only two classes of people in business: the buyer and the seller. . . . The wage earner is a seller and wants the highest price, that is, big wages. One who employs labor is a buyer, and will strive to cut down wages. . . . The buyer and seller are two opposites, and they have always been at war with each other and always will be. . . . It is useless to talk about any real improvement as long as people bear the relation of buyer and seller toward each other. . . . The whole world has become commercially mad. Paul is laying awake nights striving to learn a good scheme to rob Peter, but Peter is getting wiser all the time. The farmer feels that something is hurting him—something is wrong: he is getting wiser every day. The wage earner is getting wiser too—something is hurting him. Both the farmer and wage earner are suffering from a common disease, "Profit." That's right. . . . Better prices for farm products and higher wages for the laborer, is not the kind of medicine that will cure these two hard working patients. It wants something else to effect a permanent cure—the abolition of profit; and this can only be brought about by making things for use; the producer to use them—use all of them . . . in other words, stop working for the other fellow; stop paying rent, and don't borrow any money. If everybody will do this, then the employer, the landlord, and Shylock will disappear very quickly as such, and will have to come down out of their mansions and go to work at productive labor—either that or starve.

Comrade Rowell has organized a colony to carry out his ideas. If I was foot-loose I should like to join him. I shall watch his progress. I feel sure that he is on the right track. May his pure economy enlighten the world and make sure his closing words, "The sublime army of progress is moving onward and onward, and in time will overtake abnormal wealth and abject poverty."

A LEROY LOUBAL.

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E. O'Brien, the editor of the Manila newspaper, *Freedom*, Frederick Dorr, the proprietor, and Manager Dorr, convicted of sedition, was sentenced Aug. 27. The editor and proprietor were condemned to pay a fine of \$1,000 each, and the manager a fine of \$25. The people of the islands are learning in good season the depth of our professed devotion to a free press.—*Truth Seeker*.

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As to the injury we may do any future and more respectable House of Commons, I own I am not now sanguine enough to expect a more plentiful harvest of parliamentary virtue in one year than another.—Junius, 1769.



## FREE SOCIETY.

### A Letter from Spain.

I give you an instance of the barbarity of the Guardia Civil in Spain. A man passed here a few days ago, near a post of the guards, carrying a bundle, which he threw away and ran when challenged. All the guards turned out, firing a number of shots, but without effect. When finally taken he was roughly handled. On another occasion they killed a poor idiot. Is it not a shocking thing that policemen are authorized to shoot as I have mentioned? The working people's lives are completely at their mercy. They have only to say "he was a prisoner," or "we tried to take him and he ran away, so we effectually stopped him." I have heard the most dreadful stories of the doings of these terrible police brigands, who provoke the people in every way, and are perfectly irresponsible. I know nobody like them, except the Irish constabulary, like whom they go about always armed to the teeth, with knife, revolver and sword-bayonet. It surprises some here when I tell them we have the same kind of liberty in Ireland as here.

Oh! this is a cheering country for a revolutionist to live in; and it pleases me the more as it is still so primitive. In the country parts as well as in the towns the people are all organizing themselves in confederations more or less radical, and are all agreed that a revolution is what is wanted.

I walked out, as I often do, some weeks ago, talking with people as I went, and after spending the night at a village seven leagues from Malaga, where I slept soundly on a bag of straw on the floor of a posada, I returned early next morning, and finding a road on the way which led to town on the other side of a mountain, I followed it and arrived in sight of a most picturesque place clustered on the side of a lofty hill, with the almost invariable moorish castle at the top.

I was charmed with the place, and finding a young man leading a donkey who was going there, I asked him to show me where the posada was. As we entered the town I saw on a long building a sign board which said, "Workman's Center" "The Ideal," and I said to my companion that that was a good sign, and I hoped the members were Anarchists. I don't know what he said, but he took much trouble to find me a place to feed. These small towns are almost entirely inhabited by peasants, and there is very poor accommodations for outsiders.

While I was waiting, quite a crowd assembled at the door and plied me with questions, about Buenos Aires particularly. One woman had friends in Brazil, and thought I might have met them in Buenos Aires! Geography is not their forte, in almost any class of people here. And, oh, Lord! how completely the peasants ignore all "the past glories of Spain!" I had even to explain to them that in Buenos Aires Spanish is the language of the country. But I believe that ignorance of such things if not bliss, is far better than knowledge mixed with patriotic superstition as it usually is.

Some young men came in, and suddenly one of them asked me what were my opinions. They seemed to guess that I was on the propaganda of some society or another. I replied that I was an Anarchist, half fear-

ing they might not take it very well; but on the contrary, all of them, even the women, seemed delighted; and two of the young men declared they were of the same opinion, tho everyone is very careful as a rule to hide their belief in this country. They are so persecuted by the well-to-do if known to be Anarchists.

We had a good talk there and then, and after lunch they brought me off to the center "El Ideal," in the midst of a crowd of both sexes, and the president was sent for. I found him a very well read, intelligent man, and well-to-do, being a small proprietor. We talked there for some hours and discussed Anarchy, and finally I left, promising to return and bring them literature, which I did a week later, spending two days with them.

They are not Anarchists, but belong to a federation with very radical views, tho partly political, the head of which is a woman who has made great freethought and radical propaganda, and goes about forming centers and holding meetings. She is very eloquent, and has great influence, and is doing much good in teaching the workers to combine. In these centers our comrades can do much propaganda, and as I saw where I mentioned, and on many other occasions, there is nothing so attractive and awakes such a spirit of inquiry as the mere mention of Anarchy. . . . .

With all that I tell you, the comrades here complain that this province is one of the most backward; and certainly the workingmen have shown apparently very little energy in the strikes that have taken place since I came here. The masters have succeeded in breaking up many of the unions, I have been told, some little time ago. A strike in the port which took place lately, and which promised well at first, turned out in the end a miserable failure. There is great poverty, and so it is hard to prevent men from offering themselves in the place of the strikers.

Wages are very low in this country for the unskilled workmen, but not lower than in England compared with the cost of food; but there are very few who earn the wages of a skilled workman in England, and they work very long hours. For all that you never see here the horrible misery and degradation of English towns and cities. I am told that Madrid goes very far in that direction; but I have not yet been there.

J. CREAGHE.

Malaga, Spain, August 20, 1902.

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### Patriotism.

In a chocolate factory of Paris a French workingman fought with a Swiss, knocked him down with his shovel and killed him. The foreign workers employed in this factory are continually bothered by the abuses of their French comrades. And it is the same in all factories which employ foreigners.

This is very sad. It is sad that national prejudice among the workers is as strong as among the bourgeoisie. As if the corner of the world where one is born is sufficient to make you an enemy or friend! As if one is obliged to remain imprisoned all his life within the frontiers the governments have traced around you!

Well, poor workingmen, instead of hating

this proletarian who comes to work at your side, pity him, for he is still more unhappy than you are. He had to quit his friends, his country, perhaps his wife and children, all whom he loved, to come here and find an opportunity to live, which he could not find any longer at home. If he crossed this frontier which you take so much to heart, poor workingman, is it not perhaps that he is better than the others? Is it not perhaps that he did not want to learn to hate, and to be compelled one day to shoot at you and to kill you, you who kill him? What matters his name or language? Do you not see that he is a human being like you, more like you than your boss, your deputy, your priest, your colonel, your landlord, and your minister? Will you not understand that it is in becoming friends, in understanding each other and association, that you will be able to vanquish your genuine enemies and to make for yourself a happy existence in an equitable society?

You are kicking that he comes to invade your country? You haven't got any. He takes your bread? It is your boss who takes it, he and his shareholders, the governors, the soldiers, the friends and protectors of the shareholders, their priests, their judges, their footmen, all those who produce nothing, or rather those who produce the lies, the wrong and the fistic orders.

Suppose that your foreign comrade makes it hard for you, you ought to blame your boss, who employs the foreigners, and the legislators, who with their so-called fraternal laws on labor, compel your boss to employ foreigners. But you think very little, and act as foolishly as the bourgeoisie. It is discouraging.—R. C., in *Les Temps Nouveaux*. (Translated by A. A.)

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### An Unsolved Mystery.

A story which was religiously suppressed by the capitalist journals is related as happening in the Kanawha valley during the recent mining strike, a prominent official of the United Mine Workers vouching for its truth. Two non-union men were shot, one killed instantly and one dangerously wounded by a fusillade which came from a hill at a considerable distance. The authorities got after the murderer who was, of course, assumed to be a striker, and after reconnoitering the place from which the shots had been fired, discovered two rifle shells in which smokeless powder had been used. Bloodhounds were placed on the trail and the animals went straight to the office of the superintendent of the local coal mine, who curiously enough had the reputation of being a crack long distance marksman. At this point the scent failed, and consequently no arrests were made. The dogs had evidently made a mistake, "law and order" was nonplussed and the murderous "striker" remained undiscovered.—*Chicago Socialist*.

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Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer the question.—Thomas Jefferson.



# FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by..... A. ISAAC.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 331 WALNUT ST., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1911.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

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

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 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 Handel Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave., September 21, Clarence S. Darrow will speak on "State and Municipal Problems."

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

## FREE SOCIETY

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.

The Boston *Traveler* contains an account of how millionaires of Newport are "invited" to attend on the chief of police for breaking the law, and reminds us that plain John Smith is "arrested." Some of us have been aware of these nice little distinctions for some time, and it is a pleasure to notice that others are getting their eyes open to them.

In another case where this distinction was nicely displayed was that of the Grand Duke Boris on his visit in Chicago. The duke had a plain ordinary drunk, and the next day had the Katzenjammer, just the same as John Doe and Richard Roe. However, the newspapers reported no police court scene, but stated that his highness found it necessary to "ask for ice water" in a swell hotel.

"High society" at Newport is at "war" over the fact that a waiter passed a plate of soup to a lady before the Duke Boris was served. We may now watch the sparks fly, while the poor peasants furnish the powder.

Father Yorke of San Francisco, Jesuit and labor politician, said in an oration on last Labor Day: "We have heard much about the public schools and the education of labor. Intellectuality does nothing for labor. Brains are the cheapest things in the market. . . . It is not intellectuality that counts. . . . It is character." No doubt intellectuality without character is a poor quantity, but stupidity lead by a priest is worse. It is a sorry sight to see workmen cheering a flatterer of their ignorance. But that is always the way. The priest knows what conduces to his own power, and he also knows that an ignoramus loves nothing so well as to have his mediocrity lauded. Hence the sneer at education under pretense of praising character. We need character above all in the workingman; but it must be combined with independence and intelligence. When the workers cease to feel flattered at their ignorance, we may hope for something better.

A dispatch to the Wichita, *Daily Eagle* from Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, states that Walter L. Cross, a private soldier, committed suicide rather than remain a soldier, he having tried every means to leave the service and failed. It gives us a rather suggestive inference when men rather die than remain soldiers. Of what use is the man to "the service" now, and what was the sense of keeping him in it against his will? No doubt he did not know what military life is when he went into it, and changed his mind afterward.

Immense indignation has been aroused against the coal magnate Baer because he has declared that God, in his infinite wisdom,

has given the barons the mines. If God is not the giver, who is? That is a pertinent question for a believer in private property to answer. If their title is based on conquest and might, just let the fight begin. They won't hold them for a day; and the workers will settle the strike question in short order.

It is amusing to see how fond employers are of telling the employees that their "interests are identical." Wolves always say that to the sheep.

Tom Bawden spoke on the streets of Toronto recently and a police sergeant ordered him to stop, altho the city ordinance specially provides that public preaching shall not be interfered with. When he asked whether one is not allowed to speak on the streets of Toronto, the policeman bluntly replied: "Not on Single Tax." There you have it! Preaching about the next world is all right; that is perfectly safe for the rulers; but speaking about this world is dangerous to those on "Easy street," and hence is not allowed.

Some encouraging news comes from West Virginia, and tends to show that the military spirit and patriotism, so prevalent after the Spanish war, are on the wane. At Huntington the governor of the State delivered a Labor Day oration, urging the workers to join the militia, but shouts of "No, never!" greeted his remarks. He then explained that it was necessary to send troops to the mining regions, but he received no encouragement in that idea. It is a happy sign when the workers refuse to aid in crushing their fellow toilers; and that is what all troops are for. But the masters cannot even rely upon the soldiers. At Rush Run they were so much in sympathy with the strikers that they persuaded a number of workmen to leave the mines. Of course they were recalled. They were sent there for a different purpose. JR.

## By the Wayside.

"There are but two evils, (if there are any)—Their names are Ownership and Authority, and I guess the first includes both," says Mayor Jones in *The Whim*. Here we have the economic problem in a nutshell. Abolish ownership—also collective ownership—and poverty and authority are doomed.

Rabbi E. G. Hirsch of Chicago has greatly disturbed the minds of the legal highway-men and stock gamblers. In speaking of the Pennsylvania strike, he voiced the following warning:

The powerful of earth should realize that we are right in the midst of conditions similar to those that prevailed in France and which brought on the revolution. The men in power in France neglected to take warning from what was going on about them and relied upon the power which they fancied they had. The revolution came like the eruption of a volcano. We might take warning. . . . Right now we are standing over a volcano which may burst forth at any time with all the fury of a Pelée.

Another voice in the wilderness, I fear. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," is as applicable today as it was



## FREE SOCIETY

centuries ago. Rulers and parasites never learn from the pages of history. Those who live by preying upon their fellow men still rely upon brute force to silence the grumblings of suffering humanity. Instead of trying to lighten the burden of the toilers, they supply the police with rifles and the patrol wagons with Gatling guns.

President Fowler, the railway magnate, cannot be accused of hypocrisy, for he has frankly stated that the interests of the exploiters and those of the toilers are not identical, and that nothing short of complete surrender will be considered. And I admire his attitude, if only the workers would assume the same uncompromising stand. Referring to the coal miners' strike, he says: "We will brook no outside interference of whatever nature—political, humanitarian, or of any other origin." He has nothing to arbitrate, neither should the toilers compromise. And when the workers realize that the Fowlers and Baers are less justified in monopolizing the earth than they are themselves,—then there will be neither capitalists nor slaves, but a humanity that will not be worried by strife and war, want and misery.

The time when the American citizen can display his "sovereignty" by dropping a slip of paper in the ballot-box is approaching, and conspicuous headlines in the press, such as "Mr. Cheat is the Man of the Plain People," or, "Mr. Fraud Stands for Principles," are sanctimoniously thrown out as a bait to catch the dupes. But after the big show a sudden change takes place in the characters of "the right men." Mr. Cheat is for the skimmers of the "plain people," and Mr. Fraud stands for boodle. Everybody knows that such transformation takes place in "our servants" as surely and regularly as sunrise, yet the voter does not despair. Like the widow who found hell in marriage instead of bliss, and invariably blamed the man instead of the marriage institution, the deluded voter continues to vote for the "right man," and it never occurs to him that government itself is the abuse.

"It is a shame, an outrage, that our representatives shamelessly combine to plunder the people," said a well-dressed man in a street car, who had been reading all about the St. Louis boodlers called councilmen. "But I tell you," he continued, "this will open the eyes of the people—a new party will be formed."

"A new party to rob the people?" I inquired laughingly.

"It's true, they will scheme and steal just the same," he admitted. "But what are we going to do about it? These things cannot go on much longer—it will cause a terrible revolution. Perhaps we need one."

"And what do you propose to do after the bloody scramble?" I asked again. "Is it really worth while for people to kill each other if they have no remedy for the evils you complain of?"

"Well, it will scare the rascals anyhow, and things will run smoothly for a while at least," he replied.

"I am an Anarchist, but I would not participate in the shedding of blood for the sake

of changing masters," I said. "Why not abolish the things that cause all these outrageous abuses in the administration—government and property in the means of production and distribution?"

"Well, I often thought we would be better off without these boodlers called legislators or councilmen," he said reflectively. "But who will look after our affairs? We must all be angels in order to get along without some kind of a government. Don't you think so?"

"On the contrary," I replied. "It takes angels and ignoramuses to patiently endure all the outrages perpetrated by government and its satellites—those who enjoy life at the expense of the ignorant toilers. If the people were not angels they would not suffer in the midst of plenty. For centuries people have tried in vain to find honest and just men—"angels"—to look after their affairs. And, after all, even angels would be apt to abuse the power given them by those who deem government a necessary evil or an excellent means of robbing their fellow men. Once people have free access to natural resources and the things they produce, they will be enabled to sustain themselves with little effort, and then there will be neither the possibility nor the incentive to robbery and murder. Government employs brute force to prevent people from tilling the land and using the machinery available, and protects those who have monopolized the earth for their own benefit."

"But how can you abolish government?"

"You have just now witnessed how we are doing it. By showing people that government is a nuisance. If we succeed in convincing the intelligent people of this fact, government is doomed."

Here we both got off the car, but before we parted another name was added to the subscription list of FREE SOCIETY.

INTERLOPER.

### Chicago Meeting.

At the meeting of the Chicago Philosophical Society on Sunday, September 14, at Handel Hall, Mr. Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, gave a lecture on "Economic Exploration." He first inquired what thing we all wanted—money. Why? To obtain things wherewith to satisfy our desires. In a civilized society we can obtain things with money because of trade. Trade is the exchanging of one thing for something the trader has a greater desire for. Scarcity and serviceability give value. Man in his present condition cannot find in nature the things he wants. They must be made by labor and may therefore be called artificial. Labor and value make wealth. Scarcity plus serviceability constitutes value. Labor makes serviceability. Wealth may be divided into direct and indirect. Bread is direct (finished) wealth—ready for use. The machine which makes the bread, the oven in which the bread is baked, the machines which gather the plants and grind the wheat are indirect (unfinished) wealth—bread in the making. Wealth is artificial, and begins to revert to its original elements as soon as made, either from use or disintegration. Irksomeness of labor maintains scarcity, one of the elements of value. Labor and capital require land to

operate on. The wages of the laborer are of two kinds—individual and social. The social wages belong to the community, the individual wages to the laborer. Mankind has found there exists necessity for division of labor. He illustrated this by two men, each doing an errand for the other in opposite directions. Or five men joining forces to build a better house than one ever could build. Each of the five can swap or trade his interest in all the houses for all the interest in one. Then he owns it. Interest, rent, and wages were disposed of briefly and ably and received no criticism. Slavery is of two kinds—the ownership of the person, and the ownership of the land required by the person to labor on to create wealth. Slavery of the person requires the master to support the slave. Slavery of the second kind makes the slave beg for work to support himself by, and causes him to be grateful to the master (the owner of land) for permission to labor. He showed clearly the injustice of both forms of slavery, and that both should be abolished.

Only two critics touched the subject matter of the discourse, according to Mr. Post. Mr. Brown suggested that ability to reduce to possession and serviceability were the elements of value. That scarcity was not an element, for however abundant a thing was, if it was in the possession of any man or men and was serviceable it would be desired and would have value. Also that the land on which a laborer and a machine must stand to produce finished wealth was as much unfinished wealth as was the machine. And Mr. Post had furnished the name for such wealth—the machine being individual and the land social wealth.

A. Isaak contended that it was monopoly alone which gives value (price) to serviceable things, and not scarcity. No value can be attached to anything unless somebody controls it. The remedy was not to do away with the scarcity of the thing, but to do away with the monopoly of it. Air and sunshine would have value (price) if they—the capitalists—could monopolize these elements. Ownership was the real evil. If land and other means of production were free, neither owned by individuals nor society, mankind would soon adjust things equitably.

Mr. Post in answer said reduction to possession and monopoly made scarcity, and admitted that if land were free and not owned by individuals or by the collectivity an equitable adjustment of wealth would be possible.

REPORTER.

### Literature.

DECLARACIONES DE J. ETIEVANT. Centro Internacional de Estudios Sociales, 274 Calle Rio Negro, Montevideo, Uruguay.

This is a new Spanish translation of the proud affirmation of our ideal which our Comrade Etievant made before the Paris jury in July, 1892, and portions of which have already been translated into English by our comrades of *Freedom*, London.

LA RELIGION Y LA QUESTION. Por J. Montseny.

This is another pamphlet edited by the same group, and contains a special study of religion and its failure in relation to science and Socialism.

G. C.



## An Idea of Tchernychevsky's.

I do not know whether it was to Nertchinsk or Akatoni that the Russian political prisoners were sent. It was thus, however, that a circle was formed of which the educated Poles were a part, as well as two Garibaldians.

Tchernychevsky alone lived apart, but no one could say that he shunned his fellow prisoners; on the contrary he knew everybody, was even intimate with some; but he was outside the circle on account of his age and his ideas, and took no part in the small doings of their daily life.

Sometimes in the general sitting-room they organized readings or lectures. In the group were poets, economists and publicists. Tchernychevsky, too, was present at these meetings and sometimes took part in a very original fashion. He arrived with a big note-book under his arm, seated himself, opened the book and read stories, allegories, essays, his readings sometimes continuing thru two or even three evenings. One of his listeners conceived the idea of taking notes.

I scarcely know the details, which I had at second hand, and have almost forgotten. I will only say that one of his readings was a long story, with very complicated action, full of scientific digressions, of psychological, and even physiological, analyses. Tchernychevsky read leisurely, in measured style.

What was the astonishment of his listeners when one of them, looking over his shoulder, discovered that he was reading from a blank page.

Later, my brother, who knew Tchernychevsky well, and I, too, had occasion to remark this wonderful faculty of improvisation. One would have said that he was reading a carefully elaborated bit of literary work.

Here appears another trait of Tchernychevsky's character: his good-natured maliciousness and love of mystifying his interlocutors.

When talking with him it was necessary to keep your ear open so as not to take a joke seriously. Then, too, while developing a complicated thought, he would "stake out" his demonstration, breaking the chain of logic which would have permitted his listener to follow him without trouble, thus obliging one to make unexpected jumps in order not to lose sight of the general idea. But if you were clever enough not to fall into the trap, his eyes, full of goodness, would brighten with pleasure and gaiety.

After this preamble I can record the story of which I spoke before, but I beg my readers to remember that we have no starting point from which to judge how far we may take seriously these ideas he advances. Perhaps it is simply a pleasantry, the distraction of a powerful mind shut up in the boredom of exile. The title of the story is "For Some."\*

The chief characters of this story are a Russian girl and her two lovers, both of whom are intelligent, handsome and equally in love with her. Naturally both have peculiarities of intelligence and character, both

\* I have understood this title in this way: Tchernychevsky wished to guard against a possible misunderstanding; he shows by the title that it is not a line of conduct for all that he wished to trace, but an exposition of a particular case.

have their faults, but nature has so disposed these peculiarities that the defects and virtues of one are compensated for by the virtues and defects of the other. When sometimes she endeavors to give the preference to one she perceives that it makes her suffer to repulse the other, that she is drawn to him and finds it difficult to deprive herself of him. Then the two lovers draw lots, and one gives up and goes away.

The young woman suffers from her loss. The love of her husband does not fully satisfy her. She falls ill and the doctors advise her to travel. Upon the Pacific Ocean a tempest surprises them. The ship is at the mercy of the waves, without rudder, the sails torn, in the same conditions that are found in certain romances "of palpitating interest." The end of the storm finds the young couple in the waves, drowning, near an unknown island. At the moment when their failing strength can sustain them no longer, someone jumps into the ocean from the island cliffs and they are saved.

But here it is that, saved from the fury of the waters, they are again the playthings of destiny. Their savior is none other than that friend and lover supposed to have disappeared forever, and the question must be asked again, now so much more tragic, for the island is completely deserted. They are the only inhabitants, surrounded on all sides by the murmuring ocean. Then is enacted a whole romance, with scenes of torture, tears, and despair. At last, when the situation becomes critical, the young woman finds means to solve the problem, and if this solution sins in anything it is evidently in its simplicity. Why all these tortures which lead to hate, to the possibility of murder, to the evident martyrdom of all three, when the whole affair consists in this fact, that they must live . . . all three together? That is so clear. . . . They try, and after an easy victory over certain strongly-rooted prejudices all is admirably arranged. Peace, concord, return; heaven replaces hell upon the desert isle.

Later, as always in novels of adventure, the desire to see the fatherland, the immensity of the ocean, a sail on the horizon, hope, discouragement, new hope, and at last the return to Europe.

They establish themselves in England, which they consider the country of liberty. They do not seek to conceal anything, because they recognize nothing evil in their unaccustomed marriage, so contrary to the principles of society.

It happens that in England, that country of family tradition and family romance, where libertinism is tolerated under the cloak of puritan routine, but where the highest virtue is not saved from punishment when one does not cover oneself with this routine, this union produces a scandal.

The neighbors commence to gossip, public opinion obliges the authorities to intervene, and the three are dragged to justice. The tribunal, the public, the speeches of the prosecutors, lawyers, judges and the accused, all is described with many details. At the end the young woman makes a brilliant speech in which she claims for every one the right of arranging his life according to his own conscience. She tells of her efforts to live according to the usual social code, the

results in which her efforts ended, how her idea saved all three from death.

They are acquitted and depart for America, where, in the fermentation of new social customs their union is tolerated.

Besides this story Tchernychevsky wrote about this time an allegorical comedy which they played in the prison.

The majority of Tchernychevsky's fellow captives were set free before he was. He followed them with his best wishes, and some time afterwards he was transferred to the north, in the province of Yakutsk, at Viliuisk.—Korolenko. (Translated from the French for the *Conservator* by B. V. Coffin.)

[Herman Suker is neither a Mormon nor a Turk, but he has apparently solved a difficult problem. He and his two wives are now living happily together at his home in Bayonne.

Each woman praises Suker and has no fault to find with the deception which has placed her in her peculiar position.

Eight years ago Suker married one of the women in Austria. His wife had two children and then he sailed to America. Here he married again and the second Mrs. Suker has two children.

Two weeks ago Suker was sitting in front of his house on Charles street when a woman approached him. With her were two boys. He did not recognize her at once, but when she spoke he knew at once that it was his first wife. He was in a quandary, but when he told her that he had married again his wife only asked to see her successor. The two women talked it over and they told Suker that they were both ready to live with him.

The neighbors soon learned of the queer situation and the man with two wives has since been the subject of conversation.

The matter has been brought to the attention of the police, but they can do nothing unless someone makes a complaint.

The women say that they are satisfied as long as Suker is able to support them.—*The Journal*, New York.]

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## Too Much Zeal in Lawmaking.

None who give attention to the matter will deny that this country would be freer and happier if there were a lawful check against law. The lack of any such check puts on the people of every State, in every season, such a mass of restraints that not the lawyers themselves keep track of them, and confusion is worse confounded by the wrongness, inconsistency and mutual interference of the bills that go thru the annual grist. Legislatures are commonly political rather than statesmanlike, and they put into the permanent form of laws schemes for temporary and party benefit. Sometimes the laws are not even so wide as that, but are mere screws for extortion. It cannot be that so many measures are needed to preserve the uprightness of a country that is naturally as upright as any in the world, yet it is a fact that over 20,000 pages of laws issue every year from the legislatures of our States.

We live in a riot of lawmaking. It is a blessing that most of the measures are dead letters from the day of their enactment, yet



it is a danger that any of them can be resurrected from the limbo of the forgotten and used to enforce an unjust demand or express a prejudice.

Lacking a national check or standard of law, the various States and the various townships of a State can be widely divided against one another.

One could multiply, thru hundreds of pages, the absurdities and inconsistencies for which zeal in lawmaking is responsible, but it would not check their increase. . . . We elect men to make laws, but men who would accept office with the understanding to unmake hundreds now on the books should be, and possibly would be, hurried into office by tumultuous majorities.—*The Saturday Evening Post*.

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#### The Consent of the Governed.

When the fathers said, All are equal in the right to life, liberty and happiness, pursued in *their own way*, they neither quite meant nor stood for it. When the "nigger" said, "I'm a man too, I guess," his claim was not acknowledged. If all just government derives its power from the "consent of the governed," what business had we to whip the South back into Union traces, settling matters by the "arbitrament of arms"? No: the Declaration did not work then and does not work now. "Arbitrament of arms": it is that the world over. And it is a curious fact that most of those who are now opposing the conquest of the Philippines because it violates the "consent" idea never saw—nor do they yet see—how unquestionably that idea was violated in 1861. And, again, let me ask this question: When did *you* ever voluntarily "consent" to the government in whose rule *you* acquiesce? The government, which is hereditary, does not give a fig for your "consent." Consent not? "There goes a rebel!" How can a free government have rebels? The rebel is not a rebel. He is a *non-consenter*. Tight hole. What can we do about it? The "consent" idea has always defaulted. We have no business in the Philippines. England has no business in the Transvaal. But, somehow, they are in the one place and we are in the other. Might is made in all history to constitute right—and in the long future the grass will grow over the unknown graves of those who are the victims of the present episode and civilization will go prospering on its way. There was Mexico. All of Mexico which Uncle Sam hankered after was duly sliced and appropriated. Who would now say to Mexico, Take it back?—Sidney H. Morse, in the *Conservator*, Philadelphia, October, 1899.

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#### The Question of Liberty.

Considering the long interval between the present and my last letter, with Mr. James' reply, I fear the points between us will have been forgotten by your readers. So to avoid a protracted wrangle, and to get the gist of the matter, I pass by all incidentals in Mr. James' reply and come to the main point.

According to him, then, Anarchy or liberty means "for every man to do as he damn pleases, at his own risk and cost." And he rejects the formula of equal liberty because

he doesn't know what actions infringe the equal freedom of others.

Now, in the same temper that you reject the formula of equal liberty, I can object to this formula of Mr. James', and ask where is my liberty if I am to pay any costs, or take any risks or consequences for my acts? (1) And who is to decide, and how am I to know what are the risks and consequences? (2) And how can I be free to do as I damn please if I have to consider any risks and consequences at all? (3) And may not the consequences just as likely be tyrannical acts for my non-invasive conduct? (4)

I contend that in the sense in which Mr. James uses the word liberty it is a mere abstraction, or metaphysical conception, (5) like complete happiness or health, or perfect beauty, or absolute truth, and it bears no relation to facts of real life. As pure conceits or ideals they are unobjectionable: nobody objects to complete happiness, perfect health, etc., what that means, but nobody expects to realize them, except a certain few cranks. For the practical living man, all these things, health, beauty, truth, etc., are relative—relative to their opposites. And so it is with the word liberty. The idea of abstract liberty lands its advocates into all sorts of absurdities. Logically they are committed to the theory of non-resistance, but practically they repudiate it, and then endorse all kinds of violence, from strike riots, and persecution of seabs by "organized labor," who alone is noble and holy. (6) The believer in equal liberty is not committed to any metaphysical objection to force *per se*, and has no absurdities of preaching and practise to reconcile or explain away. Force is sometimes necessary and therefore good, and sometimes bad. (7)

Now since force will be used in some circumstances (man being a quarrelsome animal, as Mr. James has observed) both by those who preach non-resistance and by those who justify force for the defense of non-invasive individuals, would it not be better that a principle worked out intelligently, and verified by history, (8) should guide our use of force, instead of using it on the impulse of passion or of malice, or caprice? Or is it the belief of FREE SOCIETY that nobody should be restrained from anything—not even from the violation of others' liberty? (9) Let me know what you do mean, so I shan't be fighting windmills.

A. H. SIMPSON.

#### REPLY.

1. Anarchy, or liberty, promises no contradictions. If you want a three year old colt, God Almighty himself cannot make you one in five minutes. You must wait, buy, beg, borrow, or steal. And if you choose the last in Arkansas, you figure on the chance of being lynched.

2. The inductive method of observation and experiment is what teaches us to estimate risks and consequences.

3. Don't repeat. We had that over about being free from natural "laws" already, this time, and before.

4. If I understand this question you mean to ask, why not call tyrannical conduct for "non-invasive" acts a mere "consequence"? Well, why not? Men are shot every day for amours with other men's wives and daughters. Most Individualists, I believe, think

the shooting "invasive" and the amours not. Some perhaps take the other view, which is more common. Now right here is a typical question which cannot be settled without a common judge; that is a government. But how about leaving it unsettled? Whether you are Sickles or Key, will your nose be any less out of joint than it is, for your common judges?

5. This *tu quoque* shows a curious notion of what metaphysics means. The metaphysical method begins with some ideal conception of the human mind, such as "equal liberty"; and, as has long been commonplace, quickly pushes it to its own negation—a common judge, who will take the oyster and equally distribute the shells. The inductive philosopher's method is very unlike this. He seeks to ascertain by observation and experiment, what causes give rise to such and such effects. If he learns, in that way, that the freer men are to "rub each other's angles down" the more harmoniously they get along, and therefore announces that absolute individual freedom is the secret of complete harmony; this is just the reverse of the metaphysical method, because all the *absolutes* and other transcendental conceptions are found in the conclusion, not the premises.

6. Look behind you, and see what you have just said about relative as compared with absolute approval. Or else, say no more about inconsistency. It is very tiresome to correct a metaphysician's self-contradictions, because they have no end. Inconsistency is the essence of his method; and *expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*.

7. We think force against our fellow creatures is always (more or less) bad.

8. Begin with the history. Let your general principles wait on analysis of the particular facts. Then you will be going the way by which discoveries are reached.

9. This again is old. We have said we do not believe in restraint. C. L. JAMES.

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The great mistake we are all making is that we trust too much to authority and fashion. We lack individuality; we are not acting our part, in our own manner, but the part of someone else, and doing simply as others dictate. We pass our lives in being taught, instead of putting forth our own efforts and learning for ourselves. We are imitating and duplicating others continually. Why should we not stand up and behave like men, instead of being inclined as we are to subserviency and flunkeyism?—J. Wilson.

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#### LETTER-BOX.

B. H., New York.—Thanks for clipping; but we should like to have the vaccination discussion rest for awhile now.

A. H. Simpson.—The discussion was delayed somewhat because we were flush of disputations. The paper cannot be filled with them, and some have to wait.

A. M., Dail, Mex.—All right. We are not at all anxious to take names off our subscription list, and never do so on account of poverty if the parties only let us know that they desire to read and circulate the paper. Stamps are acceptable. Greetings.

F. W. R., Syracuse, N. Y.—"Whitman's Ideal Democracy" is cloth bound, and can be obtained from FREE SOCIETY. Price \$1.



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