



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 386.

The White Scaffold.

I
We have bowed our heads in sorrow,
On the cold, unhallowed stone;
Fancied thru its dreary furrows
We could hear our comrades moan;
Wand'ring round that dreary prison
Mocking yet the dawn's pale glow,
We have seen a vision rise, and
Bask the shadows, clear and slow;
On the chill November breezes,
While the deep night shadows play,
Glow the tall unholy scaffold,
Looming o'er the pile of gray.

II
'Tis the demon of a vision
Rising out above its height,
Heavy with its own delusion,
Failing from its very might.
Hark! the singing from the prison
Of the martyrs, doomed to die;
The tottering specter stoops and shudders,
The seer startles with a cry:
It is building high and higher
Up, against the dawning light;
Whitened bones are its foundation—
And its shadow, gleaming white.

Thus it ever happens, always
With the onward sweep of time,
Tho you steep men deep in curses,
Tho you blacken them with crime,
Tho you doom them to Oblivion's
Death, or dungeon black as night,
Behind your power, the vision rising
Casts its shadow, gleaming white.

MARY HANSEN.

Comments on the Trial.

As the anniversary of the murder of August Spies, A. R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg, nears, it may not be amiss that one whose experience so nearly approached theirs, should say a few words anent this great crime. Not that it is the only crime that has been committed by the same blood-thirsty criminal, government, upon those who have thought and said that it might behave itself a little better than it was doing; but there were some things in this affair differing in many respects from many of the foul deeds it has been guilty of.

In the spring of 1868, in the city of Manchester, an attempt was made by a crowd of Irish patriots to liberate two Irish leaders, named Kelly and Deasey, as they were being conveyed from the court house to the jail. In the struggle which ensued, a sergeant of police (Brett) was killed. Four or five men were tried for the murder of Brett. The trial resulted in the conviction of four of these men. They were duly sentenced to death. Between the time of sentence and

the day set for execution it was proven that one of them—I think Delancy—had not been present. He was released. About this time there was and had been an uprising of some moment by what was known as the Fenian Brotherhood in Ireland. It was not denied, in fact it was never asked, whether Delancy was a Fenian or not. The simple question with the English government was: "Did Delancy aid and abet the killing of Brett?" As far as Delancy was concerned he might have been a member of the Fenian Brotherhood, he might have made violent speeches against the government or have written denunciatory articles *ad libitum*, and as far as the courts were concerned that had nothing to do with the death of Brett.

Now, every year Irish-Americans by the thousands meet together and commemorate the death of Larkin, Allen and Gould, the three who were executed. The Manchester martyrs and their memories are kept green, and the story of their deaths are handed down from generation to generation as proof of the brutality, cruelty and injustice of the English government.

Now, I do not for one moment doubt or call in question the brutality and injustice of these so-called executions; but I merely wish to call attention to the great mistake which our Irish friends make when they imply that in Greater Ireland (America) they are out of the reach of such brutality and injustice. I will go further and say that I defy any Irishman or American to find a single instance in any English court where the judge ever ruled that it was not necessary to have knowledge or part in the crime charged to justify conviction.

On the 11th of November, 1887, in the city of Chicago in Greater Ireland, four men were put to death, to whom the court said in passing sentence: "Whether it is necessary to a conviction that any of you should or should not anticipate or expect the doing of the act you are charged with having done in the indictment, is not a question I need to consider here." You see that a man can be guilty of murder without ever anticipating or expecting a murder to be done. "Because," says his honor, "if that is necessary to conviction, the conviction cannot be sustained, as they did not have any actual participation in the particular act charged."

I believe that there is not a court in any civilized country that has ever made such a ruling. Now in the Manchester affair there was no doubt that the men who were executed were present when the act was com-

mitted, tho it is not so certain that they contemplated committing murder. It is not denied that they could all of them have been convicted under Judge Gary's law, (understand, I say Judge Gary's law,) and there is no doubt that the three who were executed could have been convicted under the Illinois law, which is not the law as laid down by Judge Gary in the Anarchist case. The Illinois law is that whenever anyone commits an unlawful act, and in the commission of such act death ensues, then all participating in the unlawful act are guilty of murder. Now the act of Allen, Larkin and Gould at Manchester in 1868, namely, the attempted liberation of Kelly and Deasey, was unlawful, and death ensued. Judge Gary will tell our Irish friends that the "Manchester martyrs" would have been convicted under the Illinois law; and he would not have found it necessary to say as he did in the Anarchist case, "There never was a case like this, There is no case like it in the books," meaning the law books. Now there are undoubtedly a lot of queer things in the law books, but we have his honor's word for it that there is nothing so queer as the Anarchist case even in those receptacles of queer cases, the law books.

I have not intended to find fault with Irishmen for honoring the memory of those brave and noble young men, the "Manchester martyrs." I was in sympathy with them then—what born rebel could help being so?—but merely to call attention to the fact that while they are justly denouncing England's injustice, they can find in the Anarchist case a far worse case of injustice; and I would mildly suggest that injustice is the same hideous thing whether in Ireland, America, or, for instance, in the Philippines. In the one instance, the convicted actually committed the act charged with; in the other they did not.

I have been led to make these observations because I have frequently noticed that many people think that the case mentioned above and the Anarchist case were parallel cases. They were not. Neither was the case of John Brown a parallel case. John Brown broke the laws of Virginia, to his honor be it said. Our martyrs broke no Illinois law. Judge Gary could find no law in "the books" which they had broken, and he said so. The enemy did not wait for them to break any law—they could not afford to wait far that. The murdered men were carrying on such a labor agitation as had never been known before or since. They had found them out,

and the thieves saw that if they were not stopped, the whole country would be made aware of their rascalities. There is no question that for months the clubs frequented by the business men of Chicago were discussing the Anarchists. The newspapers were full of them; the churches frequently referred to them. It may not be susceptible of positive proof that the act with which they were charged was the outcome of the deliberation of the clubs and business organizations, the procuring of the bomb throwing and the laying of the blame upon the pestiferous agitators, thereby stopping the mouths of the men who were above all others the mouth-pieces of discontent and the most feared. Certain it is that an intelligent consideration of the evidence adduced at the trial, considered in connection with the conditions prevailing previously and at the time, certain it is, I say, that this conclusion would be far more reasonable than that drawn by the jury. We have it upon the words of Bonfield that the mayor consulted with prominent business men on the afternoon of May 4, and that the subject discussed was the Haymarket meeting to be held that evening. This was not divulged until after the trial. This was at least suspicious, and under the circumstances connected with the action of the police on that night. The presumption that the whole affair was a conspiracy to get rid of undesirable fomenters of discontent is at least strengthened. What were the circumstances surrounding the order to disperse? They were such that no one reading the evidence can draw any other conclusion than that it would have been very undesirable to the chief director of the police, Bonfield, that the meeting should disperse without trouble. It is not doubted that the meeting was peaceable; Mayor Harrison swore to that at the trial. English, the chief newspaper witness for the prosecution, swore that it was a peaceable one up to the appearance of the police; another reporter for the prosecution swore that it was more peaceable toward the close than when Mayor Harrison was present. The last speaker was drawing to a close, and had said that he would be thru in a few moments, when immediately upon this there was a great bustle and hurry on the part of the police to get to the meeting before it ended. Captain Hubbard swore at the trial that he did not have time to form his men in line, but that they had to run down the street to overtake the other policemen under Bonfield who were hurrying to the meeting. These are witnesses for the State. In addition to this I might refer to the evidence of an unimpeachable witness for the defense, who swore that Bonfield told him that if it were not for the women who were at the meeting he would go down there and "clean out those damn Socialists to hell."

The women had barely gone when he proceeded to put his threat into force. There is no doubt in my mind and never has been but that the determination of Bonfield was to murder the speakers; and he would have done it had not the bomb exploded as it did before the police were fairly upon the place of meeting. Owing to the interruption, confusion ensued and Bonfield having failed, Garry and Grinnell finished the job. That

this was a judicial murder is not doubted by any lawyer acquainted with the facts.

There have undoubtedly been many judicial murders before this; and perhaps some have taken consolation to themselves that if this is one, it is not the only one. There have been others—so far, so good. But this case, I make bold to say, is different from any judicial act ever perpetrated since Jeffries was sent out on his famous or infamous western circuit, in this; that, while there may have been cases of wrongful conviction and execution without the perpetrators intending to do any wrong, in this case the perpetrators went into the case with the determination to hang. The question of guilt or innocence was nothing whatever to them. Charitable persons have gone so far as to say that they might have thought the defendants were guilty in the beginning, but the could not have believed it at the end. The fact is, that the question of guilt or innocence never was thought worth considering. It was simply a question of expediency. "Damn the law! What do we care about the law? We're going to hang them!" was the way it was put by one of them more candid than the others. Another said, "I do not doubt that he is right," referring to one of the defendants, "but we have got to hang him just the same. It's necessary."

Fifteen years have passed since this diabolical crime was committed. And on the anniversary of its committal, while we who were so closely connected with them, and and those who have espoused the principles for which they died, commemorate their virtuous lives and heroic deaths, it behooves us to do all we can to make the blood of our martyrs the seed which shall save the race, as they died that it should.

SAMUEL FIELDEN.

Buckle on Government.

The open vices, and, what is much more dangerous, the hidden corruption, thus generated in the midst of society by the ignorant interference of Christian rulers, is indeed a painful subject; but it is one which I could not omit in an analysis of the causes of civilization. It would be easy to push the inquiry still further, and to show how legislators, in every attempt they have made to protect some particular interest, and uphold some particular principles, have not only failed, but have brought about results diametrically opposite to those which they proposed. We have seen that their laws in favor of industry have injured industry; that their laws in favor of religion increased hypocrisy; and that their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury. Exactly in the same way, nearly every country has taken steps to prevent usury, and keep down the interest of money; and the invariable effect has been to increase usury, and raise the interest of money. For, since no prohibition, however stringent, can destroy the natural relation between demand and supply, it has followed, that when some men want to borrow, and other men want to lend, both parties are sure to find means of evading a law which interferes with their mutual rights. If the two parties were left to adjust their own bargain undisturbed, the usury would depend on the circumstances

of the loan; such as the amount of security, and the chance of repayment. But this natural arrangement has been complicated by the interference of government. A certain risk being always incurred by those who disobey the law, the usurer, very properly, refuses to lend his money unless he is also compensated for the danger he is in, from the penalty hanging over him. This compensation can only be made by the borrower, who is thus obliged to pay what in reality is a double interest: one interest for the natural risk on the loan, and another interest for the extra risk from the law. Such, then, is the position in which every European legislature has placed itself. By enactments against usury, it has increased what it wished to destroy; it has passed laws, which the imperative necessities of men compel them to violate: while, to wind up the whole, the penalty for such violation falls on the borrowers; that is, on the very class in whose favor the legislators interfered.

In the same meddling spirit, and with the same mistaken notions of protection, the great Christian governments have done other things still more injurious. They have made strenuous and repeated efforts to destroy the liberty of the press, and prevent men from expressing their sentiments on the most important questions in politics and religion. In nearly every country, they, with the aid of the Church, have organized a vast system of literary police; the sole object of which is, to abrogate the undoubted right of every citizen to lay his opinions before his fellow citizens. In the very few countries where they have stopped short of these extreme steps, they have had recourse to others less violent, but equally unwarrantable. For even where they have not openly forbidden the free dissemination of knowledge, they have done all that they could to check it. On all the implements of knowledge, and on all the means by which it is diffused, such as paper, books, political journals, and the like, they have imposed duties so heavy, that they could hardly have done worse if they had been the sworn advocates of popular ignorance. Indeed, looking at what they have actually accomplished, it may be emphatically said, that they have taxed the human mind. They have made the very thoughts of men pay toll. Whoever wishes to communicate his ideas to others, and thus do what he can to increase our stock of acquirements, must first pour his contributions into the imperial exchequer. That is the penalty inflicted on him for instructing his fellow creatures. That is the blackmail which government extorts from literature; and on receipt of which it accords its favor, and agrees to abstain from further demands. And what causes all this to be the more insufferable, is the use which is made of these and similar exactions, wrung from every kind of industry, both bodily and mental. It is truly a frightful consideration, that knowledge is to be hindered, and that the proceeds of honest labor, of patient thought, and sometimes of profound genius, are to be diminished, in order that a large part of their scanty earnings may go to swell the pomp of an idle and ignorant court, minister to the caprice of a few powerful individuals, and too often supply them with the means of turning against the people resources

which the people called into existence.

These, and the foregoing statements, respecting the effects produced on European society by political legislation, are not doubtful or hypothetical inferences, but are such as every reader of history may verify for himself. Indeed, some of them are still acting in England; and, in one country or another, the whole of them may be seen in full force. When put together, they compose an aggregate so formidable, that we may well wonder how, in the face of them, civilization has been able to advance. That, under such circumstances, it has advanced, is a decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of Man; and justifies a confident belief, that as the pressure of legislation is diminished, and the human mind less hampered, the progress will continue with accelerated speed. But it is absurd, it would be a mockery of all sound reasoning, to ascribe to legislation any share in the progress; or to expect any benefit from future legislators, except that sort of benefit which consists in undoing the work of their predecessors. This is what the present generation claims at their hands; and it should be remembered, that what one generation solicits as a boon, the next generation demands as a right. And, when the right is pertinaciously refused, one of two things always happened; either the nation has retrograded; or else the people have risen. Should the government remain firm, this is the cruel dilemma in which men are placed. If they submit, they injure their country; if they rebel, they may injure it still more. In the ancient monarchies of the East, their usual plan was to yield; in the monarchies of Europe, it has been to resist. Hence those insurrections and rebellions which occupy so large a space in modern history, and which are but repetitions of the old story, the undying struggle between oppressors and oppressed. It would, however, be unjust to deny, that in one country the fatal crisis has now for several generations been successfully averted. In one European country, and in one alone, the people have been so strong, and the government so weak, that the history of legislation, taken as a whole, is, notwithstanding a few aberrations, the history of slow, but constant concession; reforms which would have been refused to argument, have been yielded from fear; while, from the steady increase of democratic opinions, protection after protection, and privilege after privilege, have, even in our own time, been torn away; until the old institutions, tho they retain their former name, have lost their former vigor, and there no longer remains a doubt as to what their fate must ultimately be. Nor need we add, that in this same country, where, more than in any other of Europe, legislators are the exponents and the servants of the popular will, the progress has, on this account, been more undeviating than elsewhere; there has been neither Anarchy nor revolution; and the world has been made familiar with the great truth, that one main condition of the prosperity of a people is, that its rulers shall have very little power, that they shall exercise that power very sparingly, and that they shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests, or deem themselves authorized to defeat the wishes of those for whose

benefit alone they occupy the post intrusted to them.—From "History of Civilization in England," by Henry Thomas Buckle.

Sovereignty Offended.

According to the correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, the men of finance in Wall street are in great anxiety and trouble. They have become convinced that organized labor is about to ruin the industry of the country. In the west the people do not yet seem to understand the dangerous situation, but in Wall street, of course, where the heroes of finance are sown most densely in the singular and plural, they are conscious of the menacing danger and all its consequences. This danger consists not only in the demand for higher wages, but that which is far worse, namely the influence organized labor is gaining over production and distribution. (Here infringed sovereignty cries out painfully.) What a misfortune this is, we have England for an example, they say, where organized labor has become a punishment to capitalism, which once dominated the world, and is now compelled by organized labor to accept disgraceful terms,—terms which tend to ruin industry and trade. And it is well known what kind of lazy fellow the English union man is.

Such is the complaint of Wall street. Of course they will not be bound hand and foot and submit to the "terrorism" of organized labor; they will fight against the "reign of terror," and for this purpose appeal to their class all over the country to come to the front. Come hither, ye big-bellied boys of the purse, millionaire and multimillionaire Schwabs, organized labor is going to close in on your heavenly blessings of golden dividends! A terrible beginning, altogether incompatible with divine institutions of the universe, which once for all have destined that the knight of the spurs and the master of the universe is the parasite, and the saddle-horse the toiler. Whoever rebels against this arrangement is a revolutionist and an Anarchist.

But this complaint in the *Tribune* is only an introduction to a move of chess of capitalism. Timidly the question is put forth: Could organized labor not be put under the mark "illegal trusts"? The devil, we have the courts, the attorney general, Knox, and his satellites, and it ought to be possible to do something in this respect. The situation should be about as follows: The corporations, whose purpose is to impoverish the nation at home and abroad, are a blessing to the industry of our country. They ought to be taken care of and fattened with privileges and high tariff. But the curse of industry is organized labor, because they strive for a somewhat tolerable condition for the people. This must not be tolerated. The glorious aim of American development is a pyramid, the pedestal of which consists of corpses of millions of debilitated toilers, disgraced women, and stunted children. On top the pillar of society and national embellishment—a few deformed Morgans as the rulers of destiny.

Organized labor should also respond to the call: "To the front!"—*Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*. (Translated for FREE SOCIETY by Interloper.)

Kate Austin.

I spent two beautiful months, August and September, on Sam and Kate Austin's farm, and am pleased to have made the personal acquaintance of both. Sam and Kate, in fact the whole family, the young and the old folks, as well as the numerous relatives which live around them, are people of the kind one is always delighted to meet. Straightforward and frank in words and action, they are esteemed by friends and foes.

Kate is a woman of about forty years of age, tall and plain in appearance; but her features indicate resoluteness combined with kindness. With her wide awake eyes she looks hopefully into a bright future, in which her ideas will be realized. Altho born and raised on a farm, in Iowa, and having spent her whole life on a farm, it is marvelous how this woman educated herself thru her own efforts. In conversing with her, one can hardly escape her influence and the force of her arguments. She needs not to waste time in looking for arguments, which are often satirical as well as witty. And thus, being originally the only one in the large family with this trend of mind and rebellious spirit, she finally succeeded in bringing all around her to her way of thinking. Undoubtedly she is a born Anarchist.

She explained to me that she always had a predilection for the word liberty, and people fighting for liberty, even at a time when she could not realize the full meaning of the word; and when a young girl, blooming into womanhood, she felt a dislike for the every-day machine-like talk and actions of those who persist in following "the old calf path," as she expressed it. In 1886 and 1887 she was a Freethinker; but when at that time Capital resolved to kill Anarchy by commencing in Chicago, and the reports about the great Chicago Anarchist trial spread thruout the country, even into every farm house, she saw at once her place in the ranks of those for whom liberty is no idle sound. It is another of the many cases which go to show how Capital succeeded in killing Anarchy in those days. Since that time Kate has filled her place well, which is proved by her many able articles in the *FIREBRAND*, *FREE SOCIETY*, and *Lucifer*.

Unfortunately, this noble woman has not enjoyed good health during the last ten months. Dr. Foote of New York, who diagnosed her case, declared her consumptive. On September 25, Sam, Kate and myself left the farm in a covered wagon. After a ride of thirty miles we reached Nevada, Mo., where we parted, I going to the east in search of work, she to the west in search of health. Sam and Kate intended to make a trip to Colorado in about thirty days, to visit Comrades William and Lizzie Holmes, and remain there during winter. The latest news, however, is sad. Kate's condition became worse, and they were compelled to stop in a little town in the central part of Kansas.

CARL NOLD.

"The bad principle is that any man should hold over another the power to bind and loose. It's a false relationship to stand in towards one's fellows."—Mrs. Voynish.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 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 ball will take place November 16, in Brand's Hall, 162 N. Clark St. Before the ball, Emma Goldman will speak on "The Students' and Peasants' Riots in Russia," at 3 p. m. Admission 25 cents.

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.

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.

Boston.—Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p. m. in 2 Boylston Place. Free forum for all sociological subjects. Anarchist literature for sale.

Memorial meeting for the fifteenth anniversary of the martyrs on Sunday, November 16, at 8 p. m., in Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St. J. Fox of New York, speaker.

Brooklyn.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. & Wabash Ave. Free discussion. November 9, Wm. Thurston Brown speaks on "The Strike that Wins."

The memorial of the Chicago martyrs will take place November 11, in North Side Turner Hall, North Clark St. George Brown of

FREE SOCIETY

Philadelphia speaks in English and Rudolph Grossmann of New York in German.

The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St. Friendly discussions will take place.

The Tolstoy Club meets every Saturday evening at the home of Dr. Mary R. Carey, 837 W. Adams St. Tolstoy readings and discussions.

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday night at 8 p. m., 278 Blue Island Ave. November 8, A. Reach speaks on "The Worse the Better," in Jewish.

Philadelphia.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St. November 14, George Brown speaks on "Trades Unionism and General Strike."

St. Louis.—Memorial in honor of the Chicago martyrs will take place on Saturday, November 15, in Geier's Hall, 2800 S. Broadway, southeast corner of Lynch St.

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Kate Austin.

Kate Austin died on October 28, 9 p. m., at Kingman, Kans. For several days prior to her death she had been unconscious. Her body was taken by her sister to their home in Caplinger Mills, Mo., for burial. We cannot say more at this time, but soon we shall publish an account of her life.

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The Cosmos Colony.

Those who contemplate going to Cosmos are advised to halt in their preparations, for all is not as it might be down there. A comrade who returned from there states, that the boys had a disagreement with Condor and as a result have left the "colony." Some of them have written their friends for means to return. Condor, he says, does not own the land, only holds it on a lease; that it is not well situated, and would take considerable money to establish a colony in that place. I will have more to say on this subject later.

JAY FOX.

New York, 67 Avenue D.

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By the Wayside.

People are always reluctant to take their own medicine. Only a year ago the editor of *The International Socialist Review*, Mr. Simons, accused the Anarchists of being allies of capitalism. The Anarchists ignored the insinuations with contempt. But now comes the *Chicago American* and accuses the Socialists of being in the pay of the Republican party, and forthwith the Socialists rage with indignation. "To men who know what Socialism is, such lies simply produce contempt for such a paper," says the *Chicago Socialist*. But does this rebuke not apply with equal force to Mr. Simons, when he deliberately spread the lie that Mrs. Potter Palmer had "wined and dined" Peter Kropotkin "in her house"?

The government declared itself bankrupt when the president and the attorney general bashfully admitted, that the government had not the power to check the greed of the trusts. But a campaign against organized labor is to be inaugurated, and the courts

will find no difficulties in issuing injunctions and applying the "conspiracy laws" to check the "greed" of the toilers who fatten the parasites in human form.

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No matter what the decision of the arbitration board in Pennsylvania may be, the issue between the miners and the mine owners will be as far from being solved as before; and it is only a matter of time when the toilers again will be forced to lay down their tools, in order to gain a little better conditions for themselves and their families. The members of the commission will not go to the bottom of the problem, but confine their work to dealing with the effects caused by government and monopoly. The right to monopolize the earth will not be questioned, and thus society ever revolves in a circle, from which there is no escape. But let it once dawn upon the toilers that the mine owners' claim rests solely upon violence, as all other claims of proprietorship in the means of production and distribution, and the problem between the oppressors and the oppressed will soon be solved.

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A correspondent in the *Boston Traveler* observes that labor unions may be all right so long as they confine themselves to "sympathy and encouragement" in helping their fellow workmen; "but, when by upholding strikes they deliberately bring distress upon a community, they should be abolished or prohibited under the severest penalties." Very well. But "what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." Are the toilers obliged to supply the community with the necessities of life and suffer want themselves? Or are strikers less justified in employing means of violence to gain a more tolerable livelihood than the employers who for centuries have brought distress upon millions of men, women, and children by the same means—brute force? And just so long as the exploiters are robbing the workers by means of the police club and bayonet, just so long as the toilers driven to resort to violence, in their efforts to gain a greater share of what they produce. All laws, no matter whether sanctioned by a majority or minority, rest upon force, and are bound to create violence.

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"I do not believe in martyrdom," or, "I have no desire to be a martyr," are phrases now often used to disparage those who are persecuted and imprisoned for words and deeds. These wisecracks do not seem to realize that they practically announce to their fellow men, that they prefer to be cowards and sneaks rather than be true to their convictions. Poor souls! Is their a greater satisfaction in life than the consciousness of having spoken and acted in accordance with what we think to be the truth, of having contributed a trifle toward the elevation of mankind? Or a more degrading, miserable feeling than the consciousness of having disclaimed our convictions from cowardice? Martyrs, people who defied tyrannical laws and customs in the past, were the pioneers of the freedom we enjoy today, and the martyrs of the present are clearing the path for greater freedom in the future.

INTERLOPER.

The Memorable 11th of November.

It is fifteen years since the judicial murder of five of the noblest workers for the emancipation of mankind and imprisonment of three. One of these last said to me recently, "I am afraid the men are being forgotten, that soon they will be remembered only as their enemies remember them and as their enemies remember the victims of 1871 in France."

But this can never be true. In every large city in the civilized world and in many of the small villages the people will remember the 11th of November and the great sacrifice that was so bravely made on that day. They will tell the story anew of how brave, able, earnest men, who were devoting their lives to bettering the condition of the common people, were harassed, misrepresented, persecuted and finally conspired against and hounded to their deaths, by the class who feared to lose their power thru the work of these men. Of how bravely they died, caring more to the last for the propaganda than they did for their own lives.

For, it is true that they were as deeply interested in what was going forward in the work for the cause, as they were in what was being done on their behalf, and more. Adolph Fischer said to me one day when I visited him in the jail, "Why do you people hesitate about everything you do to ask if it will injure our prospects? You don't intend to stop all propaganda work because we are in prison, do you? We are not the only victims there will be from now on—if you cease working for the cause for fear of hurting the prospects of the prisoners you will never accomplish anything again."

And Albert Parsons said on the eve of his return, "I cannot remain away, while my comrades are on trial for their lives. I must be with them; we can speak with more power from the prisoners' dock than anywhere else. Let us take advantage of it."

Many have said that Parsons never would have given himself up if he had not believed that eventually they would be cleared. But on the contrary Parsons had no faith that they would ever be set at liberty. He knew the fierceness of their enemy too well. He felt, on that last Sunday afternoon in beautiful Waukesha, that his doom was sealed; for he had determined to return, and there, on a lovely green hill above the village, he lived thru his Gethsemane. He said he never again suffered as he did in that hour when he bade goodby to life, liberty, happiness, and friends. And yet he never hesitated—once his mind made up as to what he had to do, he never wavered.

The story of that terrible tragedy cannot be told too often. Even yet a great many people think the Anarchists are a wicked, secret, dark and bloody band intent only on violence and murder, and that the State did a proper thing when it killed a lot of them. It is difficult to get at the kind of people who still think this; but repeated efforts, repeated telling of the story in speeches, addresses, written articles, and the annual repetition of the memorial exercises where crowds are present, will have great effect, especially in these later days. It should be told again and again—how these men exciting the enmity of the privileged classes, by preaching so powerfully to the masses of

what their rights were, were plotted against and involved in a made-up "riot" in which the plotters did not hesitate to sacrifice a company of policemen, how they were arrested, persecuted, imprisoned, misrepresented, how public opinion was systematically lashed into a frenzy and kept there, how perjured witnesses were employed, how a partial judge made the most absurd rulings, how the maliciousness of the prosecution showed itself at every turn, how a verdict determined on from the first was at last pronounced to the satisfaction of the class interested in putting these men out of the way. How it was planned to keep the hatred of the people at white heat while noble friends were working for a commutation, how poor, youthful, heroic Lingg was mysteriously brought to his death, no one knows how to this day, in the secrecy of his dungeon—all these things should be repeated over and over to whoever can be made to hear. I wish that Trumbull's "Trial of the Judgment," and Altgeld's "Reasons for Pardoning the Anarchists," could be read aloud and passed around at every memorial meeting in the world.

I wonder how they would feel if they could come back and visit their old scenes and know what was going on, this fifteenth anniversary day? Would they be satisfied? Would they regret their sacrifice? Would they feel that we had done our part after they had done so much?

They would find—no revolution accomplished, no signs of one, and the masses of the people still trusting in some sort of a government to save and protect them. They would look upon the pitiful ending of one of the greatest strikes of history; they would know little children had starved and suffered while the powers that be were striving to coerce the workers to their degrading terms; they would see babies in cotton mills where gold is ground out for a few masters and the refuse of dwarfed bodies, bloodless faces and stunted minds are cast aside for the people. They would see men who had been stamped by the State with the brand of crime, driven, beaten, tortured, worked to death worse than chattel slaves ever were, by heartless contractors; they would see noble men and women thrown into prison for expressing what to them are useful truths; and how one sweet, intelligent and refined lady was driven to commit suicide because of the persecutions of puritanical hypocrites; they would see still, willing men begging for a chance to toil, and weak women working their lives away with their needles for less than will keep hunger from their doors; they would see that the superstition of ownership and mastership still prevail; that the death of a ruler, a king or a prince is of far more importance than the death of an innocent child, or a useful worker or a friend of humanity.

At first it might cause them to feel that all the work that has been done for the progress of the race, all the sacrifices that had been made, all the suffering that had been endured, had been in vain. But if they could look into the minds of all the people they would discern a gleam of hope. They would know that there are twenty papers advocating the rights of the people where there was one in the old days; they would

see the conservative papers saying things that they were killed for saying, and meeting approval by the public; they would see people reading books, journals, pamphlets everywhere that were once circulated at the risk of imprisonment. They would find a higher standard of justice prevailing, and a higher ideal in the hearts of the people. They would find a brighter light burning in the souls of many thinkers, a greater hope for the future, and a greater determination to grow upward themselves. We may have changed as to what we think is desirable, but so would they have changed and progressed, if they had remained with us. They would not regret the events of that dark November day, and we, cherishing their memory in our hearts sadly and tenderly, will not sorrow for them without consolation nor regret them without hope.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

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An American Edition of German Prejudices.

We have to hand the September number of the *International Socialist Review*, "a monthly journal of international Socialist thought," of the Marxian scientific school.

The number contains articles by all the celebrities of international Social Democracy, and the pages which are shining with dialectic philosophy, concentration of capital, and revolutionary phraseology, are stamped with the names of Ferri, Kautsky, etc. In the sixty pages, which this number contains, we have a true concentration of all their fallacies and misrepresentations of Socialist thought and revolutionary terminology.

In the editorial, the question of concentration of capital in the United States is treated. The author attempts to demonstrate by numerous quotations of figures that Marx's formula of concentration of capital, "the expropriation of a great number of capitalists by a small number," "one capitalist kills many," and that the number of possessors is diminishing, is marvelously proved by the development of American industry.

It is obligatory before all in every investigation to define strictly its objects and limits. So also in this case. From what period of time shall we compare the increase or decrease in the number of possessors and exploiters? The earliest date mentioned by the author is 1840. Well, let us ask any unprejudiced man: Since that date has the number of capitalists, exploiters and people living on the work of others, diminished in the United States? At that time Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Denver, Brooklyn, and dozens of other places which now count their inhabitants by millions and hundred thousands were not in existence. Are all those inhabitants living in their own houses? Or is not the greater part of them paying rent for the houses belonging to many thousands of proprietors? And surely all these houses are not owned by a few capitalists?

In 1840 scarcely no railways existed in the States. At present half the railways of the whole world are in the States. They gave in 1899 a yearly net earnings of \$448,000,000. Are all those railways the property of a few individuals? Or do they belong to different companies, shareholders of which are quoted by the thousands?

FREE SOCIETY.

In the same year, 1840, no steamers, and only a few hundreds of sailing vessels existed in the States; in 1900 there were already 7,053 steam vessels, 13,271 sailing vessels, 2,400 barges, a total of 22,724 vessels with a tonnage of 5,164,839. We ask again: Do all those 23,000 vessels belong to fewer proprietors than there were in 1840?

The same about banking. Has the number of banks diminished? The statistics of the United States show that in 1830 only 330 banks existed, with a capital of £30,200,000, and deposits of £11,600,000. In 1889 their number was 6,721, with a capital of £180,000,000, and £759,000,000 deposits. Is the number of possessors of all these banks less than in 1830?

The absurdity of this "law," that the number of capitalists is diminishing for the benefit of a few individuals, whose concentrated wealth may then be easily expropriated by a parliament with a Social Democratic majority, is evident even to the blindest follower of Marx. But they try by every means to prove that their legal and peaceful tactics, their advocacy of submission and petty reforms, are quite justified by the "inherent law of nature," which inevitably must bring about this concentration of capital thru the killing of many capitalists by a few, and so lead to a peaceful and legal transformation of society and to the reign of collectivism.

In order to prove this, they begin now to discuss not the Marxian law, "one capitalist kills many," and "the number of capitalists is diminishing," which is contradicted by statistics that show the number of capitalists has tripled in the last forty years, but they try to demonstrate that production, industry, banking and other capitalist activities are combining in societies and trusts, so that consequently in many branches of industry the number of establishments is diminishing.

Well, but in these combines and trusts is the number of shareholders diminishing also? Certainly not. The number of capitalists is tripled over the whole world compared with their number in 1848. And what is most important to note is that their number is increasing by the influx of the most intelligent, capable and well-to-do workers, who, once among the capitalists, become the most narrow-minded, cruel and daring defenders of capitalism.

The same editorial gives the following statistics: for woolen industry and hosiery the increase of salary was 59 per cent, of wages only 6 per cent; in the alcohol industry salary increased 70 per cent, wages 24 per cent. Another table states that during the last decade salaries increased 56 per cent, wages decreased 22 per cent.

Who are those salaried persons whose salaries increased? Are they not the small bourgeoisie and capitalist administrators? Among them are gentlemen like Mr. Schwab, manager of Carnegie's steel trust, with his yearly salary of hundreds of thousands of dollars. So that the increase of salary could show the writer of the editorial just that the number and prosperity of those who are directly engaged in defending capitalism and organizing its growth, is rapidly developing to the loss of the wage earner and to the benefit of the capitalist.

Not happier is Signor Ferri's attempt to prove that revolutionary method and revolutionary action mean peaceful and legal parliamentary tactics and propaganda.

The problem of social emancipation and abolition of social iniquity, "cannot be accomplished thru one stroke, of collective or individual violence. . . . Proletarian evolution does not proceed spontaneously, nor does it descend from the providential heaven of government action. It rather takes shape partly thru the natural agency of economic and social phenomena and partly thru the pressure of the proletarian mind itself, which struggles by legal means for the realization of its revolutionary aims.

"These aims are called revolutionary, and cannot be called otherwise. Not because they preach the building of barricades or personal assaults, but because they aim at the complete transformation of the economic fundament of society, instead of limiting, weakening, and entangling themselves in reforms which leave the basis of private property untouched, and which the ruling classes have always granted, not for our benefit, but in their own interest, for the purpose of retarding the progress of the revolutionary idea."

So according to Ferri, peaceful men like Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen were revolutionists because they propagated ideas of social transformation! But we thought that such men were called social reformers, while those like Blanqui, Mazzini, Garibaldi and John Brown were called revolutionists because they were the organizers of "acts of collective or individual violence."

What may be the reason that Ferri and all Social Democrats, being parliamentary reformers and denying revolutionary action, are so eager to appear under the name of revolutionists? Because the above mentioned great revolutionists are venerated by the victims of oppression as the noblest expression of the human character. And it is so attractive to appear with the halo of those great men, whose work they are denying in their glorification of legalism and peace in a society where no peace can exist between exploiters and exploited.

These two misconceptions on concentration of capital inevitably emancipating the working classes, and peaceful reforms served up to the people as truly revolutionary methods, together with the substitution of reactionary metaphysics to inductive science, these are the cause of all polemics, quarrels and hatred in the Socialist camp. We ask ourselves why Social Democrats, advocating a peaceful solution of the social problem, do not declare themselves honestly as such. Then we should have the same respect for them as for peaceful social reformers; no polemics would be necessary between us Anarchists and Social Democrats; and from both sides our strength would be devoted to attacking capitalist exploitation and governmental oppression. W. T.

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A Philosophic View of Anarchy.

. . . It may be safely affirmed that since the assassination of President McKinley the American people have thought carefully and profoundly, revolving in their minds many theories of government and of liberty. The

process of thought, perhaps, has not gone on publicly or conspicuously, but if an observer were to sit in the parlors or at the supper tables of the great mass of the people, he would hear, almost universally, disputations and speculations. It is interesting to know that these have not all been of one tone. There have been two classes of opinions. On the one hand there has been a vague feeling that perhaps there was more reason than fanaticism in the supposed madness of Czigosz. On the other hand, there has been a current of opinion running strongly toward the support of government, of the *status quo*, of legalism and of practicality. The latter is undoubtedly the sentiment of the great body of the American people, and the *Outlook*, a journal of singular poise, is in consonance with public opinion when it says: "[The Anarchist] doctrine is so irrational, so subversive of all civilization, so impossible of application, so like the dream of a disordered brain, that it never can find much currency outside an insane asylum."

It seems incredible that in an age of so much enlightenment, an eminent and representative periodical can characterize as foolish a doctrine which actually exists and which finds root in the minds of many men. As regards Anarchism, one of two things must be true. Either some nefarious divinity has surreptitiously implanted it in the minds of its devotees, or else it is the creature of circumstances. Now the first hypothesis is inexpressibly silly to anyone who will take a moment to think; for, with the theory of origins now prevailing, it is inconceivable that an idea or an object should be created out of nothing; that it should be thrust extraneously into a given environment and be expected to live there and find a home. The only possible belief is that Anarchy, somehow or other, is the expression of a certain set of circumstances; and if this is so, how can Anarchy be condemned? The conditions out of which it grows may seem to those who are not Anarchists to be horrid, dark and abnormal, but are they not, nevertheless, rather sacred and solemn? If we trace out their genesis we shall find that they are connected with other circumstances, in turn, with still other circumstances, until, by an infinite process, we have included the whole universe. Anarchy, indeed, is a universe-production: it is of human nature. . . .

Anarchy is in some ways so profound and so comprehensive a system that we shall enter upon an explanation of it with peculiar delight. . . .

The ideas of Anarchy upon economics are almost identical with those of Socialism. It calls itself the no-government system of Socialism, and it holds in common with Socialist doctrine "that the private ownership of land, capital and machinery has had its time and is condemned to disappear . . . and that the wage system must be completely denied." This is eminently just, for nothing is more clear than that all property which now exists is the product not of a single individual, but of society as a whole, and not of contemporary society only, but of all past generations. . . .

The Anarchistic doctrine of Communism is not impaired by the serious defect which taints the Socialistic doctrine. The Socialist, by placing industry under a bureau and

making it conscious, robs production, exchange and distribution of their flexibility and their adaptability. But Anarchy leaves manufacture and commerce just where they are now—with the nation at large. Anarchistic Communism, indeed, seems open to only one criticism. It might be urged that men, when the stimulus of necessity will be destroyed, will not work. This is scarcely a serious remark. With us, work is a habit, and idleness an artificial growth. It is overwork that is repulsive to human nature, not work. Overwork for supplying the few with luxury—not work for the well-being of all. Work, labor, is a physiological necessity, a necessity of expending accumulated bodily energy, a necessity which is health and life itself. . . .

We turn now to consider the position of Anarchy as respects government. The Anarchist has studied inductive science, and he finds that it has pursued a certain trend. He employs the process of analogy and decides that government, not obviously, perhaps, but nevertheless fundamentally, has followed the same course of progress. . . .

If man would only look deeply into it, he would find that his government, no less than the forces of nature, is everywhere and nowhere, and that to elect a body of men, send them to some council-chamber and delegate to them powers which, from their very diffusion and their very omnipresence, can never reside in any particular place, is to perpetrate a folly so gross as to be beneath contempt. The Anarchists arrive at the conclusion, therefore, that the ultimate aim of society is the reduction of the functions of government to nil—that is, to a society without government, to Anarchy.

There is a practical as well as a philosophical argument against government. Here again we quote from Kropotkin. "The Radicals saw in universal suffrage and republic institutions the last word of political wisdom. But a further step was made by a few. The very functions of government and the State, were submitted to a sharper and deeper criticism. . . . It became obvious that these defects [of government] are not merely accidental, but inherent in the system itself. Parliament and its executive proved to be unable to attend to all the numberless affairs of the community and to conciliate the varied and often opposite interests of the separate parts of a State. Election proved unable to find out the men who might represent a nation, and manage otherwise than in a party spirit the affairs they are compelled to legislate upon. It became evident that it is stupid to elect a few men and to entrust them with the task of making laws on every conceivable subject. It became evident that majority rule is as defective as any other kind of rule; and humanity searches and finds new channels for resolving the pending questions."

A reason for government would be even more completely lacking under the Communism which the Anarchists include in their reform measures. To each new economic phase of life corresponds a new political phase. Absolute monarchy—that is, court rule—corresponded to the system of serfdom. Representative government corresponded to capital rule. Both, however, are class rule. But in a society where the distinction be-

tween the capitalist and laborer has disappeared there is no need of such a government. The no-capitalist system implies the no-government system.

. . . The truth is that government is arbitrary; it is superimposed, and it can never be justified in an age which yields assent only to an inner reason.

The strong argument brought against Anarchy is that, without government, harmony and justice cannot be preserved. This argument seems conclusive only because, discovering government to play an important part, we grow accustomed to suppose that the State and the political men are everything; that there is nothing behind great statesmen. . . .

We have proved that the absence of government would not produce violence and disorder. But even if such should be the result, would Anarchy be more culpable than government? Is there not at the present time an appalling amount of violence as a direct result of government? Consider, for a moment, the number of men who have perished in the Filipino and Boer wars. Consider the number who are killed in the long process of executions for crimes which government carries on. "And those who garrot, assassinate, who kill depreciated human merchandise, they who make a religion of the maxim that, for the safety of the public, you must garrot, shoot, and kill, they complain that human life is not sufficiently respected."

. . . The Anarchist morality may be briefly designated as egoistic. Following the lead of Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Tchernychevsky, who themselves were not the pioneers in the movement, the Anarchists declare that all acts of man, condign or meretricious, useful or baneful, arise from a single motive: the lust for pleasure.

The gratification of the self—never another person but always one's own self—this, according to the Anarchist philosophy, is the exclusive source of all human conduct. But the self, for whose gratification each person works unceasingly through the whole of his life, is no meager entity. Each human being—so the Anarchist declares—not only may become, but he must become, the whole universe. Here the theory of the solidarity of the individual with the species, yes, and with the whole animal kingdom, and with all inanimate objects, comes in. The universe created man, and man cannot repudiate the relationship. . . .

The question arises, is this a high morality? We cannot answer this question, but we do know that it is a true morality. . . .

The Anarchist morality, if it may be judged from its results in practice, is healthy and elevated. An Anarchist couple, when they marry, undergo no ceremony. All ceremony is odious to Anarchists. The marriage is based only upon love; it is that which has created the marriage, and when that ceases the marriage must cease. The Anarchist parent conceives it to be wrong to punish his or her children. A great solidarity in the family seems to result. On the occasion of Prince Kropotkin's address in Chicago, the meeting was conducted not by hired ushers or door-tenders, but by the collected Anarchist families. Buxom wives hastened about, with a flushed and happy expression, prose-

cuting the sale of Anarchist pamphlets. Little tots, scarcely able to keep on their feet, aided in showing the audience to their seats. The thing was a family affair.

The observer looked at these products of a much derided and persecuted system, and he felt his heart to grow soft at the sight of a picture, domestic and human. The children were robust and ecstatic. The women seemed unoppressed by hard labor. The men displayed sympathy, humor and hope. It was a pleasure to have been among a people where the physical, evidently, is held in high esteem, and where the family, bound together not by perfunctory but by real bonds, is recognized as the most natural and powerful instrument for the expression of all of the activities of the individual.—W. Lionel Heap, in *The Inlander*, University Hall, Ann Arbor, Mich., November, 1901.

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Here and There.

Comrades MacQueen and Grossmann have been sentenced to five years' imprisonment at Paterson, N. J., on the charge of rioting. A stay of execution has been granted to give their lawyer time to appeal. This is another case of Anarchism being on trial. While it is true that Grossmann was in Paterson and made a speech there the day previous to the alleged riot, it is not true that he was a participant in the trouble, for he was in New York at his desk when the fracas occurred. He had a number of witnesses to swear to this fact, but a policeman swore he had seen him there, and that settled it—five years.

RUSSIA.—The trial of the peasants accused of destroying private property in the Khar-koff province has been finished. Lenient sentences not exceeding six months in prison were imposed. The courts refused to admit testimony that peasants were whipped, their houses destroyed, and their wives and daughters outraged by the soldiers.

BELGIUM.—While the politicians are making speeches in the chamber of deputies, the workers are doing something to help themselves. The cooperative associations held a conference in Charleroi recently, and interesting facts were reported. Aside from the numerous bakeries the workers have been running successfully for several years, they own also breweries, tailor shops, shoe and hat factories. At present they are building a flour mill and a soap factory. A wool and cotton mill is also contemplated, and a consumption of two million francs of goods has already been promised by the different cooperative stores.

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LETTER-BOX.

E. H., Brooklyn, N. Y.—"Physician in the House" was sent. No, "abuse and poverty" is not our "only reward for doing good and noble work." The main reward consists in the satisfaction we derive from the work, and in seeing our ideas taking hold of intelligent men and women.

M. L., City.—No, we are not infallible. "To err is human." But if we are "doing injustice to the Socialists," our columns are open to them for a reply.

E. S., New York.—Owing to an indictment for mailing "obscene literature," Comrade Rowell is "on the wing," and has left the colony at Independence, Minn. Whether the colony will be continued or not we do not know yet.

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