Onward!

Onward! and ever towards the narrow goal. We must not lose this pleasant shade.

Nur sig too long the corner of the glade.

Lest once intemperate and beyond the soul.

Onward! and ever eager in the quest.

How few have we gone, and, lo, in the night?

How far above and down the destined height?

Ah, Contemplation, how more effect were we wise,

Yes, let us hasten ere it be too late;

For life is slipping fast and soon we die;

We have no time to loiter in its light.

And cry against a hopeless fate;

Nor waste our little strength in useless hate.

The while the widowed himours hourly by.

—William Mountain.

Origin and Creed of Anarchism.

(Readers of Frex Society will learn with pleasure

that as the outcome of the universal agitation

on the subject of Anarchism last fall, the Alumni Association

of the Boys Central High School of Philadelphia, by a
gold medal for the best historical essay on "The Origin
and Creed of Anarchism."—The essays were to be of
not more than 2500 words and to be handed in to the
president of the High School, Dr. E. E. Thompson, be-
fore May 1. Between eighty and ninety contestans
presented papers, this being the most popular of all the
prize essay subjects. The Committee on Prizes consist-
ted of six prominent men of Philadelphia connected
with educational work. The prize was presented by
Judge Haasen at the annual commencement exercises
in Albert Strickler, a member of the junior class, in the
classical course. The honorable mention was also made
of the essays of Louis Saville, Maino LeRoy Bowen, and
Eugene Amsden Phillipine. The essay for which Mr.
Strickler received the gold medal was, with his permis-
sion, given below. It will touch our comrades most
true to know that he is doing well, and working hard
for his education as well as his national duties. [V. G. C.]

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

Contrary to popular impression, its first exponent was an American, Josiah Warren by name, who, in the year 1820, put forth in a small book called "True Civilization" the political and economic principles upon which, in his opinion, such a civilization must rest, those being in brief, "the Sovereignty of the Individual!" and "Cost the Limit of Price." Working upon these, he sought to show that there was neither necessity nor room for government of any description, and that the evils which government assumes to be in existence and which it desires to correct, are, in reality, the result of the interference (well or ill intentioned) of that same government. Not satisfied with a theoretical presentation of his ideas, Warren made three practical experiments in colonizing the third and most successful having been named New Harmony, in Indiana. The climate, climate, however, as in so many other American colonies, finally proved fatal to the enterprise, and, broken down under ill-health and repeated discouragement, the resolute reformer sank into an obscure grave.

His most learned and enthusiastic disciple was Stephen P. Andrews, lecturer and journalist, associated with Greeley and others in the Brook Farm experiment. In 1845 Andrews delivered in New York City a course of lectures expanding and exalting Warren's principles, These were afterwards published under the title "The Science of Society," and with some slight modifications would probably represent, more correctly than any other single book, the principles of the so-called "Individualist school" of Anarchists.

Meanwhile the no-government idea had taken root and spread through Europe, and by its expression was of a distinctly different order. In the year 1846 Pierre J. Proudhon, a French litterateur, member of the Academy of Besançon, published a memoir entitled "What is Property," in which, essentially, the theories of Warren were developed in a style both strong and elegant. (It is almost certain, however, that neither Warren nor Proudhon had any knowledge of each other's work.) For a period of eight years, the indefatigable author continued to pour forth books, pamphlets, and essays dealing with social-economic reforms, always voicing the double tendency of non-interference by govern- ment and mutual federation and initiative action of the workers.

In 1848 he issued two pamphlets, both entitled "Solution of the Social Problem," the second of which dealt with the organization of Credit and Circulation, and summed up economic progress as a gradual and continuous reduction of rent, interest, profit, and wages. Later he put forth a proposal to organize a "Bank of the People."—a bank which was to have neither stockholders, profits, nor interest—for the purpose of utilizing the credit of the numerous working people's associations whose members might thereby employ themselves and dispense with the capitalist. The project was enthusiastically received and had enlisted 37,000 people, when the hand of the government fell upon Proudhon. Having rounded up Louise Bronterme, who had not yet executed the coup d'état, but whose professions of popular principles did not deceive the veteran reformer, he was arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment. The projected "Bank of the People" had to be resigned, and from that time till his death in 1865, prosecution and persecution, either active or threatened, prevented him from renewing the practical experiment. Without assuming the name of Anarchist, his life-work was an unceasing effort to promote the conception of progress described by Herbert Spencer as "passing from the regime of status to the regime of contract," that is, from the State to the free individual.

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

From the period of the general uprising in Europe in 1818, the Socialists had been gradually working toward a division of forces. Karl Marx and his adherents in the International Working People's Association, who, at the outset, favored political, that is parliamentary, action only as the means for propelling the revolution, had, thru the mellowing influence of time and defeat, become tame and more inclined to play the waiting game of politics than to force revolts which could only end in worse oppressions. Bakunin, however, and with him the more resolute the smaller percentage of the Association, loudly cried that the Marxians had been seduced by the tricks of the ruling classes, and that the organization had entered upon that slippery path which leads partly to corruption and the frittering away of...
ergy in futile palliatives. For themselves, they refused to accept the humiliations of becoming a machine for the elevation into power of demagogues, to their own further du\-pung; they would abandon not a jot of their whole demand and be a complete overthrow of the system of private ownership of the means of production, and they would preach direct action by the people and protest against any and all political parties.

This was the so-called "Black Interna-\tionals" in distinction from the "Red International" or Marxist party, neither of which has at present any vital existence, each having proceeded along its line of diver-

gence, the one towards the vague spiritual federation of the Anarchists, the other towards the well defined, steadily concentrat-
ing party of Social Democracy. It will be seen, nevertheless, that at the out-

set of their career these two parties had a common aim, the realization of the econom-
ics of Socialism. Hence the opposition existing in the minds of those unacquainted with the movement; hence the more or less ferocious campaigns against the Anarchists and So-

cial Democrats themselves. For the "Black Internationals" were Socialists who had real-\n
ized themselves into the non-governmental idea, who had rejected the methods of realizing Socialism, while the Proudhonians and Warren Anarchists had realized themselves into individ-

ualist economics as a sequence from the non-governmental principle, which they had ac-

cepted as a basis of the whole of the course of history, the logic of the premises that it is the role of the govern-

ment to rest only on the consent of the governed. It was as Socialists who were preaching revolution by the ex-

ample of activity that they appeared in Amer-

ica, when Ben R. Tucker, a young Boston jour-

nalist, undertook the publication of Labor-

Liberty. In the absence of translations of Proudhon's works, the letters of Lyndale Spe\n\ner, the lectures of Andrews, Green's "Mutual Banking," and similar books, thus the minds of the younger element of the proletariat, while in America was almost unknown in the workshops but somewhat discussed in universi-

ties and counting-houses.

Such was the state of the case in the early 60's, when the rapid development of capital-

ism in America, with its attendant phonomen-

a, the combine, the imported laborer, the rush, the ensuing idleness, the panic, ever recurring on a more extended scale, be-

gan to crash heavily on the erstwhile comparatively free workman. Socialism began to spread: the ghosts of Marx and Lassalle striked; and beside them their re-

lated propogandists, Bakunin.

In Chicago a group of workmen of various nationalities began publishing the Al\narm, a weekly paper, Socialiste in its econ-

omic teachings, and gradually advancing the program of the workmen for a forc-
ible revolution—not of offense, as has been alleged, but of defense. Two German papers of similar advocacy were likewise published in Chicago and New York, the Arbeiter-\nzeitung edited by August Spies and Freiheit by John Most.

In 1885, a bitter and weak and little-known union of workers, the Knights of Labor, leaped into sudden and gigantic proportions. Seven hundred thousand workmen felt the fever of unrest and swarmed together in numbers which might have been formidable had there been a corresponding cohabitation of their mass movement. These 10,000,000 men, and they spread over the countryside and divided into the progress of one of these, on the evening of May 4, 1886, the social at-

mosphere felt the clearings of an electric bolt. A bomb had been thrown in Chicago! Some Anarchist was on the list of commit-

tees whose names had been given by the prison authorities, and that these men were not in the cell block. In the same way, the immediate action of the Anarchists in the case of some of the prisoners, and the immediate action of the Anarchists in the case of some of the prisoners, and the.

The courts did not lack for evidence for the conviction of the defendants, and with the evidence of the defendants, and with the evidence of the.

Meanwhile, the trial made manifest to the public that Anarchism must be something more than a mere "ugly word," more than even a "dangerous word,"—whether a good thing or a bad thing, it certainly was not the thing it had been represented by the press in the first in-

stance after May 4. For from all over the country came hundreds of clerks and indus-

trial men, and they were not the worse for the controversy and the struggle. "These are the men the world cares nothing for, who have been the great men in the world of science and letters as well as among the ignorant and wretched who had adopted the obnoxious label. Ehren Reclus, whose magnificent work on geog-

raphy is a sensation, the work of the whole world over, saluted the doomed prisoners of Chi-

cago as his brothers. Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince, had stepped down and out of his nobility, and taking his rank with the earth's toilers, declared himself Communist and Anarchist. Escaping from his Russian prison, he helped to establish several papers in France, in Switzerland, in Italy, and in England. Several of the great English and American reviews have published articles by Kropotkin in which he has sought to estab-

lish Anarchist Communism upon a biological and historical foundation, under the caption of "Scientific Bases of Anarchism." Reading these articles, as well as others by the various writers who in the several languages of Europe voice the present develop-

ment of the idea, it is seen that there has been a considerable drift from the original point of divergence in the Socialist organiza-

tion, and that while Social Democracy has pursued a steadily narrowing and simplifying direction, its objects have been confined within the limits of a political plat-

form. Anarchism has, on the contrary, broad-

ened to include the whole scope of human activity, i.e., spiritual, intellectual, and me-

terial, as well as political effort. The result of this broadening has been to dimin-

ish the relative importance of mere economics and to implant an extensive centralized association for action in that direction by the force of circumstances. Here is an inquiry into social relations, there to the appli-

cation of the Anarchist principle to edu-

cation, elsewhere to some other phase of the problem; an association having no unifying, no constitution or laws, no regulation, or officialism within itself, and no connec-

tion with other groups save that of a spiri-

tual union, such a union being sometimes expressed in the form of a conference in which opinions are exchanged but no de-

cisions rendered, the execution of any pro-

posed project being left entirely to the vol-

untary selection of the persons present or such as they can persuade to cooperate with them. The rigidity of the "thoroughly organ-

ized" body hastened given way to the flexi-

ble, intangible, ever dissolving and ever re-

forming autonomous group whose strength lies in its weakness. The order and the wholeness of the whole is not the establishment of definite reforms has no appreciation of such strength, and turns aside in disgust from so indefinite a design, so ineffective a method. To sue the Old International with its posi-

itive and limited program of expropriating landlord, usurer, and capitalist, appealed much more strongly. But those to whom economy is of value only as a means to a greater end, the liberation of the human in-

tellect and spirit, are instinctively drawn with increased attraction to this free asso-

ciation which endeavors to realize individu-

ality and equality within itself, and to en-

hance the principle of individual service as the only means of genuine release from all forms of slavery.

With this relative extaltation of the spiri-

tual side of the problem, and decline in the prosaic and material, there has grown up a conviction among the newer disciples of both the Individualist and Communist schools of economy, that fixed classes, the future social divisions of society, are not so important. The Com-

munist of Kropotkin and Wm. Morris is not the Socialism of Bakunin, nor even of the Chicago men. The concentration of power, either in the large factories, vast aggregations of workmen, federated groups of administration, with their threatened bureaucracy, form no part of modern Com-

munist theory.

Confined as it is on a few simple principles, communal possession of land and all tools necessary to production in common, it ac-

cepts the redistribution of the population over the liberated land as a necessary se-

quence and the multiplication of small enter-

prises out of the division of the great city; local production, in the place of the feverish world exchange of present commerce. The elaborate schemes of Marx and his succes-

sors for the determining of each man's pro-

duction and the amount of his claim against society is abolished by the simple proposi-

tion: Let each give and take freely, without worrying as to the balance. True economy arranges so that each shall have enough without undue exhaustion, and as to what is over and above it is a common possession free to the first comer.

Individualists, on the other hand, they who were at first inclined to refuse the title of Anarchist to their Communist contempo-

raries, saying that Communism invariably led to government, have likewise seen that the principle of free labor and free production, free exchange, would be cooperation, with a form of Communism in the distance, when price, upon the Proudhonian principle of continu-

ous reduction, shall have been lowered to "nil."

Both seem to acknowledge that in the ab-

sence of government economic arrangements of very different nature might be tried in varying localities, according to the social
tragedies and instincts of a people, without destroying freedom.

Again, the advocates of aggressive attack upon government and the people, at all costs, as well as the intermediates who advocate expediency as the measure of either course, have so far agreed to admit that the final arbiter of any individual or group of individuals is the majority and therefore while the absolute principle of aggression or of non-resistance may be reciprocally disapproved, no man consentiously putting his own principle into action, even by an act of assassination, may be condemned. The act may be deplored, the individual may not be judged.

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

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

**Paterson and its Lessons.**

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

Paterson and its vicinity contain many mills, mostly those connected with the silk industry. The men employed there are mostly "foreigners"—Italians and Germans. Most of the Italians are brought to the mills soon after landing on American soil by a band of human monsters who consitute what is called the padrone system. By this system the wages of the men are more or less controlled and the men more or less subject to petty persecutions. Men driven out from Italy by hunger, are ready to accept the most miserable terms and conditions.

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

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

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

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

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

I am dealing here mainly with conditions and I can not exclude one very important factor—the blocking of the unemployed to the mills to get employment. These men, the reserve force of the unemployed, are very often the cause of the loss of a strike. These men were also employed some time ago, but the progress of machinery has put them on the streets. Desperate conditions compel these men to act. If the strike was aimed at them, and they accept employment only at such times. These men will even use rifles against the strikers, in order to hold on to their positions. They will act as buffers.

Desperate conditions produce desperate men.

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

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

How to face it is the problem to be solved by the strikers. If they submit that they will mean ruin to them, and to enter into a battle with mammon to enter into the jaws of death. But to quote Shakespeare: Beware of enemies to quarrel, for A quarrel, Bear 't, that the oppressor may beware of thee.

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

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

When a resort to arms is the only appeal the strike will be crushed, but in this lies the root of our optimism. The next struggle that will appear in the history of struggles the toilers will be more prepared; the struggle will be fiercer and the effect and results will be more widespread. The reaction that may come will not be such as to make the next steps of progress more impetuous and swift.

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

**New York.**

**S. M. Mintz.**

**Home Defense Fund.**


**For St. Louis, Mo.**

Readers of FREE SOCIETY, Freewill, and all friends and comrades are invited to a family picnic which will be held at "the Belvedere House," Catokia, Ill. Take ferry boat at the foot of Sidney St. In case of rain the picnic will take place the following Sunday.
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ANARCHIST - A social theory which regards the nature of order the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individua.

ity. - Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JULY 6, 1862.

If these 0s mere correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Free Society, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

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

Comrade MacQueen writes us from the Toms that he is there awaiting extradition papers from New York, where he will be charged with attempting to rob. He requests us to announce that Free Society will be published unperturbedly in spite of his imprisonment. If anyone who has ordered it does not receive it regularly, he should write again to Liberty, 69 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

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

To anyone sending us $2 we will send Free Society one year, and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House." Also to anyone sending us one year's subscription and $2 will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

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

Splinters.

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

Paterson business men are going to attempt to run the Anarchists out of that town by an underhanded persecuting campaign. This is an excellent plan to make all Anarchists more active, but that is by starving them down to desperation.

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

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

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

By the Wayside.

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

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

While the toilers everywhere are struggling for better conditions, and in some places successfully have defied injunctions, pusillanimous labor "representatives" have covered all winter before the lawmakers in Washington to have an eight-hour and an anti-injunction bill passed; but all in vain for the bills were "shelved."

But when these "leaders" learn that there is no legal road to freedom? Had the money and energy been spent in educational work, which would make the workers conscious of their rights, and in reforming the wage system instead of tearing from before legislators labor would not have humiliated itself, and much good would have been accomplished.

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

The following is a fair illustration of how public opinion is manufactured by the associated press. Some time ago the Australian paper commenced a campaign for the king's visit to the Portland prison that.

So delighted was one of the party of convicts at the sight of his majesty that, setting aside all prison rules, he shouted: "Your majesty, if you please, we will sing you a song; we cheer with great heartiness and his majesty smilingly acknowledged this surprising outburst of liberal feeling.

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

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

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

For New York.

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

The park can be reached from all ferries. Take the street car or the elevated train to Ridgewood, transfer to Cozy ID or Myrtle Ave. enters. From 34th St. Ferry: F. B. & Myrtle Ave. Station, fare 5 cents.
The national conference of Charities and Corrections was last week an investigation into the tramp problem. The tramp problem is too easy to need investigation. It is explained by the millionaire microbe. Idle luxury and idle misery always come and go together. They belong together. Tramps and hobo's are products of the same cause. They are manifestations of the same social disease. They made their appearance at about the same time. Each is a parasite upon productive industry. Each is supported by the labor of the industrious. And the begged hobo is the less virulent manifestation of the disease: he doesn't cost so much to keep. —The Public.

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

Here's a rhetorical gem. It emancipates from time immortal the character of the only Alderman Bridges, Brooklyn's most unique and promising session. Says he in all earnestness: “I see motormen standing on a platform of a car with one hand on the brake and one hand in their pocket, and I have never known a man with three hands. I have known a man with three hands was found so that it is a wonder when children have been on the track he would have been killed, because the motormen's hands was fanning. I want to beg this committee not to let this bill go to sleep, but to keep it alive. This bill has fallen into a hole once before, and has been covered up in its silent grave, and I want to say that I have dug up this bill from its silent grave, and I don't want to see it fall into a hole again.” —Brooklyn Daily Star.

Man is only a reed, the feeblest in nature; but he has a thinking reed. It is necessary for him that the whole universe should arise in his eyes to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water suffices to kill him. But if the entire universe were to crush him, man would still be greater than that which slays him, because he knows the advantage of the universe which the universe knows nothing. Thus all our dignity consists in thought. It is that upon which we must take our stand, not upon space and duration. Let us, then, labor to think well; that is the principle of morals. —Pascal.

A Political Pointer.—If you don't want a thinggrafted, appoint a commission to consider how to do it. —Park.

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

FREE SOCIETY.

Philoehetical Society.

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

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

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

T. P. QUINN.

— Ideal or Idiotic?

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

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

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

There is nothing that the sublime and the ridiculous, and between the idiotic and the ideal; but to some minds the ideal and sublime are idiotic and ridiculous. The texts quoted may appear to some Anarchists as ridiculous and idiotic; it is certain, however, that the Anarchist's sublime ideal of everything free, including, in fact necessitating complete individual salvation, without any appeal of the Martinique and South African Jentos, Vengeful, and Capricious God, will appear to all churches as idiotic and ridiculous. Further still, the ideal of free production and free consumption would entirely do away with any idea that rowd of all evil, without which no woman would prostitute her body, and no man would be a parasite and thus prostitute his mind.

J. F. HARTMAN, Sec.
S. BOOKINNERS, Treas.
Providence, R. I., 49 Robinson St.

A letter for a leader on the tramp problem, which was to convey the Sydney section of the lingering second Commonwealth Contingent to South Africa, was rejected by the Committee. The letter was not signed, and the writer was not known. The letter was unsold on Thursday, but for the last two weeks was "sued" against the Agricultural and Industrial Union, which writers were also described in question.

J. S., New York City. —The paper was rewound on Thursday, but for the last two weeks was "said" to have been in the possession of the writer addressed, and that he has not received the copy, which, however, will be furnished on receipt of the subscription.

FRED DONOUGH.
A PAINFUL RECOLLECTION.

It was long past midnight, and I was walking down the Strand. The Strand was deadly with the icy breath of Robin Hood's bête noir, the thaw was over, the Strand was balmy for the season of the driving sleet, and filthy because of the two-inch depth of melted snow and slush. Men were out shoveling heaps of snow into carts, or struggling against the wind in St George's Channel, with hope and despair.

The streets were nearly empty of passengers, for no human being of average reason was likely to be there of choice in such inclement weather. Even a Polar bear would have been its own cook. I was there, however, because insomnia had kept me on the rack all through the dreary preceding night, lying in the dark in a back bedroom at the top of a feverish hotel, counting the quarters as they chimed from the distant clock tower of the house across the Thames. Breathing another existence, I had come out intending to pass the night in the doleful street under the stars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I shook my head, sadly enough, I dare say, and said: "My girls, this is a bitter cold night, and you have both bad coughs, and your feet are wet. Would you not be better in bed?"

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

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

"Are you sure of that?" I asked.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"But I knew you would be," I said.

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

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

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

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

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

"Who'd take us servants?" asked Alice, and added: "Don't you want us anywhere, not even in the Strand?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I saw you just now," said Alice to me, "as you passed the snow-cart. You mustn't think too hard of us for what we said to the man. He threw wet snow at us. We girls have a lot to bear; we have to take our own part."

"I know," I said, "I know; I have often done worse things and said worse. Un sorry I said I did what to you," said Marian; "I didn't know. You have no idea what it's like to get a living in the Strand."

I had no answer to this, except to say I did not blame her, and then our troubles.

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

"I've been thinking perhaps you've some little girls of your own," said Marian, "and that makes you good to poor things like us."

I only one baby. It gets to be very fond of a baby soon. It's little of its age, but it takes notice.

And with this pitiful touch of nature to make us kin we came to the end of the dreadful bridge, and I took two poor girls, stopping, Alice pointing down a turning on the left.

"We live down there," she said.

I gave my poor sisters a few shillings each, shook hands with them, and raised my last woe with courtly ceremony, washed them both "Good-night."

Some hours later, as I walked wearily up Whitfield, a wavering shadow bounded upon me, and out of the misty rain a barefooted woman came shuffling thither the night. She was wrapped in a faded old red cloak, trimmed with worn-out fur. She went along huddled up, and shivering so violently that I could hear her teeth chatter as she passed me. Her poor dress was soaking wet, almost as high as the knees, and her boots were mere rags. I let her pass, then repented and turned back.

I am only one baby. In the Strand I was half dead. I never saw a human creature so cold. I remembered what Alice told me about the coffee, and that I had passed a stall at the end of Westminster Bridge, and I took the next street creature I saw and gave her coffee and bread, until she recovered her speech, when I saw her to the throat of a horrible court in the Westminster slums, and giving her also a few shillings, left her last will with courtly ceremony, washed them both "Good-night."

It is wrong, say the charity organizers, to give promiscuous alms. It is worse wrong than aiming to feed the trade of open shame with the sweet bodies and white souls of fine girls, and cast respectable women out to struggle through a pitiless winter's night without food or shelter.

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

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

Perhaps some respectable reader will take offense at the plain dealing in this article. Perhaps some respectable person will misunderstand me. The respectable person is never tried for being very severe and not always very bright. The respectable person somewhat resembles Sarah, the wife of Abraham—and Sarah was bitter. The respectable person is nice to a person who asks him to answer for her. The respectable person has seldom suffered much. Now, when a man is conscious that he is not perfect he is usually more prone to charity. And when a man has gone through the small potatoes..."
Adversity is a good school. A fellow starts out in life with a good deal of hope, and a good deal of conceit, and if he doesn't get any falls he becomes, perhaps, a trite humbug. But some fellows have the luck to have the conceit taken out of them very thoroughly. Grief comes and wrings their hearts; disappointment comes and humbles their expectations; death strikes down their nearest and dearest; they make mistakes, and become modest; they do wrong, and are ashamed. When success has exalted them, when pride and self-righteousness have almost made them into prigs, the fates come along and hit them on the chest, and kick them in the chest, and trip them by the heels and roll them in the mud, and jump upon them and mop the earth with their hair, and they rise up sore and sorry, and full of knowledge of life and of pity for the living. A queer world, my masters, a queer world; and I am sorry for all women and young children.

The law that represses and defends its women may be sure of its honor and its men. But in England, in London, in the Strand!—Nunquain, in the Clarion.

What is Freedom?

That is what I want Free Society to explain. So far Mr. James has not made it clear to me in the absence of human law we are free. And he goes on to say that by human law 88 means pretty much what Austin meant. So leaving aside the legal quibble between an ordinance and a law, there stands out clear this idea that Mr. James means by a human uniform rule of action, and that any uniform rules are opposed to freedom. Consequently if I with others who believe in the law of equal liberty, organize for the defense of that equal liberty, and give it out that as a uniform practice we shall defend that equal liberty, it would appear, from Mr. James' point of view, would it not, that we are opposed to liberty.

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

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

A. H. SIMPSON.

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

How much?

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

Was the action of the Jewish women, about whom Jay Fox wrote, a measure for the emancipation of the individual from government by law? The only way I can think of they were Socialists, or only poor people who found themselves intimidated by the law, and then in that case the law was against them, and the law itself is necessary to the privilege of attending.

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

LIVRENS.

Brooklyn, 51 Lafayette Ave.

The great trouble with the majority of people is that they fail to examine problems to their roots. If children work in the mills at an early age, "pass a law" restricting the age at which children can be worked. If parents are too poor to send their children to school, needing the amount their poor little hands can earn, "pass a law" compelling children to go to school and making the number many schools to sign up the year. If wealth of workers make labor days of sixteen or eighteen hours, "pass a law" limiting the hours of work. But only by real reformers, and so we must be so change scientific as to enable men to protect their families in comfort, and to send their children to school, without the interference of compulsory laws. But at present the need is so great that people who want to do something more spontaneous the day of redeeming which will surely come. It is for those who see the conclusiveness of this condition to advocate firmly and continually the true remedy, accepting no palliatives, like: A. Burleight, the Victor, January, 1899.

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