"Why!"
(From " Soldier of the Army of the Night.")
"Why do we fail to:
Where go all the gains?
What do we produce for it?
All our wages and gains?
Why is it we toil so?
Is because, like sheep,
Our fathers sought the shears,
We the same course keep.
Where go all the gains? Well,
It must be confessed,
First the landlords take their whack,
And the Masters grab the rest.
What do we produce for it?
Goldsmith—"and then
Imitation large who'd be
Like the gentlemen?"
"What, is it for such as these
That we labor thus?"
Feed-thirsty and vicious fools.
Vermin venemous?
What is that why on the top
Creesa that Royal License,
The prince of bramer and cigars.
Of mulattoes and groves?"
Yes, that's why, my Christian friends.
They slave and slay us.
England is made a dungeon that
Some bugs may breed and lose.
—Francis Adams
— o —
Law Humbug.
Every day brings about new events which go to prove that the law, even in a democracy, is only a dazzling fraud, conceived for the purpose of still more enslaving the proletariat.
The advancement of the workers against prevailing order, however much instinctive, is nevertheless effective, and the bourgeoisie have realized the necessity of changing the tactics of the "class struggle," which they direct more than they submit to.
Yesterday the exploiters refused to arbitrate with their wage workers, and the slightest resistance of the workers was met with gun and bayonet, which soon reestablished "order" in the factories. The pre-dominating principle of every politician in the economic field was intemperance, intemperance.
Times change. Shooting is still done, too much less. Not because the lives of the workers are more valuable or respected by the rulers and their pawns, but because the unions have in spite of everything become a power.
Even the Catholic workers have become conscious of their slavery, and the more intelligent of the bourgeoisie—replied by experience—protest against these murders. In fact, the sound of musketry creates too much noise, especially as all parties in opposition to the ruling party raise a howl in order that they may in time become the rulers.
Today the bourgeoisie are expelling all their energy to make the labor movement a political one.
Parliamentary Socialism is a helpful agent to them. Thus the demands of the workers, and oftimes revolutionary events, social laws are enacted which do more to secure the capitalists and bourgeoisie in their possessions than repressive measures.
The ruling classes are playing with fire. Mediation is blossoming, and with the assistance of Socialist parliamentarians, demands which had hitherto been a menace to capitalist interests were, thru legal jugglery, transformed into very tame laws.
All these hypocritical laws are far more injurious to the interests of the workers than the worst criminal law now in force. So is it with the Suisse bill in Belgium concerning disputes of labor organizations, which is now elaborated upon in all the cabinets of the labor ministry. The Labor Party (Socialist) were asked for their opinion of the bill, and their answer, which is in favor of the bill, working the employees' interests in favor of the interests of the employer, for the reason that it aims to suppress strikes instead of inaugurating them, thus making it impossible for one to be successful. In other words, the principle of government triumphs. That which violent measures could not accomplish, the delegates, and suffrage, have achieved; the muzzling of the workers.
But this is only one side of bourgeois mediation. That which the lawmak- ers begin the courts complete.
Oh, these brave workers demand laws in their favor, and are no longer satisfied with the law under which "all are equal." Oh, no. They want the protection of the ruling power, the police, the spies, and the judges. They want the machinery of law, government, to work for their benefit. They will be shown that the State is the tool of the dominating clique of exploitation. And it is the courts which have taken it upon themselves to make this plain to the workers. They render verdicts whichnullify that which the law makers hypocritically established. The laws remain dead letters. They can no longer be applied. It is enough to declare them unconstitutional. Admirable jousts! Law nullifies the law if the laws are against the interests of the rulers, but the law is sacred when it acts against the interests of the workers.
This movement emanated in the United States, where the judges, as in the aim of every good Socialist, are elected under universal suffrage, declared the eight-hour workday, which was made a legal workday in different States, unconstitutional. Nothing was left to the workers but to rely upon their own strength. But the idea forced its way and conquered England. New tribunals have limited the right of organization thru the extension of law. In France fraudulent creatures are trying to make the law of 1894 regarding the right of organization illusory. The wisdom of jurisprudence is working to pervert the text and meaning of that law. The means are simple. It consists in prosecuting the workers, when they leave the shops without notifying their employers eight days in advance, for damages. Thus the tribunal decided in Montblaind in 1900. Thus decides the supreme court. In Lyons several such decisions were rendered in rapid succession....
The Belgian courts could not help but emulate such alluring examples. The article 310 of the penal code was pressed in the interest of the trade workers. But a large printing establishment refused to employ union men. When summoned before the court, the owner was reprimanded. He appeared against the worker. This time he was acquitted in the name of bourgeois freedom, which fools and Jesuits, who claim to be Socialists, constantly confound with Anarchy or individualism.
So we see such tactics employed more and more. They complete in an admirable manner the demoralizing actions of the law makers by which the workers are liable to sleep. They bring the socialistic labor laws to naught. But it does not matter! The Socialists parliamentarians nevertheless still uphold their belief in law. They see the laws misinterpreted and look upon the fact with comfort. They will continue to demand new laws, which will be violated and ignored as formerly, such as the mine inspection, traffic system, adulteration of food, child labor in factories, etc. And when an American points all this out to the workers, and makes them see that in the present society everything works hand in hand, possession, religion, Church, courts, police, army, and that this must be abolished instead of improved or reformed, he is
told that he is too haughty, because the worker
demands bread and not beautiful words.

The new laws apparently give bread. The
worker demands a living. It will be.
Morgans and the like, they fail them and they
fall and bow in awe and reverence to the
greatest power beneath the heavens—the
American people. Clarence Darrow, in a
mass-meeting on strike, Chicago, August 9, 1902.

— o —

Mind and Brain.

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

Altho James jumps at once into his subject,
he works harder to blaze his way out of
a brain fog than the generality of writers.
But how does he get out of the woodcock
in the thicket of which he discovered? Most
authors “make” terms in mathematics.
This is the way: for him mathematical
questions, operations, quantity, are all abstrac-
tions. But in defining the “objects of a
science” we do not so much direct our minds
to the objects independent of itself and only
to be described analytically.” Why the dis-
tinction and: where the fallacy? It is that he
is in common with nearly all writers on this
subject, holds that the terms of mathe-

matics knowledge enter our heads from
other sources than those for objective knowledge.
Most philosophers deny that it is from
impressions gathered from Roman numerals
and other conceptions that the brain con-
strukts the terms of mathematics. The facts
are, however, that we reach conclusions
in precisely the same manner as when observ-
ing “Suppose” which James says is only the
name of a “Thing.” When the brain has
arranged a number of related ideas into a
proposition we have a concept.

Concepts are never formed out of ideas, except
when representative ideas enter it. Hence, to say
that mathematical terms are abstractions, the
elements of which were not taken in the
first instance from numerals or other mathe-

matics characters, is untrue. James prac-
tically confesses this for circle, “which he
can correctly tell what it is;—because he
knows how it is made.” So, all James
needs to abandon his abstraction theory, is
to know how abstractions are built. The
physicists build these something as fol-
loows: “emotions” (sensate stimuli) from ob-
jects that enter sense organs, are moulded
by them into sense-forms (5); and, in turn,
when these get to the brain, its cells work
them into ideas of the facing surfaces of
the objects that sent out the emotions (phenom-
ena) in question.

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

Holding to a philosophic dualism, James,
in common with many others, makes the
mistake of treating mind as if it had power
to do work. It is obvious that this view
has obtained from the fact that the brain is
strung up with the muscular system in such a
comprehensive manner as to make of it a
very efficient mechanism for expressing its
ideas.

By dualism the philosophers have for an
age-long been hemmed in the Brain, by putting
it in a tent—a Squatter—by others called
Mind. And it is passing strange to a sci-
entist, that this Squatter should have had
the usual load of adjectives given him, in addition
to the having to listen to millions of yells of
men in his praise, while the Brain, the
real operator, has been ignored, trashed,
caused. Such settings are not becoming
anarchists who reason by induction, seeming-
ly permissible in the deductive socialists,
Christians, and authoritarianists.

Mind has no power except that of position
of theory. What does Mind do? Wait for the
brain to produce it, just as the fetus waits for
the love-sick couple to produce it.

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

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

— o —

Endorse Reitzel’s Article.

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

What life, joy, and hope-inspiration lies
in an effort to contribute to another’s
joy, well-being, and pleasure in a free, active
way, separated from mental abstractions
that make specters and phantoms and leave
the soul to linger, wither, decay and die in
its own epileptic illusions. Egoism is in
harmony with the development of our whole
nature by action that brings reflexively the
highest, calmest, and most eustatic state
in accord with nature’s laws, senses and
means.

Those whose soul nature are lighted by
the machine practices in obedience to au-
tority of Church and State may not be
able to fully enter into the spirit and mean-
ing of Robert Reitzel’s able presentation
of those sacred and life-giving forces and facts.
Yet all will be made to feel that there is
somewhere, in the great realm of thought,
reason, and action a pleasure that has made
life desirable, and pointed the soul to a higher
destiny. This has been in all ages the same life-giving
force, because it is a principle that is
comprehensive of the universe. There is in
this article, so well presented by the translator,
food for thought, an inspiration to a higher,
freer and holier life. That disease worse
than the black plague that shows its symptoms in every place because of the repression or perversion of sex-forces—that excoriation and terrible cyclonic manifestations which shock our sensibilities—that pale-faced, lifeless, loverless army of men and women that await their release from earth’s sorrows as their only hope, have in the truths suggested by this article their antidote.

—F. Mitchell

A Parable

The following is a translation made from the first chapter of an ancient manuscript, discovered at a place called Graneirode, near the towns of Kingskros and Obern. The characters in which it is written are very curious, and bearing somewhat the old Hebrew rock inscriptions, and is believed to be a lost fragment of the Holy Bible. Experts assert that it probably dates from the year 3972, B.C. The translation has been made at an enormous cost. The original manuscript may be seen at our office any day (Sundays excepted) between the hours of two and four.

CHAPTER 1.

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

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

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

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

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

6. But the Anarchist shook his head, and answered: “Not so, my friend; go, peradventure, or no, but we must make no device which the originality of man could invent would hinder a born fool from committing folly.”

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

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

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

10. “But perilous venture she desires neither of these three, but has her heart’s desire with another, who cares not for her, how wouldst thou then?” said the other.

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

12. Now the wise man looked askance at the other, fearing: “How many?”

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


—After James.

It is indeed amusing to watch C. L. James put himself upon the back for his eradication and controversial powers. Behold him, monarch of all his surveys—Alexander seeking more worlds to conquer. James does not even realize it (of course it would be surprising if he did), but he has one unappreciated failing from a controversial standpoint. This weakness is so dominant that it overshadows all his usual methods and methods of reasoning. He is at once forgetful of the idea of a non-interventionist, and even if he gets a blow below the belt, but just comes up smiling with a “never touched me” air. I write this to call the attention of the readers of Free Society, that they may more fully realize the necessity for a differentiation in judgment when reading anything from the versatile pen of Comrade James.

—Terre Haute, Ind.

Frank D. Blue.

—Thinks James Wrong.

Comrade James’ position on the vaccination question, is the correct one—politically and morally. About the time his latest dig at Dr. Levenson appeared in this paper, this old M. D. was being released from quarantine, at Niagara Falls, N. Y., where he had been for two weeks taken sick for Wm. Hodges, who had been sick with smallpox. James is on the wrong side on this question, and it is about time for him to own that he is right.

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

The people of the United States are under a large obligation to Tom L. Johnson for giving Dr. Friedrich a chance to show the world the proper way of fighting smallpox. And they might do worse than make Johnson the next president.

J. T. Small.

Provincetown, Mass.

—Here and There.

The Awakening of the Slaves (Le Réveil des esclaves) is the name of a new monthly, published by the antislavery group of Paris, France.

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

The new monthly introduces itself in the following soliloquy:

The Awakening of the Slaves will neither serve politics nor any organization, but will be a revolutionary organ. We will not patronize philosophical discussions. The paper will be engaged chiefly in the national interest of labor, and combat all prejudices as well as the institution of the army, government, religion, and property. We are anti-patriots and repudiate all reforms concerning the army, because we know that the abuse will disappear only with the institutions. We do not accept the demands of the opponents of militarism who believe that they can reach their aim by reducing a two-years service to the militia system, but we combat the army in principle, because we hold it to be fatal for the workers of different countries to murder each other for the benefit of the exploiters.

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

We appeal to all groups and trade-unions to circulate our paper. Let us not forget that enlightened workers are among those who are the result of universal improvement and enlightenment (alike eighteen years) under the severest conditions. In reality the Russian government has murdered me. May the responsibility of my death rest upon the conscience of an unending number of my comrades.

An Italian Anarchist, Giuseppe Sermieri was banished from Zurich because a pamphlet, "Die Gottessprache," by John Most, was found in him.

The second point of Bible doctrines that is strictly fundamental, is the hope of reward. Do this and you shall be rewarded. Not, do this because it is right or necessary, but do this and you shall have your reward. Am! If you refuse you shall be punished—that is, you not only lose your reward, but you will be punished in the bargain. A person would suppose that these two leading motives, fear and hope, would keep everyone in the straight and narrow way, but it is well known that they do not. And why not? Because people learned a long time ago that threats cannot be depended on. In nine cases out of ten they fail to materialize—some men escape, and punishment they deserve and others fail to secure the reward that was promised. They can be like most of the world’s governments more than that based on threats and promises. It always has failed, it fails today, and it always will fail. As a matter of fact, people can be controlled by other people in their doings—they can only be controlled by themselves.—Newark Courier.
FREE SOCIETY

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

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

Splinters.

Winn's Firebrand, which was announced some time ago in FREE SOCIETY, made its first appearance in August. It is in a neat and excellent shape typographically, and the reading matter is very good and divided between fiction and levity, and serious articles. Comrade Ross Winn, editor and publisher, has written the latter himself, and is too well known to need introduction. The Firebrand is a valuable acquisition to Anarchist literature. Address the Brandenburger, Madison, Wis., or the Brandenburger, 279 East 14th St., New York.

The Social Question, an equal time periodical, is a supplement to La Question Sociale, Paterson, N. J., is a new Anarchist paper, and is to supersede Liberty of New York. It is in plain and simple style, and is especially useful for general information and advice among the unlettered who need to be started into a new light. Address Box 2493, Paterson, N. J.

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

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

FREE SOCIETY

By the Wayside.

"There is too much individualism nowadays," said a prominent Socialist recently in an Anarchist meeting, and I pitied the poor soul. Deny the reality that there are so many machines, are exhibiting too much individualism? The trouble with these petrified Socialists is that they persistently confound special privileges and the system of exploitation with freedom or individualism.

Labor Day, which was gracefully sanctioned by the lawlessness and swinishness described in the German Workmen's News of this city. The editor says:

-From the top of a tree, where greedy enterpils had spied their quarry, the leaders of the enterprise said to the root of the tree: 'This our only support. By strength we supply, and fresh vigor. Without the animal which gives to us the leisure, we would die of hunger. Our root, thou dost not know how much we honor thee. Thou art a very respectable creature.

But among ourselves the enterpils spoke thus: 'Thus we have to speak to the foot-heel. It is stupid to be conquered by a man to whom the silly person will remain in darkness and continue to sup with food and luxury, and fed however, that he is permitted to do so.'

Such is American Labor Day.

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

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

The Strikers at Work.

John Mitchell was the Labor Day orator in Philadelphia. During his speech he said: "I am one of those who believe the time is not far distant when the workers will have to solve the labor problem. I look forward to the time when the workers of this country will have to take possession of their own country." According to Mitchell, the laborers will soon solve the problem by expropriating the wealth and the land now held by the parasites, which proves to me that Brother Mitchell has been doing some thinking, more perhaps than many of his radicals are willing to give him credit for.

Expropriation is the remedy, the solution, and no amount of sophistry can ever down
the steadily growing voice of labor which will shortly be singing this strain from the house tops.

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

New York, 210 W. 19th St. JAV FOX.

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

THE STRUGGLE.

The Class Struggle.

In FREE SOCIETY of August 17 S. R. repudiates the idea of the class struggle. Now, as far as I understand, he wants to show that the class struggle is a recent thing in the Pennsylvania mining regions is simply a struggle between the working people themselves, and as far as the mine owners are concerned, a struggle with the equipment to do with the struggle at all. But, is it not the mine owners who hire the shares? Is it not they, the rich, by means of their (?) millions, who have the police, deputies, and the troops, if need be, to shoot and kill the working people whenever they demand more pay?

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

Under a system of private property, there will always be a force of unemployed, and, if there is a strike, those in search for work, driven by poverty and despair, are in a position to take the places of the strikers, and thus the battle is won.

If the mine owners enjoy their vacation in Europe or in Newport, this does not alter the case; it is they, the property holders, who, being absent from the scene, forced the struggle, and therefore it is in my opinion a struggle between the property holders and the working people, between the possessing and non possessing classes. As to Russia, well, I acknowledge that there is now a class struggle at the present time.

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

Lawrence, Mass.


REPLY.

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

If the "class struggle" is meant to be a fight between the possessing and non possessing classes, then the Socialist parties must recognize the struggle among themselves for many of the prominent Socialists, especially in Europe, are possessors of wealth. "The Socialists of Belgium are very active," said a comrade who recently was in that country, "but their leaders are a stumbling block in the movement. Being all well-to-do, some even very wealthy, have no anxiety for a speedy realization of socialism, but rather live in permanent fear that any radical measure may jeopardize both their position and property." Now, if the Socialists recognize the class struggle, they ought at least have sense enough to select their representatives from the ranks of their own class. But the social problem is not to be solved by shifting wealth from one class to another. As I have said before, it is a struggle between ideas. This does not eliminate the fact, however, that there are class interests.

Neither in Russia nor anywhere else have people sacrificed their lives for free speech and free press, simply "to make the workmen understand ..., that there is a class that owns everything." That is obvious even to the Kaffirs in Africa. But the principal object is to teach the exploited and oppressed that such a state of affairs is justifiable; that they have a right to rebel against exploitation and despotism; and that all land is justly in "ownership of the earth and its resources.

S. R.

MODERN SLAVERY.

W. C. Freeman was convicted of selling whiskey in Georgia. The judge who sentenced him urged the governor to pardon him, as he was guilty of nothing but technicality. The governor pardoned him and supposed he was set at liberty. But months later finds that Freeman was still deprived of his liberty in one of the "convict camps." It is now discovered that the sheriff sold the man to the contractor, and the latter refused to give him up until he received back the $90 that he paid for him. How is this for slavery, citizens! The governor had to send officers to compel his release because the officers holding him refused to obey the governor’s pardon! Thus white men enslave white men for money—for the profit of those who make out to do it. Ye gods! Have you no think box, that you can stand such things in the United States? To what are things coming? This is not the isolated case. A thousand instances have been proven—not only south, but north. Talk about chattel slavery—was it any worse? No, not as bad, for the contractors do not care as much about the convicts as the masters that cost him much money. PROFIT is the rule. Humanity is not considered. Get rich, no matter how. Private wealth is a curse, and brutalizes its owners and everybody else. The property class control, and this is how they control. In cities men and women are arrested for the fees, when they have committed no crime. The police records are compiled with the purpose of making the reader, vote and support the social system that produces these incidents, are as much guilty of the crime as those who actually lay violent hands. They would not do it for the profit. The criminal system that did not admit of private capital.

"Ignorance of the law excuses no man," and ignorance of the social system does not excuse you, either.—Apeal to Reason.
The Psychology of the Anarchist.

The Psychologie of the Anarchist.

Composed.

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

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

His intelligence is supple; his character is still, whole, inflexible, proud, sometimes rude. Such was Proudhon, in his frankness devoid of all ideals. He is inflexible, because his mentality is characterized by the spirit of criticism, the sentiment of justice, the sense of logic, the zeal of proselytism. He has the certainty of knowledge, and the will to communicate his ideas. Thus nothing will make him yield or yield, not poverty nor the apprehensive obstructions of his friends, nor passion, nor hard labor, nor death. The more violent are the persecutions and the punishments which he passes, the more he perseveres in his opinions, the more he is convinced of having the truth. The great mass of the judgments are already contained in his mind, and are done by the minority. The Anarchist is convinced that this aphorism is accurate, and this confirms him in his ideas and his ideal.

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

In his curiosity to know, the Anarchist belongs to the intellectual type. He does not study, however, for the pleasure of study, but in order to spread the "good news." That is the important thing for the Anarchist. His intellectualism is strongly modified by his肼elopement. He has more of critical than of creative facility. He does more reasoning than imagining. The psychological analysis has shown us, in fact, the existence in the Anarchist of the character of critical and the sense of logic. The imagination, in spite of this subordination, is not annihilated, for we have shown in the Anarchist mind the spirit of innovation, the vision, the intuition. Being impassioned, the Anarchist on this side of his psychic nature belongs to the "affective" type, to use the terminology of M. Paulhan. "The affective type," says he, "is a type of reason, of conduct; it willfully opposes the impulses of sentiment to cold reason." Generally speaking, the Anarchist has no horror of reason. He supports himself an acting rationally. His "affectiveness" is thus tempered by his reflectivity. He lives as much by "the heart" as by the brain. These two lives, the animal and the cerebral, are in him harmoniously united in respect of his reflectivity, he reacts rapidly; in respect of his reflectivity his reaction is inhibited in its rapidity.

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

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

If by cynicism we understand indifference to the blame of the world, the Anarchist is a cynic. He outrages received ideas, is careless of proprieties, defies the laws. He affirms his idea, and avows his will to make the reason of his contempt for worldly ideas felt. This species of cynicism implies pride in the individual, and still more an intensity of sentiment, as M. Paulhan has noted. The skepticism of the Anarchist is not without consideration, whatever to check the expression of the sentiments, of the ideas. The Anarchist is cynical because he has the critical spirit, the keen sensibility, the appetite of proselytism. He is the enemy of all leaders, of all popular leaders. The Anarchist is affected by the love of abstract principles. With some men, disinterested social passion overrides all personal considerations and the interests of the family, of the state. With the Anarchist, these sacrifices France itself if civilization and freedom of thought had demanded it. This sacrifice of the fatherland, of the family, of the individual, for the Idea, is characteristic of every Anarchist. He is nothing but Proudhon in the talk of the workshop or the parlor, in the declarations before the tribunals, in the articles of the journals, in the reviews, the Anarchist never fails to affirm that to the Idea, if need be, he would either indifferent, or gladly sacrifice his fatherland, his family, himself. If the truth of this assertion is seen proved, in facts. But the idea which they hold to be the truth, how many have endured imprisonment, have fled their native soil, which in reality they love; have broken their heart, lost, teeth, for the Idea, have risked self-sacrifice, have sacrificed personal life and personal reputation. How the individuals of the Idea, they preferred the intimate joy of knowing the truth, and confessing it, to proudly respecting the intimacy of personal life, in situations, honors, money! Like the Christians of old, they have preserved the intimate joy of knowing the truth, and confessing it, to proudly respecting the intimacy of personal life, in situations, honors, money! Like the Christians of old, they have preserved the intimate joy of knowing the truth, and confessing it, to proudly respecting the intimacy of personal life, in situations, honors, money!
land. Always however, their appetite for martyrdom, the effect of their emotionality and of their passion for proselytism, is balanced by their reflectivity, the effect of their sense of logic and of their critical spirit. As a result the Anarchist balances his thought lengthily. He acts by deliberation. He has faced the consequences of the expression of his thought, and he only takes action when he considers the probable results of his thought. In substance they are the certain disadvantages for himself. His sacrifice is reasoned, reflected.

The disinterested social passion (disinterested in the sense of being purified of the motives personal, the beautiful, and the good) predominates powerfully in the Anarchist. Impassioned, social, affected by the love of abstract principles—does he not love humanity more for what it ought to be (what it will be) than for what it is?—is he not in virtue of his keen sensibility, of his critical spirit, of his intense proselytism, of his sentiment of justice, of his sense of logic. If the Anarchist ardently desires the general and social order, for all, aspiringly towards an infinite progress, he does not symbolize this aptness in an individual, as for instance do the Communists, the royalists, for example, the Boulangerites in a recent moment of French history. His social passion is "pure" in the sense that it is not mixed with parasitical passions, which sometimes intensity and sometimes sublimate the passions of society. The Anarchistgenerally does not even symbolize his love of social perfectionism in a God. To him may be applied the words of M. Paulhan:

The love of perfection, the love of the true, the love of the good, of all which constitute for believers the intellectual and moral attributes of God, subsists, but without the attribution of them to anyone. They keep their abstract form. 1 And this philosopher adds that those who have such a love for abstract ideas constitute the idealistic type of saint.

To possess his ardent love of the just, of the beautiful, of the good, according to his conception of them—the Anarchist has no need of symbol, because sensibility and reflectiveness are in equipoise in his cerebral system. This non-needs to symbolize his passion he owes to the combination of characteristics: spirit of examination, love of liberty, sensibility, sense of logic, curiosity, imagination; he sees things in us are more disturbed by our own faults or those of others than by our instinctive tendencies to the True, the Good, the Beautiful.

The Ideal is chiefly opposed to the Ideal, and the Ideal destroys itself on and in a certain measure creates it. Reflection goes on and the conscious tendency is formed, develops, lives its own life, and tends to become the rule and the motor of conduct. And if once we realize the scope of the tendency and the universality of its object, if we consider it as a general principle, as one of the foundations of the universal order, of the forms of the moral life of the world, we have in fact the love of God without the person of God: among the dreamers or the sensitivities a sort of mysticism without the form in which it grew. At bottom, philosophy so understand, stood will not differ essentially from religion: the words even may be preserved, and we may have the whole series of states of mind from Catholicism to the adoration of the Protestant or the Deist: to the intoxication of the Pantheist, for whom God is the infinite substance in whom we live; and even to the emotion of the Atheist, for whom God is reduced to a combination of moral laws; to an ideal which is not realized and doubtful never will be. And the idea of God does vary much more from the Deist to the Atheist than from the Catholic to the Deist; astounding the Pantheists there are even those who lean to one side, and those who fall to the other." So writes M. Paulhan, and he expresses a truth. Among the Anarchists, it is often verified. Philosophy inclines to religion, as M. Daniel Saurin has rightly noted. Deist, Pantheist, or Atheist, the Anarchist has for his ideal a sort of cultus. His love for the just is religious. The Anarchist has a religion; but it is without rites: it is purely intellectual, and its object is his conception of the True, the Just, the Beautiful. Like the ascetic who, to the law of Gomorath, as like all the sects of whatever creed, the Anarchist has a faith, an inevitable faith in the realization, in the near or distant future, of a new social state in which humanity shall possess great happiness. For the Anarchist, the look is God, his philosophy inclines to religion: does not, so to speak, differentiate from that. It is rightly said by M. Anselm Schill that "Anarchism is a religion." It is so because the cerebrality of the Anarchist includes the factors: altruism, love of liberty, proselytism.

Invariable to the slightest degree of the material lie, to meager, to good cheer, to comfort, to luxury, the Anarchist concentrates his activity on one point. That point is what he conceives as Truth, the Good, his activity is great beyond measure; "he loves and impas-
sioned, he belongs to the "unified" type, with a predominance of the social passion. He possesses a robust personality, for he loves and cultivates him, he is not a pale reformer, an instrument; he is not an insignificant puppet. While the mass of men reflect the opinions of a minority as mirrors reflect images, the Anarchist thinks for himself. He absorbs ideas, phenomena, and he assimilates them. By his work he acts on the intellect on them: he creates for himself an individuality as one creates a body with aliments.

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

NOTES.—This article gives the pneumatic type of the Anarchist; that is, like all others, an ideal average, which corresponds exactly to no Anarchist in particular, but who, in the element of pneumatic society, all individuals.
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