A Cry from the Ghetto.
Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Lowenthal by J. W. Lieb.

The roarings of the wheels has filled my ears.
The shadow and the closer shut me in. 
Myself, my soul, in chains disappears.
I cannot think or feel until the din
Tolling again an ever-lengthening toil.
For whom? For what? Why should the work be done?
I do not ask, or know. I only toil.
I work until the day and night are one.
The clock above me ticks away the day.
Its hands are spinning, spinning like the wheel.
It cannae sleep on for a moment stay.
It is a thing like me, and does not fail.
It thrills as does my heart the beating there—
A heart? My heart? I know not what it is.
The clock ticks, and below "drive on, drive on!·
And so we lose the home. We are mechanics.

Neon calls a curse, an ending to the sound.
As if a bottle had one moment stayed.
A bloody field! The dead lie all around.
Their wounds cry out until I groan aloud.
I see—oh! See, the dead men fall.
They fight again, amid the roar they fight.
Hastily, and learning not for whom, or why.
Their fight, they fall, they sink into the night.

Modern Slavery.
All men of our time are divided clearly into slaves and masters. The truth of this proposition is not affected because it may be more difficult now than it was in former times to define accurately the relations between the master and the man, or because among these modern slaves are some who are slaves only provisionally, becoming in their turn owners of slaves, or because there are others who at the same time are both slaves and the masters of slaves. The fact remains that humanity is divided into the two classes—slaves and masters—just as clearly as the day, in spite of the twilight, is divided into day and night. If our modern master has no longer his bondsman who can be ordered to perform certain work, he has money, which is so necessary to others that he can choose among them for his bondsman any he may wish, and for a few dollars he has this modern slave perform the work and look upon the performance as a privilege. The slaves of today are not only the underpaid toilers in the factories who, in order to exist, sell themselves to their masters, but also nearly all of those who cultivate the fields for others or for themselves that they may pay the interest on their debts. Slavery exists in full force, but we do not remark it any more than Europe did the condition of the serfs. The men of that epoch believed that to cultivate the earth for their masters and to obey their masters was a necessary condition as natural as life, and they not regarded it as slavery. In the same way men of this present time believe the situation of the laborer a natural and economic condition, and do not consider it as slavery. The condition of modern slavery finds itself in exactly the same phase as was serfdom in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century or slavery in America in the last half of the nineteenth century.

The slavery of the workingman of our time has hardly yet been recognized by the advanced men of modern society, and the majority are entirely convinced that slavery no longer exists among us. The fact that slavery has been "abolished" only recently in Russia and America makes it well-nigh impossible for society to understand the actual situation. As a matter of fact, the "abolition" of serfdom and slavery was only the abolition of an old form of slavery that had grown immeasurably, useless, and it was replaced by another form stronger, more enduring and affecting a greater number of souls—the modern slavery. The liberation of the serfs in Russia and the enfranchisement of the slaves in America, while destroying the ancient form of slavery, does not even touch the essence of the condition. One form of slavery disappears, only to be replaced by another. The forms are many, and one or the other, and sometimes several forms together: hold the people in this position; the small minority has full power over the work and life of the great majority. In this control of the majority by the minority is to be found the principle cause of the miserable situation of the people. In what consists this slavery? The laborer in the fields who owns no land or too little of it is forced, in order to provide for himself from the land, to give himself into perpetual or temporary slavery to those who possess the land he cultivates. If, by one means or another, he obtains a parcel of land sufficient to give him a living, taxes are demanded of him, directly or indirectly, and he passes into slavery anew. And if, in order to escape the slavery of the land, he ceases to labor there, and goes elsewhere, making other products, to earn things of which he has need, again taxes press upon him on the one side, and on the other the combination of capital which produces the same wares, but by perfected means, does the same thing, and he is forced to give himself into temporary or permanent slavery to the capitalists. And if by working for the capital he can arrange matters so that he preserves a little of his liberty, the very position he has taken brings him again into the relation of servant to the man of wealth.

The published statistics of England show that the average longevity of the higher classes is fifty-five years; the average duration of life of the laborer and the servant is twenty-nine years. Knowing this—and we cannot be ignorant of it—for it seems possible that we who profit from this work, which costs human lives, unless we are wild beasts, should have a moment's tranquility of conscience? Nevertheless we men of ease, liberal, humane, sensitive to the suffering not only of human beings but of animals of labor, profit without stopping from the work of our fellow men, allow him at the expense of his life, to enrich us more and more, and our consciences remain undisturbed. At rest with ourselves and the world, we continue to buy and sell and traffic for gain. We are very solicitous for the welfare of our employees. We take care of the education of our children. We zealously prohibit the tamperer from overloading his horses. In our butcher shops we are careful that the beasts be killed with the least possible pain, and yet we allow millions of workingmen fellow human beings— to kill themselves slowly, painfully dying at their work that we may add to our comforts or our pleasures. This astonishing blindness of modern society can be accounted for only one way. When the world goes badly men always invent an explanation, according to which their bad acts are made to be unintentional, unavoidable, resulting from inenamable laws which are beyond their control. In ancient times the explanation was made that the unchangeable will of God had decreed that some should be in high places, others in low places, obliged to work; some should produce while others enjoyed all that was good in life. Upon this theme libraries of books were written and sermons preached almost without end. They were to prove that God had created men different—slaves and as-
ers of FREE SOCIETY will remember that I distinctly foresaw the probability of some such development as that which took place. That was because I knew nothing about its being meditated; but it was there a discernable connection between causes and effects. Any one might have foreseen it.

"Sarum simulacrum absque salute non est simulacrum."—Scriptura sacra praebet ab ulla data conatus.

And readers of FREE SOCIETY may also recollect that, far from desiring any such event before it happened, I was afraid of it, and, much as I disliked McKinley, strongly prayed that nothing should happen to him. It was a mingling of deep regret and deep disgust dangerous ideas to susceptible individuals. I have seen no reason to change my mind.

If Coolidge had been an Anarchist, and his act had done Anarchism some more positive good than showing the change of public sentiment below the surface, I should still say, with Phocion, "The result of the battle was fortunate; but it was bad generally to fight the battle." Coolidge, however, was not an Anarchist.

If there are comrades who still dislike hearing that said, I must remind them that an historian's first duty is to facts. The facts are not what no one will ever discover Coolidge out to be an Anarchist; that during his short visit to Chicago, where the comrades generally took him for a spy, he showed his ignorance of Anarchism by making it necessary for them to go into the "lounges" of our secret society, which does not exist; that the whole agitation of his Anarchist turn out at the trial to be an invention of the Buffalo police department; that, in sum, he was an Anarchist—"all proof the negative requires or usually admits."

But the not an Anarchist, Coolidge evidently was a fanatic of some sort, and it brings interesting accordingly to inquire of what sort. I have pointed out how there were many parties who had much better reason to desire Coolidge's assassination than the Anarchists. One of these is the Catholics. McKinley had broken up the oldest, most bigoted, and greatest Roman Catholic empire in the world. He had terminated the rule of the friars in one of the few countries where it still existed. The names of Revello, Bobington, Fouques, Jacques Clement, Balbuzard Gerard, are sufficient to remind every reader of history that assassination is a familiar practice of Catholic enthusiasts. The underworld methods by which such things can be encouraged "without scandal" have been proverbial ever since the Society of Jesus was organized. But, to give the devil his due, the Jesuits of such a thing as happened at Buffalo, not content with excluding all doubts of his meaning, selects for especial eulogy the murder of Henry III by Clement. Has the Holy Apostolic Church altered her maxim since the sixteenth cen-
society? It is her well known boast she never changes them.

Coming down to the particular facts again, we observe that while Czolgosz was never known as an Anarchist, everybody knew him a Catholic. Even the unfounded accounts allowed to be published by the censors at Buffalo and Albany show that he had not become an infidel, but, in at least some important respects, a Catholic city was preparing for death. It is also very significant that he had a long and private interview with a priest, of whose substance nothing was published but what the priest chose to tell. Everybody who knows anything at all about such matters knows that it is against priests' ordinary practice to tell what pentents tell them. At any point, another positive fact becomes highly significant—that is, the extreme resistance of Czolgosz. That he was not much encouraged to talk by the court is true; but the reporters gave him opportunity enough and could not talk him out of it. We do not see the Anarchist in that,—an intelligent bourgeois said to me at the time. We do not. An Anarchist is a man who believes he has something to say, and who will not neglect the opportunity of saying it. But we do recognize there the fanatic acting under Jesuitical instruction. Revilleil, Clement, Gerard, Faubkes, Bubbington, Champion, Mary Queen of Scots, all declared as much as Czolgosz. In the long roll of Catholics who have committed capital crimes and suffered capital punishment for their cause, it would be difficult to find one who spoke, except to take all the blame on himself and clear the Church from suspicion. They are instructed that silence is wise; and with judges also Catholic, which they are pretty sure to have here, it is likewise very easy.

The view of Czolgosz here presented, I by no means offer for sufficiently established fact; but it is at least possible, and presumable of the Socialist press will show that it is growing in favor. Of the Monster Slayers alleged to have been Anarchists, some doubtless were such. But we shall lose nothing by keeping in mind that there is a significant motif apparent in the modern world which the ultramontanes have not quite as good reason for wishing removed as the Anarchists; that to have it done by Catholics eager for a free ticket thru purgatory, and attribute it to Anarchists, is a double policy very like the Jesuit skylights; and that in what has become the most notorious event of this kind the mark of their fingers is actually rather more conspicuous than ordinary.

C. L. James.

The Labor War in America.

The situation in America at the present time is one which should cheer the hearts of all those who are struggling for the emancipation of the toiling masses. The recent (or shall we say the present?) strike of the anthraciters has been a classic example of the immediate movement that is prevailing among the workers of America, and it is well that the attention of the world has been focussed on the capitalist Republic on the very verge of the total collapse of that most reckless of all the capitalist speculations in the world. The labor violence has been shown as in previous strikes; but the intelligent manner in which the strike has been conducted, gained widespread sympathy, practical sympathy, from the general public, who had nothing to lose and nothing to gain by a continuation of the struggle. These great events stamp this strike as an exceptional one, and show that a portion of the workers, at least, are adopting new methods in fighting their masters.

The past few years in America were exceptionally prosperous ones for the country at large. True, there have been murders, suicides, robberies, incendiaries, and all the other attendant evils of a capitalist State, and many heartburnings over the cases of child slavery. Yet there was, and is, prosperity. And yet, in spite of all, the labor war rages more than ever, strikes are the order of the day, and the trade unions have nearly doubled their membership in the last two years; and, best of all, is the spread of radical ideas in all classes of society.

In 1886, and again in 1890, the Republicans promised the "Blacks' Dinner Pail," and were so elated at success that they felt sure that workers with a full dinner pail would never listen to the labor agitators like Social Democrats and Anarchists. The Daily Globe Democrat, of St. Louis, expressed their feelings in an cartoon published three years ago, in which a grinning workman was represented marching off with a full dinner pail, while Emma Goldman was making trouble for Europe with a bag full of bombs—dissuaded because the workers of America would not listen to the doctrine of Anarchism. These gentlemen, while realizing the very importance of the stomach to the existence of mankind, forgot there were other things that move the minds of men. Were this not so, those who were more prosperous would have deserted the miners, and they would have been crushed without a doubt. Instead of which we found a great wave of sympathy for them agitating the country and, finally, compelling the acceptance of arbitration by Governor Dixon and his associates,—a thing they had resolved not to do for five months. The formation of trusts has gone on at such an alarming rate that, as we Anarchists expected, they caused the drawing out of the workers to meet the common foe. This accounts for the increase of the unions and the half-conscious closing of the ranks of organized labor.

The case of the coal miners furnishes an excellent illustration of the strength, not only of our principles, but of our tactics. The workingmen of America may be Republicans, Democrats, or even Social Democrats; they may talk of grappling with the trusts by legal means, and a few be deceived by the professions of Teddy Roosevelt; but deep down in their hearts they feel and know that it is by wiping down their tools and refusing to work for them, that it is possible to bring the capitalists to their knees. This implies organization, which brings education and a feeling of solidarity; and thus the enormous power of the hands of the unionists and a correspondingly intelligent use of their power is accounted for.

The struggle of the miners—and no one but the miners themselves can know what sufferings and sacrifices they had to undergo those weary months—is but a skirmish of the great battle that is coming.

President Roosevelt and J. P. Morgan have received a great deal of credit for helping to bring about a settlement of the strike; credit we are by no means sure they deserve. There was one great fact worth impressing itself deeply upon the minds of the coal barons—they saw that the temper of the people of the country was becoming unruly, and they could not stamp them out of hand. It is one thing to fight 150,000 miners with millions at your back and thousands of well armed troops at command; but quite another thing when some millions of people are rendered desperate by cold, with coal at impossible prices. The night air is chilly in the eastern States in October, and $25 a ton a limit beyond which the coal barons dare not go. So, to use a slang phrase, they "crawshalled" from their assumption of divine right as laid down by Mr. Baer, and agreed to arbitration.

Whether Roosevelt or Morgan pointed this out to them, is of no importance; they knew that rioting would inevitably result from the coal famine and they capitulated. Whether the miners get all they ask for or not is of no small importance for the general strike. If the workers of America profit by this lesson, then they ought to be more acutely aware of the possibilities of the general strike. In a few years many results may satisfy the most fiery entusiasts of our cause.

The sentence of five years' imprisonment on our Comrades Macqueen and Grossmann, for alleged participation in the violence out of the strike of the silk weavers at Paterson, shows how intense the coming struggle will be. Altogether a number of witnesses showed that Grossmann was in New York at the time, he was condemned along with MacQueen, who admitted being present at the riot, the taking part in the violence. An appeal has been lodged, and now is an excellent opportunity for work among trade unions. This is the first conviction under the new anti-Anarchist laws, and it should be fought stubbornly. If some comrade could only visit every labor organization in the State of New Jersey between now and the time of the appeal, glorious work could be done. It can be done; and it would be far better for the Defense Committee to put one or two men into the field for this purpose than to spend money in lawyers' fees. It is a stiff fight and there must be no faltering. —H. M. K., in Freedom, London.

Those who work for Truth rarely have interviews with the censors.—Ironies.

"Sensibility is coming." So says one, carpingly. What is sensibility, then? What then? Simple this, things are not good just because they are coming.—Ironies.

Love is a law of life; marriage is a crime against it. Love comes, and goes as it will; marriage comes, and stays to it forever. Love is marriage; marriage is slavery. Love is love; marriage is death. Love to those who look at love in the same way one looks at what one is inured to. Body possesssion perhaps, but nothing more. To possess the flesh without the spirit is to be treasuring a corpse. Love is for the life.—Ironies.
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Anarchist—a social theory which regards the union of property with the absence of all direct government of men by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty. Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1902.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Cafe Society, your subscription expires with this number.

ATTENTION.
Entertainment and ball will be given by the Progressive Club, Saturday, January 8, 1903, 8 p.m., at the Bohemian Club Hall, cor. Robey and 12th Sts. Russian songs in the program. Tickets in advance, 15 cents; at the door 25 cents.

Notes.
Beginning with next issue, the first number in new year, we shall commence the publication of "Vindication of Anarchism," by C. L. James. This will consist of a series of twelve essays, based on the authorities cited in James' Anarchist Reading Course, published in Free Society two years ago. Those who have taken up the study of these essays will find the essays an invaluable aid; and those who have not been able to follow such an extended course, will find in the "Vindication" a splendid summary of the Reading Course books. This will be a very important contribution to the literature of Anarchism, and it is a splendid opportunity for comrades to get their friends interested in the philosophy of Anarchism thru reading FREE SOCIETY.

Attention is again called to C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution." It is an excellent book for every social student, and one should delay in placing it in his library at once. See advertisement on eighth page.

Comrade A. Loghan will visit the delinquent subscribers in New York, and we hope the readers will not let him spend time and energy in vain.

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House?" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman?" Also to anyone sending us $5, we will send our new subscriber an $8. We will send this, too, applies to renewals, as well as new subscriptions.

Boston.—Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p.m. at 724 Washington St. Free forum for all intellectual topics. Anarchist literature for sale. Sub-

FREE SOCIETY

ject of January 8, "The Philosophy of Joseph Warren."

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

Chicago.—The Philosopher's Society may meet Sunday evening, December 25, 8 p.m., at 72 Adams St. If so, particulars will be announced in the dailies. All interested in the Society are requested to be present at the Progressive Club on Friday, December 26, as a large meeting for Prof. Heron is to be arranged for.

The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St.

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

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday evening, 8 p.m., 275 Blue Island Ave. December 27, Class 7, Brown speaks on "The Social Question," December 31, 8 p.m., this club gives a tea-party with amusements. Free admission.

Philadelphia.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayer's Hall, 707 K-Broad St.

New York.—Radical Reading Room, 190 Forsyth St. Lectures and free discussions every Sunday at 3 p.m.

Voltaire de Cleyre.

On Friday, December 19, Voltaire de Cleyre was shot down in Philadelphia. According to newspaper reports, she was waiting for a car at Fourth and Green Sts., when a man named Herman Helcher, who shot her at five times, three shots taking effect. She was taken to the Hahnemann Hospital, and for several days it was thought impossible that she could recover, but a telegram received from George Brown on Monday evening, the 23d, states that she will certainly recover, but attention is necessary in best conditions." Her assailant was arrested by the police, but taken to the hospital for identification, after which he recognized her as one of her pupils, to the question of whether he was the man who shot her, she said: "I don't know. Does he say he did?" Newspaper reports concerning the nature of her wounds are conflicting, and we have not received detailed news from the reporters.

Outpost Echoes.

"Charity" is a cloak for ignorance. To love is a privilege, not a duty.

The naked truth does not observe the proprieties. "Money talks;" and bears, bees, and cats, as well. Libertarians believe in force; the force of truth.

Art is not real when it is but a tribute given to Caesar.

Now that Tolstoi has spoken, State Socialists should beware.

Some evolutionists care much more for evolution than for mankind.

Wall street is in trouble, and the workers again must hide its crimes.

The wrong with Watteau's painting, "Love and Life" is that it is too pure.

In Chicago, policemen and burglars work together; which is as it should be.

The coal strike, owing to the fact that law is taking a hand, will not break the trusts.

Herbert Spencer in "Facts And Comments" despairs of Humanity. But Spencer is only a philosopher.

That whited sculpcher, the Chicago American devotes a daily page to prize fights, but condemns the play Iris.

Plenty for all, and men and women worthy of the name are not desired by Plutus. To be happy he must crush others.

Venezuela is a lamb watched by the cords, Wilhelm, Edward and Roosevelt, who are not anxious to divide the prize.

Common sense is only another name for common ignorance or incapacity when it is applied to a thing which is not understood.

Wise men who argue that trusts are benefits because they make things cheap should note that Standard Oil has of late doubled its profits.

The curse for Anarchists, according to some writers, is to remove the abuses of which it complains. Anarchists stand ready to take this medicine.

The only things not tarred in on the stock exchange now are votes, and it is whispered that these too will soon be pegged in thousand lots.

If anyone doubts that State Socialists are authoritarians, let him consider that they want to conquer political power and rule by virtue of conquest.

The new ethical code for American school children (for they need a new one) should define "Wrong," as "That which is punished," and "Right," as "That which goes unpunished."

Woman's mission is just to live a rounded and full life, or one in which all her faculties function and adequate development and harmonious fruition; and the same may be said of man's mission.

Rockefeller has given another vast sum of money to the University of Chicago, and his estimated profits on oil amounted in one day on account of the increase in price, to $50,000,000.

The Monroe Doctrine amounts to a warning to other nations to keep off territory which is so near the United States that their occupancy of it would help them to rival us. It means "First come, first (and only) served."

The cry for uniform divorce laws throughout the country is a manifestation of the common tendency to tinker with effects while causes are ignored. Let the State take its hand off sex association and lust love will hurt no more than lost friendship.

College presidents are falling over each other, as are clergymen, in efforts to get on the right side of burning questions and keep
there. The position of Plutus is of course the position, and Jews and truth are forgotten for wealth's sake and reputation.

The solemn face of attacking free speech is re-enacted now and then in America to warn "freemen" not to go too far. The Constitution of the United States, which safeguarded the press would never have been invaded but for free speech, which therefore is superior even to the Constitution.

Horo worship is but the worship of God transformed; and that part of humanity (a very large one by the way) which was waiting for a new Moses to lead it out of the economic Land of Egypt is destined to find its ideals unrealized. Individuality is liberty's torchstone; mighty leaders are not needed.

AMERICANS.

By the Wayside.

In San Francisco, where the people enjoy all the blessings of "good government,"—the initiative and referendum and a mayor elected by the workmen,—there were 1,113 signatures collected during the last eighteen months. These people ought to have been satisfied with "pure democracy" even if their stomachs were empty.

"There is no such thing as a law-abiding citizen," said a lawyer to me the other day. "To live according to law means to commit suicide; you could no business—not even walk on the sidewalk, except at night all day. The law says you must turn out to the right. If you insist that this law be observed, there would be bled on the streets every day. No, sir; society gets along quite nicely by ignoring the laws."

"But these are Anarchist sentiments, still you are a Republican," I suggested. "Call it what you please; but during twenty-five years I have learned that law does a great deal of harm, and no government has ever succeeded in applying the laws justly. Justice is done in spite of law. Why am I a Republican? Well, I don't think there is any money in being an Anarchist." I admitted, of course, that there was no money in it.

Referring to the Education Bill in England, which, if passed, would give all sorts of sky-pilots greater influence over the people. London Freeholder says:

"The best plan to prevent the people getting some new liberty has always been--to make them come old ones. So they are doing now with their Education Bill.

The same situation is before the American people. Instead of spreading the scope of liberty, they have to struggle against imperialism and militarism, which threaten to strangle every vestige of freedom and tradition.

Some of our Socialist friends have been very bitter against the imputations that Socialist parties are rapidly abandoning Socialism. Now, Mr. B. Kerr, the champion Socialist in Lucifer, and frankly confirms the charges. To substantiate his claim, he quotes Vanderwall, the Belgian Socialist leader, who says: "Nothing has led us from imagining a Socialist State in which individual property and labor exist with collective property and labor." Neither in the wage system is abolished. It is true that the silly phrases, "abolition of the wage system," is used by Socialists, tho the best writers are disavowing it. Mr. Kerr "钻研s the third source who do not like to see the wage system abolished. Political action produces beautiful blossoms indeed.

This reminds me of a cartoon which a year ago appeared in an Italian Socialist periodical which opposed opportunism. On a boat loaded with Socialism the crew was anxiously looking toward the land of their dream, which dimly appeared on the horizon. Realizing that the journey would necessarily be slow with such a heavy load, the cargo was being little by little thrown overboard to make the ship sail faster; and when the crew arrived at their destiny, the name of the boat had changed from "Socialism" to "Corruption." This is the inevitable fate of all political parties.

The Anarchists are inclined to look upon the Pennsylvania arbitration commissions as a farce, and their position is that the miners have placed themselves in the disadvantage by submitting to arbitration after they practically had won the strike. But the cause of labor generally will gain much from the exposure of the machinations and privations which prevail among the miners. The "key to justice" is jarring the ears of those who are calmly riding on the back of labor, and an awakening of the public which threatens to overthrow the world out of joint.

"What do you mean by Anarchist Communalism," a subscriber asked the other day. "A society without government, in which individuals may work and live cooperatively or singly; where the means of production and the necessities of life shall be free--as free as we receive the books from public libraries today. People from different countries will tolerate in order to supply each other's needs. Whether geniuses or simple-minded country-sidels all will combine according to desire, and no questions will be asked whether or not they have rendered an equal debt." Well, said the socialist, "that's what we want.

Poor fellow.

INTERNOPHER.

Comments.

Before Friend Simpson writes another article to prove that Anarchism affords scope for organization to "inarticulately"--"invadive" individuals, I hope he will read Moses Harman's reply to Emma Goldman in Lucifer Vol. VI, No. 49. Mr. Harman says:

"When certain authors of Kautsky complained that I had sent to them an immoral document, namely, Lucifer, containing a plainly worded account of and protest against marital outrage, if the properly selected arbitrators had decided that the complaint was valid and that I had no legal or moral right to harrow up the feelings of my subscribers and patrons by such recitals, then I might obey the injunctions, the awards, of boards of arbitration, would, I presume, be punished under freedom, by the boycott, by the loss of standing, and by loss of financial patronage on the part of the public. It is not for us to subscribe or to support the principal of arbitration."

Anarchists, and some who are not Anarchists, have been in the habit of considering Mr. Harman's protest a singularly gross outrage. But he appears to take a very different view of it himself. "Properly selected arbitrators" are defined in another part of his article as "arbiters selected by the disputants themselves."

Now a jury consists of citizens, whose names are fortuitously drawn from the polls, subject to a great many arbitrary challenges for cause.

It is difficult to say how, in practice, we could get nearer selection by the disputants themselves than this. There must be a limit somewhere, or a disputant who knew himself to be wrong would never allow a trial.

Mr. Harman's case, therefore, appears to have been tried in much the way he would desire; and if "all who subscribe to or support the principle of arbitration" had agreed to boycott him, he would have suffered the injudiciousness of the board of arbitrators, as he certainly did, his situation would have been worse than it is. It was the support of those who accept the principle, or think they do, for probably most of them vaguely perceive that it works nothing but government tyranny, in practice, which enabled him to keep up his paper notwithstanding a sentence which, tho severe, was far milder than the one he himself proposes. R. B. Kerr, a well-known reader of and contributor to Lucifer, said, not very long since, in that admirable journal of sexual reform, that he approved of Anarchistic literature, because humorists are few and ought to be encouraged. If he gets his ideas of Anarchistic theory from selections of Lucifer that he has read, his grounds of approbation are well put.

The International Socialist Review says, apropos to my "Origin of Anarchism": "Unfortunately, he does not attempt to define this political creature, whom he has called Anarchy (Anarchism) and leaves the reader in hopeless confusion as to what it is all about." On the first page of the "Origin of Anarchism," I have said, "the idea of Anarchism is that men govern men by deceiving them—a view never very unfamiliar to statesmen like Machiavelli; but which evidence assumes a somewhat novel complexion when preached to the people who are governed." Elsewhere—in fact pretty much all thru the pamphlets, may be found frequent references to the alleged source of revolutions, "hopeless confusion," viz., that among founders of Anarchism there was little in common except sense enough to see this cardinal point and endorser enough to proclaim it. Finding a Socialist definition is almost as hard as finding him in standing; so it is fortunate the latter has never been considered obligatory.

C. L. JAMES.

"Voting in war. Parties are prisoners.
A Letter to Free Society.

Our surroundings are very primitive and our neighbors simple, narrow, coarse, and extremely vicious. Yet they are good-hearted, generous, and ready to help you if it be along conventional lines and you have conventional troubles, such as sickness,引用未完 -- A. H. M. Hales

Who is to Blame?

Who is to blame for the penury and the suffering of the laboring classes? No one in particular. A whole nation is responsible for this unpleasant state of affairs. It is a matter of the times; it is the air, it is necessitated by circumstances... No one nation, no one government, and no one man is responsible for the nuisance. Everybody is responsible.

The employer and the employee, the lawyer and the people, are all to blame to some extent, for the unpleasant conditions by which we are all more or less hampered.

But no one is more to blame than the laborer himself. We are not speaking of the mechanic or the artisan, nor of anyone who simply worries for another. We have in mind those who are content to work for a boss and have no ambition beyond doing so with strength, but with no skill or art. There are too many of these people who do not try. They have no pride, no aspirations. They are content to work for others, and they have no aims beyond that.

Who is going to tell the laborer who will not try? The men that are helped, the less will they help themselves. That is a law of human nature the world over. Civilization does not aim to exterminate the laborer, but to perpetuate him and keep him down. The laborer has no individual interest in what is called civilization. The benefits are the chief cause of his overthrow.

What will be the end of this experiment? What has always been the end of such experiments? Rome and Athens, Sparta and Greece and Rome, Tyre and Baalbec and Babylon and Nineveh and Thebes ended, and how and why they went down. The laborer who has no individual interest in what is called civilization is to be exterminated by the chief cause of his overthrow.

So long as the land continues to be owned and possessed by a few, to the exclusion of the many, so long as we have rent, interest, and taxes to pay, so long as we have law-makers to disfranchise us and laws of inheritance to deprive us of what property belongs to us, we must expect to see people in poverty and want, while a few nobles are left to revel in wealth and luxury.

Poverty is a disease that cannot be cured. All the doctor stuff in the world would not help many men. Only one cure can be had, and that is to remove the causes of poverty. These causes are easily ascertainable and they can be removed. Poverty is by no means a necessary condition of any portion of mankind.
There are plenty of countries where paupers are unknown. It is true they are not civilized countries; there never was a civilized country, we know, without paupers.

J. WILSON.

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Saved By His Knowledge.

It was arraignment day in the criminal court and there was long list of prisoners each awaiting his or her turn to be called up and sentenced. The first one to be thus handled was William McGroh.

"You have been indicted for the heinous crime of bigamy," said the judge to the prisoner.

"Are you guilty or not guilty?"

"I am not guilty of any moral crime, judge," replied the accused, "whatever the law may say about it."

"Not guilty of any moral crime? Why, how is that? Do you admit having two wives at one time?"

"Yes, your honor, I admit that I have two wives, and am living with both of them. Also that I was about to marry two more women before I was to be arrested, and I decided to await the result of this religious persecution. I wished to see whether I was to be punished for exercising my sacred right to have as many wives as I pleased. If this is a free country and San Francisco a free city, why should I be persecuted for what my religion and my conscience both sanction?"

"Religion! Do you consider marrying and living with two or more wives at one time part of your religion?"

"Indeed I do, your Honor. And I know that no civil law can properly interfere with any man's religion. I believe in polygamy as much as I believe in prayer, singing, or preaching, or taking a collection. And I have the best of authorities for declaring my arrest and imprisonment in this case unjust and unmerited. May I mention the authorities?"

"Well, I am willing to permit you to quote your authorities, absorbed as is the position you occupy.

"Thank you, judge. My authorities are the president of the United States and the sultan of Sulu, who rules one of our new possessions, where our glorious flag is now waving as an emblem of civil and religious liberty. Hip, hip, hurray for—beg your pardon judge. You see I always become enthusiastically patriotic whenever I see or hear of or even dream about the dear old flag. Well, now if a man living in one of our new possessions thousands of miles from here but part of us, is permitted to enjoy religious liberty to an extent of pluralizing his wives, why may not a man living right here and making tribute to the landlords in one of our old possessions exercise the same natural religious right? Don't the Constitution apply everywhere the same within the jurisdiction of our great and expanding country, judge? Then again, to make my defense still stronger; let me say that I recently read an editorial article in the San Francisco Chronicle, explaining why we are at war with Mexico. Much of the article was devoted to our great and expanding country, judge?

In a word, the book will be of great value to the Anarchist movement.

A. C.

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Doubt is the offspring of knowledge: the savage never doubts at all—Reade.

The people are millions; the owners are a handful.

Ignorance alone enslaves! Wentworth.
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