



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 361.

The Cross-Roads.

Friends go from me. They say,
 "Your way is not our way,"
 Yet in my heart each one
 Remains upon her throne,
 But now beneath her crown
 Alas! blind eyes bend down.
 Before them all the night
 I burn for their delight
 Love's subtlest incense sweet
 Of Silence. At their feet
 My soul spreads open quite
 With motives pure and white,
 Nor blushes that she claims
 As hers such holy aims.
 Dust serves to radiate
 Sunlight; souls—love or hate.
 My hands are bound; in vain
 I strive to tear with pain
 The kerchiefs from those eyes
 That once were wont to rise
 With fond and faithful rays
 To bless my nights and days.
 I wait, tho Time will come
 With Death to take me dumb
 And love from self again.
 In me these shadows reign
 Blind queens who could not love
 As I that cannot move.
 Thus in the night I weep
 And loyal vigil keep,
 But with the day I see
 The world's hard misery.
 A larger love doth rout
 Three ghosts with scornful shout.
 It says: "These are not more
 In wisdom than a score
 Of others, nor so great
 Since they are blind with hate.
 Then why exalt them? See
 God's truth this day with me:
 To make their silken gowns
 Toil-sweated men with groans;
 To make them drunk with wine
 Women on bread must dine;
 To given them venison
 Homesteads are now burned down;
 To feed their greed with grouse
 A man must lose his house;
 Fine steel to make their knives
 Costs countless puddlers' lives;
 Jewels to make them nice
 Hold blood their fearful price."
 Thus Truth in Love doth smite
 My queens, unmasks them quite.
 I see with tearless eyes
 The blood-red sun uprise.
 "God speed, Friends," I say,
 "Your way is not my way."

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

A Man on the Bench.

How seldom does it happen, that a man sits on the bench! In their places are to be found mostly justice-automatons, who have studied the "law" as handed down to posterity like a trade, automatically apply it to the "case under consideration," and then

bequeath it to the succeeding justice-automatons. "Of justice that is with us born" and its application to "the case in hand" there can be no thought. There is condemning in detail and in wholesale—according to the prevailing conceptions of law, which on closer observation are found to be those of the ruling powers.

A great, and at present perhaps the only exception among judges, who judge after the inherited, mouldy law, is Judge Magnaud of Chateau-Thierry, who has become famous beyond the boundaries of France thru his humane decisions. We give in the following the words of a decision in a criminal case, which will show how judgments will be passed when instead of justice-automatons men with intelligence and social insight sit on the bench.

An unemployed sat in the dock, charged with begging and vagrancy. He had received a piece of bread at a door and was caught at it.

The decision of Judge Magnaud was as follows:

The law has according to the foregoing evidence decided that the defendant C. is guilty of

First, common begging;

Second, of falsifying legal documents.—Acts which, in the paragraphs 274 and 161 of the penal code affect the foregoing misdemeanors.

Concerning the misdemeanor of begging, it was committed on March 4, 1902, by the defendant C., since a month without employment, asking F., a laborer like himself, for a piece of bread.

Whereas, the defendant made his request in the most decorous form, without injuring or threatening anyone, and as this appeal of the defendant to human solidarity is in nowise immoral, and as it is not the object of the law-makers to punish this as a real misdemeanor of begging;

Whereas, on the contrary the immorality in this painful occurrence lies in the denying of undoubted necessities, by those who could give them to him;

Whereas, one must actually ask himself wherein lies the reasonableness and righteousness of punishing a human being because he desires a piece of bread from a fellow being;

Whereas, it is further the first duty of society, and a wise understanding of its own interest, to insure the existence of all such unfortunates, whoever they may be, by providing the necessary piece of bread;

Whereas, the right to live is as inviolable as the inheritance of happiness;

Whereas, the accused at the moment of his arrest actually was in possession of only the sum of two francs, as he was without work, to find which he tramped the streets in vain, and as it is wholly comprehensible that the accused, as he says, attempted to save this small reserve for the days when the solicited bread would be denied him;

Whereas, the defendant has not been punished before, and does not give the impression of being an habitual liar;

Whereas, it is necessary to ponder the legal discriminations exactly, and in this case, if an offense obtains, this conduct being the result of a necessity, because the irresistible necessities place themselves in time of unemployment just as imperiously as in time of work;

In consideration, that society, in this respect as in many others, does not fulfil this duty which it has given itself, so the misdemeanor of begging does not obtain according to the paragraph 274 and the decisions of the judges;

In consideration, that since about three years, and as a consequence of the acquittals by this court on January 30 and May 3, 1899, and also the case of May 2 of the same year, when prosecutions for common beggary were attempted, where this humane and legal principle was recognized;

Whereas, the same has shown only the best results, and as the peace has never since been disturbed by those designated "common beggars" by the law, this court persists in its former decisions, and leaves it to others, if their conscience allows them, to judge differently in similar cases.

Concerning the misdemeanor of falsifying documents: as the defendant changed the last working period in his workbook * from "February 5" to "February 25";

Whereas, the intention of the accused was to avoid a lock-up for vagrancy, because these unfortunates know as well as the authorities the usual and mechanical judgments in such cases, according to which the accused, after he is out of work for eight days, is guilty of vagrancy, as if vagrancy in cases of compulsory idleness is not often unavoidable.

* In Europe each workman is required by law to carry a "workbook," wherein employers write the dates of their employment and discharges and the reason for the latter. At any time the police can require of them to produce this workbook, and if it shows that they have not worked for a certain length of time, they are legally treated as vagrants. JR.

able, so that our conscience commands us to bear this in mind:

On all these grounds the court declares the defendant not guilty, and orders that the prosecution of the accused cease immediately.

This is an important social document, which for once actually speaks the truth, in so far as it relieves the victim, and in place indicts the instigators of the deed, and places society in the dock. To those American judges—perhaps they exist here and there—who are neither oppressors nor automatons, a study of this document is to be heartily recommended.—*Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

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An Appeal to the People.

[The following article was written by a New York boy, 15 years of age.]

An army of brutalized men were sent over to the Philippine Islands, in the name of Christian civilization, to subjugate the people to the United States government, by shooting them down like dogs. The soldiers treat the Filipinos very cruelly. They often receive orders to shoot every human being that comes in sight, man, woman, and child. The "water cure" is a new punishment, invented for the sake of finding out secrets from people who know something about the army forces.

By the command of an officer, they take a man, bind his hands and feet, take him over to a tank and fill up his body with water; then some of the soldiers throw themselves upon him, squeeze the water out again, and when he recovers a little, they again do the same thing to him. This is kept up so long till he either tells all he knows or dies.

The following was told by a soldier, who was present at an event which occurred December 27:

"When we arrived not far from a city, an order was given not to take any prisoners. This meant to shoot everybody we met, man, woman, or child. The first shot was fired by a sergeant of our company at a small Filipino boy, who was riding down a hill to the city; and as the boy was not struck by the bullet, half a dozen of others were fired after him. The shooting frightened the inhabitants of that city, and they came out of their houses, not knowing what had happened. They did not do any harm to us, they did not even say a word, and yet they were shot down.

"Two old men, carrying a white flag, approached us; a command was given to shoot, and they fell dead right on the spot where they stood. We then entered the city. A sick man was standing in the doorway of his house. A bullet was fired into his body, and he fell dead. In another part of the city, a woman, with one babe at her breast, and two at her sides, asked help of us. She was afraid to stay in her house which was on fire, and she was afraid of the American soldiers to leave it. But no hand was raised to help her and her children; and they were burned to ashes."

All such barbarities are committed in the twentieth century, an age of civilization. And for what reason? Is it because it improves the condition of the people? Or is it because it does any good at all to society? No, a thousand times no! It is because a few idle parasites, who are doing nothing all

their life-time but thinking of how to fill up their money-bags with gold; who having stored up too many products, want to have new markets in order to get the money in exchange; who want to become masters of some more slaves, benefit by it, that so many defenseless people are being killed; and not a voice of protest is raised against it—all keep silence.

Throwing a glance over our own country, we see that, as a reward for paying taxes and serving the army, we get the same thing that the Filipinos do. But here instead of killing us at once with a rifle, gun, or cannon, as they do in the Philippine Islands, they first starve us by raising the prices of articles, and reducing our wages and then, when we demand a few cents a day more wages, or an hour less work, the protector of those life-long marauders—the government—sends out police and soldiers, to answer us with bullets into our stomachs, and clubs on our heads.

A few weeks ago, the prices of meat, an article very luxurious to the poor, were raised to such an extent, as not to be within the reach of the workingmen. And the beef trust being afraid that the people will cease to eat meat and buy something else, has bought a lot of eggs, butter and milk, and also raised the prices of these articles. Thus the poor laboring men, who could hardly afford to buy food when it was cheaper, have to starve.

When we see all such things occurring, we ask ourselves, who is really responsible for them? We know the earth is not responsible, because it gives out food enough for everybody; and yet there are so many hungry people. Are those people, who exploit us, monopolize every article, and plan out cruel wars, responsible for the evils? Yes, they are; but not entirely. Because the government protects them, kills us for demanding more pay for our work of them, makes us pay taxes to keep up wars, sends soldiers to kill thousands of men, women, and children, and punishes anyone for refusing to shoot, when an order is given to do so. Therefore it is the root of all evils, and is responsible for them.

Now people wake up, don't let yourself be oppressed any more, it is enough being enslaved to others, destroy the government. Don't think that by changing it, you will make it any better, because it will remain as bad under the new name as under the old, destroy it all, don't let a part of it be left; and as the fruit of a tree ceases to grow when we take the root of it out, so will everything that is bad cease to appear when we destroy the government, and on the ruins of the old arrange a new society of freedom, equality, and brotherhood.

I repeat here the words of Patrick Henry, who roused the Virginians to arms against the English King George, who said: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? I know not what course others may take, but as for me give me liberty or give me death."

A. LOPATNER.

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Eight hours work for a master—is eight hours too much.—Kropotkin.

The Mystery of Law.

Laws are not enacted and published with a view to having them read or understood. No laws, not even those contained in the Bible, are made for that purpose. Laws as a rule are made to mystify the facts and leave the people in doubt. They mean anything or nothing, and they are to be observed or not observed according to circumstances. All laws like all religions are mysteries, and they were originally intended to be such. The turn which these laws are made to take when they are applied to affairs of men, depends entirely upon the interpreter, the judge, the one who is supposed to be in authority for the time being. Laws, as everybody knows, are not devised to tell people what to do or what to leave undone, but to give a man's enemies an opportunity or an excuse for persecuting or tormenting him. They are always mysterious in their form of expression, and they can be read any way a person likes, either backward or forward. Laws are generally excuses or expedients permitting the wicked to perpetrate their crimes and escape without injury. Laws are always vague and incomprehensible. They are in effect tricks or schemes devised for the purpose of deceiving or overreaching the common people. A man must go to court and pay out large sums of money to ascertain what the law is, and when the case is ended, he is no wiser than when it began. That is the way people get justice, not only in this but in all civilized countries.

Some people imagine that there is something strange or anomalous in the character of a law. But in fact it is a very ordinary thing. It is merely a wish indicated or a command given by some one in authority. Laws simply express the preferences of those in power. With new men in authority, we always have new laws. Law at best is a matter of men, and it has absolutely nothing to do with principle. The laws of Rome were not made by the people in fact, but by the praetor, the emperor, the one who for the time being was at the head of affairs. All laws were practically edicts or decrees, and no law can be anything more. Edicts are always from one man—sometimes Caesar, sometimes Charlemagne, sometimes Napoleon, and sometimes Tom Platt. No, there is nothing at all peculiar about a law—it is really one of the simplest things in the world. It is a mere wish or command put in writing. It is some one man's view. One hundred or a thousand men do not have a view, and so they do not issue decrees or publish edicts.

J. WILSON.

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Palm Arraigns Senator Hawley.

Joseph R. Hawley, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,—Pardon the presumption which it may seem to require in an humble citizen of the republic to address a member of the American House of Lords in a captious spirit. A few days ago it was reported that you, in an address in your official place, said: "I would give a thousand dollars for a good shot at an Anarchist."

Your assertion is open to many serious objections. In the first place, it is, no doubt, a violation of the ninth commandment, for it asserts what you will perhaps admit is false. Wealthy as you may be, and little as

you may care for a dollar, you would not give a thousand of them to shoot at anybody, not even an assassin, and no man who ever crossed the threshold of the Senate chamber knows so little of language as to use Anarchist and assassin as synonymous terms.

From a business point of view your assertion is foolish, because you offer far more than you need to pay; and we do not find even wealthy men of good judgement offering a thousand dollars for what they can get for a great deal less. The business of execution has never been regarded as particularly honorable, and you could easily bribe some hangman into allowing you to act in his stead for much less than a thousand dollars; and the victim would feel highly honored at having the noose adjusted by a gentleman of refinement, education, and ability.

If your patriotic impulses would not be satisfied with sending some wretch's soul into eternity, by strangling out his life, but would still yearn for the "good shot" for which you have a standing offer, you can get a good shot at a good Anarchist by going to East Aurora, N. Y., and it will not cost you a cent, except for a meal or two and tips to the Pullman porter. By a good shot you, no doubt, mean one close enough to your victim to send a bullet thru his throbbing heart. You will find at East Aurora a man named Elbert Hubbard, who is known all over this country as a gentleman of the highest ability and the strictest integrity, a man who would not suffer in any regard in comparison with yourself and who in his reverence for human life and charity for human frailties excels you as far as the purest diamond does the meanest dirt.

You can easily approach him in safety, for he never harmed a human being in all his life and would suspect no evil even from a rambunctious United States senator. When you are near enough, Funston-like, you can offer him your left hand with the explanation that it is nearest your heart, and then get in your good shot with the right.

To convince you that you would not be going on a fool's errand I beg to quote Mr. Hubbard himself to show you that he is the man you are looking for. He has written and published many books, all of which are read by many of the best people of his State and nation. In one of these books, published recently, he says:

"I am an Anarchist." [Here he quotes several paragraphs from the article "The Better Part" which appeared in FREE SOCIETY some time ago.]

I hope to show you that you can make no mistake in taking Mr. Hubbard as your victim, but if you wish to know more of what he says you may profit easily by reading the book from which this is taken, "A Message to Garcia," or, in fact, anything else he has written.

While I am not an Anarchist and have no faith that his doctrines can ever be safely put into practise, yet every man of sense has infinitely more respect for an Anarchist like Elbert Hubbard than he has for a monarchist or a Democrat or a Republican who would pay for a shot at any human being or who could even be hired to kill one no matter how low or degraded or wicked. As long as

government feeds and clothes and pays men to kill their fellows as a business we need not be surprised that murder and assassins are common. As long as United States senators boast of their willingness to pay for a shot at any being in human form what may we not expect from the ignorant and vicious?

The commandment "Thou shalt not kill" was thundered from Mt. Sinai. It makes no exception and contains no "ifs" or "buts." Even a United States senator by its plain declaration is absolutely forbidden the pleasure of killing anybody, even an Anarchist or Filipino. Neither can this positive command be avoided by falling back on Moses as authority for the doctrine of revenge. At the transfiguration where Moses and Elias appeared talking with Christ, a voice out of the cloud said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye him." Not hear Moses, but Jesus; and no man who hears him will ever advocate the wilful destruction of a human being legally or illegally, in peace or in war, nor will he in earnest or in jest do aught to lessen the human respect for human life. Assertions such as you are said to have made, coming from such a source, do infinitely more harm than the wildest tirade of the wildest-eyed assassin. His outrageous harangue is an antidote against its own poison, disgusting all who hear it, while your words serve to stimulate those with low instincts into thinking that some men may be killed without violating either law or morals.

Your own State of Connecticut still exacts an eye for an eye, and kills a man because he killed a man, thus listening to Moses instead of Christ. Rhode Island, more humane, as well as more sensible, since 1852 has followed the teachings of the lowly Nazarene, and has refused to exact a life for a life. The result is what any reasonable man would expect. The last report I have at hand shows that in proportion to population of the respective States the crime of murder is 42 per cent. more common in Connecticut, where the State sets the example of wilfully destroying human life, than in Rhode Island.

Your assertion to which I am objecting places you too nearly on the same plane, not with the Anarchist, but with the assassin who may be an Anarchist, like Czolgosz; a Republican, like Guiteau, or a Democrat, like Booth. You would kill and pay a thousand dollars for the privilege of getting rid of what you call an enemy to the government. That is what Booth did, what Guiteau did, what Czolgosz did, except that they did not offer to pay for the opportunity. Of course you may plead that you are a very poor shot and had no intention of suggesting murder, I agree that if the aim of your blunderbuss should be as wild as that of your mouth a man would be entirely safe at five paces distance, but that does not counteract the bad effect of your words.

I sincerely hope you may change your religion before you pass over the Dark River, but if you cannot give up the doctrine that the shedding of human blood is still necessary on the part of the State for the remission of sins, in the name of humanity disavow your willingness to pay for the privilege of killing a human being on your private account.—Andrew J. Palm, Meadville, Pa., March 31, 1902.

By the Wayside.

From private sources I gather that the Russian minister of the interior was killed by an army officer and not by a student. But the government does not like to make it known that the army is so "demoralized."

King Carlos of Portugal feels his throne shaking and wants to abdicate, after he has done his utmost to ruin the country. He is evidently more prudent than many of his predecessors and contemporaries of Europe—even more so than the money kings in this country, who have not the least scruples about their piracies.

"How would you Anarchists compensate the women who are limited mostly to the rearing of children?" I was asked last Sunday by a Socialist. "We would not 'compensate' them at all," I replied. "The products of society will be free to all. How that can be done? Does anybody ask you what you have done for society when you avail yourself of the public library? Does anybody ask you for an equivalent when you enjoy the beauties of a public park? Does it require a 'labor check' to take free baths? No. Thus it will be with all the necessities of life in a free society. Only then will it be possible for every individual to develop his faculties for the benefit of society; only then will legal and illegal prostitution be eliminated."

Pope Leo XIII has expressed himself in the following utterance:

Never has humanity found itself in a more miserable condition than at present. Excessive liberty has fostered Socialism and Anarchism. Government must adopt decisive measures to defend genuine liberty, and must ENFORCE the teaching of religion.

The old trouble—too much liberty! But do not flatter yourself that such lamentations are limited to that old relic in Rome. When the people begin to question the dogmas of the Church, the sky-pilots feel uncomfortable; when the subjects dare analyze the divinity of the king or law, the powers that be become irritated; when the children begin to act different from their parents, the latter are inclined to think that the world is coming to an end; and when it dawns upon a wife that she ought to have the same freedom her loving husband enjoys, the marital bliss is disturbed. But we are all for "genuine liberty" as long as you remain indolent slaves and disturb not the peace of mind of your benevolent masters.

INTERLOPER.

LETTER-BOX.

J. B. Everett, Wash.—Subscriptions for yourself and Willers received. Thanks.

F. C., New York.—Yes, FREE SOCIETY is printed in a union shop, but as we are doing the composition ourselves and consequently pay no wages, the typographical union refuses us the label.

Socialist, City.—"What has Tolstoy accomplished?" you ask. You seem to be asleep, and it is about time to awaken. When army officers in Russia are arrested almost daily for insubordination and whole regiments refuse to shoot at their fellow men; when thousands of young men refuse to serve in the army at all,—and all because they have read Tolstoy's books and "Letters to the Soldiers"—which are found in the barracks and on warships, I think it is about time to ask yourself, "What have I done?"

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MAY 11, 1902.

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

Notice.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take note that we have moved from 515 Carroll Ave., and change and direct their mail accordingly. Our new address is 331 WALNUT ST.

Also all mail intended for LA PROTESTA UMANA should be sent to the same address.

Notes.

It is necessary to remind our readers that as time goes on their subscriptions are expiring, so that there are a number of delinquents on our list. If these wish the paper continued to their addresses, we should hear from them within a short time. The number of this paper is 361. If the number on the wrapper of your paper is below that, your subscription has expired. Kindly renew at once, or inform us of your inability to do so at the present time. Otherwise your name will be taken off our list.

It is intended that C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" shall appear about June 1. All advance subscribers are asked to send their remittances before that date. Those who wish to receive the book immediately on publication, are asked to subscribe in advance. The price will be \$1 for cloth bound copies, and 50 cents in paper.

The work has been copiously revised, and will be a decided improvement on the serial which appeared in FREE SOCIETY. It is a clear and precise account of the Revolution, and invaluable to all students of history and social movements.

Splinters.

The persecution of Anarchists in New York has begun in earnest. The Supreme Court finally decided every point against John Most, so that he had to go to the penitentiary. On Sunday, May 4, a farewell was being given to him. Here he delivered an impassioned address, showing his undaunted spirit. Wm. MacQueen, editor of *Liberty*,

followed him, and was beginning to speak, when the police came and arrested them. The large audience of 3000 people were indignant and protested. Details are not on hand, but the daily press gives lurid accounts of the affair, making it either a "disturbance" or a "riot," or something similar. Another man, Solomon Miller, was arrested also, charged with attempting to rescue the other prisoners. They are all held to \$1000 bail each.

Discontent reaches us with the information that owing to their being deprived of the post office, they are compelled to suspend publication for a time. Their defense fund is yet in need of a large sum of money; and this deprives them of a medium to get in touch with the public. I therefore hope all friends of free press and free mails will send in their contributions without delay. But a small sum is required of each, to make up an adequate total. Send money to the treasurer, O. A. Verity, Home, Wash. All mail to Home is delivered at Lake Bay.

As the Home colony has been practically deprived of *Discontent* for a time, this is an auspicious occasion for the Press Writers to take this matter up and let the public know the facts. Such methods as were resorted to by Mrs. Grundy's lackeys at Tacoma should not keep this remarkable case from becoming widely known.

A man named Thoms was tried for his life on a charge of murder in Chicago recently. The testimony rested mainly on a weak-minded boy, and two of the jurors refused to believe him, and declared their belief in the defendant's innocence. From first to last they stoutly maintained this view, and a disagreement of the jury was the result. A howl of indignation went up against these two jurors. The public prosecutor even went so far as to write a letter to a daily paper, in which he declared a juror who voted "such a monster" not guilty could be "reconciled only with criminal instincts," and "is unfit for citizenship or association with decent people." At the second trial the man was therefore promptly convicted. Such administration of "justice" ought to receive our respect. If not, so much the worse for us, for here are the "criminal instincts" again!

Since Ross Winn has now given James' exact words, I think it clearly justifies my contention against exaggerated statements. Indeed he seems to be conscious of this himself, as he now sees fit to change "advising" to "defending." I do not feel myself called upon to enter the merits of the discussion between James and Winn.

Current Comment.

Our budding imperialism at Washington has adopted another good old institution of royalty—a code of court etiquette. This is entirely proper. The republic being dead long ago, it is time to discard its simplicity and order the red tape and tinsel. We are getting there, shore.

New York spent \$50,000 to entertain

Prince Henry, and now the city government has extinguished the light on Bartholdi's Liberty statute, in order to save the \$5000 necessary to maintain it. The torch which the goddess now holds aloft is dark, fitly typifying the present position of liberty in the Rooseveltian dominions.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., does not believe that Jesus was in earnest when he declared it to be easier for a camel to go thru the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. I have no doubt that this disciple of baptism and boodle regards most of the teachings of Jesus as a huge joke. Several sanctimonious sky pilots, who were asked for their opinion of Rockefeller's utterances, agreed with the conclusion expressed by him, which is a matter of course. About the only honest disciples of Jesus nowadays are the Anarchists.

The inhuman barbarities committed in the Philippine Islands by American soldiers would disgrace a marauding horde of Kurdish brigands. The fact that an investigation has been ordered proves that the officials at Washington, who were cognizant of these facts all the time, are afraid to shoulder the responsibility, and propose to shift the odium upon their subordinates. The real horrors of the American campaign in the Philippines will never be known. But enough has already come to light to forever damn the Republican party—if the American people are not entirely devoid of the sense of justice and moral rectitude.

A tidal wave of social unrest seems to be sweeping over the world again, manifesting itself in Barcelona riots, Socialistic disturbances in Belgium, and in revolutionary disorders in Russia, the Balkans, and Italy. These manifestations are but the first shudders of the fast approaching universal upheaval that is coming as the inevitable consequence of social progress. The world's intellect has outgrown its political and industrial institutions; and REVOLUTION is approaching with the day-dawn of a new age. The puny Roosevelts and William Seconds, with their muskets and cannon, can no more withstand the on-rushing forces of change and human advance than Mrs. Partington could sweep back the waves of the ocean with her broom. The twin giants, Socialism and Anarchy, already have the putrid carcass of Social Order so-called within a grasp that means its death. Whether with the smile of peace or the frown of war, the Social Revolution is coming "with glad tidings of great joy: peace on earth, good will toward all men."

According to the *Appeal to Reason* the Socialists have, by referendum vote, rejected the red flag and adopted the republican red, white, and blue, as the Socialist emblem. This leaves the red flag to the exclusive possession of the Anarchists. It is well. The red flag stands for liberty and international fraternity. It was borne by the people of Paris, when they took the Bastille, that first great act of the French Revolution. It was the first banner used by the American patriots at the beginning of the war of inde-

pendence. It was also the flag of the Paris Commune. It has always been the people's flag, and the task is now left to the Anarchists to raise it from the dust, and plant it upon the battlements of glory. Political Socialism, being no longer revolutionary even in spirit, does well to substitute the colors of law and order for the real flag of revolutionary action.

I read in the daily papers that, at a banquet of the St. George society, of New York, a Tory organization founded during the American revolution by pro-British traitors (real traitors), General Brooke of the United States army made a speech, in which he defended the torture of Filipino prisoners by American soldiers, saying it was necessary for victory and the advancement of civilization, the glory of the flag, etc. But this exponent of murder and torture said one thing that was true, viz., that war is hell, quoting the famous saying of a certain infamous general of our civil war. And he added: "What is war if not brutal?" Those who glory in murder, torture, and brutality are the dominant ruling class today. They are the exponents of that order and of that civilization which Anarchists wish to supplant with the reign of love and peace.

At the annual "dinner" of the Southern Society the other day, Augustus Van Wyck said the "sale of the law is the crying evil of the day." So the laws are sold in this country, eh? When the Socialists say it is, it is a lie—but how about it when an ex-judge and a plutocrat says it?—*Appeal to Reason*

What's the matter with the "one hoss" now? Is he not the non plus ultra champion of political Socialism which expects to drag in the millennium with the legal machinery of the State? If law is such a purchasable commodity, and capitalism has a monopoly of the purchasing power, is it not pretty evident that the success of Socialism's political program, like heartfelt religion, is "sorter" uncertain and slippery like? Brother Wayland is getting to be too funny for anything.

For a great many centuries the State has had a monopoly of the killing business. But there seems to be a tendency nowadays to dispute this monopoly. The men who have been doing the killing as a part of their trade as the governing class, are confronted by a Nemesis in the person of the unofficial assassin. As I am opposed to murder, when done by the State, I cannot approve of murder when executed by the individual. But, as the crimes of government are alone responsible for the individual assassin, I cannot, in reason, condemn the individual, however much I may disapprove his act. Let the rulers cease their crimes against humanity, cease murdering the millions in the name of law, and the world will never shudder again at the deed of a Czolgosz or a Bresci. And why should the world so shudder at these deeds of violence, directed against the lives of single individuals? Why does it not shudder at the infamy of the monster who ordered every Filipino over ten years of age to be killed by his murderous soldiery? The fiends who rule by murder and massacre must learn that crime, however successful, occasionally has its retribution.

Since Abe Isaak Jr. has asserted, in plain terms, that I lied in charging C. L. James with defending assassination before the Buffalo affair, and afterwards repudiating Czolgosz as an imbecile, I ask space enough to make good my former statements, by bringing forward the proof. In *FREE SOCIETY*, of September 1, 1901, under the caption, "The Monster Slayer," James wrote, among other things, the following:

... Is there among us no dragon which exacts a tribute of a beautiful maiden to devour every morning? ... The existence of the Monster implies that of the Monster Slayer. I cannot see what else monsters exist for than to be killed. ... What a rebuke it is to Gradgrind then, that the twentieth century should be ushered in by a galaxy of Sphinx and Cyclops killers. ... How absurd to call such actions murders! ... How much less merits consideration in any sound philosophy of murder, the destruction of one who himself murders whole armies. ... Considered as a murderer, the Monster Slayer is out of court. It is in quite another character that he appeals to our sense of the Sublime. ... Against falling into similar oblivion, it is an infallible preservative to read in our daily papers that Monster Slayers walk the earth once more.

Does this not look as tho James sanctioned assassination? Unless the leader of the "Movement in Favor of Ignorance" can weave an entirely different significance into the combination of phrases he employed, I suspect that anyone in his senses would put that interpretation upon it.

Now, did James repudiate Czolgosz, and call him a fool and imbecile? I quoted the terms "fool" and "imbecile" from memory, and I find that, while they were not the exact ones employed, their equivalent was. In *FREE SOCIETY*, of October 27, 1901, James wrote, in an article headed, "The Craze and Its Consequences":

On September 7 last, there was probably not an Anarchist in the United States who did not deprecate the act of Czolgosz, if as nothing else, then as a great blow to Anarchism. ... That very large minority who had previously expressed extreme disapprobation of McKinley's administration showed no sign of being weak enough to change their minds because a CRANK has shot him. ... It rests on no reliable testimony that Czolgosz, at any time since his arrest, has said anything which would be worth repeating. [Italics mine.]

Abe Isaak Jr. objects to "casting personal reflections." But, in charging me with falsehood, he is a trifle guilty of the same literary indiscretion, it seems to me. Anyway, I submit James' own words, correctly quoted, and leave the readers of *FREE SOCIETY* to decide the veracity of my former statement. As for "personal reflections," I trust my friend James does not take these matters any more seriously than I do. He had his little pleasantries and I replied in kind; it was not a case of coffee and pistols for two. Really, neither the sage of Eau Claire nor myself are Monster Slayers. The youthful editor of *FREE SOCIETY* takes Anarchist journalism too seriously. R. W.

What is Liberty?

I saw in *FREE SOCIETY* of a few weeks ago, an article by Ross Winn in which the substance of the following language is used: "I will accept no creed, statement, or belief that does not begin and end with the word liberty." Now, if I understand Mr. Winn rightly, I think he has made a very serious mistake. Right here let me say that while no one can, it appears to me, over-estimate the blessings of liberty and its incalculable

worth to humanity, yet there is a tendency to make it the all in all, the *summum bonum*, whereas liberty alone is utterly valueless. Unvitalized by inspiration, by intelligence, by will, it is inertia, stagnation: it is paralysis of life far more deleterious to all genuine growth than slavery itself. There are, it is true, some nascent energies within most of us that will certainly evolve as liberty gives opportunity, but is it not too true that we are far from using the liberties we do have? May it not be true that we are really in greater danger from the non-use of the liberties we do have, limited and stunted tho' they be, than from the deprivation of those we have not? We need courage to use our liberties, to instil our existence with results obtained thereby. I use the word liberty in the sense of being able to do as one desires. TYRO.

To the Comrades.

I shall, about June 15, begin the publication of a new radical and revolutionary magazine, *Winn's Firebrand*. It will be of 16 pages, and the subscription price one dollar a year. As I am required by the postal authorities to show a bona fide subscription list equal to twice the number of sample copies I wish to circulate, in order to secure the second class privilege, I must have at least five hundred more subscribers than I now have in order to send out five hundred sample copies of the first issue, the number I wish to mail. To secure these I will send the magazine for the first three months for ten cents, as a trial subscription. Each friend who sees this, by sending this small sum, or ordering the magazine for three months *at once*, will greatly aid me in my undertaking, which will add another recruit to the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

Fraternally yours,

Silver Springs, Tenn.

ROSS WINN.

Elie Reclus, in his "Primitive Folk," in describing the village constable, or *manker*, who come from the Bhils of the Vindhya Mountains, among the Kolanians of Bengal, says:

"He has a right to resign his functions at any time, and even to set up in business as the robber and spoiler of the property he was guarding the day before. Some amongst them supplement deficiencies in their salary by adding the profession of marauder to that of constable. For one twelve hours they protect property; and for another twelve go and forage in the neighborhood.

"Is this only a local peculiarity, and ethnical singularity? Do not these highly correct Bhils, these Marauers in a double line of business, show up the principle of authority, exhibit the machinery of judicial institutions in the making? Whereby we perceive them to be founded, not upon a sentiment of abstract morality, as professors teach, but upon interest. At a given moment, the great majority find it to their advantage to guarantee themselves against robbery and murder by paying a premium of insurance to those individuals who make brigandage a profession, worthy fellows desirous of coming to a good understanding with a kind public."

On "Colonization" or Something Similar.

There have not been, so far as I know, any attempts at founding "colonies" of any "ism" in Australia, where the existing society is of more complex organization probably than in any other part of the world, and instead of the country being the mother of the town, as elsewhere has been the case, the city is for all purposes of settlement the mother of the country.

The farmers in Australia do not produce half of their own food, but depend individually upon the sale of their products to enable them to buy other products coming directly or indirectly from the city middleman, in order that they may be fed. In most parts of the country vegetables and fruit are unknown; milk, butter, cheese, bacon, etc., are unknown; or where any of these latter are seen, flour comes exclusively from the middlemen who derive it from the city warehousemen. There is no population whatever deriving a *direct* subsistence from the soil. The country is moreover inhabited only by proprietors, large or small, albeit their ownership is frequently nominal and the real owners are the financiers. All the work of a periodical character is performed by nomads who live in the towns, chiefly the great cities, and of these some, such as the shearers, are fairly well off as workers fare, while others, such as harvesters, milkers, etc., are chiefly the destitute who are forced to roam about seeking what work they can get on any terms offered to them. The few wage earners permanently employed in connection with pastoral, agricultural, fruit growing and wine growing pursuits, are social derelicts condemned to a life of solitary celibacy with unlimited hours of toil for a merely nominal wage. The country is in any case regarded by most people as merely a workshop, a place unfit to bring women and children to.

As a matter of fact, while the two States of Victoria and New South Wales contain two thirds of the population of the Australian commonwealth, the city of Melbourne alone (including suburbs) contains a full half of the population of Victoria, and Sydney with suburbs has a third of the population of New South Wales. As in each of these States there are several smaller cities, dozens of large towns and hundreds of small ones, it will be seen that there cannot be many people residing in the country proper. Practically all "industries" are confined to the capitals, except in a few instances where other cities have a share; the towns, large and small, being almost exclusively merely retail shop centers for the sale of city-made or imported goods, the only truly local "industries" that you can be moderately sure of discovering being those of the hair-dresser and the horse-shoer. Even as regards dairying—the milk is carried from the farms to a township creamery to be separated, and the cream is sent by rail, perhaps a hundred miles or even twice as far, to Melbourne or Sydney to be churned into butter, except for a few particular brands; and if the milk grower consumes any butter the probability is that he buys it from the local store-keeper who bought it in Melbourne or Sydney.

A population so circumstanced is not

likely to bring forth experiments similar to the sectarian "colonies" of America, which would be as total and abrupt a breaking off from ingrained habits and environment as for a number of traditional Red Indians to suddenly quit their wigwams and scalping knives, and essay to found a New York of their own. America was settled in more primitive times, and her population has a hereditary predisposition to such "colonizing" from the following facts: that in the beginning her people consisted largely of droves of persons united by opinion, who fled concertedly from other countries to escape persecution; and in the course of further interior settlement, the conditions were such that emigrants from the seaboard naturally did not go haphazard, but in organized gangs for mutual protection against savages, etc. Moreover, in those days, with the limited means of communication, such enterprises would naturally be formed among families already acquainted, and any such project then was a matter to be gossiped about and to excite the imagination; so that there was a bond of intimacy, over and above that of opinion, if any, to draw people into combining for such a purpose if it was mooted by one among them; and the attraction of adventure to add its force to the ties of acquaintanceship. Hence such combined movements of settlement grew upon the Americans, and became habits which remain in their descendants, but among us, where there has never been any great danger from aborigines, and where the means of communication have always been almost in advance of settlement; where a population came from all parts of the world without concerted arrangement, but merely drawn by the common desire to individually gain gold—settlement has always been as unconcerted and individual a matter as the aggregating of such and such chance comers together in this or that city block.

The cities are the vital centers of Australian life; the towns are their extended auxiliaries; the country is merely an appendage, necessary for certain purposes of city life and as such worked by a small minority of the population, most of which minority would not be there but for the demands of the cities, and would disappear if the cities disappeared, unless they could substitute foreign cities by gaining an export market equally convenient. The country has no independent life; if the cities and shipping were both to perish, the country inhabitants would die off like the blackfellows, leaving perhaps a few scattered here and there dragging out a precarious existence under the conditions of a renewed Dark Age.

The character of the national life precludes your American forms of "colonization" outside the cities, and inside, there is no incentive to them.

However, there has been and is association between persons joined by opinion, with a view to providing those facilities and advantages, including the mutual exercise of principles, for which the American "colonies" have sought—in forms adapted to the organic conditions of Australian social life.

For instance, we have our numerous labor papers, run in some cases by unions, in

others by companies formed for the purpose, but as to all of which it can be said that they compete with the capitalist press for advertisements, and with the commercial printing offices for job printing, diverting a certain amount of trade and thereby insuring to so many journalists, printers, and other helpers the means of living without fearing to have opinions, and in these cases the fundamental provision is made that no shareholders or members derive any profits, but if any should be realized, they shall be devoted to the improvement of the papers.

On very similar lines we have a cooperative organization, dealing in distributive trade (grocery) and in order tailoring. It is a consumers' organization, but the members will not receive any dividends. Out of the saving effected between wholesale and retail rates after paying working expenses, they will have a small part as a discount on their purchases, but the greater part will be allotted to providing friendly society benefits, and enlarging the operations, so as to acquire land, establish productive industries or acquire them, and by that means to secure, when necessary, that the purchasing power of consumers in the movement shall be directed to the employment of workers who are in the movement, instead of employing at random, thru the various middlemen, people who do not care while comrades starve in idleness; and so that producers in the movement shall be able to eventually direct their products into the common stock of the movement, instead of into the possession of parasites, and in general to improve the material condition of those in the movement by diverting the middleman trader's profit and the employing capitalist's profit to effect an enlargement of possessions for the movement, to be used in accordance with the ideas of the movement—there being in view also the competitive appropriation of profits from the custom of non-members, with full liberty to them to participate in the advantages aimed at by becoming members, the number being unlimited and the only qualification acceptance of the objects of association. This particular organization is now several years old; it has not been successful to the extent of actually securing any of the advantages looked for, owing to business mistakes, but has prospects of doing so. As last reorganized (operations never having been suspended) it is taking the form of a society organized under the Victorian Provident Societies Act, with the title of "The Cooperative Commonwealth Limited," with provision for making any arrangements with any other cooperative society, or any union, or the Industrial Exchange (equivalent to the Labor Exchange of G. B. De Bernardi in America) for the exchange of goods or services.

Some years ago, in New South Wales John Dwyer and myself discussed the question of the "material basis," agreeing that one cause of the slow progress of advanced ideas was the lack of means among those who held them, whereby they were handicapped and failed to be survivors in the enforced struggle for existence; nor could they wield the force of example, as a person who has nothing, cannot display his principles in the same way as one who has. In

order to practise Communism people must have something to hold at each other's disposal. From both points of view we were interested in the matter, and in a sense most particularly from the first, as we were both undergoing rather hard times.

We conceived the idea of forming a prospecting party, to try and find gold that would serve immediate requirements. The idea was that if successful, the prospecting party would not become mine owners, but the proved ground would be taken up in trust, under arrangements which could have been made with the government, and men in the social movement who were unemployed or dissatisfied would be offered the opportunity of going there, a certain percentage of the yield being reserved to keep the prospecting party out in search of other fields, and to meet expenses in connection with taking up land suitable for cultivation, on which according to circumstances other people or the same at different times could work to raise part of the food supply for the miners, or for others who, not going to the spot, assisted in any way possible, and so as to form an emergency resource for any who might be in distress, where they would at least have somewhere to live, and the opportunity of doing a little work if not directly for their own subsistence, then for those who might benefit by it after, as they had by what was done by the first pioneers of the enterprise, or if they so chose could become permanent settlers.

Unfortunately the enterprise collapsed, as a bad choice was made of a site to commence, and thru the treachery of pretended comrades who were in the party, affairs were so messed up that the resources were exhausted before any real work was done, and it remains uncertain whether by properly applied effort anything might have been discovered that would have answered our purpose, tho it is certain that even if it had, the ground was unsuited to our very limited resources.

In all the concerns that I have mentioned there was no special connection with any particular sect or "ism," but the improvement of position with regard to the means of subsistence, survival, and means of propaganda, etc., was sought on behalf of the members of the social movement in general, and in the case of the cooperative organization and the enterprise in which I was associated with Dwyer, its originator, there was also the idea in reserve of using the resources for the benefit of outsiders in need, as a practical lesson to them, and besides the direct economic aspect there was a strategic aspect as regards the actual possession of, so to speak, strongholds multiplied in a variety of places, whereby a great moral effect might be produced, as well as the safeguarding of people in the movement from the evils to which they are so largely exposed being given an enormous practical extension.

The broad distinction between the lines of these various enterprises and American "colonies" is that in ours, people do not change their residence or their occupation in order to consort with those of similar opinion—tho there are, of course, some informal personal groupings of the latter character brought about from time to time on a smaller scale thru private intimacy, or

occasionally to the extent that a man might throw up a situation to devote himself to the work of some particular movement and at the same time manage to subsist thereby (as, of course, happens in America also, I have no doubt, with more frequency than "colonizing")—but people having ideas in common may change their abode or occupation for economic or similar reasons. This, I think, is solid ground. At any rate if our various attempts have not met with a great amount of success as compared with what might have been hoped for by enthusiasts, they have all been successful in enabling some to get along for a time with less distress than they would otherwise have suffered without that result in itself entailing any burden on others in the movement. And I do not think anyone who was concerned in any of them looks back with any feeling of disgust on his experiences as a whole, but with some sort of satisfaction, regretting only that circumstances were not so favorable as they might have been.

The nearest approach, I suppose, to the American "colony" idea ever tried here was merely organized in Australia, and tried its fortune elsewhere—namely the New Australian settlement in Paraguay; and that had to go outside of Australia because this continent did not afford the requisite isolation from existing society which is a *sine qua non* to the performance of a drama of any "istic" state of society pure and simple upon the stage of actual life, so that with the exception of Utah I suppose there has been no American "colony" to compare with it. Next to that, I think, must be placed so small an affair as the "Cooperative Home" started in 1888—nearly fourteen years ago—by members of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club. It was merely for residence without affecting occupation, and it was a failure because there was no very strong practical reason why the people should reside together, while there were reasons of "incompatibility of temperament" why some of them should not, and reasons of subsistence which soon compelled some to go away in any case.

J. A. ANDREWS.

— o — A Debate.

The subject "Socialism vs. Single Tax" was debated last Sunday night at the Philosophical Society before a full house, and as the exponents of each school were liberal-minded men, the contest was quite interesting and instructive.

Mr. Kaplan, the Socialist, pointed out that the Single Taxers did not propose to abolish the wage system, and, altho they declared for the abolishment of private property in land, the man possessing large capital or the tools of production would still be in a position to exploit and enslave his fellow men. The taxing of land meant to perpetuate monopoly. Nothing short of the entire abolition of private property in land and the means of production and distribution would eliminate wage slavery. While the Single Taxers propose to abolish private property in land, they want to retain government—an institution which thrives upon property. Government cares nothing for the lives of its subjects, but will protect property at any cost. In short, government will stand and

fall with property. Socialists propose the collective possession of land and all the machinery of production and distribution, and voluntary cooperation. He wanted to dispel the illusion that they would force people to cooperate if some did not desire to do so. They people would be compensated according to the amount of labor performed, say with labor checks.

Mr. Hardinge, the Single Taxer, declared for liberty first and last. Not for the liberty used as a phrase by politicians and universities, but for a condition in which monopoly and privilege would not exist and the individual be able to exercise his skill and supply his wants. Governments, altho being instituted for the protection of life and property, had done nothing else but rob the people it is supposed to protect. Yet he did not think government should be abolished. He thought with the abolition of private property in land, and taxing land values only, the relations between employer and employe would soon come to an equilibrium. However, he was not dogmatic in regard to any particular "ism." "The Anarchists, the Socialists, and the Single Taxers are the only people who think at all nowadays," he concluded, "and good results will crown the efforts of these thinkers. The truth will prevail." Yet he thought that the Single Tax would be the easiest and most expedient first step to take toward progress.

Both speakers were heartily applauded—mostly for their sincerity and fairness. The criticism from the audience was in accord with the debate—fair and impartial. One critic called the attention of Mr. Kaplan to the fact that the attempt to determine the share of each laborer would result in a complete failure in our complicated method of production and distribution; and if carried out arbitrarily, would require such huge machinery of officialism as would evolve the most tyrannical government the world had ever known. On the other hand, wage slavery would still exist. "Furthermore, what about the women whose time to a great extent will be occupied with bearing and the raising of their children—how will they be compensated?" inquired the critic. "It will be mighty hard to determine the share these women have produced. Or will they again have to depend upon the grace of society or the good will of their husbands?" This question obviously puzzled Mr. Kaplan and was not answered satisfactorily. Turning to the Single Taxer, the critic contended that in a condition where there was an employer and employe, there was necessarily master and slave; and so long as land values were taxed, no matter under what pretense, land monopoly was not abolished. "As to government," said the critic, "Mr. Hardinge tells us that it has not protected but robbed the people. According to his logic society got along not only without government, but had even to contend against—to protect itself from the tyranny and brigandage of the institution, yet he wants to retain this robber for a while yet." REPORTER.

— o —

Let no one who begins an innovation in a state expect that he shall stop it at his pleasure, or regulate it according to his intention.—Machiavelli.

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