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were given them. In some cases the women retaliated, and a few of the rowdies were badly hurt, and will have to undergo considerable repairs. The courts imposed heavy fines on all who were arrested, hoping thereby to crush out the spirit of revolt that had suddenly displayed itself so vigorously and in such unexpected quarters. All fines were promptly paid from a public fund collected for that purpose. As a result of the police clubbing one person—a pregnant woman—is dead.

"The New York Times is not at all satisfied with the tenderness of the police in handling the rebels. 'They should have been on the keen lookout for disturbances,' it remarks, 'and they should have been amply ready to put it down without hesitation and without mercy.' It says further:

The class of people, especially the women, who are engaged in this matter have many elements of a dangerous class. They are very ignorant. They mostly speak a foreign language. They do not understand the duties or the rights of Americans. They have no inbred or acquired respect for law and order as the basis of the life of the society into which they have come.

"They are very ignorant. They mostly speak a foreign language." These are two of the elements which constitute a "dangerous class." By a "dangerous class" the Times means, of course, a class opposed to the present harmonious order of things, whereby the Times and the beef trust and the whole family of trusts down—or up—to the coffin trust wax fat at the expense of the poor Jewish men and women, and all the other poor men and women, who "are very ignorant," and who speak every language. It is no doubt true, as the Times states, that these people are very ignorant; but that does by no means make them "a dangerous class." On the contrary, it is intelligence that makes them dangerous. If they had remained in ignorance of the fact that the meat trust was robbing them, they would not have revolted and endangered the "peace and order" of the community. And, if so small a portion of intelligence has roused them to such a pitch, and has been the cause of so much pain and worry to the Times, what would happen if by some miracle the whole panorama of robbery and iniquity were flashed before their mental vision? Methinks the Times would alter its tune, and publish no more such savage editorials, on pain of being boycotted or drenched with coal oil. The Times and its co-journals are the mouthpiece of the food trust, the land trust, the law and order trust, the God, and all the other trusts, and know full well the food upon which they thrive and fatten so joyfully and quick. The name of that food is ignorance; and when the Times stated that one of the elements of danger was ignorance it lied—deliberately and maliciously lied. How stupid is the assertion that to speak a foreign language is an element of danger! The only intelligent interpretation of it can be this: that the Irish police force, which has a green lamp outside of every police station, cannot understand a foreign language and are therefore handicapped in "preserving" the peace of the community.

"They do not understand the duties or the rights of Americans." Does the Times mean that one of the rights of the Americans who compose the beef trust is to extort ex-

orbitant prices from those "ignorant foreigners" on the east side, or did it mean that one of the rights and duties of Americans is to be skinned alive by the vampire trusts? We may take our choice, one is as worthy as the other. And I fancy the Times would find itself in a serious predicament were it forced to explain. An explanation to be correct would have to be somewhat like this: A few Americans and foreigners possessed of a certain kind of intelligence—a perverted intelligence—have, owing to the ignorance of a large number of Americans and foreigners, succeeded in cornering the country and its vast wealth, with the result that this large number of ignoramus must cringe and crawl before the few intellectuals to be permitted to eke out a miserable existence upon any terms. These terms are harsh. The few ask much from the many as the price of their ignorance. The many are everlastingly doomed to dig and delve, to moan and sweat, and to share but a mite of the sweets of life they produce, unless they quicken their intellects, scrape the scales of ignorance and superstition from their visions, and, not like wild beasts, but as sober, intelligent men and women, recast society into a mold of freedom and equity.

The Jewish women, with but a spark of the light of intelligence which flames in the mind of the man of thought, rebelled against the injustice that spark revealed to them. A spark soon burns out, and so the strike of the Jewish women. But it has its lesson for those who can see it. It gives us more proof of the Anarchist philosophy, that intelligence is the mother of rebellion. The rebellion that springs from intelligence is constructive as well as destructive; it prepares its plans for the new structure before it destroys the old.

The revolt of the Jewish women was not an intelligent revolt. In the very nature of things it could not be. It was a reflex of their minds. The sudden raise in the price of meat sharpened their intellects and forced them to think of the meat trust. They saw no justifiable reason for the high prices, and therefore became unwilling to pay them. That was the intellectual process. Now they were ready to act. No revolutionary propaganda was necessary; the intellectual awakening had made the revolution inevitable. But where was the Moses to lead them from their bondage? Lo! from their midst she sprang, unknown to all her voice was heard, for she uttered the words that were in their hearts. Mounting a rostrum she shouted, "Sisters, we are oppressed, we must revolt!" And the strike was on.

When they will think of the great stalwart family of trusts, of which the meat trust is but an individual member; when they shall have felt sorely of the ills, and discussed coolly and intelligently the possible cures; when they shall have convinced themselves that everything, even the very heaven they looked up to as a final palace of peace for their tired and hungered souls, is controlled by a trust; when they shall have sentenced the whole existing scheme of things and pictured in their minds a social structure for the future, then let the tyrants clear the way, for the Revolution will be upon them, —the intelligent Revolution, conceived in the womb of reason, nurtured with the milk

of human kindness, and guided in its glorious work by the cool determination that springs from a clear knowledge of the work to be accomplished.

JAY FOX.

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An Open Letter to James F. Morton, Jr.

When the resumption of *Discontent* makes it possible to give space to the matter, I intend to enter into a thoro discussion of the scope of philosophic Anarchy. Those writers for FREE SOCIETY who have misinterpreted my position, may possibly learn it rests upon a broader foundation than they imagine.—J. F. Morton, Jr., in *Lucifer*.

"Philosophic Anarchy"! Is it possible that there are different kinds of Anarchy, and that some of us have failed to "catch" the superior article? I hope Comrade Morton will clearly define the difference so that we may be enabled to recognize a "philosoph" at the first glance. Without doubt it is a great damage to the cause that the reputable ideal known the world over as *Anarchy* should be so promiscuously herded with "philosophical Anarchy." It was this motive that actuated Comrade Livesey, of Sykesville, Md., when he, several months ago, scattered a circular far and wide trying to explain the difference.

"The trouble with people is," declared this "philosopher," "that they fail to distinguish between the different types of Anarchists. There are the 'red Anarchists,' to whom Most and Goldman belong, and there are the 'philosophical' Anarchists, who never associate with the 'reds.'" And when Comrade Livesey vigorously protested against any laws repressing the philosophicals, he rather left the other type outside of the protest. Comrade Barnes, of Hindsboro, Ill., rebuked Livesey for taking such a position, and Livesey answered, "We have to do this to work things around."

Here is a comrade who claims to be a philosopher, who boldly defends Jesuitism and expediency, and practises them. I think he considers this the best method; but as these methods mean an appeal to the passions and prejudices of men, they are always abortive of true progress. It is only thru appealing to man's reason, sympathy, and courage that the movement against government advances.

Anarchism, as I understand it, is the philosophy of freedom,—the negation of authority. When we explain Anarchism we explain natural laws and principles the observance of which would build a human brotherhood in which government of man by man is abolished. Is the immortal word Anarchy, consecrated as it is by the blood of the innocent, the noble and true, so devoid of meaning that we must add the prefix "philosophic"? If so, perhaps in due time a suffix will be added also. In my estimation the latter would be no more out of place than the former is. Why should we add to the general confusion by drawing distinctions between those who have a common ideal, especially as no ground seems to exist for such distinction? So far I have never exchanged ideas with a comrade who could not intelligently explain why he thought government should be abolished. While it is true that men vary in ability to reason, no man deserves to be set apart from his fellows as a philosopher, for the simple fact that nearly all his knowledge is derived from his fellows, and even

the humblest savage or peasant is capable of teaching him something in regard to the things they best understand.

If Comrade Morton can broaden the comrades by explaining the difference between a "philosophical" Anarchist and an Anarchist, I for one am ready for the stretching process. It is not the "scope" we are asking for, but the difference.

There is one more little matter that needs explaining, since Comrade Morton declares he has been "misinterpreted." In *Discontent*, of March 26, was an "Open Letter" from the Home comrades to the postmaster general of the United States, in which among several questionable statements was the following: "They [the Anarchists of Home] have no connection whatever with the revolutionary element." Will Comrade Morton reconcile this statement with the open and well known fact that the Home Anarchists propagate Anarchism thru the sale of the literature of the revolutionary element, boldly advertising the same in *Discontent* down to its last issue? If the Anarchists at Home have no connection with the revolutionary element which numbers in its ranks such matchless minds as Kropotkin, Reclus, Malatesta, Jean Grave, Louise Michel, and the dead Bakunin, whose words still live and move the human mind to high endeavor; if they have no connection with the revolutionary women who have lived and died for the ideal of Anarchism, the cause of humanity—lived or died as circumstances required, then all I have to say is that they are a "lonesome crowd." You reason well as a general thing, James Morton. Please explain the why of your not being connected with the "revolutionary element." But I would rather hear you say, "I made a mistake, comrades, in denying that element; consulting expediency I lost the logic of my position." But if you are positive that you made no mistake, tell your critics why you have not erred in a statement that apparently contradicts the facts.

Caplingers Mills, Mo. KATE AUSTIN.

Human Law.

I wrote you asking what you meant by liberty, seeing that you repudiated equal liberty, and I get a column reply from C. L. James, of which the first twelve lines only now concern me. Now, if James stands for the editor, and he for James, I will not demur.

"What liberty means ought to be tolerably obvious," I am told, "from the standpoint of social science"—as opposed to metaphysics. "Liberty is absolute or unrestricted when limited by no human law." From the standpoint of social science—that's where I am at, and I would like to make further inquiries. If liberty "absolute or unrestricted in this sense is what Anarchists believe in," would you be willing to take active measures to defend and protect this individual liberty, i. e., the liberty of the individual to do as he wishes? In a word, are you prepared to agitate, educate, and organize (into voluntary associations) for the defense of this individual liberty?

Please explain the precise meaning you attach to the phrase "human law," as used in sentence quoted above. A. H. SIMPSON.

Mr. Simpson's last question seems to call

for an answer first. I should recommend him to read the article "Law" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It gives the drift of scientific and evolutionary thought on this subject, I will not, of course, say perfectly, but sufficiently to answer his question, which, however, I will do, merely referring to the authority.

In the sense of social science, all law is human law. The laws of physics are only called laws by a metaphor, which must be eschewed when we aim at precise language; and moral laws of God may be considered when someone has decided what they are. This was the observation with which Austin began the modern treatment of this subject. Blackstone, the great representative of a school now out of date, had inextricably jumbled the laws of God (scriptural), the laws which he was pleased to call nature (meaning the notions and prejudices likely to be accepted by his readers), and the laws of England, as so many cooperating sanctions for the latter. Austin replies, "the laws of England are just simply the laws of England, whose one real sanction is the fiat of the English government." All laws, in the sociological sense, are human, deriving their sanction solely from the will of a king, majority, or whatever has authority among men. "Law is a rule of action; imposed by a superior (human) power."

This partly answers Mr. Simpson's question. But it did not escape Austin's acuteness that law, in the legal and sociological sense, must be uniform. A single command for a single occasion, called in jurisprudence an ordinance, or sometimes by other names which denote its ephemeral character, is not a law. To cite Austin's illustration, if a master should tell his nigger to call him at six o'clock next day, that would be only a command. But if he told Pompey to call him at six o'clock every morning, this would be a law to Pompey, differing in nothing essential from any law of the kind which jurisprudence or sociology can consider. The distinction is implied in the familiar words "law is a rule of action." But it is worth emphasizing, because mere arbitrary government, with no laws, has no advocates. What reconciles men to being governed is the certainty rather grand and impressive conception of rules which may be known to all; are alike for all; reflect "the wisdom of our ancestors," modified when actually necessary by our own "collective wisdom," assembled in a legislature; and which, by their uniformity, bind in a measure the power itself which makes them.

It is not very logical in appearance that one Anarchist should undertake to answer for others. But, if I stand for the editor, and he for me, I have no objection to say that in my judgment Anarchists differ from other social philosophers precisely because they do not think laws (uniform rules of action imposed by a superior human power) good things, but rather think them, if possible, more mischievous than those spasmodic interferences with individual liberty by greater power which no one thinks good in the main, or says better for in a particular case than that some circumstance of urgent necessity availed to excuse them. And I do not know what else Anarchists, as such, are doing all the time than take active meas-

ures, by agitation, education, voluntary association, etc., for the emancipation of the individual from government by laws, in this sense.

Why Anarchists take such views or adopt such measures, is, of course, quite a different question, and one on which Mr. Simpson has not, so far, asked for information.

C. L. JAMES.

The Rifle Diet.

An associated press dispatch from Hazleton, Pa., under date of May 27, stated that a consignment of rifles had been shipped to that place and placed in the collieries. These rifles are for the use of the mine owners against the strikers. It occurs to me that it would be a pretty good idea for the strikers to order a "consignment of rifles" for their own use. If strikes are to be settled with rifles, I don't see why the arguments should all be on one side. If the rifle is a good thing for the "boss," why not for the worker? I have an idea that some "philosophic" persons with a penchant for peace at any price will hold up their hands in holy terror at the suggestion; but my advice to strikers who expect to be targets for capitalism's armed thugs, is to either disband their organizations and come under the yoke, in meek submission, or else put themselves on an equal footing with the bosses in the matter of "resources of civilization." R. W.

Literature.

ABORTION A CRIME AND THE CAUSE OF CRIME. By Dr. N. S. Clymer. Published by the author, 21 S. Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa.

A little tract of eight pages wherein the author claims that abortion is the cause of all crime, and demands a law to make it punishable by death. It is decidedly weak and shallow. The claim remains entirely *a priori*, the few cases cited being insufficient to prove a hypothesis. The remedy is unworthy of a "Liberal," but belongs rather to the Catholic ages. Socially it is devoid of insight. Every man of average intelligence knows that stiff penalties prevent nothing; and no woman ever finds abortion a pleasant experience. We have too many laws already. And to demand the death penalty for anything, is the province of a savage—not a refined man.

The essay "Organized Vengeance," by P. Kropotkin, which appeared in *FREE SOCIETY* some time ago, has been issued as a pamphlet by *Freedom*. There is a supplementary article on "The Superstition of Government," by Henry Glasse. It is excellent for distribution. Price 3 cents, in larger quantities 2½ cents each. Order from this office.

Abolish the Humbug.

I clip the following from an editorial of the *Chicago Chronicle*, June 4:

When will fraud, hypocrisy, humbug, and systematic false pretenses disappear from legislation? Or will they never disappear?

Just so: legislation without these would be as the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out! In this case the "Ors" certainly have it.

J. M. CLARKE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 1902.

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Notes.

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

Comrade Jay Fox, 336 Fifth St., New York, N. Y., will furnish information to comrades interested in Cosmos Colony, such as to the best means of transportation, fare, etc., to Brazil, and other useful intelligence.

Some Chicago comrades wish to start a Tolstoy literary club immediately. Its purpose will be to read, discuss, and properly understand the great Russian writer and philosopher. The necessity for such an association is very apparent at this time when pamphlet writers and reform speakers are manifesting so much ignorance of the man and his writings. Those wishing to join will please address R. Goodheart, 902 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago.

Comrade Albina Washburn, 1412 S. 12th St., Denver, Colo., has taken the initiative in a movement to organize a renter's union. The object is to find out where possible whether the rent collectors have the (legal) right to do so, and if not to refuse to pay it. It is asserted that much property is taken possession of by shrewd sharpers which has really lapsed by default, the owners having disappeared. Those further interested can communicate with her.

Splinters.

The *People's Press* says it is to the credit of Senator Tillman that he has never proposed killing Negro boys over ten. Is it to the credit of anybody, because he makes a savage of himself, that he does not go quite so far as the rest of the savages (at Washington)?

Another quack doctor has given out a "cure for Anarchy." This time it's the One Hoss, of the *Appeal to Reason*. The mixture is education liberally doused with Socialism. As is evident from what he says,

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the inventor of the new patent remedy is sorely in need of the former himself, and is welcome to it; and while he is about it he should not fail to dilute his Socialism with unlimited doses of Anarchism, so as to make it bearable to intelligent men. To have a full dinner pail—the Wayland brand of Socialism—continually thrust before your nose really becomes tiresome.

During the recent strike of teamsters for the packers in this city, the police, as usual, distinguished themselves for their sanguine brutality. Meat wagons were driven about town in caravans, with a formidable police escort all along the line. As the strikers had the sympathy of the whole populace, driving for the packers was done under difficulties. Wherever the caravans went, the passing vehicles always managed, as by miracles, to be in the way. Dozens of wagons blocked the streets, and the meat wagons spent hours in moving short distances. Large unruly crowds congregated, and showed their practical sympathy by making it extremely unpleasant for the scab drivers. Missiles of all kinds filled the air. And the police did such indiscriminate clubbing as was not seen here since the days of Bonfield.

A day or two after the worst brutality of the police was witnessed, the police monument of Haymarket fame, and Chicago's disgraceful eyesore, was found bespattered with dirt and the figure had a rope around its neck. The newspapers raised a cry about Anarchists. That the monument was covered with dirt is of no import, as it could hardly be in a more unsanitary condition than the police have allowed it to stand permanently, a fitting emblem of their shame. But what should be more natural than that some clubbed workman should express his indignation in that manner?

The sanguinary violence indulged in by the police finds only extenuation in the capitalist press, while the strikers are censured for their unlawfulness. If the packers are justified in protecting their property with armed violence, why are the strikers not justified in protecting their labor power with resistance? The only reason offered is that the strikers acted against the law. This raises a question. A policeman cracks a man's head with his club, and the man wrenches the club away and cracks the policeman's head. The striker's head was cracked with due process of law, the policeman's unlawfully. Where is the actual difference? JR.

By the Wayside.

The boldness and determination of the striking teamsters in this city created a good deal of anxiety among those who ride upon labor's back. A few more lessons, a little more information on the labor problem, and greater vigilance against their "leaders," who are ever inclined to compromise in order not to jeopardize their jobs, will improve matters considerably.

A. W. Yeater of this city, an enthusiastic advocate of "good government," laments in *Live Topics* that those "who try to make

the world better should perhaps wait until they die for their reward." Exactly; especially when they waste their energy in the futile task of making rotten eggs smell like roses. I sincerely hope a little more experience in "good government" will convince Mr. Yeater that nothing but the increase of intelligence and the abolition of authority can "make the world better."

"The parliamentary comedy is the supreme political lie which dominates our age," says Pobiedonostseff in his book "Reflections of a Russian Statesman." We may differ with this statesman in many respects, and suspect his motives; but his indictments of democracy are well worth reading, and all Anarchists will agree with him on this subject.

Marriage becomes a "problem" as soon as man and woman live together and begin to mind each other's affairs, especially as regards their feelings and subsequent actions. There is no problem so long as people are mere lovers, at least there are no books written for the purpose of solving the love question. A final solution will only be reached when all the necessities of life are as free as air and sunshine, which solves the question of supporting the children. The women will have then no incentive to live with a man for the sake of her children or fear of the struggle to sustain her own life. Yet people can be happier and enjoy life more fully even today if they get rid of the idea that they own each other. True, once people live together and have children, they have assumed an obligation to raise those children, but that is where the obligations to each other should end. Man and woman can often enjoy greater comforts and conveniences by cooperation in housekeeping; but such cooperation ought no more to interfere with each other's private affairs than those of two business partners. If their mutual love is so great that there is no craving for a variety in companionship, well and good; but if one or the other has broadened and has a longing for more love, a feeling which ennobles both sexes, then each must be free to act accordingly, or else deceit will be the result.

There was a time when the Social Democrats in Europe were not censured by non-partisan journals for their retrogressive and compromising attitude. But since "scientific" was substituted for "revolutionary,"—let the "philosophic" Anarchists take note!—they have to put up with ridicule from their opponents. In the *Zukunft*, Berlin, a liberal bourgeois journal, Maximilian Harden reviews Millerand's mission as follows:

No cry of murder, no anti-Socialist law, no battle with "spiritual weapons" could have had such an effect as the woful disappointment that a Social Democratic minister has furnished his party. The Millerands, Jaures, and Vivianis, who wanted to be ministers, have in hot battles weakened the orthodox disciples of Marx, and they themselves have lost the nimbus of the saviors of the people. This success could only be achieved thru a fraternization of the bourgeois and the proletariat; and such alliance was only possible after the conviction had been hammered into the masses that the republic, freedom, and the rights of men were menaced. Whenever a bourgeoisie feels that its rights of possession are in danger, it clamors that the most sac

red weal of humanity is in jeopardy. And every time—we have just seen it in Belgium, where the liberal manufacturers humbugged the workers out of their battle prize and inflicted a wound upon Social Democracy from which it will not soon recover—every time are the workers so unsuspicious, so blind that the uncommonly humanitarian capitalists easily tame and drive them into a war in behalf of the privileged, from which they can gain nothing.

Mr. Waldeck-Rousseau did not invent this expedient, but so shrewdly applied the same that success was assured. France, which feared a revolution, has today only kid-glove Socialists and powerless sects.

Millerand's entering the ministry did not signify the capture of political power for the proletariat,—he only strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie. Not Socialism, but class government found in the "Socialist minister" a strong support. Revolutionists should heed the advice of Storms: "But beware, oh soul, of making a career."

To demonstrate the curse of child's labor in this country, agents of labor unions have taken a dozen of boys—from eight to twelve years of age—from the glass factories of New Jersey, and they intend to travel with these unfortunate victims all over the country. It is too bad, remarks the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, that it is not possible to take a couple of our fattest coupon-cutters with these crippled victims of our country's industry. This would bring the enthusiasm for "our industry which conquers the whole world" to a boiling point.

Since President Mitchell threatens to resign if the coal miners declare for a general strike, it is evident that he is either a traitor or a coward, and the sooner he resigns the better. Besides, as long as the miners have Mark Hanna and Roosevelt looking after their interests they can rest assured that they will be duped with or without Mitchell. Speaking seriously, the suspicious attitude of Mitchell and the preparations of the mine owners for violence will teach the miners a lesson which "agitators" could not have accomplished in years to come.

INTERLOPER.

Certain Comments.

When complaint is made of a gross act of injustice, there are some who assume that the victims overstate the case, and are likely to be as much at fault as those whom they charge with oppressive acts. A protest against public wrong is often cynically met with the overworked quotation:

"The thief ne'er feels the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law."

When impartial bystanders, however, protest against the treatment accorded to those with whom they have no personal connection, the average man is a great deal more ready to listen.

The following letters, both written by intense opponents of Anarchism, reflect the opinions of a number of outsiders, who have had some opportunity of looking into the affairs at Home. I learn that Mr. Gaskine's letter was received, and referred to the postal department. Senator Turner, of Washington, to whom Mr. Geer's letter is addressed, has promised to do what is in his power for the recovery of the postoffice. Our prospects are very fair; but the red tape of officialdom will protract our uncertainty for a considerable time. Letters addressed to any of us at Home, Wash., are promptly

received, being delivered at the neighboring postoffice of Lake Bay.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

To Theodore Roosevelt, president.

Mr. Roosevelt,—The papers I enclose call your attention to a very important matter indeed, and you want to read them carefully.

It seems your postmaster general has just abolished one of our Washington postoffices on the recommendation of a federal grand jury. The papers will explain the case in particular. Now this is an extraordinary proceeding. The recommendation of the grand jury was based on a charge brought before them by one of Comstock's agents, that the people using the postoffice were Anarchists and free lovers. In a word, an ignorant jury was bulldozed by this agent and the district attorney. When the charge against these people of publishing immoral writing in their journal and sending it thru the mails was brought before Judge Hanford of the federal court, the next week, he carefully read the matter so charged as immoral and decided that on the contrary it severely rebuked immorality, and directed the jury to sign an instructed verdict of acquittal. How he had ever brought himself, the week before, to send to the postmaster general the preposterous recommendation of the grand jury that the postoffice at Home be abolished, is incomprehensible, unless that in the crazy matter of Anarchy he lost his head, as have so many others.

It goes without saying that it is not within the province of a grand jury to instruct the postal department as to the continuance or discontinuance of postoffices and that it was simply a piece of arbitrary stupidity in the postmaster general to carry out such a recommendation. This is America, still, Mr. Roosevelt, not Russia, but your postal officials have distinguished themselves in the last few months by assumption of authority so silly, while yet so unwarranted, that they would shame a Russian bureau. You want to bring this matter to the attention of Mr. Payne. It is a disgrace to his office and his personal intelligence that he should have permitted it.

As to Anarchy and the people settled about Home, you will find some account in the little paper *Discontent* which will repay perusal. You will observe an article by myself—"The Need of Social Control," and a chapter summarized from Professor Ross' remarkable work under that title. In this way I am bringing to the consideration of the leading American Anarchists—those who call themselves philosophical Anarchists—the inadequacy of a natural social order on which the Anarchistic faith is really founded. The chapter from Ross will point out with irresistible conviction that society must exercise an artificial control upon the individual conduct. And this is the true and only way to overthrow the foolish but extremely dangerous philosophical Anarchy.

As you know very well, that hypnotic word Anarchy had attached itself to the vocabulary of a great many notable writers and very estimable persons as meaning something very good and not evil, before the tremendous tragedy of last September. They ought to have known better! Yes! But people do not know better—and indeed

only minds of the fullest information can clearly grasp the true relations of the individual to society and to its control. Nobody knows what we can have, but we want better and more intelligent government. Government, rooted in old traditions and superstitions, is becoming more and more irritating every day to intelligent persons, and as H. G. Wells puts it in his "Anticipations," "statesmen are likely soon to find themselves in the face of a large number of self-respecting persons outside the law."

Now this was the mental or psychological state of the people at Home. They hung up in their schoolhouse the motto "the best government is self-government," and they wished to be, and believed that they, and if not all, many others, could be a law to themselves. They are not revolutionary Anarchists. They are much the type of character that were at Brook Farm fifty years ago, tho of not so much literary cultivation. Abstainers from liquor and tobacco, mostly vegetarians, and every family working hard to make its own home. Stopping there some months I found, myself, a franker and more intelligent sociability among them, than of any other group of people I have ever known. The United States marshal who went there to make the arrests, reported on his return that he found them leading an "ideal life." Can you suppose that it is in the line of the suppression of Anarchy to take the use of a postoffice from such people? As the intelligent editor of *Discontent* writes me, such an act gives force to the Anarchist position that governmental power is always abused.

The discontinuance of the Home postoffice is an outrageous abuse of official opportunity, Mr. Roosevelt, and calls for your prompt intervention. Yours sincerely,

J. W. GASKINE.

Tacoma, 1021½ S. 11th St., May 9, 1901.

[The other letter, addressed by Pearl W. Geer to Senator Turner of Washington, cites facts already given, and protests against the action of the post master general. Lack of space prevents us from giving it in full.]

LETTER-BOX.

A. H. S., Boston, Mass.—Why demur or have any objections as to who answers your queries? Being confident that Comrade James could treat the subject more briefly and conclusively, I requested him to write the reply; and, altho we do not stand for each other, I agree with everything Comrade James says on the question at issue.

N. S., Buffalo.—Reports of the labor movement are always welcome, also translations from our foreign contemporaries.

M. T., Brooklyn, N. Y.—No, we would not advise people to go to Brazil without having more details regarding Comrade Condor's proposition. Whether the colony will be a success depends upon the people themselves and the arrangements they make. "Married" people and those who want to "make" money ought to stay away from the colony.

E. C., New York City.—We have neither "attacked" Comrade MacQueen nor "advocated love as a remedy for social evils." Both the criticisms and advocacy of love were individual opinions coming from your city.

Home Defense Fund.

Amount previously reported, \$124.02. E. W., Ohio, \$5. L. L. L., M. G., Mich., R. S., Ill., each \$1. J. C. B., Ill., 50c. Wm. E. F., Ill. Total, \$132.78.
Home, Wash., June 3, 1902 O. A. VERITY, Treas.

Suicides and Martyrs.

A shadow crept into my life the past few weeks.

It came, and has gone; and yet the memory that will remain is more vivid than the shadow.

The name of the shadow was Sela Paine Harrison.

His home—but he had no home—I will call it, therefore, his "starting place," was Tampa, Florida.

He was what the world calls a common laborer, and he was a wanderer.

He was past fifty years of age, sick in body and sicker still in soul.

He was a slave—a wage slave—who had discovered his slavery—rare event among slaves!—and the discovery had become an awful burden. And yet he had worked at day labor nearly up to the last, and had never begged a cent.

Poor fellow! he scarcely weighed a hundred pounds, and the master class, you know, have little use for weak slaves. So it was hard for him to find work any longer, even at a pittance a day. He came to my home—pardon again, I have no home, I am only, able by hard knocks, to rent a shelter, so I will call it "where I and my dear ones stay"—he came to where I stay, because he had heard I was a radical, and he, in his broken down old age, had become a radical himself.

To know him was to pity him. It brings tears to my eyes to think of him. He was a typical man of sorrows, and he was very meek withal. Without strength to work any longer at hard labor, he was attempting to eke out an existence canvassing for a book—a medical work. He also wore an *Appeal to Reason* button and took subscriptions for Socialist papers. He was eager to read radical literature, and I supplied him to the best of my ability. His face fairly illumined as he read *FREE SOCIETY*.

I told him I was poor myself, or I would gladly provide for his few wants, but even with my poverty I told him not to go hungry, that there were a few of us in this locality with souls large enough not to let him suffer. His reply was that he "had money," and that when it was gone he "had a place to go to."

I will never forget the look on his wan face when he tried to smile and assured me that he had "a place to go to" when his money was gone.

On Saturday afternoon, May 20 last, he came to my home—I mean to the shelter I pay rent for—and told me he was going away, and left me a memento to remember him by. That night, at a lodging house in this town of Winfield, Kansas, he took two ounces of laudanum—and went to the place he had to go when his money was gone.

There was no other place for him. I had more than half guessed the "place" before he went thereto.

On the Sunday following his death I, in company with a friend or two, looked for the last time upon his lifeless form. And thus I spoke to those with me:

"Suppose," said I, "a fiercer strain of blood had flowed thru the veins of poor Harrison—a more rebellious strain than marks the meek and resigned face that lies before us, would you wonder then at a deed

like that of a Bresci or a Czolgosz? What care the capitalist class, the rulers, at a suicide like this, that makes no violent protest, but meekly succumbs to the master's tyranny? Such things as this have happened every day in every clime for ages—and Caesar only laughs. But once a Czolgosz, with fiercer blood in his veins, dies and dies with an awful protest against the master class, and all plutocracy trembles! I do not uphold assassination, I only ask you if you are so blind that you do not see that it would have taken but a little of sterner stuff to have changed the suicide Harrison into the regicide Czolgosz?"

As for myself, I uphold neither assassination of the master nor the self. To me, non-resistance is the greatest force conceivable. But I cannot be blind to cause and effect, nor refuse to admit that a desperation of which I, fortunately, have not been forced to taste, can create a Harrison—or a Czolgosz.

I believe in non-resistance. I believe in the kingdom of heaven—the up-lifted society—wherein "ye shall take no worry of the morrow, of what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed," but because all men do not believe in it, because one half the men (when I speak of men I refer to the race, male and female) do not believe in it, because one quarter nor one third the men believe in it, I look for hell to pop, and that not very far away. Armageddon will be fought, and fought to a finish. And the slaves will win. Otherwise evolution is a lie.

Man, when he destroys his master and acknowledges his own brotherhood, is absolutely divine. And the evolution from the monkey to the Republican party is just as wonderful as the evolution to the free society that shall deify the race.

Gods! Man is a god, and just as figures are the expression of mathematics, so Man is the expression of the Soul of the universe! Man, kingless and priestless and free, with Love dominating every action of his life, is the sum total of evolution, the companion of the stars.

And the kings must go. The masters of every class, kind, and description must go. With Malachi, the old Hebrew seer, I exclaim, "The day cometh, that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud . . . shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up." Then the people will live. And the martyrs—Jesus, and Harrison, and poor Czolgosz—will be glorified, and the monument at Waldheim will be a sacred place.

HARRY M. TICHENOR.

Can there be a Just Government?

"Yes, it is true that government has been bad and unjust; it has always been on the side of the rich; it has served them as a weapon to protect their robberies; and it has always been harmful to the poor. But yet there can be a just government, good for every man, as well as there is a bad one. The only thing to do is to abolish private property."

This is what our State Socialistic friends say and really believe. Very well, then. But let us see whether what they say is true or not.

To say that there can be a just government, is to say that we can reap corn by sowing wheat. Government first of all means the ruling of man by man by force, that is by coercion. And that in itself is not just. What right has one man to rule over another? Are not all men born free and equal? Are not the rulers the same human beings that the ruled are? How can one man compel, or prevent, another from doing anything, whereas every man thinks differently, and whereas a thing that seems to be right or wrong, good or bad to one man, seems different to another? And if we even say that man cannot control himself, then how is he able to rule others? And the fact is that if we give a man power over another, he is even not able to control himself. Therefore government is unjust.

Government, also, can never be just; and it is foolish to expect it to be so. Since it exists it has been a weapon for the rich to protect their robberies from the poor against the poor. The moment man claimed a right to anything for himself, he already used force in order to get it, and when he got possession of the thing, he provided himself with arms to protect it from being shared by others. Later on, when he had stolen much already, he hired men, whom he paid a part of his robberies, to protect him against those who were being robbed. Time rolled on, and certain men, by the aid of their protectors, who suppressed those who refused to be robbed, got possession of the earth and everything. And thus it is that we have now the two institutions: private property and government.

We see then that government is based upon coercion and injustice; and therefore it cannot be just. Government and justice cannot exist together; one means the ruin of the other. Government has been, is, and will be unjust as long as it will exist; and the only time when it will be just is when it will not exist at all.

As to the assertion, which our friends make, that they want to abolish private property without the destruction of government, I can say that they are contradicting themselves. In the first place they say that they do not wish to destroy the government, but only to make it just (by the help of the "Almighty Lord in Heaven," I suppose); and that means that they do not wish to abolish property. Because, when a man runs for office, he wants already to lead a better life than those common people—the workingmen—who produce everything for him, vote and elect him. He wants to have something more than his usual desires. He wants to have what is called private property, which they cannot prevent him from having, for he gets more pay than all the other people. And when he gets elected and has the power to rule in his hands, he abuses it; he acts then as he pleases, and as is beneficial for himself.

And again, if our friends admit that they must have a government, they in the meantime unconsciously admit that they must have gaolers, hangmen, prisons, soldiers, and policemen to enforce all the laws. And

thus they can never abolish private property; for the money bags will never fall so long as they have the chew tobacco tramps with the clubs and night-sticks in front of them.

In the second place they say that they do want to abolish private property, which is a thing of impossibility without the ruin of government.

In spite of all these facts and proofs and many others, our State Socialists, who are supposed to be men of reason, keep on believing in such absurdities as a just government, and the abolition of private property without the destruction of government, just as the religious men believe in the "Almighty God," in an hereafter, and in the Bible, and never try to see whether it is true or not.

And thus I say that, instead of logical men, the State Socialists can only be considered superstitious, just as all the other people who believe that the present system is a just and a good one.

L. LOPATINER.

Medical.

Dr. Levenson's tergiversation makes me tired. The sentence quoted from his former letter would be no more intelligible than before if "anesthesia" were substituted for "anesthetics." He says, indeed, that Lister's "operations under conditions of cleanliness" were made possible by the use of anesthetics. But will he explain how? What is the connection between cleanliness and anesthesia? And how, except by vivisection, were either the uses of anesthetics or the virtues of the antiseptic method demonstrated?

If it be "dogmatic" to refer any reader who would know how anesthesia and antiseptics were discovered to the half-dozen surgeons nearest his own residence—make the most of it.

Not long since, every good surgeon had always perfectly understood the advantage of cleanliness in all operations. Now, "the general run of M. Ds." had been wofully heedless of cleanliness, until Lister's time; that is, till 1875.

The plain truth, perfectly well known to all who know anything about medical history, is that every surgeon always did know cleanliness was a good thing. What "the general run of M. Ds." did not know, till Lister proved it, was that, tho pathogenic parasites find a congenial lodging in dirt, they cannot be banished effectually by "soap, water, towels," or any appliances coming under the ordinary description of cleanliness; but only by germicidal fluids. I need not say this discovery was suggested by "the nonsensical germ theory." For proof that it was demonstrated by vivisection, I have referred to sufficient easily accessible authority. That it has saved more lives than any previous discovery in medicine, unless I should except vaccination, which was the first important step into practical knowledge of contagion-etioloogy and prophylaxis, I have brought Dr. Levenson to acknowledge. But where "the general run of M. Ds." were before 1875, there the hygienists and antis are now. Distanced in that honorable calling with whose prog-

ress they find it too much trouble to keep up, they have adopted the vile trade of sensationalists. They practise on the ingratitude of those who dislike paying doctors' bills, by persuading them that a dollar invested in hygienic catchpenny will make every man his own physician, and on the ignorance of those who have an appetite for horrors by slanders about the cruelty of vivisections and the perils of vaccination. They erect themselves such monuments as the skulls of the two thousand children who died of smallpox in Montreal, during 1884.* And for this, according to ordinary maxims, they richly deserve the utmost severity of laws against unjustifiable medical practises. The Anarchist naturally takes a somewhat different view. He sees that the evil, tho very great, has a natural tendency to cure itself, which repressive measures defeat. Anti-vaccination will never be talked in Montreal again. Up to date physicians, as Dr. Levenson well knows, make their appeal to the bills of mortality; and satisfied with extirpating the maladies which swell those lists, decline controversy with unworthy antagonists.

"Let envy howl—while heaven's whole chorus sings."

I, who, as Dr. Levenson remarks, am without any personal interest in the matter, would also gladly have left the pittance of notoriety and plunder obtainable in such ways to those who get it—the "progressive hygienist," the mind-curer, the Christian Scientist, the Dowieite, the Indian herb doctor, the healing medium, and the seventh son of a seventh son. It was only by grabbing entirely too much space in the liberal papers, that such gentry could provoke me into showing them that Anarchism does not necessarily mean complete ignorance of science.

C. L. JAMES.

* Before the practise of vaccination became pretty general (in the forties), the great majority of deaths by smallpox were among children. They reached equality as between children and adults about the great epidemic year 1871, immediately after which vaccination, for the first time, really became almost universal in England. Since then, the deaths of children by smallpox have normally been an exceedingly small minority. (See article "Vaccination" in Encyclopedia Britannica.) But at Montreal, where a French physician, previously of good local reputation, had persuaded very general neglect of vaccination for some years, two thirds of the victims were under ten.

There are numerous applications of the term law, which rest upon a slender analogy, and are merely metaphorical. Such is the case when we talk of laws observed by the lower animals, of laws regulating the growth of vegetables, or determining the movements of inanimate bodies or masses. Intelligence is of the essence of law, and where intelligence is not, or is of a kind too limited to take the name of reason, the word law can only be applied by a figure of speech. By sing the word law in the figurative sense, and then ignoring the circumstance that the use of the word was merely figurative, a deluge of muddy speculation has been introduced into the field of jurisprudence and morals. In this respect the phrase, "Law of Nature" (*jus naturale*) has much to answer for.—John Austin, "Lectures on Jurisprudence."

Winn's Firebrand.

I desire to thank those friends who have so generously responded to my request for subscriptions to the *Firebrand*. I have received so many letters on the subject that a personal reply to each is impossible. I take this means of communication to assure all those interested in the new publication that its appearance on a permanent basis is fully assured. It will be of sixteen large pages, printed on good paper, and of artistic appearance. Each number will contain fifteen pages of reading matter, all original, and devoted to a wide discussion of political, theological, social, and industrial problems. Its aim is to give to the radical movement not a mere organ of special politics, but a high-class literary journal; and while its tone will at all times be Anarchistic, radical and revolutionary, it will occupy an entirely new field. It will appeal to the cultured, the thoughtful, and the progressive of all classes. It will be just the kind of radical literature for missionary work among the masses.

While personally connected with FREE SOCIETY last March, I first conceived of the *Firebrand* as a monthly edition of FREE SOCIETY, but circumstances compelled my return to the South, and prevented any serious consideration of this idea. In establishing the magazine here, as an independent publication, the flag of revolutionary thought is planted on Southern soil, and a residence of a lifetime in this section convinces me that it will be a fruitful field for libertarian ideas, if the right methods are used to present those ideas.

I have now a bona fide paid subscription list sufficient to secure the second-class postal rates. But I yet need two hundred subscribers more to enable me to get into the mails the five hundred sample copies I desire to circulate. To secure these, I renew the proposition to send the *Firebrand* three months on trial for ten cents to all who send in that sum before the first issue. In order to secure the required number of subscribers (important on account of the matter of sample copies) I will delay the first issue (already in type) until July 15, instead of June 15, as previously announced. Ross Winn.

Silver Springs, Tenn.

Edmund Burke.

Race or sects were to him a profanity,
Hindoo and Negro and Celt were one.
Large as mankind his splendid humanity,
Large in its record the work he has done.
—John Boyle O'Reilly.

It is all very well so long as you can delude men with your artificial land laws; but to investigate them scientifically you must drag out the skeleton and confront the truth that land is public property.—Blackstone.

For Boston.

The first picnic of this season will be held June 17, on Comrade Buitta's farm, Newton Upper Falls. Friends and comrades going there should take the electric cars for Newton Boulevard; then take Norumbega car and change for Newton Upper Falls and get off at Oak St., walk down to Pumping Station and inquire for Buitta's farm.

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