

# FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST WORK, THOUGHT, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 344.

## The Bandit.

(DEDICATED TO ANDREW CARNEGIE.)

The bandit on his prancing steed  
Is fine for men to see;  
His gay attire and striking deed  
Both rivet you and me.  
He passes, and we go our way;  
The murdered in the mud  
Are coarse and common; every day  
We look upon their blood.  
The bandit lets us share his spoil,  
A pleasant fellow he;  
The plundered with their loud turmoil  
Clamor like waves at sea.  
And the dead men, labor worn and old,  
Are ugly in our road;  
We will not think the hands we hold  
Are red with human blood.  
So to the bandit on his steed,  
Three cheers and three times three!  
The dead and wounded call indeed,  
But drink, and let them be.

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

## Radical Reflections.

Human authority is very old, and men regard it with reverence; its hory age makes it sacred in human eyes. Mankind desires liberty, but it is very much afraid of liberty, and generally each individual desires liberty for himself, but he is very much afraid to trust his neighbor with freedom; and all men today would be willing to accept freedom, if it was not for the "other fellow." But it is this other fellow who must be governed, must have restraint, otherwise he will be a criminal—he will play the very devil if you give him his liberty to govern himself.

The argument is made that men are not capable of self-government—that there must be restraint and that some form of organized government must be maintained for the protection of the weak against the strong. They forget that it is the strong who always rule—for they must necessarily take possession of the government, and, as a matter of fact, government is the very weapon by which the strong enslave and crush the weak. I do not believe that we need a government to protect us from ourselves, but I do believe that we need protection from government. It is the State that destroys self-government, and in destroying self-government, divides society into the two classes—the rulers and the ruled. The oppression of the people thruout the world today is the result of government. The trusts and combines of wealth are the creation of government. The power of every corporation is the grant of authority and would never have existed without the State. The social unrest thruout the world, which many believe presages a general upheaval, is due entirely to the oppressi

Mark Hanna, rests upon the State and State-enacted special laws, by which they are enabled to ply the trade of legal road agents, and rob the people to the extent of millions. This could not exist, if the principles of Anarchy or self-government were recognized and all legal fictions annulled.

No one wants the dead calm of ignorant faith. Not a human soul really desires the locks and bars of the dungeon of intellectual authority. The ship of humanity has rotted too long in the harbor of Custom, locked in by the bar of authority. Give to me the storm and tempest, the raging sea and the free winds, and I will take my chance upon the trackless deep, with the boundless horizon of liberty, the storm king, and the stars.

Suppose that a physician should be called in to prescribe for a patient who is supposed to be dangerously ill. Suppose that the physician found the patient manacled with chains, bound with cords, his feet in irons, his hands cuffed with steel and a gag thrust into his mouth. Suppose the physician found that the man was perfectly sane, that he was not considered dangerous, but that these chains and irons and cuffs and gags were for his own welfare—to keep him from doing himself an injury. What would that physician say? Suppose he found that there was really nothing the matter with the man, except that his limbs were cramped from their confinement, that his hands were numb from want of use, and that he was half-suffocated with the gag. Now, would that doctor recommend a straight-jacket in addition to the chains? Or would he not say that the man needed to be freed from his ridiculous predicament? Would he not suspect that the man was a born fool and the victim of a confidence game, or that somebody had gone crazy?

Now poor, idiotic humanity is today in just that very condition. Man is bound down with legal chains, his hands are tied with legislation; a gag is in his mouth, and yet when the Anarchist—the advocate of self-government—says remove the gag, take off the shackles, poor duped humanity hugs tighter its chains, and slips its gag long enough to shriek, "traitor!"—and demands more chains.

Government ownership of everything is being preached on all hands, and yet it is a doctrine at variance with all human experience, and which contradicts the wisdom of the world's profoundest thinkers. Jefferson said that government is best which governs

Every attempt to extend the sphere of government and to curtail individual self government is a step backward, for man, in his progress from barbarism towards civilization, has advanced just to the extent that he has freed himself from the shackles of authority. And human experience shows that as the horizon of individual liberty widened, so increased his happiness; and the freest nations are most advanced in wealth and wisdom.

I believe that liberty is a good thing for everybody. I believe not only in liberty of thought, but in liberty of action. Action follows thought; one is worthless without the other. A free thinker should be a free actor, and free thought is worthless without the right to act upon your thought.

I believe that human happiness depends entirely upon personal freedom, and to the extent that the individual is permitted to exercise all his faculties, to that extent is happiness possible for him.

I believe, therefore, that freedom is desirable, and whatever the future may bring to man, whatever achievements may crown and bless the efforts of human ingenuity, whatever discoveries may enrich the span of human knowledge, and whatever rare and beautiful thoughts may leap from the brain of man in all this endless eye's of the infinite future, this I know, that without the achievement of self-government mankind has lived in vain, and all the talk of human progress is but the meaningless babble of chattering idiocy—the effusive froth of intellectual vacancy—and that all human intelligence itself were but a colossal blunder which, were it the work of an all-wise god, would become a stupendous crime.

There is a remarkably close connection between religious and political ideas, and theological bias is to a great extent responsible for the political ideals of today. The science of thought is the least understood, or rather the least recognized of all the sciences; and yet we cannot expect to cope with this vast subject without some understanding of the basis of thought.

The belief in authority is the result of that theological bias of mind that places a controlling intelligence back of the machinery of the natural universe; and this belief in authority in nature is the basis of the belief in political authority. There are two schools of thought—the authoritarian and libertarian—and the methods of each are



ligence which creates and governs all phenomena, and the laws of nature are simply fixed rules by which this intelligence operates. Now this idea is the basis of authority, for mankind has carried this theological conception into the realm of his social arrangements, and thus his conception of the order of nature becomes the basis of his social order. The theistic assumption is simply the embodiment of the principle of authority, and as the human mind follows invariably the same channel, this fact of mental bias forces the believer in theism to postulate authority—government—always as the basic principle of all human association.

The other school of modern thought holds that the universe is governed not by a central supreme intelligence, but by certain immutable laws which owe their existence, not to a supreme governing intelligence—but to INDIVIDUALITY IN MATTER. For illustration: Suppose we say that two bodies of matter suspended in space are attracted to each other by what we call the law of gravity. Now the authoritarians contend that this law of gravity, by which several bodies in space are attracted to each other, is the creation of a supreme intelligence—god. The libertarian school, on the contrary, maintain that this law of gravity is created by the presence of the two bodies upon which it operates. In other words, the very fact that two bodies attract each other creates the "law" of gravity.

If there existed but one individual body of matter, there would be nothing to attract it, consequently there would be no law of attraction. But the moment another body of matter appears it affects the other body, and that effect becomes a law. So we see that the laws of matter existing in and throughout all nature, are not the mandate of a supreme intelligence, but are created by the presence of individualized bodies of matter.

As the natural universe of matter is composed of individual bodies which act upon each other and by such action produce and bring into being the laws which are said to govern them, so the world of human association is composed of individuals whose relations effect each other and produce the laws of society—of human association.

We of today are confronted with gigantic problems that no longer can be ignored. Those problems resolve themselves into the one great question of government. The issue before us today is self-government or imperialism. The world is lining up upon this issue, and the time is swiftly approaching when every man and woman, too, will have to take sides. ROSS WICK.

Original Vengeance, called "Justice."

7. Adolphe Blanqui (brother of the

ing up of current ideas of Right, Morals and Philosophy. Sixty years ago, Liberals and Radicals concentrated their thoughts on politics, and were altogether unaware of the new industrial conditions which were in course of formation out of the ruins of the old régime. It was from Blanqui's point of view quite legitimate that in order to draw attention upon economics and upon the Socialist movement which was then beginning, he should have gone so far as to build the whole history upon economics. Some one-sidedness was not to be avoided, was even perhaps desirable; other factors being under investigation, already more or less known, he needed not to speak about them, and all the strength of his argumentation was to be thrown upon the hitherto unknown factor.

His exaggerations have been pursued by the German school of Social Democrats, forgetful of all other aspects of the development of society. In our turn we, the Anarchists, have shown the great importance of that other factor, the State; and it rests with us to have its bearing upon society clearly established.

However, while laying stress upon the hierarchical, centralized, jacobin, anti-libertarian principles of the State, we are, perhaps, apt to neglect our criticism of what has been called "Justice." This report has been written with the special desire to draw attention on the origin of this institution and to invite a discussion which would throw light upon that subject.

A careful study of the development of society forces upon us the conviction that the "State" and "Justice" are two institutions which not only co-exist in society down the stream of history, but are connected together by the bond of cause and effect. Whosoever admits the necessity of separate, chosen members of society for the special function of distributing punishments to those who have broken the law, needs a body which enacts these laws, codifies them, establishes standards of punishment—needs special schools for teaching the manufacture and interpretation of laws—needs gaol, gaolers, police, hangmen and army—needs the State.

The primitive tribe, always Communistic, does not know of any judge; within the tribe theft, homicide, murder do not exist. Customs are sufficient to prevent them. But in the very rare cases in which a member would disregard the sacred rules of the tribe, he would be stoned or burned to death by the tribe as a whole. Each member of it would throw his stone or bring his bundle of wood, in order that it should not be this or that man who has put the culprit to death, but the tribe in its entirety.

When a member of another tribe has injured someone, then the whole tribe of the wronged one is responsible for the carrying out of an equal injury; and the whole tribe of the assailant is responsible, so that any of its members as opportunity arises may be chosen by any member of the wronged tribe for the retaliation—according to the principle of life for life, tooth for tooth, and so on;

turies of our era, the conception changed. The idea of Vengeance is by and by left aside—very slowly, of course, chiefly among agricultural populations, still surviving among the warriors—and the idea of Compensation is developed; compensation to the wronged man, or to his family or to the tribe. As the patriarchal family appears, in possession of cattle and of slaves stolen from other tribes, Compensation takes more and more the character of *Evaluation* of the damage done—the value being different according to the rank of the wronged one: so much for a peasant wounded, so much for a chief abused. The scales of *valuation* form the first barbarian codes. To fix the amount, the village community met: the bare facts of the case were ascertained by the enquiry of jurymen chosen in equal number (6 or 12) by both parties or their families. The old members of the village or, better still, the *bards*, to whose memory the tradition is entrusted, or perhaps outside judges invited by the community, decide the compensation (simple restitution for theft) and the fine to the commune or to the gods.

But gradually, during the immigration of different tribes, many free communities are enslaved. On the same territory live, side by side, conquerors and conquered. Then come the priest and the bishop, feared sorcerers, and by and by the jurymen, the bards, the old men of the tribe are superseded in the valuation of Compensation by the delegates of the bishop or of the local lord. The fine becomes more and more important; the compensation to the wronged one less and less; the share of community in the fine comes to naught; the whole payment is pocketed by the chief. The *Old Testament* provides these delegates with the necessary traditional example of judgment. Thus we see the modern judge evolving out of chosen jurymen at the same time as the feudal system evolves out of the village community.

The idea of *Punishment* is born, and soon drives away every other conception, especially under the action of the Church, which taking example by its Hebrew predecessors wants to reign by terror. An injury to a priest is no longer an injury to a man, it is an injury to the divinity, and no punishment is severe enough to chastise such a crime. The cruelty of the judgment increases as time goes, and secular power imitates the clerical power.

In the 10th and 11th centuries the medieval city appears. Revolution after revolution, city after city expels the judge of the bishop, of the lord, of the duke. The cities make their *Conjuración*. At first the citizens swear to drop all contests arising from the law of the Talion and, if new contest arise, never to appeal to the external powers, but to settle everything among themselves. The Guild, the Parish, the Town community are the different degrees of jurisdiction. Bailies, chosen by the members of the guild, the street, the parish or the town, decide the compensation to be granted to the wronged party. In specially important cases, the guild, street, the parish or the town, convoked to a general assembly, decide the compensation. Besides, in the



centuries. Christianity and a revival of the study of Roman law find their way into the ideas of the people at large. The priest harps incessantly upon the anger and wrath of God. His favorite argument—still the same in our day—is that eternal punishment will be inflicted for trespass against the law of the Church; applying the words of the Scripture concerning those possessed by evil spirits, the Church discerns a demon in every wrong-doer; she invents all sorts of tortures to drive the demon from the body, and then burns him that he may not relapse. From the very beginning, Priest and Lord act together; the priest is often himself a Lord; the Pope is a King; therefore the one who has trespassed against the Church. The clerical and civil powers go hand in hand, the clerical only slightly ahead, their laws and refined tortures increasing steadily in ferocity. The Pope, himself supreme umpire, gathers round himself lawyers, experts in Roman and feudal laws. Common sense, knowledge of usage and customs, study of human nature, are left more and more in the background; they are said to foster bad passions, to be an invention of the devil. "Precedent" ranks as law, and the older a judgment is the more important, the more respectable it appears to be. "Precedents" are therefore sought for from imperial Rome and from Hebrew judges.

Arbitration disappears slowly before the rising power of the bishop, the lord, the king, the pope. As the alliance of civil and religious powers becomes closer, amicable settlements of disputes are forbidden; compensation to the wronged party becomes a thing of the past;—vengeance in the name of a Christian God or of the Roman State being the main point. At the same time, the atrocious character of the penalties inflicted is such that it is almost impossible to read the description of the judicial scenes of that period.

The fundamental ideas of Justice, essential to every society, have thus totally changed between the 11th and the 16th centuries. In our article on "The State and its historic Role" we have endeavored to explain how the State took possession of the free cities; let it be sufficient for our present purpose to remark that, when the evolution took place which brought the cities under the sway of the State, the communities had already forsaken, even in ideal, the principle of arbitration and compensation which were the essence of popular justice in the 11th century. When the State laid its hands upon the cities the old conception had entirely gone. Christianity and Roman law had already made States out of free cities. The next step was simply this, that the State established its empire upon the now enslaved cities.

Certainly it would be interesting to study how economic changes happening during that length of time (five centuries), how distant commerce, exportation, creation of banks and of commercial loans, how wars, colonization, and capitalist production taking the place of communal production, consumption and commerce—to study how all these factors influenced the leading ideas the same period and helped to that change in the conception of Justice. Some splendid

researches are here and there to be found in the works of the historians of the free cities. A few original researches upon the influence of Christian and Roman ideas also exist (tho such studies are of a much more difficult nature and always heterodox). But it would be wrong to trace everything back to economics; it would be just the same sort of mistake as if, studying botany, we should say that the amount of heat received by a plant determined its life and growth, forgetting humidity, light and other important factors.

This historical *resumé*, short as it is, shows nevertheless how the State and the evolution of Vengeance, called Justice, are related institutions—derived from one another, supporting one another, being historically one.

But a moment of quiet thought is sufficient to understand how both institutions hold logically together, how both have a common origin in the same idea: *Authority* looking after the security of society and exercising vengeance upon those who break established rules or laws. If you admit the existence of judges as specially selected members of society entrusted with the care of applying codified traditions, it does not matter by whom chosen or elected,—you have an embryo of State round which other powers that may be will gather. On the other hand, if you admit the centralized structure called State, one of its functions will be to administer justice. Hence the judges.

But can we not have judges elected by the people? Let us see where it leads to. First it must be said that the idea of laws directly made by the people has never been seriously entertained; their drafting must always be left to some more enlightened man (hero, "Uebermensch.") Then besides the judge and the lawmaker (legislator), other men will be needed to explain such laws, to interpret older ones, to study their connections and leading ideas; law universities with staff of teachers and students, acting like a drag on society with all the weight of inherited traditions and their hair-splitting about the letter of the law. But that is nothing compared with the auxiliaries needed by the judge: on one side the gendarme, the police, the prostitute, the spy, the *agent provocateur* on the other, the gaoler, the executioner and all the sequel of turpitude which necessarily accompanies them. Finally, you must suppose some supervising body to keep all that army of functionaries going. You must not forget to provide money for their maintenance and so on. In short, there is not one function of the State today whose services can be dispensed with if we want to keep the judge—be he elected by the people or not.

But what about the Code? The Code, all codes, represents a gathering of traditions, of formulas borrowed from old conception absolutely repugnant to all Socialistic ideas of today; survivals of our slavish past, slavish in action, slavish in speech, slavish in thought. It is of no consequence that some of the leading moral ideas may be in accordance with our own; the moment a punishment is decreed for the non-fulfilment of a good action we will have nothing to do with it. A Code is the past stereo-

typed and put across the path of human progress.

Every legal punishment is legalized vengeance made obligatory, and we must ask ourselves what is the use of vengeance? Does it help maintain social customs? Does it ever prevent the small minorities of breakers of good custom from doing so? Never. On the contrary, to proclaim the duties of vengeance is simply helping the existence of anti-social customs. Think of the amount of filthy perversity thrown into society by the police institution, far more dangerous to society than any act committed by criminals. Think of the "well-intentioned lies" of magistrates meant to get the truth out of the criminals. Think of all that happens round us and you will understand why Anarchists have no hesitation in declaring that Punishment is worse than Crime. And everyone studying those questions and going to the bottom will come to the same conclusion, and will try to find some other means of protecting society against the evil-doers.

Everyone will see that arbitration, arbiters being chosen by the contending parties will be sufficient in the very great majority of cases to quell arising disputes. Everyone will admit that the policy of non-interference now so greatly favored is a bad habit acquired since the State found it convenient to assume the duty of keeping order. Active intervention of friends, neighbors, passers-by would prevent a large proportion of conflicts. Let it be everybody's duty to assist the weak, to interfere between fighting people, and police will not be required at all.

The student cannot help being struck by the fact that for a couple of centuries there has been a parallel development going on: on one side legal punishment and vengeance have been less bloody, not to say milder, torture has been abolished, penalty of death has been limited to fewer cases and in some countries totally abolished; on the other hand anti-social acts have diminished. There is a far greater security in our every day life than in that of our forefathers. Many factors have helped towards softening of punishment is certainly one of them. Should we not continue in the same line; or should we suppose that a Socialist or Communist society would be inferior in that respect to a capitalistic government?

We can do without judges in society, as well as we can do without bosses in production.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

So-called Justice is a survival from a past serfdom based, for the interest of the privileged classes, on the Roman law and on the ideas of divine Vengeance.

In the history of society, organization of Vengeance under the name of Justice is co-terminous with the State; they imply one another; they were born together, flourished together and are doomed to perish together.

Coming from an age of serfdom it helps to maintain serfdom in present society; thru its police, prisons and the like, it is an open sore, throwing out a constant stream of purulence into society, a far greater evil

(Continued on fifth page.)



# FREE SOCIETY.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

The publishers as such are not responsible for any opinions expressed by the contributors.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 12, 1902.

## Notes.

The delay in delivering our last issue was caused by a post-office blunder, which held the entire issue for several days owing to a mistake.

A new pamphlet by Comrade Peter Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," has been published in the Russian language. It was written as an introduction to a series of Russian publications to be issued by the "Russian Free Press Fund," 15 Augustus Rd., Hammersmith, London, W., England. The Russian translations of "Conquest of Bread," and "Congress Reports," were nearly ready, when Comrade Kropotkin fell seriously ill, and the work has, in consequence, been delayed. Kropotkin expects quite a sale in the United States, and we hope all Russian comrades will order the first pamphlet, the price of which is 10 cents, either from FREE SOCIETY, or M. Maisel, 170 Henry St., New York.

## Current Comment.

Mr. Madden, who, to some extent, is running our Socialistic postal system, announces that he has not excluded from the mails any publication on account of its politics, or the ideas advocated by it, and points out the fact that he recently admitted FREE SOCIETY to the second class rate, by reason of its showing a paid-in-advance subscription list. Mr. Madden appears to be a real nice man, and FREE SOCIETY is deeply pained at the rumpus those naughty Socialist disturbers are making over his rulings.

Dr. Paul Garnier, who holds some position with the Paris Prefecture of Police, has discovered that juvenile criminality is on the increase, which he attributes to alcoholic heredity. It is pretty well established, however, that the alcohol habit is itself the effect of a cause, and that cause is the conditions resulting from our social order; so that back of the immediate cause of this increase of juvenile crime is the system that is responsible for most of the human ills of our time. This fact has been carefully overlooked by Dr. Garnier, or else he intentionally ignores a fact not very palatable to the worshippers of Things As They Are.

What to do with the Christians, was the problem of the Roman empire in the days of Nero. What to do with the Anarchists is the question now agitating the wise(?) statesmen of the American republic, in these

days of Teddy the Terrible. Does history repeat itself? Look over its pages and see what Rome really did with her handful of despised Christian outcasts.

The pulpit pounders have annexed themselves to the herculean task of solving the "Anarchist question," and with the sky pilots hot after us, it is high time for the "Reds" to take to the woods, cry "Peccavi," and flee from the wrath to come. It is bad enough, in all conscience, to be clubbed by the unsympathetic police, bombarded with pages of popular magazine hogwash, not to mention the direful fate in store for us when congress tackles its island scheme; but all this fades into nothingness in the presence of this threatened flood of pulpit eloquence.

The United States seem to have annexed the Philippine Islands very much after the manner of a dog that has annexed a crawfish to its tail. The East Indian archipelago is a hot potato, in the handling of which our Uncle Samuel has rather scorched his fingers, albeit he is rather loathe to admit the fact. Even the Church, which, as an organization, supports the imperialistic policy of aggression, seems to have overlooked the Bible declaration that "the way of the transgressor is hard."

Nobody but a fake-worshipping public would tolerate the Mulhatton stories of Anarchist conspiracies, with which the big dailies from time to time stuff their innocent readers, conspiracies that never exist outside of the feeble intellect of some scribbling, half-starved penny-a-liner of the daily press. According to these reports, the Anarchist conspirator is an innocent jay, who forms his darkest conspiracies so clumsily that they are discovered as soon as planned—himself being the nemesis of his cause. The average newspaper reporter lacks even the merit of being a good liar.

While I should hesitate to prescribe Charleyboy Moore's *Blue Grass Blade* as a remedy for insomnia, it is only because I regard the remedy as infinitely worse than the disease. One can endure his bumptious twaddle about himself, but when he essays to criticize those who have the good sense to differ with him on matters more or less serious, he creates a degree of weariness that surpasses that tired feeling. As a critic of Anarchism and Anarchists, Charleyboy is not particularly a success. This is in evidence in his effort to take a fall out of the Home colony, simply because their paper, *Discontent*, recently advised people who did not believe in liberty to stay elsewhere for their own peace of mind. According to Charley's logic, this desire to be let alone is very tyrannical, and accordingly he hauls all the Anarchists over the hot embers of his wrath for presuming to question the desirability of his delightful presence in their vicinity. To vent his lacerated feelings, he pours nearly a column of his choicest literary tommyrot upon his innocent subscribers, thus, Christian like, making the innocent to suffer with the guilty.

According to press reports, nine Ameri-

can soldiers recently deserted to the Filipinos, and have issued an address urging the other soldiers to follow their example. A cause which thus receives recruits from the enemy cannot be much on the wane.

The Anarchists of Philadelphia have held at least one public meeting in defiance of the police edict, and no attempt was made by the authorities to interfere. Let us hope this triumph of free speech will not be short-lived.

Wayland in his *Appeal to Reason* has constantly "pointed with pride" to the post office as a beautiful illustration of the millennial system of political Socialism he advocates. But just at present his admiration for our "Socialistic postal system" has slipped a cog or two, which phenomenon is the result of the attempt of the postal authorities to bar his paper from the second class rate. I know it's mean, but I can't help smiling at Bro. Wayland's wry face, when he gets such a dose of his own prescription.

The city of Denver has a city government and a full (numerically and sometimes otherwise) police force. But still its citizens are not happy. They have entirely failed to appreciate the blessings of government. Instead, they complain that the city government is utterly inadequate to protect them from the criminal element. Therefore they have organized for mutual protection, and a private police force, maintained by the voluntary support of the citizens, has been established, and patrols the streets in citizens dress, for the purpose of protecting life and property. Again is the utter incapacity and uselessness of government clearly demonstrated.

ROSS WINN.

## Justification.

All things are justified by a \$2,500 salary. Just this side of heaven let us cite an instance of everlasting punishment and torment. One million laboring men are continually confined in United States prisons because they don't get \$2,500 a year. They are very generous to permit themselves to be thrown under the juggernaut car and imprisoned because it enables a certain class of men to make sure of their \$2,500. The pursuit of money is a world wide game. If a man makes \$2,500 by gathering gutter-snipes it is a matter of great delicacy to vouchsafe any opinion adversely. No wonder he stoops, for it pays him well. If a set of men can gouge out \$2,500 a year from a job lot of muscular Irish washer-women it is very indelicate to broach the subject. Lest the absent-minded king and queen beggars forget it we mention it and thereby exercise one of our divine prerogatives, to censure the great even as the great have roasted us small fry. Salaried gentiles follow the dictates of their salary, minus the salary they follow their conscience, hence the struggle between the Haves and Have-nots.

Alluding to the lewd periodicals one would naturally suppose that papers possessing the salacious qualities of *Police Gazette* and *Hearstian American Cesspool* would be veritable gold mines for Brother Comstock. But no! He follows the line of least resistance, and makes a vicious grab for the widow's



mite. Peter's pennies are millions in the aggregate. We rejoice that the *Police Gazette* is safe from the danger of suppression, because it affords us the unmolested pleasure of gazing upon legalized beauty unadorned, not to mention the postures ridiculous assumed by somber gents playing leapfrog with detailed particulars in poetry and prose. What a shame it is that the Irish washerwoman is not as strongly entrenched as the *Police Gazette*, then Brother Comstock would not dare to try any of his wheedling games on her.

Time works great changes in our economy. Scripture calls for new interpreters. It is so funny to think that necessity compels infidels to lecture Christians on "how to lead a better life." But of course we know that when a man is getting \$2,500 he is leading a better life already even tho he supplieth the digging dago with bread made out of adulterated flour. In his official capacity man bows only to his superior officer, and \$2,500 is his superior officer towards whom a proper respect is preserved thru thick and thin. We are blinded by greed as much as by zeal. The universal spread of Carnegie libraries enables us to develop a sort of telepathetic way of thinking and expressing ideas. Newspapers are the beacon lights of history. How would the Republicans like to have the Democrats douse their glims? If they had the power we imagine the raid on the treasury would be led by a different crowd. In anno 1849 men dug gold out of the ground easier than they dig it out of burglar proof vaults in anno 1902. One was muscular horse-like work, while the latter is purely mental effort. We need to be athletic financiers to perform the feat. Commercialism puts a terrible strain upon the Holy Babbler. Attention is called to the Decalog. "Thou shalt not," should be changed to "Thou shalt," which is briefer and nearer the truth as she's acted. Men receive a larger salary for doing "Thou shalt" than for "Thou shalt not." Blessed be the fine art of dissimulation. It is the key to Heavenly abodes, it filleth our coffers with gold and the minds of slaves with awe.

GEO. WHITTIER.

#### A Society Worth Having.

One in which everybody would have enough to eat and to wear.

And good comfortable housing, and time to get sleep enough.

In which everyone could work at what nature fitted him for, instead of at things he does not like.

In which no one would need to ask for a job, but would be free to use his labor power at any time.

In which there would be no bosses and no foremen; only fellow-workers cooperating freely.

In which no aristocracy of labor would exist, but all necessary service be considered equally honorable.

In which the land which nobody made would be equally open to everyone to use.

Which would naturally bring about that there would be no huddled up cities without breathing space or elbow room, and no great stretches of fertile land with nobody on them.

In which every invention would be a blessing to all instead of a curse to most and a

grab-machine for a few.

In which it would not be considered economy to waste men and women and children in order to save things.

Nor to spend nine-tenths of our lives figuring and calculating, when there are other things so much better worth doing.

In which there would be time for a worker to develop all around, over and above the mere skill in his trade.

In which there would be a wider notion of what education should be than pinning children down to arithmetic when they should be out reading the story of the world in rocks and streams and trees.

In which every one could speak his mind freely without offense, and listen without prejudice to others speaking theirs.

In which the principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" would be carried to its final conclusion, which is, that each individual shall govern himself.

In which, consequently, there would be no necessity for politicians, lawyers, policemen, or hangmen, nor almshouses, courts and prisons.

In which self-realization would be recognized as the highest morality.

Would you like such a society? The Anarchists believe it is possible, and work to spread that ideal. All persons willing to cooperate with us are invited to make themselves acquainted with us and let us develop fraternity of spirit and effort.—*Social Science Journal*, Philadelphia.

#### Individuality of a Socialist.

I cannot let this little experience with one of our step-brothers, the Socialists, pass by without letting them know that their individuality and independence does not appeal to an Anarchist as being worthy of emulation.

As a member of the agitation committee of a German debating club, which happens to contain a few Anarchists among its members, I was asked to secure speakers of different views. I invited Mr. Ernest Untermann (who occasionally calls himself professor) to address a meeting of our club, and he accepted immediately, as of course a Socialist considers Anarchists intellectually inferior; taking as his subject "Socialism as a World Power."

Meanwhile the debate between Comrade A. Isaak and A. M. Simons took place, and apparently the Socialists did not know whether they were alive or dead. A few days later I received a letter from Mr. Untermann, stating that he had consulted the executive board of the Socialist party, and thought it inadvisable to speak before Anarchists.

Now Mr. Untermann, as a professor, must have a fine conception of individuality and independence, which I as a laborer would not care to waste my time and energy in striving for, as it is too narrow and tyrannical.

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

#### Here and There.

The so-called Industrial Commission has cost the American people about one million dollars, and is "of very little practical value," as one of the Senators said. But sine-

cures are a necessary evil under government and the ignorant slave pays the bill willingly.

"Anarchists should have free rein to preach, to teach, and to publish their doctrines," according to the verdict of the judges in the Illinois College of Law debate, a few nights ago.

"Anarchism is libertinism," said O. L. Rankin, who opened the debate for those favoring restriction. "It is license and not freedom. It should not be left to States, which have as many different laws as there are States. These men have a theory that admits of murder, yet unless that act is consummated they cannot be prevented from teaching it in many of our States. It can be restrained by national law, and that is the only way."

"Anarchism is not what popular conception supposes it to be," said Garrett B. Allen, who was against restriction. It looks toward an ideal state. It had its first abode with the angels, and is as necessary to the world as centrifugal force."

Authority hates nothing more than independent thinking and disobedience. In France the government has become alarmed because three young men dared to refuse military service; and in Belgium the Social Democrats are also "alarmed," because the influence of Anarchist literature is beginning to relax the strict "discipline" in the party. The Anarchists have now four periodicals in their propaganda in Belgium: *La Bataille*, in Namur; *La Reveil des Travailleurs*, in Luttre; *Ontmaking*, in Antwerp; and *L'Emancipation*, in Brussels. The last appears tri-weekly.

Even in Germany discipline seems to be on the decline. About a year ago a new movement, the German Federation of Revolutionary Workers, was called into life, which has now 18,000 members.

Prof. Herve, professor of history in Paris, France, "has been dismissed from his position for advocating ideas opposed to militarism."

Forty-nine Anarchists were arrested in Spain in one day last week, yet "law and order" has not been restored. Farmers flock to the cities to aid the workers in their struggle for better conditions, and trouble is feared. The Spanish government will, of course, "protect the weak," as usual—that is, the non-working class.

#### Organized Vengeance Called "Justice."

(Continued from second page.)

than the one it is supposed to fight against.

Any society founded on better economics than ours will certainly come also to the conclusion that it is unwise to keep any punitive institution.

The way of doing without it will be found in voluntary arbitration, in greater effectual solidarity, in the powerful educative means which a society will have that does not leave to the policeman the care of her public morality.—Peter Kropotkin.

The inhabitants of the Danish West Indies vigorously protest against being sold to the United States claiming that they have no "craving for American liberty" as exhibited in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, and the fact that people prefer the "protection" of a monarchy rather than that of the "freest republic," is a subject for reflection for the American patriots.



### What Would Roosevelt Do With Emerson?

On Sunday, we had much discourse on a very rainy day. My friends asked whether there were any Americans?—any with an American idea—any theory of the right future of that country? Thus challenged, I bethought myself neither of caucuses nor congress, neither of presidents nor of cabinet-ministers, nor of such as would make of America another Europe. I thought only of the simplest and purest minds; I said, "Certainly yes;—but those who hold it are fanatics of a dream which I should hardly care to relate to your English ears, to which it might be only ridiculous—and yet it is the only true." So I opened the dogma of no-government and non-resistance, and anticipated the objections and the fun, and procured a kind of hearing for it. I said, it is true that I have never seen in any country a man of sufficient valor to stand for this truth, and yet it is plain to me, that no less valor than this can command my respect. I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket-worship—the great men be musket-worshippers;—and 'tis certain as God liveth, the gun that does not need another gun, the law of love and justice alone, can effect a clean revolution.—"English Traits," Chapter XVI.

Is not the State a question? All society is divided in opinion on the subject of the State. Nobody loves it; great numbers dislike it, and suffer conscientious scruples to allegiance; and the only defense set up, is the fear of doing worse in disorganizing.—"Representative Men," Montaigne.

"Every actual State is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well. What satire on government can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word 'politic,' which now for ages has signified cunning, intimating that the State is a trick. . . . This undertaking for another is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world. It is the same thing in numbers as in a pair, only not quite so intelligible. I can see well enough a great difference between my setting myself down to a self-control, and my going to make somebody else act after my views; but when a quarter of the human race assume to tell me what I must do, I may be too much disturbed by the circumstances to see so clearly the absurdity of their command. Therefore all public ends look vague and quixotic beside private ones. For any laws but those which men make for themselves are laughable. . . . This is the history of governments—one man does something which is to bind another. A man who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking from afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequence. Of all debts, men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these. . . ."

We think our civilization near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star. In our barbarous society the influence of character is in its infancy. As a political power, as the rightful lord who is to tumble all rulers from their chairs, its presence is hardly yet sus-

pected. . . . The tendencies of the times favor the idea of self-government, and leave the individual for all code, to the rewards and penalties of his own constitution, which work with more energy than we believe, while we depend on artificial restraints. . . . We must not imagine that all things are lapsing into confusion, if every tender protestant be not compelled to bear his part in certain social conventions: nor doubt that roads can be built, letters carried and the fruit of labor secured, when the government of force is at an end. Are our methods now so excellent that all competition is hopeless? Could not a nation of friends even devise better ways? On the other hand, let not the most conservative and timid fear anything from a premature surrender of the bayonet, and the system of force. For according to the order of nature, which is quite superior to our will, it stands thus: there will always be a government of force where men are selfish; and when they are pure enough to abjure the code of force, they will be wise enough to see how these public ends of the post office, of the highway, of commerce, and the exchange of property, of museums and libraries, of institutions of art and science, can be answered.

We live in a very low state of the world, and pay unwilling tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most religious and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations, a reliance on the moral sentiment, and a sufficient belief in the unity of things, to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints, as well as the solar system; or that the private citizen might be reasonable, and a good neighbor, without the hint of a jail or a confiscation. What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude to inspire him with the broad design of renovating the State on the principle of right and love. All those who have pretended this design have been partial reformers, and have admitted in some manner the supremacy of the bad State. I do not call to mind a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws, on the simple ground of his own moral nature. Such designs, full of genius and full of fate as they are, are not entertained except avowedly as air-pictures. If the individual who exhibits them dares to think them practicable, he disgusts scholars and churchmen; and men of talent, and women of superior sentiment, cannot hide their contempt. Not the less does nature continue to fill the heart of youth with suggestions of this enthusiasm, and there are now men—if indeed I can speak in the plural number—more exactly, I will say, I have just been conversing with one man, to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for one moment appear impossible that thousands of human being might exercise toward each other the grandest and simplest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends, or a pair of lovers.—Essay "Politics."

The world is awaking to the idea of union. . . . It is and will be magic. Men will live and communicate and plow, and reap, and govern, as by added ethereal power, when once they are united. . . . But this

union must be inward and not one of the covenants, and is to be reached by the reverse of the methods they use. The union is only perfect when all the uniters are isolated. It is the union of friends who live in different streets or towns. Each man, if he attempts to join himself to others, is on all sides cramped and diminished of his proportion; and the stricter the union the smaller and more pitiful he is. But leave him alone to recognize in every hour and place the secret soul, he will go up and down doing the works of a true member, and, to the astonishment of all, the work will be done with concert, tho no man spoke. Government will be adamant without any governor. The union must be ideal in actual individualism.—"New England Reformers."

Emerson's Anarchism is AMERICAN, not an imported article: it is absolutely thoro, modern, and up-to-date: he has no system to impose on any one except on himself: all reform starts with the reform of the individual by himself: in the absolute freedom of the individual he finds the only source for the growth of character: from character will follow order, method and peace: from force government only disorder and confusion,—war, can follow.

Of freedom he said: "Its institutions should be as flexible as the wants of men." Again: "Why cannot some little community of men leave others to seem and content themselves to be?"

Roosevelt, in his message, mixes up Anarchism (which is the basic social thought of the great Americans, Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman),—with assassination. If he knows what Anarchism means then the whole of the section of his message in which it is referred to is a deliberate and mendacious misrepresentation. If he does not know what Anarchism means he has no business to make any positive statements about it until he has learned. A few years back, when Roosevelt was a candidate for the governorship of the State of New York, a well-known alleged Anarchist helped him in his campaign by speeches and such like electioneering work. In his campaign talks Roosevelt used to refer to "my Anarchist friend." Now that he has "got there" and has no need for further help (except from such prestige as he can get by playing to the gallery) he can write such a deliberate misrepresentation as was contained in his message, and declare that the Anarchist is "a malefactor and nothing else."

What would Roosevelt do with the "malefactors," Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman: what would do with his "Anarchist friend"? Roosevelt himself has shown that he can dabble with Anarchism, "directly or indirectly," when it suits his purpose. What would Roosevelt do with Roosevelt,—deport him or punish him by act of congress, or how? Is he anything but "a malefactor" on his own showing? Well may Walt Whitman talk about "the never-ending audacity of elected persons!" C. B. C.

—o—  
"They tell me, Mariar, that some of them college fellows is great rakes. I'll bet a punkin I can do more rakin' in this field in an hour than any professor they got."—Ex.



## More on the Enemy.

Since the craze of September, I have repeatedly had the pleasure of pointing out that the bourgeois papers are at last awake to the danger which for twenty-nine years has threatened their liberties, thru the high-handed postal legislation of congress, and still more brazen acts of the department. To secure the aid of these powerful allies in resistance to any more india-rubber statutes appears entirely feasible, and is an object worthy the zealous consideration of all Anarchists. By far the most important indication of the sort is furnished by General C. H. Howard, a Chicago publisher, in the *Arena* for December. He gives the history of the fraternity's awakening to those abuses associated with the ever-infamous name of Comstock. As early as 1882, it was remarked that the pettiest post office employe could stop an edition of a paper till the department at Washington was heard from. This sort of "hold-up" process, General Howard remarks, is a frequent occurrence, and that the American journals, which, collectively, could make and unmake a dozen better presidents than Timid Ted, have submitted to it so long, says much more for their patience than their patriotism. But during the last year, a straw has been added, which broke the camel's back. In April, 1901, the third assistant postmaster, Hon. Edwin C. Madden, sent out a circular to four hundred publishers (picked, of course) in which he asked their opinion as to whether a ruling against the use of any bonus or premium would be injurious to "legitimate" periodicals. He had the phenomenal gall to tell them that the department had tried to obtain legislation from several successive congresses in vain; and that, if backed by his packed parliament of publishers, he would proceed without. He also intimated in other communications, a disposition to interfere with the issue of sample copies, which are distinctly provided for by the law. The editor of the *Arena* adds some information as to what the legislation sought by the department was, and how it came to be defeated. It affected mainly periodicals "having the character of books." The plea for excluding them was that they burdened the second class mail, and made it unremunerative. The reason these proposals were always defeated, is that congress considered the mail facilities part of the educational system. But besides this, members asked "awkward questions." They brought it out that the unremunerative character of the postal service was due to extortionate railroad contracts—our inheritance from the howling Credit Mobilier atrocity, committed by that same execrable congress which perpetrated the Comstock statute, and the first (now repealed) "gag-law." Thus defeated in legislative attempts to cover its corruptions by a blow at education, the ineffably rotten post office bureau proceeded arbitrarily. On July 17, 1901, the book periodicals were excluded. On September 23, the department took advantage of the Czolgosz-McKinley craze to limit the number of copies for which one person might subscribe. Within ten days after Madden called his Assembly of Notables, an organization of publishers was formed for the purpose of constitu-

tional resistance. It comprises such firms as the Century Co., Harper Brothers, Scribner, Robert Bonner's Sons, the American Tract Society, the Methodist Book Concern, Funk & Wagnalls, and many more. The religious sects, hitherto pillars of Comstockism and the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, are powerfully represented in the uprising against this last outrage. It is most encouraging to observe that our new-found friends do not at all mince matters, but denounce the departments' action in unmeasured terms as usurpation of power, designed to cover a scandal, and hostile to knowledge. They tried to make a "test case"; but the department refused, in terms which implied that it would not heed even a decision by the courts. They now declare that the whole matter shall come up in the present congress, if not by the department's action, then by theirs. They may not care to be identified with us. Their standpoint, of course, is different. They see the menace to their business. We see, or ought to see by this time, a most wicked phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. While the bourgeois was fighting the aristocrat, his battle-cry was Popular Education. But the bourgeois, just as much as the aristocrat, owes his status to institutions with which popular education, beyond a certain point, is incompatible. Since he came into power, he does not like popular education any better than the aristocrat. His game is to cut off surreptitiously, by obscenity laws, sedition laws, obstacles in the way of disseminating literature, deficiency in school accommodation (as Mrs. Florence Kelley Wisnawetsky has shown) etc. The Czolgosz-McKinley craze appeared to furnish a glorious opportunity. But it came at an inauspicious moment. The cause of the whole American press, for the time happens to be ours; and the prospect of more gag-laws by the present congress is growing beautifully less.

I have meekly expected some one to hop on me for calling the hero of Santiago Timid Ted. But he is bound to prove his title clear. It is not enough that he wouldn't shake hands with anybody when he was made an L. L. D. It is not enough that the strident note of terror runs thru the otherwise utterly trashy and unmeaning tirade against Anarchism in his message. "Tho it be not written down," he will not have anyone doubt that he lives in bodily fear. Today's papers (December 18,) announce that he has closed the gates on the grounds south of the White House, thru which people used to walk between the State, war, and navy department buildings. In the same issue we read that the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, of which he was a member at Harvard, has been in convocation at Washington. Roosevelt is the first president who ever belonged to it. Of course he was not expected to be also the first president who would not "receive" it. When the delegates proposed, as usual, to pay the executive their respects, he is said to have exclaimed impulsively, "Bring them to see me. I want to shake hands with the boys." But when they came, they found a new rule. Roosevelt shakes hands with nobody, and cannot make his college friends

an exception. A bad conscience is a proverbial source of apprehension. Who knows but some "Deke" might want to point a pistol at the heart which conceived the idea of selling the ten million Filipinos to the highest bidder?

The following clipping from the Eau Claire *Daily Leader* illustrates what I have said about the quiet but ominous recalcitrance of the ordinary papers. The *Daily Leader* is twenty years old. I am sorry to say I was among its founders; for it is the only one of my children I am ashamed of. It is totally unscrupulous, has been on every side of every question, and consists principally of "plate." But it is the largest and smartest Wisconsin paper outside Milwaukee, and by virtue of its deficiency in principle makes a very passable weather-cock. The item cited is original matter. It says:

It is doubtful if the suppressing of the meeting of Anarchists is the proper way to deal with those people. It only causes them to imagine themselves martyrs. There is nothing to be feared from the utterances of these people, for their arguments are absurd and their principles untenable. No sensible person would entertain them for a moment. When Frederick the Great noticed an inflammatory placard against himself, posted on a wall in Berlin so high that it could only be read with difficulty, he ordered a policeman to take it down and place it at a height where it could be easily read, and that in future whenever anything of that kind appeared, to give it every publicity. It is needless to say that no further treasonable documents were posted. Edward VII acted in a similar manner in regard to the false and malicious papers circulated about him in Dublin on his ascending the throne. The officials all hurried to make arrests. Edward forbid them to interfere and told his translators that they might put up all the placards they wished. The annoyance ceased at once, and has never been renewed. When Anarchists are allowed to talk they exploit themselves as fools.

C. L. JAMES.

## By the Wayside.

Time will show whether the Social Democratic cause will benefit when their organs class the officials and capitalists "Anarchists"; but propagating lies maliciously is surely not raising their own dignity.

In all ages governments have been changed under the pretext to benefit "the man with the hoe"; but he will ever remain the drudge as long as he recognizes superior authority than himself.

The czar's sympathy is expected to relieve sixty millions peasants from starvation, by ceasing to compel them to sell their crops in order to pay taxes. Thus millions are degraded to abject slavery in order to keep a few parasites in idleness and luxury, and such a state of affairs is called "law and order."

Political equality is political freedom. Economic equality is economic freedom. Socialism would give economic equality and freedom to all, and yet there are people so ignorant as to say that Socialism would be slavery. There is still room for some folks to learn. —The Social Economist.

It depends upon the kind of Socialism the editor has in view. State Socialism, which he advocates, would certainly be slavery of the worst kind. There are Socialists, called Anarchist Communist, who know that freedom cannot be obtained thru government, and that social institutions are not changed by majority rule, which "some folks" have yet to learn.

INTERLOPER.



## 344

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Thursday, Jan. 24, Rev. Jones will speak on Anarchism.

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Jan. 24—What is the Real Emancipation of Woman? by Wm. M. Salter.

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*Freisinnige Gemeinde*, (German), Schoenhofer's Hall, Cor. Ashland and Milwaukee Aves., every second Saturday night. Thema fuer den 15. Januar: An-

archismus und der Staat. Referent: Otto Hermann.

*Debattir Club No. 1*, (German), every second Wednesday night, at Freyman's Hall, Halsted, Cor. North Ave. Thema fuer den 15. Januar: Die Dichter des Elends. Sprecher: Martin Drescher.

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Comrade H. Grossmann speaks every Sunday evening in Brooklyn, Watkins St., cor. Belmont Ave. Subjects:

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Jan. 12: Reform oder Revolution.

Jan. 19: Die Theorie der Entwicklung.

## The Letter-Box.

B. B., Walnut Springs, Tex.—The intentions of congress don't trouble us in the least. Progress ever goes thru the prison, even in the United States.

I. S., New York City.—Read Tolstoy's "The Slavery of Our Times" and Zola's "Labor," and you will find that both are Anarchists.

M. N., Laurium, Mich.—No; under Anarchy the school teachers would not be "paid" from the "common fund." The teachers, like others, would consume according to desire, thus only those would choose the occupation who have the inclination and talent. It would also prevent the "administrators of things" or elected school boards from imposing their own whims and notions upon the schools, as is done under all forms of government.

G. E. Lind, City.—Before your question can be answered, you must first prove that the doctrines and tactics of the Socialist parties will abolish all coercion and class interests. Mere assertions won't do. Marx contended that the middle class is the stumbling-block to the revolution, yet the leaders of the Social Democrats in Europe are all middle class men. In this country things will be the same as soon as the parties are strong enough to promise political jobs. So you will first endeavor to abolish the "classes" in your own ranks.

## RECEIPTS.

Rosenthal, \$3. Jensen, \$2. Harrison, Barry, Matrosow, King, Kehm, Russell, Funk, Ossolo, Kent, Jatchek, Saperstein, Buchi, Kane, Foulrod, Quist, each \$1. Gautier, Nortvedt, Samoth, Bang, Brody, Ballou, each 50c. Teel, Sale, each 25c.

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