



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 373.

The Army of the Night.

In the black night, along the mud-deep roads,
Amid the threatening boughs and ghostly streams,
Hark! sounds that gird the darknesses like goads,
Murmurs and rumors and reverberant dreams,
Trampling, breaths, movements, and a little light.—
The marching of the Army of the Night!

The stricken men, the mad brute-beasts are keeping
No more their places in the ditches or holes,
But rise, and join us, and the women, weeping
Beside the roadways, rise like demon-souls.
Fill up the ranks! What shimmers there so bright?
The bayonets of the Army of the Night!

Fill up the ranks! We march in steadfast column,
In wavering lines yet forming more and more.
Men, women, children, somber, silent, solemn,
Rank follows rank like billows to the shore.
Dawnwards we tramp, towards the hills and light.
On, on and up, the Army of the Night!

—Francis Adams.

The Spirit of Revolt.

In the life of societies there are epochs when Revolution becomes an inaperious necessity, when in fact it is just upon us. New ideas spring up everywhere; they try to come to light and to find their application in our daily life, but they continually come in contact with the force of inertia of those who are interested in maintaining the old system, and they are stifled in the suffocating atmosphere of ancient prejudices and traditions. The accepted ideas about the constitution of States, on the laws of social equilibrium, and the political and economical relations between citizens cannot any longer be maintained in the face of the severe criticism which undermines them every day, and on all occasions, in the drawing room and in the public house, in the works of the philosopher, and in every day conversation. The political, economic, and social institutions fall into ruin; like an edifice becomes uninhabitable which cramps and hinders the development of the young plants which spring within the broken walls, and grow up around it.

The need of a new life is felt. The established code of morality, that which governs the greater part of men in their daily life, does not suffice.

It is seen that what was formerly looked upon as right is a crying injustice; the morality of yesterday is seen to be a revolting immorality today. The conflict between new ideas and old traditions bursts out in all classes of society, amid all surroundings, even in the bosom of the family. The son strives against the father, for he finds revolting to him what the father found quite natural during his whole lifetime; the daughter

rebels against the principles transmitted to her by her mother as the fruit of long experience. The popular mind revolts every day against the scandals which are produced in the midst of the privileged and idle class, and against the crimes which are committed in the name of the right of the strongest, or in order to maintain privileges. Those who desire the triumph of justice, those who wish to put the new ideas into practice, are soon forced to see that the realization of their generous, humanitarian, and revivifying ideas cannot be possible while society is constituted as it is, and they soon see the necessity of a hurricane of Revolution which will overwhelm all the rottenness, which will vivify with its lens enervated souls, and display to humanity devotion, abnegation, heroism, without which a society becomes vile, degraded and rotten.

In epochs of unbridled striving toward the attainment of wealth, of feverish speculation, and of crisis, of the sudden ruin of great industries and ephemeral appearance of new branches of production, of scandalous fortunes amassed in a few years and dissipated in the same time, it is easy to perceive that the economic institutions which preside over production and exchange are far from conferring on society that well-being which they are supposed to guarantee; they produce in fact the very contrary result. Instead of order they engender chaos; instead of well-being, misery and insecurity of living; instead of harmony of interests they produce war, a perpetual war carried on by the exploiter against the producer, and by the exploiters and producers among themselves. Society is seen more and more to divide itself into two hostile camps, and to subdivide at the same time into thousands of little groups carrying on a desperate war. Weary of these wars, weary of the misery they produce, society then starts in search of a new organization; it demands with loud outcries a complete rearrangement of the system of property, of production, of exchange, and of all the economic relations that result from them.

The governmental machine whose business it is to maintain the system that exists is still in action. But at each turn of its rusty wheels it sticks fast—it stops. Its working becomes more and more difficult, and the discontent caused by its defects goes on increasing. Every day brings new demands. "Reform this, reform that," is heard on all sides. War, finance, taxation, tribunals, police—all want rearrangement, re-

organization on a new basis, say the reformers. And yet all can see that it is impossible to repair or rearrange it in any way, for it all works together; all would have to be repaired at the same time; and how is it possible to repair it when society is divided into two camps glaringly hostile to each other? To satisfy some discontents would only create others.

Incapable of advancing on the road of reforms, since that would mean revolution, and at the same time too powerless to openly attempt reaction, governments direct their efforts to half measures which cannot satisfy anybody, and which produce more discontent. Then the mediocrities, who at those epochs of transition undertake to steer the governmental bark, apply themselves to one thing alone—to enrich themselves before the final break-up. Attacked on all sides, they defend themselves unskillfully, they shift and tact, commit one stupidity after another, and they succeed finally in cutting their last cord of safety—they overwhelm the prestige of government in the ridicule of their incapacity.

At such epochs Revolution is imperative. It becomes a social necessity; the situation is a revolutionary situation.

When we study in our best histories the genesis and development of the great revolutionary uprisings, we generally find under the heading, "Causes of the Revolution," a striking picture of the situation at the eve of events. The misery of the people, the general insecurity, the vexatious measures taken by the government, the odious scandals which spring from the great vices of society, the new ideas striving to display themselves and clashing with the incapacity of the supporters of the old régime—nothing is wanting. As we contemplate this picture we come to the conviction that the Revolution was really inevitable, and that it could have no other outcome but the road of insurrectionary acts.

Let us take for example the situation before 1789 as the historians display it to us. You seem to hear the peasants complaining of the salt tax, of tithes, of the feudal rents, vowing implacable hatred of the lord, the priest, the monopolist. You seem to hear the middle class complaining of having lost their municipal liberties, and heaping on the king all the weight of their curses. You can hear the people blaming the queen, disgusted with the recital of the doings of the ministers, and complaining every moment that the taxes are intolerable, and the ground rents ex-

orbitant, that the harvests are bad and the winter too severe, that provisions are too dear and the speculators too voracious, that the lawyers of the villages devour the peasants' crops, and the rural policeman wishes to play the tyrant, and the postal service is badly organized and the employes too lazy. In brief, nothing goes along right, and all complain. "This cannot last; it must end badly," is heard on all sides.

But between these peaceable grumbings and insurrection and revolt, there is an abyss—that namely which with the greater part of human beings separates reasoning from action, thought from will, and the need to act. How has this abyss been passed? How have these men, who only yesterday quite quietly complained of their lot while smoking their pipes, and who a moment later humbly saluted the keeper or policeman they were just speaking ill of—how have these same men a few days later come to seize their scythes and pitchforks and have attacked the mansions of the lord of the manor, only yesterday such a terror to them? By what enchantment have these men whom their wives with reason called cowards been transformed today into heroes, who march amid a hail of bullets to the conquest of their rights? How have these words, so often uttered before, and which seemed lost in air like the vain sounds of bells, been transformed at last into action?

The answer is easy.

It is action, the continual action, renewed without ceasing, the action of minorities, which brings about this transformation. Courage and devotion and the spirit of sacrifice are just as contagious as are cowardice, submission, and panic.

What forms will the agitation take? All forms the most varied which will be dictated by circumstances, means, and temperament. At one time terrible, at others good-natured, but always daring. Either collective or individual, according to circumstances, it will neglect no means under its hands, no circumstance of public life, to continually arouse men's minds, to propagate and give shape to discontent, excite hatred against exploiters, to ridicule governments and show their weakness, and above all endeavor to arouse a spirit of daring and rebellion in the people, preaching to them by example.—*Le Révolte*.

Love and Hate.

Love, hate, human nature, and Anarchism, are big subjects for "thoro debate" or discussion, such as M. Wolfman would like! I think that I and others from whom he expected it, were disinclined, mostly because we felt afraid to get out of our depth. I might give him a few pointers from my "positive knowledge," such as it is.

1. The play-instinct is the fundamental instinct. Ignored or supposed valueless, till Froebel identified it with the creative instinct, it has ever since been gaining importance in the speculations of physiologists, psychologists, and educators, till it overtops all others. We cannot attribute those protrusions and retractions by which a rhizopod catches food, to either desire of pleasure or desire of food; for he is by no means sufficiently organized to have such desires.

But even a rhizopod has surplus force—must act, must play—result, is fed; and renews force; breaks in two; propagates; becomes immortal, in posterity. Such as the rhizopod is, such is every organism up to man at first—not solely, nor primarily, a Stomach and Patent Digesting Machine, as Teufelsdröckh would say; but always, according to the observations of that same philosopher, an Actor, a Producer, a creator in his own small way.

2. A very general and early result of the play instinct, and a very necessary one, is universally allowed to be that same "digesting." With many animals—mankind among them—it takes the form of killing and eating others. Behold the root of hate—or at least one root. The ferocity, so manifest in tigers; wolves; unimproved dogs, cats, and men, so easily renewed even in cultivated specimens; is undoubtedly due to this, that their ancestors killed in order to eat.

3. Love is not to be confounded with the sexual appetite. They powerfully support each other—very often; but love springs direct out of the play-instinct. Every animal loves what it can play with, dally with, expend its curiosity upon—except as fear, or hunger, jealousy, or something similar, excites a different feeling. This no doubt is why offspring are the most general objects of love. And while on this topic, we should not forget that the sexual propensity is often a most powerful cause of hate. Even the timid giraffe, which cannot be made to fight at other times, will do so, Darwin tells us, during the breeding season.

4. From observations like these, which might be much extended, we may learn that the fundamental play instinct gives rise to two kinds of others. The play instinct itself, love properly so called, and some others, of a more complex or special nature, have been termed, perhaps rather incorrectly, altruistic. The remarkable points about them seem to me these—that they are very persistent, and very gentle in their action. On the other hand those three propensities which have been described as egoistic, because they are necessary to the preservation of individuals and species—the appetite for food, the sexual appetite, and fear, or the instinct of avoiding danger—these, with the more complex emotions—such as anger—which spring wholly or chiefly from them, are most violent; have the character of passions, not at all easy to control while they last; but are brief.

5. Darwin traces the origin of conscience to the fact that the so-called egoistic emotions—the passions—are so much shorter in duration but so much harder to restrain than the vague impulse to be doing something, or those which spring from it most directly; such as love and the artistic instinct. That they are very necessary to the existence both of the individual and the race, we see, of course. But in proportion as man becomes surer of life and comfort, which is also in proportion as his mind and memory are improved by civilization, he becomes sensible of the transitory nature and frequent collisions with those of the other kind. He begins to regard their gratification as at best rather unsatisfactory—often as a source of remorse and regret.

6. I believe I have already written some-

thing in FREE SOCIETY about the progress of conscience to admitted sovereignty over the mind (in theory, if not always in practice) thru Judaism, Christianity, and Protestantism, up to Quakerism and Anarchism. A similar tendency is very manifest in all religions which, without being in that line of descent, are somewhat philosophical, as Brahmanism and Buddhism.

6. But if some "new thought" movement, which rejects the stomach gospel of egoism and materialism, to find room for truths like these, should begin, as Comrade Morton suggests, to set up for "the ultimate successor of orthodox Christianity," beware of it. It will split on the same rock as orthodox Christianity. Between the realm of the emotions and that of the objects which excite them, there is an impenetrable wall. That which would ignore either, is shallow mysticism or equally shallow materialism. But that which would combine them in a system is a monster—the Ambitious Frog of metaphysics, which ends by exploding. Human nature is too big a thing to fit into any system. You can't pick yourself up by your own bootstraps. The method of satisfying the moral-emotional nature is not that of theory but of Art. The art element in any religious, and therefore any moral doctrine, is the vital part of it.

8. Anarchism can be deduced from the sovereignty of individual conscience, pretty evidently. The man who wants to live according to the Inner Light will soon find he cannot live after the laws and fashion of the world; and eventually he will come to sympathize with others who want to go their own way, tho it may be a widely different one from his. Only, let us not forget that this is emotion-tendency. We shall fall into the metaphysical Slough of Despond if we make it theory, and go to quibbling about what is "invasive," what not.

9. The same objection applies to attempts at deducing Anarchism from the doctrine of Egoism or self-interest. Nobody knows what really is for his own interest. But if we allow (as we must) a certain validity to the Stomach gospel—if we assume that the common objects of desire, as plenty, peace, approximate equality, progress in physical knowledge and the material benefits which come of it, are to be desired—then, I think, it can be proved (by induction) that liberty, the more of it the better, is actually conducive to them all. This convergence of emotion and science on recommending Anarchy appears a sovereign test for its philosophic character. C. L. JAMES.

The Evolution of Love.

Sexual relationships vary thruout the world according to circumstances and environment. Their evolution results in polygamy in some countries, polyandry in others, in promiscuity in still others, and in nominal monogamy among European peoples and their descendants in America and elsewhere. Sociologists in general, Herbert Spencer in particular, look upon the varying sexual relationships of mankind as the results of evolution or the adjustment of organisms to their environment.

There is more or less complete adjustment of organisms to environment, and conse-

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quently there are different degrees of progress, that is, there are different degrees of development in individual powers, functions and faculties, and in their social equivalents. Progress, with man, is toward a condition where all his capacities are ripened into perfection, and where he finds himself at the same time in harmony with environing facts and conditions.

Looking at our subject from the points of view of both evolution and progress, are we justified in thinking that the sexual relationships of Europeans and their descendants are likely to be modified thru the experience and observation of the race? Other facts, practises, and customs are being, and will continue to be modified, this we all admit if we observe and think. Are the relations of the sexes subject to improvement?

"Illegitimacy," "adultery," and prostitution, are three great evils connected with sexual relationships among those who plume themselves on their superiority over other races and boast of their advanced civilization. The deceit, loss of self-respect and social standing, and chagrin, which falls to the lot of those who are involved in "illegitimacy," is paralleled by the results of "adultery" and is excelled by those of prostitution; and everywhere these evils are on the increase.

The practical comment on all this is that the race is not monogamous, and that progress in sexual relationships does not consist in endeavouring to force monogamic practises on it. Here, where prejudice and ignorance meet me at the flood-tide let me make my position sure by showing that in all other activities and practises characteristic of man variety of circumstances and conditions are sought, and that upon this variety man's development, moral, physical, and intellectual, depends.

We eat not one food, but many foods; health depends on judiciously varying our diet; we read not one book, but many books; education depends on a varied knowledge; we do not always keep to one house; we move about out of doors, the varying face of nature pleasing and satisfying our need of variety; flowers here, a hill there, the valley with its sunset farther on, are essential to our needs. In seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and feeling, we seek not one, but many differing sensations. Sameness leads to stagnation always; in variety there is life. Why, in the nature of things, should we be sexually stagnated? Man will not be; therefore, where we find him living under a law social or legal, which requires monogamic practises, "adultery," "illegitimacy," and prostitution, are there too.

Progress in sexual relationships must result in sexual freedom for man and woman; and when this freedom has been won, and sex given its legitimate place with the other facts of life, when the shame, the viciousness, the abnormal craving, and the brutal results of jealousy are eliminated by freedom and education, this faculty which in youth promises to bear so fair a flower in love, tenderness, and companionship, but which in reality so generally grows into a plant of doubtful life and blasted blossom, will become as we would have it, a blessing solely.

With woman economically free and man economically free, woman will be able to care for the children which are the results of love (not the poor waifs of today), and man will be loved for himself and not accepted because woman must be married in order to live.

Sexual freedom is a condition in which love is bestowed as the expression of the purest, sweetest, and most exalted of feelings; a condition in which love, or rather its poor counterfeit, can neither be purchased nor forcibly taken. It is a condition in which sexual relationships will find their place in proper order with other relations in the economy of individual and social life; and finally, the home will be raised to a higher plane thru having its narrowing limits removed and its bounds extended. All of this is evolution; all of this progress, or the development of the powers and capacities of the individual and society to their utmost harmony, and in keeping with the larger environment which a developed life implies.—B., in the *Truth Seeker*, Bradford, England, May, 1899.

Mr. Morton and Socialism.

I like an oral debate. The turn of the eye, the intonation of the voice, the intense listening of the one debater to get the other's meaning, are all full of interest. But I shun a long-drawn-out written or printed controversy as I would a pestilence. For this reason I usually fight and run away that I may live to fight another day; or else I keep still entirely.

"Certain Comments" of James F. Morton tempt me once more to say something in defense of Socialism. As a starter I quote this: "If freedom is the fundamental condition of self-expression, and self-expression is the fundamental law of life, it follows that freedom must be sought first." Freedom must be sought first, truly, but what sort of freedom? Mr. Morton may say there is only one sort of freedom, and in a sense that is true, but there is another sense in which it is not true. This latter is the sense in which I now use it. To my mind economic freedom is the first step towards universal freedom. Satan is reported as saying, "All that a man hath will he give for his life." Whoever said it, as a rule it is true, with brave, beautiful, heroic exceptions. Having this fact to work on, I conclude that men and women will not progress very far towards freedom in general so long as they are wage slaves. So when I read that "economic justice is the daughter, and not the mother of freedom," I want to change it to read, "Out of economic freedom all other freedom must grow." Once let a man know that the means of getting a good living for himself and family are secure, that no capitalist can put him to the torture of seeing that those for whose comfort, for whose very existence, he is responsible, may be left to starve if he dares assert his right to freedom, and he will grow towards liberty in all things as naturally as a plant towards the sunshine.

A human being is something like a tree; he must have root-hold in the earth. A tree will not grow with its roots in the air.

Mr. Morton says of Socialists as a body,

"They have no conception of liberty and do not desire it." This, I think, is not true of Socialists "as a body"; but I confess, with shame and confusion of face, that there are Socialists so cowardly that they are afraid of being called Anarchists. For such I feel a sincere pity more akin to contempt than to love.

There is much more in Mr. Morton's comments to which I should like to reply but perhaps this is enough for now.

CELIA. B. WHITEHEAD.

The Gospel of Love.

Altho his conduct during Comrade MacQueen's first imprisonment did not indicate that Comrade Fox has a loving heart, he seems to think that all of us should agree with his love theory. A loving sentiment would never have allowed him to attack a good and active comrade while in prison in such a manner.

Jesuits in all ages have kept people stupid and non-resistant slaves by preaching their love theory, which they never practised themselves.

It is impossible for a human being with a warm-blooded heart, to love people who are often below wild beasts; who imprison our best and good-hearted men, shooting them down like mad dogs, or torture them until death relieves them from the hangman. Look at Russia, Italy, and Spain. Love this pest whoever can, but I hate them! I despise them!

How awfully poor in love are men like Comrade Fox in comparison with a Sophie Perovskaya, Angiolillo, Santo Caserio, and others. Noble heroes—I love and adore them!

According to Fox's assertion, "*Liberty* is an imitation of Most's *Freiheit* in bad English." Such remark is another proof that he lacks a loving disposition. As every comrade is trying to propagate his ideal to the best of his ability, it is not necessary to criticize him, if he does not possess the liberal, philosophical intellect of Comrade Fox. In my opinion *Liberty* is a very good little paper, easily comprehended by every working man and woman. The language is plain and lively, just the right stuff for working-men who do not know much of philosophy.

Max O'Rell's advice that "people should not poke their noses in other people's business," is good for comrades, too. If they follow this advice, a great deal of bad feeling will be prevented and love prevail.

ELISE SANTORO.

New Jersey Pamphlet Statement.

Received: Dr. Solotaroff, \$10. Dr. Foote, \$5. K. Snellenberg, Boston, \$5. M. Kisliuk, \$5. Paterson comrades, \$3.25. M. Cohn, Philadelphia, \$2. Friend, New York, \$1. J. W. Britain, \$1. Solei, 50c. B. Guvert, 50c. S. Weisslander, 50c. Total, \$33.7. Expenditure: 3000 pamphlets \$33.50; postage, 30c. Total, \$33.80. Deficit, 11c. NATASHA NOTKIN. Philadelphia, Pa.

Cook Defense Fund.

S. T. Byington, East Cambridge, \$3. Collected by H. Bauer at picnic, Lock No. 3, Penn., \$5. Social Science Club, Philadelphia, by N. Notkin, \$6. Working-men's Educational Club, Boston, \$10. Total, \$24. Subscription lists will be sent on application.

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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.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, AUGUST 3, 1902.

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

Notes.

Subscribers to C. L. James' "History of the French Revolution" have had their patience sorely tried. The printer promised to have the book ready by July 1, but has not been able to do so, owing to the condition of the "trade." But it is now well on toward completion, and will be delivered soon.

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.

William Thurston Brown, who resigned from the ministry recently, will make a lecturing tour this fall in the interest of Socialist ideas. A few weeks ago one of his sermons appeared in FREE SOCIETY. From this specimen it will be seen that he is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty. Any associations or individuals wishing to arrange lectures should address him at Lakemount, N. Y.

"Pages of Socialist History," by W. Tcherkesoff, is now ready. This book is recommended to Socialists of all schools, as it deals with the history of the "International," and the attitude of Marx and Engels towards Bakunin. Paper cover, 25 cents. By mail 30 cents. Send orders to Chas. B. Cooper, 114 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Certain Comments.

The conviction of Lois Waisbrooker shows how little justice is to be secured under the jury system. Anarchists have already learned this lesson; but others have still a chance to inform themselves. With all my aversion to the judicial function, I would rather trust the average judge than the average jury. Here in the Home cases, we have secured fair treatment from two federal judges, but have suffered the rankest injustice from two grand juries and one petty jury.

The trial of Lois Waisbrooker and Mattie Penhallow was a very fair one, as these trials go. The law itself is so rank and vicious as to prevent entire fairness, even assuming

the right of a court to try the matter at all. Judge De Haven was exceptionally fair and impartial, holding the balance practically even, and, if anything, rather leaning in favor of the defense in most of his rulings. Cushman, the prosecuting attorney, was beneath contempt, trusting entirely to his vulpine skill in working on the prejudices of the jury. Wayland the spy was the object of contempt, the prompt acquittal of Mattie Penhallow proving that the jury regarded him as an unvarnished liar. Swett and Murphy did splendid work for the defense; and we could not have secured better legal assistance.

After the conviction of Lois Waisbrooker, Judge De Haven declared that as the jury were the judges of fact, he did not feel qualified in law to set aside the verdict. He, however, volunteered the statement that he did not consider the article obscene, and would have preferred a different verdict. As the law required him to impose a penalty, he fixed it at the absolute minimum allowed by law—a fine of \$100. This was paid on the spot. It was a barren victory for the prosecution, and one of which they are doing no boasting. Wayland is completely discredited; and Cushman has sunk a long way down in public estimation. This ends the elaborate and much heralded attempts to break up the Home community. Even our postoffice must sooner or later be restored to us. It is merely a question of time.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

Current Comment.

My friend, James Armstrong, Jr., who is associate editor of *Reed's Isonomy*, of San Antonio, Texas, devotes nearly two pages of the July issue of that periodical to a criticism of Kropotkin's "Anarchist Morality." It seems to me that Armstrong has read Kropotkin to little purpose, since his only criticism of the great Russian is based upon an entirely erroneous conception of his teachings. He finds the basis of Kropotkin's philosophy to be devotion to the emancipation of humanity, which is very true; but he shows his failure to grasp Kropotkin's meaning when he says: "But how much better, it seems to me, to devote one's self to the emancipation of self, and, if successful, give others the benefit of your experience," etc. This is a very absurd way of criticizing Kropotkin, the sum of whose teachings is that the "emancipation of humanity" must be achieved thru individual initiative, and in no other way. The trouble with friend Armstrong is, that like many others, he cannot associate *Communism* with anything save self-denial; and, hearing Kropotkin calling himself a Communist, he jumps to the baseless conclusion that he is necessarily altruistic in its most narrow sense, whereas the author of "Anarchist Morality" is truly an egoist—much more so than James Armstrong, Jr. James should read Kropotkin again.

The Roosevelt administration has, to all practical purposes, assumed full responsibility for the Philippine situation, and for the horrible crimes perpetrated there by uniformed bandits in the name of Christian Civilization. Theodore Roosevelt now

stands behind the infamous order of General Weyler Smith to kill everything over ten years of age. The murder of men, women and children can now go forward unhindered; and the butchery of the aged and innocent will continue under the protecting folds of "old glory" and the sanction of Roosevelt and his bloodthirsty crew. This is the fruit of government—of law and order.

M. Wolfman, who suggests in No. 29, a discussion of love and hate, seems to have said about all that is necessary on that subject. I have often thought that, should the world ever see the reign of love, human happiness will necessitate a rebellion of hate. While we will continue to strive for perfect conditions in all the avenues and byways of life, it is well that we cannot reach the goal. A condition of perfection, such as the Christian dreams of as heaven, and the political Socialist thinks he can usher in at the ballot box, would be a wearisome affair, I am certain. An old German friend of mine used to say: "Too much of a good thing is a bad thing—excepting beer; and too much of that is just enough!" It is unnecessary to add that I endorse only the first half of the formula.

The world shudders at the mention of Anarchy, a state of society without government. Nine out of every ten of the uninformed will inform you quite seriously that to suspend for a moment the operation of organized government, would mean chaos; that in the absence of authority, bloody crime would run universal riot, no man's life or property would be safe, and society would immediately be rent asunder by a carnival of unrestrained violence. This stupid delusion has been propagated for centuries until it has come to be universally believed by the unquestioning multitude. Before the war of the southern secession, when a man announced himself an abolitionist, he was immediately asked: "Do you want your sister to marry a nigger?" That was supposed to be a settler for the abolitionist. Today, if I announce myself an Anarchist, some intellectual pin-head insults me with the query: "Do you want everybody to kill and steal without let or hindrance?" If I really believed in wholesale murder and organized plunder, I would assuredly be a believer in government. For what is the State today, as it has been thruout all human history, but organized murder and plunder? Whether it be murdering Filipinos, plundering Boers or both murdering and plundering its own citizens at home, the entire activity of every government in the world is directed to the commission of violence. England and America alone have killed more men in three years in the Philippines and South Africa than can be counted in the list of private murders in the whole world during the past decade. The world is ruled by the Men of the Strong Hand, and violence holds universal sway. I believe in peace—I desire that human life shall become sacred, and that violence shall be forever abolished. And because I so believe, I want to take legal sanction from murder and theft, and put a final period to the infernal revel of crime carried on in the name of organized government. I want to abolish all

government and bring the reign of the Strong Hand to a finality. And yet men whose hands are red with the blood of the innocent and helpless, cry out that, for advocating this I should be outlawed. No class are so furious in denouncing Anarchists, or those who believe in a free society, as the so-called Christians. But Jesus, whom they profess to worship, if the mechanical performance of a lot of stupid ceremonies can be called worship, taught that men should not be judged, condemned and restrained; that all violence was evil; that the sword was an abomination; and that each man should be free to obey simply his own conscience. For preaching his doctrines today the Anarchists have been generally denounced from the pulpits. The Church does not believe in the real gospel of Christ. It does not teach his gospel. It is in league with worldly power—with the Men of the Strong Hand. Were Jesus alive today he would not be allowed to repeat the "Sermon on the Mount" from a single orthodox pulpit in Christendom. There are some honest people in the Church today, but its leaders and the great majority of its membership are hypocrites.

The Nashville *American*, which, besides being a fair representative of the bribed and bastard journalism of today, is the thick-and-thin organ of the L. and N. railroad, says in its editorial columns that all strikers should be fed on lead until they are satisfied to return to work. This looks a little cold-blooded in type, but it is just the kind of advice that the plutocrats are acting upon whenever occasion permits. These daily organs of capitalism are eternally barking their nasty little insides out whenever an act of violence is committed by workingmen driven to desperation by the cold-blooded tyranny of some soulless corporation. They are tireless in preaching l-a-w and o-r-d-e-r to the workers, but their own favorite prescription for critical contingencies is the rifle diet. They care nothing for peace and entertain a supreme contempt for human life just as long as the rifle is in the hands of the thugs of plutocracy, but when labor appeals to their own logic of lead, there is a concert of horrified protests in behalf of peace and law and order from Main to the Pacific. This program of peace and submission for the workers and armed defiance for their masters is a transparent fraud. Persisted in, it can only lead to the slavery of the workers and the absolute mastership of the employer. My advice to all wage working slaves (for every wage worker is a slave) is, to supply themselves with the latest improved weapons of destruction, and when their benevolent and Christian masters send out their brutes and bullies to execute such advice as that given by the Nashville *American*, let the intended victims serve them with a red-hot dose of their own prescription. Let labor adopt this energetic program and peace will come a-running.

R. W.

A medium sized painting of Sophie Perovskaya, painted for those desiring it on short notice. For terms and particulars address "Artist," care of this office.

The Strikers at Work.

Under this heading from time to time we will consider the trade union in its various aspects; what it has done for the toilers in the past, what it is doing for them now, and its future possibilities as a factor in the movement for their final emancipation.

The general average of progressive thought among trade unionists seems so far behind that of the Anarchist as to cause the latter, in the majority of instances, to take little more than a passing interest in the trade union movement. This is, I think, a mistake. Anarchists should identify themselves more closely with that great practical movement of the toilers. Did they do so, the result would be beneficial to both. The toilers would reap the benefit of the clearer insight of the problems the unions have to handle, possessed by the Anarchists, and the latter, by their practical interest in the union, would the easier gain the hearts and ears of the toilers for the message of Anarchism.

Nothing so easily touches the heart of the common man as a little help in his need. Do not be content to stand on the heights and point him the way; come down, get beside him in harness and help him pull his load; show him your interest in his behalf is more than a mere word picture of a beautiful ideal.

To those who think it a waste of time and energy to "dabble" in the trade unions, and who regard them as reactionary institutions detrimental to progress and liberty, I have only time at this writing to say, they are mistaken. I hope to show in the course of this series of letters that, not only is the trade union movement not reactionary, but that it is decidedly progressive.

So much by way of introduction. We will now proceed to consider, briefly, the miners' strike in progress in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania.

The grievance of the miner proper is not for an advance in wages nor a reduction of hours, but simply that the coal he mines be weighed, and twenty two hundred and forty pounds to constitute a ton. You may ask why he stipulates the number of pounds shall go to a ton since a ton, to be a ton, must have that many pounds. For this reason: Up to the time of the strike a ton of coal meant from twenty seven to thirty three hundred pounds. That is to say, he was forced to mine one and a half tons for every ton for which he was paid. Who can question the justice of his cause in striking against such downright robbery? If he can force the soulless corporations who "own" the mines to accede to his demand it will mean that his income will be increased about thirty-five per cent.

The demands of the miners' helpers, breaker hands, engineers, firemen and pumpmen is for an eight-hour work day without a reduction of pay. These latter vastly outnumber the miners proper, the laborers having a majority over both miners and mechanics.

The mining of hard coal differs very much from that of soft coal. Where the soft coal miner uses a pick, the hard coal miner uses a drill and powder. After the miner blasts the coal, his laborer piles it eighteen inches above the top of the wagons or little cars, which are made to hold a ton when only

filled water level. This is where the robbery takes place. The miner gets about one dollar a car, and when he works a full day he can mine six cars. Out of this sum he will have to pay his helper, pay for powder, which often, when the coal is very hard, costs a dollar a day, pay for sharpening drills, oil for the lamps and other incidental charges, amounting in all to three dollars or more. This would not be so bad were he permitted to work full time; which he never is. Instead of six, his day may consist of one, two, three, four and seldom five cars a day. Last year, which was the most prosperous year in the history of the coal region (I mean in the number tons mined) the miner's work amounted to 188 days, and his wages were less than \$400. So much for the miner; but what about the poor laborer whose wages for a full day is only \$1.10 to \$1.50? Figure it out for yourself.

Everyone may easily answer for him or herself the question, why the miner is kept on practically half time. Kept on the brink of starvation he is more docile and less liable to kick when the chains of wage slavery are tightened about his quivering limbs. Nearly twice the number of miners that is actually necessary to supply the demand, are kept about the collieries. It is easier to make a "free contract" with two starving men than with one who is fairly well fed. The soulless railroad corporations know their business; but there comes a time when even the starving men refuse to meekly cringe for the crust cast to them, and fling it back into the teeth of tyrants who offer it.

The miners, for the first time in the history of their union, "pulled" the engineers and firemen from the mines, leaving them to flood. Little damage was done, however, as Brother Mitchell gave the bosses due notice in the shape of an ultimatum giving them time to consider the demands of the pumpmen, which they used instead in engaging new men and building stockades to protect them.

As yet no attempt has been made to mine coal. It will be a difficult matter to procure miners. It is easier to sit down and wait till the old men are starved back again. This contingency the soft coal men have made provision to prevent by assessing themselves ten per cent. of their wages, which shall go to their striking brothers while the strike lasts. The Central Federated Unions of New York have taken the initiative in the matter of outside relief. An appeal is being issued to the unions of this country and Europe. The extent to which the unions will respond to this appeal will indicate the growth of the spirit of solidarity among the workers of all trades and nations. A solidarity which only in recent years has been shown among the rank and file of labor.

Everything points to a long and bitter struggle which, end as it may, will prove a victory for universal peace and brotherhood among men. Next week I may have something to say about the tactics of the leaders in this strike.

New York, 210 E. 19th St.

Patriotism is infatuation.—A. Karr.

JAY FOX.

Solidarity.

The word is in itself a program. It means that the social problem must be resolved, not in the interest of some class or fraction of a class, but of all—i. e., in view of the total abolition of class distinctions and denominations. The word indicates also the method by which that end can be reached. To bind men together to forsake and fight class-spirit, rivalries and interests, is our task. The present organization being distinguished by class hierarchy and class struggles, what we strive for must be characterized by solidarity. Solidarity implies liberty, as it may only exist among free men, and will guarantee the permanency of liberty in society. It also implies equality of social opportunities, without assuming uniformity of any kind. Economically, solidarity means cooperation all thru; politically, it means the absence of a coercing power; morally, it means mutual help, mutual love and the greatest development of individual and social life. Solidarity, therefore, is the synthetical expression for Socialism and Anarchism, taking the broadest and deepest view of both, and of the nature, constitution and requirements of human society.—*Solidarity*, New York, June 18, 1892.

The Anarchy Bill.

With all the fierce shrieking of the plutocratic imperial press, and the lurid lightning of congressional oratory—not to speak of the lies manufactured by policemen and detectives to terrify the innocents—in spite of all this, and more, the Anarchy bill did not get enacted into law during the session of congress just adjourned.

The thing was too thin; the object aimed at, which was the suppression of a free press, was too transparent. The malignants overstepped the modesty of nature, and their bantling died.

Had the bill passed, it would have proven to the densest intellect and the muddiest brain that the government of America is the most absolute and despotic on earth. Indeed, it is just that very thing as it is, but the passage of the Anarchy bill would have convinced the thickest headed fool of the fact.

George Brandes, one of the greatest of living critics and an avowed Anarchist lives in peace in Denmark. Reclus, the great scientist and member of the institute, another professed Anarchist, is honored by all the great scholars of France, and lives free from molestation or insult at Paris. Malatesta, the head of the Anarchists, lives openly at London without fear of police lies or interference. Prince Kropotkin, the best known of all Anarchists, has been traveling openly and under his own name in France, and is now on a visit to Russia to see Tolstoy.* Not even the Russian police dream of interfering with him, lying on him, or making it in any way uncomfortable for him. None of these distinguished men would, under the proposed Anarchy law, be allowed to come to the United States under pain of the ball

* This must be an error; it is hardly possible that Kropotkin should go unmolested to Russia, as the autocrat has stretched his "mailed fist" even into other lands to persecute him. However, this does not destroy the force of the indictment against the United States. JR.

and chain and penitentiary, or, at the risk of their lives from the reports of perjured and hired detectives.

We boast of being the most enlightened nation on earth; while, in fact, we are the most grossly ignorant in the average mass of any people claiming to be civilized. The press, the politician, the preacher, and especially the public schools, have been the central luminaries which have rayed out this darkness, "thick darkness, which may be felt."

Corrupted by the Sunday papers, flattered by the politicians, made ignorant bigots by the pulpit, believing, like the idiots they are, the commercial editorials in the great dailies to be gospel truth, and kneaded by the public schools into shape for baking by the plutocracy, the average American of today stands below the peasant of the tenth century in politics, in ethics, and in sociology. So besotted are the average mass that they do not know how to vote for their own interests on election day, but are the fools and tools of the masters who are on their backs. Let the cry of "Anarchy" be raised, and the idiots take up the whoop and vote themselves into deeper slavery. They do not know what Anarchy means. They have been told it means assassination and dynamite, and the sillies believe it. Verily, as Schiller makes Talbot say: "Against stupidity the gods themselves fight in vain." *Southern Mercury*, Dallas, July 10, 1902.

By the Wayside.

Think of the American government "of the people" compelling a silk manufacturer to pay the striking weavers \$20,000 disputed wage adjustments, renting a vacant workshop to lodge the idle men and their families and paying them regularly, in order to make the strike a success! A strange proposition indeed. But it actually transpired in the city of Moscow—under Russian despotism.

As long as we heed the lessons from the past there is hope for improvement. The editor of the *Labor Clarion* now declares that, since labor was betrayed in Washington, "it proposes to throw down the challenge, that it is able to take care of itself." If the editor will now suggest to his readers that the leaders must be stripped of their executive power, which is so often abused, we will soon have a healthy labor movement, promoting self-reliance and independence.

The strike of the Chicago freight handlers was practically lost. Altho the men gained some increase of wages, the strength of the union is completely broken. But the toilers may have learned the lesson that leaders and contracts are a great handicap in their struggle against the exploiters. The members of the teamster's union were anxious to help their fellow workers—the freight handlers; but there was the contract with the truck owners which the leaders had signed some time ago,—the only reason for the failure of the strike.

Geo. T. Angell, the head of the Association for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, of

Boston, has discovered that there are other atrocities committed besides cruelty to animals, and at once becomes desperate. He says:

Now, we believe fully in rectifying all wrongs, when possible, by the enforcement of law, but when any set of men contrive by combination to immensely increase the prices of articles upon which great masses of people depend for food and living, it becomes a question whether (if the law fails) they are entitled to any higher protection than wolves or tigers, and whether the suggestion of the bishop to Mr. Kearney may be properly suggested to them.

A little deeper reflection may reveal to Mr. Angell the fact that animals are not the worst treated creatures in our beautiful civilization. The brutality against animals is trifling when compared with the cruelty inflicted upon the tender children in the factories, or the miserable life of the toiling men and women who have been degraded to mere machines. He may also learn that the lamp-post, which the bishop suggested, will not ameliorate conditions as long as government, the only source from which trusts and other vampires derive their power, exists. To hang creatures who have been created by law is not a very logical remedy for a governmentalist.

Dr. Henderson of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago thinks the workers ought to be compelled to pay an extra tax to the State as a pension fund for the toilers enfeebled by age. Pile it on to them, professor; the white slave is patient and indolent. But some day the mules may kick the bucket and teach antiquated professors a lesson in sociology which will be somewhat different from the old-age-pension theory. Let them once understand that they are impoverished by virtue of legal robbery and their own ignorance, and they will find that they produce enough in a few years to keep them in comfort and their life.

INTERLOPER.

Several hundred years ago nearly everybody believed that freedom in religion would ruin civilization and destroy society. But it did not. On the contrary there is not a man living, except the pope and his deluded followers, who will deny that Anarchy in thought has given us the civilization that we boast of today. If Anarchy of thought has been the greatest achievement of civilization, why should anyone doubt that a further enlargement of the principle to include the relations of men would greatly increase the blessings it has already conferred? —Ross Winn.

For Boston.

Solidarity Picnic for the victims of the Paterson strike, to be held Sunday, August 3, at Buitta's Farm, away in the woods of liberty, Newton Upper Falls. Music by the Lynn comrades. International songs and social games. Admission 25 cents. Children free. Refreshments and eatables can be purchased on the grounds. Directions.—Take Subway cars to Newton Boul., there take Norumbega cars, ask for transfer (free) to Newton Upper Falls. Leave car at Oak Street and walk down to Pumping Station, then turn to the right to Highland Ave., where the farm is. Teams will wait for visitors from 12 till 3 p. m.

Splinters.

Auguste Vaillant, who threw a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies, stated that "my act is the logical consequence of my ideas derived from the philosophy of Darwin, Buechner, and Herbert Spencer." About two years previous to his act, he stated that he was a philosophical Anarchist, "because Anarchy must be philosophical, just as philosophy is necessarily Anarchistic." I mention this for the benefit of some of our comrades, who wish to attach the word "philosophical" to Anarchism for another reason.

The last congress has made appropriations which will lead to the expenditure of close to a billion dollars. Is it any wonder the Republicans are shouting loudly about "prosperity"?

Secretary Root extenuates General Smith by stating that the American army has committed barbarities before. This may be an eminently military way of reasoning; but a man on trial would hardly benefit his case by making such a plea.

The military administration of Roosevelt has ideas entirely worthy of imperialism. Altho General Smith ordered unheard of barbarities, and Major Waller executed them, they are both defended and their acts extenuated by the strenuous president; but a department clerk who criticized the government was immediately discharged. So also when Major Waller came to San Francisco, he made some remarks intended to reflect on some unnamed officers at Washington, intimating that he had been made a scapegoat. That was the real thing. Killing Filipinos was all right, but criticizing the administration, that was unbearable! The president and the secretary of war were up in arms immediately. What despotism hates, above all, is the telling of the simple truth.

Jr.

Philistine, Schools, Factories.

At present I am very much interested in "White Slavery in the South," as given in FREE SOCIETY of July 13 from the May *Philistine*. It is well known that I believe in child labor to a moderate degree, and this article from the *Philistine* has been flung at me ever since it appeared, by my opponents from all over the country.

I finally wrote Editor Elbert Hubbard of East Aurora, N. Y., a short, rough-shod letter, and was surprised to receive from him the following reply:

26 June, 1902.

Dear Mr. Livesey:

I am in receipt of your kind letter of 24th inst. You have stated some great and splendid truths in a way that no one can possibly misunderstand. When you say that education, as it is now carried on, tends to lessen respect for honest work, you state a truth that should be posted big. I intend to make use of some of your thoughts for the benefit of *Philistine*. With all kind wishes, ever, yours sincerely,

ELBERT HUBBARD.

If Elbert means the half of that I am ready to shake with him, and he will be only another who comes my way upon reading me fully on the anti-school question.

About the time Elbert was penning the above I was penning a letter on him for the

Baltimore *Sun* in which I praised his opinion of colleges and queried regarding his child slaves in southern mills. This letter appeared in the *Sun* of June 27.

FRANCIS B. LIVESEY.

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Here and There.

From a letter in *Freiheit* of July 19, it appears that Comrade Most enjoys both good health and spirits in the government quarters at Blackwell's Island. He does not even envy the majority of the American "sovereigns." "What are the enjoyments of the 'free and the brave,' who are not behind lock and bar? They, too, only vary between stable and yoke. When I think of those who deep under the earth dig fortunes or in factories transform sweat and blood into gold, which never comes into their hands, then I feel myself well situated. It is an interesting world in which we live at present! It simply stands on its head, and indeed it is time that it be put on its feet," he says among other things.

Comrade MacQueen has been released on \$5000 bail.

Comrade Grossman has also been surrendered to the Paterson authorities from New York. Altho he was in New York on the day of the riots, there are about a dozen "witnesses" who will testify "that he was among the rioters."

Organized labor of California warns the Eastern workers against the lying newspaper reports, that there is a scarcity of labor on the Pacific coast. There is no scarcity when fair wages are offered.

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LETTER-BOX.

J. G., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Your lines are not poetry, and cannot be published.

W. T., Los Angeles.—I fear you mistake honest criticism for "a desire to sneer at each other." Criticisms and discussions are desirable and very essential in our movement, for they promote improvement and clearness. A little sarcasm should not be taken as a deliberate offense.—That the "foreign Anarchists are yet the main financial supporters of our papers and literature" is undoubtedly true, and is realized, I think, by all comrades who are familiar with the movement.—Of course the colony in Brazil will have its troubles and trials, and especially since people promiscuously are herding together. Many will be disappointed and declare colonies a failure, forgetting that congeniality, harmony, and the essential condition cannot be caught with a lasso, but must be a matter of spontaneous growth. I think poor comrades should rather await further developments than hasten to go there.

L., New York.—To make your article "Freedom and Government" available for print, we would have to rewrite the same entirely, after which, I am afraid, you would not recognize your own writing.

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"How is this?" asked an eight hour man, on returning home at night, when he found his wife sitting in her best clothes on the front doorstep, reading a volume of travels; "where is my supper?"

"I don't know," replied his wife. "I began to get your breakfast at six o'clock this morning, and my eight hours ended at 2 o'clock this afternoon."—*The Star*.

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Whether the constitution follows the flag to the Philippines, you can bet the appropriations do.—*Atlanta Constitution*.

Literature.

RIGHT GENERATION THE GOAL. By Dr. M. E. Conger, 1027 Monroe St., Chicago, Ill. 96 pp. Price, paper cover, 50 cents.

This book is a mixture of thought-provoking suggestions and ludicrous confusion. The author declares that a complete revolution is imminent and will be accomplished in the next fifty years, yet no redemption is possible until "people are born well . . . in freedom," which will only be achieved when "selfish sexual passions" are "mastered." The author does not seem to be aware that such statements are contradictory. But logic is not his hobby. He clamors for freedom and restraint in one breath. He realizes that government fattens, lives upon schemes of deception, yet urges restraining "every person on earth from violating nature's laws." "Subjugation is an instrument of the selfish and unscrupulous," yet proposes more rigid marriage laws for the utter subjugation of our feelings and natural desires. He would prevent people from gratifying their sexual passions before the age of twenty-five, but urges his readers to "discard restraint, customs, habits," etc. In short, the author is sincerely contemplating a change for the better, but utterly in the dark as to what constitutes freedom as well as to cause and effect. But he invites his readers to send him criticisms of the book, of which it is badly in need, and if the readers avail themselves of the invitation, the author may soon realize his shortcomings.

SR.

"Child Slavery in 'Free' America," (illustrated) by John Spargo, has been issued in a pamphlet tract by the Comrade Publishing Co., 11 Cooper Sq., New York, N. Y.

— o —

Czar Nicholas of Russia is said to advocate the extension of education among his people. The czar should be careful how he tools with education if he cares to hold his job. Educated people do not appreciate czars.—*Daily News*.

Neither do educated people appreciate any other governmental impostors, such as presidents, governors, judges, policemen, hangmen, etc., and it is for this very reason that governments, including that of the United States, are so "careful" to cultivate patriotism and reverence for law, and the school histories so shamelessly falsified.

— o —

When I die I wish but two words written on my tombstone—"infidel" and "traitor." Infidel to a Church that could be at peace in the presence of sin; traitor to a government that was a magnificent conspiracy against justice.—Wendell Phillips.

— o —

We have but two objects before us. The one is liberty; which in the beginning is rough and difficult, but the end is smooth and easy; and the other is bondage; whose beginning is easy, but the conclusion fatal and calamitous.—Æsop.

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For Chicago.

The basket picnic of the Young Men's Club will now take place in Humboldt Park, Sunday, August 3. All friends and comrades are invited to gather on California & North Aves. at 12 o'clock.

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