

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. IX. NO. 40.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 382.

Dives.

"Dives, whence came this gold?"
 "'Twas in a weakling's hand, and I was strong,
 I struck, he loosed his hold."
 "Whence dost thou gain such might?"
 "I feed on others' brains, and drink their blood,
 With dead men's strength I fight."
 "How grows thy heap so great?"
 "Thru sweat of weary children, women's tears,
 The toiler's curse and hate."
 "How dost thou spend thy days?"
 "I breed more gold, or squander lavishly,
 Or barter gifts for praise."
 "Dost bow before God's Word?"
 "Ah! in Christ Jesus' name I worship Him—
 Mammon, my only Lord."
 "And fearest thou no hell?"
 "Nay fool! can death increase this boundless thirst—
 This fire in which I dwell?"

—E. Ritchie.

An Official Solution.

Labor Statistician Carroll D. Wright delivered a learned discourse upon the timely topic, "Is there any solution to the labor problem?" at the West Virginia University a few days ago. Wright is considered quite an authority on labor matters by the "cultured" class; and being a man of "sound" judgment, he is greatly in demand by that class whenever it seeks diversion or amusement in discoursing the "labor problem."

Wright maintains there is a remedy "to soften the struggle between labor and capital." Notice how delicately he phrases it. "Soften the struggle" indeed! Before giving his own, however, he passes in review the various other remedies, proposed mostly by the vulgar. Legislation he pronounces a failure.

"If any effort has proved fallible it is the attempt to secure good, pure individual character by statutory enactments. You may read the history of the world in its statutes, yet statutes are the followers, not the leaders of the popular voice. Laws are but the crystallization of public sentiment, and as such they may exert an educational influence, but they can never serve as a solution of social and chronic problems."

One would almost think some firebrand Anarchist, rather than a dignified government official, had given utterance to the above. I do not say, of course, that the government official and the Anarchist may not be covered with the same coat. But that is another question. At all events let us not get too enthusiastic, for Wright has not yet finished. Passing on to Socialism, he says: "Socialism is not a vital principle

because it has no good in it. It embodies no good because it does not recognize the God-given qualities of human nature."

If Wright had taken the pains to enlighten us regarding the psychology of those qualities which human nature receives from God, as against those which it gets elsewhere, we might be able to discuss the matter with him. As it is we have to be content with the knowledge that all our qualities are not the gift of one benevolent power.

Surely, now, the learned Wright might have conjectured that it is our ignorance which has kept us from recognizing the "God-given qualities" within us, and, in his leisure hours between university lectures, have drawn a chart with statistics showing the number and sources of the various "qualities" human nature does really contain. If God has given us certain qualities we want to know it. And if we are indebted to the Department of Labor for other qualities we want to know it also, that we may recognize the sources and give to each the credit which rightfully belongs to it. We are willing to do this provided the commissioner responds with the necessary statistics. Otherwise we will be forced to abandon all our Socialistic theories. For if Socialism "is not a constructive force, has no justice, no humanity, no progress," as Mr. Wright has told the learned professors and students of the University of West Virginia, and all because it has failed to recognize "the God-given qualities of human nature," what's the use of bothering with it any longer?

"In religion," continues Mr. Wright, "we find the highest form of solution yet offered." Again the commissioner leaves us in a quandary, for he immediately closed his address amid a shower of applause from his learned audience, without a word of detail further than that "we are to have a new law of wages out of religious thought." It is marvelous how long and learnedly men can talk and say nothing. Here is Wright's whole speech in a sentence: The struggle between capital and labor is going to be softened by a new law of wages, the highest form of solution, which will grow out of religious thought. Such an address is indeed praiseworthy, coming as it did from a well-fed government official. The highest authority in the land with all the weight of legality and respectability has spoken; so now all we need do is fall on our knees and pray for the coming of the new law of wages which is to deliver us from bondage. How

easily the whole knotty problem is to be solved. Who but a learned government official could have made such a wonder-working discovery? We will not even have to vote the Socialist ticket.

I wonder if Wright thinks anyone with an ounce of sense takes him seriously? We have long ears, many of us, in the labor movement, but none so long as to be mystified by Wright's elegant flow of words signifying nothing. That fake about religion going to solve the labor problem has been repeated too often. It is stale. The dogs in the street bark at the mention of it. Religion has never yet solved any question and it never will, for religion itself is not solvable. Religion only begins where the labor problem ends—at the grave. After a life of obedient submission to the heartless, vain set that loiters about Newport banqueting monkeys, religion promises us a pass thru the golden gate and a chariot to carry us there. That is the solution Wright offers the coal miners and the factory workers. But we refuse to listen to him, and will continue in our homely way to organize and educate; to harmonize the individual workers in the need of united action; to instill them with the fact that cooperation is the essential need of the hour, and that freedom from the thralldom in which the workers are now held can only come after each man develops his own individuality and then blends it with that of his neighbor for the common good of them both. Then it will not be a hundred and fifty thousand miners that will be on strike, but a whole nation, a world of workers. And the Wrights will wake up one fine morning and find themselves all wrong.

JAY FOY.

Important Matters.

We torture and punish people, not in self defense, not to protect ourselves, but to make them do as we want them to do, and above all to have them adopt our creed and follow our mode of action. But are we any better in this respect than they who lived in the Middle Ages? Did they do any worse than we are doing every day? Were they more wicked or more merciless than we are? No, all our punishments are pure tortures, and the spirit that prompts this persecution is the contemptible and villainous spirit that moved those who lived and ruled in Europe from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. Men want to be masters, they want their own way, they want to exercise power,

they delight in being cruel to their enemies, and to unbelievers at all times.

All courts, condemnations and convictions must be overthrown eventually. They are contrary to the enlightened spirit of the age. They are against truth, against justice, against common sense, against all ideas of fairness, and against all the prevailing tendencies of the present day. Wrongs are tolerated by people simply because they have not opened their eyes and come to view them as wrongs. There is no one great judge, and so there ought to be no little judges. Next to an executioner, and hardly next, is a judge—a common man who convicts other men and hands them over to be executed! Is a judge a better man than other men in any one respect? Does he know more, is he more gifted, is he purer, is he more infallible? Whence comes his commission? From common men, always, from men like himself—and besides from men who are in no sense worthier or better than the prisoner whom he convicts. It is a serious mistake, a great misconception, to suppose for a moment that judges as a class are better or wiser than other men. They are always taken from the common walks of life—they are never godlike, they are only men.

It is amusing to see how delighted people are with being governed, with being disciplined from day to day by their several masters! They consider that government is eminently proper and necessary—the world could not exist a minute, they imagine, without government. How much interest they take in their chains! They are so beautiful, so finely burnished, so handsomely gilded! And they render such a pleasing, jingling sound when they are toyed with or handled. People like to live in a prison—if it is a nice prison, handsomely furnished and conveniently arranged as governmental prisons usually are. People under modern governments have so many luxuries, so many comforts! Who would not be one of the slaves of government, one of the subjects, under such favorable circumstances? People really forget that they are slaves, that they are living in a state of confinement in which there are many duties combined with a few privileges. People love to look around and see how convenient everything is and how much better housed and served they are than people are who live in heathen lands. They see so many palaces and such splendor all over their country that their eyes are dazzled. They do not own the palaces, and the splendor they behold is not their splendor, but all these things belong to their country and they have the pleasure of feeling that it was their money or their labor that helped to pay for these blessings. They have some pains and some inconveniences it is true, but they feel that this is no more than might be expected. Indeed, things have always been so. It is known that they dare not express their thoughts, but as they do not have many, they do not feel at all hampered. They think that people ought to be willing to make some sacrifices when they have such a kind government to protect and care for them.

J. WILSON.

Socialism and Liberty.

The spider's most attenuated thread is cord—cable, to the differences among political reformers; and the jewel consistency is only to be found in the camp of the Anarchists. All schools are striving for liberty, but the Anarchist alone is using it as a means to the end. Such are my thoughts on reading the discussion between J. Wm. Lloyd and Chas. H. Kerr now running in *Lucifer* under the above title. Mr. Lloyd claimed that Socialism denied the right of the individual "to cooperate as he pleases with his fellows and to obtain his living if he pleases in his own way," and he cites its "Administration which controls the land and the means of production" in proof, and Mr. Lloyd naively suggests that before any union can be effected between Socialists and Anarchists, the former "must give some pledge that they will always permit the free secession of the dissenting individual." And I thought how easy that would be; and how eager politicians are to make such promises. And Mr. Kerr gladly gives his promise for himself and friends. But he repudiates any "Administration with a big A," or that Socialists favor a central authority which controls the "land and means of production," and claims "it is certainly no part of our program to apply coercion to any individual." And yet in "supposing the Socialist party to gain control of the public powers" of the present State, what it would undoubtedly do would be to assume the control of the trusts, and such land as might at the time be operated wholly by wage labor for the benefit of non-resident capitalists. Of course Mr. Kerr can limit his party government in the "control of public powers." It is amusing to read the various plans Socialists propose when once they get "control of the public powers." There is never any uncertainty in their politics, nor will their power ever become corrupt. Mr. Kerr belongs to the International Socialist party, and they are not "State Socialists," still they want to get "control of the public powers," govern the trusts, take possession of large tracts of land, and operate production. This may not constitute a State or government; but I fail to see much liberty in it. He quotes from Engel's "Origin of the Family":

The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of State where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze ax.

These promises Socialists are making demonstrates one thing pretty effectually, that is, that Anarchism is making inroads upon their philosophy. They are really out-doing our "Individualist" or "philosophic" Anarchists, for the latter propose to retain "the machinery of government" after abolishing government itself.

Mr. Lloyd in his artless simplicity may be willing to accept the promise of his Socialist friends and aid them in their endeavor to gain "control of the public powers;" but Anarchists in general, I imagine, will look upon such promises as political taffy, and will none of it. Mr. Kerr made one statement that surprised me. He said that the working plan of a collectivist administration involves decentralization to the fullest extent possible. It is getting quite popular

for whilom State Socialists to steal Anarchist thunder. While it shows the trend of liberal ideas, it does not reflect honesty on the part of these Socialists to give the Anarchists no credit.

In the same issue of *Lucifer*, our Comrade J. C. Barnes, makes an argument for the Single Tax, calling it "the great moral subject with a fiscal name." The trouble with all these fiscal ideas is that certain individuals are given power, and power is always afflicted with an itching palm to get into the treasury. Mr. Kerr with his International Socialist Party; Mr. Barnes with his Single Tax, and Mr. Lloyd with his Free Socialist organization, would arrive at the same destination. But the conveyance is of very different order. The political motor of the two first cannot be trusted. Mr. Kerr as a Socialist, believing in political power to bring about a condition of individual liberty, may be sincere; but how can he reconcile the two opposite principles? Does not political power make individual liberty impossible? Mr. Kerr might say no. But if Mr. Barnes, as he says, is an Anarchist, he must answer in the affirmative. Why then should he vote for a political party? The question is, not how shall we be governed; but how shall we be rid of government? Would Mr. Barnes employ government? Does he expect politicians to work themselves out of a job? Our voting Anarchists may sincerely believe they advance our interest by voting, but I believe they are mistaken. It would be as consistent to employ a thief to discourage stealing. I would ask Comrade Barnes to turn from his study of the Single Tax, and examine the principles of liberty. He will find there the true economy. The principle of politics is the principle of war. It is the club of force. Senator Ingalls once said: "Government is force, politics is a battle for supremacy, parties are the armies, the object is success." And what was justifiable in war was equally so in politics. I have had some little experience with political parties, and feel that Ingalls was right.

The Anarchist with a ballot is brother to the Anarchist with a bomb.

Socialism and liberty dwell together. I believe that liberty is essential to true Socialism. But with politics, liberty is only of use as a name to inscribe upon banners and transparencies for torchlight processions. As a principle it is impossible with any political or economic force employed to direct, control or administer public polity. No rule implies no force. When an Anarchist goes into politics he stultifies himself. His action contradicts and nullifies his philosophy. When we enter politics we make a bid for power, to rule, to govern, to force people to do as we think they ought to. I have no choice in parties. If I was forced to vote I think I should vote the Republican ticket, with the idea that the worst is really the best. Corruption tends to eruption, and the "social organism" might be improved. Reforming it gives it a new lease of power, and power is always degenerating.

Comrade Barnes hopes Anarchists will study the Single Tax; and I hope that Barnes will "give his unprejudiced attention for a short time" to the principles of Anarchism.

A. LE ROY LOUBAL.

Some Phases Of Modern Slavery.

It is the custom to speak of slavery as extinct. The most of us think that it passed with the emancipation of the Negro in the United States, and that all of the civilized nations, and especially our own, are in the full enjoyment of the greatest measure of freedom.

The truth of the matter, however, is that slavery has not been abolished at all. The subservience of one man to another has simply been made less direct. The most direct of slavery is cannibalism, and such was its original form. As long as the conquering tribes were wandering hordes and without fixed abodes of any kind, it was impossible to develop a system of chattel slavery. When agriculture settled men, it was not long before it occurred to the dominant class that it was better to enslave the captive than to kill him. In the earliest times, the victims of war were thus put to much the same uses as we put domestic animals. They were worked and fed and sheltered. As civilization advanced the lot of the serf was made easier. There was no thought, however, of his emancipation.

Upon the appearance and progress of Christianity, there came other and more powerfully beneficent influences in behalf of the slave. It taught the dominant class that the slave was also a human being, a fact which the old aristocracies did not admit. In the course of many centuries the direct ownership of man by man was done away with. The indirect ownership was left and still remains.

Modern industrialism is indirect slavery.

It could not be otherwise, since its central idea is the private ownership of natural opportunities. To be free man must have something more than health and strength—he must also have unhindered access to all the sources of natural wealth. A strong, healthy man in prison is not free, because he cannot go beyond a wall without permission of a keeper; neither is a brawny giant in civilization free, because he cannot apply his brawn to natural resources without permission of an employer. The inevitable result is that of the wealth created, the employer retains the greater portion. There could be no accumulation of millions by one man if it were not for the system that permitted a few to own the opportunities to labor. The laborer has only muscle and aptitude. And his class is so numerous that in the competitive struggle for existence, it assists the natural disposition of the employer to despoil him.

Before the creation of the great inventions, there were no rich men except among monarchs and those who enjoyed the favor of monarchs. In the absence of a system for wealth-production on a vast scale, it was impossible to get rich except thru taxation, which was often farmed out to tax-gatherers. The monarch owned the government, the power to tax, and his favorites had what they wished. When inventions came and revolutionized old methods of wealth-making, kings became comparatively poor men. Croesus then laid aside his crown and became the promoter of great commercial enterprises. Still permitted to own the soil, it was not long before the capitalist owned the opportunities to labor and owning them he became as much a tyrant as any king

before him. The king had his soldiers invading and despoiling other kingdoms, and the capitalist has his employees competing against and ruining other capitalists. The principal reward that the king gave his soldiers was praise for being in the service of so glorious a monarch, just as the principal reward the capitalist gives his employees is beautiful speeches about the glorious country he lives in. The soldiers loved their king, were dutiful and loyal and ready to die for their master. It took a long time to convince them that the monarch was a robber, and his subjects very foolish and ignorant people for permitting him to despoil them. And it is going to take a long time to convince the mill and factory hand, the sweatshop victims, miners, machinists, mechanics, etc., that the capitalist is a robber of a kingly type, and that they are very foolish and ignorant folks to permit him to go on accumulating millions and millions while they live on bread and praise.

The foundation of kingly authority rested upon the private ownership of the soil, and such is still the foundation of all class privileges and tyranny of every kind.

The stone age lasted a long time. It passed. The new stone age and the bronze age also lasted a long, long time. They also passed. Cannibalism has gone. Monarchy is practically gone. Capitalism is just in the midst of its career. But it too is doomed to death. The sentence is irrevocable. It will do much toward the development of the race. That will remain. Its countless tyrannies cannot survive.—*Reed's Isonomy*, San Antonio, Tex., July, 1902.

— o —

Poverty, Crime and Ignorance.

Differ as social reformers may regarding the true cause or causes of poverty and the economic methods by which it may be finally abolished, they all agree that there is an unmistakable relation between this evil and the evils of crime and ignorance. And no one at all capable of tracing effects to their ultimate causes will deny that this relation is very intimate.

While it is true that many among those who are poor are not necessarily ignorant, and are not always persons criminally disposed, just as it is true that many of those who are ignorant are not necessarily poor, it cannot be disputed that most of the criminal and illiterate persons come from the ranks of the poor. Crime is as often committed out of ignorance of true social relationships as it is out of almost every other cause. Similarly poverty is most directly responsible for much that goes under the name of crime.

That those who are ignorant are most likely to remain poor is not universally true. But the fact that most poor persons are doomed to hopeless ignorance is generally applicable, even in countries where education is supplied by the State, since those who have no means of supporting their children cannot avail themselves of this opportunity.

DAVID A. MODELL.

Literature.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. The Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League, Chicago. 198 pp. Price \$2.

The rushing commercial system of the present time is in no respect more wasteful

than in the lives of men. And this is not speaking only of those who are killed in dangerous mines or in railroad accidents, or in any other sphere of the continuous industrial war; but it applies even more forcibly to the joyless drudges whose mechanical labor blights their lives and kills all hope. Few men are able to put their souls in the work which they do; and this is more fatal to them than all the risks for which careless greed is responsible, as it reaches the very foundation of their beings. If we reflect that "cheap" commercial products are really dear in the end, to take for instance furniture, which has to be replaced every few months or years, as the purse may be, while substantial works of old times are handed down from generation to generation; it is still more important to consider that the "cheap" makeshifts cost still more in the souls of men. For in producing such things there is not the joy of creation and self-expression; there is only the grinding toil of copying an infinitesimal part of stereotyped models.

The arts and crafts movement is above all a protest against this waste of men; and aims at individuality and life in production. The worker should conceive and design and create. There should be joy in his labor; it should be an end as well as a means. An artist who should be compelled to turn out exact copies of things in which he took no interest, working long hours a day, would lose his identity. Every worker should be an artist; and wearisome drudgery has the same effect on him.

Professor Triggs narrates the rise and growth of the industrial art movement, beginning with the theoretical protests of Carlyle, continuing in the more practical theories and plans of Ruskin, and developing with the success of Wm. Morris' work. The latter's example is bearing fruit slowly and surely, as already several printshops and manufactories are founded on the principles of industrial art. The Industrial Art League of Chicago was formed to encourage and initiate enterprises of this kind. Altho the movement is hardly out of the "fad stage," practical examples of the type of the Rookwood pottery works at Cincinnati furnish evidence of a healthy vitality.

The book is excellently printed; and contains etchings from the bas-reliefs by Julia M. Bracken of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Wm. Morris. Sketches of each of these are given, especially as to their efforts in behalf of industrial art. In the last chapter, on "The Development of Industrial consciousness," he shows that, like Wm. Morris he has thoroly grasped that art in handicraft can only be spasmodic in chaotic and continuous industrial war. Industrial consciousness rebels at uniformity, and "vigorous personalities are withdrawing from political policies, and religious orthodoxies and educational and industrial systems, and are thinking and acting individually; and strangely enough the more individualistic men become the more universal and genuinely united they find themselves to be. Philosophic Anarchy is, in short, the virtual belief of some of the most conspicuous leaders of the present day." Another quotation: "The next stage is that of Anarchism, which, politically speaking, means control of one's self in all matters relating to self and to one's fellows."

JR.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by..... 4. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 331 WALNUT ST., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

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, OCTOBER 5, 1902.

382

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

Notes.

Thru the liberality of the Boston comrades, we have been enabled to publish the article "Origin of Anarchism," which appeared some time ago in FREE SOCIETY, in pamphlet form, and it is now ready for distribution.

The essay has been considerably elaborated by the author, C. L. James, and dispels the idea that Anarchism is a "foreign plant" or that it means "the destruction of society." The historical references and logic of the essay will not fail to impress the professor and toiler alike. It should have a wide circulation. The price is \$2 per hundred. Ten copies, 25 cents. Single copy, 5 cents.

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.

A number of comrades have volunteered to collect subscriptions in their districts in Chicago. The delinquents may therefore expect to be called on at an early date.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave. October 5 Reverend Jenkin Lloyd Jones will speak on "John Ruskin."

It would be desirable for the success of these meetings to have music and recitations for entertainment. Any volunteer talent will be gladly received. Those interested are requested to speak with the chairman or communicate with the secretary, R. Goodheart, 919 Tolman Ave.

The Progressive Club will give a little tea-party every Friday evening. Friendly discussions will take place. October 3 the gathering will be at 87 Oakley Ave. (near Western Ave. and the Lake St. "L"), where each of those present will be requested to give a definition of Anarchism. Everybody is welcome. Free admission.

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

FREE SOCIETY

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday night at 8 p. m., 278 Blue Island Ave. October 4 S. Stem will speak on "The Fallacy of Religion."

Philadelphia.—The Social Science Club will hold weekly meetings at the Hall 920 Girard Ave., (entrance on Hutchinson St.), every Sunday evening.

Concerning Cosmos Colony.

Many have been inquiring as to Cosmos Colony. Comrade Fox writes us that he has received a letter from Nat Goodwin, this being the second one he wrote. The first one, describing the conditions there, did not arrive, so the comrades will have to wait further for details. He says they are putting in crops, and that no more people should go there for some months yet unless they have money; but that after the crop is raised as many people may go as want to.

By the Wayside.

"Cheap bread" will be the next campaign issue of the Socialists in Germany. This may be "doing something practical," but it is certainly not "revolutionary Socialism."

District Attorney Jerome, of New York, warns the workers of this country not to "arouse capital too much," or else they will be "crushed into the dust." Such boasting prophecies have been made before by arrogant tyrants; but history recounts that it were the tyrants who were finally biting the dust.

"Capitalism only exists by the consent of the workers," says the Chicago Socialist correctly. But sometimes we are told by the same paper that capitalism exists by the consent of "economic determinism" and that man has nothing to do with his destiny.

According to one of the lickspittles, of whom there is a large crop in this country, the Dakota farmers "might well be classed as Anarchists," simply because they did not feel proud of the fact that young Roosevelt enjoyed himself by killing innocent birds on their land; and one McCullough, a railway magnate, felt like having "a brush with these hayseeds," to punish them for their lack of patriotism. It would now be in order for the farmers to test the patriotism of the Roosevelts, Vanderbilts, McCulloughs, and other "benefactors of society," by going on a shooting expedition on the estates of these "gentlemen." They would feel very proud, of course, and provide the farmers with government lodgings for trespass.

The Socialists are performing some amusing acrobatic feats in last Lucifer. Mr. Kerr, the publisher of Socialist literature, had asserted that the term "State Socialism" did not apply to the Socialist parties. But C. H. F., another Socialist, sets him right and declares that there is "no gradation possible" between those who want to use the State to administer collective wealth and those who oppose and ignore the State. "... a Socialist must be either a State So-

cialist or a non-State Socialist, i. e. Anarchist," which is certainly correct.

But there is the consolation for an Anarchist that even under a State Socialist régime he will be permitted to stay outside of prison. To a query what would happen with those who may not feel inclined to submit to "the administration of things," a Socialist replies: "Those who may feel the burdens of citizenship in the Socialist State too hard will have the choice of leaving it." But this tolerant Socialist seems to forget that this consolation is somewhat antiquated. If I am not mistaken both the Anarchists and Socialists were granted this liberty long ago by the so much decried capitalists, and does not indicate a great advance. Every brainless patriot has the phrase, "If you do not like this country why don't you leave it?" continually on his lips for all radicals.

"The congressional committee of the Democratic party were just now deeply in contemplation," says the Fackel, "how best to take advantage of the Pennsylvania strike to prove the friendliness of the party towards the workers, when the press announced that the by-the-grace-of-God Baer, who with his accomplices received the property privileges direct from God, was a prominent member of the Democratic party." And presently the notorious general, Gobin, called for more troops to protect—the poor strikers, of course.

Once upon a time the term God had great charm even to learned people. When the personal deity was abandoned, "providence" was substituted, and finally God could be found in every leaf on the globe. At present the word "government" seems to possess an equal enchantment even among Anarchists. Altho it has been the great curse of time, to such an extent has it gained hold of the minds of men, that they cling to the word tenaciously, even when rejecting the spirit of it. Comrade J. M. Clarke gives us a forcible illustration of this fact in last week's FREE SOCIETY. Says he:

Anarchists really believe in genuine government. To govern is to control, to exercise force upon. The question now arises, can we control without having mastery over the being or thing controlled? And what is there among beings or things that in an approximate sense we can thus do with? Is it not one's self?

But the fact is, the Anarchists believe neither in genuine nor spurious government. If they "mind their own business" more than other people, it is not because they "control" or "govern" themselves, but because they have learned that it is the best and easiest way for them to get along. They do not use "force" to conduct themselves as they do, but cannot help doing otherwise. And Comrade Clarke gives his whole case away, when he says:

I mean by control simply, that he can do what seems to him best at the time of doing, without being overwhelmed by the undesired force or compulsion of any other.

Now, does anyone ever commit an act which seems to him worst "at the time of doing"? Certainly not. All men act just as they must act at the time being. After a

moment's reflection they may not consider it the best they could have done, but at the moment of their action they were forced to do as they did. Our will does not determine the sensations; on the contrary, sensations determine our thoughts and these our acts.

Thus "self-government" is a myth, and is neither "very useful" nor "absolutely necessary"—it simply does not exist. What is useful and necessary, however, is that we increase our knowledge regarding human relationship. The more we come to understand the psychology of men's actions, the more will we be determined to shape our environment so as to cause the least friction.

The incident told by K. A. S., of Boston, in the same issue, is another illustration of the fact that some Anarchists are not yet out of the woods, as soon as they leave the field of economics or government.

The father will not contest the possession of the child (seventeen years old), as he reasons that a child having lost so far her affections for her parents, is not worthy of any, and he will be better off if he can forget her.

This implies that the father is all right and the daughter all wrong, because she lost "her affections for her parents." But how did it happen that the girl lost her love for the parents? Did she maliciously and deliberately rid herself of the affection, or was it not rather the natural result of the relations between parents and child? "There is no effect without a cause," is an old saying; and I can see no reason why it should not be applied in case Anarchist children run away from home. If the parents had imbued the child with the Anarchist ideas, by speech and conduct, I am inclined to think she would have had more confidence in her parents than in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The idea that children *must* love their parents has no place in the Anarchist philosophy. And when we punish our children, just like other people, and prevent them from going to church, while we demand freedom for ourselves, we cannot expect our children to fall in love with our inconsistencies.

"What would you do with a child that is lying, if you don't believe in punishing children?" I was asked by a mother not long ago.

"I would quit lying myself, if I was the mother," I replied.

"Do you mean to say that I am a liar?" she queried rather indignantly.

"Yes, that is just what I meant to say. Repeatedly you tell the child that you will do this or that if it does or does not so and so. But only in a moment of great anger do you keep your promise.

"When the child asks for information of its origin, you do not hesitate to tell a lie, which the child sooner or later discovers; and is it any wonder if the children soon become imbued with the idea that lying is quite proper?"

Let us ever tell the truth to our children, and thus gain their confidence; let us treat them as our nearest friends, and not as our inferiors and subjects, and we will gain their love and appreciation.

A reader of FREE SOCIETY asks for an explanation of the following queries:

1. What is understood by a "Socialist Anarchist."
2. I fully agree with Karl Kautsky, "It is not Social Democracy that eliminates the choice of work, but the development itself." If economic development does not determine what man shall work at, then, pray, tell me what does? Will not new inventions interfere with the choice of work?
3. How would industry be operated under Anarchism.
4. Why is majority rule so obnoxious to Anarchists? Will not the few always rule? Even under Anarchism the few would influence the mass.

1. All Anarchists are Socialists, and they attach the term "Anarchist" merely to distinguish themselves from the State Socialists.

2. If "economic development" determines man's destiny, why should the Social Democrats waste so much energy in propagating State Socialism? When Kautsky claims that under Social Democracy all factories shall be owned by the State and the workers must, therefore, submit to the regulations of the State, it is no more "economic development" which devises such submission than the submission to exploitation is today. Inventions may shift the occupations of man; but a free man will not continually make wash-tubs when he has an inclination and talent for fancy book-binding.

3. This was pointed out last week. But I may add here that people who are intelligent enough to rid themselves of wage-slavery and government, will be quite able to operate industry to suit themselves.

4. True, the few rule and will always rule; and it is not the majority rule that is obnoxious to the Anarchists, but the power invested in the rulers or "administrators of things." Even the most intelligent and liberal-minded man would be a tyrant when given the power to rule. Besides, never can people more easily be enslaved than when they are under the illusion that they are the rulers themselves. Furthermore, the idea that things can be revolutionized by a majority of votes without self-development, is a stumbling-block to progress.

A mother of a girl, who had been working in a Chicago cracker factory, went for the wages coming to her daughter, and found the amount short eight cents. In arguing the case with the foreman, she happened to say something about "robbing the poor." "You have been reading the Chicago American, and we want no such talk here," exclaimed the foreman. "No, you are mistaken," retorted the woman. "I have read in the Bible that the rich are robbing the poor." Perhaps anti-Bible laws are now in order.

INTERLOPER.

Cook Defense Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$24. Collected by H. Bauer, Allegheny, Pa., List No. 8, \$11. Local Union, 398, Cleveland, \$2. Rose Fritz, Chicago, \$2.25. D. Levinson, \$2. M. Kisliuk, \$1. S. Rosenblatt, Astoria, G. Kapelowitz, Geo. Krainer, A. Winkler, each 50c. Total, \$44.75. S. BOOKHINDER, Treas. Providence, R. I.

The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments.—Herbert Spencer.

Emile Zola.

From Paris comes the sad news that Emile Zola is dead. His death came just when one of his last works, "Truth," began to make its appearance in *Aurora*. It is the third part of "The Four Gospels," of which "Fecundity" and "Labor" are already known. The fourth part would be entitled "Justice," but it is not yet known whether or not these last two works are ready for print. "Truth" deals with the world of lower education. "The events of late years have taught the author," says the *Freiheit*, "that only a well informed race is able to realize justice. A race that is lulled in ignorance is easily made the booty of fraud and falsehood. Thus the problem must, before any other advancement, be taken at the root. People need education, for only thru enlightenment can darkness be banished, in which they are kept by the reactionary forces of the past." In France this means the substitution of public schools for Church education, the struggle of which is now taking place there. The struggle of a liberal-minded husband with his clerical wife in regard to the bringing up of their child occupies a large part of the novel. Zola demands that the man who wants to free himself must also free his wife from the paws of priesthood. To him Roman clericalism is a pernicious, anti-social, stagnating and poisonous force which must be downed.

INTERLOPER.

Chicago Meeting.

Owing to an unpleasant misunderstanding, the meeting of the Chicago Philosophical Society last Sunday rather resembled a "political rally," three speakers pleading to work for the initiative and referendum, and their speeches are hardly worth reporting. The gist of their arguments was that thru the initiative and referendum the people would be their own lawmakers, and in a position to rectify almost all the prevailing evils. But the criticisms following the speakers disillusioned the politicians considerably. They were shown that both direct and indirect legislation was "organized violence," to use the words of Tolstoy, and violence was not the means to change society for the better. Nothing but a thorough knowledge of the causes which produced the evils in society would accomplish a betterment. For over thirty years the initiative and referendum had been in working order in Switzerland, yet the condition of the down-trodden had not improved. Altho Switzerland was not an industrial country, poverty prevailed. Over 22,000 children under the age of eighteen were working in factories. Over 31,000 children and about 93,000 adults were receiving support from charity institutions. The percentage of emigration was greater than in any other country, and people were not likely to leave their country if the conditions were tolerable. Only three things had the initiative and referendum achieved in Switzerland: an eleven-hour workday made legal, the purchase of railways by the government, and the re-establishment of corporal punishment—things which were not very likely to improve the condition of the people economically or morally.

REPORTER.

The King Takes His Pleasure: An Extract from a Historical Document.

In the year 1680, Charles II of Austria, king of Spain, desired to be present at an *auto general de fe*. He was then nineteen years of age. Don Diego Sarmiento de Valladares, bishop of Oviedo and Plasencia, royal councilor, member of the government Junta during the prince's minority, and also inquisitor general of the kingdom, commended the young monarch's notion and waited only for an opportunity to bring together a good collection of the guilty for castigation.

He did not have long to tarry for such a conjuncture.

All the tribunals made haste, and already by the end of April a great many cases had been tried, and no less large number of heretics taken from prisons of the Inquisition in the capital, in Toledo, and in other places throughout the realm.

The king being apprised thereof, and persisting in his wish to witness an *auto general*, it was announced that the same should take place in Madrid in his presence on the 30th day of June, which was deemed an opportune date, as being that of the commemoration of Saint Paul.

Thenceforth, every day toward nightfall, there began to arrive certain large mourning coaches, escorted by soldiers and members of the clergy.

Guessing what they contained, the people rejoiced in anticipation of the event set for the 30th of June.

These carriages were, in fact, conveying from the most remote tribunals of the realm, the guilty to the *hoguera* (stake or pyre) that was to be erected at the foot of Charles II's throne.

Meanwhile, the duke of Medinaceli, the prime minister, on invitation, consented to bear the "green cross"; the theater of the scene was set in the Plaza Mayor; a solemn procession announced the proximity of the *auto*, and to such as should take part therein indulgences were granted.

The theater, got ready in a few days by Don Fernando Villegas, was superb. It comprised a platform thirteen feet high, one hundred and ninety feet long and one hundred feet wide; two very lofty stairways leading down therefrom; canopied seats for municipal and other corporations; cages for the guilty; tables for the secretaries; reading desks and tribunes for the priesthood; alters for the religious ceremonies; refectories for such of the inquisitors as might be annoyed by hunger; and guard posts for the surveillance of the doomed.

No armed force was assembled to overawe and keep the people down; for it was known that the latter, far from growing wrathful, would take great delight in the *auto de fe*.

A balcony was prepared for the king in Count de Baraja's house, which happened to look directly upon the principal entrance to the theater.

The *brasero* (the fire) was got ready in the Puerta de Fuencarral, at the edge of the road, three hundred paces from the wall, where even nowadays one may easily discover traces of it.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the eve of the great day, there started forth a solemn procession, which kept moving from

that hour until midnight; the guilty were given their supper, and the holy tribunal assembled to keep vigil until the following morning.

A bundle of sticks was presented to Charles II. The king then showed it to the queen, and after holding it a long time, the royal couple handed it to the duke of Pastrana, with the request that it might be the first to be thrown upon the pyre.

In the meantime, the guilty were notified of their doom in the following terms: "Brother [brother!], your case has been investigated and referred to persons very learned in high letters and sciences, and your misdeeds are so grave and of so evil a character that, as a chastisement and an example, it has been decreed and judged that to-morrow you must die: take heed and be in readiness; and in order that you may do so properly, there are here two monks in waiting."

This announcement was made to twenty-three of the condemned.

To those who were not to suffer death, sentence was rendered in very similar terms.

In such wise came daybreak of June the 30th.

At three o'clock in the morning the guilty were dressed; at five o'clock they breakfasted; and then they formed in procession. There were eighty-six of them.

Thirty-four were represented by statues, they having died or fled.

The statues of the dead carried each a box in its arms containing the bones of the person whereof it was the effigy. And on the breasts of all one read their names in large letters.

Of the eighty-six living guilty twenty-one wore the *coraza* and *sambenito* (cuirass and sanbenito).

They were condemned to be "released"; that is, to die.

Two were lacking to the number "twenty-three" announced on the program, for the reason that the penalty of two women had that very morning been commuted, in return for certain revelations made to the Inquisition.

Of the twenty-one condemned to the stake, twelve were manacled and gagged. And among these twenty-one, there were six women.

The ages of the women were respectively thirty, twenty-four, fifty-two, forty-three, sixty and twenty-one years; and their crime was the practise of Judaism. Three of them were gagged.

The ages of the men were respectively twenty-six, twenty-five, fifty-two, sixty-five, thirty, thirty-five, thirty-four, thirty-three, thirty-six, twenty-four, thirty-eight, thirty-three, thirty-eight, twenty-seven and twenty-eight years. Some of them were physicians, the greater number were tradesmen, and nearly all were of Portuguese nationality. Their crime was likewise the practise of Judaism.

Of these twenty-one condemned to the stake, some were first to be strangled, others to be burned alive.

Moreover, thirty-two of the thirty-four statues above mentioned were to be burned, twenty-two standing for fugitives and the other ten representing the dead, whereof seven had expired in the secret dungeons of

the Inquisition. Their bones it was, carried in boxes in the arms of the aforesaid statues, that were to be reduced to ashes, both sexes and all ages being included therein.

Thus far for what relates to the "released."

Of the six persons sentenced to public obloquy and to be whipped thru the streets, two were women, each thirty-four years old.

The men were, respectively, a crippled tailor, who had begged alms; a young carpenter; an Italian, twenty-nine years old; and a cowherd, who had twice married, for which he was to receive two hundred lashes and be exiled for ten years, five of them in the galleys at the oar and without pay.

A score were condemned to exile and perpetual incarceration, twelve of this number being women, whose ages ranged from eighteen to seventy-six.

In the rear of the guilty came a very great cortege, composed of divers corporations, magistracies, communities, and orders connected with the royal court.

The procession traversed the main streets of Madrid, amidst an immense throng of people manifesting great signs of rejoicing.

At nine o'clock the cortege reached the Plaza Mayor.

The king was awaiting it in the balcony of the Count de Barajas, and the ceremony at once began.

The king swore to the inquisitor general to defend and protect the holy office.

The people swore to inform upon all foes of the faith, without distinction of class or consideration of kinship.

Immediately was mass said, and then a sermon was preached.

At four o'clock ended the reading of the sentences of the "released," who were thereupon conducted to the *brasero*.

The king stayed upon the plaza until the termination of the other proceedings, there being exorcisms, abjurations and conjurations, followed by the chanting of the *Veni Creator*.

According to the document whence this extract is made, Charles II trembled now and then.

At half after nine o'clock at night the last mass was said.

His majesty then asked the Inquisitors whether it was necessary for him to remain any longer, and on their replying no he had at once repaired to the palace.

He had passed twelve hours in the balcony without eating or speaking, and as motionless as a corpse.

Still, the Inquisition had not yet done, for there was another procession that continued all night.

On the ensuing day the remaining culprits were brought forth for public obloquy; and after being whipped, stoned and hissed by the crowd, they were taken back to their endless confinement.

As for the "released," naught remained of them save a heap of ashes hard by the Puerta de Fuencarral.—Pedro Antonio de Alarcon. (Translated from the Spanish for the *Conservator*, by William Struthers.)

—o—
The law is simply a system of fossilized injustice; there is not enough of intellectual interest about it to occupy an intelligent man for an hour.—Durant.

Wages and Prosperity.

During the past few years, in which the prosperity and growth of the business of this country have been so wonderful, frequent complaints have been heard from the earners of wages and salaries that they have not been benefited by the much-talked-about prosperity, which has been an entirely one-sided affair in which they had no part. These complaints have been combated by most political economists and capitalists who have expressed themselves on the matter. The truth has been most difficult, nay impossible to arrive at, for the reason that no thoroly reliable data on the subject have been available. This defect, however, has now been remedied, as the bureau of statistics in Washington has just issued a monograph which gives most valuable information and figures from which the actual proportions which capital and labor have received of the products of manufacture can be ascertained exactly.

The result of a study and analysis of the figures thus furnished by the government will, I fancy, be a great surprise to almost all persons, for it will reveal the fact that the wage and salary earner not only has not received any share of the great prosperity, but in 1901 he received actually smaller wages than in 1890. Here are some of the figures given by the government:

In manufacturing industries the number of people earning wages or salaries in 1890 was 4,712,622, who received \$2,283,216,529—an average of \$484.49 each. In 1901 the number of employes was 5,719,137, who received \$2,735,430,848—an average of \$479.28 each.

In 1890 the value of manufactured products was \$5,369,579,191, of which the wages and salary earners received 42½ per cent. In 1901 the value of products was \$13,039,279,566, of which the wages and salary earners received 21 per cent. Thus these employes received in 1901, 1 per cent less in actual amount than in 1890, and of the value of products 50 per cent less in 1901 than in 1890, while the manufacturers, to pay for raw material, all business expenses (except labor and salaries) and profit, received of the value of his products in 1890 57½ per cent and in 1901 79 per cent. To put it another way, while the manufacturer (or capitalist) received 37 per cent more in 1901 than in 1890, the employee received 50 per cent less.

Now, turning to the iron and steel industry, the output in 1890 amounted to \$478,687,519, of which there was paid as wages and salaries \$95,756,192, or almost exactly 20 per cent. In 1901 the output was \$835,759,034, of which there was paid as wages or salaries \$134,739,004, or 16½ per cent, while capital's share was in 1890 80 per cent, in 1901 83¾ per cent, an increase to capital of 6 per cent, against a decrease to labor of nearly 20 per cent.

Where has the workingman's share of the great prosperity come in?—J. H. Cathrac, in the *Daily News*.

When the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one side, what have we to expect but that their political rights should be deserted and betrayed, in the same proportion, on the other?—Junius.

The Anarshist Position.

As I am "so far from understanding" your "position," will you please briefly state in your paper just what your "position" is?

W. S. JONES.

Oakland, Ky.

REPLY.

"Our position," briefly stated, is the advocacy of liberty. We claim it is unnecessary that man should be restricted and hampered in his development by superstition and government; that government is a fraud, and its "protection" a failure and extravagant, and that the necessity for protection is created by government itself, which will disappear when it ceases. Private property and special privileges foster monopoly in natural opportunities, which create the abominable economic condition of the present time. As it is the special function of government to grant special privileges and uphold private property, and furthermore that it has no useful or necessary service to perform, we strive to abolish it. With natural opportunities free, and restrictive force of government removed, the advance of man will proceed rapidly, as the main obstacles will then be overcome. It will then be possible for "the soul of man" to attain its highest development; and the individuality of everyone find its fullest expression.

With free opportunity to produce, economic necessity will disappear, and economic crimes be unheard of. Education and the freedom of women, will do much to eliminate crimes of jealousy. Man being a product of evolution and environment, he acts according to cause; and as all effects follow causes, no man has a right to judge others nor to punish them. Moreover, criminals are not reformed by restraint; and the evil is not abated by government.

The "sex question" is solved by the freedom of women; Anarchists make no distinction of sex in human relationships.

"Public utilities" can be operated better and cheaper without the State, as all past experience will show, where a government monopoly or special privilege did not hamper it.

This is only a rudimentary sketch of part of our philosophy. To advocate Anarchism is the task of this paper. We have a literature in all languages; the most ample in the French, but also many English books. Kropotkin's pamphlets, Jean Grave's "Moribund Society and Anarchy," Tolstoy's "Slavery of Our Times," Malatesta's pamphlets, and J. Wilson's books are specially recommended to beginners.

JR.

Here and There.

According to the *Freiheit*, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal Co. has concluded to sell hard coal to the Philadelphia schools for \$4.15 a ton, while the price charged the general public is \$12 a ton. Now, nobody will claim that the coal barons have sold coal to the schools with loss, and thus it is evident that the strike was deliberately provoked in order to plunder the public on a grand scale. "So the advice of the New York Herald: 'Hang them to the lantern posts,' is not out of place," suggests the *Freiheit*.

In Florence, Italy, a general strike prevailed for a few days. Forty-two trades joined in the movement, and nearly all business was paralyzed. The military occupied the city and all meetings and assemblages were prohibited. The authorities, however, succeeded in securing the regular service and operation of the car system, water-works and street lighting, while the bakeries were also running. But newspapers did not appear, and the mail service was disorganized. Owing to lack of funds, the strikers soon returned to work, leaving only the metal-workers, who started the movement, to continue the struggle.

In Amsterdam, Holland, among many other conflicts between exploiters and exploited, there is a strike of opera chorus singers. Their demands are chiefly a more decent treatment, and the populace seem to be on their side. Thousands of people gather in the evening around and inside the opera to "serenade" the "scabs" and scrimmages with the police where blows are given and received, last till midnight. No high-sounding boycott proclamations have been issued. The spirit of solidarity will suffice.

Comrade Snellenberg calls our attention to an error in Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops." On p. 61 (London edition), line 16 from the bottom, read "1,000,000" for "3,000,000," as will be apparent by calculating the previous figures.

— o —

LETTER-BOX.

J. J. Cleveland.—Thanks; you will see the error is now corrected. Please inform us about the library board's decision as to FREE SOCIETY.

G. R., Jefferson City, Mo.—The address of *The Comrade* is 11 Cooper Square, New York City. Altho an interesting magazine, it does not stand for freedom, as the editor recently found necessary to explain. He thinks that people who advocate freedom are retarding progress.

A. Saint Martin, Montreal.—It may be that a universal language would stimulate the sentiment of solidarity among workers, tho I have my doubts, for in the case given it would not apply, as nearly every Swiss speaks French.

B. C. H., Lake City, Mich.—Why, you are voicing our very sentiments: "People must demonstrate their ideals," that is, so far as possible under prevailing conditions. But "conversions" come from within and so the propaganda by pen and speech is necessary to imbue people with the ideas to be demonstrated. And if during seventeen years you have not succeeded in converting your nearest friends of the merits of "equitable commerce," whatever that may mean, you will perceive that the demonstration of radical ideas is a very slow process.

J. N., Ouray, Colo.—You say: "Tolstoy points out the many victories won by the Boers in evidence of the uselessness of organized government; but he has overlooked the fact that, had the Boers been a maritime people and without a well equipped navy, they would have been utterly helpless." But the destruction of seaport cities would not have conquered the Boers. And why assume that the Boers could not have had a "well equipped navy" without "organized government"? The American navy could be many times larger for the same expenditure if government boudle had been absent. But people have no need for navies, unless they want to plunder other countries.

F. W., Seattle, Washington.—Hundred copies of "Origin of Anarchism" were sent per express. The Italian comrade in New Mexico, who was arrested after "the McKinley affair," was acquitted "for want of evidence."

G. S., City.—We have no copies of *Comrade Winn's Firebrand* to spare. The address is Silver Springs Tenn.

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions to FREE SOCIETY.

ALLEGHENY Pa.—H. Bauer 73 Spring-garden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
BOSTON—K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins St., Roxbury.
CHICAGO—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Av.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 4 Elwell St.
COLUMBUS, Ohio—H. M. Lyndall, 416 E. Mound St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.
NEW YORK—S. Rubin, 180 Forsyth St.
PHILADELPHIA—Natascha Notkin, 242 N. Second St.
SAN FRANCISCO—R. Rieger, 322 Larkin St.

RECEIPTS.

Workingmen's Reading Room, New York, \$12. Weinberg, Isaak, each \$2.
Recher, Richter, Briggs, Lehman, Buschweit, Wissman, Bill, Carlin, Rotschek, Buchi, Gartner, Ashenbrenner, Svornost, Nortvedt, Dujardin, Yerly, Corna, each \$1.
Houswedell, 75c. Morgan, Meek, Hoffman, Schacheman, Einfalt, Bluhm, Baar, each 50c. Koop, Silverman, each 25c.

LEO TOLSTOY'S COMPLETE WORKS.

Twelve volumes, translated by Maude Hapgood, and Dole. Printed on good paper and from new plates.

CLOTH BINDING, PER SET \$15
SAME, GILT TOP, BACK, AND CENTER \$18
SAME, HALF GILT \$35

R. Goodheart,

919 Tolman Av. - - Chicago

Sample copy can be seen at Philosophical Society meetings, 40 Randolph St., every Sunday, 2:30 p. m.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

BY

PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known Anarchist and scientist, is one of the most important books of the Anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime, as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half-century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp. Price \$2.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

THE FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT ANARCHISTS IN COURT

AND

ALTCED'S REASONS FOR PARDONING FIELDEN, NEEDS AND SCHWAB.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages.

Price 25 cents.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem.....	05
.....H. Addis	
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen	05
Plain Words on the Woman	
Question....." "	05
God and the State.....Bakunin	05
The Same. (London edition.).....	10
Whitman's Ideal Democracy and	
Other Writings.....Helena Born	1.00
Prodigal Daughter or, The Price	
of Virtue.....Rachel Campbell	25
The Worm Turns.....V. de Cleyre	10
The Emancipation of Society from	
Government.....Dallan Doyle	05
Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1.....	
.....Rosa Graul	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy.	
Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave	25
A Physician in the House.....	
.....Dr. J. H. Greer	2.75
Motherhood in Freedom....." "	05
Government Analyzed.....Kelso	50
Anarchy on Trial....." "	05
Anarchism and Outrage....." "	03
Roosevelt, Czolgosz, Anarchism,	
and Communism....." "	03
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and	
Ideal.....Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchist Communism: Its Ba-	
sis and Principles....." "	05
An Appeal to the Young....." "	05
Anarchist Morality....." "	05
Field, Factory and Workshop.....	45
Law and Authority....." "	05
Memoirs of a Revolutionist.....	2.00
Organized Vengeance....." "	03
Paris Commune....." "	05
The State: Its Historic Role.....	10
The Wage System. Revolution-	
ary Government....." "	05
Social Democracy in Germany.....	
.....Gustave Landauer	02
History of the Commune. Cloth.....	75
.....Lissagaray	
Wind-Harp Songs.....J. Wm. Lloyd	1.00
The Economics of Anarchy.....	
.....Dyer D. Lum	25
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?)	
James F. Morton, Jr.)....." "	10
A Talk about Anarchist Commu-	
nism between two Workers.....	05
A Chambermaid's Diary....." "	50
.....Octave Mirbeau	
Responsibility and Solidarity in the	
Labor Struggle.....M. Nettel	05
God and Government: The Siamese	
Twins of Superstition.....W. Nevill	05
The Pyramid of Tyranny....." "	05
.....F. Domela Nieuwehuis	
Pages of Socialist History.....	30
.....W. Tcherkesoff	
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.	
.....Leo Tolstoy	75
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....	05
.....W. H. Van Ornum	05
Evolution and Revolution.....Reclus	05
Direct Action vs. Direct Legislation	
.....J. Blair Smith	05
Perfect Motherhood. Cloth.....	1.00
.....Lois Waisbrooker	
The Temperance Folly....." "	10
Wherefore Investigating Co.....	25
Our Worship of Primitive Social	
Guesses.....E. C. Walker	15
Revival of Puritanism....." "	15
Vice: Its Friends and Foes....." "	15
What the Young Need to Know	
The Ballad of Reading Gaol.....	10
.....Oscar Wilde	
Life Without a Master. 336 pp.	
Cloth \$1.50.....J. Wilson	1.00
The New Dispensation. Cloth.....	1.50
The Coming Woman.....Lillie White	05
The Chicago Martyrs: The Fam-	
ous Speeches of the Eight Anarch-	
ists in Judge Gary's Court; and	
Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning	
Fielden, Nebe, and Schwab.....	25

History of the French Revolution.

— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

Probably no historical period has commanded so much attention as the French Revolution. This history needs no commendation to those readers who have been following the serial in FREE SOCIETY.

It begins with a rapid sketch of history from the earliest times; the decline of the ancient empires, and the e of the French monarchy; and traces the causes which made the Revolution inevitable. The action of Revolution is narrated in detail: the most careful attention has been paid to chronology, giving the events in their correct relation. The mass of partisan evidence is carefully sifted to get at the facts as they are, and the author relates them impartially, not having made himself the champion of any faction. The traits of the people are portrayed in a simple manner, without prejudice or extenuation.

The prevalent idea that "the terror" was the result of Anarchy is most effectually exploded. The philosophic conclusion is unsurpassed; and the position taken, laying a foundation for the philosophy of Anarchism, is bound to attract the attention of thinkers; and makes the book important to students of history and the social question.

It proposed to issue the history in book form. It will be printed on good paper in large type, and neatly bound. For this purpose a certain number of advance subscriptions are necessary, and will received at \$1 for cloth bound copies and 50 cents for paper. Send orders to

ABE ISAAK Jr., 331 Walnut St., Chicago, Ill.

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME YET PRODUCED.

— BY —

DR. J. H. GREER.

IT HAS 16 COLORED PLATES SHOWING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you doctor bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple and harmless home remedies. The book recommends no poisonous or dangerous drugs. It teaches simple common sense methods in accordance with Nature's laws. It does not endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's knife. It teaches how to save health and life by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches prevention—that it is better to know how to live and avoid disease than to take any medicine as a cure.

It teaches how typhoid and other fevers can be both prevented and cured. It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, diphtheria, catarrh, consumption, appendicitis and every other disease. This book is not an advertisement and has no medicine to sell. It tells you how to live that you may prolong life. It opposes medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising war on vaccination and the use of anti-toxine. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. The chapter on painless midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women. It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "Care of Children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of air, sunshine, and water as medicines. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay getting the book. It is printed in clear type on good book paper, beautifully bound in cloth and gold letters. It has 800 octavo pages.

PRICE \$2.75.

SEND ORDERS TO FREE SOCIETY.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

CONTENTS:

The Anarchistic Idea and Its Develop-
ment.—Individualism and Solidarity.—
Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.
—The Family.—Authority.—The Magis-
tracy.—The Right to Punish and the Sa-
vants.—The Influence of Environment.—
"The Country."—The Patriotism of the
Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colo-
nization.—There are no Inferior Races.—
Why We are Revolutionists.—As to What
Means follow from the Principles.—Revo-
lution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Re-
forms.—The Experimental Method.—
What Then?—Anarchism and its Practi-
cability.—The Unvarnished Truth.

The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

Price, paper cover, 25c; bound 60c. Five copies \$1.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

FIELD, FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting work has now been published in a popular edition. No student of social and economical affairs can do without it.

The book contains the following chapters: The Decentralization of Industries. —The Possibilities of Agriculture.—Small Industrial Villages.—Brain Work and Manual Work.—Conclusion.—Appendix Price, paper cover, 40 cents, postpaid 45 cents.

Order from FREE SOCIETY.

COLLEGE of MEDICINE & SURGERY, Chicago

Four years Graded Course.
Laboratories fully equipped.
Abundance of Clinical Material.
FEES MODERATE.
Fall term opens in September
Write today for Catalogue.

FLORENCE DRESSLER, M. D., Sec'y
245-247 Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill.