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WHOLE NO. 383.

## An "Assassin."

(From "Songs of the Army of the Night.")
... They caught him at the bend. He and his son
Sat in the ear, revolvers in their laps.
From either side the stone-walled wintry road
There flashed thin fire-streaks in the rainy dusk.
The father swayed and fell, shot thru the chest.
The son was up, but one more fire-streak leaped
Close from the pitch black of a thick-set brush
Not five yards farther and lit all the face
Of him whose sweetheart walked the Dublin streets
For lust of him who gave one yell and fell
Flat on the stony road a sweltering corse.
Then they came out, the men who did this thing,
And looked upon their hatred's retribution,
While heedlessly the rattling car fled on.
Grey-haired old Wolf, your letch for peasant's blood,
For peasants' sweat turned gold and silver and bronze,
Is done for ever, for ever and ever is done!
O foul young fox, no more young girls' fresh lips
Shall bruise and bleed to cool your lecher's lust.
Slowly from out the great high-terraced clouds
The round moon sailed. The dead were left alone.

I talked with one of those who did this thing, A coughing half-starved lad, mere skin and bone. I said: "They found upon those dead men gold. Why did you not take it?" Then with proud-raised

He looked at me and said: "Sorr we're not thaves!"

Brother, from up the maimed and mangled earth,
Strewn with our flesh and bones, wet with our blood,
Let that great Word go up to unjust heaven
And smite the check of the Devil they've called "God":
—Francis Adams.

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## Is It All a Dream?

The old cry that Anarchists are haters of mankind, and apostles of wholesale destruction, is beginning to die out. The educational propaganda of today is making its influence felt in most unexpected quarters. Multitudes of earnest and thoughtful men and women of every class are beginning to recognize the sublimity of the Anarchist ideal. The ground of criticism has entirely shifted. Instead of being denounced as human monsters, Anarchists are now accused of being impractical idealists. Only the grossly ignorant now assail us from the old standpoint. It has become quite the fashion for the more progressive Socialists, Single Taxers, and reformers of other schools, no less than for many scholars, artists, philosophers, and men of letters, to announce themselves "ultimate Anarchists." Yet the goal of Anarchy appears to them so lofty and distant, that, out of sheer despair of attaining it without centuries of struggle, they fall back on what they consider measures of immediate practicability. Hence they wear out their lives in ceaseless political contests, chasing one ignis fatuus

after another, only to be repeatedly led astray into the swamp. For lack of a unifying principle, each petty success proves utterly futile, as a means of securing permanent results. The causes of social evils being left in full operation, all tampering with mere results is as vain as the labor of Sisyphus. Experience demonstrates that it is wiser to move straight toward the true goal, concentrating all our energies on the removal of obstacles from the path, than to wander into devious by-ways, however attractive, along which rapid progress is possible for a time, but which invariably end in a cul de sac. The truly practical man is he who conceives clearly the end to be sought, and swerves neither to the right nor to the left in his determined course.

It is with justice that well-informed thinkers now regard Anarchy as the highest ideal of human society. The free association of men and women in satisfying all the needs of life, the blossoming forth of full individuality, the redemption of the earth from the exploiters, the collapse of the wage system with its cruel inequalities, the vanishing forever of poverty, crime, and intemperance, the reduction of disease, insanity, and hurtful accidents to an almost negligible minimum, the full realization of the joy of existence, the expansion of art, science, philosophy, literature, to a degree only possible among free people,-these, and such as these, are the fruits of such liberty as that to which we aspire. Is it any wonder that we wax earnest and enthusiastic, when picturing to ourselves the glories of the free society of the future?

After all, however, is this magnificent conception anything more than "the baseless fabric of a dream"? Are we merely wasting our energies in striving for the unattainable? Mere sentiment is an insecure foundation for a social structure.

Close investigation will demonstrate that Anarchists, so far from being dreamers, are the most practical of human beings. They know exactly what they want, and move directly toward it. The mass of mankind in every age can conceive of no conditions other than those to which they have become accustomed. Cazotte's predictions of the French Revolution were treated as the wildest ravings by his cultured hearers. Blackstone could not imagine the slightest improvement in the common law of England. The abolitionists of the United States, hardly a generation ago, were reviled and persecuted, even unto death; and many

thousands, even of sympathizers with their ideal, were swift and persistent in declaring that slavery always had existed, and was therefore too deeply rooted to be overthrown—at least for many hundreds of years. Such prophecies are always easily and glibly pronounced. The inertia of the mass has always to be reckoned with; but it is not an insurmountable barrier to the accomplishment of great social changes. What can be conceived by man, can be effected by him. The only question is whether the result is worth the effort.

The conception of full human liberty is by far the grandest social generalization that has ever entered into the mind of man. It is in full harmony with the trend of history and the conclusions of science. It does not, as is often superficially objected, presuppose a superhuman race of beings, but appeals to the fundamental traits of average human nature. It demands no exalted self-sacrifice from individuals, but appeals to motives of intelligent self-interest. When we talk of brotherhood, we do not appeal to a mawkish sentimentality. We merely state a fact in nature, on the recognition of which social harmony and the happiness of the individual alike depend.

To the thoughtful student of life, it becomes increasingly evident that the method of living, by which alone the common aim of happiness can be attained, is thru the fullest development of all the faculties. Man is a complex being, with multifarious wants and desires No cut and dried system can fully satisfy his present needs, and leave ample margin for the constant shifting of conditions inseparable from growth. Flexibility, above all, is an imperative necessity in the more advanced stages of social association. With the disappearance of authority, and the setting free of natural resources, all monopoly must vanish, and with it the power of a few to hold many in economic subjection. Rent, profit, interest, taxes, and all other forms of veiled robbery, cannot co-exist with equality of opportunity. A free people, meeting on equal terms, is capable of making whatever economic arrangements best subserve the interests of the individuals concerned, and of readjusting these arrangements as often as may be required, with the least possible friction. No elaborate machinery, no continual dependence on a stupid majority, no waiting for the often unnsatisfactory decisions of a "Central Committee," no cringing to political bosses, no party organization, no au-

thorization by officials or legislative assemblies, will any longer be necessary. Individual initiative will take the place of all these. Men and women will put far more heart into their work, and will exercise their inventive faculties in an immeasurably superior manner, when no portion of the result of their labor is intercepted by employer, landlord, or tax gatherer. The result will not be a tendency toward isolation, as is fancied by some who strangely misread human nature. Rather will free men and women, once fairly rid of the unavoidable suspicions which inevitably mark their attitude toward one another in this age of industrial warfare, find their common interest in far more intimate social and economic association than would be possible today. This would be the unavoidable consequence, not of a radical organic change in human nature, but of the needs of human nature as it exists today, under conditions of unrestricted freedom of development. It requires but the slightest knowledge of biology to recognize the elementary fact that social instincts are stronger in the long run than the anti-social instincts, and must survive in the struggle for existence. Force government, with its manifold opportunities for robbery and oppression, its creation of class and caste divisions between man and man, its false ethics as exemplified in war and capital punishment, its vile diplomatic intrigues, its hideous political corruption, and its unlimited supply of motives for friction, irritation, and hatred, is the worst possible stumblingblock in the pathway of the slowly evolving social consciousness.

For the foregoing reasons, it is clear that the logical evolutionist must, sooner or later, accept the premises of the Anarchist philosophy. Radical and idealistic as its teachings seem, they are founded on the undisputed conclusions of science. Being in harmony with the trend of human progress, and responsive to the needs of human nature, Anarchy offers itself to the world as the answer to its yearning questions and the realization of its loftiest aspirations.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## Important Matters.

When a man offers you his protection, it is time for you to beware! The people who make such propositions are usually more or less dangerous, and they should always be looked upon with suspicion. It is impossible to say what might happen after you fall into another man's power. Turn your back upon any man who is anxious to become your protector; and this is a rule that should apply to women as well as men. Even to assume a patronizing air and offer to aid you, except under very extraordinary circumstances, is more or less of a reflection upon you as a man who ought to be able to take care of yourself. A man who allows himself to be helped soon comes to be dependent. The slave and mendicant classes are always recruited from those who originally wanted somebody to help them or to give them something for nothing.

In the Middle Ages they taxed, or in other words they robbed, the people ostensibly to support the Church and help God. Now people are taxed—in other words robbed—to maintain an idol and support a fetich known as the government! Then, too, we have a great multitude of minor idols or fetishes that have to be nursed and fed. The idol that goes by the name of "education" or "book-learning" is one of them. It is a monstrously expensive divinity and it is a great consumer of the people's money.

Public opinion! There is no public opinion. There is the opinion of this man and of that man, or of one hundred men. But that is a very different thing from the opinion of the public as a whole, which really has no opinion.

All law is based on pretense; it is founded on deception and wickedness. It is an instrument of the Devil. It is a form, a formality, a mere trick by which wicked ends may be subserved. It is merely a veil pulled over people's eyes to prevent them from seeing things as they really exist. It is a cunning deception, a scheme so devised that people cannot appreciate the situation and understand the facts of the case. To have men do right, requires no law-that is, no law is required to have men do what they wish to do and ought to do. The only effect of laws is to enable some people to advance their interests and enforce their views upon others. When we once begin to make rules for other people to follow, we never know when or where to stop. Really, it is laws that make people bad; all badness, all crime comes originally from the law, which defines, describes and determines what is and what is not criminal. If nothing was forbidden, we should have no disobedience. If we gave no orders, there would be no resistance. That is the mistake that God made in the case of Adam and Eve. That was the cause of all the trouble that has followed since. Parents and teachers are perpetually making the same mistake by laying down rules and giving commands that generally should not, and often cannot, be obeyed. Let everybody do as he chooses and take the consequences. Then we shall have no demand or use for laws. People who mind their own business and do not wish to trouble others never have any occasion for laws.

Men are continually confounding cause and effect and mistaking one for the other; this is true, not only in physics but in government. Herein lies the one great source of most of our troubles. We are continually taking nostrums to cure us of certain diseases, but we never know to a certainty whether they heip us or not. We might have got well without the nostrumsthen we might not. Who can tell? We make laws and we try experiments. But what good do laws do? Who knows? Every day someone comes along with a new remedy, not only in medicine, but in politics. But all the negotiations we would have with such people would be thru the key-hole. In other words, we would refuse them admittance J. Wilson.

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

## British Cant.

A history of the evolution of Cant would be interesting. What is Cant? Broadly speaking, it is the expedient of the corrupt and the refuge of cowards in their contest with the world. The unscrupulous and the cunning discover that humbug pays; the timid learn that the ways of Cant are pleasantness and all her paths are peace. Almost every day we consciously or unconsciously utter Cant. This is inevitable, because Cant s in the blood and fibre of the British nation, and most men and women have lost the capacity for moral and intellectual honesty. The unthinking repeat the lies that prop up popular religious superstitions. They are not necessarily hypocrites; they simply cant unconsciously, and even the few honest persons in the community whose ideal is truth are sometimes caught canting thru an involuntary reflex action of the mind.

A fool could not have discovered the advantages of Cant. It was the invention of a crafty primitive brain, and astute intelligences have developed this art of humbug thruout the ages. Simpletons and weak-heads merely echo the time-honored false-hoods. The New Cant is promulgated by clever hypocrites with a shrewd knowledge of human nature.

It is in Great Britain and the United States that Cant thrives and spreads, because the English-speaking people are especially prone to the worship and observance of the deity respectability. Now it is impossible to serve truth and respectability; therefore the British employ the method of Cant, and Cant passes as Truth, compatible with a refulgent respectability.

In our stupendous Pharisaism, we claim to be the most moral people on the face of the earth. A virtuous man and a virtuous nation have no need to proclaim their virtue from the housetops. Such vaunting is the plainest proof that we are doubtful concerning our morality, and all the "patriotic" pow-wow of the press and the pulpit is nothing more nor less than vulgar Cant, inciting the scorn and the laughter of other nations. A Frenchman shrugs his shoulders and smiles when he hears our insolent, vainglorious condemnation of "Frenchimmorality." He knows that Paris is not more corrupt than London. The only difference is that vice in London wears the mask of hypocrisy and is more wary of its neighbors than in the French metropolis. For in England even vice strives at respectability, and the cocotte is a "masseurs." Is our vice less flagrant because it skulks and whines and cants about the mote in the eye of our brother on the other side of the Channel? The putrid odor of this moral Cant penetrates into every part of the British Empire.

Ponder upon our humanitarian Cant.

"An intelligent publicist" writing his greasy platitudes in a journal run to pay on Cant principles, tells his readers that it is the duty of "Christian England" to suppress the custom of human sacrifices among an African tribe. Then the State sends out its bedizened punitive agents, and slaughters a thousand or so of savages in the name of the king of peace, and the mission of civilization is again infilled, and the way prepared for the sale of poisonous gin, which a man dare not sell

in England, and the field opened for the spread of the Gospel of Love. But where is the intelligent man who believes that the force was sent for the purpose of suppressing human sacrifices? Not one sane man in fifty credits the preposterous story. The incentives to the expedition are simply plunder, lust of territory, and a love of warfare. Our truculent Saxon ancestors were more honest. They did not snuffle about humanitarian and Christian principles when they made raids on Wales and Scotland.

Cant is the sand thrown into our eyes to blind us to our faults as a society. The priest, the politician, the journalist, and the schoolmaster habitually Cant for gain or for aggrandizement. If a man in any of these professions speaks or writes as openly and truthfully in public as he often dares to express himself in private and intimate converse, he very soon learns that safety lies in the utterance of conventional claptrap, and that truth-speaking spells starvation and ostracism. Notwithstanding, there is a dauntless minority who refuse to Cant. These would rather languish on the crust of penury than perjure themselves for a full draught of the wine of life. They will not trim their sails to the wind, and live the life of knaves and cowards. Let others take the conventional lie into their bosoms and hug it closely. To the fearless and the free, the lie is a viper to be stamped upon and de-

It is an age of Cant. I doubt whether the social history of England has ever before afforded the spectacle of so many millions bowing down to the national idol. And the spectacle is the more amazing when we consider how many thousands are awakening to the light shed by modern science upon old superstitions. But the greater part of this homage to Cant is lip-service only. I can best describe this attitude by the case of a friend of mine to whom I had been talking plainly on a vital subject. "Yes," said my friend, "I quite agree with you that it is so. But it's not a popular thing to say, and I should be sorry if people thought that I think so." Here we have the problem in a nutshell. At the present time, tens of thousands of persons have secretly slipped off the fetters of barbaric beliefs; but the old virus of Cant still lingers in their minds, and they continue to bend before the fetish as tho they feared to offend it .- M. Secundus, in the Truth Seeker, Bradford, England, May, '99.

## The Coal Strike.

Every day we are attracted by sensational headlines in the dailies announcing that the coal strike may be settled, but up to writing this the strike is still on.

President Mitchell of the United Mine Worker's Union has succeeded in forcing his recognition upon the representatives of the government which protects the exploiters that he ostensibly fights. But the Republican administration would never pretend to interfere were it not for the impending campaign; and I rather fear that if it does it will be the worse for the poor miners.

President Mitchell has reassured the governors, for in the special convention of the miners to consider the situation he opposed, with law and order phraseology, the idea of a general strike. But I must hold back

my temper of criticism, because President be. There is a world of good teaching in Mitchell is a conservative man, and so-called radicals, like the State Socialists of France, have adopted the same policy; even one of our best comrades has found grounds on which to justify the course of President Mitchell. But by adopting Mr. Mitchell's strategy the resources of the working miners are reduced to the starvation point, while the strikers are actually starving. It is true the solidarity of the labor organizations is greater than in the past experience of the United States, as witnessed by the moral and financial aid rendered; but these contributions must cease in time, for the source is not burdened with superfluity. We know that the great machinists' strike of England was lost on account of lack of funds to prevent the strikers from starving.

But how different would it be should all the organized miners go out on a general strike, instead of as now half the workers supplying a market which the other half are trying to paralyze. Even some of the parasites who live upon the miners, such as wholesale and retail dealers, would have used their influence to force the operators to make concessions in order to induce the miners to go back to work, in order to be

able to resume their profits.

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

### Blind Enthusiasm.

With thousands upon thousands of men and women daily thrown out of employment for every new invention, with poverty becoming more and more general for every improvement in processes of production, it behooves us not to grow too enthusiastic over the benefits of inventions.

I know that nothing appears simpler at first sight than that machinery and other inventions, since they greatly facilitate all kinds of industry, should prove very beneficial to the laboring classes. Indeed, under proper industrial conditions great and lasting benefits would actually accrue. But, for various reasons which I cannot even mention here, such conditions do not now exist, and (if I may indulge in prophecy) are not soon likely to exist, because most persons are as yet extremely ignorant of even the elementary truths of social science and philosophy.

This being the case, let us not harp too much on "the blessing of inventions." Even without superior insight into social and political science we cannot help noticing that, so long as industrial conditions remain as they are today, inventions will continue to be to the working classes-to the beasts of burden-not a blessing, but a fatal curse. DAVID A. MODELL

## An Investigator.

Not-long since I had very unjust notions of Anarchism. I had read only what I saw in the press of the country. Since coming to this city, I have had the pleasure of reading your paper Free Society.

Now I hold quite a different opinion of "Anarchism," and regard it as a system of teaching worthy of all respect and honest investigation. I think its positions, to say the least, are logical and very strong. In tact 1 do not think they can be overturned -certainly I do not now see how they can

your system; but a good thing seldom makes rapid progress. Ignorance is so dense, and prejudice is so cold and impenetrable, it will, I think, be a long time yet before the masses catch on; but evidently the doctrine is making headway in very unexpected quarters. I find many, who are in no way connected with your brotherhood, holding views identical with your own; and if the late reform movements are not tending your way, I confess I am unable to discern tendency. People in masses, in this country, are becoming convinced that man made government is an absolute failure.

But the object of this letter is not to give you my views nor tell you how much I have been benefitted by reading FREE SOCIETY, but to ask you, if you wil! do so, to request some of your scientific readers and correspondents to give a statement of the laws of nature, as far as possible. I want to know what are the laws of nature. I think I know some of them, mighty few, and when I read an article that refers to "the laws of nature," not knowing what those laws are, the acticle has no meaning to me. I suppose others of your readers are in the same condition. If the laws of nature are known by any man. I think he would do the right thing it he should give a formal statement of them in book form. We can find the laws of Texas in the statute book; we can find the laws of Moses in the Jewish writings; but where can we find the laws of nature? And how can we observe the laws of nature if we do not know where or what they are?

I will close this letter by saying to you that on many of your principles and propositions I agree with you, and desire them to run and have a free course. At one time I was unable to defend your doctrine when denounced in my hearing because I had never seen any of your literature, but in the future I shall be better prepared.

W. F. P. Dallas, Tex.

## Deacon Jones' Non-Arrival.

The editor of a rural newspaper was in Philadelphia during the week following the shooting of President McKinley, and noted with surprise the promptness of the newspapers here to bulletin-board the hourly reports of the president's condition. He determined to adopt the idea on all important events when he should return home. Soon afterwards he was told one morning by the local physician that Deacon Jones was seriously ill. The deacon was a man of some distinction in the community; so the editor posted a series of bulletins, as follows:-

"10 a. m.-Deacon Jones no better.

"11 a. m.-Deacon Jones has a relapse.

"12:30 p. m. - Deacon Jones weaker. Pulse failing.

"1 p. m.-Deacon Jones has slight rally.

"2:15 p. m.-Deacon Jones' family has been summoned.

"3:10 p. m.-Deacon Jones has died and gone to heaven."

Later in the day a traveling salesman happened by, stopped to read the bulletin, and, going to the bulletin-board, made an-other report concerning the deceased. It

"4:10 p. m.—Great excitement in heaven. Deacon Jones has not yet arrived,"—Phila-delphia *Times*.

# FREE SOCIETY

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ANABERY —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 12, 1902.

#### 383

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Press 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 BREE 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.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. and Wabash Ave. October 12, A. W. Wright will speak on "Trusts and Corporations." Free discassion. Mrs. Florida Mudgett DeShon and Mrs. Douglass will entertain the audience with music and recitations.

ATTENTION.—Those who would like to see the meetings of the Chicago Philosophical Society continued are kindly invited to attend next Friday's meeting, to be held at 8 p. m., at 331 Walnut St.

The Progressive Club will give a little teaparty every Friday evening. Friendly discussions will take place. October 10 the gathering will be at 331 Walnut St. (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.

Workmen's Educational Club meets every Saturday night at 8 p. m., 278 Blue Island Ave. October 11, A. Isaak will speak on "Anarchism."

Philadelphia.—The Social Science Club will hold weekly meetings at the Hall 920 Girard Ave., (entrance on Hutchinson St.), every Sunday evening. October 12, J. B. Allen, of the A. F. of L., speaks on "Why Trades Unionists should be Socialists." Everybody invited. Free discussion.

### Splinters.

It is now about a year that the insanity following McKinley's death was at its height. Leon Czolgosz, altho forbidden to make any kind of a statement in his own behalf either in court or the death chamber, against all custom, was known as an Anarchist; and this was sufficient to release a perfect flood of misrepresentation, abuse and villification on the Anarchists.

Not to mention newspaper tirades, the amount of stupid gush poured forth on the subject of "Anarchy" was perfectly appaling. It became the fashion for meetings, conventions and societies to condemn "Anarchy," with no notion at all as to what it meant. And presently the more sober magazines followed in the tracks of the mob and the daily sensationalists in the crusade of one-sided lies.

Of course the politicians and law officers could not neglect such a fine opportunity for display. The police, always foremost in all genuine official despotism and folly, began to show their "usefulness" and activity. Arrest of Anarchists here and there took place for their being such; to make a disrespectful reference to McKinley or the voluminous crocodile tears of a vile press, was constituted an offense by police judges; and some savage sentences were passed on soldiers guilty of lese-majesty, thru drunkenness or some other cause.

The legislators followed in the wake of the police. A Virginia constitutional convention, just then in session, eliminated from the proposed constitution the guarantee of free speech, and New York and New Jersey each passed drastic anti-Anarchist laws. The national congress not sitting at the time, its activity was restricted to the mouthings of individual members.

But a speedy sobering-up took place. The police were compelled to drop their cases after all the ridiculous boasting they had indulged in. The persecutions were a miserable failure. The whole fiasco finally centered on John Most, who was sent to prison for one year out of fashionable regard to tradition, and three indictments in the Home colony, which resulted in a victory for the accused. That is all the consolation the authorities could get out of the desired large harvest. In New York opportunities to enforce the new anti-Anarchist law were quickly dropped; the Virginia convention called its previous bluff; and congress, when it finally assembled, did nothing but listen to a laughable diatribe on "Anarchy" from Terrified Ted that would disgrace a dime novelist.

But all this tirade of abuse deceived only

the densely ignorant; intelligent people soon asked themselves what this Anarchism was, and many sincerely investigated the subject. The silence of the press was at once sudden and complete. But neither silence nor abuse can stop honest investigation, which is above all what Anarchists want. Several essays on Anarchism appearing here and there showed at least a fair grasp and intelligent thought.

What surprised many people, even some Anarchists, is that an assassination of this kind should take place in America, when they would have taken such an occurrence as a matter of course in Europe. And yet it was but the logical climax of a series of events during many years. Imperialism has been a growing factor in American politics since the civil war; capitalism has assumed the most hideous proportions; and rebellious discontent was universal. Strikes of great significance verging on social revolution had shaken industry several times; and arrogant brutality marked the attitude of those above. The under dogs had laid up against them the bitter memories of Homestead, Chicago, Lattimer, Wardner, and countless other affairs since the great railroad strike of 1877. The atmosphere was ripe for radicalism and revolution.

And then came Mckinley, with his career of usurpation, aggrandizement, and hypocrisy. Avowed champion and lover of the workers, he gave us a practical demonstration of this in Idaho; pretended humanitarian for Cubans, his henchmen surpassed Weylerism in the Philippines. And this man was struck down by one of the humble on one of his tours of triumphant glory and imperial splendor.

It is an inexorable fact in nature, the harmonious equilibrium of all relations, with their action and reaction. A certain amount of tyranny and oppression from one side, will bring on its resultant rebellion and revolt from the other. McKinley came to serve and reap honor from the oppressors; and Czolgosz came in his wake to vindicate the people and die for his deed. Without McKinley, Czolgosz could not have been; and without Czolgosz history would be incomplete.

It is said that Czolgosz' act was a bad deed, a foolish one, which it behooves us to condemn, for it does harm to the cause. So much prejudice is aroused; the propaganda is disturbed; and persecutions are the result. But the logic of revolutionary thought demands that we accept them, these theoretical protests transformed into action. No propaganda that has achieved anything has been without all of them—persecutions and abuse, rebels and philosophers. JR,

### The Coronation.

The heathen in his blindness

Bows down to wood and stone.

The Englishman prefers to cringe

To puffy flesh and bone.

Memnon.

### By the Wayside.

The Pennsylvania coal strike is an excellent illustration of the usclessness of money and government. When the worker lays down his tools everything comes to a standstill: neither money nor power can create the necessaries of life. And some day there will be a general strike, not for higher wages, but to claim the earth for all alike. History may "repeat itself" before the dawn, but it will not be the workers who need heed the warning of the New York district attorney.

Both the rulers in heaven and on earth would soon pass into oblivion if "the root of all evil" were abolished. Father Lamb, of this city, told his dupes last Sunday that they could neither enter into "holy matrimony" nor the "kingdom of heaven" unless they paid the fare in advance.

The "God-inspired Bible" is in danger, and the clergymen of Germany have taken up the cudgels. Prof. Delitzsch claims that the traditions related in the Bible are of Babylonian origin, and even the name Jehozah can be traced to Babylonian sources. Thus research threatens to smash Jewish and Christian gods alike. Unfortunately other gods are created, such as "majority rule," the "sacredness of law," "equal liberty," "self-control," etc; but their divinity is already questioned, and with their abrogation mankind will at last walk on solid ground.

Not long ago I reported that a Socialist police commissioner in Germany, Kloss, had voted in favor of rewarding their "stsenuous effort" in clubbing striking street railwaymen. I owe him an apology. "Comrade" Kloss explains in the Berlin Vorwärts that the police were rewarded for "working overtime" (in clubbing?) and having been compelled "to take their meals in restaurants"

. . .

Again we were given a fine illustration that government protects the weak against the strong, as we are so often assured by the upholders of government. The legalized highwaymen in Wall street were "hard up," after a period of reckless gambling, and the government treasurer immediately offered these money sharks \$45,000,000. But so far we have not heard that the benevolent government has offered any aid to the Pennsylvania miners, or the poor in large cities who are left without fuel.

The Comrade introduces George Plekhanoff, a Russian Social Democrat, as "a profound thinker" and "remarkable writer." But in his pamphlet "Socialism and Anarchism" he starts out with the assertion that Anarchism is an impossible proposition, incapable of realization, and then he proceeds to show that we are living in Anarchy now,—a contradiction which does not indicate much profoundness.

By reading "Max Nordau and others," Editor Wakeman of the *Torch of Reason* has discovered that there are two men living in Russia—Tolstoy and Gorky—who are "sentimentalists" and occasionally "talk about

Christ," and forthwith the learned editor "ventures" to advise his readers not to "waste time... on unhealthy literature." The "venture" resembles somewhat the advice of the priesthood in the Middle Ages against the "unhealthy literature" of the heretics. Torches and stakes were also prominent in warning "sentimentalists"; and there is consolation in the thought that Mr. Wakeman is not "wake," and the Torch of Reason is somewhat antiquated and appropriately symbolized by its name.

But miracles still occur. In the next issue of the Torch the editor has suddenly been transformed into a pure sentimentalist and pleads for love as the savior of mankind. "All Sociologists, Humanists, Scientists, and at bottom, all mankind unconsciously, really agree" that "Love—the greatest of all." Exactly what Tolstoy says. But the editor now repudiates Paul, "the father of all the Anarchists," as he calls him, because St, Paul advocated "personal redemption." Mr. Wakeman is evidently in the "awakening" stage, and a little rubbing of the eyes may enable him to see that personal redemption must precede the redemption of the race.

An interesting article on the subject of hallucinations and visions appeared in the Academy of Literature (August 23). The author, F. Legge, is an unbiased investigator; and people who occasionally witness "materializations" and "communicate with their dead friends and relatives," will, perhaps, profit by a careful perusal of the treatise, and be less positive as regards their "knowledge." "Never, perhaps," says Mr. Legge, "does the mind of man show more thoroly its material nature and dependence as when it fancies it has emancipated itself from the thraldom of matter."

Interloper.

## Chicago Meeting.

Last Sunday, Reverend Jenkin Lloyd Jones gave an excellent discourse on John Ruskin before the Chicago Philosophical Society. John Ruskin has been easily disposed of by his critics. They say he is impractical, erratic, a dreamer, and what not, still Ruskin stays as a power to impress new ideas upon men, and as a stimulating writer. He made an impression on his time; and he elevated art and truth. But the critics insist that he was "a pure sentamentalist" and "the time of sentamentalism is past." Emerson and Wendell Phillips were also disposed of as sentimentalists, yet they are still living and inspire men with new thoughts and actions. Ruskin did not only study art, but also economics. He despised profits, interest, and, above all-militarism. His letters to the workers are full of sympathy, discontent, and prophecy. He stood between old and new ideas. Parliament he would have liked if its members would not engage in the lawmaking business. Kings he considered good enough for decorating purposes. True, at times Ruskin erred, but so did St. Paul. The Hull House and other social settlements are results of Ruskin's writings. He exposed the false use of wealth. His father left him him \$800,000, the sale of his books were profitable, yet he died a poor man. But the

workingmen gave him no friendly response, altho he wrote for them with love and sympathy. He shocked his pious wife with the truth, and "she gave him away for Christ's sake." He had not only the power to impart information, but also moved people to action.

Very little criticism was offered Mr. Jones, and only one critic found fault with the impractical dreamers who never accomplished anything. The people ought to vote right. Anarchists were all dreamers. These remarks aroused a lively discussion, and the poor fellow made great efforts to hide himself in his chair. He was shown that the world suffered from the lack of dreamersnot from their abundance. If the people would only dream of a better condition the dreams would soon be realized. But there were also "impractical" dreamers. For instance those who dream that the workers can emancipate themselves by voting. The consciousness of being slaves and the refusal to submit to authority would free mankind from its thraldom. "The Anarchists are secused of being dreamers, and I rather feel ffattered," said Comrade Goodheart, "for people who dream are at least half awake, while those who do not dream are sound asleep." REPORTER.

## Here and There.

A policeman in Indianapolis had uttered some unfavorable comment on Emperor Teddy, and was promptly discharged for lese-majesty,

The brutal stubbornness of the Pennsylvania mine owners seems to be an excellent eye-opener. In a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, where the strike was discussed, it was plain that the majority present had no faith in legislation. "Learn to shoot," exclaimed one of the delegates.

In the State Nuevo Leon, Mexico, the constitution has been amended, abolishing capital punishment for political "crimes," The "freest country on the globe" should take notice.

In the Badadeny district of Hungaria the peasants are in open revolt. As usual, the hungry peasants were fed with bullets, and in the first encounter four were killed and many wounded.

From Geneva, Switerland, comes the news that the street car men are on a strike, and so far twenty-six cars have been demolished. The strike was caused by the superintendent, an American, who attempted to introduce "American business methods," which the Eurepean workers evidently do not admire. But what about the initiative and referendum, Mr. Pomeroy? Didn't you tell us that strikes would be unnecessary under this legislative measure, and that the Swiss people were gaily marching toward the millennium?

Four years of solitary imprisonment have already told on Luccheni. A report is current that he is slowly loosing his reason. He has become subject to fits of moody irritation, in one of which lately he tried to throttle a warder. For this he was placed in a dark cell. We shall probably hear one day that he has been assisted to death like Bresci.—Freedom.

Zola.

The incomparable Zola is dead.

The man who had conquered in a thousand battles with ignorance, superstition, pruriency, and patriotism, the man who had uncompromisingly uncovered the sodden rottenness of conventional life, the man who had dared the wrath of all France by defending a hated Jew, the man who had put his hand on the social sore a thousand times and said you ail here, and here, while the angry clamor of dissent poured into his ears, this man fell in no revolution, nor died for truth's sake, but was suffocated, it is believed, by accident.

Such is the irony of existence.

Adulation and hatred mingle as those who speak of the dead lion tell us of what Zola has been to them, for he is the best loved and best hated of men today.

How he rose from the dust of poverty, and with compelling art showed the world its reflection in the mirror of truth! From "Nana" to "Labor" he worked as a novelist but with one aim, to make us see ourselves as we see others, that we might perhaps come to be something better than we are now. Ah, he knew his world, this Zola; he knew what it had to give, he knew what it demanded in return for that which it gave. He knew the whole sorry story of human degradation. With a sympathetic hand he limned the picture of our life.

How the Church hated him; but he was stronger than the Church. How the prudes loathed him; but prudery never did have courage. How the patriots, how the Jewbaiters cursed him and wished him dead! But thru it all he lived on, till now—

I saw his home in Paris stoned by the mob because he had asked for justice to a Jew; I saw filthy and insulting placards on the walls in which his name was given a conspicuous place; I saw the Paris crowd, forgetting its manhood, cursing his name in the streets and reviling him; I saw the lickspittles of the press, a silk-hatted but backboneless crowd of subsidized assassins, surrounding his carriage day by day as he emerged from the court where he was being tried to save "the honor of the army," flinging their vile epithets in his face; thru all this he was calm, courageous, patient, tho uncompromising; thru it all he loved and believed in his France.

He was not one "who saw life steadily and saw it whole"; he had his limitations, this great man. Liberty did not mean as much to him as we could wish that it had, tho it meant a great deal, a very great deal to him. But Zola did more for liberty than many who are always calling upon her name; and in his great novel, "Paris," he made it clear how close he was to the solution of the social problem. His sympathy is with William, the Anarchist, tho his mind pulls away from his heart. In "Labor" he shows in his leading character how dear to him is the spirit of the dreamer of regeneration, the man whose faith outstrips his judgment in a fine burst of beart-sunlight, and carries him far along in a project which fails at first, but which succeeds in the end, a project of cooperative industry. This book is full to the covers of libertarian thoughts

Zola's novels are all powerful. They were

written to present the world to itself, and their microscopic fidelity to detail is really one of their secrets of success. Early and late we find him with prodigal art investigating, tabulating, criticising and summing up life in all its multifarious aspects. We are filled with wonder, all of us, at his painstaking, at his genius. Look at "Lourdes" as a scientific work or as a novel: it will bear either test. And the unfailing humanity, the sympathy is there thru all the cutting and slashing. Zola hated nothing so much as deceit.

When this man put justice above patriotism in "J'accuse" he took a step which few men would dare to have taken at such a time. The Jewish race have reason to thank this great soul for their part in the results of so daring and mighty an effort. The suicide of Colonel Henry came at an opportune moment and put public wrath back for a time; otherwise Zola might have paid a great penalty for his rashness. Thru that long struggle to free an innocent man from the hell of Devil's Island he remained staunch; a soldier of truth, of love, of justice.

At the funeral of Alphonse Daudet I stood in the street and saw some of the great men of France pass by on foot, paying their last tribute to the celebrated author of "Sappho." Zola walked with the rest. One could see in that brow, wide and clear cut, power of thought; one could see in that square jaw and somewhat pointed chin, determination and perseverence; and one could see in these and in that modest mien and that inquiring kindly eye all the promise which had been fulfilled in his public efforts and in the masterpieces of realistic fiction to which his name is appended. He was the man for his work; no one else could have done it so well.

And he is dead; in the ripeness of his manhood, with a great work accomplished. His fame is assured as a lover of his kind, as an artist, as a man. He died as all of us should wish to die who must die in these fervid days, with many enemies, but with more friends.

IRONICUS.

> — o – – A Picture of Leo Tolstoy.

Over the fields of Yasnaya broods the mist of an early autumn morning. The year is grown old, and the air is full of monitions of the coming winter, when the pall of death will lie over Yasnaya. From between two whitewashed towers steps a man, a mujik in dress, a god in consciousness of power. A scythe in his strong hand hangs over his broad, bent shoulders, and, as he crushes the bedewed grass by his clastic stride, in his gray eyes there sparkles the light of two worlds, and he looks like Father Time breaking the way for a new epoch in the history of man.

Other mujiks, who do not walk like gods, come down the hilly path which leads from the village, and now all are together in the field, where the oats fall beneath the sharp scythes; he leads, they follow; he cuts a broader swath than they, so broad, so wide—broader and wider than the Russian mujik ever heard of even in his most fantastic tales.

It is ten o'clock; the count leaves the mujiks at their work, and walks back to the whitewashed towers which mark the entrance to his estate. Along this path thousands have come in these later years, with burdens great and small. They have come and gone, a few disappointed, many with burdens lightened, all of them saying, as they went away, "We have seen a man," and if they know anything about their Bibles, they said, "This man is sent from God, and his name is—Tolstoy."

The count walks up the steps which leads to the apartments of his family; and then down into his den, where the pen plows fast and furiously over long sheets of paper, the furrows filled with seeds which are sent out into the wide harvest field that men may reap fruit unto eternal life.

Until two o'clock the count is undisturbed in his sanctum; at that hour his secretary receives the day's work for copy, the simple luncheon is partaken of, and then until about five o'clock his hands are busy with the common tasks. Before the sun sinks, comes the walk across the fields and into the woods; this walk of miles thru forest and field all visitors know, for it is Tolstoy's audience chamber. The burdened, the curious, whoever it is, may go with him, and if the visitor has ears and a heart, he will be lead miles and miles into the heart of things greater than he ever dreamed of.

He walks as if he had not toiled all day, and talks as if his brain were not wearied, and looks into the world around him and straight into your own soul as if only half of seventy three years had passed before him, years in which he has gazed upon the pomp and glory of kings, in which he has seen armies in bloody combat, humanity in its hard struggle to answer its own prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." Most marvelous of all, he listens to your story of a far-away corner of the earth as if it had happened on his estate; he listens to your story about the great and little who have made this world better or are trying to do so; he listens to all this as if they were his brothers. If you praise him he smiles, well pleased, and changes the subject.

To all alike he preaches a sermon, whose great text is, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." It is an eloquent sermon, preached to the one soul on that oak-shaded path, and he that hears it never forgets it.

At nine o'clock dinner is served in the large, stately dinning-room, where elegance does not obtrude itself or poverty offend. After the dinner the "samovar" is brought in and the family circle gathers round it, and if you have found grace in the sight of the count you are drawn into it, and you will call that the happiest hour of the day. Very much like this are all the days at Yasnaya, far way from the "madding crowd," sometimes one thinks too far from struggling and suffering men.

There seems to have been too much of stern philosophy in the day's thinking, and not enough warm, tender feeling towards those who cannot see the way to life as he sees it. There seems to have been too much toil put into the cold earth and not enough into the hearts of men, but it was a day's labor richer in results which will count for the good of men than one can estimate.

It is deep, dark night in Yasnaya; not a

light is seen in the village, yet the night seems brighter than ever, because I have seen a great light; I have not been blinded by it: nay, I can see more, better, and clearer. The silence has a voice in it, soft, yet strong atd strangely melodious. His last words that memorable day when I shared with him the day's labor were, "Good night, comrade!" and there was to me in that voice the prophecy of a better morning.—Dr. Edward A. Steiner.

## "Self-Government" Again.

However much the word "government" may entail "enchantment" or "curses" upon peculiar natures, control or will are moving forces, directing all action, even the "minding your own business." (1) We naturally direct our energies toward what we judge to be "the best and easiest way"; we cannot drift there without a rudder, or some governing power. (2) Governing forces are of two classes: one centripetal, centralizing and harmonizing in its nature,-the other centrifugal, diffusive and disorganizing, divorcing from any center round which to form a symmetric and harmonious development, relying for growth upon crushing out by victor power alone, all lesser forces. I entirely agree with my critic that the latter has been "the great curse of time." The former every well-centered or self-respecting person constantly practises. (3)

"All men act just as they must act at the time being." Can it be that we are to understand from this that man is wholly passive and possessed of no generative faculty? We freely admit that when a cannon ball is speeding on its mission it has left its "must." Its must is merely the completion of the generating forces, and loses its identity when the act, so-called, begins. These forces are exceedingly complex, sometimes from sensations received from without, and sometimes from sensations derived from an inter-blending of both. In either case they lead to the inception of its resultant act, when force ceases. I mean, of course, the causative force. (4)

"The more will we be determined to shape our environment so as to cause the least friction," carries with it what our friend would call perhaps a "spurious" must, in that it determines at all. (5)

"Our will does not determine our sensations." Absolute free will, like absolute freedom of any other attribute, cannot of course in the nature of things belong to finite entities, but the will power within us, is that which renders us active beings, gives us the liberty of creating for ourselves to some extent pleasurable sensations. (6) In so far as we are devoid of this controlling, choosing quality, (if you please to abolish the word governing,) are we creatures of chance and circumstance, drifting hither and thithes, willy nilly, into any nook or eranny left open by the positive forces of external life, (7)

life. (7)

As I conceive it, it is one of the fundamental tenets of the Anarchist philosophy, that we are capable of voluntary action; that we can and should do as we please. But voluntariness implies will power. We cannot "please" unless we will. The very words, "Will you, please?" involve this idea.

J. M. CLARKE,

#### REPLY.

1. "Control [governing] or will" is a confusion of terms very convenient to escape argument. Of course we have "will," desires, or volitions. But "control" and "will" are not synonymous terms.

2. If we "naturally" do what we "judge" to be best, where does the "governing power" come in? The "rudder" or "guiding power" is consciousness and experience.

- 3. This simply implies that, according to our opinion, one acts wisely and the other unwisely. Or does the self-respecting person "control" himself and the other not? To assume that I deliberately direct my energy toward what I judge to be the worst and hardest way, because my action happens to be of a "centrifugal" nature, is utterly absurd.
- 4. No, man is not "wholly passive." But when his "generative faculty" conceives a new ideal, a truth, he is forced to speed "on his mission" with the same "must" as the cannon ball. But again, if "in either case" the sensations "lead to the inception of its resultant act," when does "self-government" come into action?
- 5. No, the "must" is not "spurious," but "genuine." People who have not perceived that government causes disorder, poverty, and slavery, will not strive to abolish it, no matter how honest, sincere, wise, or respectable they otherwise may be.
- 6. I have not denied "will power"—the power to act. Neither does the denial of free will include the absence of "choosing quality." But the choice will be determined by the "sensations received from without, and sometimes from sensations derived from our own thinking," and not by a control independent of the sensations we have assimilated.
- 7. Consequently it is the "choosing quality"—intelligence—and not "self-government" which determines our actions.

INTERLOPER.

## A Dangerous Fallacy.

The decision of the Italian Socialists at the Imola congress to adopt political methods for the attainment of Socialism has brought forth the usual stale and unprofitable arguments of those political reformers who call themselves Socialists as to the advantage of the ballot-box over the barricade. The New Age, for instance, foolishly taking the word "revolutionary" as indicating violence and bloodshed, says that quickfiring guns have rendered barricades impossible, and that they will "in the future give place to the more certain because more sane policy" of the reformist. All this implies a total misconception of the situation. It ought not to be necessary to remind the New Age that Socialism-not "reform," but true Socialism-implies a revolution, not necessarily of violence and bloodshed, but essentially of thought and action. On the other hand, mere political reform may cost a community more lives, more human suffering than the overthrow of a rotten economic system. Another point, totally ignored by the reformers, is the fact that these very "reformers" themselves become the users of those quick-firing guns against the people

when they find themselves in power. sufficient to mention only Millerand's responsibility in the French government. Finally, it must be clear to all unprejudiced persons that the quick-firing guns are waiting just as patiently for the "reformer" who gives trouble as for the most militiant Auarchist. With this difference, however, that the Anarchist is most likely to bring the fire down on himself; and the reformer, more probably, will bring it on the people whilst he remains safely in the background. Absurd, you say? Not at all. Recently the "reformers" tried their peaceful methods with the Belgian government. What happened? Many of the unfortunate people were killed or wounded. But Van der Velde we believe is still living comfortably in the and of plenty.-London Freedom.

# Literature.

A LITTLE SPASM AT THE HOME OF WOLFGANG MOZAET. By Clifford Richmond, Easthampton, Mass. Price 25 cents.

The author of this satire announces the "little spasm" as coming from the "Rakeoffers," Rising Sun, N. V. That is an excellent parody on the "Roycrofters" of East Aurora-whether true to facts I don't know and is a better success than his too numerous names for the "Fra" in his "Foreword." The booklet is a hit at Elbert Hubbard generally, and particularly his "little journey" with Wolfgang Mozart. Much of it is clever and deserved; but sometimes Clifford Richmond overreaches himself. He aligns himself on the side of the prudes in order to strike what he undoubtedly thought "telling" blows, as for instance his sneer at Geo. D. Herron, and the insinuation against Hubbard himself on the next page. It is no dishonor to Hubbard it librarians mark his books with the "scruple sign"; but rather a disgrace to a public that tolerates such unspeakble insults to their intelligence.

"Vaccination a Gigantic Fraud," by Dr. M. W. Wilcox, published by the Kansas Society for the Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination, Ellinwood, Kans., (price 10 cents,) is a little booklet of eighteen pages. It also contains short articles by Doctors Keith, Ross, Lee, and Leverson, some of them pretty vehement.

## LETTER-BOX.

- L. K., Norwood.—We are sorry for the errors in the mailing list, which all resulted from the first one Should like to put the blame on the printers' devil; but as we are just now "one and the same," it is not very convenient.
- A. C. Pleydell.—We shall soon begin the publication of a series by Comrade James, "A Vindication of Anarchism," which is now in course of preparation, and is based on his Anarchist Reading Course. This will give you what you want. The papers containing the Course can be had only in files.

The coldest bodies warm with opposition; the hardest sparkle in collition. There is a wholly mistaken zeal in politics, as well as in religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause for which we suffer.—Junius.

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