



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 386.

Away to the Mountains.

(From "Morning Echoes.")

Away with the time-tested wrongs of the ages;

Out from the error-worn ruts of the past;

Out upon custom's law! Burn the old pages,

Light on the mountains is sighted at last.

Too long in the ruts of the ancients we've lumbered,

With age-crumbing guide posts to mark out the way;

Too long in the halls of our fathers we've slumbered,

Inhaling the poisonous breath of decay.

Too long we have followed with custom before us,

Aging old errors forever in sight;

Too long has the spell of the fathers been o'er us,

Veiling our greed-darkened minds from the light.

Traditions and customs inhuman enslave us;

Away with the Mammon-wrought fetters we've worn;

Behold on the mountains the light that shall save us,

Gilding the crests with the rays of the morn.

Away, then, away with our face to the mountains,

Fast fades the darkness in Reason's bright ray.

Loose we the chains from the soul's hidden fountains,

Go forward, rejoice and forever be free.

—J. Edward Morgan.

An Anarchist View.

Anarchism is no new theory. The term itself, which signifies "no government," is ancient and was applied long before Proudhon.

Moreover, what do the words signify? There were "Arcates" before there were Anarchists, and when the name Arcates was formed, in itself a scientific composition, untold generations had followed one another. At all times there were free men who despised the idea of law, men who lived without masters, by virtue of their original right of existence and their own thinking. Even in the most ancient times we everywhere find tribes who lived without man-made laws, who had no other rules for their conduct than their "will and judgment," as Rabelais says. But even if Anarchism is as old as mankind itself, the representatives of this idea give the world something new nevertheless. They have a precise conception of the aim to be achieved, and from one end of the world to the other they are in unison with their ideal—to deny every form of government. The dream of a world-embracing freedom has ceased to be a mere philosophical and literary utopia, as was the case with the originators of a new sunny city or a new Jerusalem. It is the practical aim of a host of united men who by their activity intend to establish a society in which there shall be no masters, no official upholders of public morals, no prisons and no hangmen, no rich and no poor; but brothers, all of whom have plenty; equals

who live in peace and harmony among themselves, not out of obedience to law, which is always accompanied by horrible threats, but from mutual respect of interests and scientific observation of natural laws.

No doubt, this ideal seems to many people unrealizable, but I am certain to most of them it is a desirable ideal, and they also look for a picture in the far distance, of a society in which men live harmoniously, let their swords rest, recast their cannons, and disarm their battleships.

The aim of the Anarchists has also much in common with many noble people of different religions, sects, and parties, but they distinguish themselves from the latter clearly by the means to be applied, as their name indicates in a most unambiguous manner. To conquer the governmental power was ever the greatest prejudice of all revolutions, even the most honest. In their prearranged ideas they did not conceive of a free society, without the regular functionaries of government, and as soon as they had overthrown their hated masters, they hastened to substitute others, who, according to the sanctified formula, were "destined to make their people happy."

Usually they did not even dare to select a new ruler, or to establish a new dynasty, without first submissively giving homage to the new sovereign. "The king is dead, long live the king!" exclaimed the subjects faithfully, even during their insurrections.

During the lapse of centuries and centuries, this was the inevitable course of history. "How could one live without a master?" said the slaves, the married women, the workers of city and country, and deliberately they took the yoke upon themselves, as the oxen that pull the plow. One is reminded of the insurgents of 1830, who demanded "the best republic" in the person of a new king, and the republicans of 1848, who modestly crawled back to their holes, after they had "endured three months misery in the service of the provisional government." At the same time a revolution broke out in Germany, and a people's parliament assembled in Frankfurt.

"Old authority is a corpse!" exclaimed one of the representatives.

"Yes," replied the president, "but we will rejuvenate it. We will appeal to new men, who will be able to reconquer the confidence of the people in government."

Is it not appropriate here to cite the verse of Victor Hugo, "The old instinct of men leads to infamy"?

Against this instinct, Anarchy signifies in truth a new spirit. You cannot accuse the Anarchists of wanting to put themselves of government in order to rule themselves in its place.

Continually we repeat to our brethren—often hostile brethren—the State Socialists: "Beware of your leaders and representatives! Like you, they are surely inspired by the best purposes; they ardently desire the abolition of private property and tyrannical government; but the new relations and opportunities gradually change them; their morals combined with their interests alter, and they become necessarily unfaithful even tho they believe in the cause of their constituents. They themselves, after they possess the power, will have to employ the means of power: the army, the marauders, the officials, the police, and the spies.

More than three thousand years have elapsed since the Hindu poet of Maha Bharata recapitulated the experience of centuries in these things thus: "The man who rides in a carriage will never be the friend of him who goes afoot."—Eliade Reclus. (Translated from the German for FREE SOCIETY by Interloper.)

Buckle on Government.

Indeed, the extent to which the governing classes have interfered, and the mischiefs which that interference has produced, are so remarkable, as to make thoughtful men wonder how civilization could advance, in the face of such repeated obstacles. In some of the European countries, the obstacles have, in fact, proved insuperable, and the national progress is thereby stopped. Even in England, where . . . the higher ranks have for some centuries been less powerful than elsewhere, there has been inflicted an amount of evil, which, tho much smaller than that incurred in other countries, is sufficiently serious to form a melancholy chapter in the history of the human mind. To sum up these evils, would be to write a history of English legislation; for it may be broadly stated, that, with the exception of certain necessary enactments for the preservation of order, and the punishment of crime, nearly everything which has been done, has been done amiss. Thus, to take only such conspicuous facts as do not admit of controversy, it is certain that all the most important interests have been grievously damaged by the attempts of legislators to add them. Among the accessories of modern

* Advocates of unrestraint.

civilization, there is none of greater moment than trade. . . . But every European government which has legislated much respecting trade, has acted as if its main object were to suppress the trade, and ruin the trades. Instead of leaving the national industry to take its own course, it has been troubled by an interminable series of regulations, all intended for its good, and all inflicting serious harm. To such a height has this been carried, that the commercial reforms which have distinguished England during the last twenty years, have solely consisted in undoing. . . . It is no exaggeration to say, that the history of the commercial legislation of Europe presents every possible contrivance for hampering the energies of commerce. Indeed, a very high authority, who has maturely studied this subject, has recently declared, that if it had not been for smuggling, trade could not have been conducted, but must have perished, in consequence of this incessant interference. . . . In every quarter, and at every moment, the hand of government was felt. Duties on importation, and duties on exportation; bounties to raise up a losing trade, and taxes to pull down a remunerative one; this branch of industry forbidden, and that branch of industry encouraged; one article of commerce must not be grown, because it was grown in the colonies, another article might be grown and bought, but not sold again, while a third article might be bought and sold, but not leave the country. Then, too, we find laws to regulate wages; laws to regulate prices; laws to regulate profits; laws to regulate the interest of money; custom house arrangements of the most vexatious kind. . . . A system was organized, and strictly enforced, of interference with markets, interference with manufactories, interference with machinery, interference even with shops. The towns were guarded by excisemen, and the ports swarmed with tide waiters, whose sole business was to inspect nearly every process of domestic industry, peer into every package, and tax every article; while, that the absurdity might be carried to its extreme height, a large part of all this was by way of protection; that is to say, the money was avowedly raised, and the inconvenience suffered, not for the use of the government, but for the benefit of the people; in other words, the industrious classes were robbed, in order that industry might thrive.

Such are some of the benefits which European trade owes to the paternal care of European legislators. But worse still remains behind. For the economical evils, great as they were, have been far surpassed by the moral evils which this system produced. The first inevitable consequence was, that, in every part of Europe, there arose numerous and powerful gangs of armed smugglers, who lived by disobeying the laws which their ignorant rulers had imposed. These men, desperate from the fear of punishment, and accustomed to the commission of every crime, contaminated the surrounding population; introduced into villages vice formerly unknown; caused the ruin of entire families; spread, wherever they came, drunkenness, theft, and dissoluteness; and familiarized their associates with those coarse

and swinish debaucheries, which were the natural habits of so vagrant and lawless a life. The innumerable crimes arising from this, are directly chargeable upon the European governments by whom they were provoked. The offenses were caused by the laws; and now that the laws are repealed, the offenses have disappeared. But it will hardly be pretended, that the interests of civilization have been advanced by such a policy as this. It will hardly be pretended, that we owe much to a system which, having called into existence a new class of criminals, at length retraces its steps; and, tho it thus puts an end to the crime, only destroys what its own acts had created.

The love of exercising power has been found to be so universal, that no class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it. . . .

Seeing, therefore, that the efforts of government in favor of civilization are, when most successful, altogether negative; and seeing, too, that when those efforts are more than negative, they become injurious,—clearly follows, that all speculations must be erroneous which ascribe the progress of Europe to the wisdom of its rulers. This is an inference which rests not only on arguments already adduced, but on facts which might be multiplied from every page of history. For no government having recognized its proper limits, the result is, that every government has inflicted on its subjects great injuries; and has done this nearly always with the best intentions. The effects of its protective policy in injuring trade, and, what is far worse, in increasing crime, have just been noticed; and to these instances, innumerable others might be added. Thus, during many centuries, every government thought it was its bounden duty to encourage religious truth, and discourage religious error. The mischief this has produced is incalculable. Putting aside all other considerations, it is enough to mention its two leading consequences; which are, the increase of hypocrisy, and the increase of perjury. The increase of hypocrisy is the inevitable result of connecting any description of penalty with the profession of particular opinions. Whatever may be the case with individuals, it is certain that the majority of men find an extreme difficulty in long resisting constant temptation. And when the temptation comes to them in the shape of honor and emolument, they are too often ready to profess the dominant opinions, and abandon, not indeed their belief, but the external marks by which that belief is made public. Every man who takes this step is a hypocrite; and every government which encourages this step to be taken, is an abettor of hypocrisy and a creator of hypocrites. Well, therefore, may we say, that when a government holds out as a bait, that those who profess certain opinions shall enjoy certain privileges, it plays the part of the tempter of old, and, like the Evil One, basely offers the good things of this world to him who will change his worship and deny his faith. At the same time; as a part of this system, the increase of perjury has accompanied the increase of hypocrisy. For legislators, plainly seeing that perjury thus obtained could not be relied upon, have met the danger by the most extraordi-

nary precautions; and compelling men to confirm their belief by repeated oaths, have thus sought to protect the old creed against the new converts. It is this suspicion as to the motives of others, which has given rise to oaths of every kind and in every direction. . . . Oaths, enjoined as a matter of course, have at length degenerated into a matter of form. What is lightly taken, is easily broken. And the best observers of English society,—observers too whose characters are very different, and who hold the most opposite opinions,—are all agreed on this, that the perjury habitually practised in England, and of which government is the immediate creator, is so general, that it has become a source of national corruption, has diminished the value of human testimony, and shaken the confidence which men naturally place in the word of their fellow creatures.—From "History of Civilization in England," by Henry Thomas Buckle.

A Rejected Reply.

(This letter was sent to the *Chicago American* in reply to an article appearing therein, but was refused publication.)

Will you allow me space for a brief notice of an article in Sunday's *American* on "The Alarming Growth of the Divorce Evil," by Thomas B. Gregory. As man has the only voice in making and enforcing the laws, you surely will concede to woman the right of protest.

The reverend gentlemen, in citing the greatly increasing number of divorces as a cause of apprehension that our nation would be overthrown, was as Rome, as he claims for a similar reason, seems to have forgotten his very able article a short time since, in which he maintained that humanity was far ahead of what it ever was *morally*. If that is true, and I believe it is, and we are constantly having more easier divorces, how can he see the impending evil resultant?

He speaks of perpetuating the home by more stringent marriage and divorce laws, seeming to forget the fact that

"Home's not merely four square walls
Tho with pictures hung and gilded;
Home is where affection calls,
Filled with smiles the heart hath builded."

The only basis upon which to build a happy home is a proper sex relation, of mutual love and desire. A relation on any other basis, for any other reason, is impure and adulterous; and no less so by being sanctioned by a priest or a magistrate. And if such a relation exists, the sooner it is abandoned, the better for all concerned.

In 1858 I held a discussion in the city of New York with M. L. Holbrook, who now publishes the *Herald of Health* there, who was at that time a class-mate of mine in a medical college, on the question, "Resolved, divorce should be as free as marriage." I then took the position that, if two persons were competent to decide upon entering the relation, they were equally competent to decide if it should cease, without either one being compelled by law to commit a crime before they could be freed from hated bonds. I have been studying this question ever since, and I have seen no reason to change my position.

I agree with Mr. Gregory that the testimony law should be abrogated. If law should be

invoked at all in the matter it should recognize husband and wife as equal partners in all property matters, with equal controlling power.

I have, I believe, known of as many cases of men marrying in order to secure a cheap housekeeper, as he has women for alimony. A case in point recently took place in Massachusetts. A man died leaving property to his heirs. His children of a former marriage put in a plea of illegal marriage. She admitted the plea, and sued for wages of a housekeeper for the time she had been with him, which granted, gave her more in fee than the law would have allowed her as his wife.

If difficult divorce is a sign of purity and progress, the Catholics must be the most pure and progressive. It is not so easy to get a divorce now that people adopt it as an amusement; in fact, there have been people who preferred death by their own hands to the fight for liberty or the remaining in their galling fetters. The legal ownership of one person by another has been the cause of untold cruelty, many times resulting in murder. In fact, most of our murderers' histories reveal the fact of undesired and enforced maternity.

Until we have a free motherhood it is useless to expect anything but a race of ignorant slaves, who will believe it their duty to continue in bonds where love is dead—the worst imaginable hell, from the reeking filth of which comes only diseased and criminal results. Divorce should be as free as marriage. I cannot say to the reverend gentlemen, "Go away back and sit down,"—all he need do is sit down.

JULIET H. SEVERANCE, M. D.
Chicago, 6127 Drexel Ave.

Socialism and Anarchism.

I am much interested in the continued discussion of Mr. R. B. Kerr in *Lucifer* of October 16. Mr. Lloyd had called C. H. Kerr an Anarchist, and as C. H. did not retort, R. B. took up the cudgels.

Lloyd had said "Anarchists commonly divide all Socialists into two classes: Free or Anarchist Socialists, whose contention is that the individual is the unit of society, and that society has no rights which he does not by free consent bestow; and State Socialists, who contend that society is greater than the individual, and has a right to administer his affairs in the way most necessary to its welfare."

And Mr. Kerr remarks that "scientific Socialism has no such metaphysical theory. They do not believe in any kind of abstract or natural rights, whether individual or social."

It is remarkable how a writer of Mr. Kerr's standing should make such an assertion, when Socialist literature teems with such metaphysical rights of society. When they want to be particularly scientific they trot out the "social organism," and tell us in the words of Mr. Wood, "we are bankrupts every one except by the grace of the community, and our one right is the right to serve."

What is their idea of a State, Community, Society, or Social Organism, but a metaphysical assumption which they endow with an abstract right?

"The Socialist," says Mr. Kerr, "does not pretend to have invented an ideal society." But what else is the burden of their song? It is the one thing they do claim to have got down to an absolute certainty. And the Messrs. Kerr have use for politics only to conquer the powers of government, so they may inaugurate the ideal society. But in conquering the government, Cadmus like they are serving the dragon's teeth, and can never control the Spartans that spring into existence.

Mr. Kerr says:

What, then, is the real distinction which divides all Socialists from all Anarchists? It is the Marxian doctrine of historical necessity, founded on the economic law of industrial centralization. The Socialist believes that the only alternatives physically possible to mankind are private monopoly and public monopoly, and that the only one morally possible is public monopoly.

Mr. Kerr then proceeds to define the "law of industrial centralization," showing that "centralized production is cheaper than decentralized, and that in the economic struggle for existence the cheapest methods must prevail." This is more like political economy than Socialist philosophy. I agree with Mr. Kerr as to the distinction, however, but deny that monopoly is necessary. Private monopoly develops under the State, and exists solely by government protection; and public monopoly would develop by monopolists becoming officials of government.

The Anarchist would destroy monopoly by denying these officials any rights not inherent in all individuals. The principle of monopoly is the principle of government. Liberty is impossible under either. The Socialists' dream of centralization will develop an organized tyranny.

There is no such thing as government, State, social organism. What really exists are certain individuals empowered to act for the whole community. A master has been created, and all others are slaves. Bakunin says: "A master, whoever he may be, and however liberal he may desire to show himself, remains none the less always a master. His existence necessarily implies the slavery of all that is beneath him."

Centralization is the principle of organization and the essence of government. The aim of organization is government, and the aim of government is centralization. Would "industrial centralization" be anything else? What would be at the head of this organization but individuals supported by a majority? Would Socialist officials be wiser or better than political officials?

The fact is our Socialist friends have invented an ideal society, instituted upon an ideal system, with an ideal set of officials. We have had a good many Socialist organizations, but their ideal was never realized. Humanity is ever dreaming of an ideal community. But trouble always begins when power is vested in officials. The principle of rebellion is a powerful factor in human nature. As Ingersoll said, there is something splendid in man that will not obey. Self-government is the only government he will tolerate, and the Anarchist is its only advocate. All others would subdue self, and train it in the way it should go. Socialism that depends upon system and institutions is its inveterate foe. Mr. Kerr demonstrates this when he says, "If such a community (Anarchistic) tried to oppose the mighty

machine of industrial monopoly in any centralized industry, it would be shivered into atoms by the mechanical operation of natural laws." The "natural laws" would simply result from the "mighty machine." It is wrong to call it natural laws.

Mr. Lloyd will hardly call R. B. Kerr an Anarchist. He talks very differently from his clansman, Chas. H. Kerr. The latter deprecated an "Administration with a big A," and said his "administration involves decentralization to the fullest extent possible," while R. B. Kerr has discovered a "natural law" that makes decentralization impossible. I am anxious to see how these "clansmen" are to be reconciled. Mr. Lloyd may do it; his reconciliation is wonderful.

The Marxian doctrine of 'historical necessity,' introduced to convince Mr. Lloyd wherein all Socialists differ from all Anarchists, is about as convincing as political economy generally. They begin their syllogism with a false major premise, and consequently arrive at any conclusion they choose. The fact is they want to do something, and politics offers them a large field. Here they can introduce a system which can force people to be happy and good.

A LEROY JOURNAL.

Here and There.

All comrades and friends will be sorry to hear sad news about Kate Austin. She has been in bad health for some time, suffering from consumption. Some weeks ago she started on a trip to La Veta, Colo., in a wagon, hoping a stay in Colorado would benefit her health. She is now very ill at Kingman, in central Kansas, and may die any time.

On October 27, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the famous woman suffragist and Free-thinker, died at her home in New York. She was 87 years old. In her endeavor to free woman from the thralldom of priesthood and husband, she was bold and uncompromising. Her last effort in literature was the voluminous work "The Woman's Bible," a compilation of interesting comments, touching on those portions of the Bible that relate especially to woman.

FRANCE.—The longshoremen are on a sympathetic strike for the miners. Police and strikers clashed; the windows of unfriendly newspapers were broken, and goods unloaded by scabs burned and some thrown into the canal. Troops have been ordered to the scene. But the miners have submitted their grievances to an arbitration board, and so will gain as much as the Pennsylvania miners—nothing.

SPAIN.—In Val de Carro the peasants protested against exorbitant taxes. Gendarmes fired at the crowd, and one peasant was killed and many wounded.

BELGIUM.—The Miners' National Committee has resolved to send delegates to Germany and England for the purpose of forming an international organization of miners of the whole world.

BULGARIA.—Michael Starow has been sentenced to death for murdering the minister Stambulow in 1895. Starow, as is well known, was simply the hiring of Prince Ferdinand; but rulers murder and hire murderers with impunity.

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

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1902.

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

Notes.

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.

Boston.—Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p. m. in 2 Boylston Place. Free forum for all sociological subjects. Anarchist literature for sale.

Memorial meeting for the fifteenth anniversary of the Chicago on Sunday, November 16, at 8 p. m., in Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St. J. Fox of New York, speaker.

Brooklyn.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

Chicago.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at Handel Hall, Randolph St. & Wabash Ave. Free discussion. November 2, A. Isaak or W. F. Barnard will speak.

The memorial of the Chicago martyrs will take place November 11, in North Side Turner Hall, North Clark St. George Brown of Philadelphia speaks in English and Randolph Grossmann of New York in German.

November 16, Emma Goldman will speak on "The Students' and Peasants' Riots in Russia," in Brandt Hall, 162 N. Clark St. After the speech a grand concert and ball will take place. Admission 25 cents.

The Progressive Club will give a little tea.

party every Friday evening. Friendly discussions will take place. Everybody is welcome. Free admission. October 31 the gathering will be at 331 Walnut St.

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. November 1, Philip Finkler speaks on "Trades Unionism," in Jewish.

St. Louis.—Memorial in honor of the Chicago martyrs will take place on Saturday, November 15, in Geier's Hall, 2800 S. Broadway, southeast corner of Lynch St.

The Paterson Case.

Have just arrived from Paterson, and although it is a good bit after midnight, I cannot abstain from dropping you a line about the terrible outrages that the Paterson police are just now perpetrating against our comrades MacQueen and Grossmann.

The trial will probably last this whole week, as the charges against them are no less than six, and the witnesses on both sides are numerous.

The case has created no less a sensation in Paterson than the trial of our martyrs of 1886 in Chicago. The papers are devoting columns to the testimony of the case.

The prejudice of the people of the town is something awful against Anarchists, as well as Socialists; first because of Bresci, and then the terrible riots of the Italian dyers of June 18 last. They want blood. And it seems that they will get it from our unfortunate and absolutely innocent comrades. It is an indisputable fact, which the whole press admitted at the time, that MacQueen kept the strikers back from violence with all his might, only advising them to consider the practicability of inaugurating a general strike of the silk weavers and dyers of the vicinity.

But when I come to speak about Grossmann, my blood boils in my veins, when I know as a positive fact that he was not even in Paterson for weeks previous and subsequent to the day of rioting. On the memorable 18th of June he was in New York, and can account for every minute of his time. And still the case is even harder against him than against MacQueen. Some of the most reputable witnesses swearing positively to have seen him shoot, demolish mills and lead mobs from one quarter of the town to another. And such prominent men as Mr. Hall, the park commissioner, and O'Neil of the street department, who are undoubtedly laboring under the impression of mistaken identity, besides the noble souls representing the press and the police and detective departments—all of them are working in unison with one purpose in view: to get our comrades convicted.

As the case stands now, after the first day of trial, I am almost sure that they will be sent to prison for years.

Anarchy is again on trial in this glorious country of fools and knaves. Here, as in Chicago, the police, the spies, the press and the pulpit have all joined hands in this bloody hunt for the Anarchists. And what

do these elements of darkness care for truth or justice, the wretched time-servers that they are!

It seems as if every State must needs contribute its share of Anarchist victims. Illinois sacrificed some of our noblest on the altar of the bourgeois Moloch. Pennsylvania still has within the walls of the Allegheny jail the martyred hero Alexander Berkman. Now, it is New Jersey, following rapidly in the footsteps of her sister State New York, where our old champion Most is pining away his tenth year of hard labor.

And will it end with these latest outrages against MacQueen and Grossmann? Will the devouring beasts be satiated with the fresh prey that they are just snatching from our midst?

Friends! Will you stand idly by without lifting a hand to help your brothers in this direct need of theirs? We intend to appeal the case, if the verdict is against them. Let us at least do all in our power for these innocent brothers of ours. Will you help us? Brooklyn, October 21. M. A. COHN.

As Comrade Cohn feared both MacQueen and Grossmann were found guilty. Sixteen witnesses testified to an alibi for Grossmann, but it was of no avail. The manager of the *Austria-Hungarian Gazette*, Ed. Löffler, and the editor, Bela Greenbaum, stated that Grossmann had worked as usual on the paper in New York on June 18, from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m., and the article he had written that day was presented in evidence. Three witnesses testified that they had taken a meal with Grossmann in a New York restaurant that day, one stating he was positive it was the 18th, as he had gone to Ellis Island on the afternoon of the same day to meet his wife coming home from Europe. The evening was accounted for as well. The prosecutor answered the splendid and logical address of the defending attorney, Z. Ward, with abusive epithets directed against our comrades. (He gets \$15 for each conviction.) After four hours of deliberation the jury returned its verdict, on Wednesday, the 22d, recommending Grossmann to the "mercy" of the court. This, taken in connection with the fact that Grossmann has a double in Paterson, indicates that even the jury recognized the falsity of its decision. But, as the prosecutor said, how could they take the words of men "without a reputation," such as the detectives and the prosecuting witnesses had!

Sentence was postponed until after the hearing of the other charges, which will take place on the 27th.

An appeal is to be taken to the Supreme Court. As this will require considerable funds, the comrades are urged to make liberal contributions. Send monies to the International Defense Committee, A. Salzberg, secretary, 30 Paterson St., Paterson, N. J.

By the Wayside.

As was predicted by the Anarchists, the Pennsylvania miners have been cheated by political jugglery. Nine thousand miners are on strike again because those prominent in the last struggle were discharged, and because they were told to work alongside of the scabs. This will teach the workers that

rich chained two watchmen to their front doors every night to guard the house.

Little or no attention was paid to the edict of Augustus by the real estate owners of Rome; and as the price of land went up the height of buildings and the crowding increased. Within fifty years twelve edicts were promulgated to stop the growing evils of high building and overcrowding in the tenement districts. They were of no avail.

Then Nero came. History has written him down a fiend. Let that record stand, for probably in very many ways he was. At any rate, no general defense is here offered, for as he did not care a rap what people thought of him when alive, he probably is not now losing any rest over his present standing in the community.

In A. D. 64 the condition of the tenement house districts of Rome was simply appalling. That it was burned in the year named by the agents of Emperor Nero, sent out for that purpose, there is no doubt. But there are a few things to be remembered in that connection. First, in that city of fourteen wards seven were totally destroyed, and four others were nearly cleaned up by the fire, and not a single human life was lost. The people had been given fair warning, and were provided for by Nero's firebugs. They fled to the catacombs and let the fire rage. It is said Nero sat in the palace and fiddled while he watched the fire. Maybe he did. Men could be named today who, if assured no lives would be lost, would play a Jew's harp while certain sections of several cities of the United States were being got ready for "needed improvements" in the same manner.

The Christians were charged with the crime, and Nero let it go at that. He did not care a rap about the Christians one way or another. But the rich, who had never been able entirely to down the legal status of the labor unions, organized as burial societies, used this conflagration as a weapon, just as the price of coal today is blamed upon the labor union, and as every calamity that can possibly be distorted into an argument against an organization disliked by the powerful few is so distorted. History could be written only by the educated in those days, and only the rich man or the protégé of the rich man could be educated. Hence written history consists in the judicious suppression of facts. The poor people, the workers, lived like bees in a hive in the burned districts. At that time the trades unions of Rome were largely Christian; for the religion of Jesus was precisely what the Roman labor unions were looking for, since all ancient social organizations were based upon a religion of some sort; and the unions, being composed for the most part of slaves or former slaves, had no religious status or core around which to crystallize; while the organization, the machinery of the unions, was just what Paul and his helpers were looking for. Hence Christianity spread like wildfire among the unions, and this gave the powerful few a new club to use against their old antagonists, the industrial organizations.

Scarcely were the ashes cold before Nero had the entire working population of Rome

clearing the debris and dumping it into the Tiber. Nearly all these people were members of unions, and most of them were Christians; but Nero seems to have run a purely "open shop" upon both of these questions. When tormented by some patrician about a Christian he ordered the Christian killed, because that was easier than to order the patrician killed, and he did not want to be tormented; this seems to have been the extent of Nero's part in the persecutions of his time.

Imperial architects immediately designed a new city. Ignoring all former lines, streets were widened and made straight. No building for residence purposes could exceed in height twice the width of the street on which it fronted. This was absolutely the first building law ever promulgated, so far as is known, that regulated the height of buildings to the width of streets. Public squares were set apart as playgrounds all thru the tenement districts. Nero was a "small parks commission," with power to act. Being a tenement house reformer "from the ground up," he needed the ground to begin his reform. He ordered that no residence tenement should be built absolutely joining another, but must be isolated by from six to ten feet. There must be no wooden ceilings below the third floor, all ceilings below the first three stories being ached with brick or stone; above that wood floors might be used.

Wages before the fire had been eighteen cents a day for skilled trades, and as low as six cents for laborers. After the fire wages of common labor jumped to fifteen cents a day; wages of carpenters, roofers and stair-builders to twenty-six cents, and bricklayers and stonemasons got from twenty-six to thirty-two cents a day. Sometimes a noon-day meal at the public expense was added to these wages. But in A. D. 68 Nero died, and so unutterably was he hated that all his plans for rebuilding Rome died with him. The public squares were sold to speculators, and the old tenement house buildings went up again, even worse than before.

When Constantine announced his intention of establishing his capital at Byzantium and changing its name to Constantinople, the real estate speculators were the first to hear it, and proceeded at once to buy up every available building site. The price of city property increased three hundred per cent. Rentals were insufficient to repay investment with the style of buildings then in Byzantium, so architects and builders were imported from Rome. Constantine, alarmed at the growth of the tenement house evil, but principally mad because a row of fourteen-story structures cut off his view of the sea from his palace, issued an edict forbidding any tenement higher than a hundred feet to be erected, and ordering those already constructed to be reduced to that limit. The latter part of the edict was never obeyed. Ethelbert Stewart, United States Department of Labor, in the *Chicago Daily News*.

The *Conservator* of September contains an excellent article on vegetarianism by J. William Lloyd, and Anarchists who religiously abstain from meat eating should not fail to read the essay. Address H. Traubel, Camden, N. J. Price, 10 cents.

The Arbitration Board.

If the miners agree to accept as arbitrators—

A trained butcher,

A trained liar,

A trained hump, who glories in the arrogant title of bishop—

Then they are fools of the deepest dye. Men who live on, not by, Labor, are not good for any thing, except perhaps manure. San Francisco. KINGBORN-JONES.

A Wise Empress.

The decree of the empress dowager of China would seem to indicate that she really has a desire to put an end to the custom of foot binding. A recent edict reads, "The gentry and notables of Chinese descent are commanded to earnestly exhort their families and all who come under their influence to abstain henceforth from that evil practise [foot binding], and by these means abolish the custom forever." A singular item in the decree states that it has carefully avoided the words "We prohibit," so that dishonest officials and yamen underlings may not have any excuse to browbeat and oppress her Chinese subjects who do not immediately follow this decree, on the strength that they have disobeyed the imperial commands. The court clearly recognizes the fact that it is a common practise among officials the browbeat and oppress.—*Missionary Herald*.

Those Chinese do sometimes have amazingly sensible ideas. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

During some weeks all sorts of would-be reformers and moralists rage against the divorce evil in the *Chicago American*. They demand more stringent compulsory marriage laws, talk about the horrible immorality, the ruin of the nation,—nay, of all mankind, if man and woman are not kept in bonds and chains till the grave. Man must be treated like a galley-slave or else the entire moral constitution of the universe will go to the devil! That is the final conclusion of the "radical" *American's* wisdom.

One would suppose that even a child can comprehend that such galley-slave morality does not signify the elevation of man's integrity, but his degradation to compulsory prostitution.—*Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

LETTER BOX.

M. W., Brooklyn.—We cannot give you the names of the

AL N., New York.—The address of the Brazilian colony is: Carlos Condor, Colonia Cosmos, Sao Francisco do Sul, Brazil.

C. J. F., San Angelo, Tex.—The assertion that the Anarchist wants "to stimulate an unprepared proletariat

is not presumptuous to consider. In some countries the governments have seen to it that a peaceable and argumentative propaganda is made impossible, and violent deeds are usually more a matter of protest than an act of propaganda in the educational sense.

Steven T. Byington.—When Tucker's *Liberty* appears again, we shall be glad to notice the fact.

Kinghorn-Jones.—Article "Society and Society" was received, but you write such "tough" copy for both editor and printer, that they are clary about tackling the matter.

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