



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 388.

The Haymarket Monument.*

Nay, let it stand so in the square,
A mark of shame! Its place is there;
And they who reared it, every day
Shall see, while slow years pass away.

Freedom sank down on that spot
When truth was strangled there and shot;
And o'er its grave stands murder's cub—
The petty tyrant with his club.

Nay, let it stand, till those who built
In this vile glory find their guilt,
And know the thing they worship now—
A master, who bids cringe and bow.

For men shall honor nobler things
Than laws, or governors, or kings,
When truth and wisdom, strength and right
May rise like suns to end a night.

Men tremble now where rulers be;
But time shall come, when, standing free;
Man knowing man; each trusting all;
A good deed to their hands shall fall.

Yes, when the people have grown wise,
And blinding scales have left their eyes,
They'll sudden turn in all disgust
And cast this mockery in the dust!

Ay, let it stand there in the street,
A towering shame. For it is meet
That they who raised it every day
Should see, till eyes must turn away!

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

* Written before "business interests" caused the removal of the monument to Union Park.

A Theme for Thinkers.

It takes a long time to rid the public mind of misconceptions. Every new idea is compelled to run the gauntlet of prejudice and persecution. The whole history of the world is a proof of the unwillingness of the average man to change his point of view. The mere existence of a law or custom is popularly accepted as an argument in its favor. The progress already made is gladly welcomed; but there is at all times a general objection to going any further.

Nevertheless, evolution is a fact, to which institutions, no less than plants and animals, are in the long run compelled to yield. Human inertia resists strongly; but it has to deal with a still stronger impelling force. It is no mere superstitious sentimentalism, but the sternest of scientific facts, which asserts that the actual right is sure to conquer in the end. The right is that which best harmonizes with the evolutionary process, which, whether blind or intelligent, is irresistible, and will have its way. There is no standing still in the universe. The eternal flux and flow of Heraclitus is indeed a fact, tho in a manner quite different from the old Hellenic conception. Those who wish the

world to stand still are always on the losing side. The present may crown them beyond their merit; but the future tosses them into the ash-heap with the rest of the rubbish.

At every moment, there are two distinct tendencies at work among men. The most obvious is that which concerns the vast majority. It is the development of existing social conditions toward the full expression of both the best and the worst in them. The other, which concerns most the advanced thinkers, is the gradual preparation for the new conditions which are destined ultimately to supersede the old.

The transformation of society is not solely the result of any one factor, religious, economic, social or political. The ingenious attempt of Marx and others to reduce the entire problem to an economic basis is not devoid of plausibility, but cannot stand the test of a rigid analysis. It is an effort to substitute a part for the whole, and necessarily leads to false conclusions. Human psychology is essentially complex, and not to be dismissed by a simple formula.

Anarchism does not pretend to be a short cut to human perfection. It is not a complicated scheme for social regeneration; nor is it an apology for lust and murder. It is not to be forced on an unwilling people by the violent determination of a few. It is not a dream of the millennium, nor an apotheosis of riot and turbulence. It is a name for the ideal of human liberty which has long been the goal of the race.

Professor Triggs, of the University of Chicago, states that the literature of today all tends toward Anarchism. This is found to be true among nearly all the European and many American writers of the first grade. Russia gives us Tolstoy and Gorky; Italy presents D'Annunzio; Scandinavia offers Ibsen, Brandes and Björnsen; Hungary, Jokai; Belgium, Maeterlinck; Germany, Hauptmann and Sudermann; France, Octave Mirbeau and the whole younger school of artists and litterateurs; England, Hardy, Meredith, Carpenter, Bernard Shaw, Mrs. Voynich and many more. Zola, William Morris and Grant Allen, having died so recently, may properly be included in the list. In our own country, we have had Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau; and today we have John Burroughs, Clarence Darrow, J. William Lloyd and a host of others.

Few of these authors, and of the many others who might well be placed by their side, are avowed Anarchists; and many of them would unhesitatingly reject the appel-

lation. This, however, is merely due to the prejudice which has been conjured up against the name. The whole trend of their writings is away from authority, and in the direction of that fuller expansion of individuality which is the real aim of Anarchy.

Anarchy points out the logical consequences of evolutionary tendencies. As the race develops, its cohesive power increases; and it is only a question of time when the normal relations between men will be so obviously a matter of mutual interest, that the crude and artificial cement of governments and institutions will no longer be needed to hold human beings together. This is not a consummation to shudder at. It is simply the correlation of individualism and solidarity, each incomplete without the other. There need be no fear of the premature triumph of Anarchy. Governments will not disappear, until the consciousness of the people shall have awakened to the fact that they are thoroly outgrown. There is always much more danger that institutions will outlive their usefulness, than that they will be destroyed before their work is done. History is clear enough on this point to reassure the most timid. Anarchy will remain an unrealized ideal, until the human race is fully ready to actualize it. When it does come, it will not mean a general smash up. Exploitation will be rendered impossible; but many things will go on just as they do today. The men and women of a free society will not be perfect nor omniscient. They will learn by experiment how best to carry on affairs; and each generation will add new lessons. Progress will not cease, but will be greatly accelerated. The refinement of life, far from disappearing, will become the portion of all.

The Anarchist philosophy is not to be apprehended in a moment. At first, it may appear "the baseless fabric of a dream"; but closer study shows that it rests on a strong foundation. Thinking men and women will find the subject well worthy of their attention. Cast prejudice aside, and investigate.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

Ida Craddock.

One more martyr to add to the long list already stamped upon the pages of history! A list containing names which were made odious by malicious persecutions. Persecutions set in motion by designing opposers of human liberty, and aided and magnified by the ignorant masses.

To be sure, the march of progress keeps right on even tho the way is crimsoned with the blood of sacrifice; but is it not time to vary somewhat the beaten track and see if the cost may not be lessened? Is it necessary to continue the sacrifice of human liberty and human lives, in order that knowledge may be diffused? How pitiable the ignorance that looks with indifference upon such outrages as the persecution of Ida Craddock, and feels no personal responsibility in the case!

Is not every supporter of government a partner in guilt, in the driving to her death this intelligent and refined woman? How the "heads" of the nation must congratulate themselves upon their ability to horde with the "free" voters, and keeping them at war with each other upon such "vital" questions as the tariff, lashing them into party lines by unscrupulous and designing leaders, blinding their eyes and deafening their ears by false lights and misleading sounds. It is nothing less than Satanic.

To see millions of men begging for work, to see those who work pay a given percentage of their wages for the support of the government, to know these wage slaves have no right under government to free speech, free press, or free mails; to find, as Buckle says, "the very thoughts of men are made to pay toll," is enough to make one doubt the sanity of the average man. And what of the women who by their condemnation or their silence help to bar the way? It is but charitable to say they know not what they do; but believing, as we must, that thru woman is to come the emancipation of the race from the superstition of government, it is at times disheartening to watch the progress made.

But, again, when we compare the last decade with the preceding ones and count the noble women who have dared to take a step in advance hope rises and we are undismayed. It takes courage of a high order to die for one's convictions. Right or wrong, they are our highest and best authority.

The world will not forget the ones who give their lives for liberty, and among the immortals will ever be the name of Ida C. Craddock.

MYRA PEPPER.

Chicago, 307 Park Ave.

— o — Meetings.

On Sunday, November 2, the Philosophical Society listened to a lecture given by W. F. Barnard. The speaker's subject was "The Folly of State Socialism."

The principal supports of the Marxian theory of economic evolution were examined at the outset; and while the lecturer found no fault with the arguments of the German economist respecting surplus value, the materialistic conception of history, the rights of labor to the whole of its product, etc., he took most decided exception to that Marxian corner-stone, the dogma that the larger holders of capital are expropriating the smaller ones progressively, and must at last eliminate them entirely. Calling attention to Tcherkesoff's work, "Pages of Socialist History," Mr. Barnard quoted from it extensively, proving that the number of smaller holders of capital residing in England—a capitalistic country—had trebled since 1840.

After adding to these figures the evidence presented to the same effect by Mulhall and Giffin, he went on to show that Marx had built up an edifice to which this principle, progressive expropriation, was of the first importance; and that if the principle failed, the whole structure of economic fatalism, with its promise of a monopoly by the people as the final, inevitable effect of monopoly by the few, would fall, and scientific Socialism become a misnomer.

Marx, Mr. Barnard declared, had professed to follow Darwin in his demonstrations; arguing that from individualized industries there evolved by fatalistic natural processes capitalistic forms of industry, which in turn gave way thru the same causes, natural laws, to monopolies; that monopoly was the natural condition of commodity production; that the struggle which followed from this development constituted a true class war; and that the end of the economic evolution would be the capture of political power by the proletariat; who would then complete the development of monopoly by taking possession of the means of production and distribution and administer thru a majority-appointed State or government all industrial activities. But Darwin, Mr. Barnard declared, would never have coincided with such a conception of economic development or evolution; for to Darwin, as to Spencer, economic evolution was from limited freedom in industry and the appropriation of wealth to complete freedom for the creative individual; and that barring possible occasional reversions to a discredited type of economic life, such as complete State control of individual existence and activities, such a progress would be seen. The unfolding of the powers of the individual was the true work of social evolution, and their unfolding implied a constantly increased liberty till complete liberty should be attained. The Marxian idea was not even consistent with itself; the evolution of monopoly, if such evolution were allowed to go on, would end in ownership by one, to whom all the rest of the world would be as slaves; it would not end in public ownership, for that was the opposite of monopoly. Mr. Barnard showed that there was an efficient check to complete monopoly or concentration existing in the great and scattering mass of financial and speculative ability of the world at large, which accounted for the steady increase in the numbers of small capitalists, and that this class of capitalists, as it increased in number would make an ever strengthening bulwark to resist all attempts to change the state of things thru political measures. Marxism, he declared to be purely utopian.

The speaker went on to make it clear that tho the number of possessors of small capital was slowly increasing, that the number of the poor was increasing fast as well, and that the economic problem remained the same for the worker, as the difference in numbers between the workers and non-workers continued itself thru the increase of population. Passive resistance to exploitation was the true means of relief in economic misery. The ballot box was but a palliative, a subterfuge.

Coming on to more familiar ground, Mr. Barnard declared that scientific Socialism logically implied the control of the individual

in all of his affairs, that it implied a State code of education, a State system of morals, a State religion, State doctors, and all of the many evils of tyranny. The individual, he said, would then exist but for the purposes of the State, and the faculties, which required liberty for their adequate development would remain in a state of arrest for a time, only to deteriorate at length, if the regime of State Socialism did not come to an end.

His attack, the lecturer declared, was not upon Socialism itself, but only upon the false Socialism which sought to accomplish an accredited end with discredited means. A Socialism which was the outcome of liberty, a Socialism which broke every chain and left the way open for free initiative and solidarity, was a Socialism which every man should assent to and welcome enthusiastically when it came. Socialism was the hope of the world, but it must be a libertarian Socialism.

November 9, William Thurston Brown, who several months ago resigned from the pastorate of a prominent church in Rochester, N. Y., spoke on "What is Religion?" The speaker contended, that worshipping the Bible was not religion as it usually was called. The founders of religion were no saints and had no idea that they were producing a "sacred book." Moses was a statesman, and "Jesus died as a criminal." Their life was their religion; but society had no use for Jesus. Religion could no more be defined than life. No man asks for a definition of the joy of spring, beauty, art, etc.—we feel it. Religion must be universal or it is nothing. Religion can neither be urged nor forced, but must be felt—it is life. It must inspire people with new hope, with greater opportunities of joy. No so-called religion fills these requirements. Why should the building with a steeple be more sacred than the workshop? Why not everything be sacred? Men, women and children who cannot work with joy, can have no religion—no life. Man must find a way for life in which every expression is joy and hope, friendship and fellowship. John Ball, the rebellious priest, centuries ago said fellowship is heaven, and there is nothing more divine. Churches are empty tombs for dead bones. Jesus found fellowship only among the outcasts. Religion is an awakening to a social self-consciousness. The human soul will not stand the strain much longer, for humanity will express itself sooner or later—it will have fellowship. Even our industrial life shall be joy, and then we will have a religion worthy the name. Churches are sometimes more detrimental than saloons in murdering minds.

The last remark had stirred some goody-goody ladies, who wanted to know whether the Church had ever murdered anybody, which information was readily given. They were shown that the Church had murdered people by the millions, for no other reasons than that they had ceased to believe in the old creed. "The saloon is a blessing in comparison with the Church," remarked one critic. "Leave the saloon, and you are respected by all, but if you leave the Church you are immediately persecuted."

The speaker was also shown that admi-

ration for the beautiful would not alter things much. It meant the fighting against tyranny which oppresses mankind today. Neither could parties bring a millennium about. As soon as a party has a platform, it establishes a creed which is an attempt to stop growth.

The speaker agreed with most of the critics, but he did not think that Socialists were establishing a creed or that the "administration of things" would result in tyranny. He did not seem to be aware of the fact that "party discipline" is as strictly observed in the Socialist parties as in the Catholic Church, and that many of their speakers are being deprived of free speech if they do not comply with the party tactics or the code of "scientific" Socialism, as understood by the popes of the party.

REPORTER.

— o —

The Meaning of Liberty.

Before proceeding with my answer to Mr. James's further objections to equal liberty, I must clear up some points in his last answer to me. He said in the first place that liberty consisted in doing as you like and taking the consequences. I replied that the mine operators were doing just that now, and taking the not altogether unprofitable consequences. Mr. James then asks me if they are doing so at their own cost. If he uses the word "cost" in the sense that Warren and Andrews used the word, (1) then the word cost has an ethical content, and I concede that the operators are not doing as they please at their own cost. But, I may ask, what has Mr. James to do with this ethical conception of Warren and Andrews, which according to him are metaphysical or *a priori* notions? Both Warren and Andrews were Individualists. If Mr. James accepts this Warren-Andrews conception, then there does not seem to be much difference between us—only a misunderstanding.

For Mr. James to say that the people of Pennsylvania are bearing the cost of protecting the operators because they superstitiously think a common judge can define equal liberty, "in which they generally profess to believe," is a lame attempt to score a point against me. (2) Suppose we eliminate the word "equal" and say that the people generally profess to believe in liberty, would that be a point against Mr. James? The people who support the government care neither for equal or absolute liberty. Where they are not blindly submissive, and generally profess to believe in anything, it is a belief that government is "organized" for the protection of the weak, for the preservation of society, etc. Whereas, Mr. James knows that government is not organized for any such purpose, but exists for the protection of the privileges of the dominant class; and that the babble of the judiciary about equal rights, etc., is mere jargon, they knowing nothing of rights and justice except what they find written in the statutes.

With regard to Huxley, I brought him to testify that the law of equal liberty was a scientific induction, and I quoted from him just enough to prove that point. His opinion on Individualism or Socialism cuts no figure in this discussion. Having given his

testimony, I could afford to pass him. But Mr. James has put such an ingenious interpretation on his words and evolved a theory for him—(alas, in such a way is history written)—that I must refer to him again. Huxley said he believed it desirable that a man should be free to act, provided he did not invade the equal liberty of others, "but I fail to connect that *great induction of political science* with the practical corollary which is frequently drawn from it, that the State has no business to meddle with anything but the administration of justice," which was the position of Spencer. "That the suffrage of the majority is by no means a scientific test of social good and evil is unfortunately too true, but in practice it is the only test we can apply, and the refusal to abide by it means Anarchy," says Huxley, and he further adds that it has a right to convert some moral obligations into legal ones. Huxley was not an Individualist as could be learned from his criticism of Spencer in "Administrative Nihilism" and elsewhere. He was a believer in majority rule, and was inclined to Socialism. But it makes no difference what his opinions were. He never thought of denying that the law of equal liberty was a scientific induction. As a scientific man he knew what was an induction, but he rejected it as a practical guide for political action, because it meant nothing less than Anarchy. (3)

In my last letter the types made me say that Mr. James "demurs to my statement that tyrants have rights to the liberty they deny to others."

On the contrary, I affirm that tyrants have no rights to the liberties they deny to others.

Not to trespass too much on your space, I must be permitted to continue in my next.

A. H. SIMPSON.

1. I submit that the coal operators were not doing as they liked "at their own cost," in any sense of the last clause. This dispenses with necessity for discussing Warren and Andrews. Neither, so long as the government superstition reigns in Pennsylvania could it be said in any ordinary sense that the operators took the consequences of their perversity. By use of a government founded on the equal liberty joker of a formula, they made the rest of us do that. 2. I am not interested in scoring points against anyone, but only learning the truth. Yet I should like to ask who in Pennsylvania, except avowed Anarchists, professes to believe in *absolute* liberty? 3. I will not believe without reference to chapter and verse that Huxley "as a scientific man" rejected that as a practical guide which he pronounced a scientific induction! But if he did, so much the worse for him. His language was often very careless. Does Mr. Simpson himself know what a scientific induction is? If so, he needs no Huxley and no James to tell him that what won't work in practice is not a scientific induction, but a false and *unscientific* one, or else an *a priori* formula. This is enough till after the continuation.

C. L. JAMES.

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No country can rise to eminence so long as the ecclesiastical power possesses much authority.—Buckle.

A Fatal Objection.

Labor was wild. He found his work hard; his head was swelled, so that he didn't know his place; and he was unreasonable and violent; so they took him to the Social Reform Clinic, and considered his case.

When he was stripped, an iron collar appeared imbedded in his neck, and Dr. Lord explained that, many years ago, when Labor was a child of wandering habits, he had put the collar on him, and that it had never seemed to do him any harm. He said also that, anyhow, there was plenty of room for Labor outside of the collar.

Dr. Legis suggested compulsory arbitration to decide what was really Labor's place. Dr. Ateour said: "I think that to shorten his days would lengthen his life." Dr. Malitia said that his system needed stimulation. "Now," said he, "if we could get him into a fight, so he wouldn't think about his condition—"

Dr. Boness said a share in the profits of exploiting would soothe Labor.

Dr. Status said an old age pension would help Labor, if he lived long enough, but that if he should die sooner, what he needed was an Association for the Reduction of Funeral Expenses.

"A law against Sweating," said Dr. Statute. "And against drinking," said Dr. Prohib; "if he didn't drink, he wouldn't sweat." "And against gambling and other excitements," added Dr. Nosey. "Not forgetting," said Dr. Vigilant, "a law against immorality (of the cheaper grades)."

"Why not remove the iron collar?" asked an orderly.

"My friends," said Dr. Conservita, "we have had many excellent suggestions from my learned colleagues; all of which we will try again, if the patient can be kept quiet; but we are not here to consider the Revolutionary theory of this Radical."

So they discharged the orderly. Labor had another fit that night and cut Dr. Conservita's throat.—From advance sheets of "The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall. (The Wessels Co.)

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After the catastrophe in Martinique, the United States appropriated a half million dollars for those in distress on the island. Now Dr. Picheoin, of Paris, is curious to know where the money "disappeared," for the committee which distributed the gifts has not even mentioned the sum in its report. Perhaps the precious metal melted in the hands of officials before it reached its destination.

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"Anarchism is dead!" exclaimed the enemies of liberty after they had murdered five of the noblest men in this country; but the commemoration of last Tuesday, which was attended by nearly three thousand people, convinced the police that Anarchism is very much alive in Chicago. The speakers, Comrades Brown and Grossmann, held the audience spellbound with their eloquence and sincerity. Comrade Brown was an eye-witness of the Haymarket tragedy, and it was a revelation to many in the audience, when he related that the police fired a volley into the crowd of a peaceful meeting without any provocation, and the bomb had been thrown about three minutes after the police had fired.

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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 16, 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.

ATTENTION.

A grand concert and ball will take place November 16, in Brand's Hall, 162 N. Clark St. Before the ball, Emma Goldman will speak on "The Students' and Peasants' Riots in Russia," at 3 p. m., and Rudolph Grossmann will speak in German. The proceeds are for the benefit of the revolutionary movement in Russia and FREE SOCIETY. All comrades and friends are cordially invited to attend, and help make the affair a social and financial success. Admission 25c.

Notes.

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.

The readers of FREE SOCIETY who are interested in the revolutionary movement in Russia should not fail to subscribe for *Free Russia* or *Revolutionary Russia*. The former is a 16 page monthly, published in English, and the latter consists of 28 pages, published in the Russian language. Both periodicals are full of interesting news from that far-off country. The subscription price of each is 50 cents a year. Order from Dr. Chas. Rayevsky, 272 E. Broadway, New York, or this office.

The pictures of Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy, size 22x17, will be mailed to any address for 25 cents each.

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 martyrs 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

FREE SOCIETY

Handel Hall, Randolph St. & Wabash Ave. Free discussion. November 16, John L. Whitman speaks on "Moral Improvement Work in Jails."

The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St. Friendly discussions will take place.

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 15, Max Brown speaks on "Anarchy and Humanity."

Philadelphia.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St. November 21, A. G. Morgolin on Socialism.

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.

An Appeal.

An appeal to the Supreme Court of New Jersey is to be taken in behalf of Comrades Wm. MacQueen and Rudolph Grossmann, who were convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment in Paterson.

The verdict against them is the result of newspaper spite, general prejudice and an itching desire to pocket fees on the part of the prosecuting officers.

Comrade Grossmann has such a well-established alibi that it is believed the verdict of a befuddled jury will be overthrown in the Supreme Court. The verdict against Comrade MacQueen is based largely on testimony of police officers, and prejudice against Anarchists, and there is a chance that it also cannot stand. The prosecutor laid special stress on the fact that these were Anarchists, and it is a case of Anarchism on trial.

These are active, able and energetic comrades, and their imprisonment means a serious impairment to the movement. No stone should be left unturned in their behalf. Let all comrades who are able send in their mites to the defense committee.

Send monies to H. Kohle, 69 Gold St., New York N. Y., or Fermio Gallo, 90 Straight St., Paterson, N. J.

Splinters.

The editor of the *Truth Seeker* says he never demanded the sheriff to cajole strikers into working. No, of course not. Nor did Baer demand the militia for that purpose. Nor are injunctions sought for that purpose. And Judge Jackson, also, would deny any such intention. All of them are moved by motives of tender solicitation for "freedom." But the fact of the matter is, as soon as injunctions, or thugs known as sheriffs and deputies are introduced into labor troubles, they are there for the purpose of cajoling strikers back to work, their protestations notwithstanding. We know how the sheriff "protected" "freedom to work" in Lattimer and other places. Those who call for armed thugs to terrorize strikers—in actual fact, even if not in theory—should not be

too captious about the same methods from the other side, assuming that, for the sake of illustration, their allegations are correct. It savors too much of sanctimonious hypocrisy. The Anarchist is for freedom, but he knows that it is not to be found in the Pennsylvania mines, either for "scabs" or others, and it is idle to talk about it. The operators are certainly not fighting for it. The tactics used against them are a matter of efficiency, and not "freedom." I will let Mr. Macdonald's suppositions pass for the present, except to say that he is wrong in supposing I wish for riots; what I would like to see is a social revolution—when the miners will take possession of the mines and operate them, in spite of "divine right" a la Baer and others.

Comrade Winn, in the *Firebrand*, refers to Kropotkin as "prince." Now, Comrade Kropotkin long ago repudiated that empty "title," like Tolstoy and few others. They should, therefore, and have every reason to expect to be regarded as MEN.

In Manila they do things in the old Spanish way, apparently, perhaps to show how thoroly the American officials have stepped into the shoes of the superseded Spaniards. Isabelo de los Reyes, a strike leader, was accused of "wrongfully attempting to raise the price of labor," according to the *Manila Cable News* of August 24, 1902. The bosses are determined to land Reyes in jail, and the paper says they will prosecute him in "the highest courts regardless of expense." Labor troubles keep pace with "civilization."

The "Local Quorum" of the Socialist party at St. Louis submits a report to the membership that will give lessons in imperialism to the Republicans. Apparently what these officials are looking for is power to dominate the party in America from the central point of authority, without even a vestige of "local autonomy" anywhere. The *International Socialist Review* is amazed at their "astounding impudence" and the "insulting language used toward the party membership by those who are but party employees." The old story over again. "Employees" with power, such as kings, presidents, and representatives, soon develop an "astounding impudence" which is "amazing" only to those who do not know the nature of authority. Given authoritative power, all history testifies to the fact that it will first be abused, and then arrogantly extended and usurped, unless a watchful vigilance overthrows it. The remedy is not to create and delegate power to rule. JR.

How They Work in Paterson.

The Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* reprints a pamphlet on "Prosecutor Eugene Emley and Rudolph Grossmann's Alibi." The author, who has issued it at his own expense, signs himself "G. H.," and declares he has been a Republican ever since he emigrated to this country. Having had thirteen years' experience in German courts, during the sensational MacQueen-Grossmann trial, the curiosity overcame him to compare judicial methods in the two countries; and he was an interested spectator at the trial, making

himself familiar with all its features, even listening to witnesses after they had left the court.

He pays a high tribute to the defending attorney, Z. M. Ward, declaring that, in his address to the jury, he impartially considered all the facts pro and con, and then drew a logical conclusion from the material. Even in considering the opposition witnesses, he dwelt only on the important points pertaining to the case, without once descending to personal invective or abuse.

The case is then summarized. The prosecution alleges inciting and participating in the riots in Paterson on June 18. It is admitted that Grossmann was in Paterson on the evening of June 17. But at 7 o'clock on the morning of June 18, the witness Wendel Salzberg accompanied him to the depot and rode to New York with him. The editor and the manager of the Republican Austria-Hungarian paper, Löffler and Greenbaum, testified that he had worked as usual in the office from 9 to 12 and 1 to 5 o'clock, writing a biography of Dr. Helfert, which was produced in evidence. Further the witnesses F. Bleich, a lithographer, F. W. Heis, a printing proprietor, and Carl Hölzermann, a mechanic, testified they had taken a meal with Grossmann in a New York restaurant between 12 and 1 o'clock, the very time the riots were taking place in Paterson. The evening of the same day is accounted for, when he was also in New York. Ten witnesses who were present at the meeting of the strikers in Belmont Park, testify that he was not there. As to the trustworthiness of these witnesses, they know Grossmann only casually, but could recognize his person. They therefore could not be in error, while possessing no ulterior motives to clear him.

The case for the prosecution rests on detectives and policemen, and one factory owner (Hall). The interest of the police is clear, as in all cases where they appear they follow their own code. The interest of the factory owner consists in that he sustained pecuniary damages, and cannot recuperate himself unless Grossmann and MacQueen are convicted, and these witnesses did not know Grossmann personally, and purport to have seen him only at a distance, some declaring he had a moustache, and others that he had not. Only Hall alleges that he talked with him, and states Grossmann had a moustache, but he cannot remember his clothes. Now it is known to the police and the prosecution that Grossmann has a double in Paterson, and they have even named him, who wears a moustache, while Grossmann did not.

He states that in a German court, the witnesses so flatly contradicting each other, an inquiry would be made before further proceedings as to who is in error or committing perjury.

The prosecutor, notwithstanding all this, insists on his case, indulging in personal abuse against the defendants, calling Grossmann, for instance, a "twenty-six year old Jew," and specially stating that they had to deal with Anarchists. Attention is called to the fact that the prosecutor receives \$15 for each conviction, and altho Emley received his fees, certainly not with right.

closing, the author of the little pam-

phlet declares MacQueen innocent also; finally he states that his observations have given him a distaste for Republicanism, and that he will never again vote for the Republican party, nor indulge in politics at all.

This may lead us to the conclusion that, wherever Anarchism is placed on trial, it will prove victorious, even tho there are victims.

JR.

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Literature.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE. By Frederick Engels. Translated from the German by Ernest Untermann. Standard Socialist Series. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill. 217 pp. Cloth, 50 cents.

After the high and profuse praise that has been lavished on this book by the Socialist press, it comes somewhat as a disappointment. It may be that, overestimating the "high pedestal" from which the "intellectual giants" look down serenely on ordinary mortals, too much was looked for. At least it would be expected that an intellectual giant who mercilessly demolishes all before him would show a little charity to "pedantic" investigators, and not crush them to earth with an all-authoritative fiat about "doing more harm" by some errors than good by their investigations. A few errors in the first steps of an absolutely new science would naturally be expected and condoned—but of course not by intellectual giants, who are above such mundane weaknesses. And Engels' amazing arrogance toward McLennan finds a fitting climax in his attributing to Morgan a discovery which the latter "had not yet unearthed" in 1871, and which McLennan had already made in 1867 and published in the *Fortnightly Review*.

However, it must not be thought that the book is without merit. As a digest of Morgan's "Ancient Society" it performs a valuable service to students of ethnology; but as a philosophical generalization it will be found entirely inadequate, confined too strictly to the "material," and ignoring too much the complex social phenomena of primitive peoples in favor of property development. A broad view requires consideration of all their customs, superstitions, habits, mental progress and capacity, and external conditions, which all play their part in shaping man's history.

"The Social Hell," pictures by Ryan Walker (The Coming Nation, Rich Hill, Mo., 10 cents), a number of cartoons on present society. He seems to fear that the ballot will be taken away from labor by capital, which would hardly be a loss.

JR.

The Craftsman, an excellent magazine for the cultivation of art and workmanship, offers a three months' trial subscription for 25 cents. The regular subscription price is 25 cents a copy, and \$3 a year. Address 207 S. State St., Syracuse, N. Y.

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We have come upon a phase of social development when the right to discuss subjects of importance to human welfare is liable to the restriction of recrudescing Puritanism.

—M. D. Conway.

Imperialism at the Grave of Liberty.

In the discussion of this matter we must first determine what constitutes imperialism.

This word comes from imperial; as defined, it relates to an emperor, or empire, a monarch,—one possessing regal powers; a scheme of undisputed sway over an extensive territory. In Russia it means expansion to the east. In England the word is used to include Britain,—her colonies, and imperial parliament. It is this English definition which our congress is attempting to follow. And it must be remembered that it is England's foreign wars, conquests and colonial possessions which are responsible for her enormous bonded indebtedness and unparalleled burdensome taxation. Language is never ripe; the dictionary definitions are not broad enough for the times. In its more enlarged sense, imperialism consists of the exercise of unlimited or unwarranted powers by one man, or by a body of men. As applied to the United States, the exercise, by the president, or by congress, of powers not conferred by the federal constitution, is imperialism. More especially is this enlarged definition true when applied to a people as subjects, not citizens.

In order to determine whether our congress or president, or both, have been, or are, exercising powers not delegated by the federal constitution, we must first examine the provisions of that instrument which bear on the questions herein involved. We must not lose sight of the fact that our federal government is one of limited powers; it may rightfully exercise the powers expressly conferred with others necessarily implied from the terms of that instrument, and none others. The exercise, or attempted exercise of other powers, is imperious—imperialism, and whether such exercise be by one man, or a body of men, as a congress, makes no difference.

CONGRESSIONAL POWERS.

Article I § 8 confers on congress the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, and to declare war.

Article III § 2 declares that all criminal trials, except for impeachment, shall be by jury and held in the State where the crime is committed.

Article IV § 3 declares that no new State shall be formed or created within the jurisdiction of any other State without the consent of the legislature of the State concerned. Further, that congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States.

In the Declaration of Independence, it is asserted that the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. It is on the principles avowed in this preamble, that our constitution and government rest. They have ever been held as sacred and as binding as the constitution itself. Among the charges against the English king, as a reason for our rebellion against his authority, it is declared that he has created a multitude of new officers and sent a swarm of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance, and that he has quartered large bodies of troops among us. All of these things, and many

more of like nature, our president and congress have for the last five years imposed on the Filipinos.

EARLY EVENTS LEADING UP TO IMPERIALISM.

A few political events in our history which led up to our civil war, ending in imperialism, will now be in order. In 1793, Jefferson, then secretary of State, asserted that governments are founded on truth, justice and the rights of man. By the use of this language, he undoubtedly meant all rightful governments. When in power, as president, Jefferson adhered to these views.

Alexander Hamilton, a monarchist at heart, when secretary of the treasury, attempted to found what he called a strong government moulded on the English plan; he and his friends brought forward several schemes in the interests of capital: among them a protective tariff, national bank and bonded indebtedness. These things have always been in the interests of the monied class. The tariff, like other subsidies, is but a scheme to rob the many for the enrichment of a few. As true and as apparent as this seems, the friends of capital have often been successful in hoodwinking a majority of the voters into the support of this unjust scheme. Washington, a good man, wavered in his opinions between monarchy and republicanism. John Adams, an aristocrat, favored the alien and sedition laws, giving the government special power over resident foreigners, and power to punish anyone who should speak ill of the president. Kentucky and Virginia rose in their might against the enactment of any such measures, foreseeing that they would end in despotism. In spite of this early warning our congress has caused to be established in the Philippines, thru a commission, sedition laws in their most odious form. Nor has the Anarchist act of the last congress, fallen far short of the old alien and sedition proposed laws of Adams.

Jefferson in power, 1803, the question came up for the purchase of Louisiana; it could never arise again: the bait was too tempting; but it was the opening wedge of empire; expansion was in the air. The power for the purchase of foreign territory had not been delegated to the federal government. Jefferson, a true republican, a friend of the people, hesitated; he called for an amendment to the constitution, but the event was too important, and the time was then if ever. The purchase was consummated and Jefferson gave his consent: but not without warning the people that such unconferréd powers must not be repeated. The territory thus bought embraced all known lands west of the Mississippi; \$15,000,000 was the price paid. In 1812 the south part of this new acquisition was admitted into the American Union as a State on equal footing with the old States. James Madison succeeded Jefferson and was re-elected in 1812, when the irritation against foreigners was revived. At this time England set up a right of search of American ships for English deserters and enforced her claim by actual search and impressment into her service of men found on our ships. For this, America declared war and invaded Canada. In 1814 the English captured Washington; attacked Baltimore without success. Following this, in this year, peace was restored by the treaty of Ghent; but the right of search was not settled by that treaty.

In 1819, Monroe being in power, our government having exceeded its powers in the purchase of Louisiana, made a second venture in that line, and purchased from Spain Florida and all other Spanish claims east of the Mississippi; in which, our government gave up all claims to Texas, California and New Mexico. Here Monroe announced his memorable doctrine of non-intervention of European powers with the affairs of this continent. And now we behold Mr. Roosevelt traveling over the country, as an itinerant, offering this Monroe fulmination to Europe in exchange for American votes at the next presidential election. In this effusion of bombast Mr. Roosevelt has probably forgotten his San Juan hill grass eating.

With the end of Monroe's administration came an end to good feelings. Between Clay, Jackson and Crawford, neither received a majority of the electoral vote. Congress elected Adams, who appointed Clay secretary of State. Corruption, for the first time, was charged; under this charge, Adams' administration was a stormy one. The system of protective tariff and internal improvements by government aid came up as an issue; but in this, Adams did not go with his party. In 1828 Jackson came into power, with the doctrine that to the victor belongs the spoils, a most unenviable claim; but he offered a bold front to nullification by the States. At the same time he stood for the people against the monied power, which, to a limited extent, was making itself felt. From this time on, came the struggle between the North and South. The ordinances of 1787 prohibited slavery north of the Ohio river. The admission of Louisiana as a slave State gave little thought. Missouri, under a compromise, came in, in 1820. In the acquisition of Louisiana some vague claims were set up to the territory between the Sabine, Rio Grande and Arkansas rivers. In 1836 Texas revolted and set up a government, followed by a war, forced on Mexico by us, over this disputed territory. In 1845 Texas came into the Union; after which, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, the war ended and Mexico ceded to the United States the southwestern part of Texas, all of New Mexico, the lower part of Arizona and Alta California, for \$15,000,000. To this territory a small strip, by purchase, was added, known as the Gadsden purchase. By these several acts of acquisition, the imperialists had established a precedent for further expansion. Following this, we settle the northwest boundary with England.

In 1850 congress passed the fugitive slave law, which opened up a new source of irritation, when all, or nearly all, of the northern States passed nullifying laws, thus putting the North in deadly conflict with the lawful acts of the general government. In the contest which ensued the Democratic party supported the government, while the opposing party adhered to the nullification laws. The decision in the Dred Scott case in 1856, of which more will be said hereafter, caused the split in the Democratic party, which permitted the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1860,—altho by a large minority of the popular vote. This, as all know, was followed by our civil war, which threw open the flood-gates of corruption and brought to the front a hoard of vultures and brain-

less political demagogues, hangers-on, jobbers and thieves. The opportunity had presented itself; dishonesty was rife everywhere. The shrewd men, rich and poor, combined to rob the government. It was during this crisis that the few amassed gigantic fortunes and thereby laid the foundation for future combines and syndicates, which, today, rule the country. They own the congress and move the president at their bidding.

According to the latest statistics, our civil war cost the people 600,000 lives and ten billions of dollars. (See Statesman's Year Book, '02.) All of this loss of life and expenditure of money, should have been, and might have been saved, if statesmen had been at the head of our government. That suicidal war is the prime cause of all our present woes. Without it, our congress of today would not be filled with a class of pigmies, bent on expansion; plunder, conquest, subjugation, and all other evils which imperialism implies.

In 1867 Alaska was purchased; expansion was on the wing. In 1884 Cleveland came into power: for a time he stayed the hands of empire and stopped the consummation of the steal of the Hawaiian Islands, which was begun under Harrison's administration, by the landing of American marines to aid the revolutionists of those islands. Later Mr. Harrison submitted for ratification, his treaty with those island rebels. Mr. Cleveland came into power in time to withdraw that document, which for four years stayed the hands of the imperialists. The mass of the people, always cattle-thinking thru their horns, placed Wm. McKinley in power; one of the weakest men ever at the head of our government; but he made up in piety what he lacked in brain. Mr. Sherman, after being a member of Mr. McKinley's cabinet fourteen months, said of him he was so weak that his party had to hold him up when he was a member of the lower House. Mr. McKinley in power, with the aid of congress, unnecessarily and unjustly, forced a war on Spain, on the pretended ground of cruelties on the Cubans, in their struggle for independence. In speaking of this war, Professor Rudolph Virchow, Germany's greatest scientist and liberal leader, in a speech at the Peace Congress at The Hague, said: "The United States has been plunged into a war by the criminal agitation of brainless demagogues and the incapacity of rulers. . . . It has sinned against humanity and civilization." No words could have been more apt or opportune, nor spoken by a greater statesman, leader and humanitarian. If living, what would that great statesman now say of the ruthless slaughter of men, women and children, armed and unarmed; the burning of their towns, cities and plantations, in the Philippines during the reign of McKinley; but little better under Roosevelt; all sanctioned by the late, the most reckless despoilers ever assembled under the name of congress.

The question of today, is not one of retaining our liberties, but of regaining them.

ACTS OF USURPATION.

Ever since our civil war the congress, step by step, has been slowly, but surely, exercising powers not conferred on that body. In fact the war by the North, made on the

seceded States, found no warrant among the delegated powers.

In the federal compact, there being no provision for perpetuity, any State feeling aggrieved by any unwarranted act of the federal body, or by other States, such as the nullification laws which were passed by all, or nearly all of the free States; laws to make inoperative the fugitive slave act, were in fact, as in effect, enough to provoke the South into the several acts of secession. However impolitic the secession, the madness of the hour forced the issue,—resulting in one of the most terrible struggles known in history.

The North was in power; the first blood had been spilled; the times were ripe for the half mad, the more reckless and imbecile politicians to inaugurate a general system of public plunder. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were trampled in the dust. The old Democratic party, which had for nearly a century steered the ship of State clear of the rocks, and left unsullied the liberties of the people, went down in the general crash; the civil war had turned the brains of the people; the republic had been forgotten, the old landmarks were gone; empire was in the air; the stars and stripes no longer stood for liberty; our destiny lay in the surf-beaten islands of the ocean; an empire was at our bidding; monied kings and soulless corporations were to be our masters; poverty could have no share in such a government; the favored few had erected an imperial mill in which labor was to be ground.

The Republican party, made up of the scattered forces of Alexander Hamilton and other imperialists, joined by political plunderers and the monied power, boldly struck for an empire—an oligarchy—a power which could control and subjugate the middle and working classes. How successful they have been now remains to be told.

When the civil war was brought to an end, the country, for Northern expenditures remaining unpaid, was in debt some four billions of dollars, with no money in the treasury to meet its obligations. Mr. Salmon B. Chase of Ohio, being in congress, introduced a bill, which became law, authorizing the government to issue its bills, almost *ad libitum*, which were to be legal tenders for the payment of all debts and obligations. This was under the constitutional provision conferring on the federal government power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. No lawyer ever supposed that congress, under this provision, had power to issue bills of credit as money. Even Mr. Chase, the author of the bill, did not pretend that congress had power to make such bills legal tenders, for when the question involving this power came up before the Supreme Court, Mr. Chase was on that bench, where he rendered the majority opinion declaring that act unconstitutional. The congress, not to be beaten, added two new judges, pledged in advance as is believed, to the seven then on the bench, who, in obedience to their masters, joined the minority and on re-hearing, sustained the legal tender act. A masterly stroke of usurpation was thus declared to be among the delegated powers. The congress holding the people by the throats forced acquiescence on the country, outside of this State. California, always having been

on a gold basis, seeing the mischief which might result to this State from the legal tender act, passed an act, which, in effect, nullified the act of congress. This California act having come up before the United States Supreme Court, was sustained by that tribunal, by a piece of mechanism and special pleading unparalleled in judicial proceedings. Thus we have an act which nullifies the act of congress; both of which the same court holds to be constitutional. *A chaque saint sa chandelle* (each saint his candle). The civil war ended, the Republican party being in power, sent a swarm of carpet-baggers South; who in violation of every principle of self-government, for four long years, forced at the point of the bayonet despotic government on the people.

Pending the civil war, Virginia, in violation of the express provisions of the constitution, was by congress divided into two States.

In 1867 Alaska was purchased by congress without any authority therefor.

Under the long and prosperous rule of the Democratic party, internal improvements had to depend on private enterprise, which is always on hand when such improvements are called for. The Democratic party never believed the congress had power to use the people's money for general improvements; but with Republican party in power, the people's money has been lavishly squandered on subsidies, internal and even external works in foreign countries. This state of things has been going on unchecked until the rascals in congress have come to the conclusion that there is no limit to their right to plunder the people. Hence the \$800,000,000 appropriated by the last congress. If this is not imperialism we should like to know what act constitutes imperialism.

FEDERAL INJUNCTIONS.

The long and rapid strides of unwarranted powers by the congress and the president, on political subjects, has, to some extent, become contagious, for the federal courts are trying their hand at usurpation. While there can be no doubt of the power of the federal judiciary to issue injunctions in proper cases, where the complaining party is a foreigner, or resident of another State, and in cases where the rights of federal property are concerned; but to warrant the issue of this writ in any case the threatened injury must be made manifest and clear of reasonable doubts; it must appear that the threatened injury is immediate, not remote, or doubtful, and it must further appear that the threatened injury is irreparable in damages. It would seem that some of the federal court injunctions heretofore granted were without merit, if not in excess of power.

THE WAR ON SPAIN.

While power is, by the constitution, conferred, in general terms, on the congress, to declare war; it was never contemplated by the makers of that instrument, that the war making power should be called into existence except in self-defense; defense of persons or territory. In fact, and according to the views of all writers on this question, no war is justifiable on any other grounds. The talk about going to war to sustain national honor, is the merest subterfuge; to often re-

sorted to as a cover of bad motives. War at best, is but licensed murder: murder is never justifiable except in self-defense.

Under all international rules, Spain had a right to use force to suppress the Cuban rebellion. Nor had we any business to interfere by force of arms. If that war was being carried on with unnecessary cruelty, it was no more our concern than of all the rest of the world; besides Spain had complied with all our just demands in this respect. Had it not been for congress, made up largely of brainless meddlesome demagogues bent on plunder, we should not now have the tailings of that cursed war on our hands, with its imperialism, its slaughtered Filipinos, pension lists, burdensome taxation and disgrace. Nor would the treaty with Spain have been ratified entailing on us the infamy of waging a war for conquest on a defenseless people, several thousand miles from our shores, who have been feebly defending their country; their homes, families and their all against a band of pirates and outlaws, but for the apparent bribery of one senator who stood to the last for a larger price. War may be hell as General Sherman said; but that bribed senator is a greater hell.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

The acquisition of these islands is the result of a political steal. The Republican Senate, with the aid of Harrison and McKinley, procured them by grand larceny. Harrison sent a ship, whose marines were landed to aid the rebels in the overthrow of the rightful authorities. The first act in this imperialistic move being a success, Mr. Harrison submitted to the Senate for ratification, a treaty for the annexation of this stolen property. Cleveland coming into power, withdrew that submission and thereby delayed the confirmation of that piece of rascality for four years. McKinley succeeding Cleveland, gave his consent to the larceny of these islands, which we now hold as an imperial colony. PARISH B. LADD.

Alameda, Cal.

(To be continued next week.)

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Here and There.

The Reverend William C. Raabe, who was found dead in an embrace with the missionary pastor of his church, Miss Bush, was a great champion against Anarthyists and "free love." Comment is unnecessary.

The Dukhobors are not quite as "crazy" as the press tries to make them out. They petitioned for a piece of land in British Columbia on which they could live without being interfered with. Altho having found more religious freedom than in Russia, so they say, they have not found the freedom they were looking for. They will obey only their own consciences and not the laws of Canada, which they cannot reconcile with their consciences. They are now in search of a "wild piece of land" where they can live without man-made laws. The poor souls will not find it.

FRANCE.—The arbitration commission has decided against the coal miners and in favor of the mine owners. The miners are, of course, dissatisfied and will bring their grievance into the chamber of deputies—from Herod to Pilate. The strike is to be continued.

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