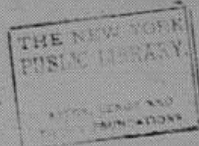


Feb 11 1902



FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST WORK, THOUGHT, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. IX. NO. 6.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1902.

WHOLE NO. 348.

The Voice of the Time.

Hark to the throbbing of thought
In the breast of the waking world!
Over land, over sea it hath come!
The serf that was yesterday bought
Today his defiance hath hurled—
No more in his slavery dumb—
And tomorrow will break from the fetters that bind
And lift a bold arm for the rights of mankind!

Hark to the voice of the time!
The multitude think for themselves.
And weigh their condition, each one;
The drudge has a spirit sublime;
And whether he hammers or delves,
He reads when his labor is done;
And learns tho he groans under penury's ban,
That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

The voice of opinion has grown;
'Twas yesterday changeful and weak,
Like the voice of a boy ere his prime;
Today it has taken the tone
Of an orator worthy to speak,
Who knows the demand of his time,
And tomorrow will sound in oppression's cold ear
Like the trump of the seraph to startle our sphere.

Be wise, oh, ye rulers of earth,
And close not your ears to his voice,
Nor allow it to warn you in vain;
True freedom of yesterday's birth
Will march on its way and rejoice,
And never be conquered again:
The day hath a tongue, aye, the hours utter speech!
Wise, wise will ye be if ye learn what they teach.
—Charles Mackay.

Radical Reflections.

The second year of the twentieth century of the Christian era finds the world rushing onward towards what destiny no one knows. The nations divide their attention between the achievements of peace and the pursuit of war. The intellectual conflict wages between the defenders of the old and the advocates of the new; and the masses plod on in the small pursuits of everyday life, the same stupid, inert, thoughtlessly indifferent force they have ever been since the race had existence. The world's great stage—the grand opera of life—has nothing new. It is the same old, old drama of life and love and death, with perchance a little different setting of the stage; but when the curtain falls upon each act, we know that, tho the actors are gone forever, and we will see them no more, the players for the next scene will appear at the right moment and take up the continuous thread. So the play goes on and on forever; but whether it be a tragedy or a comedy we cannot tell. Each plays his part without rehearsal; there is evidently no prompter behind the scenes; the play is without a name, and if it is has a plot no one knows what it is.

So far, the twentieth century has made no new achievements of importance, has added nothing to humanity's stock and store. Wireless telegraphy and aerial navigation are yet in the experimental stage. Science has made no new discoveries, and philoso-

phy has added nothing to the span of human knowledge. But, at least, the restless spirit of investigation, of doubt, of discontent, which characterized the entire nineteenth century, yet prevails—or rather is intensified—and this fact is prophetic of the continued advance of the race. For the race does advance, and however little change has taken place in the methods and motives of human action, no one will gainsay that the horizon of the human mind is expanding—the depth of human understanding is deepening—its breadth widening. And so today we feel that we are upon the eve of change, of advance, of revolution, and all is expectancy.

A superficial glance at the world as it is reveals little that is new. Each nation has its three classes—the workers, the masters, and the rulers—labor, capital, and the State. The toilers are now, as in all past ages, producing wealth for the enjoyment of the idle ones; and the chief business of the State is to provide safeguards for the exploiters and to elaborate means whereby its own power and prestige shall be extended and perpetuated. And because of this, the recent discussion of peace conferences and arbitration boards and international disarmament, is idle and foolish. So long as privilege and power have their hands upon the throat of humanity, armies and armadas will be a necessity, and wars and rumors of war will exist as necessary adjuncts of Statcraft's game of diplomacy.

The political State is always the same in essence, whatever its form or external aspect—whether it be monarchical, republican, or democratic. It is always composed of three distinct classes. First: The officials. Second: The beneficiaries. Third: The exploited. The beneficiaries are the privileged class, the aristocracy. This aristocracy is sometimes the priesthood, as in ancient Egypt, India, and Peru; sometimes it is the nobility, as in Europe from the decline of the Roman empire to the overthrow of feudalism. Today the aristocracy is that of wealth. But in all ages and under every form of political authority, the exploited class has been the workers, the producers. Under the Roman and Grecian systems, as well as in some modern countries, the workers appear as chattle slaves. Under feudalism, they were tenant slaves—belonging to the soil and passing from master to master with the transmission of the landed possessions. Under capitalism, the worker became a wage slave, subject to the employer class by the necessity of having a master to provide him with the opportunities to produce—land and tools. But, under each of these systems, the workers have always been slaves, subject to the exploitation of the privileged class.

Altho the rulers—the official class—have always been the upholders of the privileged aristocracy, we have seen that these two classes did not always get along well together—that they have often been arrayed one against the other, and from these conflicts have come, in large part, those measures of freedom and social improvement that rescued humanity from stagnation and kept the race on its upward march. The reason was, that the privileged class—the aristocracy—whether the priesthood, nobility or plutocracy, has always sought to direct the political power and to control the officials, making the State merely a subordinate instrument for the accomplishment of their class interests. And it has naturally followed that the officials, whether kings or republican representatives, have revolted from this domination, for they, too, are a distinct class; and it has more than once happened that the official class found it necessary to ally themselves with the exploited workers, to sustain their supremacy against the overgrown power of the aristocracy.

So today, we see the hydra of Capitalism becoming more and more a political power, swaying the policies of nations with autocratic hand; and we observe, too, that the official class—the politicians, the statesmen—are leaning towards the proletariat, allying themselves with even the Socialistic sentiment, in order to combat the tyranny of this capitalistic class oligarchy.

In confirmation of this, we have only to cite the attitude of the French government towards Socialism, and the Bryan movement in this country. It is the same old policy of pursued by the governing class, of alliance with the discontented masses, in order to maintain their waning power and influence. This lends encouragement to the Socialists and other honest believers in political action, but it is the worst of delusions.

Freedom knows no implement a State can wield. Revolutions in the past have always come to naught because, at the moment of success, the political leaders came to the front and assumed direction. Their leadership resulted in compromise, surrender of principle, and inevitably in a counter-revolution. It was thus with the Chartist movement, the French revolution, the Paris Commune, and countless other uprisings of the people.

The twentieth century opens with a worldwide discussion of human problems. The searchlight of criticism is thrown mercilessly upon the most sacred and venerated institutions of our social order. The handful of pampered parasites at the top feel a shudder

of coming upheaval from the submerged half under them. Social prophets with rude and strident voices go bawling along our fashionable boulevards, assaulting the delicate ears of the parvenues with the clamor of the rebellious proletariat, and the scarcely veiled threats of a coming class revolt. The pink-skinned nobility of dollars and cents and little sense begin to comprehend that the universe is in motion—that progress did not go out of business with their advent. The sentiment of their wage slaves is forcing itself slowly upon their unwilling attention; and occasionally speaks to them direct thru the crude interpretation of a Czolgosz, a Bresci, or a Ravachol. And tho the voice of reason is too low and subtle to penetrate their deaf ears, the voice of dynamite occasionally commands their interest and attention. But privilege is ever blind.

Cold, cold are the ashes of the ruins of the social orders that have fallen before—fallen because founded upon human slavery. But those ashes should fall like blistering fire upon the shrinking hearts of the Aristocracy of Thieves, for those ashes are a prophesy of the future. Perchance the chief illumination of the twentieth century will be the scarlet and sable lights of that social revolution, the coming of which is as irresistible as the outbreak of day. ROSS WINN.

Government or No Government—Which?

II

The law is never made for the one who makes it, unless it be to break it. It is always made for others to obey and respect. Here is a pious, honest, law-abiding citizen, who has committed a crime. He knows perfectly well that he has trespassed the law of his country. Will he stand up like a man and confess to the judge, like the fanatical Catholic before his priest, that he is guilty and ready to receive just punishment, knowing that he can slip out of the clutches of the law by some trick, "pull," or falsehood? People do believe in law, but only when they derive some benefit out of it, the same as they believe in cannons and gallows—for their enemies and adversaries. A man loves the law that compels his debtor to pay him his money, or that avenges his wrongs for him. But no sooner does the law lay its hand upon his own throat than he fights it with might and main. He will engage the services of the most despicable pettifogger to defend him of charges which he knows to be true. And he is no Anarchist; oh, no: he loves the government and all its laws, abides by them, is perfectly consistent, and would lynch the "bloody Anarchist" on the first lamp post.*

* Seth Low, at present mayor of Greater New York, former mayor of Brooklyn, for a long time president of one of greatest colleges of the country, very prominent in the reform movement for purity in the city government, has himself confessed to having committed perjury by swearing away most of his possessions so as to defraud the city's treasury of a large amount of taxes. When accused of this fraud in the last campaign, his only excuse was that he acted on the advice of his counsel, Mr. Sheppard, who was Tammany's candidate in this campaign. What do you think of a "representative" of over three million people, who has the brazen effrontery to openly confess to having committed perjury and fraud? Do you think this man capable of guiding and governing the people who elec-

Government is not management, but violence. Management uses no force, no goals or gallows. The State subsists on force, goals, and gallows. In fact, all violence is monopolized by the State; it must be legalized, otherwise it is surely punished. A rash act of an individual in the heat of passion and provocation is severely dealt with, unless the individual happens to be one of the gang which is called the State. Wholesale, cold-blooded, premeditated murder is no murder when committed in the name of a Russian czar or a republican despot. The citizen or subject is looked upon as a suspicious character by all governments. In this country, the Constitution guarantees us the privilege of carrying weapons. But the satraps of law and order deny us this privilege, and punish you if you dare carry a weapon upon your person. And they are perfectly right and consistent: they having monopolized all privileges, and especially those of weapons, violence, and bloodshed.

Do you have any propensities for plunder and killing? My friend, enlist in the army, don the uniform of the law, secure the badge (of lost innocence) of Pinkerton, and you are safe. Punishment will never reach you. Fear not. You are a patriot in the service of the masters against the slaves, of the mighty against the weak and poor. Obey your chief. Never mind humanity, righteousness, conscience. They lead to failure and want. Shoot to kill. The more the merrier. Your promotion and success are sure to come.

You are a plain citizen? Behave; be meek, peaceful, obedient. You are assaulted by a brute in uniform? Resist not, or you may have your skull cracked in the twinkling of an eye. And, of course, you are arrested, locked up, if you still happen to be alive, and sentenced to prison for felonious assault on an officer of the majesty of the law. There is no such thing as the majesty of the man, or the citizen. It is the sacred prerogative, the duty of the government to use violence; it is its function and its right. The policeman represents the State and has to see to it that the law—as he understands it, of course—shall be strictly obeyed. Witness: the billy in his hand and the British "bulldog" in his pocket. The citizen represents nobody and amounts to nothing. The government your servant? Bosh! You never heard of servants chastising their masters for disobedience, have you? M. A. C.

Open Letter to Senator Hoar.

Why go raving mad because one man is shot? All your life you have upheld and worked to maintain a system of government and greed, that is every year murdering tens of thousands of innocent children, loving women, and noble, brave men—all equally precious in the sight of the God you profess to worship, as you or McKinley—you are illogical, do you not know the president's death was God's will—McKinley said so; consider, if you can, the subject calmly, open your mind's eye and deduce the facts; McKinley was Hanna's putty tool. He always advocated bimetalism, in and out of congress, until Hanna

approached him with the offer to free him from his financial difficulties and make him president, if he would champion the gold standard, the powerful lever of "corporations" and "trusts."

Senators and parsons would crucify Jesus No. 1, if he appeared for the second time today; or Jesus No. 2 at his first appearance; if either attempted to whip Usury out of The Temple of Humanity.

Hanna selects McKinley to do his will; and God selects Czolgosz to do his will, by slaying the great oppressor of Labor; "and God said," by the mouth of his servant Czolgosz, "for the sake of the good working people"; this a plain logical deduction—and a few quotations from Lecky's "Rationalism in Europe," may put the matter so plainly before your unbalanced mind that possibly you may begin to reason on correct lines and draw reasonable deductions. At present you are busy with the work of providing some island on which to banish Anarchists—the salt of the earth—you would go completely rotten without them, every mother's son of you.

A disinterested love of truth can hardly coexist with a strong political feeling.—Vol. I, p. 133.

The first condition of liberty is the establishment of some higher principle of action than fear.—Vol. I, p. 138.

If some ferocious beast had been let loose upon the land and was devastating all around him, who would hesitate to applaud the man, who, at the risk of his life had ventured to slay it?—Vol. I, p. 152.

Happy indeed would it be for mankind were there many of such unflinching resolution as to sacrifice life and happiness for the liberty of their country: but the desire of safety withholds most men from great deeds, and this is why of the past multitudes of tyrants so few have perished by the sword. It is, however, a salutary thought for princes to dwell upon, that if they oppress the people and make themselves intolerable by their vices, to slay them is not only without guilt, but it is an act of the highest merit (Mariana) Vol. I, p. 154.

Some presidents have more power than any prince, and are more imperialistic than an emperor.

Go for Lecky, Senator Hoar! isn't he just awful?

The prosperity of today is for the rich only. Labor is robbed of more of his products than ever before in the history of the world, not omitting even the slaves who had to make bricks without straw.

Make large provisions, senator, as to space for the Anarchists, for they will astonish you even more than the noble, liberty loving Boers have astonished the world. How is it no American Rough Riders have been equipped to help them? but the Spaniards were weak, and, it was the opening scene of a deep laid plot to steal, with murder, extending as far as the Philippines; the English at present are strong—240,000 trained butchers, against 38,000 Boer farmers; in these last days it is not flattering to be called an Englishman or an American.

Senator, you will not be able to find an island large enough; you had better give California to the Anarchists, it has taken fifty years of government to work the population up to one and a half millions—the Anarchists freed from the vices of government and its cub the Southern Pacific Railroad, would increase the population to three millions in three years, and pay off all present inhabitants wishing to leave for

the property they left, barring the land, because, senator, you know your God said, "The land shall not be sold."

Senator, do you know the definition of Anarchy? The poet Pope, gives a short clear explanation, thus:

Oh! happy state where souls each other draw,
When Love is Liberty and Nature Law.

Read Blackstone, Senator Hoar, and learn what Anarchism really means.

The law of nature, being co-eval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is superior in obligation to every other. It is binding all over the globe, in all countries, and at all times: NO HUMAN LAWS ARE OF ANY VALIDITY IF CONTRARY TO THIS, and such of them as are valid derive their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from the original.

Blackstone was an Anarchist, for present day Anarchists subscribe to the above with the exception, that they consider "and dictated by God himself" as redundant. See Century Dictionary also.

Do you know, senator, that there is no liberty, but individual, and that you cannot make any law to force people to be good and loving? Has not the fact yet penetrated your thinking matter, that you and your class—man-law-makers—have been the manufacturers of all the civilized criminals and will continue to make them at an increasing ratio, as you throw men out of work and rob them of their inheritance—land?

The United States law-makers are "boodler clubs," whose members are bribors, bribees, thieves, their degrees are relatively, biggest, bigger, big, as they happen to be tagged federal, State, or municipal.

Lord Eldon said in his old age, "that if he were to begin life again he would be damned but he would begin an agitator." The New Orleans Harlequin has the following to say about "The Kicker":

What's the use of a kicker, do you ask? He is the great advance agent of progress; he is the disciple of every good and sound reform; he is the rectifier of every wrong which has been righted; he is the Nemesis of the wrong-doer; he is the founder of human liberty; he framed the Magna Charta and penned and signed that immortal instrument—the Declaration of Independence; he tolled liberty till until it split its cheeks; he is the soil in which has sprung up every great and glorious idea; he is in league with nature and with nature's god, who will not permit the violation of principles without a reckoning. What is the use of a kicker? The true kicker, the kicker who, when he has seen a truth, never ceases to fight for it as long as life lasts, is the very salvation of the race.

Emerson says:

The farmer imagines power and place are fine things. But the president has paid dear for his White House. It has commonly cost him all his peace, and the best of his manly attributes. To preserve for a short time so conspicuous an appearance before the world, he is content to eat dust before the real masters who stand erect behind the throne.

Yes, power is degrading; and Anarchism is the noblest ideal of man.

God is and unnatural laws hold all their power thru fear. Anarchists recognize no power but love.

Choose ye this day which shall guide you.
KINGHORN-JONES.

San Francisco, Cal., 36 Geary St.

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Philadelphia Meeting.

The Social Science Club held its meeting on Sunday evening, January 26, at Industrial Hall, Broad and Wood Sts. The speakers representing different schools of

reform, talked for half an hour each.

Mr. G. F. Stephens opened on "Single Tax," stating its fundamental basis thus: first, a man owns himself; second, a man has a right to what he produces, wherever he is allowed to labor; third, what no one made belongs equally to all (the land). He then said as we had all heard this elaborated before, he would use his time in criticising present conditions; and other schools of reform. After stating the evils of present conditions, with which we are all familiar, he said of the government, "He who runs may may read, and he who reads had better run, if he have anything in his pocket!" Of State Socialism, he said that it was the refuge of weak minds, who had first appealed to God to help them; and failing to get help from there appealed to the Devil (the State). Anarchism was an impossible ideal; his argument amounted to this: That there are no Anarchists, and that if there were, they would neither have the courage to state it, or to follow the argument to its logical conclusion.

Then followed Mr. Bilgrim, on "Individualism." He argued for free commerce, free money—and free competition generally. Government only to protect life and property.

Mr. J. C. Frost followed on Socialism. In answer to the Single Tax proposition, he argued, first, that a man had not made himself, therefore he did not own himself, but society having contributed in every way to his making, owned him; second, that a man could not produce anything wholly by himself, therefore there was nothing he really owned. The Single Tax proposition on land he accepted. If Mr. Stephens believes government is a devil, why does he argue for a little devil to administer the Single Tax? he asked. He then showed that neither Single Taxers nor Individualists were logical.

Brown then spoke in favor of absolute liberty. He said no man had ever seen Anarchism in its fullest light. Each only saw and stated details. It was not merely a revolt, not alone a protest. It was both a far-off ideal and something to apply to everyday methods, of which none had expressed more than a few details. All the great literary artists were Anarchists in literature. We had Anarchism in religion, since no man was compelled to conform to any religious creed. Science is Anarchistic in expression. In economics we had yet to fight for Anarchism; but this was the least part of it, and at this stage in civilization, society ought to feel ashamed that this was not yet settled. He then applied Anarchism to speech, showing what it meant—"the right to say disagreeable things," if one chose; and pointed out what would result—that the man or woman who made themselves disagreeable would eventually be the losers by it. Then he applied it to free love; with this he said many would not so readily agree when they saw what it meant. He then stated that Socialism and Anarchism were the only logical positions. Single Tax and Individualism amounted to this: "Government is a blunderer, and a bad thing in affairs of life; therefore when we have something really important we will call on government." Socialism in its proper attitude was slavery to the State.

Mr. Kenan replied in Mr. Frost's place, saying Socialism was really an effort to free the individual. Government was one man stepping from a doorway, seized by a second who held his hands while a third rifled his pockets.

Mr. Stephens stated in answer to a man being owned by the State, that he, undoubtedly, gained something from association with his fellows, but they certainly also gained something from him, hence the debt was paid.

Comrade Brown was asked for his method. "My method is," he replied, "not to vote men into office. Every time you drop a ballot at an election you give a portion of your liberty into the hands of some other man. Not to serve men in power, or any other government official. Neither help in any way, nor at any time call on government for assistance, and it will fall of itself." It was noticeable that the severest criticism of government was made by governmentalsists—Messrs. Stephens and Kenan.

MARY HANSEN.

Philadelphia, Pa., 202 Emery St.

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A Hint to Senators Hoar, McComas & Co.

We commend the following incident, which was printed in the London *Daily Telegraph* recently, to the new department of the secret service at Washington about to be organized to hunt down Anarchists and discover plots.

WAT TYLER.

A young Turk called Rehad Bey, inspired by the Smyrna and Constantinople football match, organized a club among his friends, together with some Greeks and Armenians, and began practising. A few days ago, in the middle of the night, police came to his house and carried him off to Sutatari; there he was submitted to a long interrogation as to the club and the game of football. Matters only grew more complicated, as the Turkish word for ball is top, the same as for a cannon. The authorities were convinced they had found a great plot, and that the two must be a secret society. A special messenger was sent for the ball, and that was duly examined, and found to be an infernal machine. The regulations of the club were considered to be another piece of damning evidence, and still worse were the jerseys and colors of the club, which showed a complete organization, even to a uniform. After long deliberation, the culprit was sent to the higher police authorities in Stambul, who went thru a second long examination, and came to the conclusion that the empire had been saved from disintegration by the early discovery of a great plot. They dispatched the whole matter to be examined at Yildiz. So the young man, the football, the rules and the sweaters and knickers were all solemnly taken to the palace and a special commission took the matter in hand. After much careful thought and examination of evidence, it was decided that there might be nothing in it, but it must not be done again. Accordingly, the young man was appointed vice-consul at Teheran and bundled off the same day. This may appear perfectly incredible, but it is absolutely true.

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Commenting upon the war in South Africa, London *Freedom* says:

"Yet there is something grand and noble in this struggle of the Boers against overwhelming odds. In a sordid world given over almost entirely to the sausage manufacturer and the manure merchant, the spectacle of a people treating wealth, ease, comfort, even life itself as nought compared with the principle which is the guiding impulse of their lives, comes like a ray of light, a harbinger of hope for the future when the chaffering of hucksters will give place to ideals and principles."

FREE SOCIETY.

(Formerly The Firebrand.)

An Exponent of Anarchist Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Freedom; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

Published Weekly by.....A. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

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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, FEBRUARY 9, 1902.

Czolgosz, McKinley, and Roosevelt.

A 32-page pamphlet, entitled "Czolgosz, McKinley, and Roosevelt," from the pen of Comrade Jay Fox, is the portion that the New York comrades have thought it, so to speak, obligatory to render in defense of our theories and beliefs; and the dissemination of same. Without doubt we say that the distribution of this pamphlet will have much effect upon the already too biased mind of the American public.

These few lines are addressed to all comrades, who, without exception, see the necessity for such pamphlet and the good results to be obtained therefrom. We solicit the fraternal aid, both financially and in spreading said pamphlet, from all comrades. Comrades can render us the desired aid by sending in money for which they will receive a specified number of pamphlets for distribution. We make special appeal to Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Paterson, and San Francisco comrades. We will send 100 copies for \$2; and single copies 5 cents each, postpaid.

Send orders and money to R. Fritz, 267 Madison St., New York, N. Y.

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Attention!

The Conspiracy Against Free Speech and Free Press is the title of a new booklet by Comrade Geo. Pyburn, M. D. The author reviews the events of the last few months with much vigor and clearness, scorching the preachers of the gospel, and the omnipresent newspaper reporters, and discusses at length the tendency of legislation to suppress free speech and free press, from a constitutional and libertarian standpoint. In short, it is an excellent pamphlet for distribution among all classes of people, and it is to be hoped that the comrades everywhere will bring it into circulation.

The booklet contains 32 pages and is published in neat type, with transparent cover, and can be put in any envelope. With a light envelope five copies can be sent for one cent postage. The price is 6 cents per copy or 2½ cents if 100 or more copies be ordered. Order from FREE SOCIETY, or E. C. Walker, 244 W. 143d St., New York, N. Y.

Current Comment.

At the risk of being excommunicated, I desire to stop the equinoctial procession long enough to suggest that a sociologist who studies the economic question largely thru the bottom of a beer glass, naturally runs to the philosophy of bombs from its alliterative connection with the principal subject at hand. No personalities meant.

The crowned heads of Europe, as well as the deadheads of America, are preparing to boost King Edward along with his coronation show. It is stated that the daughter of President Roosevelt will appear at the ceremony in the costume of a princess, by virtue of her rank as daughter of the crownless American potentate. An American princess! Shades of Washington and Patrick Henry! What next?

The front cover-page of the *American Federationist* for February is adorned with the modest and blushing countenance of its editor, Samuel Gompers. This attempt to add beauty and art to typographical excellence is commendable; but alas, I fear that this Wilshire fad will get Sam's literary venture into trouble with the sternly business-like Mr. Madden, who will mistake this contribution to typographical art for another advertising scheme of brazen proportions.

The authoritarian Socialists constantly assert that personal liberty will be safeguarded under their party administration of government. But I hope they will pardon me for presuming to be slightly skeptical. The Socialistic conception of personal liberty and individual sovereignty had a lurid sidelight thrown upon it the other day in the German Reichstag, when a prominent Socialist leader, Dr. Heinrich Mueller, arose and demanded the proscription and suppression of Christian Scientists. Intolerance and tyranny can go to no greater lengths than is embodied in this proposition. The followers of the Christian Science cult may be a joblot of witless rainbow chasers, and the doctrine itself a brazen fraud (frankly I do not know), but the man or set of men who assume the legislative right to direct the minds of everybody and to fix by law the personal opinions of the people, should be taken by the nap of the neck and the slack of the pantaloons and bumped against the vaulted blue. The particular brand of Socialism that puts forward men like this fellow Mueller as its mouthpiece, is decidedly n. g. Socialist papers please copy.

The representatives of organized labor occasionally astound the universe with an exhibition of such sublime asininity, that even the angels must spatter heaven's alabaster walls with tears. For example, the coal miners' convention appropriated \$500 for the McKinley memorial fund. Had this gift been accompanied, as John Most suggests, with the request that a photo of the Idaho bull-pen be placed on the monument, I could see some connection between their action and its reason. But, that American miners, who are not minors, with the memory of Hazleton and Homestead and Coeur D'Alene in mind, could make such blooming

chumps of themselves, is like the ways of God and woman—past finding out.

The following resolutions were adopted at the recent convention of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, held in Detroit, Mich:

WHEREAS, We recognize that organized labor is daily antagonized by the united forces of capitalism, and
WHEREAS, Capitalists are doing everything in their power to destroy the labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Capitalism receives every possible help and protection by laws, judges, civil and military administrations and rulers, while organized labor is wholly unprotected; and

WHEREAS, We see clearly that organized labor can only be saved by opposing this enemy; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the B. of P., D. and P. of A. hereby protest against the present existing conditions; against a system of spoils and profits. We protest against the system of injunctions, which degrades free men to mere slaves, and which drives honest labor to struggle for a living. We declare that harmony between capital and labor is impossible as their aims are not identical. We appeal to our members to study the labor situation earnestly and do all in their power to help to advance the labor movement; educating the masses by supporting labor papers to spread the principles of and advance labor. Keep away from the capitalistic press and capitalistic political parties, which are deceiving the workers now, and will as long as they listen to them. Unite with all working men to resist the assault of united capitalism. Move on until we can break this wage slavery.

The spirit of resistance to the existing system of exploitation is well expressed, and the desire for solidarity among the industrial classes permeates the resolutions. The hope of labor, organized and unorganized, however, is not in resolutions but action. The idea of a universal strike, so popular in Spain, should be discussed by the labor organizations of America. Labor united can carry its demands by determined action, and I know of no more effective program than that of the general strike.

I had began to think that we Socialists and Anarchists had gotten the ubiquitous Mr. Madden suppressed, but it seems he has broken loose again, and is rampaging the range with blood in both optics. This time he is after the scalp of Editor William J. Bryan, who has had the affrontery to imagine that he can run a newspaper without consulting the Diogenes of the postal department. It appears that Comrade Bryan has been sending free copies of his paper, *The Commoner*, to the members of congress at Washington, which was, of course, a useless waste of paper and postage; for our congressmen are not of the reading class, and when they do indulge, it is the sporting page of some great religious and moral daily that about strikes their intellectual level. But that is not the issue. Bryan had no encyclopedia of the latest postoffice rulings and it seems that he forgot to consult a clairvoyant and thus post himself regarding the probable nature of Mr. Madden's rulings for the next twenty-four hours. So he mailed his free copies at the usual pound rate. It happened that Mr. Madden had whacked out a brand new, type-written ruling, one of the made-to-order variety now in vogue, to the effect that free copies must be sent at third-class rates. So he gave Mr. Bryan the full benefit of it. It is now up to William. I am betting heavy that Bro. Madden has inserted himself into a good size rumpus, and that if he is after trouble,

the brother from Nebraska will give him the worth of his money. ROSS WINN.

How Will a Free Society Come, and How Will it Operate?

The more I read of Anarchist writings, the more I am puzzled to know how they propose to abolish government and usher in free society. Ross Winn says "he will not vote." He says, "Science has destroyed the power of religious authority; and it will surely undermine the State. How was that destruction made manifest? If I am rightly informed the early colonies, now the United States, compelled people to pay taxes to support the Church until a majority voted not to do so. (1)

"Individuals create wealth and individuals should enjoy it." In a sense individuals create wealth; but in another sense the amount of wealth created, or possible of creation, without the cooperation of many individuals is very small. Probably however I need not argue for cooperation as Ross Winn doubtless believes in it. He presents a most attractive consummation in the following paragraph:

I believe that liberty and equality will usher in a fraternity that will annihilate commercialism and the greed of gain. With the land and opportunity free, the laborer will no longer work for others, but supply his own needs with his labor. With the wonderful facilities for manufacturing, the immense aids inventive genius has placed at our disposal, but usurped by government agents, every man could be independent, and the fear of poverty would be unknown, the incentive to accumulate wealth for any other purpose than use would be gone.

That is exactly what the Socialists say, except, possibly, they would change the terms and say fraternity will usher in liberty and equality. But the Socialists say: "We propose to educate a majority of the people to a belief in the cooperative commonwealth; take possession of the government and of the means of production and distribution; and let the people operate them collectively for the benefit of all." This has, at least, the merit of being brief, definite, and easily understood; (2) but I am sorry to say that thus far the Anarchists have not seemed to me to present any plan of action. (3) Do they believe in doing merely negative work? Destroy government and all good things will grow spontaneously? (4)

James F. Morton, Jr. writes in *Discontent*, January 1, "What is required is to demonstrate the adaptability of Anarchism to social needs." Can that requirement be met? Mr. Morton seems to try to do this, but tho I read carefully his attempt in this direction, I failed to find the required demonstration. Like Ross Winn he prophesies pleasant results. He tells us "no man would have either motive or opportunity for thriving at the expense of his fellows." In my present state of knowledge and progress I am unable to conceive of any means for bringing about this most desirable condition except that proposed by the Socialists. (5) To help me out of my confusion and ignorance will somebody answer, directly and clearly, this question?—Under Anarchism who would own and operate the trans-continental railways and who would see that a letter I want to send from Denver to New York would get there? (6) I sincerely hope that nobody will point me to the

Wells Fargo Express Co. in answering this question. I have seen too much of the operations of express, telegraph, and railroad companies to have any faith at all in private enterprise.

The foregoing is somewhat rambling. I always flounder and stumble when I attempt to write about Anarchy or Anarchism. There are many other questions I would like to have answered but a reply to the one may throw some light on the others.

CELIA B. WHITEHEAD.

COMMENT.

1. We have no evidence that the majority ever voted upon this question. We do know, however, that the abolition of the religious tax in America was due the efforts of a small minority, including such Freethinkers as Jefferson, Franklin, and Paine. It has always been the direct influence of the progressive minority that brought about changes, as for example, the abolition of chattel slavery.

2. The history of political parties shows that they never carry out their programs; and the German and French Socialist parties are especially cases in point, not to mention the various "reform" parties of America, like the Greenbackers and Populists. Had anything ever been accomplished by political action, the Anarchists might be less positive in rejecting the ballot.

3. Our "plan of action" is simply education. Before the people can be induced to act they must be informed and educated to a comprehension of the thing they are to achieve; and the work of education does not require participation in elections. Even the Socialist parties must go thru this educational process before they can gain the ballot. Anarchists believe that, when a sufficient number of people are educated to an understanding of the Anarchist philosophy, they will "establish" that philosophy by ignoring the government and living the Anarchist life.

4. Anarchists believe that government stands in the way of the "spontaneous growth" of man, and of better social conditions; but our work is not negative, nor do we regard the mere abolition of authority as the end of our efforts. Constructively, we point out that men in a free society would cooperate under the compulsion of self-interest, for the purpose of carrying on those public enterprises which involve large numbers and vast interests; in short, Anarchy would substitute cooperation for capitalism, voluntary action for coercive government.

5. Wherever Socialism has appealed to political action it has either split to pieces, as with the Socialist Labor Party, or has abandoned its principles and compromised with opportunism, as with the German Social Democracy and the Socialist party in France. Hence we dispute the assertion that political Socialism is "practical." We can only judge a tree by its fruit.

6. In the absence of government, the private ownership of such vast public enterprises and utilities as the railroads, telegraphs, post office, etc., would be impossible, hence these would become the common possessions of the whole people, who will operate them. What is now successfully performed by private enterprise without governmental direction, would not be im-

possible for public action; and all that government could do with advantage for the people can be done by the people themselves without government. The present international postal system is carried on by voluntary agreement. It exists thru the cooperative action of the different nations, and all coercive authority is absent. Yet it is a success. Likewise the Red Cross Societies, which came into life by the voluntary efforts of humane individuals when governments had proven their inability to take care of those they maimed and mutilated in their murderous wars. And wherever the Red Cross Societies have been able to keep aloof from governmental interference they have been the most efficient. Voluntary cooperation is our answer to the question, What will you put in place of authority—government?

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International Topics.

England is agitated at present over the revelation of a gigantic swindle, which certain army officers have perpetrated on the government, in buying horses. These officers no doubt know where their patriotism touches them most. The expenses of the war are mounting higher and higher. An additional \$25,000,000 was voted for that purpose. An Australian exchange reports that at least eighty per cent of the people there are heartily sick of the war, and wish it was over.

In Rome a large meeting to discuss the unemployed has taken place. About 15,000 people were present, and the speakers, who were workers, were all opposed to delays of legal action, and showed a threatening attitude toward the government.

In Trieste, Austria, three comrades, Giral-di, Conetti, and Pittoni were arrested on the charge of revolutionary agitation.

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The Communist Movement in Holland.

The events of the last few years in the Dutch Socialist movement—the rupture, the complete dissolution of the Federation of Socialists (Socialistenbond) at the Congress of Rotterdam in December, 1897, the separation of its fractions after that Congress, finally, the fusion of the rest of the Federation with the Social Democrats, whom they joined in the late elections (June), are of international interest because they form the history of a movement of the masses.

The Socialist movement in Holland distinguished itself from the beginning by its Communist and revolutionary character. That is to say, the aspiration for a radical transformation of the basis of existing society and for establishing a new Communist order has predominated and predominates still in the Dutch worker's movement over the tendency to obtain reforms by legislation.

Measures for trading reform could interest the small trading bourgeoisie, small peasant proprietors, workers who had acquired more or less privileged conditions; they could attract religious workers led by democratic clergymen. What, however, won the hearts of the industrial and of the rural working population was the idea of simple and pure Communism, the brilliant picture of a society where men work for each other and enjoy with each other as brothers and sisters of one large human family.

Another characteristic of the Dutch Socialist movement which must be noticed, is that the movement has penetrated especially among the rural population of the country.

There are whole regions where Socialism has conquered a large part of the population, especially in the northern provinces of Groningen and Friesland, further in the industrial part of the Zaan (Zaandam, Koog, Zandijk, West Zaan, and others). So it is also in those parts of the country where, within the last twenty years and more, clergymen of advanced views have preached. No longer believing in a paradise after this sorrowful life, the poor wanted to work for a paradise on earth. It was something to see the earnestness with which the rural population in the northern provinces—working from morning till evening—arrived at open-air meetings with their banners, accompanied often by choirs or bands; it was something to see those country folk, women as well as men, walking one, two, or more hours to attend a meeting held in some public house or barn, singing revolutionary songs on the way instead of going to church with Bible under the arm as before; and well worth was it to note the eyes of those poor toilers glisten as they shook hands with the Socialist speaker after the meeting; only then might one understand what Socialism meant for them.

Communism had become there a sort of new religion. Our country people had never seen other representatives of the government than the mayor, the county and the rural policeman—and in later years the gendarmes. They have no confidence in the government, and the Democrats who call themselves Socialists, who preach that the social question consists in replacing Liberal or Clerical deputies by Democratic ones, do not easily find the way to their hearts. The social life of the rural population in Holland distinguishes itself by certain special Communist characteristics. Then the people in general hate any governmental regulations. If at the first May-day demonstrations our Socialist orators spoke to the country Socialists about an eight-hour day to be established by law, they have objected that in the country the length of the working day is fixed by the season and by the weather, and that, after all, the workers themselves would decide the question since in any case regulations made by people who know nothing of agriculture were not wanted. The country folk understood quite well that the social question was for them one of possession, and not of regulation. In short, they wanted to give their strength for a society where they could manage their own affairs, for that purpose fraternizing among themselves and without making the acquaintance of the government officials.

It is easy to understand that up till now it is the Communist groups in the country that have manifested the greatest opposition to State Socialism. What exerts a special influence upon the opinions of this rural population is the tendency toward autonomy in each center, so characteristic of the Dutch, and which is equally apparent in the wide autonomy which throughout Holland the communes have ever maintained in face of the provincial and central governments. But not only among the rural population,

among the industrial workers, also, the Communist principles are deeply rooted. The trade unions consider themselves machines in the combat against the employer. They are anxious to obtain ameliorations in the condition of the workers, but they do this especially to keep their position and to obtain, by demanding more and more, a growing influence in factories and workshops.

So far, State Socialism has found among the workers less sympathy in Holland than, perhaps, in any other country, and such sympathy is even then found mainly among the leaders rather than the workers; especially the leaders of some of the large trade unions, such as the printers, diamond workers, cigarmakers, carpenters, or wherever men hope to gain a seat in parliament or on the municipal council.

The methods which generally attract the industrial workers in Holland as a means whereby to become masters of factory and workshop are strikes and a general strike in two, three, or four great branches of industry. Strikes, as developing in England and France, arouse in the long run greater enthusiasm among the Dutch industrial workers than any protective labor legislation, which they hate even while they accept it.

If the reform current, the parliamentary current, has not been able to get hold of the workers' movement in Holland, nevertheless it has deeply marked its influence. In the real Socialist movement it has dealt heavy blows at reciprocal confidence among the workers.

Just now profound discouragement reigns among the Dutch Communists, a discouragement which coincides with the present period of reaction which is felt internationally.

Mixed with the original Communism, the social doctrines of three great nations have found defenders in Holland: the State Socialism of the German Social Democracy, the Anarchism of France and the practical struggle of the English trade unions against the employer. It must be observed that, in the country, especially the Dutch workers read much. Otherwise it would be difficult to imagine the agitation which was roused in 1893 and 1894 in the Dutch Socialist circles when the government began a general persecution of propagandists of Socialism. Judicial proceedings against the party as a whole began anew after the Congress of Groningen (December 25-26, 1893), and they ended in the condemnation of the Federation as a "prohibited society" having as object "the overthrow of the established social order."

Then the old energy awoke once more, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the government, a congress was held during Christmas, 1894, at The Hague, and then was founded the organization known from that time under the name of "Federation of Socialists" (Socialistenbond).

But discord was already shown, and in the same year (1894) the first elements of the parliamentary reform spirit had separated themselves from the party. Disillusion undermined this Dutch Socialist party, which had set out with such high enthusiasm and which, towards the middle of 1893, could send this message to the International Congress of Zurich: "If the Federa-

tion counted 56 sections—in 56 communes in the country—at that time of the International Congress of Brussels, 1891, at present it is composed of sections in 118 communes. And each day in some corner of the country new sections are formed." At that time the organization counted 5,000 affiliated members, paying their dues; but the influence which the Federation exercised was much greater than its numerical force seems to indicate.

The first collision of ideas and interests took place at the Congress of Groningen, 1893. From the sections which the Federation then counted in 126 communes of the country, 86 sections were represented (some communes, like Amsterdam, had more than one vote). Only three sections had sent parliamentary Socialists; but these owed some of their strength to the adhesion of some undecided delegates. The great majority of the Congress wishing to finally decide the war of opinions proposed the following resolution:

"The Congress decides under no pretext whatever to participate in elections—even for the purpose of agitation."

There discord began! Who was not to participate in the elections? The party as a whole? the Federation? or also the sections of the party? But did not the latter thereby injure the autonomy of the section: and did not such a note threaten the liberty of the individuals? From both sides the fight began: on the right the parliamentarians, on the left the Anarchists. The section of Saint-Anna-Parochie, for instance, where the Anarchists were in the majority, separated itself from the Federation immediately after the Congress, and that because the liberty of the individual was violated. On the other hand, the reforming elements did not wait until The Hague Congress at which it was declared that members of the party, as individuals, were free to participate in elections or not. A dozen parliamentarian Socialist propagandists called a meeting at Zwolle, toward the middle of the year, to form "a new Social Democratic party." The new group placed itself entirely on the standpoint of the German Social Democracy, and was morally and financially sustained by that organization.

At the following elections (in the summer of 1897) the twelve, among whom were some good orators, obtained more votes than anybody had expected—perhaps even more than they had hoped for themselves.

Then a new schism took place, this time at the Congress of the Federation itself, held in Rotterdam, December 25-26, 1897. On this occasion it was among the sections that a division took place, the first having been only a prelude.

The actual crisis was thus prepared by the elections in June 1897. There existed also in the Federation of Socialists a minority, who—tho belonging to that anti-parliamentarian federation and approving of its principles—wanted, however, to take part in elections for the purpose of agitation as understood in France by the Allemanists.

This minority, which, if it interfered in the elections, did not do it in a systematic way, nevertheless succeeded in electing as deputy a member of the Federation, Gurt

L. van der Zwaag. Van der Zwaag himself had declared during the election period that he expected nothing from parliamentarism, from parliamentary reforms, and that if he could earn his £160 yearly (the salary of the members of the Dutch parliament) by "breaking stones," he preferred this honest work to that of a deputy of Parliament.

But the young Social Democratic Party had also tasted poison. It had obtained two seats in Parliament, tho under suspicious circumstances. It had drawn up an "election program," in which the small farmers were led to hope for "a better regulation of farm leases," and the agricultural laborers who were not yet farmers "the regulation of the right of the communes to devote as much land and capital to the use of the working inhabitants as is necessary to enable them to live from their work on the soil." That would mean something in a program of clericals or liberal conservatives. To the industrial workers the orators of the Social Democratic Party lent the hope of a *workingmen's pension from the State*, and in their circulars they claimed as a general reform for the country: *land for all—a slight variation on THE land for all*. Here and there the Socialist doctrine was quite abjured.

The results of the elections threw the Federation in confusion and agitated the sections before the Congress of Rotterdam. If a part of "the central council" showed itself a partisan of the ideas which we have mentioned, Anarchism rose up from the other side. T. Luitjes, editor of the Anarchist journal, *Die Volksvriend* (Friend of the People), and delegate for the section Velp, tried to show that it was the fault of the organization itself, of the Federation, if these discussions about parliamentarism repeated themselves every year; because, said he, we have parliamentarism in our own midst by recognizing the system of delegation—he was himself a delegate—and voting, etc.

In my opinion, there were three currents represented: 1. A Right fraction in favor of participation in elections for the purpose of agitation, called "Anti-parliamentarist parliamentarians." 2. A Central majority composed of Revolutionary Communists, absolutely anti-parliamentarian, but who wanted to maintain the Federation under the existing form. 3. A Left wing, the Anarchist Communists or Individualists.

The Congress decided:

1. That no money of the central treasury could be used for the elections.
2. That the sections could not participate in elections.

3. That the members of the Federation should be free to participate or not in elections.

Further, a resolution was adopted by which all the former resolutions on the tactics of the Federation were cancelled. Among these was the declaration that the Federation was anti-parliamentarian. Whether this or something else was the cause, anyhow no responsible editor for the party journal, *Recht voor Allen*, could be found.

General confusion reigned. Heterogeneous elements gathered together who formed no longer a party or unity.

The Anarchists exclaimed: "Let us separ-

ate; it is here already a parliament!"

Some of the delegates left the Congress. The separation caused confusion and sadness.

After the referendum which confirmed the resolutions of the Congress, Amsterdam still refused participation in the election of a new Central Council. So that the Right fraction chose the seven administrative members—who, however, did not represent the decisions of the Congress. This measure resulted in the secession of many sections from the Federation, forming "free unions of Socialists."

It was evident that the parliamentary minority of the Federation did not differ in reality from the Social Democrats, and after having edited *Recht voor Allen* for some months by an editorial commission the two sides came to an understanding at a Congress on Whitsunday, 1900, which had for its object the unification of the Parliamentary Socialist movement.

At the time of the Congress of 1897, a sufficient number of local Socialist journals existed. The *Klok* (clock) in Friesland; *Recht voor Zee* (straight forward) in Overijssel; *Arbeider* (worker) in Groningen; *Volksblad* (the people's journal) along the Zaan; *Toekomst* (the future) in Zeeland; also a satirical review, *Paradox*, edited by Alexander Cohen.

The editors of these journals took different views upon tactics. Whilst, for instance, the editor of the *Klok*, the deputy Van der Zwaag, stuck to his principle of participation in elections for propaganda's sake and has not been willing to make common cause with his comrades of the minority in the Federation, on the other hand *Toekomst* and *Arbeider* have adhered to revolutionary Communism and Anarchism. *Recht voor Zee*, tho calling itself anti-parliamentarian, balances between the two directions.

To give an example of how difficult it is to judge the situation, I will quote the *Volksblad* whose editors had not immediately given their opinion after the congress of 1897. Invited to do so, the *Volksblad* published the opinions of its four editors: *there were four different opinions!*

Besides local papers, *Vrije Socialist* (free Socialist) appears twice a week. The parliamentarians ceased the publication of *Recht voor Allen* since 1900 to concentrate their forces upon one daily paper *Het Volk* (the people). They publish besides a local weekly paper, *Volksstryd* (people's struggle), in Groningen in competition with the *Arbeider*.

The more or less Individualist Anarchists—I call them so, because I think the Individualist sentiments dominate the collaborators of the paper—recommenced the publication, some months ago, of the small journal *Anarchie*, not to be confused with the *Anarchist* which was published for years by one of the oldest Communist Anarchists, J. Methoer, who with C. Croll were two of the founders of the Communist Anarchist movement in Holland.

As the Social Democratic forces have successfully achieved their unification and combined for the latest elections, on the other hand the revolutionary Communists and Communist Anarchists, I think, will shortly

unite in order to form one decentralized organization—a sort of federation of autonomous groups. But this can only be brought about if in the future the Communist Anarchists accept the idea of "delegating" and even some sort of common arrangement for certain purely administrative matters.

One force remains after all to the workers' movement in Holland: the National Trades Council, which unites the principal trade unions of the country (the diamond workers are not affiliated) and which numbers about 12,000 organized workers of different trades. Like the Federation of Labor Exchanges and the General Confederation of Trade Unions in France, the National Trades Council does not occupy itself with politics and takes no part in elections, leaving liberty to the members of different trade unions to do so, however. They are engaged in the economic struggle by means of the wage movement, strikes, etc. These are the columns with which the practical struggle against capitalism has begun in Holland, after years of theory.—C. Cornelissen, in *Freedom*, London, England.

A Suggestion.

Have you heard from Senator Burrows yet? Somebody has suggested to him that when the great debate on legislation against Anarchy (the science of analyzing the validity of any government, or right of one party to govern another) is started to simply have a well-posted Anarchist on the floor of the senate to explain and demonstrate the efficacy of Anarchy and the uselessness and even crime of government (so easily proved by simple history). So far we have had only, from Roosevelt down, wilful misrepresentation of what Anarchy really is—the enemy's side.

When workings of a watch are to be explained one would hardly choose a horse-shoer, for instance, to explain it, but a good watchmaker. COMMON OBSERVER.

Dogs Against the Boers.

Lately the English have been very much interested in a series of competitions between dogs (blood hounds) trained to hunt men, held in Manchester. According to a letter from an Englishman sent to a newspaper of Brussels, Belgium (*Le Petit Bleu*), it is not a question simply of sport.

The war office intends to send a large number of these dogs to South Africa to put upon the trail of the Boer commandos. This means that the scouts of the English army have not succeeded in this man-hunt—endowed as they are with a sense of smell inferior to that of the canine race. The first pack of fifty bloodhounds will be sent very soon for the first trials. If they succeed in their men-hunting business, other packs will be sent out. However, this new departure may not triumph, as all the other ingenious expedients adopted by the English against the Boers have failed. But the intervention of the canine species will at least justify that ignoble word which General Kitchener placed at the head of his weekly list of the killed—"Dogs."—*Il Secolo*, Milan, Italy.

A paradox: An honest politician.

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cial Institution." Prof. J. M. Clark.

Feb. 23. "The Law of Property." Geo. W. Warvelle, LL. D. *Daughters of the Revolution*, 203 Michigan Ave. meet every second and fourth Friday night of the month. Subjects:

Feb. 29—The Newer Ideals of Peace, by Jane Addams.

Freisinnige Gemeinde, (German), Schoenhofers Hall, Cor. Ashland and Milwaukee Aves., meets every first Saturday night and every Sunday afternoon, at 3 p. m. Thema fuer Sonntag den 16. Feb.: „Kindererziehung."

Debattir Club No. 1, (German), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday nights at Freyman's Hall, Halsted, Cor. North Ave.

The Letter-Box.

Isaac Siegmeister, New York.—As your question submits an impossible proposition, it is impossible to answer it. I do not know how an exploiter could reconcile his position with Anarchist principles; nor can I imagine an Anarchist who is among the exploited, who does not do all in his power to emancipate himself.

H. W. Leonard.—Your lines show a possession of that imaginative power so essential to the poet; but there are many crudities susceptible of improvement. Please inform us of your address, and "copy" will be returned.

E. C., New York.—We agree with you when you say: "The clergyman says to the poor: 'When you die you will go to heaven.' The Socialist politician says to the proletarian: 'Elect me, and I will make you happy.' Both deserve our contempt."

M. S., City.—In "Law and Authority" Comrade Kropotkin quotes a French jurist, Dalloy, author of the collection of French law known as "Repertoire de la Legislation," which will answer your question. The lawyer says: "When ignorance reigns in society, and disorder in the minds of men, laws are multiplied; legislation is expected to do everything, and each fresh law being a fresh miscalculation, men are continually led to demand from it what can proceed only from themselves, from their own moral, ity."

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