



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 404.

### Before a Crucifix.

Not to this man upon a cross,  
O people, should you look;  
Nor to a doubtful history  
Writ in a doubtful book.

This Jesus, if he lived, was one  
And only one of those  
Who gave themselves with love to man.  
We ask not if they rose.

They died. And while a Christ may live  
To win our thankful tears,  
What of these thousands who have passed,  
Forgotten with the years.

The cross on which Messiah died  
Is large as all the Earth;  
Behold, your brothers crucified!  
Give honor where is worth.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

### The Revolutionary Spirit.

An Italian comrade having asked comrade Kropotkin, if he were not an advocate of municipal and provincial elections, our comrade replied in a letter of which we give the essential portions.

"No, comrade, I disapprove entirely of these struggles, and more than ever, I consider them dangerous to the cause of the workers. More than ever, I am convinced of the correctness of the principles of Anarchy, of Anarchist Communism, as the only condition which can guarantee the full and free development of the individual and the complete expansion of all his powers. In Anarchy I see a force which is bound to become the true tendency of intellectual development in the century which we are entering upon. It will be the end towards which we shall be forced to direct all practical efforts, if they are to be inspired by ideas of progress, of equality, of economic, political, intellectual and moral liberty. State Socialism has had its day of success, just as the Bismarckian ideal has had its day. But now, a clearer aim, which corresponds more precisely to the ideas of liberty and equality—more elevated and more practical at the same time—has already been formulated, and it is this aim, not the other, which will henceforth inspire the best men of the century—those who push forward the wheel of history.

"That is the ideal, there is no theory.

"And with respect to practice, to methods;—if long since, in the International, we predicted that the electoral tactics, advocated since 1870 by the German Social-Democrats would mean the death of the revolutionary

spirit, and even of Socialism itself—experience has since fully demonstrated in Germany, in France and in Italy the accuracy of that prediction.

"The electoral movement (parliamentary or municipal, it is all the same; one leads necessarily to the other) has worked for thirty years to kill all revolutionary enthusiasm in the working masses. It has succeeded, but to whose profit? That of the capitalists, of the clergy, of the governments, of the exploiters of all kinds, of the reactionists of all species and of all colors. It was, in fact, to deliver the earth to the imperialist, capitalist, clerical and metaphysical reaction, that Social Democracy has combatted by all manner of means, the revolutionists from the time of Bakunin and the Jurasian Federation of 1872 up to our day. A beautiful result, is it not?

"It was in fact, to arrive at this stage, that some—consciously, and others unconsciously, have labored to stifle the revolutionary transports of peoples and individuals, have disparaged revolutionary spirit and revolutionary action both in the present and in the past, fooled the masses with hopes as senseless as any inspired by the priests, down to telling the oppressed masses that the great social revolution will come of itself, without revolution, without preliminary upheavals, without armed struggles, without the heroism of rebels, purely in virtue of the "inherent laws" which they have discovered.

And yet they call themselves Socialists;—what have they done for Socialism? They have emasculated it, made it "respectable." In place of that sublime aspiration of the International towards the abolition of private property in all that is necessary for production, in place of a movement towards the economic equality of all, the Communist ideal of society and the abolition of servitude due to the wage-system,—what do we find today in the programs of the Democracy, so-called Social? A modest limitation of the hours of labor (which is profitable, be it noted, to the capitalist) and some attempts at governmental capitalism—always in the interest of capitalism; such are their additions to the radical republican middle-class program of fifty years ago. It is the complete degeneration of Socialism.

"All that there was of great, beautiful and inspiring in Socialist aspirations at the time of the third awakening of the French prole-

tariat in 1867—78 has departed, evaporated, disappeared in the bourgeois (capitalist) atmosphere of electoral struggles. In fact it was necessary in order to be admitted into those circles. It is not the "conquest of Government and administration by Socialism" that they have accomplished; it is the conquest of Socialism by Government and the powers that be, to which they have complacently lent a hand.

"It is in trades union circles, which repudiate Social Democracy and take up with Anarchy (Kropotkin here refers especially to France and Spain. Trans.) where you will find Socialism today, the revolt against Capital and against its support, the State, and the real struggle against these two confederates or at least, one of the two.

"Briefly then, the results of thirty years of observation and experience may be summed up thus.

"Do not be taken in by fine promises nor imposed upon by the glamor of science, by which they would dazzle you; think for yourselves, go yourselves to the root of things, and you will see that each step towards the emancipation of the workers, of the peasant and of humanity in general, has been made and is still being made, by the way of revolution. Each concession, however small it be, each limitation of exploitation as well as of political tyranny, has been wrung from exploiters and governors, not by speeches in Parliament, but by the awakening of the revolutionary spirit; by direct struggle, or at least, by the menace of insurrection.

"Progress in general and concessions to exploited have always been, and will always be, in direct proportion to the active spirit of revolt that you succeed in awakening in the masses of the workers in town and in country, the oppressed serfs of Capital and the State.

"This is what I have learned during the last thirty years; I would that every worker had learned the same."—McQueen's *Liberty*.

### Anti-Anarchist Laws.

It seems not unlikely that before Congress adjourns its present session there will be on the federal penal code a statute which has been generally referred to as the "anti-Anarchy bill." It is supposedly a law against Anarchists; but until the measure is finally passed we cannot tell whether it will have

any effect so far as Anarchists are concerned. There is, however, one feature of the law which will hardly be relished by the utopian dreamer who believes in the ideal republic: one more encroachment is made on the sovereignty of the States, in that it takes out of their power part of their criminal jurisdiction and places it in the hands of the oligarchy at Washington. But this is merely a manifestation of the fact that power always either encroaches until it becomes a despotism, or else disappears. There is no stagnation in history.

The law as now approved by the Congressional conference committees prohibits the naturalization of persons who do not believe in any organized government, and forbids their entrance into this country. Further it provides, according to the daily press, that "all persons opposed to organized government, or who attempt to teach such doctrines, will receive swift punishment." Here again the tradition that America is a refuge for all the oppressed, and makes no crime of any belief, is sadly shattered. Some may shake their heads in sorrow and regret; but to expect anything else while the government exists would be absurd. The Republic ceased to exist long ago; that needs no proof in this place.

The average Anarchist will look with equanimity upon the fact that henceforth he cannot become a citizen in this glorious land. In fact, he might even aid the gentlemen of Congress, and suggest a few more logical steps from the one taken. Let the native Anarchist also be prohibited from voting (it is his usual practise not to vote, not from indifference as in the case of many a "good citizen," but from conscious reasons). Furthermore, let him be prohibited from legally marrying, suing in a court or being sued; let him be exempt from jury duty, the draft and army service (especially in European countries), and also taxation of all kinds. But of course nothing of the kind will be done. The government compels the Anarchist to pay taxes for benefits not received; and now proposes to make any objection a crime. Government is the greatest bunco game, and the politicians are the steerers.

Anarchists are to be outlawed, for no other reason apparently than that they hold different opinions than the generality of men. It is true violent deeds have been committed by Anarchists, which were more or less the outcome of their opinions; but violent deeds are not at all peculiar to Anarchists; they have been committed by men of all other beliefs. In fact an Anarchist's usual characteristic is his love of peace, and horror at the strife of the life of the present day; and even his violent deed is but a protest against it. The wave of political insanity which followed the assassination of McKinley is now to become permanent thru laws enacted by the national legislatures.

It is hard to understand for what reasons

such a law is passed. Even men of ordinary intelligence know the utter futility of persecuting men for their social beliefs. It can only be explained by the fact that the supposed representatives of the people are below the ordinary intelligence; or if they are possessed of it fear to exercise it.

This is not the first time anti-Anarchist laws have been passed. All European countries have gone thru the experience. The one fact stands out clear that the Anarchist ideas have always come off best, tho of course many Anarchists suffered. But they had to go to prison anyway, even as is the case in this country; the laws only served to direct attention to their ideas. It remains to be seen how the authorities will proceed in this country. It is quite likely the law will remain a dead letter, until some time of great public excitement, when it will be used to make victims of active comrades—as has been done before without special laws. But the law will certainly have effects that will be unmistakable. It will finally and definitely kill the absurd belief that this is a free country for political opinions. This, at least, will be removing one obstacle in the way of dispelling the dense ignorance of the people on advanced ideas. Let the gentlemen of Congress proceed: we have the matter our way coming and going.

ABE ISAAK JR.

#### Facts and Theories.

If Comrade James will continue his unscientific habit of writing without accurate knowledge of facts, I don't know what is to become of us all! The longer I live the more I find out that much very pretentious and seeming-reasonable matter is laboriously built from altogether erroneous information; and I hope I shall learn from it the lesson of holding my tongue where I am not myself informed. But I seriously doubt my own capacity for silence; if Comrade James fails, it is likely I will, (as I have done before now).

In the first place, he has an altogether mistaken idea of Herman Helcher and his act. That the mistake may be corrected, not only to him but to all who are interested, let me say that altho, thru the decision of Helcher's mother, who had the final legal right to determine the ground of his defense, and thru the opinion of the doctors concerning the relative effects of prisons and asylums on people suffering from his peculiar form of insanity, the evidence as to his mental condition was not allowed to go before the court, there is no doubt in the minds of his lawyers, his friends, or the physicians who examined him, that his is a case of Paranoia, or progressive insanity, dating from his childhood. Dr. S. M. Dubin, graduate of the University of Zurich and practising physician for some years in this city, in whose house Herman Helcher lived for a considerable time, was willing to go upon the witness stand and testify as to the specific nature of his malady. I have talked with Dr. Dubin and read the report of his opinion offered to Lawyer Amram; it gave the peculiar morbid physical tendencies of

such cases, and described some of the different hallucinations to which Herman was subject. Among them was the singular fantasy that I was an especial hater and persecutor of Jews. Now, as everyone at all acquainted with me knows, my best friends happen to be Jews, and as to persecution, only an insane man could invest me with power to persecute anyone. The opinion of Dr. Dubin was coincided in by the expert alienist taken to the prison to examine him; and Dr. Steinbach, having read the report, also concurred. But all agreed that in such cases, while recovery is at all times exceedingly doubtful, the effect of an insane asylum would be to make them hopeless. What little chance there is for recovery can be nourished better in the prison than in the asylum! Beautiful comment on State treatment of the insane!

This being the judgment of lawyers and doctors, our unfortunate comrade went before the court as a sane man, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced almost to the limit of the law; tho it must have been apparent to everyone there that his mind was "queer." The detective (and I want to say that so far as I have any knowledge this detective is a gentleman and an honest and rather humane man within the limits of his calling, which are exceedingly straitened) testified that when arrested and questioned Herman declared he had loved me, that I had broken his heart, and he had made up his mind two months before that I deserved to die. I do not think Mr. Crawford lied. I presume their questions may have elicited answers like that; for the first presumption, when a man shoots a woman, is, that he was in love with her. O essence of the grotesque! I know that when Comrade Mary Hansen saw him in the station-house an hour after the shooting, and said: "Why, Herman, why ever did you do this?" he answered, "I don't know; I had to." "But if anything was the matter with you, why did you never come and tell us anything? Miss De Cleyre did not even know you were in the city."—"Well, why didn't she know? She ought to have known. Nobody cared about me. I had nothing to eat for three days, and fourteen cents in my pocket."

These also were hallucinations; there was no necessity of his being without food; he had been working at Oppenheimer's cigar factory and had not been discharged.

But whether on that day, or at any other time, he fancied himself in love with me, he certainly had never been any "suitor," never had said the word love to me, and never did anything which any person of ordinary common sense could give a second thought to as love-making. If in the multiplicity of delusions which beset him, the love delusion also took possession of him, I can no more account for it than for any other of his fantasies, such as, for instance, the fancy, one day when he found his physician ill, that it must be all due to worryment on account of him, or the fancy, in the prison, that he had given his lawyer a great deal of pain by his incivility. It is characteristic of such sufferers that they conceive the whole world to be turning about themselves, and every action of everybody else has some reference to them.

A. DUBOW

When he spoke in his own defense in the



court, he declared that he had been three times excluded from the Social Science Club; that as the result of that exclusion he was unable to get work in the cigar factories of Philadelphia, and that when he went to other cities he was still pursued by this exclusion! When the prosecutor asked him what that had to do with his shooting me, he said he thought I was responsible for his exclusion.

Now the facts are that he was invited to join the club at its present foundation; that he came several times; agreed to do certain work distributing literature and afterwards concluded he would not do it; and after some weeks dropped out of the club, saying to me that he did not feel able to take any active part at present. From that time till two weeks before the shooting, I neither saw nor heard of him more than once or twice; and about two years had elapsed from the last time I had seen him when one day about the 5th of December, I received from him a letter which was both laughable and pitiful; laughable in its odd jumble of incoherencies, pitiful in its great pain and stress. One sentence showed the suspicion of his own condition, running thus: "It may be humor, but it isn't so to me." The burden of the letter was the exclusion fancy. I wrote him at once that he was entirely mistaken; that he would be welcome at the club any Monday evening; that he was morbid, and probably stayed alone too much, and would do well to get out in company more. I neither saw him nor heard another word until he shot me.

That he has today any serious realization of the nature of his act no one who has seen him can believe. When I saw him in the prison, immediately after his sentence, he shook hands with me and commenced to say how sorry he was that he had caused me so much suffering; I tried to put it out of his mind by saying, "Do not think of it any more; it is past; it was a misunderstanding, a mistake." "Yes," he answered, "I think, I feel sure, it was a mistake; it was foolish, it was boyish."

So much for the mental condition. As to the character of the boy, apart from his unsoundness of mind, (and I have said any time during the last six years that he was "off,") there never lived a better-intentioned, gentler boy, kinder, more generous soul. Large and beautiful aspirations tried to crowd their way thru his poor, narrow, darkened intellect, and that is the great tragedy of it. And we must expect these things. The light of liberty must go straying thru weary ways, thru chinks and crevices and cavernous depths, and dimmed windows that distort and discolor it; and the crippled life within will struggle feebly towards that one pale hope, and break itself and others, in its foredoomed effort to know and feel all.

I hope, therefore, that those of our comrades who judged matters in advance, those who allowed their reactionary sentiments to get the better of them (and there were quite a number who did) will now see the unwisdom of speaking too soon, and come out squarely and say: "I spoke foolishly, and I take it back."

I am about to do that myself concerning one foolish statement which Comrade James says I made. I do not remember saying:

"Variety is prostitution." If I did, I spoke foolishly and I take it back. I will say, however, that very much of the variety that has been offered for my consideration is considerable worse than prostitution, which latter has at least a commercial excuse. And I think the reason I had, at one time, a very erroneous idea of variety, was because I came in contact with persons who seemed to think it necessary to demonstrate their theory by "making love" to everything in sight; and they are not inconsiderable persons, either. I take pleasure in saying now, and for some years past, I have been convinced that variety is not necessarily any such slimy thing (a term I do not remember using) as I then thought it. And while I do not commit myself to any theory of sexual relations, I think it more than likely that quite as good racial results may flow from variety as monogamy, when once people have admitted the freedom of each to follow his own choice. Having thus said, I rise to inquire what in the name of sense all this had to do with Herman Helcher's revolver? and why Comrade James saw fit to introduce it at all? I do not know, and Comrade James does not, what the boy's opinions on sexual relations were; I certainly never discussed the subject with him, and I think I should not have had much edification therefrom, even were the case otherwise.

To attack the final point in this omnibus article,—the question of vivisection. Comrade James is of the opinion that I must have reconsidered my attitude toward vivisection, because I had surgical treatment, and he assumes that my surgeon must have been a vivisectionist. Now I had as much to do with the choice of my surgeon as Comrade James had; and if the police had chosen to take me to the dump heap of the city, or to shoot me again as they do a wounded dog; or if the surgeons had chosen to lay me on the vivisectionist's table, I should have said and done as much about it as the poor dogs that are vivisected. And I assure Comrade James that had I to choose between being shot to death and vivisected, I should prefer the shooting. As to the pains inflicted upon others, I think I should have less aversion to shaking the hand of any murderer than that of a vivisectionist; I suppose I have not such a revulsion against murderers in general as against cold-blooded torturers.

Now thru no fault or wisdom of mine I was taken to a homeopathic hospital, and my surgeon, I am told, is not a vivisectionist; and he did me the best service he could by ordering that the bullets be let alone, and no vivisectioning of me take place unless bad symptoms developed. That he may (I do not know that he does) make use of methods discovered by the vivisectionists, is no matter to me. If a thing has been done, a very evil thing, and a certain knowledge has been attained thereby, which may be of service, I opine it is only a fool who will refuse to use the knowledge because of the way it has been attained. That does not justify nor excuse the original evil. That does not say that like experiments should continue. That simply says, make the best of the worst. Many things, I presume, have been found out thru the hanging and the electrocuting of men; many bodies have been turned over for dissection, etc., that otherwise would not. Let the knowledge, if it can be of avail,

be used, but let hanging and electrocution stop!

And let my admired comrade, and I am sure no one admires or appreciates or enjoys his energy, his learning, and his mental courage more than I,—let him stop making facts to fit theories.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

#### Literature.

WALT WHITMAN. By Milla Tupper Maynard. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Cloth, pp. 145, price, \$1.

Walt Whitman is a cosmos; and a cosmos is in the nature of things a difficult thing to measure, judge, or even appreciate; but when once it is given us to read him, this great poet and thinker leaves behind with us so deep a sense of universality, and withal so intimate a feeling of comradeship, which interpenetrating and warming the heart, thrills us and makes us feel universal ourselves, veritable cosmic beings, that we seem to grasp him, and are able to interpret his dithyrambs and convey their meanings to other less fortunate humans.

The book in hand is one of the recent attempts to interpret Whitman to mankind, and the good grey Anarchist is shown to us in his true spirit; the lover and brother of the world; for whom none are too high for familiarity, nor any too low for love; to whom the universe is interpreted by the nature of man, and for whom man is essentially the only God; rising simply thru self-knowledge, till universal love and comradeship possess the world, and he knows himself to be the end and crown of sentient life.

The key-note of Whitman's work is the amplitude of personality, and in this book the fulfilment of personality, and the logical correlation of this fulfilment with the largest liberty of action is given conspicuous place and significant importance. In twelve chapters of illuminating writing the author sums up and concentrates a large part of Whitman's message, and makes us feel the thrill of that realization of unity with our fellows which individuality discovers at its apex of experience.

Of the numerous books of Whitman interpretation I know of none better than this one, which sanely and sympathetically unfolds for the reader many conceptions of the master spirit of our time.

One lack there is, and it is a serious one; but it is also a lack conspicuous in all volumes on Whitman; sex, a matter which to Whitman is of the most vital significance, is treated with nothing like the importance given to it in the poet's work. In "Children of Adam" Whitman declares that,

"Sex contains all,"

and no one can read "Leaves of Grass" without feeling that sex is sacred to Whitman in a way almost new to the unilluminated world; which degrades sex by a silence based on evil thoughts, and then in its madness condemns sex and those evil thoughts which itself has surely fostered. Whitman glorifies sex. He would have the light of day shine upon it. He declares it clean and beautiful; and to him the sex of man and woman is a thing to be sung about, celebrated, and almost, if not quite, worshiped. It is to be hoped that the author of the book under consideration is not moved by personal feeling in this exclusion of so important a part of Whitman's message from its pages; one can easily surmise that the existence of that immorality called public morality has determined the limit of interpretation in this case, as in others.

W. F. B.

# FREE SOCIETY

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MARCH 8, 1903.

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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!

All comrades interested in the spread of literature and the propaganda in general are cordially invited to attend a special meeting at 331 Walnut St., next Saturday evening, March 9. Important. P. CLUB.

Comrade John Turner, of London, Eng., has consented to make a lecturing tour in this country if sufficient money can be raised for that purpose. Communicate with E. Brady, 178 E. 78th St., New York, N. Y.

## Notes.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

## Outpost Echoes.

Law is disorder.

To live is to work.

Belief is not knowledge.

There is no forced peace.

Reason is a revolutionist.

Be more than a negation.

Anti-Anarchy is anti-liberty.

Constitutions are only coercions.

Hate the mistake but not the mistaken.

Sexual love should not tend to enslave us.

He who is not himself is certainly a nobody.

John D. Rockefeller believes in God once a week.

The weakness of liberty is the strength of government.

Give love but free opportunity and it will lead the world.

It is the man in us, not the slave, which strives to win liberty.

Governor Yates threatened to kill a man; is the governor an Anarchist?

Pinkerton is touring the world in search of a bigger fraud than himself.

That hold-up organization, the State, is now using the anti-Anarchy bill-y.

Mayor Harrison declares that he cannot stop gambling. Another failure of law.

What are the sensation mongers to do? An Anarchist scare now lasts but half a day.

The kaiser is opposed to the Higher Criticism. Let us congratulate the Higher Criticism.

In Illinois a circus must secure a license, and a sexual union also has that high privilege.

Perhaps President Elliot must needs stick to his lies about labor because his lies stick to him.

The Chicago American lives mainly by lying, and its food is that sort of offal known as scandal.

The law conferring a property right in love tends to perpetuate the crimes of murderous husbands and wives.

When Chief of Police O'Neill gives up the case against Anarchism it is about time for mis-information rags to stop.

When the State kills a man it is an execution; when a man kills a fellow man it is something very different; to wit, a murder.

Woman suffrage is being made an issue in the Wyoming legislature. Woman suffrage is only another variation in the form of woman's suffering.

The miners slaughtered in West Virginia were not killed by Anarchists, which explains why the newspaper accounts appear in small type on inside pages.

Negroes are being disfranchised in the south on account of color. Thus the Democrats are openly conceding that they do not believe in the thing called democracy.

Father Heiter's attack upon Socialism and Anarchism was like the sound of a tin whistle amidst the roar of Niagara. Is he your best talker, Archbishop Quigley?

Those who believe in freedom in love have only to apply generally their principles to realize the importance of freedom in all the affairs of life; freedom in everything follows logically from freedom in love.

The author of "The Leopard's Spots" declares that a race war is the only possible solution of the color problem in the south. What, a believer in "law and order" says that a race must be exterminated?

The main objection to hand-made products is that they will not be cheap. Ah, well: in a day to come perhaps men will not be so cheap that cheapness will be their prime test of the worth of a thing.

The division of labor by capitalism means that all the faculties and functions of a man shall be subordinated to a set of motions which become mechanical. Does the division of labor retard or develop manhood?

Bebel, the German State Socialist, publicly stated of late that Anarchism stood for murder; which shows that Bebel cares more for the success of State Socialism than he cares for the truth. Does opportunism include lying?

An official of the Chicago Bureau of Charities reports that January of this year saw

more distress among the poor than any previous month in the history of the organization. Such admissions are damaging to the municipality and should be punished.

AMERICUS.

## By the Wayside.

Again American soil has been fertilized with the blood of labor. Ten men have been shot down like so many dogs because they dared to defy an infernal injunction issued against them by one of the hirelings of plutocracy. I do not lament: labor and capital are in a state of warfare, and much more blood will be shed before labor will have throttled the vulture which sucks its life-blood with so brutal delight. But let one of the down-trodden fell one of these inhuman tyrants and the whole pack of the capitalist vampires breaks out in a fit of rage as tho hell had broken loose, while the slaughter of so many workers is hardly noticed. But remember the words of the man you pretend to worship: "Those who use the sword, shall perish by the sword." You cannot live "in hope to merit heaven by making earth a hell," as Byron so aptly sang.

Bro. Harman, editor of *Lucifer*, takes me to task for quoting Robert Ingersoll as saying: "It is safe to say that governments have committed far more crimes than they have prevented," and retorts it was easy for Ingersoll "to denounce religious government," yet he "did not claim to be an Anarchist." Who said that he did? But in his address "Crimes Against Criminals" Robert Ingersoll does not refer to "religious government," but points to the degrading influences of punishment inflicted upon people by civil government, and says that crime has ever been on the increase where punishment was the severest. "Crimes were committed to punish crimes," he says, "and crimes were committed to prevent crimes."

Friend Harman also takes issue with C. L. James in his contention that "all the criminals whom there is any need to restrain are admitted by all—even themselves—to need it," and he asks:

How is it with Pierpont Morgan, President Baer and the robber trusts generally. Do they admit themselves to be criminals, in need of restraint?

How about the invaders of personal right on all lines, governmental, moralistic, religious—the Roosevelts, the Judge Garys, the Comstocks, the czars, the kaisers, the popes of Rome, and all who in the name of God, of government, and of puritan morality would fine, imprison, and kill their fellow human beings?

Altho it may appear "sophomoric," I venture to suggest to Bro. Harman that all the "criminals" he enumerates are the creation of government—restraint. In a free society the monopoly of natural resources is an impossibility, consequently the Morgans and Baers would be unknown quantities. Likewise the Garys, Comstocks, popes, et al., only thrive and tyrannize over people by virtue of the power to restrain. If these vermin were not backed by the police-club, army, and prison, they would quickly become a laughing stock to society—and "proceed to mind their own business."

President Lincoln feared that the money power of this country would aggregate all wealth in a few hands, and "prolong its



reign by working upon the prejudices of the people," until the republic would be destroyed. The fulfilment of his prediction is approaching faster than most of us expected, and it is probably due to this precipitation that the systematic cultivation of prejudices must needs now call in the aid of rifles, as can be seen from the following newspaper item:

The war department of the present administration of the United States has notified the governor of every State that it has succeeded in perfecting a new kind of "riot bullet" capable of causing widespread death and destruction when fired into a mob, and it is prepared to furnish each State with as large a supply of this ammunition as may be desired.

Here we have "applied Christianity" in its modern interpretation—a deliberate preparation for wholesale murder, if the slaves—deluded "sovereign citizens"—should dare to question the "divine right" of the Morgans, Baers, Rockefellers, et al., to plunder them. But "when rich men conspire, poor men should combine," said Lincoln, and, to make the combination effective, the workers will be forced to perfect a new kind of "exploiter bullet"—capable of causing widespread terror when fired into a mob of idle parasites. If bullets are good things, why not change courtesies? INTERLOPER.

#### The Strike in Amsterdam, Holland.

For three years the propaganda of the general strike has been vigorously carried on here, and its effects have recently been shown. The dock laborers had disagreements concerning the contract made with the employers two years ago. In January the dock laborers went on strike, and, being unanimously supported by the teamsters and shipping laborers, the ship owners conceded the demands of the strikers after two days. After a short time the dock laborers were again forced to take up the battle, and it was apparent from the beginning that it would be a struggle to the knife. The companies tried their best to employ scabs in order to have the most urgent work done. But several steamers had to be despatched to Hamburg where their cargoes were unfortunately discharged in spite of the request that had been made to the workers there.

From there the freight was shipped by railway to Amsterdam; but what happened? The brakemen of the railroads refused to do scab work.

This could not be tolerated, and the brakemen were discharged. But this measure proved to be dangerous, for their comrades called a meeting, and after a short deliberation it was decided to go on strike, which occurred January 29. First it was decided to refuse only the handling of freight, but this proved to be inexpedient, and Jan. 31 the workers determined to bring to a standstill the station Westerport, which connects Germany and Holland.

In a meeting it was decided to demand the re-installment of the discharged brakemen, and that all should receive full wages even during the strike. By this time the workers from other stations had expressed their sympathy, asking what they were expected to do. Wait and be ready, were the replies.

At Amersfort a train with 150 soldiers were ready to leave for Amsterdam, but the engineers refused to transport soldiers. Then

one of the superintendents undertook to play engineers, but the trainmen refusing to go along, the soldiers had to "travel" on foot.

Meanwhile soldiers had arrived in Amsterdam, and also four warships. The brave exploiters began to tremble, and left the city. For who knows what may happen! But the workers remained cool and jolly, ridiculing the soldiers. In the evening of Jan. 31, 8 p. m., a meeting was held, and, as the railroad companies had not responded, a general strike of all railroad workers in Holland was decided upon. Telegrams were rushed to all the unions. It was an intense moment—a shiver went over the country; the thing cannot be described.

Two hours later all demands were conceded. A thundering hurrah went thru the air. The arrogant companies, which would have nothing to do with labor organizations, that had nothing to arbitrate, were brilliantly defeated. And Feb. 1, 6 a. m., all workers were at their posts again.

The railroad workers have again shown what a powerful weapon the general strike is. Their watchword was solidarity, and they did their duty. That under these circumstances also the shipowners would have to concede the demands of the dock laborers could be foreseen. Feb. 2, 9 a. m., it was announced that the dock laborers had won their strike.

These achievements awakened also other workers, for even the workers of the municipalities (gas and waterworks, street sweepers and street car men) have since been organized, and demand an increase of wages, and will declare a general strike if their demands are not conceded.

Forward, comrades. So it goes all right. But one thing I almost forgot—the sympathy of the soldiers. It is reported that forty soldiers have been arrested for disobedience. When the boat of the dock laborers passed the warships all the marines stood on deck, and in spite of the presence of the officers they greeted the strikers with a thundering voice: "Long live the federation!" And I conclude with the words of our friend and comrade, F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, who wrote: "It is a delight to live now." Long live the fraternization of all workers.—F. Drewes in *Neues Leben*. Translated by Interloper.

#### At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

On Sunday, March 1, Comrade R. Grossman addressed The Philosophical Society on the subject: "Tolstoy or Ibsen: Which?" Passing rapidly over the facts that the great men of the past have for the most part been soldiers and kings, and have held the attention and honor of the world rather by mighty deeds than by great or good ones, the speaker went on to say that the truly great men were those who looked upon life with an enquiring eye, and endeavored to find for themselves and their fellows plans of existence and schemes of activity which would make mankind enjoy life and work more and more. Tolstoy and Ibsen were among the first rank of social teachers and prophets.

Tolstoy, the speaker said, took the laborer as a representative type, and would have the world return to a simple life in which all the

passions that now are so destructive to nobility and purity would find themselves subdued; and so truly were this teacher's ideas a part of himself that he was living according to his own principles of self abnegation and conquest. The great Russian followed Jesus in teaching non-resistance to evil and the strict control of sex desires. In his opposition to authority and the State Tolstoy showed how thoro-going a man he was, having himself been born in the purple and succeeding to the title of count.

In most respects Ibsen was the opposite of Tolstoy, but in his scathing indictment of society in its present diseased condition the great Norwegian was at one with the Russian. Still, the speaker went on to say, Ibsen was essentially a critic, and approached the matter of organized human life in the spirit of a disector who is unsparing with the knife rather than in the tender and forgiving manner of a Tolstoy. Ibsen was the announcer of man, so to speak; the prototype of the egotist, who demanded ample room for the expansion of the individual, and who, far from wishing to limit and control the varied passions of man, would give these free rein in a healthy environment, sure that the best results would come from it. Ibsen taught that individuality was the pearl of great price in life, and as Brandes had said, he had shown in his writings that the artist is equally great with the man of science in the field of social economy.

There was a reconciliation, the speaker found, between Tolstoy and Ibsen; not so much perhaps in their methods as in their aims; which led to a common result, viz., liberty. They both loved the race; they both sought to ameliorate its conditions; and tho the one would change all things thru love alone, while the other was engaged in applying the red hot branding iron of criticism to our lives, yet both sought the well-being of the race, and both had part of the truth.

The criticisms of the evening were mainly directed against Tolstoy, tho some of the speakers found fault with the lecturer's ideas respecting self-sacrifice as being expressed by the Russian sage. As usual, many of the remarks made by authoritarians betrayed the ignorance of their makers, who had not read either of the authors under discussion to advantage. The lecturer reiterated his ideas with some amplification of particulars in responding to the critics.

Next Sunday night W. F. Barnard will address the society, his subject being the importance of thought in relation to action.

REPORTER.

#### Here and There.

HOLLAND.—The federated labor unions have determined to declare a general strike in case the anti-strike bill is passed in the house of representatives. It is expected that the government will proclaim martial law. A revolution seems imminent.

Comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis, editor of *Vrije Socialist*, the editor of the Socialist party organ *Het Volk*, and Professor Vandergoes of the Amsterdam university have been indicted for advising the troops to shoot to the "right" instead of shooting to the "left."

## A Vindication of Anarchism.

## IV (continued.)

"Thrift," says Mr. Riis, "How the Other Half Lives," "thrift is the motto of Jewtown (in New York), as of its people the world over. It is at once its strength and its fatal weakness, its cardinal virtue and its foul disgrace. Become an overmastering passion with these people who come here in droves from Eastern Europe to escape persecution from which freedom can only be bought with gold, it has enslaved them in bondage worse than that from which they have fled. Money is their God. Life itself is of little value compared with even the leanest bank account. . . . Over and over again I have met with instances of these Polish and Russian Jews *deliberately starving themselves to the point of physical exhaustion, while working day and night at a tremendous pressure, to save a little money.*" Observe the italics, which are mine. If there be an atom of truth in the doctrine that capital springs from a combination of production and parsimony, these people soon should own the earth. Now let us hear Mr. Riis again. "*An avenging Nemesis pursues this headlong hunt for wealth; there is no worse paid class anywhere.*" This is explained in the next chapter (XI). The Jew, we are told, has monopolized the clothing business; and having beaten the Christians in this starving match, for such it was, is now beating his brother Jew at the same game. "If the victory is a barren one, the fault is his own. *His price is not what he can get, but the lowest he can live for and underbid his neighbor.*" . . . The workman growls, not at the hard labor or poor pay but at the pennies another is coining out of his sweat, and on the first opportunity turns sweater himself, and takes his revenge by driving even a closer bargain than his rival tyrant, thus reducing his profits." Result—we are told in the same chapter that the profits of a small sweater, with four children, plus his wages and his wife's, both working like their "learners," may amount to twenty-five dollars a week, if work comes in of its own accord. "But often half the time is put in looking for it." They employ seven learners, occupy two rooms, pay \$20 monthly rent, and \$12 for the hire of six sewing machines, *keep two boarders*, and "save" some \$30 a month! That man will grow rich. Now, *per contra*. "Pickles are favorite food in Jewtown. They are filling, and keep the children from crying with hunger. Those who have stomachs like ostriches thrive *in spite* of them and grow strong—plain proof that they are good to eat. The rest? "Well, they die," says our guide, (a Jew, who interprets, for all these people talk what is courteously called Hebrew, but very few of them English). The average result? "It is said that nowhere in the world are so many people crowded together on a square mile" (330,000). "The tenements grow taller, and the gaps in their ranks close up rapidly as we cross the Bowery and, *leaving Chinatown and the Italians behind*, invade the Hebrew quarter." "The health officers call the Tenth the typhus ward; in the office where deaths are registered it passes as the "suicide ward" for reasons not hard to understand; and among the police as the

"crooked ward," on account of the number of "crooks," petty thieves and their allies, the "fences," receivers of stolen goods, who find the dense crowds congenial. The nearness of the Bowery, the great "thieves highway" helps to keep up the supply of these, *but Jewtown does not support its dives.*" This is not written by one who has the least disposition to malign the Jews. He bears witness that in Jewtown you may see at the height all their characteristic virtues—the courage which whipped Antiochus, the chastity and temperance which have made them the toughest of nations, the industry and skill which triumphed over persecuting laws, the piety which has preserved their nationality, the benevolence as "princely in bestowing" as many a Jew is "insatiable in getting—which were a sin." And his only sin. All the crime of Jewtown is in crimes of covetousness; and their character is often so frightful that it would be quite unnecessary to say they are held in as much abhorrence by Jews as by any one else.\* These people, who "deliberately starve themselves to the point of physical exhaustion, while working day and night at a tremendous pressure to save a little money" have a keen appreciation of life and its pleasures. "The young people in Jewtown are inordinately fond of dancing, and after their day's hard work" will flock to the schools for a night's recreation. "The sweater knows well that the isolation of the workman in his helpless ignorance is his sure foundation." To nothing else than ignorance does our author attribute the desperate poverty of Jewtown, tho he admits the evil, like certain cultivated plants, produces a new variety which in turn reproduces it. The people remain ignorant because they are desperately poor; and they remain desperately poor because they are ignorant. He is right—only our schools do not teach the sort of knowledge they need. They are desperately poor in the first place because they will feed their children on pickles to save "the profit of half a cent" (Mr. Riis' estimate), and because, what goes with this disposition, they have lots of children to eat the pickles.† Malthus exhorted the proletariat to discard parsimony, to set their standard of comfort high,‡ and,

\* One is burning tenements to get insurance, an atrocity, says our author, which no one who has not been in Jewtown can appreciate. But effects imply suitable causes. A New York police official, addressing the rich when Anarchism began to be known in this country, bade them go to Hester Street (the typical thoroughfare of Jewtown) if they doubted that laws and magistrates were necessary. Go to Hester Street by all means; but do not imagine that the gulf you see there is one which can be filled up by police or soldiers. It reaches all the way down to hell; and at the bottom, where Mammon holds his court, you will find the doctrine that "saving" is what enriches the world.

† "The old women are hags, the young, houis." "The ugliest and the handsomest women in the world." "The contrast is startling." "Wives and mothers at sixteen, at thirty they are old." "The overflow from these tenements is enough to make a crowd anywhere. The children alone would do it. Not old enough to work and no room for play, that is their story. In the home the child's place is usurped by the lodger, who performs the service of the Irishman's pig—pays the rent. In the street the army of hucksters crowd him out. Typhus fever and small-pox are bred here, and help solve the question what to do with him." Riis Ch. X.

‡ So little appears to be known about Malthus, even among people who study political economy, that I

that this might be possible, to have fewer children. But Malthus is discarded and parsimony preached by the orthodox economists since Ricardo, ostensibly because Malthusianism is "bad for morals," really because this is the way to have a poor and plentiful population, *which is what exploiters of labor want* (of course).\* And at the same time, I am very sorry indeed to say, Malthus is still reviled or belittled by most radicals, including some Anarchists,† because they take as an excuse for the slavery of the masses, his most salutary *demonstration* that the masses, but for their own ignorant apathy, could not be enslaved! A last proof that the poverty of Jewtown is the result of bad maxims and not of bad race is afforded (in Mr. Riis' book too) by the fact that in face of all these disadvantages the poorest class of this extraordinary people (the cloak makers), have begun to organize instead of compete, beaten the sweaters, raised wages, and of course gained new ideas on the philosophy of parsimony as a remedy for early marriage. Behind this he catches a glimpse of something still more alarming to preachers and practisers of the parsimonious creed. A Jewtown operator on the sewing machine has four children, none old enough to work, a sick wife, eight dollars or less wages for a week's work, and a flat in a tenement at twelve dollars a month. "Such as he, with their consuming desire for money thus smothered, recruit the ranks of the Anarchists, won over by the promise (?) of a general "divide"; and an enlightened public sentiment turns up its nose at the vicious foreigner for whose perverted notions there is no room in this land of plenty." We may suitably, therefore, conclude this part of the subject by inquiring what are the actual effects of revolution and "general divide," when they happen to come at last—as they do, occasionally. Three instances are sufficiently well known, extensive, and unlike each other, to be typical—the confiscation of monastic property by Henry VIII; the French Revolution; and the great revulsion of fortunes in our southern States during the Civil War. Macaulay has stated with his usual felicity the reasons why, according to pig-philosophy, such expropriations might tempt the

cannot expect this to be believed unless I prove it. See therefore Bonar, "Malthus and His Work," p. 153, and refer to Malthus, "Essay on Population," 7th ed. IV. XIII. 473; VIII, 323; cf. his "Political Economy," pp. 224 seq.; also "Essay," pp. 373, 434; cf. 2d ed. III, IX, 444. His difference with Ricardo may be studied in the same chapter of Bonar.

\* Marx, criticism on Malthus in "Capital." See also Bonar's last chapter "The Critics," where Marx's view of Malthusianism is justly pronounced the best, from an unfriendly point of view; and George's, which is also the weakest thing he ever wrote, is, with equal justice, shown to be about the poorest.

† It is not only with regret but diffidence that I should class Kropotkin among them. To most readers, however, "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," must certainly convey the impression that he thinks improved methods of production might render the "preventive check" of Malthus needless. This is an old fallacy, very easily refuted. Kropotkin, being an eminent man of science, can satisfy himself in five minutes, with the aid of a logarithmic table, that the progeny of one Adam and Eve, increasing at the known rate, would, in a few centuries, stock the world beyond all question of food or even standing room. The "preventive check" (continence, for which there can be no security but complete emancipation of women) is, therefore, the sole alternative to the "positive check" (premature deaths) in some form, as by war, pestilence, or famine.



poor into revolt if they were not resolutely kept down, and why the result must be calamitous enough to justify repression (Italics mine). "It cannot be pretended that it is not for the *immediate* interest of the people to plunder the rich. . . . We are rather inclined to think that it would, *on the whole*, be for the interest of the majority to plunder the rich. . . . Every generation in turn can gratify itself at the expense of posterity. . . . Despots, we see, do plunder their subjects, tho history and experience tell them that by prematurely exacting the means of profusion, they are, in fact, devouring the seed-corn from which the future harvest of revenue is to spring. Why then should we suppose that the people will be deterred from procuring immediate relief and enjoyment by the fear of distant calamities, of calamities which perhaps may not be fully felt till the times of their grand children? . . . . The immediate want is, at particular seasons, craving, imperious, irresistible. In our own time it has steeled men to the fear of the gallows, and urged them on the point of the bayonet. And, if these men had at their command that gallows and those bayonets which now scarcely restrain them, what is to be expected? . . . Would France have gained it, ever since the year 1793, she had been governed by a democratic convention? If Mr. Mill's principles be sound" (meaning, it men are directed wholly by desire of pleasure and dread of pain) "we say that almost her whole capital would by this time have been annihilated. As soon as the first explosion was beginning to be forgotten, as soon as the wealth *again* began to germinate, as soon as the poor *again* began to compare their cottages and salads with the hotels and banquets of the rich, there would have been another scramble for property, another maximum, another general confiscation, another reign of terror. Four or five such convulsions following each other, at intervals of ten or twelve years, would reduce the most flourishing countries of Europe to the state of Barbary or the Morea. . . . If the principles of Mr. Mill be sound" (same meant as before) "we say without hesitation, *that the form of government which he recommends*" (democracy) "will assuredly produce all this. But, if these principles be unsound, if the reasonings by which we have opposed them be just, the higher and middling orders are the natural representatives of the human race. Their interest may be opposed in some things to that of their poorer contemporaries; but it is identical with that of the innumerable generations which are to follow."\* Against all this dogmatism about what would be, I oppose, oh pig-philosopher! an indisputable statement of what Has

Been. In every one of our three instances, the course of events was exactly the contrary to what the greatest of Philistines has argued that it must always be. In every case, the immediate effect of expropriating the rich, was not a temporary boon to the poor but greatly increased suffering to the poor. And in every case, the ultimate result was beneficial.\* This is fact, a stubborn thing, independent of any theory. But if reasons be wanted why history contradicts Macaulay's logic, I think they can easily be found. The immediate effect of "plundering the rich" is to increase the distress of the poor, because a considerable class among the poor are servants or otherwise dependents on the rich. A host of coachmen, valets, pages, stewards, parasites, flatterers, courtesans, etc., are accordingly turned adrift to compete for bread in other lines, already, by the hypothesis, unremunerative. Many better employed people—artists, builders, gardeners, even some agriculturists, † lose their best patrons. And there is almost no offset; for, as is well known, a rich man's wealth is for the most part not immediately convertible. The feeling of security also receives a violent shock. Credit, the real basis of general active business, is weakened, and hoarding, its deadly enemy, is encouraged. The poor, I suspect know this pretty well, and that is why, as Bentham in his reply to Macaulay pointed out, they do not want to plunder the rich, tho the conduct of the rich has not so very unfrequently made extreme measures inevitable. When, however, things have had time to settle, it turns out that the so-called wealth of the so-called rich was mainly in privileges of monopoly which depressed every branch of industry, and that the abolition of these privileges brings prosperity. This never fails to happen for the reason given by Bentham. The poor do not want to plunder the rich. They know the first consequence of doing so is just that immediate suffering which they dread. The rich forced them to "plunder," and they will not do so again "as soon as wealth begins to germinate" but only perhaps when, after centuries, a new privileged class has succeeded in making itself actually intolerable.

\* We may concede (hypothetically) to authorities cited elsewhere, that real wages were higher before the Reformation than since. But real wages are the measure of prosperity only to that proletariat who can never be anything else. Opportunities to rise were certainly much greater in the England of William Shakespeare than in the England of Roger Bolingbroke, and in the England of John Burns than in the England of William Shakespeare.

† Thus, after the confiscation of church property by Henry VIII, those landed estates in which the convents supported a host of semi-paupers were turned into sheep and cattle farms, which paid better. The final result was that England advanced in wealth, and all classes were benefited. But this was not clear till near the end of Elizabeth's reign. In the times of Mary Edward, and in the first part of Elizabeth's reign, there was great distress. The monks and nuns and their pensioners, were starving, the substitution of sheep and cattle for old-fashioned grain farms had raised the price of wheat; the amalgamation of small holdings had thrown out farm laborers and even lessees; and the same causes which were increasing wealth raised rent. At the end of our Civil War both Negroes and poor whites were in danger of starvation, not only because the country had been devastated and material wealth destroyed; but also because the late masters and present employers, while they generally retained their land, had lost their credit, which was based on slave-property.

And here we may see how unjust and foolish, not to say suicidal, is the charge against Anarchists and other radicals implied in all this loose talk about plundering the rich and general divide. To intimate that I, for example, propose general forcible expropriation now, because I say the ultimate results of great expropriations have always been beneficial, is as absurd as it would be to infer that I wish for another pestilence like the Black Death because I said the Black Death proved a blessing in disguise. I surely said that the immediate effect of great expropriations was always to increase the sufferings of the poor. This is an abundantly sufficient reason why they should be avoided if possible. But to cause or avert them is not in the hands of reformers. It is in the hands of the dominant class. If stealing under forms of monopoly could at any time be induced to stop where it is, "plunder of the rich" would never come. There never was, and is never like to be, a great revolution and confiscation, except as a last remedy against an increasing evil.\*

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

\* Of the economic principles which I have stated here, two have perhaps a certain claim to originality—viz., that the luxury, not the parsimony, of producers increases national wealth, and that invention, not parsimony, applies wealth to produce more wealth. But "there is nothing new under the sun." The former may be found in the writings of Malthus and a few other economists, tho probably no one ever stated it with such emphasis before. For proof of the other, consult Beckerman, "History of Inventions" and Whewell, "History of Inductive Sciences." I should conceive it impossible to read these important works and not be impressed with the enormous powers added to capital, as that term is usually understood, by every invention; while it must be equally evident that raking of dollars together contributed little or nothing to this advance. On the principle that Credit is the true basis of modern industrialism, see the Encyclopædia Britannica, articles on John Law, and "Political Economy"; also what Mill says of Paper Currency in his great work on "Political Economy".

#### Clippings.

Public opinion is a lack of opinion.

Theodore agonizes over the standstill of our population. Tell him that the rich hate children and that the poor cannot afford them.—*Ironicus*.

When I think of all the evil I have seen and suffered, arising from national hatreds, I say to myself that it all rests on a clumsy lie—the love of one's country.—*Tolstoy*.

We say that your society is not even a society, that it is not even the shadow of one, but an assemblage of beings that can be given no name: administered, manipulated, exploited at the will of your caprices, a warren, a flock, a herd of human cattle destined by you to glut your greed.—*Lamennais*.

What kind of society is it which is based upon inequality and injustice to such an extent as this? Would it not be well to take the whole thing by the four corners and fling pell-mell up to the ceiling the cloth, the feast and the ogre, the gluttony and the drunkenness and the guests; those who have their two elbows on the table, and those who are on all-fours under it, to spew the whole lot in God's face and to fling the whole world at heaven. . . . "The Hell of the Poor makes the Paradise of the Rich."—*Victor Hugo*.

\* I have omitted much whose space is indicated by stars, not only to save room, but to bring the steps of the argument into close sequence. Unjust as this is to Macaulay's admirable style, I am sure from his letter on American institutions, and indeed from all his works, that I have in no way misrepresented his meaning. In his review of Bentham's reply (my quotation is from his critique upon Mill's "Essay on Government, etc."), he takes the ground that his defense of class-rule was merely hypothetical—Mill affirmed, therefore Mill should prove; Macaulay denied; and might suggest any objection without committing himself. This is the law of debate; but a good dialectician on the other side could have shown that, tho not bound to commit himself, Macaulay did so.



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## FOR CHICAGO.

The Progressive Club gives an entertainment and ball for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, March 28, 7:30 p. m., at Libuse Hall, 936 Twelfth St.

Tickets, in advance, 15 cents; at the door 25 cents.

## MEETINGS.

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday, 5 p. m., at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free Forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale.

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Free discussion.

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free admission. All strangers are invited to take part in the discussions. March 8, W. F. Barnard will speak on "The Importance of Thought in Relation to Action."

The Workmen's Educational Club meets at 278 Blue Island Ave., 8 p. m.

CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday, excepting the first Sunday of the month, in Forester's Hall, 237 Champlain St. at 2:30 p. m. Free discussion.

NEW YORK.—The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and free discussions. March 8, J. Fox speaks on "Love."

March 15, Chas. B. Cooper speaks on "Religion and Evolution."

SEATTLE, WASH.—The Progressive Club meets on Saturday evening, 8 o'clock, at the Theosophist Hall, 1118 Third Ave. Lectures on all pertinent social questions. Free discussion.

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