



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 409.

The Fair Morning.

Swift is the marching of the Coming Time,
Tho long delayed; for it had far to come.
Down thru the Ages' sick'ning Roll of Crime,
Of Vast Oppressions and of Suffering Dumb.
But it approaches now with mighty tread;
The Spoiler hears it and in terror quakes;
Dreading—and deep the reason of his dread—
The fateful hour wherein Mankind awakes;

When from their trance of Lethargy and Shame
The Toilers rise and claim their rightful place;
When longer Men refuse to feed the flame
Of Avarice with the Heart-aches of the race,
In that dread hour the world shall live again—
A happy world, well-ordered, just and right—
Harsh may the Labor be, and sore the Pain,
But fair the Morning as is black the Night.

—A. B. Byron.

In Memory of a "Criminal."

Over ten years have elapsed since a man was beheaded—a man who for a long time had been the terror of the exploiting class in France, whose name made the "peaceable citizens" turn pale long after his death: *Ravachol*.

There is perhaps no work, be it a scientific essay or a novel, treating upon Anarchism, in which his name is not mentioned with horror and disgust, just as one mentions the name of a bandit whose path is marked with blood.

Blood! Yes, Ravachol had shed blood. He had committed all the imaginable crimes recorded in the penal code: he had stolen, smuggled, counterfeited, robbed, murdered, blown up houses,—in short, according to the dominating conception, every single crime was sufficient to exclude the perpetrator from human society. He was a *generis humani hostilis* (enemy of the human race), as the Romans designated the original Christians,—a detestable and contemptible monster.

Disdain? No, they could not despise Ravachol. They hated and abhorred him, but they could not help respecting him, at least not the intelligent ones among the bourgeoisie.

"His eyelids did not quiver a bit when he was told in court that unknown comrades had revenged his arrest with a horrible bloody deed. But when the little child of Chaumartin—an accomplice—entered the court, his looks darkened, his head sank behind one rampart of the dock, and he wept. Yet only a very close observer noticed it, for Ravachol was too proud to show his tears. When the waiter Lherot, thru whom he had

been arrested, testified, Ravachol smiled kindly. He was not angry with him. There is something impersonal in this man. He talks calmly. With quiet firmness he tells the jury that present conditions must be changed; and when he pictures the coming and better future, where the weak shall have the protection of all, his voice softens. His path is marked with blood, he knows it, and he says: 'May my victims forgive me,—understand me.'"

These words were not written by an incendiary editor of an Anarchist paper, but by a writer of a typical capitalist sheet, Theodore Herzle, a Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna, in an article in which he demanded the extermination of the Anarchists.

Before we give the explanation of Ravachol to the jury, let me mention an utterance of Elise Reclus, a man whom nobody will accuse of blood-thirstiness. Interviewed by a Paris daily, *Sempele Avanti*, as to his opinion of Ravachol, the renowned scientist replied:

"I admire his courage, his kindness of heart, his greatness in life, his magnanimity in forgiving his enemies, or rather traitors. I hardly know of any men who surpass him in generosity. I abstain from going into the question whether it is always desirable to go to the extreme in asserting our rights, or whether other considerations, prompted by the sentiment of human solidarity, should not outweigh the former. However, I belong nevertheless among those who recognize in Ravachol a hero of rare noble-mindedness."

Ravachol's speech of defense, or rather accusation, which sheds light upon the motives that induced the remarkable man to commit his deeds, is given in the following synopsis:

"When I take the floor I do not intend to defend myself against the deeds of which I am accused; for society, which thru its defective organization perpetually forces men to fight each other, is alone responsible for such acts. Do we not all among all classes know men, who wish for their fellow men, I will not say death, for that sounds too harsh, but ill luck if such brings them personal advantage? Does the merchant, for instance, not wish that his competitor may be ruined? Does not the unemployed worker, in order to obtain work, wish that the employed worker may be discharged for some reason or other?

Very well, then, in a society where things like this occur men must not be surprised at such deeds as I am accused of.

"Things being thus, I cannot hesitate, when starvation stares me in the face, to use the means at my disposal, even at the risk of leaving victims behind. Do the employers trouble themselves when they discharge the workers whether they die of starvation? All those who revel in superabundance, do they trouble themselves about those people who are in want of the common necessities of life?

"There are, of course, some people who render assistance to others, but they are powerless to aid those millions who live in the most pitiful misery and often voluntarily end their lives.

"Yes, the victims of this society are innumerable. Thus acted the Haymen family and the woman, Sonheim, who murdered her children because she could no longer bear the sight of her starving babies; and thus act the women who, fearing that they will not be able to maintain their children, rather endanger their health and life by killing the fruit of love in due time.

"And all this happens in the midst of plenty,—in France, where everything can be found in abundance, where the butcher shops are overstocked with meat and the bakeries with bread, where shoes and clothes are piled up tower-high in warehouses!

"But others will come and say: 'This is all very true, but it cannot be helped. Everyone must look out for himself.'

"That's what I did. I did not want to die of starvation and could not console myself with the thought that after my death people would throw a few words of pity upon my grave. I left that to others. I preferred to be a smuggler, then a counterfeiter, thief and murderer. I could have begged for alms, but that is degrading and cowardly, and besides begging is punishable according to your laws, which make misery a crime. If all those who live in want would take, no matter by what means, from where there is plenty, instead of patiently suffering, then the most indifferent would perhaps comprehend much sooner that it is dangerous to defend prevailing social conditions, in which uncertainty is permanent and life menaced at every moment.

"People would probably perceive much

sooner that the Anarchists are right in saying that, to attain mental and physical rest, it is necessary to destroy the causes which create crimes and criminals.

"For this reason I have perpetrated the deeds of which I am accused, and which are only the logical result of the barbaric condition of your society. It is said that one who kills his fellowman must be very cruel; but those who speak thus do not see that man does this only in order not to suffer death himself:

"You, gentlemen of the jury, who in all probability will condemn me to death, act exactly as I did. You condemn me because you think it is necessary. You shiver when you hear of murder; but you do not hesitate for a moment to commit murder if you think it necessary for your safety. The only difference between us is that you commit murder without personal danger, while I risk my freedom and life.

"Gentlemen! You should not stop with convicting the criminals, but you should destroy the cause of crime.

"As it is, criminals will ever exist: today you destroy one and tomorrow ten others are born. What is to be done? Abolish penury—the germ of crime. And how easily that can be realized. It is sufficient to build society upon a new basis, where everything belongs to all, and in which everybody produces according to his abilities and inclinations, and consumes according to his desires.

"Then one will not find such people as the Hermit of Notre-Dame-de Grace, nor such as beg for the coin of those whose slaves and victims they become at the same time! Then one will not find women selling their bodies, and there will be no men like Pronzini, Prado, Berland, Anasty, and others, who for this coin became murderers. It is evident that the cause of all crime is always the same, and one must be a lunatic indeed not to see this.

"I am only a common worker without any education, but having experienced the pangs of hunger myself, I perceive the injustice of your repressive laws far more keenly than a rich bourgeois.

"Whence do you take the right to kill or imprison a man, who was put into the world with all the requirements of life, and who found it necessary to take what was wanting in order to feed himself?

"I have worked in order to live and keep my family alive, and so long as I and my family did not suffer beyond endurance I remained what you term 'honest.' Then I could not find work and with poverty came hunger. Only then the law of nature, this imperative bondage which tolerates no counter-plea,—the instinct of self-preservation forced me to commit some of the crimes for which I am prosecuted and to which I plead guilty.

"Judge me, gentlemen of the jury; but if you have understood me, with my condemnation you convict all the unfortunates who thru misery, allied with natural pride, were made criminals, and who in more fortunate circumstances would have remained

honest people. I wish that you, who will condemn me to death, may bear the memory of the sentence as easily as I will lay my head under the knife of the guillotine."—*Translated for FREE SOCIETY.*

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Economic vs. Political Power of Labor.

The political party Socialists declare that the only way to emancipate the wage workers is thru political revolution. The pure and simple trade unionist just as stoutly maintains that the wage class will be emancipated by his economic organization.

I think it will be agreed by all thinking men that were all the cigarmakers, shoe workers, metal workers, carpenters, or printers to form a perfect union—and what is meant here by a perfect union is that all should be united into one craft—that such an organization could actually control conditions in the respective trades.

It may be asked at this point if perfect organization is possible? The trade-unionist declares it is, and has no doubt that the future will see many such unions.

If on the other hand it is declared to be impossible, then let us ask if a like perfect union on political lines is possible?

Surely if the workers cannot organize on the lines of least resistance, then it follows that they cannot organize on those of greatest resistance—political party lines.

With only fifteen or twenty per cent of labor organized, the economic movement has already proved itself of powerful benefit to the wage class. In spite of incomplete organization it has, on the average, doubled wages during the past fifty years. It will be agreed by all fair-minded men that the shorter-hour day and the increased wages are almost wholly due to trade unions. In fact this is conceded by political economists in both this country and Great Britain, the two nations in which trade unionism is recognized as a power.

It is true that as yet we are a long way from perfection in some matters of trade union intelligence and duty, even among those already organized. I refer to our tremendous purchasing power and the non-use of it.

From a careful investigation of State and national reports on labor, it would be very conservative to estimate that organized labor receives in the shape of wages not less than one billion dollars a year.

If we should once conclude to spend that billion dollars in the right direction—that is to say, for union labeled products—the effect would be tremendous, and there is no doubt that such a movement would have the effect of enormously increasing the membership of the American Federation of Labor and our power for good many fold. . . .

The Socialist declares that the wage-earner can obtain justice thru the abolition of the wage system, but whether he would secure justice under State Socialism is another question. The point I wish to make here is, that the wage class are unable to abolish the wage system by political action.

Almost every Socialist writer and orator declares that the wage class are in a vast majority, and to gain control of government its members have only to vote together for the Socialist party. Of course you can take

your choice as to which Socialist party.

The real point is that the wage class is not in a majority in this country, and even if it were, it is an absolute impossibility to unite even two-thirds of this class in a revolutionary Socialist political party.

Let me prove the first statement. It will be agreed that our great manufacturing industries are concentrated in not over twelve States. In the other thirty-three States the wage class is in a large minority.

Under our present form of political government each State has equal representation in the Senate, and to change our constitution will require ratification by three-fourths of the States. There are thirty-three States or more, I believe two more, in which, if the wage class were socially united into a class conscious political party, they would fail to elect either the senators or secure the electoral votes. A careful analysis of the congressional districts will show that even if the wage class were united to the last man they could not come within a 100 members of controlling the House of Representatives.

The second point is that on radical political lines the wage class cannot be united. First, there are nearly 2,300,000 illiterates, one half of which are already disfranchised; secondly, there is the Church which stands opposed to Socialism.

It would be safe to say that forty per cent of the wage workers of this nation will always be opposed to Socialism and in favor of trade unionism—that is, in sympathy with the trade union movement. As to whether the Socialist leaders can convert the other sixty per cent of the wage class to their ideal is, of course, a debatable question. My opinion is that it will require several centuries at least.

In the meantime let us not forget that the trade union form of organization is our natural and logical movement for better conditions now and justice in the future.

It will be clear to the unprejudiced that at present, and for a long time to come, the divided wage class has greater power in the economic than in the political field. Further, that while the opposition to political Socialism is growing, the opposition to trade unionism is lessening.

The great trade union leaders of this nation, with hardly an exception, are opposed to Socialist [political] parties. This is particularly true of the railway organizations. The radical who comes to a second sober thought must see the absolute hopelessness of securing Socialism, or at least what is known as Marxian Socialism, and that he should turn to and aid the cause which does mean practical progress.

Of course, it is not disputed that the wage workers in most industrial centers can elect their candidates to office provided they are united as a class; but the election of a few congressman will not raise the wages of the team drivers in New York City, nor will the election of a few mayors in Massachusetts increase the wages or better the conditions of the shoe factory operatives.

To gain these better conditions we must be organized as trade unionists. The better the organization on trade union lines the better the conditions of the workers.

One has only to compare the wages and the hours in trade union England with the

wages and hours in Socialist Germany to grasp the full significance of the trade union successful policy as compared with the Socialist party failure.—F. G. Gordon, in *American Federationist*.

The Different Kinds of Concentration.

In No. 403 C. L. James, reviewing Tcherkesoff's "Pages of Socialist History," says:

As metaphysical materialism, like everything else metaphysical, reverts from the inductive to the dialectical method, and therefore is not scientific, so the theory of surplus value is bound up with the alleged concentration of capital, and falls before demonstration that no such concentration occurs.

No phrase in the English language is more ambiguous than "concentration of capital," for it is sometimes used to denote concentration of industry, and sometimes concentration of wealth. These are the most different things in the world.

Concentration of industry means that large factories and industries are killing off small ones, and that in each of the affected industries the number of establishments is either decreasing absolutely, or not increasing in proportion to the capital invested. It also means that even where separate establishments are maintained, they are coming to be jointly owned by the same syndicate or corporation.

But this does not necessarily mean that wealth is concentrating. It might easily come about that all the industries of the United States should pass into the hands of one corporation, and yet the number of shareholders remain so large that wealth would be more diffused than it is now.

As it happens, there have been tremendous controversies over both of these questions. Each is very important to Socialists. The concentration of industry is a splendid argument to prove that competition is out of date as between capitalists, and that we have reached the age of monopoly. The trust is the best answer to the man who thinks that nothing can be done well without competition. Accordingly Socialists are fond of saying that we already have Socialism in production, and it only remains to get it in distribution. Moreover, the growth of the trusts is a strong argument to use with small traders, as the trusts are certainly forcing many of them into the working class, altho at the same time many others are rising from the working class, to take salaried positions under the trusts.

The question whether wealth is concentrating has an intimate bearing on the question how Socialism is to be realized. If the percentage of proprietors is diminishing, then it is probably getting easier to abolish exploitation.

When I read the above quoted remarks of C. L. James, I thought he was referring to the concentration of industry, as that subject has lately been much discussed by Kropotkin, Bernstein, Vandervelde, and others. Accordingly I wrote an article containing copious statistics from the last United States census, which demonstrate in the most overwhelming manner the marvelous concentration of every important industry except agriculture. The article, however, was returned to me by the editor, on the ground that the same statistics, when quoted by A. M. Simons in the *International Socialist Re-*

view for September last, had been effectively answered by Tcherkesoff in *FREE SOCIETY* for Nov. 9, 1902. On reading Tcherkesoff's article I find that he does not for a moment dispute the correctness of the statistics, nor does he question the concentration of industry; he merely says that such statistics are no proof that wealth is concentrating. That is undoubtedly true.

As the editor is satisfied with Tcherkesoff's reply to Simons, I presume that he also does not dispute the concentration of industry. It is best, however, to make sure of each point as we proceed, and to settle one question at a time. To accomplish this I propose that anyone who disputes the concentration of industry in the United States should now come forward and say so.

As for the accusation of Messrs. James and Tcherkesoff that Social Democrats rely on dialectical reasoning, it is perfectly preposterous. Certainly Marx, Engels, and Lassalle were ardent Hegelians; but so were Proudhon, Bakunin, and Max Stirner. Marx, however, gives many hundreds of pages of statistics along with his *a priori* reasoning, while the three Anarchist writers I have mentioned rarely give any facts at all. At the present day every Socialist paper bristles with facts and figures; while the Anarchist press stands high in literary merit, but very low in statistical information.

R. B. KERR.

Literature.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By C. L. James. Abe Isaak Jr., Chicago, Ill. Cloth, 343 pp. Price, \$1.

In order to write history well it is necessary first of all that the writer have some world view, or a conception of human nature at large, involving another conception, that of human progress; then as he unfolds the story of a nation, or details an event, the reader may test his pronouncements by his general thesis, and determine whether facts and theory coalesce. Of course after that the reader must also judge the theory exploited as well as observation and experience will enable him to; but unless the historian writes from what may fairly be called a point of view, however brilliant he may be, his handling of a subject will be indefinite and superficial to a degree. After the facility of Thiers, the dithyrambic eloquence of Carlyle, the shallowness of Taine, and the smartness of Watson, there comes James, one of the few Americans who have written books on the subject of the French Revolution; and who approaches this matter as tho it had great significance in the world's round of experience, and might give voice to a prophecy for the ears of the listening.

James is inductive or nothing; but Anarchism was so abundantly justified to his mind before he touched pen to paper in writing this book, that his world view is as clear as sunlight to the discerning reader, and the volume stands from the beginning to the end as a preachment of liberty, in which the justifying facts protrude as thickly as plums from a pudding. Brilliantly and profoundly does our author work in interrogating data, and his labor results in a masterful interpretation of an event which has had significance to many, but alas! the right significance to but few.

According to James, aggressiveness is a natural quality along with the exploitive tendency in developing man, as in other animals, and the State in all its phases is the mere crystallization and centering of these in a form regarded with superstitious reverence by man, and which has secured itself against opposition by a show of offensive and defensive force. Hence the dissatisfaction of the people at trying epochs in their national experience; hence their murmuring at the rapacity of the State and its hangers-on; and hence, after almost unlimited endurance, that vast revolt of a nation, the French Revolution. He finds that the French people were not by any means wholly conscious of what they were doing in that great period when shouts of liberty were echoing in the air always, while ever the streets ran blood, but that they moved along in their inevitable course, with a republic for the most part as their ideal; not realizing that the State itself was evil, and must be done away with ere true peace could come to man. He shows that they talked, fought, and died for that which indeed they sorely needed, but that wisdom sufficient to secure their object they lacked; tho at one time, liberty, absolute liberty, hovered over the nation, almost persuaded to make its home among them; and was only driven away by their madness.

The familiar facts of the Revolution, James brings before us in their due places and with their proper significance; refuting the oft-heard dogma that the event was a manifestation of Anarchy, and avoiding with great impartiality the use of doubtful and unreliable data to buttress his conclusions. Liberty has suffered greatly in this world by being confused with that which leads to disorder, and all the slaughter and violence of revolution have again and again been laid at her door by special pleaders whose office it was to justify things as they were, and who evaded the truth that the violence of revolution mainly arises thru attempts to put revolution down with violence. James has done yeoman service in sifting and giving to facts their proper places and importance in the great struggle of 1793.

A law of social progress, which our author was the first to clearly state, is offered in the course of the history. "The dispositions to demand and to yield obedience vary directly as each other, and inversely as culture." The volume elaborately and successfully demonstrates the truth of this to the mind of the present writer, and with its closing pages of definite libertarian demonstration leaves nothing to be desired in the way of proof that the French Revolution was one of the impatient movements made by a half awake Demos in the effort to throw off his bonds, most surely to be followed, as intelligence develops in the mass, by a complete awakening and a divesting of himself of every shackle and every coward fear.

James is not so happy in his style or manner as in his matter; his language running rather thick, and being needlessly involved. At times the volume reads as if thought flowed too fast for speech and found difficulty in getting itself expressed; the result is a certain turgidity. But in so great a work as this we are willing to dig, if need be, for the ample gold which lies beneath the surface.

W. F. BARNARD.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 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.

Notes.

The comrades, especially those who were selling tickets for the last entertainment of the Progressive Club, are invited to attend a meeting Saturday evening, April 3, at 407 Park Ave., near Lake St. and Western Ave. Some important propositions are to be discussed, and all interested in the propaganda should be present.

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.

Liberty loves rebels.
The free being is unmoral.
Some men were born dead.
The bread of slavery is bitter.
Earth's bosom could nourish us all.
Freedom was never yet given to a man.
Unbelief is among the principal virtues.
Hope lives; but she wears strong armor.
The wings of love are too swift for the law.
There is hope for the man who desires to know.

Courage never wearies, nor counts the hours.
In the name of morality we imolate ourselves.

Is Darrow for Harrison? Is Tolstoy for the czar?

Constitutional liberty is but slavery with an alias.

Be sure you are not dreaming that you are awake.

Conservatism is emotional and mental rheumatism.

Theodore is strenuous, and (mark the rhyme) disingenuous.

Prisons were built by bad men to teach good men how to be bad.

The State threatens first; then it flatters; finally it tries murder.

FREE SOCIETY

It will soon be necessary to kill the strikers in order to settle a strike.

Those who would suppress pugilism should look into councils, legislatures, etc.

The creed of liberty bids no man obey; but bids all live, experiment, and learn freely.

Chicagoans were forced to decide between Harrison and Stewart; the frying-pan, or the fire.

Ernest Crosby has contributed half a page to the *Chicago Examiner* on the failure of "Success."

This is our prosperity? immense wealth, ninety per cent of which is held by ten per cent of the population.

Often it takes a man so long to learn that he is ignorant, that he has no time left in which to become wise.

The Elkins anti-trust bill is only anti-trust in name; it was admittedly written by and for the trusts. This is government!

When we become reasonable enough to realize clearly our own own interests, we shall carefully regard the interests of others.

Abraham Lincoln's words, "you can't fool all the people all of the time" stand still in need of verification, at any rate in America.

Adams, the federal judge, who issued the Wabash injunction, heard the murmurs of an awakening people, and dissolved his own injunction.

Sheriff Cunningham, who helped shoot to death several innocent miners, is not going to get off so easily. Something must be wrong; ten men are nothing.

Seventeen hundred and fifty policemen guarded Roosevelt while he was on his way to the Chicago University. His crimes do not justify so large a guard, do they?

Morality and religion are mainly geographical; that is, each nation is determined in its ethical and theological codes principally by environing conditions. What are we bowing to?

The president is clamoring for a great navy, and will get it. His avowed object (the fraud is an old one) is to make peace certain with other governments by daring them to fight him.

We cannot live in freedom, they say, because we are like wolves in winter, ready to tear each others throats. Fools! Even people on a raft in midocean will share to the last crust and final cup of water.

The State Socialists are trying to capture the trade unions, but the trades unions resist. The truth is, the trades unions are made up of men who believe that well-being is impossible without liberty.

There is no such thing as the "will of society" despite the fact that the expression is used in justification of every infamy for which a majority can be hoodwinked to vote. The wills of the individuals are the only wills.

The general strike is threatening in Holland, all transportation being at a standstill already. The soldiery are keeping "order." The soldiery; the soldiery; it is always the soldiery when people protest

loudly enough to frighten their "servants."

In the regions of art and science there is absolute liberty. There are no lawful and fixed ways of either creating beauty or discovering truth. Unlimited experiment is justified. In these spheres Anarchism seems to lead to the best results. We are almost free in respect to religion, too.

The English and American governments are suspiciously friendly all the time now. Let us see; the hands of both were recently dyed in invasive wars, that is one thing; the second is, that as a relative by blood each expects the other to stand by it in future crimes.

Among those who listen to the oracles to-day, are a few, intellectual, imaginative, singularly free-minded men and women; these are sure to become Anarchists in time, and will convey the rare seed of liberty to the somnolent and duller millions more effectively than any number of ballot-mad men could hope to.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

According to private letters Comrade C. L. James' "Vindication" is greatly appreciated among the comrades in England. Our contemporary *Freedom* bears testimony to this also, as follows:

FREE SOCIETY is publishing a series of brilliant articles by our Comrade C. L. James, entitled "A Vindication of Anarchism," and no student of Anarchism should miss reading them.

F. G. R. Gordon, a Socialist writer, makes some valid points against political action, in another column of this issue, yet he fails to show that trade-unionism, to be successful, must first be imbued with a higher aim than merely the increase of wages and the shortening of hours before a radical change in man's condition can take place. And here is the great field for Anarchist propaganda.

"Every Socialist paper bristles with facts and figures," says Mr. Kerr in this issue of FREE SOCIETY; but he seems to forget that it were the Anarchists, Tcherkesoff and Kropotkin, who by "facts and figures" proved the fallacy of the Marxian contention that the number of capitalists and the middle class were steadily decreasing—a fallacy which is now recognized by all intelligent Socialists.

The clamor for relief of the European workers is at present drowned in blood. In Russia, Spain, and Italy cannons and rifles are the arguments against the modest demands of the oppressed and exploited toilers. The cries of the widows and orphans die away without finding an echo in the petrified hearts of the vampires in human form. But even a worm will turn, and already the rumbling of an approaching thunder storm can be heard that will smash the monster which has transformed men into beasts and a paradise into hell.

While the American press hails the measure of religious freedom granted in Russia, freedom is curtailed in this country with impunity, nay, even without objection. According to a new law all immigrants holding

Anarchist views may not enter this country, and to make things worse, the law provides that if the immigrant should happen to become imbued with Anarchist ideas even after he has lived here three years, he can be imprisoned for five years or fined \$5,000,—imprisoned for his convictions, while the goddess of liberty is ostentatiously illuminated in the Hudson bay. What an irony! It is a gross denial of the constitutional right of freedom of opinion, and puts all European monarchical countries—with the exception of Russia—quite in the shade.

The effrontery of M. A. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, has not been vindicated. Recently he boldly declared, all facts to the contrary notwithstanding, that the Social Democrats had always been in favor of the general strike. But the infamy of the Social Democrats in Germany does not spare Mr. Simons. Siegfried Nacht, a young German artist, has written an excellent pamphlet on the general strike, (which, by the way, should be translated and circulated among the trade unionists in this country), showing the futility of political action and the efficiency of a general strike as a means to overthrow present wage slavery. Instead of trying to refute the arguments of the young author, the Social Democrats—true to their tradition—have publicly denounced him as a spy and agent provocateur. INTERLOPER.

At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

"Prof. Raby," one of Dr. Teed's street-corner professors, told the audience that government was a necessity to maintain order, for even the universe was run by laws. The bees also had a government—the queen being the ruler. Of course all governments of the past had been the work of the devil, but in the future the "Almighty" intended to discharge the devil and run the business himself thru his representative Dr. Teed, alias Koresh. Then, if the people would only be stupid and servile enough not to question the divinity of Koresh, peace, plenty, and happiness would reign in the earth, not on the earth.

The audience being worried by the speaker of the evening, was compensated by the animated and instructive criticisms. The speaker was asked why it was that God had intrusted the devil with the governing business; and if God was not even fit to select good rulers, he was certainly out of place, and had proven himself to be the enemy of man. Experience has shown that governments had ever been the cause of strife and oppression, while things undertaken by man without Gods and governments were the only things worthy to be spoken of. There was no evidence that the so-called laws of nature had been established by an intelligent being. If the "professor" would study entomology a little he would find that the queen in the bee-hive was not a ruler, but merely performed the function of procreation, and if Roosevelt's power for instance, would be limited to the function of multiplying the race, he might not do much harm. The bees, in fact, were much more rational in their life than were men, for as soon as the drones in the bee-hive

have become mere parasites, the working bees throw them out of the hives. Could the workers be as intelligent as the bees their condition would not be one of misery and slavery. There is no government on the sidewalk of crowded streets, yet the people are getting along nicely; but let government step in and interfere—ordering the pedestrians to make this or that way—or monopolize the greater part of the walk for the rich and few and force the majority to confine themselves to the smaller part of the walk, friction and fight will be the result. Thus it is in every phase of life. Rockefeller exploits thousands of people by virtue of government which protects him in his robbery. In short, God and Government had ever been the means of enslavement, and once gods were cast out of the minds of the people government was doomed, and man would begin to live.

Sunday, April 12, Geo. Schilling will speak on "The Next Step in Social Evolution."

An Imaginary Insult.

Benj. R. Tucker is a man whom we all admire, but unfortunately he has a liver that sometimes gets in his eye. In *Liberty*, No. 370, he accuses me of some "nasty insinuations" in the few words that prefaced my poem on William Walstein Gordak in a recent *FREE SOCIETY*. I am sorry that he should look at it in that way. Nothing of the kind was intended. I sent the poem to *Liberty*, thinking that the best place for it to appear, as Gordak had been a regular contributor. Mr. Tucker refused it for reasons satisfying to himself and with which I found no fault. The "resentment" which he imagines had no existence with me. Perhaps Mr. Tucker has resentment that the poem appeared in a Communist Anarchist paper, but, if so, who but himself made that necessary?

Wishing the poem to appear as soon as possible I sent it to *FREE SOCIETY*, and wishing to forestall a possible refusal here, on the ground that Gordak was one of those writers for *Liberty* who have sometimes been known to make disparaging remarks about Communists, I added a few words to show that he had a sympathy with Communism which should recommend him to its champions. I had no intention of insinuating that Gordak had changed his personal feeling toward Tucker. I knew he loved Tucker, and why should he not? I did suppose, however, in all sincerity, that Gordak's liking for Communism was a somewhat recent thing, for tho I always knew he admired William Morris' "News from Nowhere" it was only in the last few years that he had written to me with serious admiration of the Communist ideal, with especial reference to the happiness and good fortune of some relations of his who were practically living that life. Of course "he always saw clearly the necessity of placing the emphasis on liberty," and there is nothing in Free Communism to destroy that emphasis I believe and believe he believed. Now Mr. Tucker would have us understand that Mr. Gordak was always something of a Communist, which is more than I "insinuated" myself. If so, then he was always, to that extent, something less than an orthodox "plumb-line," which may be true for all I know or care.

I am very glad that Gordak showed his "unaltered confidence" in Mr. Tucker by sending him his poems in book form to publish as his literary executor, but seeing that it was by my own urgent and express advice, given to him when I found him near death, that Mr. Gordak did this, I can hardly feel surprised at the news, tho perhaps Tucker will be at mine. Finding his symptoms presaged an early death, I wrote Gordak to put his literary house in order, and advised him if possible, to get Mr. Tucker to accept the trust of his poems, as probably having more power and means than myself to get them soon published. If this failed I promised to do my best.

I hope this sincere explanation will prove my good will all around.

J. WILLIAM LLOYD.

what is Law?

What is Law? It is simply the judgment of the governing classe. Law, as a rule, is made, not for the benefit of the many, but for the convenience of the few. Every great reform, therefore, that illumines the pages of history has been accomplished by the breaking of some or many laws. I doubt not that when Jesus headed a procession into Jerusalem, riding on an ass, he smashed some city ordinance; certainly he did so when he took a whip and cleared the temple of the money changers. The disciples traveling from city to city, after the crucifixion, not only broke local laws, but raised crowds and cried aloud in the streets, for which they were imprisoned, a la Major Cox, Tom Bawden, et al. Martin Luther was the embodiment of a law breaker, for which the whole civilized world praises him, for it was only by breaking laws that the reformation could be started. John Bunyan, author of the immortal "Pilgrim's Progress," pined in prison for law breaking. Oliver Cromwell set at naught the laws of England and gave the kingdom righteous, if illegal, government. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, and every signer of the declaration of independence were not only law breakers but treason promoters. And Abraham Lincoln himself, when he issued his first famous call for 75,000 troops to defend the capitol at Washington against a slave oligarchy, did so in defiance of law. So there have come times in the history of all nations when the law breakers were right, in spite of Law and Authority; patriots if they succeeded; martyrs if Authority was stronger than Right. —Judson Grenell, in *Economic Tangles*.

Edward Brady.

Comrade Edward Brady died suddenly a week ago in New York, where he resided for over a decade. He was one of the ideal and sacrificing workers in the Anarchist movement. In the eighties, during the excitement of the labor movement in Austria, he was sent to prison for ten years. Those who had the "honor" to be an inmate of an Austrian prison know what it means to "reside" there for ten years, yet Comrade Brady's enthusiasm for the liberation of the workers had not been weakened. After his release he came to this country and worked unceasingly for his ideal—freedom.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

VI

We have in the previous section of this inquiry (1) that authority originates in wars of aggression and conquest (2) that it is softened by the progress of civilization (3) to which, however, it presents the chief obstacle (4) that its decline induces increase and its revival depression of that personal energy on which advance in knowledge and therefore in social culture depend social progress and liberation being thus reciprocal:—and that (5) it is worse than useless when regarded as a means of protection against either foreign or domestic violence. Inductions so unfavorable to authority look very startling when thus put together. Yet there is nothing new about them. They have all been drawn a great many times. Only Anarchists apply them; but, in a certain parrot fashion, everyone repeats them. I apprehend they could hardly have failed to discredit law and government before this, if authority-worship did not as previously intimated possess that peculiarly tenacious vitality which belongs only to superstitions. It concerns us therefore to look a little more closely into the origin, nature, and history, of superstition.

Most people would probably define superstition as belief without reason or evidence. But not all irrational and improved opinions are superstitions. Phrenology, anti-vaccination; numerous hypotheses once entertained by the most eminent scientists, such as were the Ptolemaic astronomy and the doctrine of phlogiston, which made an obstinate fight after they had been quite sufficiently disproved; fictions, like that of Pope Joan, received by all the world for history; these are examples of false inductions, or belief on poor evidence, but they cannot be called superstitions. It is not uncommonly supposed that there is an affinity between superstition and religion. I have pointed out elsewhere that there is also a difference. Religion is founded on alleged revelation. But in some very important religions, Buddhism, for example, that inspiration attributed to the founder was only what we call genius. Accordingly, tho there is plenty of superstition among Buddhists, we can scarcely say that the fundamental ideas of Buddhism, received *de fide*, are superstitions. If we consider Buddhist superstitions, we shall find they sprang not from these first principles, but, as I said, all superstition does, from practises suggesting other beliefs. Prayer, tho not very consistent with Buddhistic metaphysics, is an universal human instinct, therefore Buddhists pray, like other people. But prayer suggests the belief that blessings are secured by it. From this an illogical fanatic quickly infers that the more prayer is offered for him the more blessings he will receive. Forgetting that the blessings are always mental, at least in the first instance, he thus actually comes to think that he can considerably abridge his journey to Nirvana by inventing machinery which will do his praying faster than he. Superstition being thus founded on action, is always associated with ceremonies, which were perhaps all at first religious, as the non-superstitious part of religion is with moralizing, art, and literature. And now we may begin reasoning from this, the origin

of superstition in actions, to its essence.

Experience (induction) teaches that every action has a reaction—that there is no lifting oneself up by one's own heels, no stepping nearer the bundle on the left without going further from that on the right. Statistically, in every one feeling, however simple, we realize, it is true, a duality or even a trinity—subject, object, and their connection—which plurality of oneness reason never proves able to explain; but dynamically, in every act, we must choose what change we will have, accepting exclusion of what is inconsistent with it; then reason may teach us how to accomplish our purposes. What we perpetually contemplate and admire is a miracle therefore, as religion teaches; but we cannot work miracles as superstition assumes we can. In mechanical operations, which engage the affections little, men soon learn these truths, and inductive methods have accordingly been increasing physical knowledge during all ages. But it is different with the pursuit of Happiness, that end to which the victories of mind over matter are only rather unsatisfactory means. When man makes that his direct object in acting, as he is so prone to do, he is no longer satisfied with a choice. He would eat the cake and keep it; gratify desire without satiety, sin without remorse, enslave others but not enslave himself in doing it. All which resolves itself into this, that he would sink the object in the subject or vice versa. And because this is his constantly unsuccessful effort, he imagines himself inspired by a being of higher capacity, a Bacchus, Venus, Moloch, Mars, to whom his revels are congenial sacrifices. There are lower forms of superstition than even these; but their process is similar. Omens, founded on a foolish induction, suggest the god-like operation of creating them propitious when they refuse to become so; and propitious for the Zulu is unpropitious for his enemy the Hotentot; but each, living in fear of voodoo, seeks to cast out the devil of his neighbors, witchcraft thru some Beelzebub. Thus, in short, superstition, from its lowest form to its highest, hangs upon the idea that man can know the Unconditioned, make out of nothing, square the circle, devise a perpetual motion, defeat the law of cause and effect, overcome that bondage to alternatives imposed upon him by his very nature as actor on a reacting environment. Of course, the expectation is suggested by the desire—another reason why superstition differs from religion, which always teaches renunciation.

An eminent modern philosopher has divided the stages of human intellect into the Theological, when myths like those of Mars, Venus, & Co. are received for sober truths; the Metaphysical, in which abstract ideas are the instruments employed to overcome the fundamental antimony of existence; and the Positive, in which men recognize this truth that the percept of transcendence belongs wholly to our sensory and emotional nature, thought being unable to effect anything more than solution of particular problems. The classification is defective, because we can see, such superstitions as those of divination, and witchcraft, constituting the nearest approach to religion usual* among fetish

* I say usual, because in every stage of civilization

worshipping nations, are by no means worthy to be called theological, also because "the theological and metaphysical stages" overlap these and each other—there is, we have determined, plenty of very gross fetishism in the most philosophical religions, but their fundamental ideas are rather speculative (metaphysical) even dogmatic (theological). Still the generalization of Comte is near enough correct to be useful.

In the middle stages of what he calls the Theological period, two sorts of adorable beings—corresponding to subject and object—are supposed to exist. Fear is so much more powerful an impulse, at least to the savage, than is love or hope that both their systems of worship are founded less on love than fear.* He realizes, sufficiently to fear, the existence of our two kinds of beings. The powers of external nature, the mighty river, the terrific thunder, the scorching sun, the tempest, the plague, the earth-shaking waves of ocean, are among the most common and venerated of his gods. But he is by no means insensible to the awful might of those powers which approach him from within. Love, War, Wine, Wisdom, Music, Poetry, are everywhere, under various titles, great and popular gods. The totem animal is but an embodied form of his peoples' ruling passion. The savage's totem (animal or not) must belong to one kind of gods or the other.

there are many individuals who rise above and many who fall below the average. This is why superstitions are, as I am persuaded, in every case just simply immortal, while the impossibility that intelligence should submit to be ruled by ignorance, makes them tolerably harmless from the time the intelligent class cease to believe in them. Among the Zulus, who are nearly the least religious of mankind, I find, in Lubbock, evidence cited from different travelers, of every chief form religion can assume; from almost complete ignorance and indifference as regards any supernatural being at all, up thru fetish-worship, totem-worship, Ghost-worship, and idolatry, to a very pure Monotheism; whose existence among them is also attested by Colenso.

* Thus, tho the Greek religion has been often described as one of love not fear, it is easily proved that all the ceremonies were dictated by fear not love. Cupid (Gr. Eros) was worshipped to avert the tortures he is well known to inflict; Ceres (Demeter) lest she should send famine; even the gentle Muses because they would be highly offended by neglect, and might withdraw most neces ary blessings (they were water-goddesses among the springs of Parnassus where their cult prevailed). The difference between so charming a paganism as that of classic Hellas and so terrible an one as the worship of Moloch (Kronos, at one time adored in the eminently Greek island of Crete) consists in this, that tho both kinds of gods are worshipped from fear not love, the nature of the milder kind requires mainly ceremonies of a picturesque, artistic sort, which continue to be popular after knowledge has dispelled the fear. The many-sided character of a Greek deity and his cult may be illustrated by that of Venus (Aphrodite). She was originally Mylitta, the embodied spirit of prostitution, an ancient totemic rite, not to be neglected without perilous sacrilege, to whom women were still, as Herodotus tells us, required under penalties, to sacrifice after this institution had lost its full power. As such, she was the favorite deity of sailors, magnificently enshrined at Paphos and Malta (Melita, which preserves her ancient name). Hence the myth of her sea birth. Then Grecian women worshipped her very seriously, as the giver, who, if slighted, would become the withholder of those charms on which they depended (see the ending of the Third Book in the Iliad, and the ode of Sappho). In the quasi philosophic religion of later Greece we have naturally the Venus Urania, the patroness of pure love. And by this time her name had become associated with such a cycle of legend, poetry, and art, that to our retrospective eyes it appears adored from simple love of beauty. We forget that it lost its importance with its terrors.

And, as every tribe has a totem, it has been contended with some appearance of proof that "monotheism" is older than polytheism. Totem-worship, however, is not worthy to be called monotheism. Granted that the people termed Wolves or Rocks, originally worshipped no god but a wolf or a rock, they believed in many gods, and practical polytheism was a logical result of the-oreti- cal; for if the enemy's totem sometimes beats ours, it may be well to pay him tribute too! Not till advance of knowledge had to a great extent resolved seemingly conflicting elements into one substance governed by a single cause, did the Hindoo begin to degrade his three hundred million deities into angels emanating from the universal immutable Brahman; the Chinaman to regard Tien as the father of all gods and men; the Greek to speculate on the primitive substratum of matter or the universal soul of things. The Semitic monotheism, with which that of the Persians, tho they are an Aryan people,* must be classed, originated in a different manner, and tho less philosophic, these have by coming nearer the emotions, proved much more influential. The idea common to Moses and Zoroaster is the exclusive supremacy of conscience†—the righteous Eternal is a jealous God. How much, for the purpose of religion, it surpasses the other monotheistic tendencies, is evident, not only on the emotional, but the intellectual side. For being purely emotional it avoids the nature of superstition, (which consists, we saw, in trying to think, as previously to act upon, what can only be felt, the transcendental union of subject and object). It does not imply any speculative creed at all. Whether a man believes, with the most ancient Hebrew, in gods many and lords many; or in nothing alien to his perceptions in this life, like the Sadducee; or only in an inscrutable mystery, like the modern Agnostic; it is competent for him, by reverencing the Inner Light alone, to be a strict and pious monotheist of the Mosaic type.‡ It was not without an extremely hard and protracted struggle that either speculative or practical monotheism prevailed, so far as either ever has prevailed, against the lower tendencies of superstition. In India the unity of God is a doctrine of considerable practical importance, perfectly well known to the people as well as the Pundits. But the ceremonial worship, like that of some Catholic populations, is bestowed almost entirely on the hierarchy of lesser spirits. Similarly, the monotheism of the Zendavesta became first Dualism, as is

so generally known, and then a new polytheistic cult. of saints and angels. These were imbibed by Judaism during the Pharisaic movement, and they expanded into Talmudic and Cabbalistic extravagances, which will keep Egyptian idolatry in countenance. Christianity, in like manner, was for centuries degraded into a new paganism.

But long before all this happened, the area of "theological" superstition had been encroached upon by "metaphysical." As soon as men began to philosophize, it must have occurred to them that the phenomena which had severally commanded worship, break up into classes. Abstract ideas, no longer associated, nor associable, with the motion of objective life, began to dispersonify the concrete objects which in the phase of Hindoo logic, they "pervade." These internal possessions of the human mind became the things chiefly interesting to philosophers. The doctrine grew up that by generalizing further it must be possible to arrive at a last abstraction, since the basis, tho indefinite in extent, is not infinite, while the process of ordination is rapid. Here we may see how theological and metaphysical conceptions overlap. The God of the speculative monotheist, the Absolute of the German metaphysician, and the Unknowable of the Agnostic, are by no means easily distinguished from one another. All are liable to the objection of being unrealizable in thought. The last analysis which takes away quality from the Absolute, takes away everything by which it can be described. "God, by virtue of his supremacy, may not improperly be called *nothing*," said Scotus Evigena. That this is a *reductio ad absurdum* should appear tolerably evident; but the proof becomes manifest when we attempt those applications so inimitably summarized by Kant. Every proposition which contains a term implying the Unconditioned (as the absolute, infinite, indivisible, infinitesimal) is a contradiction—of course, because a proposition is a statement of thought, and the nature of thought is to change, that is to condition; besides, what is absolute can be neither subject nor object, nor both, but must be something outside their antimony, which, antimony however, is required not only by clear thinking, but by every possible state of consciousness. And as the emotional or theological monotheist fled from such conclusions to the new polytheism of worshipping saints, angels, emanations, attributes of deity, so the speculative or metaphysical monotheist did to deifying the less incomprehensible abstractions. Some examples are worth preserving for the light they shed on the effect of such misapplied ingenuity in producing legalism. Virtue, said Euclid of Megara, whose influence in giving direction to Plato's speculations has been widely recognized, is something. But analysis teaches that there can be only one real or absolute being. The Good, therefore, is the Whole; particular things are good in proportion as they embody the nature (serve the purposes?) of the whole, bad in proportion as they come short of doing so. This is the argument which pervades St. Augustine's polemic against the Manichean doctrine of a primordial Evil Power. In a very similar spirit the Stoics asserted that the universe is an organism (*zoon*); in which every particular

thing, and therefore every man, is an organ, whose chief good, they asserted without giving any reason, is to discharge his function, however difficult and disagreeable. On the other hand the Cyrenian and Epicurean schools asserted that the chief good of man is pleasure. Disclaiming knowledge of the universe as a whole, they at first sought, like some of our modern utilitarians,* to ascertain by analysis of the feelings how the greatest pleasure can be attained. But the result was not satisfactory, because this analysis, tho it makes a pretense of being inductive, is in fact subjective; while the beginning of the sole instructive reasoning process is to crucify subjective peculiarities and regard only objects similar for all observers. Accordingly, some of the later Cyrenians took refuge in saying that happiness is unattainable and death the chief good; while Epicurus softened and popularized their pessimism by teaching that the wise man will be so indifferent to external things, that he might be happy "even inside the bull of Phalaris"; but, if he has to choose between alternatives, he will choose the pleasanter.

Generally, we may say, that all metaphysical systems on their intellectual side, (of course) either deduce the subject from the object (materialism) or the object from the subject (transcendentalism, idealism, Platonism, etc.). On their ethical side they teach men to practise what is called virtue; that is the moral code in fashion, either for its own sake, like the Stoics, or for the sake of happiness. Since the former ethical motive regards the subjective instinct of conscience and the latter the objective causes of pain and pleasure, they are apt to unite respectively with a transcendental and a materialistic view of nature. But this is not necessary. The Stoics reasoned from the World to Duty; and some modern utilitarians, plagiarizing, I incline to think, from Christianity, assert that, since happiness is the object of life, it must be sought in the most permanent source, which is diffusing happiness; and the law which makes this true can have emanated only from a Lawgiver whose nature is benevolence (*agape*, love)—thus they reason from duty, or, as they prefer saying, wisdom, to the world. Certain fundamental characteristics all these systems have in common. All purpose to sink either the object in the subject or the subject in the object—of course, else they would not cover the field between the opposites satisfactorily. But the projects are equally impracticable, for subject and object, tho, in the horrid jargon of metaphysics, they may be one *substantially*,—we know nothing about that—are, at least *formal* opposites, neither of which is in any way intelligible to us without the other. Accordingly, every such speculation ends in a suicide—the Epicurean, starting with the pursuit of pleasure, confesses at last that it can be found only on condition it is not pursued; the Stoic employs much ingenuity in making out that happiness is not the end sought, but he finds he can only do so at expense of maintaining what contradicts the other proposition,* that it is the end attained.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* Particularly Dumont.

† Because if a man be convinced, as I may state in passing I individually am, that the secret of happiness is in loyalty to conscience, it is simply impossible to cultivate this habit and also abstain from thinking about the happiness.

* The people of Persia are too heterogeneous to be identified with the Persians. "Zarathustra" (Zoroaster) is said to mean "descendent of Ishtar," the Babylonian Venus, whose name is that of the Semitic Astarte, and the Egyptian Athor (?). Ishtar is the Aryan Nakunta, and Zarathustra accordingly has been supposed Kudur Nakunta, (chedorlaomer?) who founded Berossus' Median dynasty of Chaldean kings (Rawlinson). However, the Zendavesta shows sufficiently that there were more Zarathustras than one.

† Matthew Arnold, "Literature and Dogma." It is impossible to read the Zendavesta and not be struck by its profoundly ethical spirit. The Jews, so rebellious to all other foreign conquerors, were actively loyal to Persia, dared to fight for her against Alexander the Great, and evidently considered her religion substantially identical with their own.

‡ Of course I mean by Moses only the traditional founder of Judaism, and express no opinion on the authorship of the Pentateuch.

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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 Sun lay evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free admission. All strangers are invited to take part in the discussions. April 5, Prof. Raby speaks on "Is Government a Necessity?" April 12, Geo. Schilling will speak on "The Next Step in Social Progress"

CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m., in Forester's Hall, 223 Champlain St. Free discussion.

NEW YORK.—The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and free discussions.

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. March 28, Prof. J. Allen speaks on "Government." April 4, a member of the "Woman's Economic League" will speak before he club.

The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab..... 25

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— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

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