



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, APRIL 19, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 410.

A Song of Labor.

FROM "THE MARQUIS OF CARABAS."

O brethren bent with labor, O sisters bent with toil,
Long have ye sown the harvest fields and others
reaped the spoil!

You groan and slave for fool and knave, but brighter
days are dawning;
Above the hills the sun bursts up and floods the sky
with morning.

On you the primal curse was laid, on you the first de-
cree;

But hark! A mighty voice awakes and chants of
things to be.

A grander scope, a wider hope, is opening out before
you;

A freer sky, a sunnier heaven, will soon be bending
o'er you.

Oh, wake, wake, wake!

The future beckons bright,

The long, dark night is sweeping past

And the morning shall be light.

Oh, heavy is the burden your shoulders long have
borne;

Oh, weary are the ways you tread and sharp your
crown of thorn;

You march along, forlorn of song, with sob of stifled
weeping,

And happier seem the quiet dead, who, after work, are
sleeping.

But still for you the future waits, for you the sunrise
glows,

For you, at last, the wilderness shall blossom like the
rose.

In days to be you shall be free, and neighbor with his
neighbor.

And friend with friend, shall celebrate emancipated
labors!

Oh, wake, wake, wake!

The future beckons bright!

The long, dark night is sweeping past,

And the morning shall be light

—Aaron Watson.

The General Strike in Holland.

The events in Holland seem to verify the statement that history repeats itself. Centuries ago the Roman toilers, driven to desperation by drudgery, privation and tyranny, went on a "general strike"; and it was the politicians of those days, the "friends of labor," who tricked the rebellious workers back into slavery by alluring promises of future bliss, thereby fastening the shackles of slavery tighter than ever round the necks of the credulous toilers. Now events show that the tragedy is being reinaugurated in Holland, or rather all over the civilized world; and again it is the politician, the Social Democrat, who for three decades posed as the savior of mankind, and the notorious "labor leader," who is ever ready to blow the horn of a "law-abiding citizen," in order that his position and respectability

may not be jeopardized, who are handling affairs.

No sooner had the pernicious anti-strike bill become a law than both the Socialist politicians and the "leaders" advised the workers to abide by the law; and the "revolutionary Socialists"—God save the mark!—of Germany, to whom the credulous workers of Holland had appealed for aid, calmly declared that they needed their money for a better purpose—the ballot-box humbug, an attitude which the editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of this city very strikingly characterizes. He says:

"Mr. Auer, secretary and representative of the Social Democratic party in Berlin, is disagreeably affected by the lack of discipline prevalent among the workers of Holland. That such things should happen! General strike! That it could happen after the German Social Democracy for almost a generation had infected the international labor movement with that most miraculous basculus—the ballot-box basculus! And this even successfully!

"It was unheard of; it was beyond the forbearance of a patient Social Democratic representative, who in the Reichstag sits before the sublime chair like a school boy and is every moment, if he is too critical, subjected to the advice of the president as to what behavior is legitimate and what is absolutely illegitimate in a representative of the people.

"What transpired in Holland was madness indeed. Social Democratic parliamentism has certainly made it convenient enough for the workers. They go to the ballot-box, and that's enough. Then they wait until the service of the legislators terminates, which in Germany is only five years, and then they again go to the ballot-box, until one day a Social Democratic majority concludes the social-demoralization of society.

"Now honestly, proletarians of all countries, is it not convenient enough! Drudge away in the bone-mills, suffer servitude and abuse, just like your ancestors did who were not class-conscious. Don't mind it, for you can depend upon it that we will speak earnestly about your affairs with the representatives of other parties in the Reichstag. The main thing is that you are represented in parliament, so that you may comfortably remain in the background; and when you are

unable to sleep at nights you can read the speeches we shall make about your destiny.

"This has been persistently poured into the ears of the workers by the Social Democracy thru the international funnel, and now the workers of Holland suddenly step on the world's stage and want to be active themselves—taking up the fight against tyrannical subjection, imposed upon them by the government and capitalism. They refuse to work, and show that they must not alone listen to the speeches about their fate, but must also put their strength on the scales; that they, who put the society wheel in motion, may prove that they are the nourishing source, the only solid basis of society, and are not willing to be thrown into abject slavery.

"At the same time they hope—have not Auer & Company talked to them again and again all about the international-solidarity Social Democracy?—to be aided by the powerful Social Democratic party of Germany, which hope is natural, for this party does not call itself a workingman's party, but the workingman's party.

"Innocent workers,—they were mistaken. Wisdom can only be found in the speeches heard in parliaments and city councils; revolutions are made by votes and resolutions; but 'the general strike is a general absurdity.' Moreover, the long string of the legislative period is coming to its end, and the money on hand and more we need for the elections. Why not confine yourselves in Holland to the ballot-box? It is the most convenient and class-conscious thing in the world.

"Thus spoke Auer; and thereby he has contributed his share toward the recognition of the fact that the 'greatest leading workingmen's party of the world,' the German Social Democracy, is much more of a lawyer's and parliamentarian party than a workingman's party."

The strike in Holland proves a failure, a failure brought about by the treacherous and cowardly attitude of "labor leaders" and corrupted Social Democrats; but the workers have gained the knowledge that they must rely upon themselves and act independent of leaders and politicians, which truth was clearly realized by the strikers when it became known that the faint-hearted strike

committees had capitulated. The pusillanimous attitude of these invertebrates was condemned in unmistakable terms, and it was concluded to rid the committee of politicians, and continue the strike. But in vain; for the backbone of the strike had been broken thru the treachery of the leaders.

And it would have been a miracle had the general strike been a success in its infancy. It is enough that the idea of a general strike is penetrating the minds of the workers, who at the same time become cognizant of the fact that they are the real factors in society—not money, as they had been made to believe for centuries. Let the infant learn to walk, and the general strike will be one of the most formidable means of victory in the struggle against wage-slavery and governmental tyranny.

INTERLOPER.

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Sophia Perovskaya.

When despotism and tyranny join hands in oppressing a people to such an extent that the cries of agony only occasionally pass beyond the borders of their country, there always can be found a glorious race of men, who, being thoroly conscious of the great cause, will and are ready to sacrifice themselves in order that thru social eruption the attention of the civilized world may be called to the prevailing injustice and oppression. All the circles of society furnish the material which enlists itself in the service of freedom. There, where the barren conventional lie triumphs, suddenly heroes and martyrs arise, daringly throw the glove into the face of a shameless lie, and then devote themselves wholly to their ideal.

Such remarkable phenomena we find everywhere, and especially in Russia. It is the 15th of April that inspired these words. On this date twenty-two years ago in St. Petersburg Zsheliaboff, Sophia Perovskaya, and their comrades were executed for assassinating the Russian autocrat, Alexander II. Only today, when Russia positively finds itself at the turning point of its governmental existence, can we sufficiently appreciate the cause and fertility of the terrorism of those bygone times. Russian revolutionists would not be as far advanced as they are had they not attended the school of experiment of those days of numerous assassinations and trials. The experience which those years have accumulated has not been gained in vain, but today—combined with real revolutionary measures—exercises such a pressure upon Russian despotism that it is ready to make concessions. And the yielding of concessions by a dominant power—tho it be only a sham—is a yielding which originates in the recognition of its own weakness.

In observing the revolutionary movement in Russia during the past three decades, we are attracted by the bright and shining name of Sophia Perovskaya, as that of a personality which—having few equals among the soldiers of freedom—limited its activity to a sphere which requires gigantic enthusiasm and perseverance—the revolutionary propaganda.

The energy this woman manifested is seldom found even among men in the revolutionary camp. Being a daughter of aristoc-

racy she deserted the elegant parlors of the capital, and, altho her father was the governor-general of St. Petersburg, she devoted herself to the ideal of freedom. Like many others she exchanged the luxurious silk skirt, the rustling dress of wealth, for the plain gown of a peasant's wife, and went among the people to familiarize herself with their peculiarities and customs, in order to enable herself to take an active part in the dangerous work of propaganda. This gifted and earnest girl, whose only aspiration was the realization of the people's welfare, was, so to say, the soul of the revolutionary movement. Disguised as the wife of a mechanic, she lived in a little cottage in the suburb of St. Petersburg, in which the so-called Tchaykovsky group held its regular meetings. These meetings were also attended by Serghéi Kravtshinsky, better known as Stephen Stepinak, and Peter Kropotkin. The latter gives us some traits of character of Perovskaya in his autobiography, which in their touching simplicity beautify and glorify the picture of this woman. Altho severe in her conception of morality, she was far from being the guardian of morals. Her looks became severe so soon as the revolutionists, dressed in peasants' furs and boots, stepped into her scrupulously clean and neat house and soiled everything. But her severe looks soon softened into a tender smile when she heard of the sacrifice of her comrades. Fearless as she had always been, she once expressed herself—referring to the awakening of the revolutionary spirit in the heart of the peasants—thus to Kropotkin: "We have begun a great thing. Two generations, perhaps, will succumb in the task, and yet it must be accepted." Sophie Perovskaya loved the worker, the Russian mushik, as he was. This is the woman who participated and gave the signal in the assassination of Alexander II, and who sacrificed her life for it.

Perovskaya had not underestimated the period of development necessary to arouse the Russian nation. Of course she does not seem to have considered sufficiently the factor of the revolutionary impetus, which will hardly abide in waiting for two generations till the nightmare of Russian despotism is done away with; for the deeds of the martyrs seem to have accomplished miracles. The rebellious avengers of Russian oppression are not isolated any more, but the people have taken up the torch of revolutionary thought and illuminate all the works of the autocratic regime. And in times of rest, when that fictitious colossus, the State, is staggering, struggling to attain equilibrium again and therefore decrees reform measures, the ardent revolutionists all over the world, wherever the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors may rage, commemorate lovingly their great champion of freedom, their comrade, their martyr, Sophia Perovskaya.—*Rudolph Grossmann.* Translated by INTERLOPER.

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If every reader of FREE SOCIETY would make up his mind to get only one subscriber in one year among his acquaintances, which should not be so very difficult to do, our ideas would rapidly penetrate the labor movement, and make things lively.

Necessity or Reason, Which?

Necessity, not intent, forethought, or a prearranged plan, is driving the working people of the United States into a general strike and revolt. No cause other than necessity is responsible for the present day movement of American wage workers toward compact unionism.

Of course I am aware that the workers of the United States imagine themselves the intellectual giants of the human race, and consequently claim masterly power and reason as the cause of the rapid growth and aggressiveness of labor unions. Nevertheless it is necessity not intelligence on their part, that is moving them to action. Necessity forced the organization of the workers into local unions. Necessity forced these scattered unions to unite for mutual protection. Necessity forced national and international bodies to federate. The loose and incoherent federation of these various national and international bodies—the present American Federation of Labor—being the result. This federation having proved inadequate, because of the lack of organization, which is destructive. Where a large number of persons are involved necessity is again forcing the workers to take another step in the evolution of trade unionism. This latter alignment, or grouping, is the forming of alliances between unions closely related to each other in the matter of vocation. Thus the trades engaged in the building industry are grouping into trade councils, the workers in iron into metal trades councils, and so on.

Originally the thought was entertained that to form a union was all that was needed to raise wages and shorten the work-day. In a small measure good came from local effort, but necessity forced the grouping of the scattered unions. So necessity is now again forcing the workers to extend the limits of their defensive lines, crowd their employers closer together, and attack them in vaster numbers than heretofore. With the workers in each vocation rapidly enrolling in the union of their respective trades, as they are doing, and each trade, either actively engaged to some extent, or expecting to be engaged, in war with the employers; while at the same time the unions in the different departments of industry are rapidly forming their respective trades councils, for the purpose of crippling an entire industry if necessary, it is not such a far distant day when the national trades councils of the departments of building, mining, transportation, manufacturing, and distribution will find it necessary to federate and form a national general central council, so that, if necessary, the entire force of organized labor can be concentrated in any needed line of offensive or defensive action.

And it will be needed too. The employers are also organizing and concentrating their forces. There are now all manner of employers' associations, manufacturers' associations, mill owners' associations, mine owners' associations, restaurant-keepers' associations, contractors' associations, and so on.

When either of these two antagonistic forces ripens into a complete working organism, so will the other. Then what? Is

it reasonable to expect that with their diametrically and antagonistic interests they are going to harmonize and blend? Not at all. They could not if they so desired. As equals the two cannot survive. Labor must either force itself into complete freedom, in order to be secure—and every Anarchist knows what that means—the downfall of authority in all its ramifications, ecclesiastical, legal, political, and all that is carried or supported by the same, or else suffer to be reconquered by that legal authority from which it has partially freed itself, and be again subjugated to the complete mastership of the employers. While, on the other hand, the employers must either conquer the workers, and destroy their unions, or else lose their present easy position on the backs of the workers.

Thus necessity is forcing upon us the general strike. That struggle will be revolution. Thus out of necessity—inexorable necessity—the American workers are yearly herding closely together and acting concertedly in ever increasing numbers. As the years go by the number of persons annually brought into strike action increases, the wrath of employers is proportionately more bitter, the severity of the civil and military authorities more drastic, and the cohesive solidarity of the workers more firm and extensive.

Thus out of the fog of stupidity, treachery, suffering, disappointments, defeat, misunderstanding, and betrayal are emerging the united hosts of Labor, with the alternative before them to either strike *en masse* or disband.

Necessity is forcing the general strike. So too, perhaps, necessity may force strikers to think that strikes backed by loaded rifles are more promising of success than submissive obedience to hostile court injunctions. Now is the seed time of the revolutionist. With accumulating strength labor is becoming bolder; while to the employers the present status of labor is very unsatisfactory.

The revolutionist who can, in the disguise of an employer, enter into the membership of an employers' association should do so, to the end that he may lead them into traps and pitfalls,—that they be covered with confusion and defeat. "The end justifies the means."

CON LYRCH.

How to be Happy the Poor.

This is a topic given out by one of our metropolitan dailies; asking its readers to give their ideas in brief letters. Some of the letters show a pitiable want of true conception of either poverty or happiness.

The great Henry Ward Beecher thought it quite possible to be happy on a dollar a day, tho it is evident he did not speak from experience. T. V. Powderly says:

I know of no way by which a poor man may remain happy. Some incidents in his life may cause him to be happy, but as long as he is poor he will have the haunting fear of want constantly with him. An ignorant man may be happy—so may a pig. To be really happy we must be educated, refined and healthy.

Some people tell us that happiness depends upon our own environment,—that a beggar may be happier than a king, and further declare, that to be happy we must be contented with our lot whatever it may be. Such rot! How can we imagine intel-

ligent people happy when in want? Most of the writers who talk so glibly of being happy tho poor have a very happy idea of poverty. They imagine the poor as blessed with most of the creature comforts, and deprived only of the luxuries. Think of the thousands whose daily lives are one constant struggle for food,—whose whole natures are dwarfed and stunted by unceasing toil! Think of the children brought into existence under such conditions! Is it any wonder that poorhouses, jails and asylums are full to overflowing? Children are robbed before their birth of physical, mental and moral strength, handicapped in the race for life by the social conditions which surround their parents, denied the advantages of education, forced to toil as soon as they are able to work.

If such people are happy it is the happiness of ignorance. When people are too ignorant to care to better their condition they are already in a state of hopeless slavery.

It should be the aim of every right-minded person to aid in awakening this class to a realization of their condition, and also to strive to abolish the laws that protect the few in revelling in wealth to the detriment and ultimate degradation of the many.

MYRA PEPPER.

A Query.

Will you please state how the Anarchist plan proposes to operate the great industries of the world, which we must of necessity have? E. B. FORD, Editor *The Referendum*.

REPLY.

Some years ago the railway workers of England asked Comrade Kropotkin what his plans of running railways were in case the capitalists were expropriated by the workers; and he replied that they ought not to ask him how to operate the railways, for they knew that much better than he did, but that how to get the railways was the pertinent question. This applies also to the query of Mr. Ford. The workers are operating the great industries today admirably well, while the "captains of industry" are merely what the drones are in a beehive.

Yet it may not be amiss to point out that the most efficient institutions of today are those which exist by virtue of voluntary effort, such as institutions of learning, schools of manual training, Red Cross societies, life saving stations, etc. The international postal system is also an institution based on mutual agreement. In short, "the Anarchist plan" is one of voluntary agreement and cooperation between those engaged in a certain branch of industry.

The problem of distribution is perhaps more difficult to solve satisfactorily; but when we today are free to enjoy the benefits of public parks, libraries, etc., without being asked whether we have rendered society an equivalent or not, we can easily conceive a society in which all necessities of life will be consumed in the same manner, for the capacity of production is so enormous that in a free society labor will be looked upon as a feast, in which all will be eager to participate for the sake of exercise and health.

The fear of want becomes an obsolete fac-

tor once the restrictions placed upon production by monopoly and government are removed, and with it dies the spirit of grab and love for wealth.

A. I.

Literature.

We are very glad to announce that Comrade C. L. James has at last published in a book form his excellent work, "History of the French Revolution." It is just the size (350 pages) which is required for giving the reader a correct idea about the movement of 1789-95, describing the succession of events during these memorable years, and briefly analyzing their causes. The description is excellent, animated and interesting all thru, and Comrade James, hampered tho he must have been by the absence of the documents that can only be found in a great city like Paris or London, has everywhere found out, by a judicious study of the documents he had at hand, the truth amidst the conflicting reports. His general Anarchist conceptions must have been for him an excellent guide.

We cannot but feel delighted that such an excellent work can now be put in the hands of all our friends—a work whose descriptions and conclusions can be accepted in full safety—which could not be said of any other previous work on the French Revolution, not even of the best ones, such as Michelet's and Louis Blanc's.

We must, however, express the hope that Comrade James will complete his excellent work, in its next edition, by a few pages given to a wide and complete analysis of the part played by the peasants in the revolution, and the treatment, by the Revolutionary Assemblies, of the land question. I have given some indications in this direction in the anniversary article of the Revolution in the *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1889, but since that time two works have appeared dealing (but not yet completely) with this most important subject, namely, the work of Sagnac, and that of Jaures. Without following month by month the peasant revolution and the efforts of the National and Legislative Assemblies and the Convention to crush the peasant revolt, one cannot fully understand the French Revolution. Altogether the economic underground of the Revolution, which begins now to be studied, is evidently of the greatest importance.

Another very important matter, which is being more and more brought into evidence, is the extremely great extension of the royalist conspiracies during the Revolution (even E. Daudet's very poor work *Les Conspirations royalistes dans le Midi*, throws already some light on this subject). Many of the terrorists' acts of the Revolution are explained by the extent which these desperate conspirators for restoring something that was already gone, had grown to. Unfortunately this subject is only now beginning to receive proper attention from the French explorers of the archives.

In the meantime we most warmly recommend James' work to all those who are anxious to know the great French Revolution. —Peter Kropotkin, in *Freedom*, London.

Conceit is the transparent garment of ignorance. AMERICUS.

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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.

All exchanges and correspondents should note our new address, and direct mail to 407 Park Ave., instead of 331 Walnut.

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.

The San Francisco Labor Council warns the workers in the east not to believe the alluring circulars and press notices of the Employers' Association of California. Over a thousand laborers are arriving in San Francisco every week, and the number of the unemployed is daily increasing.

We call attention to the following letter addressed to the *Freiheit* by the Columbia University Library of New York:

"We are making a collection in Columbia University Library of Anarchistic and Socialistic periodicals. You will oblige us very much if you could tell us where we could get complete or broken sets the following: *Alarm, The Rebel, Solidarity, Nemesis, Beacon, Truth, Anarchists, The Firebrand, Free Society, Freedom, Liberty*. You would also oblige us very much in giving us a list of the leading Anarchist periodicals that are now being published in the United States, and also their addresses, so that we might subscribe for them."

Unfortunately we cannot spare the first volume of *The Firebrand*, and the comrades possessing it should communicate with the library.

Mark Hanna is again shedding tears, and insists that he is a true and genuine friend of the workingmen; but he fears they will "demand too much" and thus make "harmony between capital and labor" impossible. It is too bad, indeed. Why not do spitwork, brother? Let the bosses take the places of the greedy toilers,—let them play boss for a while when they demand too much? That will teach them a lesson, all right.

Outpost Echoes.

Love never forces.

Death is also peace.

Religion is a crutch.

Make right into might.

Charity is a subterfuge.

Crosses are for crucifixions.

Work is the mother of hope.

The dreamer is at least alive.

Content is best shown in swine.

Make room for the only real manhood!

A prostitute is one who "sells" services.

Society rose in response to individuality.

There is happiness in the thought of happiness.

All things are natural; some things are good.

Morgan is figuring on an option on Congress.

Beauty always makes great souls think of liberty.

If "knowledge is power," wisdom is its application.

An improvement in wages will be followed by higher prices.

Three reform mayors elected. Sit back, people; and wait.

Truth may be laughed at, but she will never be laughed down.

Darwin was unquestionably right. Some men are even now apes.

Books on the labor problem are multiplying; the world is awake.

Tom L. Johnson is not a reformed millionaire; he is a millionaire reformer.

Who that looks at a man could believe that he was made to endure rule?

The government of the Netherlands has shown its hand; it holds a sword.

Love is thrown away on those who make merry over the suffering of humanity.

Golden-Rule Jones believes, not in the golden rule, but in force thru majorities.

Theodore is engaged in his favorite occupation of killing again. Noble, thrice noble man!

When man ceases to believe himself a savage, what will all those do who now live on his fear of himself?

What men need to strengthen them is to stand upon their own feet. Paternalism only makes men dependent.

Some of the trusts have lately been knocked out; but a rest and a little wad of money will fix them up again.

The Cuban treasury contains \$2,638,000. Where are the politicians? Oh, yes: they haven't had time to get to work yet.

Did Clarence Darrow accept all the evil that Harrison could do because of the little good which he thought he *might* do?

Some men are more afraid of revolution than they are of national ruin; which is to be more afraid of liberty than of tyrants.

R. B. Kerr says that the industry is concentrating, and rejoices; libertarians know

that concentration eliminates originality, and regrets it.

The king of England is traveling on the Continent; the newspapers are "discovering" enough Anarchist plots to create a feeble interest.

The only good laws are those which rescind other laws. In one of his volumes Herbert Spencer calls attention to thousands of such law-breaking laws.

Success, according to most writers on the subject, is to get money. Some day success will mean getting something that money is powerless to secure: manhood.

Anarchists want liberty because they think that happiness and peace cannot be laddled out like so much soup by infallible agents of an infallible and irresponsible State.

The king of Servia executed a coup d'etat, suspending the constitution; and when threats were made against his life, wholesale arrests followed. We must have kings.

The Boston *Advertiser* says that the Sherman anti-trust act will immediately be amended so that it will not offend the big contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

"Capitalism is shattered in Montana," says *The Chicago Socialist*. Now let us all go to glorious Montana, where the wage-system is abolished and labor receives its full product.

Everything in the world belongs to labor, and labor is the only thing which can rightly bring to man honor, distinction, love. The predatory class, is crying now that it labors; and it does; at stealing.

Tom L. Johnson's man, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, does not believe in contests (he instances gambling) where one of the contestants *must* lose. How about election campaigns and contests. One candidate must lose.

"Class-consciousness" is almost as uncertain a quantity as Chicago weather; during the last two years the Socialists of this city have lost about 7,000 class-conscious votes. Class-consciousness should be embalmed in order to preserve it from decay.

The yearning in the hearts of men for an ideal life will never be hushed by all the demonstrations of "scientific" carpers and sophisticated cynics. The truth is that a new hope is born with every life, an evidence that humanity's needs will some day find fulfilment and fruition. AMERICUS.

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People are perpetually telling what they would do "if they were in your place!" How do they know what they would do if they were in your place? How could they ever know? Undoubtedly if they were in your place, and if they had the same knowledge of facts, the same character and disposition, and also had the same aims and purposes in view and were subject to the same influences as yourself, they would then do precisely as you do. But duplicates of that kind are never found. Alexander in a similar case made the proper answer to Parmenio when he advised Alexander to accept certain proposals: "So would I were I Parmenio."—J. Wilson.

At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

Sunday evening, last, George Schilling addressed us on the subject, "The Next Step in Social Progress." Beginning with the statement that neither State Socialism nor Anarchism was possible now, since they both proposed to eliminate private property and the family, institutions very dear to the people at large, and which they would not at once give up. The lecturer boldly proposed the adoption of the Single Tax as a compromise. This he argued, would be acceptable because it did not threaten the disruption of the family nor the abolition of private property, while it would put the worker in possession of more of that which was justly his due. He dwelt upon the statement that Chicago property had a dollar added to its value with each single birth which occurred in the city, and proposed to tax that dollar away for the benefit of the whole people, whose presence on the spot had given that value existence. The familiar array of Single Tax arguments was made, and Mr. Schilling closed by declaring that the Single Tax was "the next step."

There were some interesting criticisms from Socialists and Anarchists present. It was quickly pointed out that the land problem was not the only problem, and that unless capital was also free, free land would avail nothing to the workers, who would still be slaves to capitalism. The Single Tax was merely a plan to take the wealth out of various pockets from which it had been filched before, and put it into one pocket, from which it might be more easily taken.

The critics also pointed out the fact that economic rent was an abnormal thing, which ought to be abolished, rather than allowed to exist, finally to be taxed away; and showed that the enormous rental value of Chicago property today was fixed and determined by the amount which capitalism could squeeze out of labor in its work upon such land.

It was shown, too, that if wealth justly belonged to a man that wealth could not justly be taxed away, either by a Single Tax or a multiple tax, and that if wealth did not justly belong to that man it should not be possible for him to get it, to afterward divide it with another robber, the tax collector.

The consensus of criticism was that the Single Tax was a step, not forward, but backward.

Next Sunday evening Wm. S. Dalton will speak on "Socialism." REPORTER.

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Individualism vs. Anarchist Communism.

In *The Traveler* of Jan. 13, John Marston makes an arbitrary distinction between Anarchism and Communism, for he means Individualism when he uses the term Anarchism. Individualists are chasing a myth—egoism, while Anarchists know that egoism and altruism are relative terms, "meaning everything in general and nothing in particular." Anarchists deny both altruism and egoism as a positive. When the Individualist claims that the individual can be free and happy while the rest of mankind is miserably enslaved, the Anarchist questions such philosophy. Individualists intend to

regulate marital relations by contract, while Anarchists contend that contracts imply slavery. Love must be spontaneous; it will enter no obligations; and if spontaneity leads to family life, well and good.* That Communists (Anarchists) want to "abolish religion and and persecute its teachers" is a malicious falsehood. Individualists defend private property, while Anarchists claim that property is impossible under freedom. The Individualists declare that the laborer should get his full product, while the Anarchists contend that the share of product cannot be determined, and real freedom can only exist when production and consumption is free as air and sunshine—each producing and consuming according to desire. Individualism "would give each his own," while Anarchism denies all authority, and would neither give nor take, but leave it to those concerned.—J. M., in *Boston Traveler*.

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The War God.

China has a war god to whom they have burned incense from time immemorial and who has over 3,000 names.—*News Item*.

America has a war god, "all samee lika" China. Of "noble" family, ancient ancestry, and gigantic proportions. His name is plutocracy, but he has a thousand pleasant sounding aliases. He is the cause of all wars, and what is more, directs them; he has been a power since the first despot, euphemistically called a patriarch, pitched his tent on the plain and built a corral to gather his neighbors sheep and cattle into against the time when he cared to sell or trade them.

It will continue till people begin to think, then act. MAURITZ S. LIDEN.

— o —

The Punishment Evil.

An English minister, who several times preached at the Dartmoor prison, says that the first time he faced his congregation he saw stamped on each vacant immobile countenance Dartmoor's notorious and awful brand. "Not vice, not despair, nor yet cunning or indifference, but something appallingly worse—decay of volition and death of free will. For five, ten or fifteen years every convict hangs up as it were to rust in disuse his inalienable birthright as a man—his will. No exercise is provided for it; every act he performs—dressing and undressing; eating, walking, making his bed, putting out his light, marching to the basket-making shop, the farm, or the peat-cutting on the moors—he does at the word of command."—*The Churchman*.

— o —

I have lived with communities in South America and the East, who have no laws or law courts, but the public opinion of the village . . . yet each man scrupulously respects the right of his fellows, and any infraction of those rights rarely takes place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There are none of those wide distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, masters and servant, which are the product of our civilization.—Prof. A. R. Wallace.

Mr. Marston asserted that the Anarchist Commu- proposed to destroy family life, and would abolish religion by force. J. M.

Among Ourselves.

Natasha Notkin, Philadelphia.—The sudden death of Comrade Brady has almost broken my heart. He was a good man and comrade. I wish I could have taken his place; for I often think I would be happy if I could take a long, long rest, and a good sleep.

Comrade Notkin certainly deserves a rest, for it is almost due to her untiring efforts that the propaganda in the English language is still alive.

Comrades like this one who has been faithful and alive when many forgot the great hope of liberty, are the mainstay of all propaganda. May their numbers multiply.

• • •

U. W. B., Denver, Colo.—For enclosed money order send me the *London Freedom* for one year. As soon as I finish reading *FREE SOCIETY* I send it away. I have such a passion to educate other people that if I had a dozen copies I would distribute them regularly among my friends; for I like *FREE SOCIETY* better than any paper I ever read in my life.

Comrade U. W. B. will, of course, be supplied with extra copies for distribution, and we would be glad to hear from other comrades who have the desire and opportunity to make the paper known among liberal-minded people.

• • •

Peter Kropotkin, Viola, Bromley, Kent, England.—A thousand apologies for not having written sooner. I am simply overwhelmed by the number of letters I receive, all requiring reply and thought—and with the now weakened capacity for labor, arrears accumulate—50 and 100 unanswered letters in no time. This will explain why I have not answered your first letter, altho it is just such letters as yours that I would find pleasure in answering.

Business, then.

When I was in America I did not know how it stood with the edition of our pamphlets. It appears, however, that *Freedom* has paid for having "stereos" of all of them, and that the printing of them goes on continually, and is a small source of income to the paper.

The same must be with *FREE SOCIETY*. Instead of giving our books and pamphlets to outsiders, we must increase our publishing of them—for our papers.

As to the "Conquest of Bread," the translation is not yet ready. As soon as it is, I will publish it myself both for England and America. Again, this publication must remain in our hands. I do not want a poor translation, and into a good one I put a lot of work. Just now I am returning to Modell, of Philadelphia, the translation of "Modern Science and Anarchism" which he has made from the Russian. . . . I hope that the Philadelphia comrades will publish it themselves for propaganda purposes.

You know, dear friends, that I was very seriously ill last winter, but gradually I have recovered a little, and now I can work five or six hours a day—not more—which is still something. Of course I must still be careful and not speak in public at all; the heart may stop at any moment. This winter we had a lot of illness: my wife, my girl (just now having the third week in bed), and myself.

Much love, dear friends, to you all. *FREE SOCIETY* grows better and better. It is very interesting all thru. . . .

Thanks very much for James' "French Revolution." I wrote a review of it in *Freedom*.

An enterprising comrade in this city intended to publish "Conquest of Bread" at his own risk, requesting me to communicate with Comrade Kropotkin regarding the work; and the above is the reply. Moreover, we are constantly asked as to Comrade Kropotkin's health and activity, and it is mainly for this reason that we publish his interesting letter. A. I.

— o —

Imagine the rage of any decent North American Indian if they had been told they required policemen to keep them in order!—Edward Carpenter.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

V (continued.)

I should digress much too far to show how similar results wait on any transcendental doctrine, such as the infinite or the finite divisibility of matter. This has been very well done by Herbert Spencer, in his chapter on "the Unknowable." It has been done less candidly and intelligibly by Hegel in his "Logic"; and his conclusion that in "metaphysics the principle of the Excluded Middle does not hold," called forth the unanswerable criticism of John Stuart Mill that metaphysics must be nonsense.* However, the doctrine is much older than Hegel. It is in the interminable logomachies of the Buddhists. Among their innumerable "heresies" we find that it is an error to think the world is finite or infinite, both, or neither, eternal or not eternal, both, or neither, spirit or matter, both, or neither, etc., etc. "The principle of the Excluded Middle does not hold." Indeed, the conclusion, and its moral, are palpable to common sense. A practical man who reads a metaphysical debate for the first time, has no difficulty in seeing that the disputants are stating, in different phrasology, a single "view"—one among many such—of "the Infinite" or of Everything in General, which, (of course) is antinomical and so practically applies to Nothing in Particular; that they argue only about which side of nature's great riddle and paradox shall be slurred; and that the attempt to slur either, is, till it has worked out its destruction, one-sided, which means rather worse than nil, for one-sidedness in theory is falsity.

It remains only to point out that metaphysical doctrines, like other notions of the absolute, entirely fill our definition of superstitions. They spring from pre-existing habits. The object of all ethical systems, whether "intuitional" or "altruistic," or "egotistic," or utilitarian, is to find something which will pass as an argument for such notions of *taboo* and *utu* as happen to be current in the society producing them.† These systems are also inspired by fear. The dread of Pan in his terrors; the awful questions, "What am I? whence am I?"

* This is not a *non distributio medi* but an induction, independent of syllogism. There is a class of propositions, such as "Abracadabra is monomorphous" which do not admit the principle of the Excluded Middle. They are simply the class of *unmeaning* propositions. Nonsense is neither true nor false. The moment we grasp this principle, we see that ontological propositions, such as "the Absolute is virtue, or is goodness," are not subject to the law of the Excluded Middle for no other reason than because they mean nothing. The Absolute is the unrelated. To affirm that it is (or is not) any given relation, Goodness, for example, is, therefore, Gibberish—not false, nor true, but nonsensical only. As to Herbert Spencer's argument that if various designations of the Absolute were mere negation of relativity in some form, then all these designations, as Infinite and Infinitesimal would mean the same thing, which they do not, I think consideration may be deferred till it is settled that any of them mean anything. To my apprehension all terms which may be rendered Everything in General (as the Infinite) or a *fortiori* Nothing in General (as the Infinitesimal) do logically mean Nothing in Particular, and one differs in meaning from another phrase of the same sort only as Abracadabra differs from Baphomet "x to the power of u" means Anything You Like—therefore it means No Thing. But on the emotional value of transcendental terms, see sections VIII and XII.

† On the true nature of morality, the real reasons why it should be preferred to immorality, and, what is much more to the purpose, the means by which it can be promoted, see section XII.

whither am I going?" are what invite philosophers to attempt explaining the inexplicable mystery by theory, while the vulgar take that explanation to which they were born, or which an enthusiast has lately made popular thru working on some of their impulses. And here is a new explanation of that extraordinary vigor with which superstitions cling to existence. Addressing the lowest of human emotions, they are equally capable of infecting the most powerful intellects or the weakest; as witchcraft and divination are far from obsolete among the masses, so decaying moral and speculative dogmas linger in a higher grade of culture, even after their phrases have degenerated into the merest cants. This worship of words is by no means the least noxious phase of superstition. "Honor," the medieval knight's epitome of virtue, has long been known chiefly as the fetish which enacts the *utu* of duelling, and perpetuates prostitution by means of a sacred *taboo*. "Duty," "justice," "charity," "faith," are, in many people's mouths, as bad. They are appeals to the emotional instinct of servile imitation to keep up most happily declining customs. In what way the empire of superstition is gradually contracted, we may inquire by and bye. My present purpose is only to exhibit this unwholesome state of mind as that which prevents people from seeing that government is an evil instead of a benefit.

The length of this necessary digression on the nature of superstition, has prevented my introducing as early as usual a general view of the whole subject treated in this section. But for the purpose of verifying such a view, I refer the reader to Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero Worship," and to Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," (barbarous word!) particularly Part I; Part III, Chs. III-XI; Appendix; Part IV; Part V, Chs. I-VI; and Part VI.

By the study of these books, and also of Buckle's "History of Civilization," we may come to see that the superstition which sustains government was originally one of the "Theological" type. The ideas of religions and civil authority were "imperfectly differential." The Hero was king, and also god. As concerns Carlyle we should do him an injustice very characteristic of Philistine criticism to suppose he meant all he said. He understood the difference between "literature" and "dogma" well enough, we may be sure. The savage's king is also a god; hence those celestial titles—"Brother of the Sun," etc., still applied to Oriental princes. But a savage's idea of God is not very high. He vaguely imagines something greater than any god. He considers that a well-behaved god should know his place, and not sin against the traditional wisdom of his ancestral Totem. Thus, simultaneously with the worship of Kings, or even earlier, begins the worship of Law. The former phase of the government superstition is abhorred, the other run into the ground by our Philistines. Carlyle, living in a Philistine age, understood this very well. The moral of his works is that laws do not make heroes, but heroes laws.* For the king by law

he had full as little respect as for some other "solecism," "anachronism," or product of routine. If any reader can doubt that the tendency of "Heroes and Hero Worship" is towards individualism, and therefore Anarchy,* he will find "Sartor Resartus" an efficient antidote for whatever expressions seeming to favor authority the other great work of Carlyle contains. My chief point, however, at present, is that a divine character was attributed to the primitive king: and Carlyle is constantly cited by Herbert Spencer and others, as the chief exponent of this fact.

With progress of knowledge, always unfavorable to authority, the superstition of government passes from the "theological" stage into the milder "metaphysical." Blackstone's "Commentaries" may with advantage be read for a view of this phase in human progress, at its height. The laws of England, Blackstone's school announces, are, not indeed a divine revelation, handed down by tradition from the national totem, but they are the perfection of human wisdom. The reasons upon which it rests are various. In the first place (observe how the stages overlap!) the "laws of God," that is the Bible according to the interpretation fashionable in Blackstone's time, required that murder should be punished with death, that wives should be subject to their husbands and children to their parents, etc., etc. Then, the common law, though even Blackstone admits some obsolete parts of it, such as the wager of battle, to be absurd and barbarous, has contributed not a little to the perfection of human wisdom. That great and sagacious people the Romans, embodied their approach to the perfection of human wisdom in the Justinian Code, which, under the name of the Civil Law, is revered by the great English jurist as going far to make the laws of God and the barbarous Anglo Saxons perfect. The Christian Church, though an English legal writer of the eighteenth century could not deny that at a recent period she needed to be reformed, has furnished many important maxims by her method of adapting the laws of God to practise in what is called the Canon Law. The usages of all nations, from Siam to Batavia, are also cited in proof that there exists a "law of nature." This, by judicious selection and exaggeration, is made a most convenient pack horse for every prejudice not otherwise vindicable which has been grafted into the perfection of human wisdom. The perfection of human wisdom has moreover absorbed the practises of various trades, under such terms as the law merchant, the

individual qualities; not a creature of military routine. Spartans like Brasidas, Gylippus, Lysander and Agesilaus, may therefore pass for heroes perhaps. But it has been observed that none of the four assumed heroic dignity till he got away from the cramping system of his own country.

* Carlyle, like Shelley and other quasi-Anarchists before Proudhon, is in the habit of abusing what he calls Anarchy. But what does he mean by Anarchy? Not, certainly, what Anarchists mean. Proudhon, indeed, is probably the first writer since Aristotle who has used the word in its strict sense. With others, before his time, it was a vague term of abuse for whatever they choose to stigmatize also as "confusion"; and their use of it is sometimes extremely funny—thus they will tell us in one breath that Anarchy was at its height, and that four or five rival despots, each in his own section of a country, was exercising extreme tyranny.

* Such machines for destruction as the typical Spartan warrior are not at all Heroes in his sense, which is also the original Greek. A hero is a person of great

admiralty law (founded on the Rhodian), the military code, etc. And lest after all this, the perfection of human wisdom should remain imperfect, there is Parliament, that august body of drunken foxhunters, terrestrially successful priests, and fundholders' attorneys, which from time to time has enriched it, as the exigencies of any period might require, with "those ten thousand statutes which every Englishman is supposed to understand, and which no Englishman does understand." There was probably scarce an Englishman who did not smile ruefully when this congeries of inconsistent enactments, heathenish superstitions, papal traditions, vulgar prejudices, and arbitrary regulations, all tending to the one sublime end of fleecing litigants for the benefit of lawyers, was put before him as that divine thing in which the human intellect reaches the stars, and "heaven itself would stoop to her." But the reformation effected by that school in which the laugh became practical—the school of Austin, Bentham, and their compeers,—has consisted simply in sweeping a great part of the perfection of human wisdom away.

Let us assume, as commonly is assumed in America, and in recent English legislation, that laws have no other sanction than the fiat of the law-making power; that the only recommendation of the common law is the fact that, springing from the instincts of a great, tho at that time barbarous nation, and capable in a large measure, of obsolescence without friction, its barbarisms, tho they much retard progress, have seldom proved unendurable; that when they do there is no sanctity about it which should forbid its being changed; in short, that law, to be anything else than a nuisance, must be an expression of the people's present ideas, in the form of edicts promulgated by their representatives—still the question remains, on what principle are these representatives to legislate? Burke and a few other publicists reply simply the popular will;* and in this they approach so much nearer the conceptions of science than the Benthamites or other closet legislators, that it must be admitted we can hardly maintain against them the possibility of enacting in a popular government anything positive and decidedly adverse to the popular will. But many of the most important reforms of modern times were by no means demanded by the people. It was not the ignorant many but the intelligent few who in France and England abolished political distinctions founded on religion, who emancipated the Negroes, who mitigated the cruelty of punishments, who took the restraints of the laws about usury, forestalling, and regrating, away from trade.

We may well doubt whether a single one among these great negative improvements, or extensions of freedom, was regarded by the multitude with a better sentiment than indifference; and some of them were certainly unpopular. On the other hand nothing is more certain than that the people want a great many positive laws which they will take no trouble to enforce and so can have only nominally. Most of those foolish

statutes in which modern democratic legislation has been so prolific, are either enacted, as was before observed, in a spirit of mere "buncombe," and remain complete dead letters, or serve only the mischievous purpose of giving employment to blackmailers, because, tho many of them, as the Maine Liquor Law, were eagerly desired and emphatically demanded by a great majority of the people, this majority itself either wanted only to "indignate" and "resoloot," or else confided in the supposed omnipotence of a legislature and by no means expected that getting their law carried into effect would cost them any unpleasant exertion or self-denial. The democratic theory is therefore doubly false. A populace too stupid to accept the most momentous benefits with anything better than sullen acquiescence, to know that every blessing has its prices, to demand nothing they do not really want, or to understand that what they do want can be given them by no bill whose provisions they will not trouble to have executed—in short, a people to whom a government is still a miracle-working fetish in guise of a mere committee for the purpose of administering their will, are by no means a people whose will can or ought to govern. A system under which they are supposed to do so may be better than monarchy or aristocracy; but it is a clear case of "bad is the best."

There are other answers to our question, on what principle legislation should proceed? The Benthamite replies, "Upon the principle of the greatest good." But, specious as this looks, it is redolent of metaphysical superstition. What does anybody know about the greatest good? What philosopher has ever succeeded in deciding what constitutes happiness? The Cyrenian attempts to solve this problem ended in pessimism, that is in suicide with a vengeance. Those of Dumont were a failure which did more than anything else to discredit the Benthamist philosophy. But if I do not even know what is for my own chief good, how much less can I determine that of another? And when it comes to the greatest good of the greatest number, very ordinary perspicacity should be enough to see that the end is far too general for any calculation of means. Everyone may have his ideas on these high subjects. I certainly have, and I shall state them by and bye.

There can be no objection, within certain obvious limits, to anyone's doing what he thinks is for his own happiness or the happiness of others. Far from wishing to restrain the liberty of doing so, I am, as the reader may have observed, in favor of enlarging it indefinitely; for I am persuaded that it is by experiments of this kind the last and greatest of arts—the art of living—must finally be made practical, and that those hasty and premature generalizations which constitute the accepted morality of different societies,* are the chief obstacles to

* I have elsewhere cited with approval the remarks of Buckle that there is no progress in ethics but only in general knowledge. It is, however, the well known fault of language that no such strong general statement can be made without apparently contradicting some other truth, which in its place must be stated also. Ethics do make progress—thru the advance of general knowledge. A Maori chief told a white man: "If I go out with my spear in the morning, and

its progress. But it is very important to remember that these experiments presuppose doubt; that it is not legitimate to do obvious harm for doubtful good; in conclusion, therefore, and especially, that government, whose very conception is hindering individuals by methods of the severest character, from pursuing happiness in their own way, cannot at all be justified on plea of doing good unless the good is of the most palpable kind; whereas we have already seen that the most apparently useful operation of all governments does harm.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

meet a man, and run the spear thru him, that is homicide but it is not murder. If I ask him into my tent, and give him food, and then kill him when he is asleep, that is murder." Saxon morality presents certain obvious resemblances to Maori, and equally obvious differences. We should think it murder to go out with a gun and shoot a stranger, because, owing to the progress of knowledge, even strangers of the same nation, nay of the same stage in civilization, have come to regard each other as friends, which is not the case among people ignorant enough to depend chiefly on human flesh for food, like the Maoris. But few of us think it anything worse than "homicide" to invade "a barbarous country" and shoot as many natives as may be necessary, to subdue the rest; and those who condemn this do so because they have thought more and know more than the rest of us. Thus our moral principles are just like the Maori's! The difference is all in an application, which depends on knowledge. As to the effect of emotional culture on morality, see section XII.

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What is Education For?

Nothing deserves so much attention and such careful consideration as the subject of education. But it is far better to have a little education that is true than to have a great accumulation of education that must be unlearned to prevent its becoming a burden in after life. What is our education for? Is it to enable people to do their work better and to lead a better life? No, that is not the chief object of education according to the prevailing theory at the present time. The object is to make good children in the family, good members in the Church and good citizens in the State. That is the chief aim and object of education according to the theory on which it is now based. Education is strictly a family, a Church, a State matter, and since it is for the benefit of these organizations mainly, it is maintained at public expense. Pupils are taught what is contained in the books, not what is known to be truth. Everything goes by authority in schools.

But education really ought to be an individual matter. It ought to be for the advancement and future welfare of the learner, rather than for either the family, the Church or the State. Pupils should not have too much education to begin with. It should be merely a platform on which pupils may stand until they are strong enough to help themselves.

J. WILSON.

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LETTER-OBX.

A. B. G., Duluth, Minn.—Yes, we will mail the book, altho your name is not on our list of subscribers.

R. G., City.—Yes, a man who seduces a young, inexperienced girl by a deliberate lie, promising to marry her when he does not intend to do so, and withdraws his sympathy and aid when she is in distress,—being thrown on the street by her parents,—is certainly "a rascal," no matter what his confessions otherwise are.

* See the most apposite citations in Buckle, notes, 291, 292, to Vol. I, Ch. VII.

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