



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 417.

### An Ocean Prayer.

I pray to the Ocean, salt and grand,  
To send me a woman to mate my mind,  
To be my sea as I her land,  
A world together with heaven to bind.

An ocean-woman of kindred thought,  
With brain-waves beating with mine in rhyme,  
And a Gulf-Stream heart of love, full-fraught,  
Glowing to warm my mental clime.

Bathing my coasts in a beautiful sea,  
Cleansing, caressing, cheering me on,  
With deep proud tides of sympathy  
For the work I do, that I have done.

A woman indeed, whose sea-like soul  
Flows 'round the world in a wide embrace,  
With great-heart billows that break and roll  
On every shore of the human race.

Whose generous stream holds every keel,  
And mirrors the glory of every sky,  
Whose depths go down to think and feel  
As deep as my peaks rise heavenward high.

O beautiful Ocean, salt and strong,  
Mother and lover of every shore,  
Send me this woman for whom I long,  
That my lonely brain may thirst no more.

J. WILLIAM LLOYD.

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### The Sex Question and Liberty.

The application of liberty in the field of sex relationships engenders the most diverse feelings and actions, favorable and unfavorable; among libertarians themselves there being all shades of opinion bearing upon the subject and all kinds of attitudes taken in discussing it. But so vital is the problem involved, so essential is its illumination and settlement, so important a place has the sex life, that its present status, its probable development, and its condition under liberty, are matters for the most serious consideration, and do attract constant and unremitting discussion. There is an uneasy feeling among libertarians, withal; the sex question involving so many prejudices, passions, fixed conditions of life, etc.; and while all freedom-loving people admit that the present status of sex must pass away under liberty, many of them are disturbed and non-plussed by the way in which the matter presents itself and by other considerations, personal and precautionary. A considerable number of the friends of freedom oppose free discussion on the subject. It is to consider some of the principal reasons against discussion urged by these cautious ones that this article is offered.

Most of the libertarians who oppose the discussion of the sex question as inopportune and previous, do so from one or all of three points of view; the first being that of one who says that the economic question

must be settled ere any other question can be; the second that of one who declares that the discussion of sex will alienate many friends, and effectively prevent others from joining the forces of freedom; the third reason given for silence being, that discussion of the sex problem and the applications of the principles of liberty now, must result in great suffering, unhappy homes, neglected children, jealousies, broken hearts, and the like. "Leave this matter to settle itself!" cry many who do not clearly realize what liberty means, or what liberty costs; who do not know how liberty comes, or how liberty goes; well-meaning ones indeed, but nevertheless not prepared to accept all the consequences of the ideals which they cherish in their hearts.

In respect to the first, the most common objection made to the propaganda of sex freedom; that the economic problem must be settled first, and that then and only then can the sex problem be settled; it may be replied that no problem will be "settled first" even tho it be of first importance; for human investigation and experiment has a way of going about its work, especially where great unhappiness is involved, with little regard for what comes in logical order, but with almost exclusive regard for human suffering, with large attention to the degree thereof, and with a pertinacity that no blame or shame can effectively check. Again, the regulations of sex in their intolerable aspects lie directly across the path of economic progress, opposing everything that would disturb in the least the existing marriage conditions. The difficulties of the sex question create opposition to the settlement of the economic question, as the difficulties of the economic question make difficult the settlement of the sex question. These difficulties complement each other and are reciprocal. In truth, as well say that the religious question cannot be settled till the economic question is settled, or that the problem of what is moral conduct cannot be settled till the economic question is settled, as to assert the same of the sex problem. All the problems of life arise today incidental to the thirst for liberty, and the libertarian is only consistent when he or she gladly welcomes the fullest and freest consideration of all problems. The mighty waking of the giant Demos does not proceed to order and on a logical plan, but is in the nature of a condition in which all his needs cry out for satisfaction at once and which leads him to trials of all his chains.

The pursuit of liberty is one and indivisible. The logic of events is more potent than the logic of the schools, and the sex question is up for solution because it is one of the questions most involving liberty or slavery, happiness or unhappiness. It is folly to try to bring its solution into a fancied logical order.

The second objection; that the ventilation of the sex problem will alienate friends of liberty and prevent others from becoming its friends, can be most effectively answered, perhaps, by saying that those who are frightened away from liberty by liberty, never have been, and probably never will be libertarians in the true sense of the word; and that those who are kept from becoming libertarians by the discussion of the sex problem would certainly cease to be libertarians when they finally did learn that there was such a thing, and are therefore not a real loss. Consider, too, how the word Anarchy has frightened away men and women from devotion to liberty; liberty can make little use of cowards, and we do not abandon the word.

But will discussion of the sex question alienate any of those who lean toward liberty? Are the sex relations of the present, involving "adultery," lying, endless divorce, and marital unhappiness, not so notorious that thousands, nay millions, are asking if something is not wrong with them? Sexual discontent is in the air; would it not be grotesque if libertarians, those who believe that freedom will cure all social ills finally, alone followed out a policy of silence for the sake of propaganda, when all the world beside, the most, with the least conservative, were reading, talking, experimenting, and learning? Are the friends of liberty the friends of ignorance? Again, the experience of married people who have clearly seen that something in marriage is wrong, is an excellent basis for libertarian ideas, as those who have had much experience of propaganda among conservatives will testify. Surely nothing is lost by the ventilation of the sex question, at least not permanently.

The final objection, that sexual freedom whether advocated, or put into practise at the present time, involves great suffering for the human beings who make the attempt, is not only the objection of an inexcusable timidity, but betrays in one who offers it a lack of understanding in regard to liberty and its means which is lamentable. In the first place it would be hard to conceive of more wretchedness than daily rears its head in the sphere of existing sexual relation-



ships; this being an unhappy world indeed, in that regard; and in the second, it is to be remembered that every true advance in any direction involving human progress, has involved its natural and inevitable compensation of pain. Is economic liberty to be gained without suffering? Are we not suffering now in attempting to reach economic freedom? Does not all change of habit of thought or action involve pain? We accept the pain for what will come after. In the sphere of freedom's struggle, he or she only is worthy who knows and accepts with all their consequences the conditions of the strife which has been entered. How much pain was occasioned for millions who gave up their religion, or their social and business opportunities for the sake of truth? Will our pains be greater? Liberty costs something; who will not pay the price, he shall not have liberty.

In brief space then, the major objections to the ventilation of the sex problem have been presented and answered. Other objections can be easily answered, I believe, if only it be kept in mind that libertarians stand for liberty, and nothing but liberty as the means of social well-being. Another objection, hardly in place here, may be stated and answered in a word. Libertarians are sometimes accused of thinking only of sex, of living for the sake of sex. Does not this objection generally arise from the fact that other libertarians are loathe to consider the matter and admit its importance? Not that some are more sensual than others, but that they see that the sex problem is the last bulwark behind which timidity and unconscious conservatism hide, and address themselves to the work of destroying it. The sensualist has other business and does not argue much.

Let libertarians cease in their suspicions of and attacks upon liberty, and ask themselves how much of the suffering involved in progress toward liberty could be alleviated or avoided, if they were united more effectively for mutual aid and support, to say nothing of the blessings of friendly companionship. All the problems of life are up for solution; in respect to those which have an economic bearing (the sex question is one of these) why should libertarians not unite in closer bonds of the union and fraternity for the propagation of liberty among themselves, rather than to steadily misjudge those who stand for liberty; or hold back, individually, and say, "not now; this cannot be done." The time for the solution of any human problem is all the time; of which the *now* is the most important part. Finally: liberty moves onward; but not in leading strings.

AMERICUS.

#### The Cooperative Commonwealth.

Says Geo. D. Herron in the May *Comrade*:

But you ask, are the people trustworthy? Can you trust them to safely manage industrial resources for the common good? Let me ask in turn, are their masters trustworthy? Is the capitalist managing industrial resources for the common good? In all history, have there ever been any masters who could be trusted with the well-being of the people? Not ready for economic liberty? We will never be made ready for liberty save by experience in liberty. There is only one way to train men for freedom, and that is to give them freedom.

All of which I heartily endorse. But Prof.

Herron advocates the "cooperative commonwealth," and, by affiliating with the Socialists at least, is assisting to establish a political party. Will not this party, if successful, become "masters"? And what assurance have we that they will "manage industrial resources for the common good"? He answers his question Yankee-like, by asking another, which was vastly easier. How "are the people to be trusted?" How can the cooperative commonwealth give them their freedom?

Now, I have read Comrade Herron, listened to his eloquent lectures, and have received a great deal of pleasure and instruction, and it is a question with me, which he is helping most, Anarchism or State Socialism. And I want to say, as there is no halt between Rome and Reason, there can be no resting-place between these two extremes.

It is a common feat for a circus man to ride two horses at once, if they are going in the same direction. But Prof. Herron is trying the astonishing feat of riding two hobbies at once going in opposite directions. What does he mean by "economic liberty"? And how is the cooperative commonwealth to dispense this freedom? We have no better advocate than Prof. Herron to prove that the rule of man constitutes slavery. He says:

Any sort of power that subjects the mind or the interest, or the economic or political well being of one to another, destroys those who are ruled over, and those who rule. No man was ever ruled or ever felt himself obliged to adjust his thinking and working to some other man or class of men, without having the citadel of his soul attacked. On the other hand, no man ever ruled another man, even for what he conceived to be the kingdom of God, without striking at his own soul and committing spiritual suicide.

And this man is supposed to be working in the interests of a political party that hopes to capture the forces of the government, and "institute a regime of its own." What sort of suicide is Comrade Herron committing? If we establish the cooperative commonwealth, will "power . . . rightly or safely reside in the common life"? My conception of the "common life," which I believe is identical with Prof. Herron's, is devoid of all authority, and consequently must antagonize any and all institutions that would "manage industrial resources for the common good."

It seems to me very inconsistent for Prof. Herron to be occupying the platform of State Socialism while saying:

Masters of every sort—masters over souls, masters over minds, masters over bodies, masters over nations—must take their place among the people; for the people will kneel at the feet of the masters no more.

Either the cooperative commonwealth is an ideal in men's minds, impossible of practical demonstration, or it is a political institution dependent upon the rule of man for its construction and maintenance. And the fact is the great majority of Socialists have no more conception of Prof. Herron's ideal "common life" than they have of the man in the moon.

Another Socialist, in the same issue of the *Comrade*, very appropriately says:

What is a Socialist? . . . A Socialist ought to be something more than a new sort of sectarian. . . . ought, in my judgment, to mark a man as something better than a new brand of Pharisee, professing a faith to which the whole tenor of his life gives the lie. No, I am inclined to think the number of Socialists is not

correctly indicated by election returns or count of votes. . . . I doubt very much if the world's best types of Socialists even go by that name. They are probably given a name more symbolic of popular hatred.

But Comrade Brown does not dare to brave that "popular hatred" and name himself as one of the "world's best types of Socialists"—an *Anarchist*. Still, I wonder if the course of these men is not more helpful to Anarchism than if they should leave their party and proclaim themselves publicly, what indeed they are privately—opponents of all political institutions. It is a policy very largely adopted by reformers in all lines; and while I should feel it a little dishonest in myself to assist a party while opposing the principles of that party, I have no blame to fling at them. In fact it seems to be a process of evolution that changes in the principles of parties are gradually effected in this manner. And yet it seems a little incongruous for Comrade Brown to speak of "election returns or count of votes important as those things certainly seem to me to be." Does he imagine that every man prevailed upon to cast a vote for the Socialist party will by so doing advance his high ideals? Does he not know that, in fact, political action is never moved by high ideals? That while just principles may project a party, that party is moved politically by a policy looking only and always for success?

One has only to take up papers like the misnamed *Appeal to Reason* to discover the animus of the Socialist party. It is power they want. They demonstrate that Senator Ingalls was right when he spoke of politics in general: "*The object is success; to defeat the antagonist, and expel the party in power is the purpose.*"

I am naturally optimistic, and believe our friends, the enemy, are in the role of the "blind leaders of the blind." But the truth they utter may fall on fertile soil, and may rise up to confound the policy of their party.

A. LE ROY LOUBAL.

#### Holland.

After the general strike, by which the organized workmen of Holland tried in vain during Easter week to oppose the liberty-killing law, restraining the right to strike, the reaction follows! Among the victims everywhere, above all in the ranks of the railroad workers, of which some hundreds have been discharged, several have been in service from twenty to thirty years,—living proofs of the vengeance and cowardly cruelty of the upper bourgeoisie the moment they feel themselves victorious. And while the capitalists thus show to the workmen of Holland all that they can towards inviting them, so to speak, never to show any signs of clemency when they are victorious, pending this time the workmen are quarreling. Those who fought together now mutually accuse each other of having dragged down and ruined the others, and of having "betrayed" the general movement.

That is the usual way, after an unsuccessful contest; and to me it is very repugnant.

Let us read in Zola's "*Germinal*" the accusations which are raised against Etienne, after the strike of the miners, and we have a picture which is more or less exact of what is now occurring in Holland. They naturally accuse the leaders, the persons they

would have applauded in case of success. They accuse the "committee of resistance," or at least the most influential of its members, if of not having personally betrayed their comrades, at least of having permitted themselves to be duped by others, and of having caused a cessation of the general strike at a moment when the movement was in superb condition.

It is true that in Amsterdam the workmen could not believe their eyes when they read on the morning of this same day the papers, which informed them that the strike had been declared off; that there and then they wanted to break the windows of the shops to tear down the despised bulletins; and at Rotterdam, at Dordrecht, and in some other cities the strikers were no less stupefied. But one would be wrong to think that the movement could easily have been fought on any other issue, on the only condition that the leaders had been other persons. For at the moment the "committee of resistance" gave up control of the movement, it was without doubt already lost.

There are some, even among the most farsighted in the matter of the organization of the workmen, who doubted if the general strike could succeed under the circumstances, and who were a little pessimistic from this point of view before the movement commenced. They rest upon the following facts: the government had not only broken the liberal opposition against the law in the chambers, in accepting certain modifications in the details, but it had at the same time accorded certain advantages to the employes of the railroads—advantages such as the new rule under the auspices of the government, of the conditions of service and of wages, the institution of an arbitration tribunal, etc. In the ranks of the workers of railroads (which latter are above all benefited by the anti-strike laws), there are two parties whose interests are very different: the officials, particularly of the central administration,—and workmen on the road. If one now accuses certain officials of having abused their position in the administration of the railroad syndicate, in order to stop the movement of others, one must not forget the other side. By their position as officers they had moved with the strikers more or less under compulsion and in spite of themselves. They were, at most, only Social Democrats—reformers—and not at all revolutionists. When the liberty-killing law was voted by the chambers the strike was at an end for them, for the reason that the movement was subordinated, so far as they were concerned, to political action. Then there is for the railroad workers the question of pensions and promotions. An apprentice mechanic wishes to be soon a mechanic, and an apprentice conductor wishes to arrive to the situation of conductor. These are the reasons why a great number of the employes of the railroads did not strike.

We read in the journal *De Klok* (The Bell), that at Leemvarden, capital of the most advanced province of the country (La Frise), the employes of the railroads remained on duty while seeing that the employes of the tramways of the north had sacrificed themselves for them, and had abandoned their

places in order to act fraternally with the employes of the railroads.

In like manner, according to *The Toekomst* (The Future), we learn that in the Southern part of the country, the employes of the station at Flessingue, did not take part in the strike, thanks to the propaganda that the reactionaries had caused to be made for several weeks among the Christian workmen; and that at Breda the employes had shown themselves equally cowardly.

By these few traits we can characterize the situation on the two principal lines of the country. We can now pronounce accusations against the directing committee of the movement. It is certain that its president,—at the same time president of the federations of railroads and formerly an official in the central office of the railroads,—committed serious faults. Nevertheless there is no doubt that at the moment when at Utrecht all the employes on strike came to offer their services to the station master in the evening of the same unfortunate day, the fate of the movement was already decided. The president of the section of the Social Democrats at Utrecht acted like many other members of his party: he acted as the national administration of his union did.

The latter, without even conferring with the national "committee of resistance," had on the same day attempted to enter into negotiations with the companies, offering them, more or less openly, the submission of the employes.

It will be easily understood after all this, that the "committee of resistance" could do nothing else but cause the general strike to end. So this decision was taken by the committee unanimously, including the voices of the revolutionists.

If, then, it is true, that the leaders at Amsterdam showed themselves too feeble for their task,—which has been claimed,—that on their part faults were committed; if it is true that in certain cities, as Den Helder, Leyde, Bois-le-Duc and other important points, the signal of the strike was not even given for one reason which caused the general strike to fail, it is necessary to look into the weakness of the organization; in the first place into the organization of the employes of railroads, the officers of which nevertheless pretended that they were ready to act. The workmen, divided by the government and its satellites, liberal and clerical and conservative, having to fight against enemies that had been prepared a long time in advance, against all the forces of reaction, the police and the army, have been beaten.

They were beaten but not vanquished, like their ancestors the beggars who were so often beaten without being vanquished in the war of independence against Spain.

After all, the combatants have received a useful lesson thru the past events. A lesson which is going the rounds of the Dutch workmens' press at the present time. That is that the co-operation of political parties in a strike movement of unionized workmen offers a real danger against the success of the movement, and unions ought in all cases to keep within their own hands the direction of such a movement, and to oppose the intermixture of politicians.

We cannot gainsay that there are Social Democrats, radicals even, who lent their best services to the last moment to the strike. But it is nevertheless certain that no accessory influence has assisted more in the defeat of the workmen than the undecided, if not positively hostile attitude which most of the leaders of the Social Democrats—and among them the most influential—took towards this struggle of the dutch proletariat in protest, which I shall always consider as having been inevitable.

This damaging influence showed itself particularly in the modes of the general Netherland Union of the employes of railroads and tramways.—*Christian Cornelissen*. Trans. for FREE SOCIETY.

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#### The Sex Question.

In No. 415 of FREE SOCIETY Americus ridicules the comrades who differ with him on the sex question. As I am one of the ridiculed, I wish to express my view on this question.

I maintain that the more one thinks of the sex question, the more important it is to him. The more one thinks on other subjects, the less important the sex question becomes to him or her.

Furthermore, the one who does not think at all, has his mind on sex—and sex alone. So much so that there is a species of animals that are nothing but sex. Because some people make sexual gratification their main object of life, that does not make it an all-important question.

Libertarians have a task to perform—to make people think, and understand the meaning of political, economical, and religious liberty. When people will understand the teachings of Anarchism, it will become possible to have it realized. And in a free society there would be no more necessity for a woman to be a slave than for a man; the union of a man and woman would be based on love and love only; prostitution would be as impossible as thievery. To think that by teaching people to indulge in sexual variety will make them free, is the teaching of false prophets.

A woman who loves wears no heavy cross, no more so than a man. Sexual relations without love is prostitution under the present or future society, and to veil it with a philosophical label will not make it otherwise.

ARTHUR MEDWEDEFF.

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#### LETTER-BOX.

*M. C., City.*—Next week we will publish a report on the affairs in Holland written by a comrade in Amsterdam.

*P. T. New York, N. Y.*—We fear your brief article on "The Rascal" would call forth a reply of another page or more, and therefore deem it best to let the subject rest.

*B. Herman.*—Your invitation to start a new colony we decline to publish, for the reason that FREE SOCIETY is usually blamed when the enterprise does not realize. Give your full address, and people can then communicate with you directly.

*M. P., Kansas City Mo.*—The objections to the publication of James' "Vindication of Anarchism" proceeds, it seems to us, from a misconception of the value of education. A profound work, such as this, requires space, because it must be remembered that it is in the nature of an answer to other profound works impugning the validity of Anarchism. While brevity is the soul of wit, thoroughness is the soul of science or demonstration.



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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.

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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.

Pessimism is death.

Wisdom is never angry.

Time is the hope of effort.

Progress writes no program.

Privilege is the father of bribery.

Freedom makes no compromises.

Liberty's night has at least its stars.

Rejoice that you have something to achieve.

The public is all the people who do not think.

Reason convinces, but dogmatism uses a big club.

Smoot, it seems, was "unfairly elected." Who is not?

Bryan and Cleveland are fighting over the ballot gambling.

The woman question can only be answered by woman herself.

Nothing has failed into which men have put their whole hearts.

Decoration day is the time when we think of hiding murder in flowers.

Politics is a game in which you risk your freedom for a chance to rule.

Truth is anxious that men should know, authority that men should obey.

The Single Tax will be one dangerous giant in the place of many little taxes.

It is always the other man who cannot be trusted with liberty. And he points to you.

New York recently celebrated her 250th birthday; but Tammany still treats her like a child.

There is nothing that men will not die for, as history proves; but few men will live for a thing.

The Anarchist has faith in men; the politician has none; which comes from the fact that each knows himself.

The trickster, Hanecy, would make an ideal judge; what is a judge but a solemn, attitudinising, and protentious clown, anyway?

They arrested a Czolgosz while Theodore listened to himself talking at Los Angeles. Why do they not arrest Theodore; a whole people fear him?

Economic conditions which would make plenty common, and drive away want from every door, would not please all men; some men are only happy while others suffer.

The author of "Merrie England" has written a new Socialist book. It was Nunquam, tho, who, while a Socialist, defended the war of extermination which England carried on against the Boers.

The czar will give up the woman whom he loves, an actress, and will devote himself to the czarina, whom reasons of State alone caused him to marry. Purity, virtue, thou art truly a wondrous thing!

The capitalist has taken to hiring orators to tell the workingmen how much they are loved by their masters; the capitalist meanwhile sits by and wipes away thousand dollar tears on a million dollar handkerchief.

The press is praising the rich woman of fashion, Mrs. John G. Carlisle, because she recently took the head of her dying horse in her lap, easing its pangs; and all on Fifth Avenue, New York. What are men, compared with horses?

Dowie is becoming afraid of his competitors, and has announced that they are all frauds and servants of the devil. If only the credulous children of men were as easily attracted to liberty as they are to superstition, our problems would disappear like morning mist.

We are not to have freedom if our shepherds can prevent it, until we have shown that we can control ourselves without shepherds. How this miracle can be accomplished, how we can be shepherded and at the same time learn to be free, is a matter which only the most profound of statesmen understand.

Will Crooks, the new Socialist member of

parliament in England, began life in a poorhouse. To many his career may look like a career of advancement, to the libertarian, tho, it is something other; he who begins life in the poorhouse, to finally find himself an inmate of the robbers' house, is in truth not to be felicitated.

The strike of St. Louis teamsters resulted in something surprising to their union officials, who did not endorse the strike. Upon protesting against the strike, the officials were told that the men were not striking as a union but as individuals. Good! Authority, in or out of unions, will never learn anything except as it is taught by such "individuals."

The floods in the west will enable all the rich sloppy sentimentalists to open their purses with electric-light effect and with hands on their hearts to swear that they love their fellow-beings, rich or poor. The way these philanthropists act while everyday, common suffering groans around them, proves them in this juncture to be but cheap actors at the best.

Ten minutes work will produce now as much wheat as three hours work would produce in 1830, according to the Department of Agriculture; productivity having been multiplied eighteen times. If workingmen's wages had only multiplied eighteen times since 1830! Only Baer's god, "in his infinite wisdom," can give to a listening world the reasons behind things. But will he?

A newspaper, and common objection to Anarchists, is that they drink vast quantities of beer. If Anarchists were as disingenuous as Baer, or John D. Rockefeller, Jr., they might respond to the accusation by protesting that they ought not to be condemned, but rather praised for drinking all the beer, as thus, by removing temptation they help the rest of the race toward temperance and frugality.

Land in New York City is held at \$16,000,000 an acre; that is, exploitation of labor on that land could be expected to produce within a limited time an existence for workingmen, luxury for capitalists, and \$16,000,000, or more of extra blackmail to boot. And yet dissatisfied labor is blamed for its unrest, strikes, etc. Ah, these inflated values; how changed economic conditions would puncture them, and leave men equally dependent and equally independent!

A writer in the Single Tax edition of the *Nebraska Independent* tries to find the harmony of State Socialism and Anarchism in the Single Tax. He says that there are social matters and personal matters, and that the Socialist is right in respect to the first, while the Anarchist is right in respect to the second. But as society has no mass consciousness, and is made up of conscious individualities only, what are social matters but personal matters? And what are social rights but personal right? Slavery and liberty will not harmonize.



My critic in this issue of FREE SOCIETY does not understand me. I had no thought of ridicule, but only wished to point out the fact that the sex question was up for solution and would not down.

As to thinking of the sex question: it is important to many libertarians, not because they are more sensual than other men, but because they see that the question is becoming a burning one, and threatening to cause trouble, not only in the world at large (and that notoriously) but among libertarians themselves. It must be discussed because it presses for solution.

"Libertarians have a task to perform to make people think," and the sex question seems to be one of which all the world is thinking, and one, the discussion of which helps to draw people toward liberty, when a libertarian is taking part. AMERICUS.

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### An Endless Chain.

In his address at Handel Hall two weeks ago, Mr. Darrow illustrated the results of increased wages under the competitive system as follows:

"The clerks in the stores grow restless, combine and demand a ten per cent wage increase. The employers concede the demands and immediately add the increase to the price of their commodities. The butchers and milk drivers having to pay more for life's necessities, also demand and secure higher wages. As a result the cost of milk and meat goes up. The laundry workers join the procession, whereupon laundry prices rise to correspond. The coal miners secure an increase and the price of coal goes up. And so on thruout the entire industrial regime, including rents, and everything else that contributes to human wants.

"But while the clerks receive a ten per cent raise, the employer adds fifty per cent to the price of his merchandise. The consumer finds that coal costs him from three to five dollars more per ton, and flats that formerly rented for fifteen dollars now cost the tenant twenty-five dollars.

"The two dollars that the workman gets today buys no more than the one dollar of yesterday. The hours of toil are nearly as long and he still has a boss to whom he pays industrial homage. The worker is still a wage slave, no richer, no poorer, and no nearer the solution of the great economic problem of work and wages.

"There is one class, however, that has benefitted from this agitation for increased wages, and that class is the capitalist class. While they have granted ten per cent, they have extorted fifty per cent. While apparently the employers have been lenient and generous, really they have been crafty and unscrupulous.

"Raising wages, therefore, under the competitive system is mere child's play. Wages can neither be obtained or retained thru artificial means. Striking for higher wages by trade unionists while the land and machinery of production and distribution are owned and controlled by the employing class, is lost and misdirected effort.

"If the raising of wages by the trade union movement only adds to the cost of living, which in turn leaves the worker just

as poor as he was before the demand was made, of what earthly use then is the trade union movement? None whatever except as an instrument to educate the working class to realize the necessity of taking possession of the means of life and thenceforth to democratically administer them for the common good. Trade unionism is not an end. It is only the means to an end. We are now in the thick of a great industrial conflict. The trade union movement is a war measure that will disappear as soon as industrial democracy is established."

"The trade union movement, then must find the substantial end in view and direct all of its energies toward the accomplishment thereof."

What is the substantial end in view, Mr. Darrow? "The collective ownership and operation by the working class of the means of production and distribution?"

And what is that, says the highest authorities on language in the world? "Anarchism!"

— o —

### By the Wayside.

Jean Grave has an elaborate article on "Propaganda" in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, and referring to revolutionary methods, he says:

"To achieve the aim it is only necessary to maintain a preparatory propaganda. It is a matter of making individuals understand that they can expect nothing either from the government or from single representatives; that to surrender the realization of their hopes to political candidates is to abandon themselves to the grave-digger. They will obtain that alone for which they struggle, themselves. Once people comprehend this, they will be capable of freeing themselves. They will then find that which is to be attacked and the means necessary to realize their ideal."

\* \* \*

"In Australia," says the *Freiheit*, "the railroad men went on strike, and the authorities lost their sheep-heads to such an extent that a special exception law was passed. Anyone who quits work without giving a four-day's notice is fined five hundred dollars or is to be imprisoned for one year, and besides loses the right of pension, and is forever excluded from government employment. Furthermore, the ukase prohibits the collection of strike funds, as well as giving any encouragement promoting a strike. The police are authorized to destroy all written or printed documents relating to the strike. And all meetings in which more than four strikers participate are to be dissolved. Printers who furnish appeals, etc., for the strikers are responsible for their contents. How do those who constantly howl for the nationalization of the means of transportation relish this pill? And where is the harmonizing arbitration which in Australia is supposed to have such magical power? Toiling masses, you are and will remain in the soup from top to bottom if you do not get desperate soon and how to the mark with blows that will make the planet shake." INTERLOPER.

— o —

The state degrades love by trying to make it a purchasable quantity; the price being the price of a licence. —Ironicus

### Here and There.

A bill has been introduced in the Canadian parliament fixing a penalty of two years in the penitentiary for any foreigner convicted of participating in the management or conduct of a strike. This is the twentieth century!

In Leavenworth, Kan., a striker was sentenced to seven months for violating an injunction against picketing. He will now have leisure to reflect on the beauties of a "free government."

SPAIN.—The immensely formidable weapon that a general strike might become in hands that had learned how best to wield it has been borne fully home to the authorities here as to those of some other countries. Many strikes have taken place in as many trades since Christmas, but in nearly all the simple threat that they might develop into general ones has proved sufficient to urge the employers to a compromise. At Reus (the next city in size to Barcelona), Cadiz and Coruna the strikes ended in this manner. Barcelona workers, out of sympathy for their neighbors at Reus, proclaimed a general strike also, but some faint hearts among the leaders were startled by the governor's threat to break up the trade organizations, and when troops came pouring into the city work was resumed. It is interesting to note Silvela's (President of the Council) definition of the strikes as explained before the king. He said there were two kinds in Spain—(1) those produced by a conflict of interests between employers and employed, when if the employed fought on legal lines the Government owed them every consideration; (2) those produced by Anarchists with the intention of disturbing the country and present social system; when such occur the government must maintain order at all costs so as to annihilate the Anarchists' plans. And the Anarchists also presumably.—*Freedom*, London, England.

— o —

### Important For Chicago Readers Only.

Friday, June 19, 8 p. m., a grand theatrical performance of the play "The Union Man" will be given by the Workmen's Educational Club, at the Apollo Hall, Blue Island Avenue, near Twelfth Street. A speech will also be delivered by W. F. Barnard. All comrades and friends are cordially invited. Admission 25 cents. All profits will go to the propaganda.

Sunday, June 7, a picnic for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY is to take place at a grove, N. Western and Bertreau Avenues. Admission is free. Refreshments will be for sale. Western and Clybourn Aves. cars will take you to the place. From Lincoln Avenue cars transfer to Bowmanville Park cars.

At the end of Western Avenue car line signs will be found directing you to the grounds. Lunch baskets will be sold at auction.

If the weather is not suitable the picnic will be postponed till the following Sunday.

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We learn thru suffering, perhaps, but what we learn thru suffering we remember.

## A Vindication of Anarchism.

## VIII (continued.)

Buckle, regarding law as altogether conservative, and knowledge as the sole measure of progress, is necessarily almost persuaded to be an Anarchist. Spencer, rather dogmatically, proclaims that "society is an organism." Of course, he should have said it is in many respects analogous to an organism. We might, however, expect that having declared it to be an organism he would favor "a strong government." For the general law of organisms is that in the process of evolution the brain, or self-regulating part, becomes increasingly important. And the brain, we might suppose, (he does) to be the analogue of government. But why is progress desirable? Buckle had not asked that. Spencer does, and makes a very satisfactory reply. The progress (evolution) of any individual, species, society, any aggregate in short, is desirable for it, supposing it capable of desiring anything, because this progress consists, as we saw, in adaptation to the environment, which is the condition of life, and, for sentient beings, of happiness. Realizing this truth so fully, Spencer, by virtue of his instincts, sympathizes heartily with knowledge, as the chief means of human adaptation, with experiment as the means of increase in knowledge, with freedom as essential to experiment. He is a very extreme Individualist, or, not to put too fine a point on it, an Anarchist a little afraid of his logic. This may be seen on comparing the first and the last editions of his "Social Statics." He says therefore that the government, or social brain, is, indeed, the most important part of society in its early "militant" state; because the Communistic life and the warlike habits of barbarians make it essential that such a social organism shall act as a whole; but in the higher (industrial) state the action of individual members becomes more important on account of its originality, and government, as opposed to that, becomes mischievous. In this the social organism is unlike others; for they, with the exception of social man, pass thru no such change as from militant habits to industrial. If I thought the fanciful analogy between societies and organisms worth pursuing into detail, I should move the following amendment, which would greatly simplify our demonstration. The social brain is not the civil government, but rather the thinkers, who have never for any length of time been the governing class, but, by virtue of their originality, with great uniformity, the Opposition,—the innovating, revolutionary, and Anarchical class. Civil government, at its best, corresponds only to a part of the brain, and that an inferior part. It corresponds to the "prohibitive" ganglia of mere habits; on which the cerebrum, or intelligent brain, gains with the process of evolution, as it does in all conscious organisms.

I do not, however, propose to reason analogically, but as usual, inductively. These, I think, are sound inductions, tho by no means exhaustive, as we saw. Progress is from homogeneous to heterogeneous. This change in any minor aggregate depends on a parallel change in the environment. In man, the important part of the change is increased complexity of intellectual pro-

cesses. It is effected by induction. It principally determines the progress of society which consists in men. It is, to put the matter as mildly as possible, moderated by conservative instincts, which express themselves in government. Hence, as it increases, they become more odious in the eyes of thinkers. The qualifications have been stated. Progress is always from heterogeneous to homogeneous as well as *vice versa*—an important point, of which I make much use. In any limited aggregate, progress depends not wholly on evolution of the environment but wholly on interaction of an evolving aggregate and an evolving environment. In man, after a certain stage of evolution, up to which selection was the chief thing, the reaction of increase in knowledge has so far been the most important factor; tho a great change in the environment—such as exhaustion of coal—might become more important any day. Actual changes in environment (as the Black Death), and actual reactions other than induction (as the rise of Christianity), cannot, without one-sidedness, be ignored. In particular, authority greatly impedes progress. These lights, I think, will be found sufficient for our guidance in tracing the progress of mankind. I mean, that applied to the recorded phenomena, they will reveal a law by which the probable future of progress may be predicted, unless it can be shown that some important datum has been overlooked, which, of course, I do not at present believe, tho it may be true.

For an objective view of social progress Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology" may be recommended, the more readily because his doctrine about society's being an organism is not the beginning of his argument, but, as anything so abstract ought to be, the end, on which no conclusions are founded.

The normal result, of an inductive inquiry is, however, to become deductive. Having resolved particulars into examples of rules generalized from them, we may reason again from the generalizations to particulars as yet unknown. The process is by no means without its perils. Interpolation of a general proposition does not, as John Stuart Mill says, add anything to the ground for thinking that an unknown case will be governed by the same rule as a known one. Moreover the general proposition is subjective, and unless constantly checked by reference to particulars will mislead us: It is only in pure mathematics, not even in applied, that we can be sure of a syllogistically learned result without testing it; because only in pure mathematics are the terms absolute creations of the subject. Nevertheless, the syllogistic method is of value. Truth is always the aim of the philosopher; and there is no better test for the truth of a general proposition than comparing its results with experience widely unlike that from which it was abstracted. I propose therefore to deduce the larger aspects of historic social progress from certain first principles which may be found in the well stocked warehouse of Aristotle.

Aristotle says that the purposes of human volition resolve themselves into three; which may seem more clear if we reflect that they correspond respectively to those factors of

every mental act so often recognized as fundamental—subject, object, and *eject*, or person supposed to be addressed in any demonstration of the other two—for such a person is but their connecting link objectified.

The volition corresponding with the Subject is to Know. For to Know is assumed as the *immediate* purpose. If it be ulterior, the volition, as we shall see, comes under a different head. To obtain an immediate general knowledge of truth by intuition, or consequently by deduction, since we can deduce nothing which is not implied in the major premises,—this is the purpose of the Volition to Know. Its method is metaphysical reasoning.

The volition corresponding with the Eject is to Persuade; inasmuch as we address others only to persuade them. Its method may be summed up in the word Rhetoric. True, we can often persuade by arguments which are absolutely logical, wholly unimpassioned, and perfectly sound. But it is not with a view to persuading that such arguments are used. He who sticks to that style is either talking for truth or so sure of his case that he is content with truth. If he talks for victory, he must be rhetorical. As to persuasive acts, they come within the old and proper definition of rhetoric.

That volition which corresponds with the Object has for its purpose to Do or to Make something, expressions distinguishable only by shades of meaning. To Do is to effect some change in an object; any such change is in one sense at least creation—to burn a building is to make a fire. Not all makings, however, are of material objects. In fact none are, primarily. We always make first, an idea. Imagination is therefore primarily the method of this volition. But the ideas made thru imagination are of two kinds. A poetic idea is made for itself alone; it does not need to be materialized, not even of necessity expressed. The function it performs may be only the refinement and elevation of the individual mind which conceives it. A similar idea may call for expression in rhythm, paint, or marble. But even then, the materializing (mechanical) part of the poet's, painter's, sculptor's, art is not that by virtue of which he is an artist. Turner knew but very little about the mechanical part of his art. It is unfortunate that he did. It detracts from the merit of those pictures in which he was compelled to consult perspective; and I suspect it goes far to explain his love of subjects which require none. But it did not prevent his being a great artist. On the other hand the inventor of the stone chisel may possibly have had a greater genius than Watt—doubtless he showed as much proof of it—but no one would say his results were as satisfactory as Watt's, while Turner's, despite his want of perspective, far surpass a common draughtsman's whose outlines are perfectly mathematical. The difference then is that which divides "Useful" from Beautiful Art—all the more absolutely because seen from a different standpoint, they run into each other. Beautiful Art, so far as it is only beautiful, is wholly the work of imagination. "Useful" art, depending for its merit on its utility, i. e., its effect on others than the artist, requires that imagination should be checked by induction; and



the extent to which this is true of architecture measures the degree in which it produces houses to inhabit, not to look at.

Of these three volitions only that part of the volition to make which requires induction, will admit substantial progress. The volition to make beauty is not progressive. Homer, the first of European poets, is very commonly reckoned the best; and if Giotto's pictures are not equal to Raphael's the improvement occurred in the mechanical part of the art. But neither is the volition to Know progressive. A metaphysical system begins with a statement of being as experienced, which, of course, is a truism—in my favorite phrase a theory of Everything in General which applies to Nothing in Particular, because it is no more correct for one thing than another. Therefore, it is wholly uninteresting unless one side of the truth it states be suppressed. The metaphysician asserts, for example, that happiness is the end of all actions. This is quite true, and quite inconsequential, if by happiness we are to understand merely one's own way. But having explained that, he must, to make his formula attractive, find an application. Presto, change! he forgets that pleasure is to mean only doing as you like, and applies the term in a popular sense. Thus his truism becomes a fallacy; and in due season brings about a reaction. Accordingly, metaphysical speculation, instead of making progress, moves in circles. As for the volition to Persuade, I should not exaggerate if I were to call it the fruitful Mother of Lies, which must always be reactionary since Truth is progressive. The beginning of exaggeration, misrepresentation, perversion, myth, legend, historical misstatement, superstitious teaching, cant, imposture—in short, of Falsehood, at whatever spring contributes to feed the Stygian river, is always the rhetorical purpose of persuading others. The end is, what? Let a person who knows a little about facts consider what monumental lies are told every minute "with a moral purpose!" Let him make a list of Proverbs and gnomic sayings, and see how they contradict and cancel one another! We are taught to think that Sin measures our resemblance to the rebellious archangel; and we may easily see that it does measure our resemblance to the mowing imitating ape! We are stimulated to work for our masters with the assurance that—

"Early to bed and early to rise  
Is the way to be healthy, and wealthy, and wise."

Yet we scarcely can help knowing that the class who do rise early and go to bed early consists chiefly of manual laborers; that they are the poorest class; that, notwithstanding individual exceptions, they average the most ignorant; that their lives are shorter than those of brain workers, and out of comparison shorter than those of the idle rich! We hear much of rural innocence and urban depravity; but the census tells us that more crime, of pretty much every particular sort is detected in the country than the cities, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the rustic police! Why all this extravagant mendacity? Because it is the interest of some to persuade others.

If there be any apparent exceptions from

the unprogressiveness of the volitions to Know and to Persuade, they are like the exceptions to unprogressiveness in Beautiful Art. Knowledge increases, and metaphysics adjust themselves to the knowledge of the age. Some branches of human effort, education, for example, require the volition to Persuade, which can be quite legitimate, but then it is secondary. They are inspired by the volition to Make. In them, therefore, there is progress. But the method of the volition to Know (metaphysics) and of the volition to Persuade (rhetoric) do not admit of progress. I may conclude this part of the argument by remarking as usual that it is not new, and citing authorities which develop proof. See the Encyclopedia Britannica article "Aristotle," also Aristotle's Logic, topics "Analytics" and "Refutations"; Bacon's "Novum Organum" and "De Augmentis Scientiarum"; for a popular summary, Macaulay's essay on Bacon; for profuse illustration, Buckle's "History of Civilization." On the part referring to the fine arts, Aristotle's "Poetics" will abundantly repay study.

Induction being thus the only intellectual method of progress, it is impossible to overrate the services which this method has conferred upon mankind. The full horrors of primitive barbarism are very imperfectly realized even now when they are so much studied. The first advances of foresight upon instinct were of such a nature as to imply wickedness which may easily make us very unjust to our ancestors. The women were reduced to a condition for which, it has been said, slavery is too mild a term. Hunger, an inevitable consequence of their subjection in a primitive community, triumphed over that instinctive aversion with which other animals regard eating their own kind. Cannibalism occasioned war. In war, as shown by the recent examples of Africa, prisoners were eaten for a long while before advancing intelligence suggested making them slaves. The only difference between male and female captives was that the latter were ravished before being devoured. The "sadist" who after a rape kills his victim and eats some portion of her body, is, as every criminalologist knows, a degenerate, a reversionary specimen of man. But he does not revert to the brute; for no brute does such things. What he reverts to is the savage—his forefather and ours. The appalling reflection is that these atrocities do not represent the depravity of some particularly degraded race, but the general state of mankind at an early period. Even after chiefs began to claim female captives for wives or slaves, whichever term you like best, and after captors of less distinction followed the example, things were little better. The Caribs used to mutilate, fatten, and eat the children they had by their concubines, who were also eaten when past bearing.\* In this state of society, and even later states, it was remarked some time since, that the men and women, naturally, did not care to talk with each other, and

\* Pet. Mart., Garcilasso de la Vega. Locke, "Essay on the Human Understanding." I see, again, on referring to my authority for the first time in many years, that I have confounded two stories, but not in a way which at all affects the argument. The Caribs are now among the most intelligent, industrious, and self-civilized of Indians.

sometimes spoke different languages. This was once supposed to be an exceptional case; but it turns out to be very common; and the suggestion has been made that this is how inanimate objects come to have genders—the feminine nouns being those women mostly used. Thus the normal state of the primitive Aryan\* was what we can see illustrated only in the furious wards of a criminal madhouse—his virtues were successful indulgence of treachery, blood-thirst, satyriasis, and the appetite for human flesh! Yet we should greatly wrong him if we supposed him incapable of tender, generous, or heroic feelings. Nothing, according to our ideas, can be more monstrous than some actions of king David or of Homer's heroes. Nothing can be more noble than some of their sentiments, as recorded by themselves or men of their own time, who were not unlike themselves. What has raised us above them is not personal capacity for virtue, but elevation of the social state by knowledge; which at each upward step has had to fight the government, and offer its martyrs to the Moloch of our ancestor's wisdom!

The progress of knowledge by means of induction is traced at length in Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences" and Beckerman's "History of Inventions." For its conflicts with authority consult Lecky's "History of Rationalism," Buckle's "History of Civilization"; Draper's "Conflict of Religion and Science"; White's "Warfare of Science with Theology." Some of the larger steps of progress in knowledge, leading to similar extensions of liberty, may be stated here.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

\* In Sanskrit, a highly developed Aryan language, the most colorless of words, the pronoun I, is different for a man and a woman. On the other hand, some languages have no gender. No part of ours, it is said, are harder for a Japanese to understand. He thinks it the perfection of absurdity that words should have sex; and it is well if his modesty is not offended. This is because, the Mongolian race being pastoral nomads, marriage, like ours, except for allowance of polygamy, was established among them very early and very firmly. Their female captives were slaves, perhaps sometimes concubines, but their wives were of their own race.

— O —

If you are defamed, let time vindicate you. Silence is a thousand times better than explanation.—*The Philistine*.

Socialists are fighting an outward enemy, when the real enemy is within, a mental one. Let the people once see that paper titles are nothing in themselves, that money, stocks and bonds are merely mental persuasions, and capitalism will vanish like a hideous dream.—*The Social Thought*.

"He who lets the world, or his own portion of it, choose his plan of life for him, has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation. He who chooses his plan for himself, employs all his faculties. He must use observation to see reasoning and judgment to foresee, activity to gather materials for decision, discrimination to decide, and when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold to his deliberate decision."—J. S. Mill: *On Liberty*.

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