VOL. X. NO. 2.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 396.

The Coal Operator.

"The mine is mine! The mine is mine!"
That's clear as four and five make nine.
How kind it was of the Creator
To give it to the operator!

-The Whim.

Freedom.

Ye shall know the truth by this, that it makes you free. You may discover the truth or untruth of anything you believe by observing whether or not it tends to put you in bondage or set you free. If it enslaves you, it is false. If it makes you free, it is true. To live in perfect harmony with natural laws is freedom. This is the meaning of the saying, "the truth shall make you free." It you feel anything binding you or paining you anywhere you are not living according to the truth.

Freedom is necessary to happiness. Each human being is a separate individual, and can only be happy by securing and maintaining the right to be a free man or woman. We are social beings. We are in relation to other beings. We are relatively dependent upon each other in many ways. But mutual dependence is not the same as slavery. Perfect happiness comes only by perfect service, but there can be no perfect service without perfect freedom.

Freedom is necessary to growth. A slave cannot use time or space for his own purposes; cannot direct and develop his own forces in his own way; cannot pick and choose what is best for himself; cannot grow. This is no more true of a chattel slave than of any other kind.

But, notwithstanding that freedom is essential to happiness and growth, almost no one believes in it, trusts it, and wills to have it above all other things. Many persons believe to this day that chattel slavery was better for the Negro than freedom; and many believe that the best thing to do with a criminal is to deprive him of liberty, not understanding that it is precisely the lack of liberty, that makes him a criminal. Many believe that "the masses" are not capable of liberty, not understanding that if it were not for the enslaving conditions of society there would be no "masses." Many believe that freedom is not good for children, with the consequence that whips, and punishments of many sorts, and what is called a "tight rein," take the place in most families of an intelligent

desire to foster and direct the little lives into the paths of free development. Men think that freedom would not be good for their wives, and hence some husbands are little better than slave drivers. Women think that freedom would not be good for their husbands, and so we have those strange and pitiful creatures whom we call "hen-pecked."

Even when the people are intelligent enough to see that freedom is good for themselves, they do not understand that it is equally good for others. "Oh, yes," they say, "freedom to do right." But that is not freedom. That only means that you are free to do what I think is right. But it is not everyone who really desires freedom above everything else, even for himself; who really understands that it is worth more than anything else. Some persons are slaves all their lives because they value money more than freedom. And some barter freedom in exchange for a place in what they call society; or for what their neighbors think; or for peace. War is an awful thing; strife and antagonisms in society and in families are disagreeable; but they are preferable to peace at the expense of liberty; for wars, strife and antagonisms come to an end, generally with a compensating gain somewhere, but peace at the expense of freedom is a dry rot at the root of happiness and character. It is better to fight for your liberty than not to have it; better for you and better for your master, for slavery is quite as injurious to the master as to the slave. Think of that when you are disposed to assume the control of some other life, to bend someone else to your will. Truth will make you free of everyone else, and it will make everyone else free of you. If someone is controlling you, you have not the truth. If you are controlling someone, you have not the truth.

No one can give you freedom but yourself. If you are enslaved it is your own fault. You lack confidence in yourself. You fear someone. You fear what people will say. You fear to hurt someone's feelings. You fear poverty. You fear freedom. Most persons fear freedom more than slavery. They are accustomed to slavery. They do not know what freedom is. They are like some of the old slaves in the south who did not know how to take freedom when it was given to them.

We enslave ourselves by our ideas. We

have ideas of God that make us bow, and cringe, and fear to recognize how great we really ate, as if God could be pleased with people who are afraid of him. The Bible says, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." If that means being afraid of God, it is not true. To be not afraid of God is the beginning of wisdom. I would as soon think of being afraid of the June sunshine as of God.

We have ideas about our neighbors which make us afraid of what they might say or do if we should happen to offend them, and yet who are they and how can they really hurt you? If you will but assert yourself and take your freedom they will like you all the better for doing what they are afraid to do, for they are as much afraid of you as you are of them.

We have ideas about the value of money which make us willing to be cursed and bossed and bullied into servitude, but that is because moneyless people do not understand that they could bring the world to terms in one day if they would assert their freedom for so long. Many a man and woman is in abject slavery, body and soul, for ten dollars a week. I know what you would say: 'What can we do?'' That is what I want you to think about. What can you do? But can you afford to sell yourself so cheaply?

We have ideas of the value of received opinions which keep us in bondage to them. Not one person in ten thousand dares to fight off the domination of other people's ideas, even when he knows they are not true. This tyranny of other peoples's ideas is the most powerful of all tyrannies. It is what keeps the czar on his throne, the pope in the Vatican, the political boss in control, the monopolist in power. It is what keeps you and me the poor little worms of the dust, fallen creatures, we have been taught to believe ourselves. It is what prevents us from being the large, free, creative, powerful, infinite beings we might be if we knew ourselves as we are, if we loved freedom as we should love it. How can one who is bound hand and foot help another? Only a free man can be useful. Therefore, prove every doctrine by this test: Does it make me free? If it does it is true. If it does not it is not true. - Hugh O. Pentecost.

Justice has always been a vagrant.-I cus.

Gleanings.

Provided that you yourself do not abdicate your freedom; provided that you yourself do not allow others to enslave you; and provided that to the violent and anti-social passions of this or that person you oppose your equally vigorous social passions, then you have nothing to fear from liberty.

Until now humanity has never been without large natures overflowing with tenderness, with intelligence, with will, and using their feeling, their intellect, their active force in the service of the human race without asking anything in return.

This fertility of mind, of feeling or of will takes all possible forms. It is in the passionate seeker after truth, who renounces all other pleasures to throw his energy into the search for what he believes true and right, contrary to the affirmations of the ignoramuses around him. It is in the inventor, who lives from day to day forgetting even his food, scarcely touching the bread with which perhaps some woman devoted to him feeds him like a child, while he follows out the invention he thinks destined to change the face of the world. It is in the ardent revoluti mist, to whom the joys of art, of science, even of family life seem bitter, so long as they cannot be shared by all, and who works, despite misery and persecution, for the regenerati n of the world. It is in the youth, who, hearing of the atrocities of invasion, and taking literally the heroic legends of patriotism, inscribes himself in a volunteer corps, and marches bravely thru snow and hunger until he falls beneath the bullets. It was in the Paris street arab, with his quick intelligence, and bright choice of aversions and sympathies, who ran to the ramparts with his little brother, stood steady amid the rain of shells, and died murmuring: "Hurrah for the Commune!" It is in the man who is revolted at the sight of a wrong, without waiting to ask what will be its result to himself, and when all backs are bent, stands up to unmask the iniquity, and brand the exploiter, the petty despot of a factory or great tyrant of an empire. Finally, it is in all those numberless acts of devotion, less striking and therefore unknown and always misprized, wnich may be continually observed, especially among women, if we all take the trouble to open our eyes and notice what lies at the very foundation of human life, and enables it to unfold itself one way or another, in spite of the exploitation and oppression it undergoes.

Such men and women as these, some in obscurity, some within a large arena, create the progress of mankind. And mankind is aware of it. This is why it encompasses such lives with reverence, with myths. It adores them, makes them the subject of its stories, songs, romances. It adores in them the courage, goodness, love, and devotion which are lacking in most of us. It transmits their memory to the young. It recalls even those who have acted only in the narrow circle of home and friends, and reveres their memory in family tradition.

Such men and women as these make true morality, the only morality worthy the name; all the rest is merely equality in relations. Without their courage, their devotion, humanity would remain besotted in the mire of petty calculations. It is such men and women as these who prepare the morality of the future, that which will come when our children have ceased to reckon, and grown up to the idea that the best use of all energy, courage, love, everything, is to expend it where the need of such a force is most strongly felt.

The origin of such qualities, says Guyau, is the feeling of one's own force. It is over-flowing life which seeks to spread. "To feel within oneself that one is capable of acting, is at the same time to become conscious of what it is one's duty to do."

That which mankind admires in a truly moral man is his energy, the exuberance of life which urges him to give his intelligence, his feeling, his action, asking nothing in return.

The strong thinker, the man overflowing with intellectual life, naturally seeks to diffuse his ideas. There is no pleasure in thinking unless the thought is communicated to others. It is only the mentally poverty-stricken man, who, after he has painfully hunted up some idea, carefully hides it that later on he may label it with his own name. The man of powerful intellect runs over with ideas; he scatters them by the handful. He is wretched if he cannot share them with others, cannot scatter them to the four winds, for in this is his life.

The same with regard to feeling. "We are not enough for ourselves; we have more tears than our own sufferings claim, more capacity for joy than our own existence can justify," says Guyau, thus summing up the whole question of morality in a few admirable lines, caught from nature. The solitary being is wretched, restless, because he cannot share his thoughts and feelings with others. When we feel some great pleasure, we wish to let others know that we exist, we feel, we love, we live, we struggle, we fight.

At the same time we feel the need to exercise our will, our active energy. To act, to work, has become a need for the vast majority of mankind; so much so, that when absurd conditions divorce a man or woman from useful work, they invent something to do, some futile and senseless obligations whereby to open out a field for their active energy. They invent never mind what-a theory, a religion, a "social duty"-to persuade themselves that they are doing something useful. When they dance it is for a charity; when they ruin themselves with expensive dresses, it is to keep up the position of aristocracy; when they do nothing, it is on principle.

"We need to help our fellows, to lend a hand to the coach laborioulsy dragged along by humanity; in any case, we buzz around it," says Guyau. This need of lending a hand is so great that it is found among all sociable animals, however low in the scale. What is all the enormous amount of activity spent uselessly in politics every day but an expression of the need to lend a hand to the coach of humanity, or at least to buzz round it?

If life is to be really fruitful, it must be so at once in intelligence, in feeling and in will. This fertility in every direction is life; the only thing worthy the name. For one moment of this life, those who have obtained a glimpse of it give years of vegetative existence. Without this overflowing life, a man is old before his time, an impotent being, a plant that withers before it has ever flowered.—Peter Kropotkin.

Catholic or Monster Slayer?

Fifteen months after McKinley went "God's way," our gifted historian, C. L. James, announces himself willing to talk about that event. Accordingly, we have his article on "Who Killed McKinley?" I here recall that this is not Comrade James' first utterance on the topic under discussion. Whether this places him among those who have formerly "talked too much" I will leave for him to decide; but it is of importance to remember it. His previous unfavorable view of Czolgosz may have had something to do with the speculation he now broaches; for we all know how untrustworthy is that history which proceeds from preconceived theories.

He states proof is lacking that Czolgosz was an Anarchist; and since he was not an Anarchist, some other motive must have prompted him to kill McKinley. James suggests that he may have been a tool in the hands of Jesuits.

Czolgosz talked very little, (a fact which James urges against him, altho others "talked too much,") so we scarcely know his views on philosophical questions. Besides his case is involved in a measure of obscurity. Let us admit, then, for the present, that he was not an Anarchist, for lack of evidence that he was, and examine history a little further.

I can scarcely understand why Catholics had any special reasons to d sire McKinley's demise. Spain's power in Cuba and the Philippines was at an end; and the loss of those colonies to Spian was inevitable. Had it not been that the United States grabbed the Philippines, the friars would not be there at this time; for we can hardly think Filipino diplomacy would have taken so long to expel them. And then it is a fact that McKinley made more concessions to the Catholic Church than any other president in a long while. We still remember the bitter feeling that prevailed among the A. P. A.'s against him for this reason, and their circular letter containing an account of some thirty visits of "Ireland to see McKinley"-and what followed.

At the time of Czolgosz's execution, the press reports stated that one or two Polish Catholic priests visited the prison, and made an attempt to bring him into the faith. (For he had not been excommunicated by the Church, as he has been by some Anarchists.)

Now it is a fact, very clear and free from obscurity, that he spurned their advances with contempt, and went to his death without a spiritual adviser, and also requested of his brother that no religious services be held over his body. It is scarcely credible that a fanatic willing to purchase a free ticket to heaven would fail to comply with the supreme duty of every Catholic to confess and receive the last sacraments.

Czolgosz's reticence proves nothing at all; and besides we do not know whether it was of his own choosing. Any number of cogent reasons may be advanced why a man in his position should decline to talk. So far as I can recollect, only one reporter (of the Associated Press) claims to have had an interview with him. The account of that interview states that he retired and turned his back when an attempt was made to implicate other persons. We know also that he specially requested to be allowed to make a statement on the morning of his execution, but this was positively refused. There is no reason, then, for the assertion that Czolgosz had nothing to say.

It is not true that the comrades in Chicago "generally" took Czolgosz for a spy. Very few had any knowledge of him at all, and among those who had, the opinion that he was a spy was not unanimous. What finally determined the publication of the warning note was a letter from Cleveland. This letter, taken in the light of subsequent events, would not prove very damaging; but coming at that time, was decisive against a suspected man. It must also be remembered that several spies had been discovered in quick succession shortly previous to this time, which would naturally lead to suspicion more readily.

So much on the negative side. On the positive we have the well known fact that the police made every attempt to hatch a plot, and that Czolgosz was put thru the "thirty-third degree" in an effort to implicate others. Had Czolgosz been a Catholic anxious to save the Church from aspersions, it would have been easy to shift the blame in the madness of that hour. Had he even been a mental weakling, the desperate attempts the prison officials made to have him "skulk behind the skirts of a woman" would more probably have been crowned with success. But we know that this canard was a base lie; and that when Superintendent Collins offered to help him to get out of prison if he would "skulk behind a woman" he stuck to his own responsibility. Even when the prison officials resorted to outrageous lying, and attempted to arouse Czolgosz's resentiment by an appeal to human pettiness by the statement that his act had been denounced by those they wished him to implicate, he expressed his indifference about others' opinions. This is not the attitude of mental irresponsibility, but of courage and strength.

I am not one of those "comrades who get mad" when it is stated that Czolgosz was not an Anarchist. And if he was merely a crank, as James has said, I am perfectly willing to have it known. But I am not willing to have facts twisted and distorted to make him out a lunatic or fool, as is done by those who are anxious to follow suit in a "repudiation craze" so prevalent since the Buffalo event. It makes no difference to me whether Czolgosz was an Anarchist or not; but his deed was one "about which only one opinion ought to exist among Anarchists, Socialists," etc. It was an act of protest and rebellion inspired by high motives and manly courage. In his own words, he "killed the president because he was an enemy of the good people-of the good working people." He was not sorry for his act. Let those who will make their calculations and protests; these facts will | tal sufferings drive them to desperation." remain. ABE ISAAK JR.

The Truth Survives.

It was only about a year ago that the daily press pictured the Anarchists as "fiends incarnate," "wild beasts," "champions of murder and destruction," "cowards," etc.; and today, in speaking of the shooting of Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre and her attitude toward her assailant, the dailies have quite a different story to tell. They now speak of Anarchism "as the doctrine of the Nazarine"-"the doctrine of forgiveness of injuries and of overcoming evil with good," and "true to her principles, Miss de Cleyre declines to prosecute her assailant, but on the contrary will do what she can to shield him from punishment as a malefactor." They tell of her kindness to her mother and sister: "for years she has saved from her earnings as a teacher and regularly sent money to her mother who resides with her sister in a little Michigan town," etc. In a word, the "incarnate fiends" of last year are transformed into kind, intelligent, and well-meaning human beings, who wish to establish the millennium on earth.

In the Philadelphia North American, Dec. 24, appeared the following, as stated in an interview by Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre herself.

"The boy who, they say, shot me is crazy. Lack of proper food and healthy labor made him so. He ought to be put into an asylum. It would be an outrage against civilization if he were sent to jail for an act which was the product of a diseased brain.

"Shortly before I was shot the young man sent me a letter which was pitifulnothing to eat, no place to sleep, no work. Before that I had not heard from him for two years.

"He wanted to write and speak for the cause of Anarchy-individual liberty-but this was impossible, because, added to his lack of education, were the impractical, foolish plans of his unbalanced head. He had good intentions. He wanted to make the world better, but he did not know how to appeal to the brains and hearts of men and women. At best he was only fit to distribute literature for us.

"These things discouraged the crazed mind of the boy. He did not know what he was doing. He was simply a lunatic, acting as a man with a fever. I had not seen him for two years. Suddenly, when I was not thinking about him, he appeared in front of me, and, I am told, shot me. I did not recognize him at the time.

"I have no resentment toward the man. If society were so constituted as to allow every man, woman and child to lead a normal life there would be no violence in this

world. It fills me with horcor to think of the brutal acts done in the name of government. Every act of violence finds its echo in another act of violence. The policeman's club breeds criminals.

"Contrary to public understanding, Anarchism means 'Peace on earth, good will to men.' Acts of violence done in the name of Anarchy are caused by men and women who forget to be philosophers-teachers of the people-because their physical and men-

Perhaps it will not be in vain to call Comrade Janoffsky's attention to the sentiment expressed by our beloved Comrade Voltairine. His condemnation of Helsher in the Arbeiter-Stimme outrivals any capitalist writings; and when he advises us to put all who join the Anarchist ranks under the xrays, and "excommunicate" those who are found unworthy, he may find himself among the rams, if the ideas of Voltairine de Cleyre be taken as a standard of Anarchist prin-INTERLOPER. 0

Important Matters.

We shall always find that when men come to assume the duties connected with official position, their presumption and their arrogance develop at such an amazing rate that they finally make themselves believe that they are infallible, and therefore not accountable for their acts. That is the feeling that is always sure to accompany an increase of power-a belief at last in freedom from all accountability. Power cannot endure criticism, because it is well known to everyone that power has no ground on which to stand consistently. But was there ever a man who could properly be called infallible? If there is not-and everybody knows there is not-then there is no basis on which to justify the exercise of power over anybody at any time. Everybody is in all respects as good as his neighbor. To be infallible, is to be godlike. But there are no godlike men. All claim or pretense to lawful authority under any circumstances is a fraud and a sham-simply a bare-faced and palpable lie. It is a lie so far materialized as to permit of its being grasped and retained till its hollowness can be detected.

There are various ways of getting aid of an enemy. Assassination is one of the ways, but it is against the law and it involves some inconveniences. The best way is to remove him according to law. That is the easiest way to carry out any wicked scheme. So long as a man has law on his side, it is no matter what he does. To remove your enemy safely, have him accused of some crime and have the charge proved-which is easy enough, if you can find the witnesses. This method costs some money and some trouble, but it is the method usually followed, and it has probably as few drawbacks as any other. Sulla pursued the method with great success. So did Henry VIII, Louis XIV, and other tyrants. After an enemy is convicted, it all goes easy, and he is soon disposed of-and all in accordance with law. This was a favorite method with Cromwell. J. WILSON.

* The same method was employed in 1887, when the State of Illinois, or rather the money-power, murdered five noble men.

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ANARCHY -A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal, absolute individual liberty.-Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 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.

Comrade A. Lopatiner will visit the deliquent subscribers in New York, and we hope the readers will not let him spend time and carfare in vain.

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.

CHICAGO.—The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St.

The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free discussion. Sunday, Jan. 11, M. Kaplan speaks on "Socialism.

The Tolstoy Club meets every Saturday evening at the home of Dr. Mary R. Carey, 837 W. Adams St. Tolstoy readings and discussions.

The Chicago Anthropological Society meets every Sunday 3:30 p. m., in Masonic Temple, Hall 913. Free discussion. Jan. 11, Mrs. Hulda Loomis will speak on "Is Astrology the Key to Human Destiny?"

The Workmen's Educational Club meets Jan.11, 8 p. m., 278 Blue Island Ave. Comrade R. Grossmann will be the speaker.

NEW YORK .- The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. in. Lectures and free discussions. Every Thursday evening L. Rosenzweig gives lessons in "Physics."

PHILADELPHIA.—Social Science Club holds eekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St.

Boston.-The Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p. m. at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free forum for all sociological topies. Anarchist literature for sale. Subject for Jan. 18, "The Socialism of William Morris."

CLEVELAND.-Liberty Association meets every Sunday, excepting the first Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m., in Forester's Hall, 236 Champlain St. Free discussions.

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets thority, and finds a lesson of equality and every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

- 0 Outpost Echoes.

The law is a club.

Liberty engenders love.

Truth needs not violence.

The world is afraid to be free.

Lies are constantly reincarnated.

War is disguised and glorified murder.

Majority rule means that might makes

Nature is a good servant, but a bad mis

If woman is a man's equal she will bear improvement.

The creators of crime ask to be paid to suppress crime.

Gods and rulers are invariably found to be on friendly terms.

A "good woman" is one who respects all the hypocrisies of society.

Charity is acceptable alone to those who have forgotten their manhood.

Coal is being held for still higher prices, while human lite grows cheaper.

The Irish still hope for home rule; but whether "home" or not, all rule is one.

The coronation festivities in India proceeded in splendor silently watched by starving natives.

J. P. Morgan passed the collection plate in church recently. Morgan acknowledges at least one equal in "God."

All governments rule by the consent of the governors. The other kinds exist only in the pretense of politicians.

A Chicago man shot the destroyer of his home." The man who was killed lorgot that woman is still merely a piece of property.

What is the use of sending Dreyer, the banker, to Joliet? There is not roomenough in the prison to accomodate ail the others.

Chamberlain is in South Africa trying with the paint of Brummagein rhetoric to cover up the ghastly facts of the war which was made for him.

Since Wall Street laughed at his message, the president, beside taking his Venezuela pose, has probably done little except to regret that he is not Morgan.

The recent conviction of several of the higher officials of Minneapolis illustrates anew the evolution of politics and politicians. Authority breeds crime.

The other parties are beginning to steal State Socialist thunder, and ere long opportunism will probably reduce enonomic determinism to the substance of a memory.

Anarchists have killed. So have Christians, so have Republicans. Capitalism is indirect murder, and its victims number millions annually; why is not capitalism prore decried? It is power.

In a recent article on "King Lear," published in Harper's Magazine, the poet Swinburne returns to his old time hatred of aufraternity in Shakespeare's play.

Wagner once said that tyrants would never be safe while the world had ears to listen to music. Of all the arts music perhaps stirs most to revolutionary sentiment and action. All that exalts makes us think of freedom.

The libertarian demands freedom in everything; not only in industry, but equally in other essential affairs of life. Those who declare themselves emancipated, yet desire to hamper and control love, are slaves in all but the name.

It appears that the time is not yet for Venezuela. When the capitalists have exhausted their ambitions at home, then we shall know just how much the Monroe Doctrine is worth. The government will protect the South American peoples till then. And afterward-

Professor John Bascom of Williams College decries the University of Chicago for accepting the millions of Rockefeller, which were undeniably stolen. Professor Bascom is suffering from an overplus of truth and honesty and should see the trust physician at once.

When in New England was fired that shot "heard round the world," and the British learned that Americans loved liberty, true Americanism, the flame of revolt blazed up. To continue to revolt in some shape is to continue true Americanism. Revolution, still be thou with us. AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

Reviewing Clarence S. Darrow's book, "Resist Not Evil," the Daily News boldly declares that Tolstoy's doctrines are all right "for the ignorant peasantry" in Russia, but are not designed for Americans. I quite agree with the literary editor-the Americans have never been prone to practise the doctrines of Christ, but are quite enthusiastic when the doctrines of a Napoleon, a Funston or a Rockefeller are promulgated.

The Chicago Tribune is startled to find that suicides have increased fifty-five per cent in this country during the last three years, reaching the number of 8,291. "Domestic infelicity" is one of the main causes for suicide, a phenomenon which indicates that the marriage institution is incompatible with the growth of intelligence. Over 2,000 couples were divorced in Chicago last year, and the government in Washington, being horror-stricken at such "immoral ity," is investigating the material relating to divorce cases. But it is of no avail to preserve a decaying institution, gentlemen. Let it be buried.

Prof. John Bascom does not think that the University of Chicago can ever be a success in the world of education, as the professors of sociology or economics do not dare to criticise the methods by which Rockefeller robs his fellow men. Dr. Bascom apparently is not aware of the fact that university professors are not expected to open the eyes of the students regar ling governments and

legalized robbery. Their mission is to extenuate governmental violence and capitalist exploitation.

President Roosevelt recently made the statement that the Philippine Islands were enjoying "a greater measure of prosperity and of happiness than the Filipinos have ever hitherto known in their dark and checkered history." Then comes Secretary Root and tells the American people, in his annual report, why the islanders are so happy. The rinderpest has destroyed ninety per cent of all the cattle, and their price has increased from \$20 to \$200 (Mexican); the disease "surra" is killing the horses; the rice crop has been reduced to twenty-five per cent of the ordinary crop, and the price of rice has been raised from \$4 to \$7 a picul; 40,000,000 pounds of rice had to be imported to save the people from perishing by famine; cholera is raging thruout the islands, and will claim not less than 100,000 victims; wages have been decreased considerably; agriculture is prostrated; and commerce is hampered and discouraged. These are some of the blessings the Americans have inflicted upon the Filipinos, according to the official report. Truly, Teddy has peculiar notions of prosperity and happiness.

Prof. Herron was greeted with deafening applause at the Socialist Temple last Thursday evening, where he spoke on "The Present Opportunity of Socialism"; but his iconclastic utterances against the dogmatic teachings of the present-day Socialists chilled the enthusiasm of his comrades considerably. After pointing out that an industrial and financial cataclysm was approaching, he showed that such a collapse of the capitalsitic regime did not in the least indicate that Socialism was the inevitable heir of the present reign of capitalism, "as Comrade Wilshire would say." It is of very little avail, he said among other things, to dethrone the old gods and substitute new ones, such as "evolution," "Socialism is inevitable," "economic determinism," etc. Nothing is inevitable in this world, and nothing comes of its own accord; but it is the conscious human will which shapes society. Socialism must spring from yourselves, from your own volition and action. Neither is the middle class disappearing, continued the speaker, as we are constantly told. True, the old middle class is going out of existence, but a new one is taking its place-a middle class much stronger than the old one, because its existence depends entirely on capitalism. He contended that the capitalists were aware of the coming disaster, and were preparing for the emergency-introducing semi-Socialist measures, which were simply deliberate schemes to strengthen the capitalists and to weaken the Socialist movement. After having shown the danger of opportunism, which is now the thing in the Socialist movement, Prof. Herron also touched the ethical side of the movement, claiming that the Socialists did not need leadership; but that self-reliance, improvement of character, and greater comradeship were crying needs for the establishment of a better society.

To the Anarchists there was nothing new in Prof. Herron's lecture, for he only reiter-

ated what they have pointed out long ago; but the Socialist press has ridiculed these ideas now expounded by one of their own comrades, and it will be interesting to see the attitude the Socialists will assume toward Prof. Herron. They must either refute his arguments or else admit that they have been traveling along dangerous paths.

His lecture on "Socialism of the Nation," last Sunday evening, was an elaboration of what he had treated in his previous speech. He contended that the aim of Socialism was not to subject the individual to the collectivity, but to institute a society in which the individual would be enabled to live his own life in his own fashion. That such is the aim of Socialism the Anarchists will not dispute, yet such is not the aim of the political Socialist parties, nor can it be achieved thru political action. The "social will," which, according to Prof. Herron, must assertitself in creating a humane and rational condition, is a myth. It is the will of the individual that must assert itself in order to stir and move the indolent collectivity.

INTERLOPER.

--- o ---Voltairine de Eleyre's Appeal.

DEAR COMRADES,—I write to appeal to you on behalf of the unfortunate child (for in intellect he has never been more than a child) who made the assault upon me. He is friendless, he is in prison, he is sick;—had he not been sick in brain he would never have done this thing.

Nothing can be done to relieve him until a lawyer is secured, and for that money is needed. I know it is hard to ask, for our comrades are always giving more than they can afford. But I think this is a case wherein all Anarchists are concerned, that the world may learn our ideas concerning the treatment of so called "criminals," and that they will therefore be willing to make even unusual sacrifices.

What this poor half-crazed boy needs is not the silence and cruelty of a prison, but the kindness, care and sympathy which heal. These have all been given to me, in unstinted quantity. I can never express the heart of my gratitude for itall. Be as ready now to help the other, who is perhaps the greater sufferer.

With love to all,
Voltiarine de Cleyre.

Philadelphia, 807 Fairmont Ave.

I am afraid if Mr. James judges the characters of the French Revolution in the way he does the events that occur today, he may make some very considerable mistakes. The young man who killed McKinley may not have been an Anarchist or a Socialist or an ist of any kind-he may have been simply Czolgolz, who thought the thing outand concluded he would like to have one smash at the face of the smug, selfish, cruel monster called modern society, and take the consequences. He did, and paid the penalty without a murmur, and apparently without any fear. Or then again he may have been stark, staring mad like Hamlet, etc; but that he was a tool of the Jesuits-

oh! no Mr. James; that is too like Sherlook Holmes or Old Sleuth. E. M. Brooklyn, N. Y., 119 Clarkson St.

-- o ---What is Free Love?

Americus in FREE SOCIETY of Jan. 4, has seen fit to confound—as most other writers do—love with something entirely different. I have seen much of professing free lovers, but in most instances their only idea was simply free, unrestricted, promiscuous sexual intercourse. And even that was more often paid for than not.

I can readily see how sexual intercourse can be free, but I would like Americus to define what he means by "free love."

JACK OLIVER.

REPLY.

I shall not attempt to give a scientific definition of free love here and now, but will ask my critic to reconsider the statement that I confuse love with promiscuity. The truth is that he confuses me with the promiscuous, whereas 1 am a free lover.

The existence of love implies choice, selection, distinction; a limit to the number of those loved; the fixing upon someone or ones out of the mass of men or women as a sexual source of happiness. To love we must discriminate; love implies its opposite. The element of freedom in love, the absence of all legal and ethical restriction is only the necessary ground upon which love lives in order to be healthful.

Promiscuous sexual intercourse may go on without one spark of love's fervent fire.

Americus.

Professional Murderers.

They (the people) see the unceasing care kings, emperors, presidents bestow on disciplined armies, see the parades, reviews, maneuvers they hold, and of which they boast to one another; and the people eagerly crowd to see how their own brothers, dressed up in bright-colored, glittering clothes, are turned into machines at sound of drum and trumpet, and who, obedient to the shouting of one man, all make the same movements; and they do not understand the meaning of it all.

Yet the meaning of such drilling is very clear and simple. It is preparing for murder. It means the stupefying of men in order to convert them into instruments for murdering.

And it is just kings and emperors and presidents who do it, and organize it and pride themselves upon it. And it is the same people, whose special employment is murder-organizing, who have made murder their profession, who dress in military uniforms, carry weapons (swords at their sides) who are horror-struck and indignant when one of themselves is killed.—Tolstoy.

— o —. Here and There.

GERMANY.—For the purpose of promoting the idea of a general strike, a new labor organization is to be effected. It is expected that all workers who are not in accord with the existing trade unions will join the new organization. The report that the movement has been started by the Social Democrats to intimidate the government is false.

A Vindication of Anarchism,

I (concluded.)

Inductions like these are not much adapted to increase any man's reverence for government or for its principal function of legislation. Springing from the savage's instinct of robbery; adapted thruout its development only to the prosecution of war-that is massacre and plunder-on a constantly increasing scale; enslaving the weaker sex to the stronger; insuring, thru unwilling maternity, that increase of population which engenders the struggle for existence and divides mankind into the classes of tyrant and slave; * encumbering with senseless and arbitrary rules that love from which society has principally sprung; perpetuating the horrible evil of prostitution, which, we can now see, is no trait of individual lawlessness but the oldest among positive institutions † and that without which other regulations for the relation of the sexes now extant could not be maintained; ‡ authority everywhere presents itself, not as the protector and improver, but the corrupter and destroyer of mankind.

It may be said, would you go back to the primitive state of society? Laws originating in that state no doubt bear marks of its ignorance and brutality,-they were rude first attempts at something better-but with our own progress in knowledge and humanity we should be able to reform them!

The reply is that Anarchism proposes a return to the primitive state in no respect but this one-that all association shall be voluntary. If, on investigation, it appears that men abandoned that state because they feared to be oppressed by individual neighbors, because they could exercise their industry to better advantage under rulers than without them; because, as they would not bear oppression, so they did not desire to oppress; and if, to conclude, it shall appear that their subsequent progress in liberty, peace, knowledge, arts, wealth, equity, humanity, has been the gift of authority; then the case of government is good. But if all reasoning which assumes this, turns out to

* The great authority on this point of course is Malthus. But besides the prejudice against his views which I am sorry to find so prevalent among reformers, his "Essay" is neither amusing nor easy to read, for, in truth the later editions differ very widely from the first. See Bonar, "Malthus and His Work," for a very thoro summary of the whole Malthusian literature on both sides. John Stuart Mill has remarked that the Malthusian theory, long considered the fatal objection to Socialism, may turn out the capital argument in its favor. It does not appear, however, that he knew anything about Anarchism. The Malthusian theory is a stumbling-block in the way of State Socialism. But for Anarchism it does supply a capital argument-it shows that the emancipation of Man is impracticable without that complete emancipation of Woman which no other system than Anarchism pro-

† The sexual communism of savages, at least a ter they begin to have laws and governments, is prostitution plus slavery of the worst kind; and all other prostitution is merely a relic of it. Until the reign of Justinian and Theodora it was positive law that a woman once branded as a prostitute could become nothing else. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," (on life of Justinian and his legislation).

‡ The experiment of forcibly suppressing prostitution was thoroly tried by Louis IX of France (St. Louis), and long afterwards by Maria Theresa. Both these distinguished Catholic sovereigns reluctantly cancelled their ordinances, because they found the effect was to increase "private immoralities." Sanger, "History of Prostitution.'

be post hoc ergo propter hoc; if they appointed chiefs that they might rob and murder better; if, in so doing, they condemned themselves, quite unnecessarily, to be robbed and murdered in turn; if every step in the advance of knowledge, art, enterprise, industry, trade, has had the government to fight; if the only good laws ever passed prove to be laws which repealed laws; if all legislative progress has consisted in undoing previous legislative mischief, and substituting voluntary contract for artificial status; then the case of authority is bad; reform except by repeal is visionary; and we can do no better than return to the primitive social state-in that one particular, with partial retrogression to which has been bound up all our progress in others.*

Before leaving this branch of the subject it may be well to look rather more closely at the origin of Criminal Law. For tho government, as we see, did not originate in a social contract adopted to protect the virtuous against the wicked, there is no doubt that fear of criminals is what makes most people think government indispensable. To see further into the real origin of criminal jurisprudence, we may begin by considering that of the most primitive people whose customs are pretty well known to us-the Polynesians. Among this widely spread race two fundamental notions underlie all provisions concerning crime and punishment-the ideas of taboo and of utu. Taboo means a ban forbidding the use of anything; altogether; or to certain persons, as priests; or to all except these privileged individuals; or at stated times; or merely while it lasts; with combinations of these specialties. My reader will believe without proof that this is an invention of the priests, who, tho it it sometimes appears to inconvenience themselves, "suck no small advantage" from it. But how did the priests get power to enforce taboo? They got it by being reputed learned in the pseudo-science of interpreting tribe-law, which the superstition of primitive men regards in a very curious manner. A primitive tribe is called, from some moral or physical peculiarity, or traditional association, by a highly significant name, as the Snakes, the Children of the Rock, the Children of the Sun, etc., a misunderstanding of which appears to underlie their general belief that they are descended from a snake. rock, the sun, or something equally strange. This ancestral animal, or whatever else it be, called by our Indians the Totem, is a savage's earliest idea of god, and is reputed the author of tribal customs which it would be impious and of very bad omen to violate. He is also the fabulous chief afterwards said (on the "Euhemerian" principle) to have been called a snake, etc., from his personal qualities. The omen superstition, being older than that of totemism, t prepared a

* The zigzag motion of social progres sgenerally will scarcely escape a student of universal history. Law and government, the offspring of war, simply fulfil a necessary (natural) "law" in this, that while they have contributed to produce the present state of civilization, by giving the stronger races a quicker victory over the weaker, they have, from every other point of view but that, retarded all those steps which raised us out of barbarism. According to another general principle, they become objects of serious attack just when their function has been finally discharged.

* The great subject of Totemism, somewhat slightly treated in Lubbock's work on civilization, has been

way for taboo, and connects it with the other practice of utu, which is that if anything of ill omen has been done, even accidentally, the offender, must be in some way punished by way of expiation, to avert the threatened evil from the tribe. JAnd so inveterate is the power of this delusion that the offender will demand to suffer it, and consider himself ill treated if he beleft to the wrath of the gods instead *-just as, among ourselves, nothing is more common, nor, mirabile dictu! esteemed more proper by quite rational people than that a man who has once committed a murder should confess it, and go to the gallows, or a useless life in prison, rather than make society the practical amends he has most likely begun before his repentance went the length of doing that.

That such absurd ideas of guilt and reparation do nothing but harm, I expect to show in due time. My game at present is the criminal law of civilized nations, and my cue is only to prove that they are all of the taboo and utu type, having no connection with security against the effects of irregular passion, but only with superstitious traditions about what sort of hybris requires a penance and what sort of penance it requires. So large an induction is not easily drawn into a suitable space. But I appeal to the special students of crime and punishment. If there be any one point on which Penologists, themselves for the most part jailors, judges, legislators, and other persons connected with the administration of our present criminal law, are perfectly unanimous, it is that a fixed sentence for crime-so many years' imprisonment for this, so many for that-without regard to the offender's reformation, is not only absurd but highly mischievous and demoralizing; nor will common sense allow them not to see that the basis of this pernicious folly is just simply superstition—he who has barely missed the capital charge of murder by pleading guilty to manslaughter, may get off with a term; but if he defiled a temple, God would never forgive us all at less than burning him alive!

But, it may be said, we will change all that-we will have "indeterminate sentences." Alas, but the taboo and utu doctrine is in that very notion of crime on which you found the idea of criminal legislation in general! The whole conception is wrong, and cannot be made right by modifying ap-

raised to its proper importance since he wrote by E. B. Tyler, "Early History of Mankind"; Lang, "Myth, Ritual, and Religion"; W. R. Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage"; Fraser, "Totemism." The priority of omen superstitions may be inferred from this, that they pervade the very lowest form of religion (fetishism) and prevail among races (the Africans particularly) in whose cult totemism is relatively unimportant. For a popular account of taboo and utu where most fully developed, see Nordhoff on New Zealand, in his "Island World." A reader whose eyes have been opened will have no difficulty about tracing the development of criminal law from these superstitions in cases given e. g. by Grote, "History of Greece," Part II, Chs. X and XI; Hallam, "Middle Ages," Ch. IX, Part II; Austin, "Province of Jurisprudence"; Maine, "Ancient Law," and "Village Communities"; Gomme, "The Village Community"; but above all that part of Blackstone's "Commentaries" which relates to crime. His everlasting references to the laws of God and what he calls the law of nature, childish in themselves, become very instructive here.

* See Matthew Arnold's poem, "The Sick King in Bokhara."

plications. To take a single and familiar, tho disagreeable example, how would you deal with prostitution? The one point on which almost all nations agree, " is that a woman who has broken the established code of morals becomes taboo to marriage and honorable employment, but not to vice! If any man thinks such a rule can be otherwise than favorable to profligacy in its grossest forms-furnishing the supply and encouraging the demand for public prostitutution-I fear he must be given up as an example of that logical condition against which the very gods contend in vain. But if he says this rule, notwithstanding its evident effect in promoting licentiousness, must be kept up for a testimony against licentiousness, that clearly is taboo and utu, full blown. If he would punish the woman mildly, as a misdemeanant, (the method provided by civil law when it provides any) this is taboo and utu, modified in the usual fashion-the land can only be cleansed of blood by more blood; but vice may be washed off the national conscience by a degrading treatment of the offender, which breeds more vice! Finally, if he would put her to death, or send her for years to a reformatory, he ought to know that such measures, often proposed and sometimes tried, have always soon been given up as impracticable (see note I, p. 6). Thus, within the conception of law, nothing is practicable but taboo and utu. The case is typical. The logical faculty, if one who has gone so far possesses it, should enable him quickly to decide that there is no way of legally punishing any crime except upon taboo and utu principles. Vengeance, prompted by anger, is not law. Restraint of dangerous persons, as lunatics, is not punishment. There is no way to deal with any offender, which shall be at once penal and legal, except to assume the Hawaiian priest's function of adjusting utu to the sacrilege implied in breaking this or that taboo.

Of course, I can anticipate the objection. "That is all very pretty; but we hardly think we will allow robbers to cut our throats." But nobody proposes that you should. The powers which governments exercise to prevent the robbers' doing so are all derived from you, and would be equally in your hands without the government. If experience teaches that the method pursued by governments is of their essence, and also that it does not diminish crime but perpetuates it, what hinders you from further considering that criminals are products of the general social state; and that to get rid of them, we good people, must reform, not them, but ourselves?

The answer should be tolerably obvious this time. What prevents you taking this philosophic view is just simply a superstition. The first king passed for a god. The institutions you are used to were inspired by your totem. You take it for granted that you are protected by what you can see injures you, because you do not think. Now superstitions of all kinds, are, I am per-

* The exceptions, of course, are those nations which still think very lightly of irregular conduct in girls (see note §, p. 7, Col. 2, last week). Examples are plentiful in Herodotus and other early writers, whose testimonies Lubbock has mostly brought together. For a modern one, La Gueroniere states that the averege Filipino is "jealous of his wife's honor but careless of his daughter's." "Twenty Years in the Philippine Islands."

suaded, immortal. They will last as long as stupidity. But they have this valuable corrective that they cease to do much harm when intelligent people cease to believe in them. This is especially the case with those which relate to government; for, tho the form of government may be so ingeniously ill-contrived as to put an idiot on the throne or the election of magistrates into the hands of the most ignorant class, a "higher law" forbids any class to govern in practise which is not at least up to the average information. When that degree of information condemns governing, it will cease to be done. This result would have been reached already, were not the errors in this case so valuable to a class. Our way has been cleared for further inquiry, now we have learned that the first king was not a god but a thief: that institutions never represent modern civilization, but always antiquated barbarism; and that we are used to accepting them not because we have considered their merits but because we have not.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

Literature.

Thru the courtesy of The Argus Pressclipping Bureau of New York, FREE SOCIETY is in receipt of a copy of Young Oxford containing an installment, the first act, of Lady Florence Dixie's "Isola", a drama. The Douglases, in whose ranks Lady Florence holds a place, have ever been noted for their daring, and now that daring is largely expressed in the fields of literature and writing, it is perhaps in order that a Douglas should publish a daring play, such as the one here under consideration.

The author is a Free Thinker, and holds advanced opinions on such subjects as Church and State, sex association, the authority of nature in life, and the need of freedom; tho respecting this last her attitude is somewhat obscure, Anarchy being carefully condemned in her writing in an old-fashioned and familiar way. The story of the drama as indicated by the first act is the story of the tribulations of justice and of an illigitimate son of a king, who is the rightful heir to a throne. The author avows the purpose of her work to be to demand "the practise of the true laws of the only true God."

If the remainder of the play is of the quality of this first act, the best that can be said for the work is that it shows more force than art, and more radicalism than beauty or poetic power. Right here it needs to be set down that tho the play is just seeing the light it was written many years ago, when its author was an enthusiast. Accepting it as a juvenile production, its stiltedness and turgidity, its unnatural speeches, and general intellectual hodgepodge may be easily accounted for and condoned; tho why the thing should have seen the light at all it would be hard to determine. Some writers seem to think that if a literary production be devoted to truth and justice, literary art is a matter of second or third rate importance, almost unworthy of a serious person's attention. This drama sins against art in a thousand particulars.

"Better men fared thus before thee," says Matthew Arnold, and adapting that author's phrases to the needs of this occasion, Lady Florence Dixie may console herself despite this condemnation. Shelley wrote Queen Mab, and then suppressed it, giving the best of reasons for that proceedure, namely, that the work was crude, and stultified with a pretentious didacticism. Queen Mab was a great poem in spite of its many literary faults, the result mainly of the youth and impetuousity of its author; "Isola" is notg reat either as a drama or a sermon, tho cast in the form of a sermon or polemic it might do some good. It is to be hoped that the industry of Lady Dixie, has produced, or will yet produce a finished and artistic expression of her "views."

LETTER-BOX.

M. K. City.—When "professed Anarchists take part in political action" they abandon their principles. It is certainly to be regretted, but it cannot be helped.

John Newman.—Your advice to read Lum's "Economics of Anarchy" comes rather late, as I read the book about eight years ago. I still hold that any wage system is incompatible with freedom, Lum's assertion notwithstanding; and so-called Anarchists who defend the wage system under any form, have little conception of what constitutes freedom. Wages are the result of slavery, and must fall with slavery.

The current number is 396 and the number on your wrapper is now 424, consequently you have paid for 28 issues in advance. If the number on the wrapper is below that of the current issue, the subscriber is so many weeks in arrear.

R. C. H., Central Point, Ore.—Your defense of Social, ism and criticism of Anarchism will not be published, for we have no time to rewrite a manuscript in order to make it comprehensible.—On the other hand, you understand neither Anarchism nor Socialism so-called. We are tired of having men of straw set up, for the purpose of knocking them down. It is surprising that Socialist writers do not take up a discussion with the Anarchists, but leave it to those who have no intelligent comprehension of either subject.

F. C., Racine, Wis.—Yes, we heartily recommend the book, which must be read to be appreciated. In a private letter, Comrade C. L. James said several weeks ago: "I see you have noticed 'Pages of Socialist History.' It is the best book of this sort I have read—the first which made clear to me the progress of the schisms between 'scientific Socialism' and Anarchism, since 1872. Teherkesoff is a man of learning; and his work is worthy of being introduced to our people generally." The charge that Tcherkesoff plagiarized Bernstein is a malicious falsehood. The articles appeared in 1894, while B.'s book was written in 1897-98.

Publications Received.

"What Shall We Do, Then? By Leo N. Tolstoy. Published in the Russian language by V. Tchertkoff, Christchurch, Hants, England. Price \$1.

"Theorie de la Valeur." By Christian Cornelissen Schleicher Press &Co., Paris, France.

"The Communist Manifesto." By Karl Marx and-Friedrick Engels. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Defense Fund.

The following lists of the International Defense Committee were received by the undersigned, and the money collected forwarded to the treasurer, Fermino Gallo, 90 Straight St., Paterson, N. J.,

No. 574: Pušch, Ernst, each 50c, (list lost). No. 584: Uhlman, 55c.; Roebke, 50c.; Shmidt, Jacob, L. Pušch, Schlieter, Lemke, Leusch, Hobler, each 25c.; Zimermann, 20c. No. 586: Harshnik, H. Uhl, A. Uhl, Bauer, each \$1. No. 587: Ebel, Keid, Kleimert, Erbstoesser, Multhaup, each 25c.; Boyson, 50c.; Schröder, Slemsen, each 15c. No. 581: Arlen, 50c.; Pergner, Rath, Reimer, Jarend, Robert, each 25c. Total, \$11:80.

The Nos. 569, 570, 576, 577, 578, † 79, 580, 582, and 587. (duplicated) have not been returned to me, and the holders are requested to mail such directly to the treas-

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