A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 30.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 424.

The World in Armor.

Under this shade of crimson wings abhorred That never wholly leaves the sky screne,— While Vengeance sleeps a sleep so light, between Dominions that acclaim Thee overlord,— Sadly the blast of Thy tremendous word, . Whate'er its mystic purport may have been, Echoes across the ages, Nazarene: Not to bring peace Mine errand, but a sword.

For lo, Thy world uprises and lies down In armor, and its Peace is War, in all Savethe great death that weaves War's dreadful crown; War unennobled by heroic pain, War where none triumph, none sublimely fall, War that sits smiling, with the eyes of Cain.

II

When London's Plague, that day by day enrolled His thousands dead, nor deigned his rage to abate Till grass was green in silent Bishopsgate, Had come and passed like thunder,—still, 'tis told, The monster, driven to earth, in hovels old And haunts obscure, tho dormant, lingered late, Till the dread Fire, one roaring wave of fate, Rose, and swept clean his last retreat and hold

In Europe live the dregs of Plague today, Dregs of full many an ancient Plague and dire, Old wrongs, old lies of ages blind and cruel. What if alone the world-war's world-wide fire Can purge the ambushed pestilence away? Yet woe to him that idly lights the fuel!

III

A moment's fantasy, the vision came
Of Europe dipped in fiery death, and so
Mounting re-born, with vestal limbs aglow,
Splendid and fragrant from her bath of flame.
If fleeted; and a phantom without name,
Sightless, dismembered, terrible, said: "Lo.
I am that ravished Europe men shall know
After the morn of blood and night of shame."

The specter passed, and I beheld alone
The Europe of the present, as she stands,
Powerless from terror of her own vast power,
Neath novel stars, beside a brink unknown;
And round her the sad Kings, with sleepless hands,
Piling the fagots, hour by doomful hour.

-William Watson.

— o — The Bugbear of Socialism,

Today, the question of Socialism forces itself to the front everywhere, in literary, political, and social circles, it is discussed with continually increasing interest; and the great divergence of opinion as to what is and what is not Socialism is rather bewildering to the ordinary citizen. It means this—it means that. One school declares for municipalization; another sneers at it. Some assert that it is a slow, gradual, evolutionary process; others affirm that it must come as a political coup detat, and a sudden and violent readjustment of society.

The truth, as I take it to be, is that Socialism is identical with the spirit of modern progress. With this conception, held by many of the world's foremost thinkers and reformers, I consider there is no need to quarrel.

Among the various bodies which make up the modern progressive movement, those Socialist organizations which work along the lines of political action attract most attention, not so much by reason of any good they do as because of their noisy and aggressive character. Even when not out and out revolutionary they are more extreme than the most advanced Radicals; and an amusing and suggestive feature of the movement is that each party claims to be the true party, and denounces all the others as "frauds."

The propagation of their doctrines causes much misgiving and uneasiness among certain classes, and to timid souls in general, who vaguely apprehend a menace to the measure of freedom they now enjoy. The purpose of these papers is to demonstrate the baseless nature of this fear, and to show that political or "scientific" Socialism is a bugbear pure and simple.

"Scientific Socialism" is by no means new. It had its origin in Plato's brain when he dreamed of his Republic. Other philosophers since his day, have modified his scheme, each according to his own idosyncrasies. More's "Utopia" was based partly on Plato's "Republic," and partly on the vague reports that in his time reached Europe concerning the empire of Peru, which was a Socialistic State, modelled on lines which some of our modern utopians affect to admire. They give to Manco Capac, the mythical founder of the Peruvian system, the character of an individual man, when it is evident he merely typifies a revolutionary party.

It is, perhaps, fortunate that history affords us such an object lesson as the Peruvian Socialist State. There exists no clear record of its origin; but that it succeeded to a less perfectly organized system may be conceded. It had already reached the decrepitude of old age when the Spaniards discovered the country. The official, or ruling class had crystalized into a priestly caste, filling all the State offices, with the Inca, or emperor, at their head, worshipped as a god as well as obeyed as a ruler. The status of the great mass of the people had sunk to something between that of irresponsible children and beasts of burden.

Money and the use of letters were unknown, a substitute being found for the latter in an ingenious contrivance called the quipas, the science of which was jealously confined to Inca caste; while, instead of a literature, there was a kind of drama, orally preserved, for the purpose of public amusement. The State regulated everything down to the smallest detail of industrial and domestic life. The land was divided yearly among the people. If a family had decreased during the year, thru death, marriage, or other cause, the allotment was reduced accordingly; if, on the other hand, it had augmented, the allotment was increased. Every young couple, on marrying, received an allotment and a dwelling. Marriages took place at set periods, and the State mated the couples without reference to any special predilection on the part of the young people. The welfare of the masses was carefully studied, but severe laws bound them down in a condition of hopeless, helpless subjec-

In regard to industry, public works were carried on by means of a system of levying; but care was observed that men should not be taken, out of season, from other occupations, such as tilling the soil. Raw material was collected in great general stores, and distributed at certain seasons, to be converted into fabrics by the people in their homes. The finest of everything, of course, went to the Inca caste, who toiled not nor span; and the richest productions were reserved for the emperor and his own multitudinous family; while the people were permitted to restain the coarser stuffs for their own use:

This exaggerated form of paternal government had, at the time of the Spanish invasion, crushed out every spark of individuality in the people, leaving them utterly without initiative, so that a body of something over two hundred adventurers conquered a population of thirty millions!

II

Of course the modern State Socialist will indignantly deny that the establishment of his pet system would lead to such a condition of things as overtook the Peruvian masses; but no amount of sophistry can alter the fact that State control is destructive of individuality and of personal liberty. He can offer no guarantee that his officially organized State would not degenerate into a despotism.

So many and serious are the objections to

State Socialism that of late years its advocates have ceased to present their cut and dried schemes, and have confined themselves to vague allusions. The phrase—"cooperative commonwealth," is often on their lips—it is, in fact, their favorite shibboleth—and they love to prate about "liberty, equality, fraternity"; but in the heat of debate they sometimes lose their caution, and declare their compulsory system to be inevitable, sneering at the idea of freedom. "Freedom," they tell you, "is a dream."

It is their own regimentally constituted utopia that is a dream-the same dream that inspired the fanatic Robespierre and the Jacobins when they instituted the reign of terror in France in 1793. The modern State Socialist, with his pyramidical system is merely a survival of the Jacobin. It is a species of philosophical atavism; for the principal of governmental or State control of things social, industrial, and economic belongs to a past epoch of history and a low stage of human development, which the world has long since left behind. The tendency of the present age is, not to fetter the individual, but to free him; to leave him more and more at liberty to carve out his own destiny; just as, in the family, the parental control is gradually lightened and relaxed, until the child is no longer subject

Since they take for their rallying cry, liberty, equality, and fraternity; since they announce themselves as the heralds and pioneers of a new social system which is to free the worker from industrial bondage and social misery; it is proper that we should examine their professed aims, and the means they employ in order to propagate their doctrines, before attempting to analyze the doctrines themselves.

III

Here, briefly and concisely put, is what they propose to do: "Educate the people" up to the point of sending a majority of Socialist members to Parliament, the leaders of which body will form a cabinet and proceed to frame and pass an act, declaring "the land and the machinery of production, distribution and exchange," to be public property, henceforth to be controlled in the interests of the whole people. This action, declare our sanguine utopians, will extinquish all class distinctions, all parasitism, and turn every able-bodied man and woman into a worker. Each worker, they further assert, will be secured in the enjoyment of the full amount of wealth produced by his or her toil; in short, it will establish the industrial millennium, the cooperative commonwealth.

To any sane, unprejudiced thinker, the gross ridiculousness of this proposition is apparent the moment it is stated; yet a great many among the working classes accept it in blind confidence. Dazzled by the glittering prospect it conjures up, they fail to realize its visionary and delusive character, or to see the numerous obstacles standing in the way of its attainment.

In the first place, the assertion that the inauguration of State Socialism would abolish classes is as fallacious as the other misleading statements, that the worker would be secured in the possession of the full prod-

uct of his labor; for it is apparent that to extend State control to every ramification of social, industrial and economic-life (and this is what State Socialism means, if it means anything) would create an enormous swarm of officials of every description, the burden of whose maintenance would naturally fall on the workers' shoulders. And whoever has noted (as who has not) how the possession of authority inflates the pride and self-consequence of those endowed with it, and how they incline to look down on those they rule, will comprehend at once, that State Socialism would put us all at the mercy of a swarm of Dogberries and Shallows. The democratic elective method of putting them in office, instead of obviating this danger would enhance it, for the very circumstance of their selection would be their certificate of superiority. Ambition for high places would inspire the vulgar; intrigue would be rife; nepotism would consolidate the official class, and a reign of tyranny and grinding despotism

Those "scientific" Socialist writers who have ventured to sketch a picture of their cooperative commonwealth, besides showing how the wonderful State machine would regulate every branch of economic and industrial life, do not hesitate to assert that such things as sports, amusements, sexual relations, and even clothing, would be matters for governmental dictation rather than individual choice. The last item mentioned—dress—caps the climax of absurdity, for we are all to wear uniforms!—Alvan Marlaw.

(To be continued.)

— o — The Practise of Liberty.

Mr. Barnard's recent article on "Libertarians and Liberty" was one of the best things that have ever appeared in Free Society. It is poetical as well as practical; and reads like a classic. I feel pessimistic when I see how far we are from practising its teachings.

I for one was born with this libertarian spirit, I say over again and again, "Oh! to be perfectly free," in every sense of the word. But do we, any of us, realize and practise liberty? Most of us, even with this feeling of freedom, are so dependent upon one another and so given to fearing we may do something to furt a loved; one that we crush our own desires; and thus we retard the progress of liberty.

As Mr. Barnard says, "only the glad are strong," but seeing so much misery and unhappiness in actual life, I feel very weak, as I look around me and gaze on all sides of life, more especially in isolated homes. I see so much contention and lack of harmony, that I really get discouraged over and impatient with all humanity.

I will illustrate with a little family scene: I know a man who will continually nag, slander, and quarrel with his wife for merely speaking to a man; on the seventh day, tired out, he reforms; then he says to the wife: "I am so sorry, I will never find fault again, but will attend to my own business. I know I have wronged you, but I will change and be a better man." This has been the program for seven years.

Just think what this libertarian woman has to endure, but having a child she isn't able to battle with the great world. This woman tells me that she feels like a haunted animal, or as if some terrible monster is hovering over her ready to devour her. She is young, her prospects for the future are not very bright; and most of all, she comes from a family believing in liberty.

I am inclined to be a little pessimistic, and wish for this great libertarian spirit that it may become more universal. If we work together, with more self-control, and toleration for our fellow being, we may finally reach the desired goal.

MINERVA.

--- 0 --Notes on Government.

The exposures anent the corruption of the postal officials have been received with a mild note of surprise and reprobation; the latter apparently only for the stupidity which permitted detection. That all governmental departments exist only for "graft," political and financial, is well known to the judicious. Government being essentially an immoral institution depending for its existence upon force and inanity, could not produce other than a crop of law-breakers and criminals for whom "public office is a private snap." Someone once said "a government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." Ineffably beautiful the sentiment therein expressed, but as empty of sense as the resounding platitudes of our Fourth of July orators.

No such government ever did exist, nor can exist. Government is always managed in the interests of the few; always has been, always will be. Anyone foolish enough to think that because once in so often a vote is taken the conditions are changed is welcome to the belief. The history of all governments has been one of continuous oppression and corruption, and the nature of the institution makes such result inevitable. If a government be permitted to levy a protective tariff, the benefits go to the acute and grasping few, and the lawmakers who at their behest lay the tax. Permit a government to prescribe the currency, and who benefits save the scanty part of the people that scheme to control the issues thereof? The title to land should be "use and occupancy" as of old, but the "good" government. assumes sovereignty, and who reaps the reward of that predatory act? The immense land-holdings and shrewd landlords make clear the answer. If the title to lands-mineral or agricultural-was actual use and possession (as was the case with the mineral land in the United States as late as the late '60s), how long could the coal trust have held out against the miners? How long could the various monopolies such as steel (I should have written "steal," but that spelling applies equally to all) monopoly exist, were it not for the usurpations and oppressions of government in granting special concessions and arbitrarily limiting competition?

All monopolistic profit is due to that denial of liberty involved in tariff laws, land laws, banking laws. None but the injudicious and beneficiaries of a tariff deny the individual right to buy and sell wheresoever 37

he wills without being held up by modern Claude Duvals, under the name of custom officers, every time that an imaginary line is crossed. The right to the use of unoccupied and unused land is clear to all but the most unintelligent; likewise the right to issue a promisory note, with or without guarantee, to whomsoever is willing to accept it in exchange for something else, is palpable.

The cry for anti-trust legislation is absurd; no such legislation, nor any kind of attack upon them, can be of the slightest ultimate benefit; nor can it be just. What each individual has the right to do, any combination of individuals has the right to do; and the fact that such combination is denominated a trust alters the matter not an iota. Trusts, as said, have been made possible by special privilege legislation that restricts competition, and that legislation is found in tariff, banking, land laws, and one other less better understood, the patent laws. The trinity, then, money, tariff and land laws, are responsible for the greater part of our economic troubles, and if the enactments relating to them were repealed, relief would result. What is needed is not more legislation, but less. Repeals of inequitable, ineffective, restrictive, invasive legislation.

The laboring and agriculturist classes need not for one moment expect relief from additional enactments designed to accomplish this or that; nor can they expect their duly elected representatives to carry to effective culmination any contemplated legis lation of that nature. If change is to be made, it must be found not in a belief in the sovereign power of political machinery, but in a belief that the less governmental powers exist, the better will individual liberty and equal rights be conserved; and the sooner the special privileges are taken away, the sooner will be accomplished the results so ardently desired; more equitable distribution of the products of labor, i. e., wealth .-George Goodfellow, M. D., in the San Francisco Examiner.

Socialism and Authority.

In No. 421 Americus makes a specific charge of authoritarianism against Socialists. He quotes a passage written some years ago by Kautsky, which reads thus: "In a Socialist society all the means of production will be concentrated by the State, and the latter will be the only employer; there will be no choice."

I quite agree with Americus that such an arrangement of society would be dangerous to liberty. /I am glad to say, however, that the above is no longer considered good Socialist doctrine. Kautsky himself entirely repudiates it in his "Social Revolution," written last year; and within the past decade Engels, Vandervelde, the Fabian Society, and other representative Socialists have declared against any such proposal. Most Socialists think that the advantages of collective production on a large scale are so great in nearly all industries that few will refuse to take advantage of them; but they must not be thrust upon anybody. The passage I quoted from Kautsky in No. 421 fairly represents the present state of Socialist thought on the subject.

The gist of the other remarks of Ameri-

cus is contained in the following sentence: "All association involving government, the State, collective ownership of the means of production, officials, etc., is authoritarian or nothing."

"The State" is a phrase that may mean anything. Most Socialist writers have repudiated the name of "State Socialists," asserting that a Socialist society would not be a State. Liebknecht says the State usually means" organized society," and accepts the word on that understanding. In "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," which I consider the best essay on Socialism ever written, Oscar Wilde says: "Now, as the State is not to govern, it may be asked what the State is to do. The State is to be a voluntary association that will organize labor and be the manufacturer and distributor of necessary commodities. The State is to make what is useful. The individual is to make what is beautiful."

To argue about such a word is useless, so I shall simply quote the well-known passage from "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Frederick Engels, which gives a good idea of the Socialist conception of social evolution:

As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present Anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtne of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole society-the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society-this is, at the same time. i s last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of procession of production. The State is not "abolished." It dies

I know the opponents of Socialism will not admit that things would really work out that way at all, but my present object is merely to define the aims of Socialists, not to discuss the chances of their being realized.

By the way I see that in No. 421 Americus says, "No wonder the Social Democrats won a great victory in the German elections; their platform did not even smell of Socialism."

In some people the sense of smell is absent, and Americus may be one of them. Anyhow, I think an average pair of nostrils might be able to detect some Socialism in the following:

Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production—the earth and its fruits, mines and quarries, raw material, tools, machines, means of exchange—into social ownership, and the substitution of Socialist production, carried on by and for society, in the place of the present production of commodi ies for exchange, can effect such a revolution that, instead of large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as heretofore, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have despoiled, they may become a source of the highest well being and of the most perfect and comprehensive harmony."

Those who wish to know what more the German platform says about Socialism should read it. It will be found in pages 24 to 28 of "Socialism; What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish," by William Liebknecht.

R. B. Kerr.

Rejoinder to R. B. Kerr.

When in a recent issue of FREE SOCIETY, R. B. Kerr, after admitting that Bellamy, Chas. H. Vail, and Robert Blatchford were authoritarian Socialists, asked for proof that Kautsky also was authoritarian, I gave him proof in words from his author which were so conclusive that he could not but admit, as he now does, that Kautsky has written as an authoritarian. But while conceding this, he tells us that Kautsky has changed his views of late, and now stands for freedom, not authority. My observation upon this point shall be clear: while Kautsky's conversion to broader views speaks volumes of praise for his astuteness as a politician it is very damaging to his claims to consistency.

For, what is any form of government but authority; and what is political Socialism, with its institutions of officialdom, majority rule, etc., but a form of government? One may quote Engels, and Kautsky against himself, forever, and not answer this pertinent question; which I have now put to R. B. Kerr for the second time.

Again, what State Socialists say, in telling us what the State would do in the way of committing suicide when Socialists had captured it, is one thing; (and their utopia smells very nice—at a distance) but the logic of the "class struggle," of "economic determinism," of "the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution," and of "surplus value," is a very different thing, and a state of mind like that of a Bellamy, a Vail, a Blatchford, or an unreformed Kautsky, is its natural, its normal result.

The statement that the collectivity (majority) is the proper custodian of some of the individual's affairs implies (whether we deny it from conviction or from love of utopia) that the collectivity is the proper custodian of all the individual's affairs; and an induction from the facts of government thruout the past and the attempts of the State to enlarge its scope, may be made with profit by those who demur. Political Socialism is "authoritarian or nothing."

R. B. Kerr cannot, apparently, separate the ideals and dreams which political Socialists allow themselves from the logic of State supervision of the individual's life. The history of the State, then, must teach him that it is never a suicide, but is rather a parasite, living upon the people, sucking their substance, and at all times and in all junctures seeking to enlarge its limit of control, and thus secure itself in power and from disturbance.

R. B. Kerr has misapprehended me in commenting upon one of my "Echoes"; the Socialist platform written years ago by Liebknecht is indeed circulated in Germany, but my critic should know that the platform of immediate aims, which the Social Democrats circulated among the German workers, and which accounted for the vast increase of the Socialist vote in the recent elections, was a very different paper.

Finally: Kautsky, with others, has changed his conception of political Socialism in practise, but the nature of the State, of majority rule, and all the rest, has not changed; nor will it change to suit the diplomacy, the indefiniteness, and the fear of the consequences of their own logic expressed in the fluctuating utterances of the State Socialists of today.

AMERICUS.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

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, JULY 26, 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.

Owing to the inopportune season, and also for reasons of ill-health, the idea of arranging a tour for Comrade Emma Goldman in the west, has been abandoned.

A. Isaak is now in the east visiting various cities and meeting the comrades. All who wish to communicate with or meet him may write to him care of Jay Fox, 57 East 99 th St., New York City. He will be glad to see all friends personally.

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.

- 0 -Important for Chicago Only.

As the picnic of the Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung on May 31, was greatly hindred by rain and cold weather, many friends have urged the management to arrange another picnic this year. They have accordingly engaged Ogden's Grove, which has been newly refitted, for August 16. Prizes for children will be given, and all are invited to bring them along. Singing societies are especially

Members of trade unions, turner and singing societies admitted free. Subscribers will receive complimentary tickets.

Admission at the gate 25 cents.

The grove is at Clybourn Ave. and Willow St. Take North Ave. or Clybourn Ave. cars. Transfer from all north and west side cars.

A good time is assured all around-let everybody wishing to enjoy life be present.

All friends of the labor movement should not fail to join the jolly members of the Debating Club at their Summernight Picnic, which takes place August 2, 1 p. m., in Walsh Grove. Take Lincoln Avenue cars, transfer to Bowmanville cars, at the end of which line walk three blocks west and one block south. For members of labor unions and singing societies free admission. Tickets bought in advance 10 cents, at the entrance 25 cents.

Outpost Echoes.

Hope must often weep.

* * There is no wisdom trust.

* * Prejudices are not opinions.

* * *

Injunctions are tissue paper clubs. * . *

Man is more than a mere stomach.

* . . Higher wages only mean easier chains. * * *

In the game of exploitation the winner

Life without freedom is like bread without water. * *

The only good thing that government can do is to die.

A great soul would exchange everything but life, for freedom.

The ice trust may melt under the fierce heat of public indignation.

The banners of the rich are dyed with the hearts' blood of the poor.

We are like wolves, except that we fight for bones in the midst of plenty.

Social life does not consist in living with one's fellows at the cost of manhood.

If the Grover Cleveland presidential boom bursts it will make a most damnably bad smell for a few days.

The army led by Mother Jones is an army of beggars; its weapons consisting only of its miseries and complaints.*

The pope is dead, but the papacy still lives. Libertarians have little interest in the death of mere representatives of authority.

On July 18 Chicago Democrats had a pienie, or rather a variation of their daily picnic known as the plucking of the people.

Loubet and Edward are entertaining all Europe just now as the fat twins. Their princely salaries make drawing cards of them.

Roosevelt, the clean, has made Leonard Wood, of unsavory memory, a major general. Thus the good (friends of presidents) are rewarded.

The Hearst papers have just discovered another Anarchist conspiracy. Another lie from that muck-spouting fountain of lies, sensationalism.

There is just one thing which Anarchists are bent on killing (liars take notice) and that sole thing is the institution of human slavery now triumphant on earth.

Libertarians do not seek liberty as an end, they seek it as a means; as a means to life. Those who do not want to live, mere vegetables, cannot understand the thirst for lib.

Some clergymen are agitating the scheme of a pulpit trust. The assets of the various houses representing God & Co. want to combine, not for the purpose of monopoly, but to avoid threatened extinction. .

The trustees of an eastern public library have just refused to accept a bust of McKinley on the score that that cheap politician's imperialism was anti-American. Thus, one at a time, the hypocrites begin to crawl out of their holes.

Ireland is taking a more or less defiant attitude toward the king whom conquest enthrones, but as this is only an expression of wish to have a ruler of Irish blood, and not a protest against rule itself, it is of little importance except in a spectacular way.

The strike at the works of Kellogg Switchboard Company served to show the solidarity of labor to some degree, and brought out courageous utterances from Young and others. Rioting also has occured in a sufficient degree to show authority that labor is not in a mood to be trifled with all the time.

Swiftly and surely do the doings of the financial aristocrats of America come to resemble those of backward and authorityridden Europe, and the fatal progression toward complete corruption of personal and public character involved in the accumulation of vast riches becomes notoriously

The misappropriation of public money under Republican rule will no doubt be made a campaign weapon of by the Democrats in the national political contest about to open; but what any other party would do if in the position of the present possessor of authority will be completely ignored by the leaders of voting fools.

Federal judges are beginning to usurp the functions of State and county judges to a degree sufficient to frighten even the upholders of "law and order," and a feeling of distrust and apprehension fills the breasts of thousands who ten years ago would have scoffed at the possibility of a Grosscup's making law for the people of Illinois.

Clarence S. Darrow has now added to his other startling acts that of marriage, and is on his way abroad with a completed record of the most extraordinary contradictions between principles and practise to his credit imaginable. "What will Darrow do next?" is now displaced by the question "what can Darrow do next?" while wonder stands paralyzed.

Intrigue has begun at the Vatican in a bewildering degree. Cardinals Rampolla and Gotti are leading factions respectively. All the methods of politics are in use in the contest for the position of pope, and the choice of a new "Vicar of God" proceeds like an American election. All rule smacks of the same elements, and elections even of popes, are but results of schemes.

New Jersey, the State of trusts, has eight thousand young children working in factories, to say nothing of other thousands who are employed by individuals in a small way. New Jersey ranks thirty-first in the scale of illiteracy among fifty-two States and territories, and is fast deteriorating. Soon capitalism will be able to do almost anything it wishes to New Jersey; and as one of that State's sons, I curse and wonder alternately.

Philadelphia is corrupt to rottenness, politically, as Minneapelis and St. Louis were proved to be, and as Chicago undoubtedly is; the conditions here being so putrid that no one has the stomach to begin an investigation. In Mayor Ashbridge, Philadelphia had an executive who was an avowed and enthusiastic seeker for "boodle," and now that he has gone away heavy with booty and laughing at the people, these sit silently and complaisently by and ask for no uncovering, for no investigation. The stench of political cadavers stupefies.

The president of the building trades employers association of New York, C. L. Bidlitz, throws light upon the labor problem from his penny candle in these words: "I see no solution for the problem until hunger compels capitulation." What this ignorant and presumptuous mouther needs is to sit down and read a history of the French Revolution, or even one of the American Revolution. But even then his shivers and apprehensions would probably be punctuated by listenings to the voice of the stock-ticker or by speculations upon getting rid of some watered securities. What fools these presidents be!

The Nonconformists of Great Britain are up in arms against a government which wishes to make all taxable individuals pay for the support of the Anglican Church without regard to their religion affiliations, and soon the prisons promise to be full of martyrs for conscience sake, as religious martyrs are generally called. Anarchism can refer to so many applications of its principle, that of resistance to government, in justification of itself, that this latest one is only another answer to those who find in law alone the safeguard of a people's interests. Resistance to law, and not the enactment of law, can be proved to be at the base of all social advance, as many American experiences also can testify. When will the people see it?

Anti trust legislation has worked out in Texas to its fatal and inevitable results; the trades unions now being the subject of legal attack under its provisions. Not so long ago the anti-trust law of this southern State was hailed as the new savior, which would remove the grasp of the octupus of oppression from the people's throats and enable them to again breathe the air of industrial freedom; now we see it as it is, as all law is; a machine, a means for conserving

and creating property interests. Now we see law naked, its benevolent aspects laid aside as a garment, and its real purpose and intent shown forth as clear as things are shown in the light of noonday. Trades unionism cannot do better than fix its eyes upon such moves and profit by the observations.

AMERICUS.

Words of Lincoln.

In my present position I could scarcely be jutified were I to omit raising a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point not so hackneyed to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above labor in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available not only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. But capital is the fruit of labor. and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.-Lincoln. , -- 0 -

Why We Want Socialism?

Because it will give us enough to eat and wear.

Because it will give us beautiful houses to live in.

Because we can travel to Europe, if we want to.

Because we shall have time to study and make things.

Because we shall not have to work after we are fifty.

Because we shall not have to be dishonest or mean.

Because we can afford to be married and have happy, healthy children.—Seattle Socialist.

We could have all these things under slavery. There is no demand for liberty here!

--- o ---Relioion a Universal Thing.

So you will understand that it is no part of my purpose to try to convince any man or woman in this audience of the truth or accuracy of some definition of religion. I am not here as a Congregationalist, nor as a Protestant, nor as a Christian. All such names are nothing but labels that are attached to fossils. They may have use in a museum. They have no value for any vital purpose. I am not here as the purveyer of any brand of religion. I am here only as a man. I have not a particle of interest in anything that goes by the name of religion

or by any other name, which has not the inherent power to excite the enthusiasm and enlist the energies of any man who comes to know it. That is the only thing I am interested in as a religion. Religion to me is a universal thing, or it is nothing at all. It belongs to all men equally, or it belongs to none. It is human, elemental, the supreme necessity and joy of life, or it takes its place among the things which must surely pass away from human interest. I will have no religion and have no part in attempting to teach a religion which is not able to command the unhesitating loyalty of every awakened soul, which is not the blossom of life, which does not commend itself to human beings as the supreme good, when once they come in sight of it.-William Thurston

Here and There.

In Evansville, Ind., employers have discharged militiamen because union members refused to work with them.

The growth of labor unions and the withdrawal of their members from the local company of militia at LaCrosse, Wis., has depleted the latter organization, and it is on the point of disappearing thru lack of members. Let the good work go on!

Labor unions in California are still warning workers in the east not to believe the alluring promises of employers in that State. There is no scarcity of laborers there, and wages are not high. This is especially so with farm workers.

According to reports the following occurred in Witobsk, Russia: On easterday in one of the churches the priest suddenly began to make a speech to his congregation, in which he pointed out that they were worshipping wooden pieces, that the icons (images) were but idols, and reproached them for going to church. "I am here because of the salary I receive, but you do not receive anything for it," after which utterance he violently threw an icon to the floor, breaking it to pieces. The congregation was in a turmoil, and the priest war finally taken to an insane asylum.

--- o ---LETTER-BOX.

Kinghorn-Jones, San Francisco.—Thanks for the excellent clipping from The Examiner. It is perhaps as you say: someone on the editorial staff was napping. The case of the sculptor Marion Wells, who had to enter a public institution while the State owed him \$1,700 for work done, is not at all surprising. The State living on robbery, it is not over particular about paying debts. It is precisely for this reason that it cannot be trusted with the issuance of paper money. It has always repudiated paper issues, often palming them off, and, as the nature of robbers remains the same, most likely always will do so.

Correspondents.—When making remittances stamps are acceptable; but 1 cent or 5 cent denominations are preferble to the 2 cent ones.

B., Denver.—New subscription received. Thanks. The quotation is a little too disconnected for publication.

For San Francisco.

The Anarchist propaganda is now carried on every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at Knights of Red Branch Hall, 1133 Mission St. Discussion and free platform.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

IX (continued.) France, like England, had its precursors of Anarchism. Rousseau's whole philosophy is Anarchism so pronounced that, great as his influence was, no one gave him credit for meaning all he said. And in fact his weak point, like Carlyle's, is that he loved to say more than he meant. Condorcet, however, was an Anarchist who avoided amusing paradoxes, like Rousseau's praise of the barbarous state. Renowned in his day as a mathematician and philosopher of the French materialist type, this illustrious victim of Jacobin frenzy is now remembered chiefly by his posthumous book on the "Progress of the Human Mind." There is something sublime about the zealous but placid optimism with which the aged savant, writing in the shadow of the guillotine, traces the progress of the human race from savagery up to his own period, attributing each step in advance to increase of knowledge; and foretells that the next stage in this progress will abolish government. For what the most intelligent are beginning to see, all will see before long. But the enlightened class in Condorcet's time were beginning to see that knowledge is the instrument of civilization, and that widely as nation differs from nation or individual from individual, all are contributors to knowledge by virtue of original thoughts and actions, whence it follows that the old time policy which governments are organized to carry out is a short-sighted one, unsuited to an enlightened age. Nations organized government that they might conquer other nations; and governments suppress the originality of individual subjects, really because it is fatal to their authority, ostensibly because some of these individuals are reckoned criminals, that is because either superiority or inferiority to the conventional and Philistine morality of their nation brings them into conflict with it. But enlightenment sees that progress in knowledge, and therefore in everything else, depends on exchange, and is hindered by repression of original thought; so that neither the conquest of a weaker nation nor the imprisonment of a weaker individual is in the long run otherwise than mischievous to those who do it-it may be made necessary by extremely dangerous aggression which provokes it; but, if at all possible, wisdom dictates avoiding and only ignorance delights to effect it. It is evident how these ideas harmonize with those of the eminent Germans about the same period. Schiller saw in every individual mind a stream contributing to the river of human thought as it descends again into the ocean of eternity. Goethe, tho he would doubtless be much surprised to hear it, was, as the great enemy of Philistinism, the great promoter of Anarchy in the highest province of creative energy. Condorcet, however, left no party. While English and American Anarchism continued to make steady tho not rapid progress, that of France was smothered, first under the Red Republican tyranny of the Great Committee, and then under the Bourbon reaction; as that of Germany was beneath misguided patriotism in the war of so-called liberation.* It

Goethe foresaw the tendency. He was as much of

was not until about 1848 that the great Anarchistic movement of continental Europe became sensibly active.

During the interval since 1760, much had been done to prepare the way for this revival. Looking back over the history of Anarchistic theory, we may now see that its development has followed the normal course of an induction. With Burke, Junius, and the Anarchist poets of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, * it was merely a matter of observation-government does not do good; it does harm. Godwin began analysis and classification. For him, as for Condorcet, not only is human nature indefinitely improveable, an idea faintly anticipated by Burke, but its improvement has a definite condition, increase of knowledge, which is effected by "the original mind" and impeded by authority. Herbert Spencer touches another point in his "Social Statics"-the inevitable conflict of these two tendencies, and consequently the paradox since epigramatically stated: "He who says authority, says confusion-he who says Anarchy, says order." This was partly understood, as was remarked, by Paine and Jefferson. Of them, the former at least had an opportunity, not in all respects misused, of reducing his thoughts to practise; and thus Anarchistic induction entered on a new stage by adding experiment to observation. Jefferson and Franklin introduced Anarchy into religion. Adam Smith and his follower Cobden, introduced Anarchy into trade. These great experiments abundantly sustained the hypothesis-authority in religion had for centuries meant the most frightful confusion. In trade it had meant smuggling, "moonshining," international war, domestic discord approaching civil war. In both spheres, Anarchy immediately produced order. The orthodox economists, Bentham particularly, so enlarged upon the mischief which law and politics do to business that many bourgeois writers, as is well known, have, following them, come as near to Anarchism as possible. Herbert Spencer ("Over Legislation") is, as usual, the great example. An accidental experiment, furnished by the occupation of women at remunerative labor, and coinciding with Malthus' trenchant proofs of the harm done by practises hitherto considered "the very stuff of the conscience" introduced the Woman's Rights movement; and Anarchism invaded the sphere of the sexual relation. Meanwhile Saint Simon had grasped that idea of social evolution so important in the later works of Herbert Spencer and in Marx's theories. Its importance to the progress of Anarchistic thought requires no comment.

a German patriot as anyone ought to be of a patriot at all; but he would not encourage the War of Liberation. "How," he said, "can I write songs of hate without hating? And how is it possible for me, to whom only culture and barbarism are important, to hate a nation which has contributed more to the culture of Europe and to my own, than probably any other?"

• Among these it would be entirely proper to class the "Pantisocrats," Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, but for their so-called apostacy after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens; which preceded their best known works. Indeed the tendency in England, up to the time of this unfortunate event, was very strong and general.

That authority does harm, not good, is proved by observation. Several of the ways and reasons have been arrived at by analysis. That Anarchy operates as a remedy, is demonstrated, in very large and transcendentally important departments. by experiment. But can it-be completed? We cannot, of course, positively tell till this is done. But the determining tendency has been discovered by Saint Simon. Not only does the progress of knowledge contend against and undermine its great obstacle, authority, as Condorcet perceived; but it does so in a definite manner. The sphere to which knowledge is confined is the physical. Knowledge does not come of the (metaphysical) Volition to Know, but of the Volition to Do. We learn how anything can be done by trying to do it, and the substance of that knowledge to which we attain in this, the only manner, is a relation of secondary causes and effects. Now what men chiefly try to do is to gratify the desires of the body with less labor proportionately to the result than before. This lowest of human objects is, because the lowest, the most general, and economy is the basis of progress. By trying to live more comfortably with less labor, men learn that the ways this desire firm suggests, such as eating each other, are not the best; they advance from cannibalism to slavery, from slavery to landlordism and feudalism, from feudalism to commercialism, because their experience teaches them that mutual endeavors to coerce waste power, while voluntary cooperation saves it. The next step must be a complete cooperation, purged of those processes by which they still attempt to exploit each other. And it must be a voluntary cooperation; for the lesson they have now almost got is that coercion works, not cooperation, but resistance and contention. With such thoughts, Anarchism enters upon its best known, that is its economic phase.

So great is the force of habit that this Anarchism was everywhere preceded by Socialism, either proposing to make government industrial, as with Lassalle, or to make industry the law of a community, as with Fourier. America took the lead in shaking off the bondage to precedent. Josiah Warren (grandson of that Warren who fell at Bunker Hill) may not, indeed, have huvanced his theories before Marx and Proudhon; but he does not appear to have learned anything from them. What he learned from was, as he tells us, the innumerable experiments of the Fourieristic type which at one time were tried in America. He became wearied, without being discouraged, by their uniform failure. At last a light broke in upon him. The fault of existing economic and social arrangements is not too much competition, as Communists are in the habit of saying, but too little. In a world of landlords, charters, monopolies, legal tenders, legal restraints, there is no such thing as free competition. The first thing needed is, in his phrase, Individual Sovereignty= Anarchy. Competition, he was aware, tends to reduce prices to the cost of production. What hinders the result and keeps alive production for profit, is privilege. With individual sovereignty competition will be free; prices will fall to cost; and the result

will be plenty to the point of practical Communism. We are to reach the golden east by sailing west. Mr. Warren himself told me this-the expectation is not perhaps made very clear, in his book "Equitable Commerce." His attempts to found cooperative stores, etc., on the "Cost Principle." are said to have met with some success; but evidently the first step of Individual Sovereignty can be secured only by taking the support of public opinion away from government. For the Malthusian dilemma of overpopulation Warren found, like other American Anarchists, a ready remedy in the emancipation of women. His anticipation of Marx and Proudhon attracted the very respectful notice of John Stuart Mill. who does not appear to have known much about them; and perhaps it suggested Mill's weighty remark that the Malthusian theory, hitherto considered the fatal objection to Socialism, might turn out the strongest argument in its favor.

The three great names in the economic Anarchism of Europe are Proudhon, Marx, and Bakunin. All three of these celebrated men acknowledged their obligations to Saint Simon as originator of the idea of social and economic evolution. All three began their philosophic career in the Hegelian Left, without whose influence they might not have shaken off sufficiently respect for the logic of authority. All learned much from the orthodox economists, especially Ricardo. But there is a difference. Ricardo's view of economy ("the Iron Law of Wages") has been described as "Calvinism," while Malthus' doctrine, adopted in defiance of Ricardo by John Stuart Mill, who began as a disciple of the latter, was, we remember, that there is no Iron Law-that the minimum wages of the laborer are not the least on which he can live, work, and reproduce, but the least on which he will-therefore, it is economic "Arminianism." The Iron Law of Wages is accordingly an illegitimate deduction from the Malthusian theory, drawn by Ricardo and MacCulloch, but repudiated by Malthus himself. This, Marx and Proudhon do not seem to have known, for in their time of activity Malthus was little read-the (too) logical system of Ricardo being supposed by orthodox economists a finality. Both devoted a few pages to demolishing Malthus, who was presumed to have demonstrated the Iron Law. Both endeavored to show that the Iron Law was a true law of bourgeois production, but not of free production.* Now the truth is that the Iron Law does follow from unrestricted increase of population, but not from restricted increase such as would take place if women were emancipated. Alone among the Great Three economic Anarchists, Bakunin seems

* Bonar, "Malthus and his Work," book IV, "The Critics" regards Marx's criticism on Malthus as one of the best. It is a corollary from his view of capital. The surplus population, according to Marx, is a surplus only from the standpoint of the employer. And far from being a thing the capitalist sincerely regrets, it is the reserve on which he relies to break the force of a labor combination. This is a telling argument ad hominem—an effective reply to any such suggestion as that imprudence in marriage is the cause of poverty. It is not, however, any proof of the contrary, but rather a proof that men cannot be free till women are, and this moral is constantly drawn by the Bakuninist, Tolstoyan, and American Anarchists.

to have adequately understood this. He only, therefore, was sufficiently zealous in advocating the emancipation of women. It should seem that none of them really added very much in the way of statical inductive theory to Warren. What their influence rests upon is their systematic identification of Anarchism with economic regeneration, which made it universally interesting. Proudhon and Bakunin did, however, advance beyond Warren in one important respect. They fully realized that government would not allow the introduction of free competition and consequent cooperation till it was itself overthrown, and abandoned the idea of effecting anything by small voluntary organizations-Bakunin at the outset, Proudhon after he had tried establishing a free banking system under the evil eye of government. But in truth Proudhon is important to Anarchism chiefly as an agitator. His use of the word was alone no inconsiderable exploit. It was like capturing the enemy's favorite piece of artillery and turning it against him. Proudhon's writings are much easier to read than those of Marx; and, accordingly, he has received more general credit for deep thoughts, such as that property contradistinguished from possession is not in labor which produces but the government's primordial claim bestowed on individuals under forms like proslavery legislation, land grants, and charters of monopoly. His celebrity rests mainly on terse, epigramatic, and paradoxical sayings, such as "Property is robbery," and "Liberty is not the daughter but the mother of order." The ideas are good enough to keep anything so well written alive and insure its circulation, as missionary literature, for a long time. But the Proudhon was the most careful and deliberate of journalists, who never wrote in a hurry, still he was a journalist, the bulk of whose fifty volumes consists in tracts and articles often written without much previous reading, often, therefore, about what he did not understand. Marx, undoubtedly, is the systematic economist of Anarchism. He is described by the unfriendly critic of the Encyclopedia Britannica as facile princeps among assailants of existing institutions, a man of vast learning, candor and acuteness,-his principal work on "Capital" as "the philosophic history of the bourgeois system." His strength is logically due to grasp of the Evolutionary philosophy, so powerfully reenforced towards the end of his life by Darwin. His weak point will probably be found by posterity in a personal ambition which, tho very creditable by itself, defeated its own aims. He fell out first with Proudhon, who had indeed done several things to provoke him. On the argument of the French Anarchist's best known book "What is Property?" there was probably indeed no difference. But all the opportunist in Marx pointed towards acting with the democrats; while Proudhon fancied a possibility in the Second Empire. Then his French flippancy annoyed the systematic German. His most elaborate treatise, "Economic Contradictions, or the Philosophy of Misery," appeared mere idle paradox to Marx, who criticised it in a pamphlet styled "The Misery of Philosophy." There is truly in

Proudhon's Anarchism, a disposition, which in America has become pronounced, towards mere Individualism. See Tucker's "Instead of a Book," extracted from the files of his paper, Liberty. Marx would have none of that. During the ardent period of his active life, he was known to Europe as the founder and head of the dreaded International. But Nemesis overtook his attempt to unite Anarchism with politics, when, under the lead of Bakunin, all the energy of the International began to go with Anarchism and

away from politics.

The expulsion of Bakunin and his followers, effected by Marx in 1873, was in fact the dissolution of the most powerful revolutionary organization the world had yet seen. The subsequent meetings of the International were held only by the portion said to be expelled. (!) See "Pages of Socialist History." That the three great apostles of Anarchism in Europe disagreed so much, no more prevents their being authors of the later movement than a similar unfortunate fact preyents our regarding Luther, Zwingle, and Socinus, as the principal figures in the Reformation. In one case as in the other there were leaders distinguished by strong traits both of individuality and nationality; and for that reason each had a work which no other could do. It hardly appears as if any of the three great Anarchists knew in what his real strength consisted. Since the last general meeting of the Bakunin International in 1881, both the Marx wing of the movement and the other has been heard of under new auspices. But the former is now a mere political party. The function of organizing Anarchism, to which Marx had aspired when he planned the International, devolved on the apostle of Chaos, Bakunin. The paradox, if we begin with Bakunin's doctrines, is explicable enough. The mystery, as on all parallel occasions, is in "the abysmal depths of personality" whence those doctrines sprang. It is usual to say Bakunin's ultra destructive doctrines were the reaction against Russian despotism. I should rather say they represent a peculiarity of the Sclavonic race. Russian Anarchism is a phase by itself, within which are others, quite antipodal, yet grouped about a center in a way which allows all alike to be characteristically Russian still. No types of Anarchism can be more unlike than Bakunin's ("God and the State"; "Groundwork of the "Social Revolution,") and Tolstoy's ("My Confession," and other theoretical works). To Bakunin "God and the State" are the twin monsters. Tolstoy hates the State as much as Bakunin; but he denounces it in the name of God. Bakunin's receipt is destruction with force and arms. Tolstoy holds violence to be absolutely. under all circumstances, unjustifiable. Christianity, of course, is to Bakunin a delusion like other religions, the more seductively pernicious in proportion as it seems amiable. To Tolstoy "there is no other name given und r heaven" whereby men or nations may be saved but that of Jesus. C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

Ignorance becomes a crime when persisted in after an opportunity to know the truth.

—Field of Progress.

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