



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, AUGUST 2, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 425.

The StateH-ouse.

Up to the State-House wend their way
Some score of thieves elect;
For one great recompense they pray;
"May we grow rich from day to day,
Altho the State be wrecked."

Up to the State-House climbs with stealth
Another pilgrim band—
The thieves who have acquired their wealth,
And, careless of their country's health,
Now bleed their native land.

And soon the yearly sale is made
Of privilege and law;
The poor thieves by the rich are paid
Across the counter, and a trade
More brisk you never saw.

And we, whose rights are bought and sold,
With reason curse and swear;
Such acts are frightful to behold,
Nor has the truth been ever told
Of half the evil there.

At last the worthless set adjourn;
We sigh with deep relief.
Then from the statute-book we learn
The record of each theft in turn,
The bills of every thief.

Now at a shameful scene pray look;
For we who cursed and swore,
Before this base born statute-book,
Whose poisoned source we ne'er mistook,
Both worship and adore.

"For law is law," we loud assert,
And think ourselves astute;
Yet quite forgetful, to our hurt,
That fraud is fraud and dirt is dirt,
And like must be their fruit.

We laugh at heathen who revere
The gods they make of stone,
And yet we never ask, I fear,
As we bow down from year to year,
How we have made our own.

We all deny the right of kings
To speak for their Creator;
May we not wonder, then, whence springs
The right divine to order things
Of any legislator?

—Ernest Crosby.

The Bugbear of Socialism.

IV

The naive assumption that nothing is required but a majority in the legislature, and a Socialist cabinet, in order to establish the cooperative commonwealth by act of parliament, is so farcical that I cannot help wondering what our writers of comic opera have been about that they have failed to see the value of this theme. The reason for the wide credence gained by the idea lies in the bald manner in which it is stated, whereby none of the more serious objections are taken into account. For instance, before they could get their parliamentary majority,

they would have to persuade a sufficiently large proportion of the electorate of the soundness of their views, and the practicability of their aim. This they profess to be able to do, and with childish self-willedness shut their eyes to the fact that there are many other organizations and societies working for social amelioration on lines totally different from theirs; that these bodies all have their followings, composed of men and women of all classes, honest, sincere, and hard working. For these and for their efforts the "scientific" Socialist has nothing but sneers and gibes: but nevertheless, their labors will not be in vain, and thru their various efforts, society will undergo a transformation the nature of which is unforeseen by anyone now living. It is the height of folly and presumption for any man, or body of men, to predict the nature of the changes that will take place in society in the future.

But grant for the sake of argument, that in a hundred or two hundred years, they succeed in getting a majority in the legislature, and their Socialist cabinet formed; grant that their famous act for the universal confiscation of social wealth is framed and issued—what follows? Shades of Gilbert and Sullivan! What follows? According to the "scientific" Socialist everything goes on smoothly and constitutionally. The possessing classes step down, and out. How considerate! In fancy we can see Macallum More and "the bold Buccleugh with his kinsmen true," handing over their title deeds and their swords; and the great Percy, "and the rest." To be brief, all the landed aristocracy, all the merchant princes, and all the captains of industry, with their myriads of subordinates, dependants, and henchmen, will become transformed by act of parliament into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the State.

As for the heads of the various States as now existing—kings, emperors, princes, presidents—they will very cheerfully "thaw and dissolve themselves into dew," recognizing that no other course is open to them, since the proletariat (about thirty-five per cent of the population) desire it. Dukes and earls will forsake their various pleasure hunting grounds—the green room and the race course, the deer forest and the grouse moor, seaside and mountain. They will doff the ermine and don fustian, and, in obedience to the imperious command of the noble and entirely disinterested Socialist premier, hand over their coronets, and meekly accepting picks and shovels and

spades, go to work in the fields and mines. One might let his fancy range for hours among the possibilities suggested as the result of this magical act of parliament.

"We shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye."

Such is the grotesque and pantomimic picture raised up in the mind by the Socialists' scheme of revolution by act of parliament. Such are the conclusions we are bound to deduce from the preaching of deluded men, who think to remedy evils purely social and economic by political methods solely. The proposition that the possessing classes will give up their wealth and privileges merely at the bidding of an executive body is too absurd to be seriously considered.

But it is no more absurd than the idea that the glib-tongued demagogues of the street corner and the beer counter can, by being sent to a legislative assembly, become transformed into angels and ministers of grace. The smooth talkers who delude the mob with sophistries in the hope of climbing to power over their heads, cannot be either sincere or honest or self-respecting.

V

Having seen that the cooperative commonwealth, as dreamed of by the "scientific" Socialist, is a form of society neither desirable to have nor possible to attain, let us pass on to the consideration of the methods by which they seek to spread their doctrines. The criticism of the doctrines themselves is left to future paper. Suffice it for the present to say that their interpretation of history, and their conception of the trend of progress and evolution are as one-sided and misleading as are their conceptions of the cure for social ills.

The political Socialists are by no means a compact body. There is not one Socialist party, but many. This in itself would not matter, were they willing to leave each other alone; but this they will not do by any means. If you wish for clear cut examples of burning jealousy, bitter malice, and cold envy, contemplate the attitude of Socialist parties towards each other.

The different organizations at times appear to expend more energy in quarreling with and abusing each other than in propagating their various gospels. In Britain we have the Independent Labor party finding fault with the Social Democratic Federation for being too revolutionary and extreme, and for misconceiving the teachings of Karl Marx. On the other hand, the So-

cial Democrats question the bona-fides of their rival, and they have even asserted that the Independent Labor party was founded for the express purpose of combating the Social Democratic Federation and wrecking the Socialist movement. Indeed, this sort of accusation is bandied about from one party to another all over the world. Each pretends to believe its rivals to be dummy parties set up by the capitalist class to create confusion and dissensions.

They disagree, also, on the question of religion, some being Christian Socialists, others avowedly atheistical. The former endeavor to base their economic theories on the teachings of Christ; while the latter assert that Christianity must go by the board along with capitalism, ignoring the fact that religion existed prior to Christianity and that faith before modern capitalism.

In France there are similar dissensions, not to say confusion. In Germany there is an appearance of unity; but it is the unity of a quasi-lifeless mass, crumbling in decay—a great appearance of strength which is purely fictitious; for the bulk of the rank and file of German Socialists understand little or nothing of scientific Socialism.

Besides the two powerful bodies mentioned above, we have, here in Britain, others of lesser consequence. There are, for instance, the kid-glove and lavender Fabians, who entertain a horror of revolution, and whose chief concern is to appear respectable. Then we have the Clarion Fellowship—those milk-pap up-heavers of society led by the dilettante group who "run" the *Clarion*, that group which is continually pleading for "Socialist unity," but cleverly contrives to keep all parties by the ears. One leader they will hypocritically coddle, damn another with faint praise mixed with misrepresentations of his views and actions; and openly quarrel with a third, all the while putting forward impracticable schemes for securing unity. In fact, the *Clarion* writers seem to seek amusement before everything.

Of course, each organization has its hero. The Socialist devotee must have a deity in the contemplation of whose supernal qualities the esthetic side of his nature finds its gratification. The central figure of the Independent Labor party in Keir Hardie, a really estimable though mistaken man. The "Clarionettes" worship at the shrine of Robert Blatchford, the (retired) soldier of (mis)fortune. H. M. Hyndman, whom certain Socialists denounce as a stock exchange gambler, is the idol of the Socialist Democratic Federation. The Fabian Society has no rank and file in the ordinary sense of the word. It is composed entirely of heads; and their chronic condition is what makes the association such a "swell" affair.—*Alvan Marlaw.*

(To be continued.)

Bricks vs. Dollars.

Here in Chicago we have a paper called *The Public*, a weekly periodical devoted to news and criticism. It is edited by Louis F. Post, a journalist of great ability and exceptional intelligence, courage, and fairness. He is a Single Taxer, and champions a democracy of the old type, the democracy

of Jefferson, Paine and their generation.

In its issue of July 25, *The Public* has occasion to comment on the strike riots that took place in this city a short time ago. "Much can be said by way of explanation of such violence," says the editor. "Much can be said even in excuse of the guilty," he goes on, enumerating some of the causes that lead workmen into the use of violence.

When they see legislators bribed by the rich exploiters of their labor, and judges influenced to make judge-made laws for the privileged classes; when they are painfully conscious that this use of wealth which is filched in part from them, somehow, operates to make their condition harder; when unearned wealth flaunts them on every hand, and the daily products of their own toil are diverted from them by those mysterious processes of power which make opportunities for remunerative work so scarce that drudgery is a prize,—when these conditions confront them, they have an impulse to strike back. Anyone in the same circumstances would have the same impulse. If they could strike back with dollars, they would doubtless do so. But they haven't the dollars to strike back with, so they strike back with bricks. That is all there is to it. They would have no impulse to strike back with bricks if they weren't struck at, below the belt at that, with dollars.

"Nevertheless," Mr. Post adds, "when they do strike back with bricks they must be punished." This attitude so strikingly illustrates Ernest Crosby's poem, "The State-House," that I must request everyone to turn to the first page and read it as part of this article. It is not sympathy with those who "throw dollars" that makes Mr. Post insist that they shall have the aid of the law, for his sympathy is undoubtedly on the other side, but mere respect for legality. This is a result of that degrading worship of law which blunts men's sensibilities, and makes them oblivious of all other considerations.

Altho Mr. Post knows that the laws are unjust, that they enable one set of men to legally "filch" from another set, and that even if the laws were just, judges are "influenced" in favor of "the privileged classes," and do not enforce them impartially, nevertheless, in spite of all this, the laws must be enforced. It is true Mr. Post says to those who "throw dollars" that if they will stop, workingmen will abandon bricks; but Mr. Post knows also that they will not stop. That means simply that they must get off the backs of the workers, and they are about as likely to do so as King Edward is to get off the backs of the poor. But what Mr. Post will advise, no doubt, is to make the throwing of dollars illegal—an event which will take place about the same time that the Russian czar voluntarily abdicates his absolutism. The Russian people are not going to wait for the czar to get ready for such an event, and neither will the workers patiently wait until the capitalists throw away their weapons—dollars.

If the capitalists, the employers of labor, men who "throw dollars," are going to have placed at their disposal the State machinery of "justice," and use the penitentiary as a weapon against strikers, the result may be far different from what Mr. Post and others expect. The fact that those who run this machinery are "upright and honest," will only make more complete the loss of respect for law on the part of the workers. The workingmen have at present solidly arrayed against them the most

powerful forces of the State. Injunctions against strikers are so numerous and common that they are losing all their effectiveness, their value consisting chiefly in "bluff." The militia is a more potent factor always to be found on the side of those who throw dollars. But the workers are becoming wise, and are less and less to be found in the ranks of the militia, and the result will be that soon those ranks will be depleted.

Let those who "throw dollars" begin to make a frequent use of the penitentiary as a means to combat strikes (it is not unknown now), the sequence may be slow, but it will be sure. It is practically placing the workers at bay. They are struck with dollars, and strike back with bricks. What Mr. Post proposes is to take away their bricks—which leaves them defenseless, except for the law, which always follows the dollars. But the impulse to throw bricks will not be gone. It is not human nature to accept passively a deliberate attack. Man as a slave is only possible thru despotism. There will be only one result: the revolt of those who have hitherto thrown bricks.

These are not idle words; anyone with a little intelligence can satisfy himself as to how workingmen feel about "the law" already, and then judge what will follow further aggressions on its part. And if the workers grow wise in time they will spare themselves the trouble of throwing bricks; they will do what is better: stop making dollars for those who throw them; they will declare a general strike and discharge the bosses.

— ABE ISAAK JR. —

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Rewards and Punishments.

The Bible doctrine is: "Do this, and you shall be rewarded." This is indeed a strange proposition! Not, do this because it is right or necessary, but do this and you shall have your pay for it! And if you refuse, you shall be punished—that is, you not only lose your reward, but you will be punished in the bargain! A person would suppose that these two leading motives, fear and hope, so forcibly set forth in the Bible, would keep everybody in the straight and narrow way, but it is well known that they do not. And why not? Because people learned a long time since that threats and promises cannot be depended on. In nine cases out of ten, they fail to materialize—some men escape the punishment they deserve and others fail to secure the reward that was promised. There could not be a worse system of government than one based on threats and promises. It always has failed, it fails today, and it always will fail. As a matter of fact, people cannot be controlled by other people in their doings—they can only be controlled by themselves.

* * *

We torture and punish people, not in self-defense, not to protect ourselves, but to make them do as we want them to do, and above all to have them adopt our creed and follow our mode of life. But are we any better in this respect than they who lived in the Middle Ages? Did they do any worse than we are doing every day? Were they more wicked or more merciless than we are? No, all our punishments are pure torture, and the spirit that prompts this persecution

is the contemptible and villanous spirit that moved those who lived, and ruled in Europe from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. Men want to be masters, they want their own way, they want to exercise power, and they delight in being cruel to unbelievers at all times.

No one thinks of enforcing moral laws, or religious laws. Why should we punish a man for disobedience to human ordinances and statute laws, which are merely expressions of the will of certain individuals? We do not pretend to enforce ordinances because they are right, but because they are law.

Probably nine-tenths of all the worst crimes—robberies, murder and arson especially—go unpunished, because the criminal is never detected. And still, absurdly enough, people believe that we could not get along without punishing crime as we do! If we let nine tenths of our worst criminals escape, what harm would there be if we let the other tenth escape, at least with a light punishment? We might resist evil, but we should not punish evil-doers. We should not contend with them.

Perhaps there is no such thing as wrong after all. There certainly cannot be any such thing as a real wrong, if we admit the prevailing doctrines of excuses and justifications for wrongs. Some excuse, some palliation can be offered for any wrong. Why should we accept excuses in one case and reject them in others? Excuses seem to be variable; one excuse answers for one man and another for another man. It is just as you look at the matter, both in regard to the excuse and in regard to the wrong. Again, we say, perhaps there is no such thing as wrong after all. There certainly cannot be, if there are excuses for wrongs. We have either done wrong or we have not done wrong. If we have not, there is no need of any excuse or any justification. Or if we really have done wrong, how could excuses or justifications help the matter? Excuses are in all cases merely the invention of the devil, and justification could hardly be said to have a worthier origin than excuses.

We shall not take bad men so seriously, when we come to realize that all men are somewhat bad, as all men are somewhat good—bad men in one way and good in another. Why should we desire to punish bad men—those whom we call bad men—when we know that we are as bad as they are? We excuse insane men for their bad acts. But all men are insane—it is only a question of more or less at best. Some men have their insane impulses under better control than others—that is all.

There is absolutely no remedy for a wrong after it is committed. No balm in Gilead can afford the slightest relief in such a case. If a man suffers harm, there can be no actual compensation for the damage occasioned. What shall balance a life lost, or even the loss of a limb? Property stolen may be restored, but even that does not change the character of the original offense. If a man

robs, nothing that he can afterward do can palliate the crime or obliterate the reproach. Hence it is that all punishments, after the crime is committed, are senseless and even unjust. They afford no remedy; there is no pretense that they render any real service to anyone. Every punishment is purely an act of revenge, and nothing less. Viewed in its true light, punishment, no matter how or by whom inflicted, is brutal and savage.

Revenge! What a silly, senseless and savage thing revenge is! No, turn your back upon your enemy and let him pass on.

J. WILSON.

Liberty and "Liberty."

C. C. Lichtenburger wants to know, in *Liberty*, why my "logic should rage so over the word equal when applied to freedom?" Beg pardon, sir; it was the other fellows' logic. Mine considers that words are like paper money; valuable only if convertible. I find I can't pass the word equal. It won't buy anything except the old government, under a new name. But since absolutes must be equal, as Mr. Lichtenburger sagaciously and metaphysically remarks, I can conceive that those who really want equal liberty may find it in absolute liberty.

In the same issue, Tucker expresses the opinion that for those who have already thought and studied sufficiently, there is no better preparation to discuss Anarchism than a good dinner. From these specimens of their reasoning, I should judge differently. It appeals too strongly to "instinct." Grit enough to go without dinner on occasion beats it—hollow. This is inductive. I did not learn it by "instinct" but experience. Perhaps if Tucker had done the same, *Liberty* would have been published less spasmodically, and not got so far down on the conservative side of the Individualistic fence.

C. L. JAMES.

Literature.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By Peter Kropotkin. Translated from the Russian by David A. Modell. The Social Science Club, 242 N. Second St., Philadelphia, Pa. Paper, 94 pp. Price, 25 cents.

While Anarchism is still under the ban of that vulgar and flaunting ignorance which among the middle and even the poorer classes passes for enlightened opinion, the men of science who have embraced its world conception are forcing upon the thinking part of the race knowledge of its teachings and recognition of their validity. Savants the world over are now studying Anarchism, and in this remarkable work by Peter Kropotkin the claims which the theory makes to scientific thoroughness, and many of the evidences upon which it rests, are admirably set forth.

The author tells us that the general confusion of thought with which science and philosophy were afflicted at the beginning of the nineteenth century gave way to something like order as science began to investigate man more thoroly. Metaphysics and religious superstitions and beliefs fell before that natural method of scientific investigation, induction, and the theory of evolution set thought safely upon its feet at last.

But those who exploited the evolutionary conception of things, Herbert Spencer and Huxley particularly in England, were not, Kropotkin goes on to show, free from the influence of ideas taken from theology and the ethics based upon religion. The belief in the natural total depravity of man, for example, colored all their investigations and conclusions.

Darwin had pointed out the importance of mutual aid as a factor in evolution very early in his career as a man of science; but Spencer, who really came before Darwin, had practically lost sight of this important factor in favor of that of the struggle for existence, which, he declared was, with its consequent, the survival of the fittest, the leading or all important factor; a life-and-death struggle going on all the time, not only between tribes, but also between the individuals of a tribe. The answer of Anarchism to all this is, says Kropotkin, that Spencer and his colleagues have made false inductions from facts and have misread the world. They do not understand the animal, the savage, nor the civilized man; for all of these aid one another to a very large degree, and the struggle for existence principally consists in the attempts of a developing solidarity to struggle with recreant nature for the things that make for well-being and happiness generally.

Over this controverted matter, then, that which popularly passes for science, and Anarchism definitely separate. Kropotkin in his "Mutual Aid" has piled up evidence in a degree which this smaller work will not allow, to show that Anarchism is on the right side of the controversy; but in this book in addition to treating the same matter effectively, if briefly, he endeavors with great success to follow up other lines of the discussion, and shows that the tendency of the people has always been to act independently of government, if allowed to do so, that the development of a desire for social emancipation antedated the new evolutionary science, that the strength of the State has always been the weakness of the people, that the world of man is a world which is always expanding and breaking the bonds of government, and that Anarchism is the normal outcome of society and an inevitable result in theory of an induction from the facts of social experience.

The answer of Anarchism to modern science is that the latter's generalizations are largely erroneous, partly because of the effects of inherited ideas and ways of looking at things, and for the rest because of an insufficient gathering of facts, bearing upon man's life. Its inductions are defective.

Written with that clearness and simplicity which its author seldom forgets to maintain, this little book furnishes a weapon ready to the hand of one who would instruct an "enlightened" opponent; and as a means, too, of instructing Anarchists in general and thoroly ground them scientifically, it is one of the best books which the present writer knows.

W. F. B.

Reverence, like ivy, clings tenderly about old ruins.—Marie Howland.

FREE SOCIETY

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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, AUGUST 2, 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.

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 99th St., New York City. He will be glad to see all friends personally. The delinquent subscribers are urged to pay him their arrearages.

On Thursday, July 23, a meeting took place at the headquarters of FREE SOCIETY. It was decided to hold regular meetings every second week thereafter. At the next meeting, August 6, the resumption of the Philosophical Society meetings next season will be considered. All interested should not fail to be on hand.

Important for Chicago Only.

As the picnic of the Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung on May 31, was greatly hindered 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 invited.

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 Summer night 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. The proceeds of this picnic are to go for the publication of a pamphlet on the general strike.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Liberty is shameless.

The fire of truth scorches.

Anarchism murders murder.

Only children seek protectors.

Those who can weep may still hope.

Every sunrise is a prophecy of freedom.

A king or a ruler has fear for his pillow. Why?

The worship of "success" makes thieves of men.

Woman's duty is to rid herself of the sense of duty.

What are called sound opinions are often all sound.

The magnificence of the State is the ruin of humanity.

The kaiser is flattering Theodore again. A precious pair!

"The will of God" always has a man behind it pushing the thing.

Laws against food adulteration soon become adulterated themselves.

In these troublesome times mining speculators often rest on their ores.

Roosevelt rides horseback frequently; the rest of the time he rides the people.

The law is but a measure of might disguised as a measure of equity and reason.

Police Inspector Shea is dead. Ingloriously he perished, trying to break the Kellogg strike.

Anarchists do not think man an angel; but they know what makes him act like a devil, and would do away with it.

According to the newspapers, a woman's honor is something which a man can forcibly take away from her, as he can her purse. Poor woman!

The lieutenant-governor of South Carolina is under indictment for murder. There; pure-minded and justice-loving lynchers, there is your chance!

Rockefeller is fighting Morgan; while the people, who are at the mercy of either or both of these money-maniacs, look on and only feel wonder and astonishment.

The life of Thomas Jefferson, now appearing in *The Chicago American*, is as much out of place in that waste-paper as the

spirit of a poet would be out of place in the body of a skunk.

Without authority and its result, exploitation, the world would be at peace. But what then would become of the police, the judges, and the jailors? It would be wrong to take away their bread and butter, wouldn't it?

Property is a kind of possession for which a paper title is created in the absence of any real one, and to maintain which a judiciary with all its attendant train of assistants is provided. Its origin is authority and its security is force.

Justice Brewer of the United States supreme court comes out frankly for government by injunction, that is injunction of the governed. Governors never ask to be enjoined. Justice Brewer has my thanks for his consistency as an advocate of government.

The law and order people have just lynched a Negress in the south thru merely suspecting that she had poisoned a young girl. The law-and-order people are all right as to law; (lynching is based on law;) but about order they know considerably less than nothing.

With Russia's refusal, made known thru the foreign office, to receive the American petition on the Kishineff affair, the pot that has been calling the kettle black may again turn its attention to its erstwhile task of industriously gathering coats of soot while protesting that it is snow-white.

A plot to avenge the murders of Alexander and his queen, Draga, has been discovered by the Serbian authorities, and there is great inquietude in the royal palace. When such things take place, the enemies of kingdoms and States at large should be thankful for the distinguished assistance thus proffered them.

The labor mayor of San Francisco, Schmitz, is mixed up in civil service examination scandals, and his brother, Frank Schmitz, it is proven, has been engaged in selling lists of the questions which civil service commissioners put to applicants for positions. Labor mayors are just like all the others; and still we go on spoiling honest men by electing them to office.

What libertarians want is something better than "a fair field and no favor"; the race track ideal of existence, in which many strive for the prizes which only a few can get, has been condemned by the wise on the cold grounds of inexpediency. The world is beginning to see that moderate well-being for everyone is vastly more desirable than a chance (one in ten million) to live in superfluous luxury.

The warden of the Ohio penitentiary resigned his position recently because of the number of condemned murderers whom he would have to electrocute. His salary of five thousand dollars a year could not com-

pensate him for what he underwent as a State-paid human butcher. Did this warden, perhaps, discover what it is that principally instigates crime and makes criminals, and revolt from the gruesome partnership?

The British Nonconformists are organizing to resist the government everywhere, and they announce that they will forfeit property, and even personal liberty rather than pay increased taxes for the support of the Anglican Church. Such an attitude may be studied with profit by those who believe that "you can fool all of the people all of the time." Anarchists, too, should keep an eye upon these "passive" resisters.

Labor and Capital is the name of the new journal of The National Economic League, an organization which will attempt to put down the labor movement principally by proving that the poor should be glad that they are alive (but not kicking); and one of its leading contributors is a D. D., who clumsily puts on the livery of God to serve the devil in an article "Upon Christ and his Parable of the Talents." In this case D. D. certainly stands for dementia driveling.

It is a fact, remarkable only to those who are very seldom awake, that the present foreman of the grand jury now sitting in Chicago, is Enos M. Barton, a leading stockholder in the business of the Kellogg Switchboard and Supply Company. The fact that this grand jury was instructed to probe labor troubles and conditions is an assurance that the instruction will be lived up to to the letter from the point of view of exploitation; and "justice," of course, will triumph once more.

The panic in Wall street among other things furnishes proof how much of what is euphemistically called wealth represents the supine willingness of wage slaves to serve their masters. Values are based upon the probabilities of exploitation, taking into consideration the degree of recklessness shown by the great stock gamblers from day to day. Let one of these last overstep himself, or let a great strike threaten the market, and that paper house called "securities," collapses and is gone. Keene is but one of those who from time to time show us how it is done.

No more interesting strike situation has existed for years than that which prevails at the works of The Kellogg Switchboard Co. of Chicago; and the attitude of the unions which are coming to the aid of the strikers, coupled with the courageous utterances of various men prominently identified with the strike, makes every manly heart beat with renewed hope. A general strike, the possible outcome of the present one, would teach insolent exploitation a salutary lesson; to be followed, let us hope, by other lessons as much to the purposes of fraternity and solidarity.

The initiative and referendum law of Oregon went down to defeat before the street railway companies of Portland, the

courts having declared it unconstitutional recently. The legislature enacted the law as a constitutional amendment, the people then voted upon it, and it was duly declared law. Now a judge puts the imposing thing aside with a wave of his hand. But when the people are told that laws do no good, when they are told that they rather prevent the possibility of good taking place, they retort with proof that a man who steals five dollars will find a home in jail and be punished; and go right on with their balloting.

Chattel slavery practically exists at the south, peonage being the form under which it disguises itself to keep within the law. Negroes have suffered from enormities until public indignation has been aroused, and the people have obliged the supporters of the infamous system of disguised slavery to declare themselves and admit their deeds; and now it transpires that even whites have been enslaved under the law. A state of affairs in which the law can be appealed to to defeat the law, while it is a common thing in all courts, is not often brought to public notice as effectively as in this instance, and the outcome will be instructive to thousands.

AMERICUS.

Here and There.

The International Group of Correspondence has decided to publish a periodical, *The General Strike*, and appeals to the comrades in Europe and America to contribute their mite toward the enterprise. Send money and other communications to S. Mainwaring, 48 Fortress Rd., Kentish Town, London, N. W., England.

The superintendent of public instruction at Paris has issued a circular order to remove scenes of violence and brutality from the school rooms, that is, war pictures.

Tolstoy's booklet, "Thou Shalt not Kill," has been seized in Germany for libeling the kaiser.

A general strike has broken out in Baku, Russia, embracing 40,000 participants. With the exception of a few bakeries there is a complete tie-up. Several people have been killed by Cossacks during a parade.

A Retort.

An old offender is condemned in the police court.

It is the tenth time, and he is only twenty-three years old.

"How is it that at your age you have come to be so depraved? Bad company, without doubt," says the judge in an insinuating tone.

"What! Bad company? Why, I spend most of my time with the magistrates!"—*From the French.*

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.

Letter from Australia.

The government owns the railways here, and the brutal treatment of their workers brought about a strike, which has terminated in a fizzle.

In this land of democracy the government refused to permit its workers, namely the engine drivers and firemen's union to be affiliated with the Trades Hall Council, so the men left their engines anywhere on the rails at 12 p. m. on Friday, May 8, and all traffic in the State was immediately stopped.

We anticipated that if it would only continue for a few weeks it would lead to serious trouble, therefore the Anarchists at once commenced advocating a general strike, when to everyone's surprise and dismay the news came that the leaders had declared the strike off. I was present when Hart, the president, gave his report amidst cries of "We are sold!" "Traitors!", etc., but the president's reply was that he had acted best for them.

The government immediately introduced a strike suppression bill, which contained the following: Any person contributing to support the strikers or distributing strike pay; or should more than six workers meet indoors or out to discuss the strike, the police were to be empowered to enter the house and arrest them; also any bankers receiving money or distributing it to the strikers, were for any of the above offences liable to a fine of £100 or twelve months imprisonment. This scared the leaders and they sought an interview with the premier and declared the strike off. There was an attempt to rally the men, but the slimy, political shysters persuaded them to accept the advice of their leaders.

The men had left everything to be done by the executive, and they empowered the secretary and president to have full control of the strike. Thus the disaster. The capitalist press issued leading articles advocating the arrest of the leaders, and suggesting that the strikers ought to be taught a lesson that would be remembered for the rest of their lives.

The university students enrolled as special constables, as the State police could not be depended upon if a disturbance occurred.

One remarkable thing was that the labor members deprecated the strike, tho they made a bit of a fight in the house which was absolutely necessary to save their political souls.

The Anarchists meanwhile were holding meetings addressing the strikers, and if a revolt was the outcome, the food supply ought to be seized, and should the government resort to force then the strikers and people suffering should do likewise. We were just getting a firm hold when to our utter disgust and astonishment the strike was declared off.

The government has the men absolutely at their mercy, and some of the men have remarked to me that it is hell to work for them now. Out of evil comes reward. Anarchists are listened to and cheered now, whereas before they were laughed at. The Anarchists are the only people that can claim a success.

J. W. FLEMING.

Melbourne, Australia.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

IX (concluded.)

The fundamental principle, of sinking all passion, up to hatred of sin itself, in love for this world of sinners, is inexhaustible. It has actually done not a little good; but it disclaims all responsibility for the evil done by perversions utterly unlike it in spirit, which reproduces only a part of its phraseology. Yet, tho Tolstoy's Anarchism thus represents the opposite pole of Russian thought to Bakunin's, both are within that circle whose vast radius covers the super-etherial area of the Slavonic imagination. Bakunin, a wealthy noble who began by sacrificing all worldly objects to the people, might have been expected to have only hate for the instruments of their oppression, such as religious dogmas. Tolstoy, a wealthy noble, to whom zeal for humanity came thru the old evangelical channel of intense conviction of sin, as naturally discriminates between the so-called Christian religion and the religion of Christ. But both have made the sacrifice required of Zaccheus; and wisdom is justified of all her children! It is surely not without significance that both find the Devil the prince and god of this world, whose spirit is concentrated in civic institutions. However, the thing pertinent to my immediate subject is the extreme lucidity of their common intellectual atmosphere. Bakunin's Nihilism is not at all materialism; but "the extreme extremity" of the Hegelian Left. Tolstoy's Christianity is not in the least dogmatism or superstition, but an "experience" of sin, regeneration, and idealism, perfectly compatible with the most absolute repudiation of priestcraft and ritual; and with recognition of all that can be said against Christian orthodoxy from the standpoint either of philosophy or history. Between them, as stated, lies all the intellect of their country. The study of Russian Anarchism is the study of Russian literature, for all parts of the latter are permeated by the former. Besides those books already mentioned, Stepniak's "Underground Russia," Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist," and Tchernychevsky's "What's to be Done?" might be mentioned as especially representative.

The Bakunin wing of Anarchism is the revolutionary wing. Of this almost every one has received grossly caricatured but not absolutely incorrect ideas thru the rantings of Roosevelt or some other anti-Anarchist pencil-shover. Real information, somewhat coherent and adequate, may be obtained from Bakunin, Kropotkin and Stepniak (cit.); Most, collected papers on "The Science of Revolutionary Warfare"; the files of the *Alarm* whenever they can be found; the biography of A. R. Parsons; the court speeches of the Chicago martyrs; Dyer D. Lum's article, "Why I Am a Revolutionist," in the *Twentieth Century* and the various propaganda works advertised in *FREE SOCIETY*. It may not be bad also to bring the opposite side's misrepresentations into the forum. Compare, therefore Trumbull, "Trial of the Judgment"; Ames, "Why the Undertone?" and Gary (Judge Joseph E.), "The Chicago Anarchists," in *Century Magazine*, April, 1893. This last is the best which Judge Gary can say for himself, or against Anarchism, of course. And

so considered, it is bad enough to be worth circulating as a missionary document.*

The paradox that Bakunin, the apostle of the Unformed and Void, has also become the organizer of the Anarchistic movement, may suggest Jack Cade's word of encouragement to his soldiers: "Then we are in order, when we are most out of order." But aside from smart speeches, it admits a perfect explanation. The real strength of Anarchism is in its inductive method. I regard its success as certain, exposition as the chief means of hastening it, and other methods as of comparatively little consequence one way or another, because I am convinced that its propositions are demonstrably true. Being, however, opposed to all the powerful vested interests which oppress the world; and having had to suffer persecution beyond what is usual for new doctrines, persecution inspired by these interests but having for body the collective ignorance and stupidity of the rabble; Anarchism might have been expected to take measures for putting itself in practise. Of methods of this view there are principally three. There is the Tolstoy method, of shaming the devil—the world, and the flesh, by the example of righteousness in the core of their dominion—a great improvement on the old Fourieristic plan of secession into

* The attempt originally made in Judge Gary's court to show that Parsons, Spies, Fiedler, or some of the other martyrs, personally assisted in or ordered the knocking out of Bonfield's banditti, May 4, 1886, was abandoned in deference to the transparent perjury of the witnesses. Judge Gary then managed the business of conviction by inventing law for the purpose. That I may not be suspected of making so grave a charge lightly, we will hear his own words. "The case," he said, in denying a new trial, "is without precedent." THERE IS NO EXAMPLE IN THE LAW BOOKS OF A CASE OF THIS SORT. NO SUCH OCCURRENCE HAS EVER HAPPENED BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD! Here as elsewhere, his honor uses language adapted, if not intended, to befog; but what looks out thru it is sufficient to prove what I assert. The words "a case of this sort" mean a case in which general recommendations of violence by a political agitator, have been held to make him guilty of murder or other crime as accessory to such crime committed by someone else as principal. It is dreadfully true that there is no such case. But why is there not? Do the words "no such occurrence has ever happened before" mean no one ever got into trouble on account of such recommendations, followed by such murder, etc? Certainly not. Such a proposition would be too absurd for consideration. There have been millions of such cases. While the martyrs were actually on trial, there was one at Mitchellstown, Ireland. A riot occurred in which seven men were killed—the same number as at the Haymarket, in Chicago. A patriot editor, O'Brien by name, was convicted of causing this riot by incendiary publications. He got three months imprisonment for sedition; which, as concerns some of the martyrs, might have been a legal judgment. The words "no such occurrence ever happened before" mean that no prosecutor ever dared allege before that sedition is murder. This is very nigh true; but most unluckily for Judge Gary, not quite. No such occurrence happened before Trussell, Scroggs, Jeffries, or Norbury. But before the French Revolutionary tribunal, under presidency of the infamous Judge Hermann (afterwards guillotined for murder), an attempt was made to convict Marat of causing the September massacre, and afterwards to convict the Girondist prisoners of causing Marat's assassination. Hermann turned the principle, and the specification founded on it down, both times. Thus there is for Judge Gary's pleading just one precedent, before the most notorious of sanguinary tribunals,—which refused to entertain it.

Another principle which Judge Gary sometimes appears to confound with the above, is not so novel; but his application beautifully illustrates the mendacity of anti-Anarchist writers. The principle is that an act done to further the purpose of a conspiracy is the act

small communities! There is the Marx-Engels plan, substantially that recommended also in Comrade Van Ornum's tracts,—of utilizing, for the present, political machinery. The Bakunin plan remains. Its advantage, which made Bakunin the organizer, is that it includes the others. The Bakunin Anarchist has but one test for the merit of any proposal—will it promote the realization of Anarchy? He may thus be firmly convinced that he has something to better to do than meddle with politics: he may give no inconsiderable part of his time to expressing their futility; but, if a party on the Marx and Van Ornum principle seems likely to increase the number of Anarchists by drawing attention to their principles, to break down some portion of the existing law, to bring Anarchy a little nearer realization by any means, then it is good for so much, and he gives it all the encouragement it seems worth. The trades' unions are, to his apprehension, light troops, skirmishers, greenhorns, in the labor army. The support he gives to them in their conflicts with capital is like that of a reserve. Thus in Belgium, the general strike which procured universal suffrage, succeeded because, at the critical moment, it became known that the dreaded Anarchists were moving. It is the old combination of unsparing zealot for ends with much enduring

of all the members. "The International," says Judge Gary, "was a combination, the technical legal term for which is a conspiracy, to overturn all government by force." Elsewhere he says: "I can only say, in short, that they were all members of a revolutionary organization called the International, the object of which was to introduce Anarchy." . . . "to bring about a destruction of the existing order of society by rebellion and revolution—all this was conclusively proved on the trial, and no denial attempted." I will attempt a denial now, however. I assert that no such thing could possibly have been proved on the trial—because it is not true. And for proof I refer to so well known a book as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, article "International." This is how the *Encyclopedia* characterizes the I. W. P. A. "It was a society of workmen of all nations, somewhat like a cosmopolitan trades' union" (it was organized for that, to prevent strikes from being frustrated by importation of labor), "but bearing a still closer resemblance to an international social science association for discussing and furthering the rights of labor." In the same article we read that the International was introduced into America about 1870 or rather earlier; that after the schism of 1873, the Marx wing, almost annihilated by the other in Europe, transferred its headquarters to New York; and thus that the American International was the very one which expelled the Bakunin Anarchists for being such. I will not emulate Judge Gary's way of writing history; but will be candid enough to add that the Bakunin International also attempted a propaganda here. Whether any of the martyrs really belonged to either, and if so which, is a point whereon I know about as much as Judge Gary. But I preserve my superiority, like Socrates, by acknowledging how much I do not know. The italicized clauses of the *Britannica* article contain the milk from Judge Gary's cocoanuts. "An international social science society for discussing and furthering the rights of labor," may, indeed be expected to "introduce Anarchy" pretty fast! That is the rub. The "revolution," "rebellion," "overturning all government by force," etc., may be deduced by the inner consciousness. In like manner, here and elsewhere, the idea is insinuated that the International, notwithstanding all its open affirmation of principles, parading, emblems, etc., is somehow a formidable secret association, with "groups" in which individuals are selected to commit assassinations and other daring revolutionary deeds. The truth is that an Anarchist "group" is simply a "meeting," or, by an universal synecdoche, a place for meetings, as public as a church; and that nothing pleases the comrades better than that strangers should attend it.

opportunistic about means, which renders Bakunin the great moral inspiration and example of the movement. Nor is it, according to his principles, *infra dig* to avail ourselves of any personal disaffection which can render any outsider useful, provided the Revolution is neither made to answer for his errors, nor otherwise charged too much for him. Those violent actions which ignorance associates with the name of Anarchism are, of course, outside its philosophy. They are few compared to such as might be charged against almost any party, especially one which has been so ruthlessly persecuted for doctrines independent of any action. Without exception they have illustrated the desperate enthusiasm which accepts not probable but certain death. Nothing therefore can be more absurd than to represent them as acts of hired or detailed assassins, or to make the philosophy of Anarchism answerable for them in any other way than this, that rulers are not naturally safe when their dupes whom they have kept so long in all the demoralization of ignorance begin learning what, in fact, they are. Yet nothing, till repetition staled it, was more convenient for the purpose of the exploiters who knew it to be absurd. And hence that conscience-stricken wail from the Chicago bench: "There has been an undertone like a minor strain in music that . . . if I a little strained the law, I was to be commended for my courage in so doing."

X

By the previous sections generally, but especially the first seven, I conceive myself to have established my main thesis that the several propositions which make up the philosophy of Anarchism are part and parcel of the positive inductive sciences. A partial summary of this demonstration may be found in Section VII. Now the inductive method, starting from and at every doubtful turn reverting for more light to fact, is necessarily independent of any metaphysical speculation. Anarchism, accordingly, depends on, or implies, no such scheme as Hedonism, Materialism, Spiritualism; or their opposites—"Altruism," Transcendentalism, "orthodoxy," or in short any "theory of the universe." No such theory "leads to—or away from,—" Anarchism rather than does some other. This is, however, more than to say that Anarchism, as an inductive doctrine, requires no metaphysical basis. I propose to prove it by proving that no theory of the universe leads to or from anything practical. A theory of the universe is a view of life, that is of feeling and action, for in these all we know of the universe is comprised. Moreover it is a view of life and action not as they are to an individual, for no human egotism has yet gone the length of making one's own biography comprise the universe; but of life and action as common to all individual men. The substance of all such theories is, accordingly, the same. The form alone differs, as we reason from a different point of view; or, as I have elsewhere stated the same proposition, such a theory is made interesting only by suppressing in its practise and rhetoric a part of what is implied in its logic. To repeat my former illustration, hedonism (the doctrine that pleasure is the chief good)

is of no consequence unless we understand by pleasure something particular; while it has no appearance of reason unless we define pleasure, not as anything particular, but as whatever may be desired in general. The hedonist engages attention solely by the former use of the term; he escapes refutation only by falling back on the other. And thus the metaphysical systems, instead of making progress, move in circles—when hedonism, or Egoism, has been carried to the point of showing that happiness depends on living for others, it becomes "altruism"; and in due time that becomes Egoism again, by proving that the wise way to live for others good is to consult one's own. The names alternately come into and go out of fashion; but no way of living can logically be inferred from one statement any more than from the other. Hence if it be true that there is any difference in the type of character they respectively cultivate—that, for example, altruism encourages active philanthropy, zeal, innovation, and, as its bad side, intolerance; while the virtues of the hedonist are calmness, moderation, sagacity, and his fault a tendency to coldness; this depends not on the logic of either theory but on its rhetoric. I suspect, however, the alleged difference confounds effect with cause—the zealous temperament adopts altruistic language, the cooler expresses itself in the hedonistic; and the mere popularity of one cant or the other depends not on increase of either character, but on the influence of the latest moralist whose eloquence has given his own fad plausibility.

If these opinions be sound, Anarchism, as a practical doctrine, is in no way promoted or antagonized by any which is metaphysical instead of practical; but finds all such theories "buskins, fitting both feet equally, tho neither well." The test for the judgment thus pronounced shall be, as usual, inductive. Is it a fact that any theory of the universe which either friends or foes identify with Anarchism, does actually appear in company with Anarchism more frequently than with anti-Anarchism, or more frequently than does its opposite? I maintain the contrary, and think I can show it for all such theories within my own knowledge.

The followers of Nietzsche, who call themselves Egoists, have made some claim to teaching, as such, the sound philosophy of Anarchism. I do not dispute that many of them are Anarchists. But Egoism is a very ancient doctrine. It was preached, under the name of Hedonism, by the Cyrenians and Epicureans hundreds of years before the Christian era; it was, without the slightest difficulty, baptized and Christianized by the whole line of casuists; it was very ably advocated (under the name of Utilitarianism) by Bentham and Dumont in the last century; and it underlies the refined metaphysics of the Buddha. All these speculations alike assume that pleasure is the thing sought and pain the thing avoided, necessarily, in all human conduct; all find that too direct a pursuit of pleasure yields unsatisfactory results; and the indirect way of getting at happiness which they all

Thus John Start Mill, in his pamphlet on "Utilitarianism," says its principle is identical with the Golden Rule of Christianity. See below in text.

recommend amounts to living for the happiness of others.* But how can it be said that the hedonistic philosophy leads to Anarchism, if that philosophy has been a highly popular one ever since, at least, the time of Socrates' personal disciples, without leading to any such thing? Anarchism is, certainly modern; the Hedonists have had two thousand good full years to find out that their principle was Anarchistic, but they never did find it out till Anarchism was preached upon a very different principle by men who did not profess to be Hedonists. I make no objection to their hitching their bob-sled behind our coach; but a decided objection to their setting up for owners of the line. Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," Mill (James) on "Government," Bentham's collected works, Dumont's "Bentham";—these certainly are the great modern text books of Hedonism, especially on its moral and social side; and, tho there is democracy in some of them, there is no Anarchism in any—nay Dumont and Bentham, after the French Revolution, decidedly "went back on" their democracy (see Macaulay's essay on "Sir James Mackintosh"). If it be said that hedonism, tho a long while about reaching Anarchism, did eventually arrive at that destination, this latter fact may be cited to show that there was no inherent tendency—it merely adapted itself as other speculations of the most general character adapt themselves to the practical tendencies of the age. For, as concerns this power of casuistical adaptation, it probably exceeds all others. We have already remarked that while some Christian writers adopt a Stoic, Platonic, or Aristotelian view of ethics, those who made casuistry their special topic quite unanimously set out with principles strictly Utilitarian. God, they say, is love, love in the highest sense, can mean nothing but benevolence; benevolence is not incompatible with a great deal of severity, as proved, if we predicate it of God, by the large amount of suffering which certainly exists, and the still larger amount made known to us thru revelation; and as further proved, in any case, by the familiar observation that that mere kindness which cannot bear to inflict pain for a purpose is a weak thing and one which does not tend to eradicate the causes of pain. Benevolence worthy a supremely wise being can aim only at "the greatest good of the greatest number." This, then, is the object of the moral law. And since the law is given by a God of supreme power and wisdom, it must first be enforced with irresistible energy, secondly appeal to the motive which influences men. But the motives which influence men were assumed at the very outset to be love of pleasure and dread of pain. We may be well assured therefore that keeping the law is the way to get pleasure and avoid pain, as the law itself also witnesses, by holding up before us a reward and a penalty both infinite. Since, however, the law was made for man, not man for it—since it is a means to an end—the most important precept it contains is to work for the accomplishment of its end; and general sympathy with the purpose is more strictly enjoined than conformity to any particular command or prohibition. Not infinite wisdom itself can frame rules which shall admit no exceptions: it is only the principles illustrated by the rules which have none. C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* Thus the Buddhist religion teaches that pain is the stuff of which life is made, pleasure only a remission, and annihilation the chief good. But one exception is allowed—the Bodhisatva or future Buddha, must needs be a person whose virtue would enable him to enter Nirvana at any time, therefore one who knows all this; yet, for the good of others, he has taken a solemn resolution to "absent him from felicity awhile," and must therefore, according to the fundamental maxim, find this better. If there is a contradiction here, I will say, with Mark Twain, that it frequently struck me. But I hardly think I committed it.

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