



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, AUGUST 23, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 428.

The Guillotine.

PARIS 179—

Morning breaks far in the east;
The stars pale in the sky.
This day shall see a marriage feast
Before the sun rides high.
The guests e'en now are on their way.
Those voices that I hear
Are joyous all. Make holiday,
My friends; I lend an ear.

Yes, time has come when I must wed:
The barber told last night
Of how the service would be said
'Twixt dawn and candle light.
The priest will all his vestments wear;
And I with hands behind,
Shall bow and kiss the maiden there
Who's wholly to my mind.

They gather round the altar now
Outside the barred gates;
Great store of choicest gifts they show
For him who harks and waits.
Yes, sing: this is my happiest morn;
And hymns should usher in
That day, a bridegroom cleanly shorn,
A willing bride doth win.

Scarce thirty years of life are mine,
But I am amply wise;
I know the water from the wine,
The spirit from the eyes.
And I am glad the hour is here
When I must know the rest;
With naught to learn, there's naught to fear.
The end be happiest.

How fair my love is; tall and fair;
And calm in every hour!
She's standing like a lily, where,
Within her secret bower,
She's made all ready for my kiss
By faithful hands and kind;
In truth, the thought of it is bliss;
A rapture of the mind.

Good jailor, help me here to dress.
My coat is streaked with mud;
This knitted kerchief, I confess,
Was dipped in royal blood.
Give now my cap of liberty;
At last my garb is well.
'Tis in your hand; the second key;
Unlock, unbar the cell.

The bride has left the tiring place:
Hark! how the people shout!
The swaying crowd would see her face;
It is a joyous rout.
Again, now: "Vive la Guillotine!
How sweetly sounds her name.
Who weds with her is proud I ween:
He weds a noble dame.

She comes down from the cart at last,
With him who does the deed;
The time is nigh; the past is past;
Well may all measures speed.
She takes her place where men can look
And greet us when 't is done;
And say "How well his kiss she took;
None fairer 'neath the sun!"

My bride awaits me: Hiss! a sound
Far down the corridor.
That heavy tread upon the ground:
Ten guards have I, or more.
You honor me, good fellows all:
Five on each side, quite dumb.
A bell rings on the prison wall:
I come, sweet Love, I come!

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

Anarchism and its Method.

It is obvious that, since Anarchism differs so widely in its method of investigation and in its fundamental principles, alike from the academical sociologists and from the Social Democratic fraternity, it must of necessity differ from them all in its means of action.

Understanding Law, Right, and the State as we do, we cannot see any guarantee of progress, still less of a social revolution, in the submission of the Individual to the State. We are therefore no longer able to say, as do the superficial interpreters of social phenomena, that modern capitalism has come into being thru "the Anarchy of exploitation," thru "the theory of non-interference," which—we are told—the States have carried out by practising the formula of "let them do as they like" (*laissez faire, laissez passer*). We know that this is not true. While giving the capitalist any degree of free scope to amass his wealth at the expense of the helpless laborers, the government has NOWHERE and NEVER during the whole nineteenth century afforded the laborers the opportunity "to do as they pleased." The terrible revolutionary, that is, Jacobinist, convention legislated: "For strikes, for forming a State within the State—death!" In 1813 people were hanged in England for going out on strike, and in 1831 they were deported to Australia for forming the Great Trades' Union (Union of all Trades) of Robert Owen; in the sixties people were still condemned to hard labor for participating in strikes, and even now, in 1902, trade unions are prosecuted for damages amounting to half a million dollars for picketing—for having dissuaded laborers from working in times of strike. What is one to say, then, of France, Belgium, Switzerland (remember the massacre at Airolo!) and especially of Germany and Russia? It is needless, also, to tell how, by means of taxes, the State brings laborers to the verge of poverty which puts them body and soul in the power of the factory boss; how the communal lands have been robbed from the people, and are still robbed from them in England by means of the Enclosure Acts. Or, must we

remind the reader how, even at the present moment, all the States, without exception, are creating directly (what is the use of talking of "the original accumulation" when it is continued at the present time!) all kinds of monopolies—in railroads, tramways, telephones, gasworks, waterworks, electric works, schools, etc., etc. In short, the system of non-interference—the *laissez faire*—has never been applied for one single hour by any government. And therefore, if it is permissible for the middle class economists to affirm that the system of "non-interference" is practised (since they endeavor to prove that poverty is a law of nature), it is simply shameful that Socialists should speak thus to the workers. *Freedom to oppose exploitation has so far never and nowhere existed.* Everywhere it had to be taken by force, step by step, at the cost of countless sacrifices. "Non-interference," and more than non-interference—direct support; help and protection—existed *only* in the interests of the exploiters. *Nor could it be otherwise.* The mission of the Church has been to hold the people in intellectual slavery; the mission of the State was to hold them, half starved, in economic slavery.

Knowing this, we cannot see a guarantee of progress in a still greater submission of all to the State. We seek progress in the fullest emancipation of the individual from the authority of the State; in the greatest development of individual initiative and in the limitation of all the governmental functions, but surely not in the extension thereof. The march forward in political institutions appears to us to consist in abolishing, in the first place, the State authority which has fixed itself upon society (especially since the sixteenth century), and which now tries to extend its functions more and more; and, in the second place, in allowing the broadest possible development for the principle of free agreement, and in acknowledging the independence of all possible associations formed for definite ends, embracing in their federations the whole of society. The life of society itself we understand, not as something complete and rigid, but as something never perfect—something ever striving for new forms, and ever changing these forms in accordance with the needs of the time. This is what *life* is in nature.

Such a conception of human progress and of what we think desirable in the future (what, in our opinion, can increase the sum of happiness) leads us inevitably to our own special tactics in the struggle. It in-

duces us to strive for the greatest possible development of personal initiative in every individual and group, and to secure unity of action, not thru discipline, but thru the unity of aims and the mutual confidence which never fail to develop when a great number of persons have consciously embraced some common idea. This tendency manifests itself in all the tactics and in all the internal life of every Anarchist group, and so far we have never had the opportunity of seeing these tactics fail.

Then we assert and endeavor to prove that it devolves upon every new economic form of social life to develop *its own* new form of political relations. It has been so in the past, and so it undoubtedly will be in future. New forms are already germinating all around.

Feudal right and autocracy, or, at least, the almost unlimited power of a czar or a king, have moved hand in hand in history. They depended on each other in this development. Exactly in the same way the rule of the capitalist has evolved its own characteristic political order—representative government—both in strictly centralized monarchies and in republics.

Socialism, whatever may be the form in which it will appear, and in whatever degree it may approach to its unavoidable goal—Communism,—will also have to choose *its own* form of political structure. Of the old form it cannot make use, no more than it could avail itself of the hierarchy of the Church of autocracy. The State bureaucracy and centralization are as irreconcilable with Socialism as was autocracy with capitalist rule. One way or another, Socialism must become *more popular*, more communalistic, and less dependent upon indirect government thru elected representatives. It must become *more self-governing*. . . . On the strength of all this, we are convinced that to work in favor of a centralized State capitalism and to see in it a *desideratum*, means to work *against* the tendency of progress already manifest. We see in such work as this a gross misunderstanding of the historic mission of Socialism itself—a great historical mistake, and we make war upon it. To assure the laborers that they will be able to establish Socialism, or even to take the first steps on the road to Socialism, by retaining the entire government machinery, and changing only the persons who manage it; not to promote, but even to retard the day on which the working people's minds shall be bent upon discovering their own, new forms of political life,—this is in our eyes a colossal historical blunder which borders upon crime.—From "*Modern Science and Anarchism*," by Peter Kropotkin.

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Political Economy, Wise or Otherwise.

A little magazine, bearing the suggestive title *What's the Use*, comes to me from East Aurora, N. Y., published by J. B. Howarth. The cover carries a bust of Henry George, to indicate, I suppose, its devotion to the Single Tax. The publisher believes Henry George is the greatest political economist the world has produced. His leading article, entitled "Labor the Price; the Product of Labor the Wage," brings to my mind the days when I wandered in the labyrinth of political econ-

omy. It had a fascination for me then, and I puzzled over it some years, but I came to see that its only use was to afford politicians factors or words in working out some theory. Originally conceived as an excuse or apology for continuing the iniquity of commercialism, the theory of God having so ordered it, getting thin, political economy came in to demonstrate that nature made it imperative, and as reformers believing government to be necessary seek to turn its use to the advantage of their theory, so political economy was taken up by reformers. Henry George, rewriting it, worked out his theory very beautifully, and his disciple at East Aurora has taken up some of its factors, in a "long article to make short work of" an Ohio critic of a former article. It seems our sage of East Aurora, not Hubbard, but Howarth (a small town to hold two such giant intellects!), had said "that in a progressive country prices naturally tend to fall and wages to rise," and his critic claimed "that it is preposterous to hold that you can have high wages and low prices," and he considered Mr. Howarth "way off on your political economy"; and Mr. Howarth appears "way off" from his Ohio critic. But it's all owing to a different interpretation of political economy. Like the boy's present to the minister, it seems to be "pig or puppy just as it has a mind to." His critic had in mind the pay of laborers and this value regulated by the price of commodities. His "labor" being bought and sold, wages rise or fall with other commodities. But the improved political economy of Mr. Howarth makes wages the result of "productive power . . . increasing the returns to labor." The bold fact that "productive power" is never, or hardly ever used, to increase "the returns to labor" but invariably increases the returns to capital "cuts no ice" with Mr. Howarth. In restating his position he introduces a proviso that has failed to provide. He says:

In a progressive country the tendency is toward greater productive power, which means more wealth per capita, that is under just distribution more wages, and as a consequence of increased abundance lower prices.

This proviso, which I indicate with small capitals, makes a great difference in his former statement, and as he sought to show that ours is a progressive country, one is tempted to exclaim: "What's the use?" This political economy, "pig or puppy," is bound to "glaze the deeds of hell." Yet his master, Henry George, proved that poverty kept pace with progress, that "productive power" does not mean "more wealth per capita," but rather "more wealth per capitalist." Henry George followed the Socialist in this idea that capital was concentrating in the hands of a few, that the tendency of progress was to increase the ranks of poverty and decrease the holders of wealth and make wage a token of slavery. Of course the Single Tax would reverse all this by introducing a "just distribution." But *What's the Use* piles up "facts and statistics" to show "that invention and closer cooperative association tend to augment productive power, thus raising wages by increasing the returns to labor, and reducing prices by multiplying commodities." He claims his critic's notion of wages and prices

seems to be confused," but I opine he himself makes that confusion worse confounded. He says, "the real price of a thing to the consumer is the labor it costs him," then immediately shows the fallacy of his own words, and disproves his critic by showing that labor has very little to do in establishing prices or making value. Fashion, custom, scarcity, time, and monopoly are factors more potent than labor. Says he:

The real meaning of the word price is also continually obscured by the intrusion into it of the ideas of money.

Of course he has to admit: "It is true that price is defined as value expressed in terms of money," but he affirms "A good reasoner . . . adopts a reasonable definition of each of his terms and then sticks to it." This is the idea of all political economies; they give distinct definitions to the various terms, then stick to it, notwithstanding that they really mean everything in general and nothing in particular.

Commodities do not have value or bear a price because labor has been expended upon them, if they did, cobblestones could be made as valuable as diamonds.

How brilliant! No; "labor is expended upon things because they have value." And yet we know that labor is often expended upon cobblestones, and wrought into buildings they become very valuable. Again he says:

Labor makes things more abundant, therefore labor which produces wealth tends to destroy value. (Italics mine.)

Yet one could never hope a follower of political economy could ever be brought to see that free labor would destroy prices. After an elaborate exposition of his views of labor, price and value, one can appreciate his reference to "the beard of Troilus." "A tapster's arithmetic may soon bring his particulars therein to a total." He says:

The labor exerted by the consumer is the price he pays. The thing he produces or gets by that labor is his wage. When he must work hard to get a thing its price is high and consequently his wages are low.

Mr. Howarth labors hard and his wages are low. Says he:

When the law creates a monopoly, it gives the monopolist power to extort more than a fair price for commodities.

And the question occurs, what is "a fair price"? I am reminded of what Grant Allen said of fair wages:

They may be sufficient or insufficient, high or low, squalid or substantial, but I do not know how they can possibly be fair. The adjective and the substantive do not belong to the same category of ideas. You might almost as well talk with eloquent vagueness of a beautiful murder, or a charming robbery.

Allen regarded wages, not as they exist in the political economy of the Single Taxer, or any other taxer, but as they actually exist, and may be regarded as coextensive with commercialism—identical with price. He says:

Wages could only be fair if we all started fair and even; if no man monopolized land or natural products, if everybody had his proper share alike in all the unused resources of nature.

It is remarkable what a glamor political economy sheds round its victims, hiding facts with fancy.

Our editor refers to the beautiful picture of "Enoch Arden on that Island in the summer of the world." One could almost hope

he might catch a glimpse of a condition devoid of political economy, but no!

Altho Arden dwelt alone "with eternal summer" in this "Eden of all plenteousness," he had to pay a price for his food and lodging, because even here he had to expend some labor to satisfy his wants.

And yet Enoch Arden may be regarded as a type of humanity. Science is demonstrating that this great world is really an "Eden of all plenteousness." If we could shake off this glamor of political economy,—this curse of commercialism, there is no reason why we could not start "fair and even." When we shall quit working for the monopolist, and cooperate with our fellows to supply our needs, the labor will so exceed the wants that price will "go glimmering among the things that were." When wages become the total product of labor, and labor is free to apply itself to all the products of nature, political economy will be swallowed up in intelligent self-interest.

A. LEROY LOUBAL.

Radicalism Needed.

Men of rapid thought and decisive action meet and deserve reward the world over. The promoters of trusts, the manipulators of large swindling schemes, the pirate bankers of commerce—cold-blooded thieves every one of them—are men who will risk a dollar in trade. The successful business men who have "built themselves up" at the expense of the community are men of energy and determination. Those who are particularly prominent are most frequently unchained radicals. There is not a drop of conservative blood in the veins of any of our great railroad managers, factory owners or landlords.

The *Union Leader* has no feeling of friendship for the men of wealth. We realize that no man can honestly acquire a million dollars in a single lifetime. In order to get rich under the present system it is necessary that the wives and children of hundreds of hard-working men go without many of the comforts of life. And no man of normal conscience will "build himself up" when he knows that his building means the downfall of other people's fortunes. What we admire in the average capitalist—thief though he be—is the audacity, the nerve, the push, the heartless destruction of ancient beliefs, the willingness to venture out upon the unknown, and his despotic determination to take the law in his own hands if other means fail.

To illustrate: Out in a Colorado mining town last week the "business men" decided they wouldn't stand the ceaseless agitation of trade unionism any longer. No sooner had they reached this decision than they proceeded to warm things up for the miners:—all union men. Seven or eight of the leaders they arrested, and with kicks and blows they drove them unresistingly from the country. The rest of the miners—who outnumbered the "business men" twenty to one—threw up their hands and slunk submissively into the darkness of the mines. The Citizens' Alliance of Denver immediately convened and passed resolutions upholding the "business men" in their prompt capitalistic act.

Mind you, we have no love whatever for the capitalist gentlemen who enforced so

impartially the blessed laws of our galloping government against these union miners. We just merely admire their courage, while we take this opportunity to express our contempt for the measly skunks who cleared out without even firing a shot.

Suppose the local trade union movement had in it a few men who possessed some of the proud spirit of the Colorado business men? How long do you think the Chicago Federation of Labor would continue its present whangdoodle policy of do-nothing? Or suppose that the federation's board was made up of such men as Marshall Field, Robert McCulloch and characters of that stamp? Suppose the central body had in it a few individuals of the J. Pierpont Morgan variety? Don't you know there would be something doing in this old town in less than a week! If the local trade union movement was officered by men gifted with the decision of a Marshall Field, the enterprise of a Pierpont Morgan, and the resourcefulness of a Rockefeller, the merits of trade unionism as an industrial emancipator would speedily be put to the test. And if it fell short in its work its defects would be remedied, and if it proved totally inadequate it would be abandoned and something else tried.—*Union Leader*.

Literature.

ANTISEMITISM, ITS CAUSES AND HISTORY. By Bernard Lazare. Translated from the French. The International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York. 384 pp. Cloth, \$2.

The Kishineff affair, following that involving Dreyfus, has roused interest in the Jew and his condition in society to almost fever intensity, and Semetic champions and Antisemites are crossing arms everywhere in a brilliant if confusing war of words. The sinned-against, and the sinning Jew, each, is represented in thousands of able polemics, and the discussion becomes ever the more intense and involved. Passion on either side bids fair to confuse the issues more than to clear them up.

But a remarkable work has just appeared at the hands of a Jew, Bernard Lazare; a work which is not only a monument of historical research and investigation, but which with a hitherto-unknown calm and coolness, goes about the task of accounting for Antisemitism on the lines of science.

The very impartiality of the book strikes the reader as an unexpected element in such a work and by a writer of such a nationality; and one who takes it up to read its record of error, persecution, cruelty and suffering, cannot but be amazed at the author's powers. At last we have a work on Antisemitism which, tho it may contain errors, can be read with profit. A profound work. A work to influence the Jews and the rest of the world as well.

Lazare begins his work by asking what the causes of Antisemitism are; and while giving due weight to what the Jew can say against his persecutors, finds that the main causes have been the belief on the part of the Jews that they were the chosen people of God and therefore superior to other nations, coupled with their persistent refusal to give up their race feeling when they were scattered among various peoples in various parts of the earth. The feeling of racial superiority and exclusiveness developed under

Talmudic influences into a veritable fanaticism, Lazare declares; and rites, restrictions, and customs which were not only national, but which were parts of the Jewish religion itself, did their work to the effect of making Jews an element in the world which could not be assimilated. Jews would not become united with the peoples among whom they lived, nor associate with them; but with peculiar customs, rules, and restrictions affecting even hygiene, isolated themselves, declared that they constituted a separate race, and thus were at war wherever they found themselves.

Lazare exonerates the Jew in respect to his accumulation of exceptional wealth, finding the cause of his rapacity in the training which he received at the hands of nations which restricted his activities and made him a usurer and money changer no less than one anxious enough over his future to be careful and saving.

Hatred of the Jews has been influenced by the popular conception of the death of Jesus, and by other elements arising thru national prejudice on the part of races among which Jews found themselves; but these were minor or secondary elements in creating Antisemitism, according to Lazare.

The history of Antisemitism is spread out in this book with an exactitude and detail which indicates the greatest care and thoroughness, and the whole sad and terrible story is told without passion of hate or any other kind. It is the most thoro exposition known to the present writer.

Lazare looks for the end of Antisemitism in the absorption of the Jews by the races among which they find themselves, and brings much evidence to show that already this absorption is taking place to a considerable degree. In sympathy with his own people beyond a doubt, yet he finds their destiny in adding their best qualities to those who are non-Jews, and in passing away as a distinct nation.

The most advanced economic views are held by our author, and Antisemitism itself, he concludes, is but helping on the decay of capitalism and exploitation. In his conclusion Lazare declares:

"Antisemitism stirs up the middle class, the small tradesmen, and sometimes the peasant, against the Jewish capitalist, but in doing so it gently leads them toward Socialism, prepares them for Anarchy, infuses in them a hatred for all capitalists, and, more than that, for capital in the abstract.

"And thus, unconsciously, Antisemitism is working its own ruin, for it carries in itself the germ of destruction. Nor can it escape its fate. In preparing the way for Socialism and Communism, it is laboring at the elimination not only of the economic cause, but also of the religious and ethnic causes which have engendered it, and which will disappear with this society of ours of which they are the products."

Lazare believes that the coming revolution will end with the Jews attaining equal honor and regard with other men. Universal brotherhood will eliminate all race prejudice and will unite the peoples in fraternity and the fellowship of man; capitalism, and many other evils having gone with the curse of patriotism, and the curse of nationality.

W. F. B.

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 23, 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.

The Workingmen's Educational Club will meet Sunday evening, August 23, at Podgess Hall, Cor. Maxwell and Jefferson Sts. Important matters concerning the propaganda are to be discussed, and we hope all friends and comrades will be present.

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.

Important for Philadelphia.

Grand annual excursion of the Social Science Club of Philadelphia, for the benefit of a radical literature and propaganda fund, on the palatial ocean steamer Twilight, to Augustine Park, Sunday, August 23, 1903. Steamer leaves Arch St. 8:15 a. m. sharp. Music, concert, dancing, refreshments. Attractions looked for; a congenial crowd; pleasant, entertaining pastime; refreshing and invigorating fun, and sparkling, breezy sunshine weather.

Adult's ticket, 50 cents.

In case of rain it will be postponed for another date which will be announced.

Outpost Echoes.

Friendship is communistic.

The born slave fears liberty.

Rottenfellow is his real name.

Society is not based on rivalries.

Liberty looks to time for vindication.

The love of God is the forgetting of Man.

Pity the man who is afraid of himself. He is lost wholly.

As a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, so your love of liberty is only as strong as its weakest point.

FREE SOCIETY

Votes determine nothing except the foolishness of the voter.

The science of political economy is the science of exploiting labor.

Carnegie has given a playground for the children he is killing to play in.

The truth vindicates itself by demonstration, but lies call in the judges and police.

Parry has been heard from again in a chatter of imbecile bumptiousness. He ought to join the Newport monkeys and Lehrs at once.

Authoritarian Socialism, it is easy to believe, will more readily attract the crowd than free Socialism; but anti-social Socialism will not do, nevertheless.

No wonder the State is opposed to Anarchists: Anarchism offers a way of living in which all the machinery of the State will go into the social junk heap.

A Freethinker who does not believe in free action is as inconsistent as a Christian would be if he were not willing to let God guide him: What are the fruits of free thought, anyway?

Two hundred strikers were killed and upwards of two thousand severely wounded by soldiers in Russia during the last month; and yet the czar now reigning lately proposed disarmament of nations.

One of Butte's alderman, a Socialist, is preparing an ordinance which will make the working day of a policeman eight hours and no more. It is hard work for twelve hours at a stretch to be pretending that you are working.

A woman's "honor" has frequently been the cause of terrific struggles of late, several women having nearly lost their lives in attempt to save their "honor"; the price of which is apparently a marriage fee and a five dollar ring.

General Miles stepped down and out with little of the proverbial dignity of a retiring commander in chief, having practically been kicked from his place. But the general may console himself with the thought that the work was dirty anyway.

The president is now commander in chief of the army, having it in his power to remove the chief of staff at will. With such progress toward imperialism as we are now making, with the help of an army we shall soon know all the blessings of government.

"Let us ignore the Anarchists," said a prominent public pensioner recently, "and they will die out. They only live upon notoriety and persecution." Perhaps they do live a little upon the first, but on the second thing mentioned, persecution, the per-

secution of man by slave drivers, their activities are mainly based. Ignore this the pensioner may, if he is fond of sitting on the edge of a volcano's crater.

Anarchists don't know what they are talking about: Secretary Hay has just sold a piece of property to the government for only a little more than twice its assessed value, as shown by the Washington tax lists. Men who talk of corruption in the State should be silenced as fools or liars.

Mayor Knotts, of Hammond, Ind., is in favor of employing only married men. He declares that labor troubles are stirred up by single men. Knotts stands for matrimonial knots, on his own admission, because these tie men down with wives and children, and those who are wearing them neither strike nor complain much. Down with all knots!

The Babs of southern Persia, members of a Church that teaches a morality which would put to shame that of the modern Christian world, are being persecuted terribly by the government; the chief charge against them being that they are too good. Lovers of liberty may learn some day that persecution will fatten itself upon their blood before the beautiful principle of voluntary fraternity can have its way.

The young woman who was lately whipped upon her bare back in a southern prison is attracting a great deal of attention and sympathy, but people learn that men, and Negro women are so whipped, and make little or no protest. Thus the depth and sincerity of public indignation measures itself and proves to be of the shallows. Another sensation, and this one will soon be forgotten!

An official of the Prohibition party declares it to be his opinion that the remarkable spread of prohibition sentiment in the south is due to the belief of the southern people that liquors must be kept away from the Negro. My belief tho is that it is due to the fact that those who nourish race hatred must engage in some recognized reform by way of compensation to their self-respect. But to think, that southerners should feel called upon to give up their whiskey!

While the love of liberty is temperamental with us all, or with the most of us, the belief in the efficacy of liberty as a solvent of social problems is almost an absent quantity, and we even suspect those to whom liberty is vital, and who would urge us to stand for its increase or triumph. We take an attitude toward liberty, that is most of us, such as a man takes toward the acts and dreams of his childhood; who remembers them fondly and tenderly, and who sheds tears over them at times, but who puts them aside in the face of "practical affairs." Yet it was a now almost forgotten sage and teacher who said, "except ye become as little children ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven."

AMERICUS.

Socialism and Authority.

All the objections to Socialism mentioned by Americus in No. 424 can in my opinion be removed by adopting J. William Lloyd's plan of free land and free secession. In other words, let compulsory citizenship be abolished. If the Socialist society is only a voluntary association, I do not see how anyone can object to that voluntary association adopting any methods of industrial organization which its members may see fit.

For instance, I consider it necessary that in large industrial organizations there should be some arrangement for settling disputed questions by voting. I also think that persons whom I should call officers should be appointed for certain purposes of supervision. On these points all the cooperative societies, joint stock companies, and other voluntary industrial associations in the world, seem to agree with me. I should therefore wish to belong to a Socialist society which had these things. But I should not wish any other person to belong to it, unless he were so inclined. On the contrary, I should be very well pleased to see Americus and his friends make experiments in industrial organizations from which I myself would rather be excused: and if their experiments turned out well, none would be more ready than myself to adopt their methods.

On the above question I am probably a little in advance of the great majority of Socialists, but they are moving very fast towards my position. As I have repeatedly stated, the most representative Socialist writers in the world now concede freedom of individual and cooperative enterprise outside of the collective industries. Having gone that length, I think they will soon concede the abolition of compulsory citizenship, as I cannot imagine any reason why a man should be compelled to be a member of a Socialist society against his will. I think, however, that most people would join the Socialist organization without much pressing.

R. B. KERR.

REJOINER.

In a previous reply to R. B. Kerr I declared that political Socialism was "authoritarian or nothing." My critic had challenged me for proof, and I offered the political and judicial machinery, including majority rule, officials, laws, the appropriation of "surplus value," the utterances of political Socialists themselves, and the implied regulation of the individual's entire life, things essential to political or State Socialism, in evidence. Then I asked Mr. Kerr to demonstrate that an institution involving these things in part or as a whole, was not authoritarian. That the task was not relished by my critic his present attitude seems to demonstrate; for, instead of rebutting my argument, he abandons the grounds of our original contention and appeals to "free land and free secession" as the remedy for authoritarianism in Socialism. Thus we have an anti-climax in the shape of an admission which is as damaging to Mr. Kerr's argument as it is creditable to his honesty and fairness.

As to "free secession"; what would a Marxist, with his faith in the materialistic

view of history, economic determinism, the right of the people to appropriate part of the wealth produced by the individual, the concentration of capital, State monopoly, and all the other dogmas of his creed, think of "free land and free secession"? That Mr. Kerr believes in "free secession" indicates that he leans to a libertarian attitude, but that the average State Socialist would so lean, the teachings of his economic church and his previous experience as an "intelligent voter" are, to say the least, very poor evidences. That I am "my brother's keeper" is implied in every tenet of political Socialism, and those who know how anxious the average man is to regulate the conduct of his fellow being now may profitably ponder on the probabilities when the "intelligent voter" had acquired added rights to regulate that conduct. With greater opportunities at his disposal, the infallible voter will not stand for more liberty (the history of majority rule is my proof) but for an increased supervision of the conduct of the individual; and if the State is to command respect, if it is to be a power, a few occasional pleaders for "free land and free secession" are likely to receive but scant attention, unless it be at the hands of the police. The alternative to "free land and free secession" is Anarchism, and I am confident that thousands of intelligent men and women in every land will oppose State Socialism, if the day of its apparent triumph should come, in the name of liberty.

I would remind my critic, also, that industry can go on without the authority which is such a mental stumbling-block with him. For authority only exists where someone uses power to force another man to do his will. In voluntary cooperation the cooperators are free both to unite and to disunite: the force of the State in the shape of laws, majority rule, and coercion being wholly absent.

We all know how softly the political Socialist cat has begun to purr in these days; we all know that other prominent State Socialists, with Kautsky, have turned the coats which they formerly wore, and now appear on the political stage as believers in freedom; but those who study State Socialism more than they listen to State Socialists in their apologetics are only the more bent upon resisting a tyranny which hides itself in opportunism in order to be tolerated, and to succeed, and which, while promising liberty, represents reaction to all the elements of the political regimes of the Dark Ages, and even worse.

AMERICUS.

— o —

Law grinds the poor, and the rich men rule the law.—*Oliver Goldsmith.*

Government is the great blackmailer. . . . No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of Revolution.—*Buekle.*

— o —

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.

To Friends and Lovers of Truth and Justice.

It is my intention to issue a second edition of the life of my late husband, Albert R. Parsons. The first edition, which I published in 1889, has long since been exhausted. It is my intention to make the second edition, like the first, an authority which may be relied upon by all future writers upon the matters contained in its pages.

A preface to the second will be written by C. S. Darrow, the well-known lawyer, who will treat the subject from a legal and historical standpoint. There will also be contributed an article by Samuel Fielden, one of the condemned eight men, who was afterwards pardoned by the late Governor J. P. Altgeld, also Altgeld's "Reasons for Pardoning the Anarchists." In order to enable me to publish this new edition, possibly the closing effort of my long connection with the radical reform movement, I ask all those who wish to obtain a copy of the book to send in their advance subscriptions. The price will probably be \$1.

As soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained to warrant me in doing so, I will immediately proceed getting the book out.

Friends, I am compelled to solicit your subscriptions in advance, because I am personally without means. Those, however, who cannot send the \$1, will kindly send their names so they can be listed.

Send all communications to Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago, Ill.

— o —

Truths from Tolstoy.

People want to attain brotherhood by retaining the forms of slavery in life.

* * *

It is said "one swallow does not make a summer"; but shall the swallow which feels the summer wait and not fly because one swallow does not make summer? Then every bud and grassblade should also wait, and summer would never be.

* * *

On fair grounds there are masts to be climbed for a prize. Such modes of pleasure—luring a man with a watch (let him ruin health), or let men race in sacks, and we will entertain ourselves by looking on,—could only become common thru division of men into masters and slaves.

* * *

In the struggle against falsehood and superstition people are often content with the amount of superstition they have shattered. This is wrong. One should not be content until everything has been eradicated which contradicts reason and requires faith. Superstition, like a cancer, must be thoroughly cleaned out, if the operation is undertaken. A little bit left will make the whole thing grow again.

— o —

For Milwaukee.

The Arbeiter-Lese-Zirkel of Milwaukee will give a picnic for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY on Sunday, August 23, 1903, in Bay View, near St. Francis, on the shore of Lake Michigan. Take Oakland Avenue and Delaware Avenue cars, ride to city limits and walk two blocks east.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

XI (continued.)

Of late years it has not been practicable for the Church to persecute science as such, nor on the ground that it leads to heresy. Even where she had most power, the object-lesson of Galileo's case frightened her out of doing that, and into the hypocrisy of pretending that she never did it. But it has dawned upon the shrewd men who manipulate the ecclesiastical machine that there are many other grounds of prejudice against science besides their own, and that by giving as much encouragement as possible to each of these, they can still keep up quite an obscurantism. If a particular set of people are, on any grounds, prepossessed against any particular line of inductive research, they may be organized into some sort of a society against it, which has the double advantage that they will lend some influence to discourage scientific thinking in general, and that a good many of them will also find out at last the lack of any comfortable standing place between Rome and Reason; when, being by that time fully committed against reason, they must needs, however radical they were formerly, go to Rome. This very ingenious scheme for utilizing all phases of human folly against the method by which human wisdom is augmented, I call the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. The existence of such a movement I shall feel under especial obligation to prove inductively; because I well know that almost every one has a *bete noire* or bugaboo, aversion to which is very likely to become an *idolum specus*. Pretty much all of us have a "den" of some sort, where Bugaboo, metamorphosed into a Jesuit, or a saloon-keeper; or a Freemason, or an Anarchist, or any way what the individual who keeps the "den" most fears and hates, still sits "with an endless, changeless grin, forging" some kind of woe for man! My own Bugaboo is certainly Authority: I am, therefore, if I know myself, particularly on my guard. I do not suppose there exists a conscious conspiracy, with its headquarters in the Vatican, to promote every kind of error as a foil to real knowledge. I know that the disposition to do so springs eternal in the theological breast, and operates as that touch of nature which makes the whole world of priestcraft kin. To prove this by tracing the several tentacles of the obscurantist octopus is the task before me. That the animal's head reposes on the Seven Hills, will scarcely be worth proving after that.

The simplest way of antagonizing science, still boldly adopted by the obscurantist whenever those he addresses are sufficiently ignorant or biased, is denouncing it outright; and for reasons of which we may afterwards say more, he counts, not vainly, on the necessary degree of these qualities going a long way.* In the present pope's century

* The cunning with which Rome cuts the coat according to the cloth, is well worth observation. When the learned but "mattoid" Jesuit Hardouin attempted to vindicate Roman perversions of scripture by making out that the New Testament was originally written in Latin instead of Greek, the Church felt she could not afford to be defended so absurdly, and compelled him to retract. Yet this same Church endorsed the Vulgate at Trent, and still allows English Catholics to read, as approved, a translation from the Vulgate, with such unspeakable notes as that on 1 Cor. IX, 4.

ode, we have an attack on Darwinism which, for the ideas contained in it, is entirely worthy the pulpit of a country parish. The late pope, Pius IX, by his celebrated "Syllabus" and "Encyclical Letter" of 1864, declared that the papacy ought not and could not make terms with liberalism, progress, and modern civilization. In Cardinal Newman's pamphlet on the "Vatican Decrees," every endeavor possible toward such reconciliation was made by a very able man whose enlarged and essentially liberal mind regretted the estrangement, while his position bound him to find some warrant for what the pope said. It was highly interesting to compare Newman on this topic with Manning. Manning was not afraid of his logic, and most Protestants ignored his reply to Gladstone as a plea of guilty and bold apology for the offense; Newman was so much afraid of his logic that in Gladstone's phrase his interpretation of the Decrees had a strong smack of Protestantism. And what was the interpretation? He reminds us that the Syllabus is a synopsis of propositions condemned by the pope, and usually given in the writer's own words. We must not therefore infer anything from the proposition not borne out by the context which alone shows the meaning of the proposition. The pope did not mean to decry the reality of progress; to condemn all modern civilization; nor even to condemn that most shadowy of idols, liberalism, but only the still vaguer sentiment that there was something in all these foreign to yet reconcilable with orthodoxy. What is reconcilable in fact needs no reconciliation. Some specimens of what is irreconcilable, adapted to excite Protestant prejudice, are given. But the substance of the cardinal's distinction is really no more than this that Rome gives up, since she cannot help it, those physical grounds on which science, the pioneer of liberalism, progress, and modern civilization, has completely triumphed, but not those grounds of philosophical method and moral last results on which it is still possible to make a fight. This is the true spirit of theology. Like the African dwarf who points his arrows, poisoned with germs of lockjaw, from behind impenetrable thickets, it lies in wait to discharge its venomous weapons at the pioneers of civilization wherever the darkness and chapparel are still sufficiently dense. On the frontier of what induction has subdued it ever cries, "Thus far shalt thou come and no further." By this choice of position it proves itself what it is—a bandit and an outlaw; for "this is condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." After tracing this animus to a writer like Newman, it would be superfluous to refer to such things as the Spanish universities in the eighteenth century pronouncing Newton's cosmology less agreeable to revelation than Ptolemy's, the Polish clergy warning the faithful not to celebrate a centennial of Copernicus, the French clericals voting against an expedition to observe the transit of Venus (1874) because they did not believe in the heliocentric system. That the Church in those countries where she has found it most necessary to compromise

liberalissimo, progressu, et recent civillitate,

is no better, may be learned from Sheldon's chapters on her history in America.

But it would be unjust to represent the Catholic clergy as any more opposed to scientific progress than the Protestant. In Lecky's "History of Rationalism" and Buckle's "History of Civilization" may be found instance heaped on instance of how uniformly the latter have withstood it. The horrible witchcraft delusion was, we elsewhere remarked, greatly aggravated in England after the Reformation. The clergy were always its great champions, from Archbishop Jewel, who urged Elizabeth to adopt laws against witches, to Wesley, who when professing belief in witchcraft had become enough to make any man ridiculous, courageously said he was sorry for it, and that infidels knew, if Christians did not, that to give up witchcraft was to give up the Bible. In no countries had the Protestant clergy such influence as in Scotland and Massachusetts. The last considerable persecution of witches was at Salem and at Boston in 1694; the last Saxon execution for witchcraft is said to have occurred in Scotland during 1722; but Lecky thinks it may have been in 1712. In the same year occurred the last noted English case,—Jane Wenham's. The prosecutor was a clergyman. The ignorant jury convicted the prisoner in spite of all the judge could say; but her pardon was easily obtained. No facts are better known to men of science than that contagious diseases are especially encouraged by assemblies; by fatigue, hunger, sorrow, and whatever else weakens the body. But when the cholera first appeared in Scotland, the remedy of the clergy was to proclaim a season of humiliation, fasting, and public prayer (Scotch prayer and preaching, on an exciting occasion, could easily be made to last all day). The British government, administered by men of sense, was denounced, not only for impiety but inhumanity in refusing official sanction. The same prophylactics were actually adopted in New Orleans during the visitation of yellow fever in 1873. Coming down to our own time, one can seldom read a religious paper long, without lighting upon sneers, not only at recent discoveries but science in general, and attempts to refute its fundamental conceptions, such as the persistence of force, by arguments ineffably ridiculous.* Canon Moseley's Bampton Lecture once cited in reply to Tyndal's

* The following "experiment" as the author showed his profound acquaintance with scientific methods by calling it, was proposed I think in the *North Western Christian Advocate*. Dig a hole a thousand feet deep, and from the bottom fire upwards a cannon gauged to throw the ball exactly to the top; slip in a board just in time to catch the ball before it descends, and observe the result! The force employed in sending the ball to the earth's surface has been exhausted. But the board will not allow it to be reproduced by fall of the ball. Therefore the persistence of force is false! An infinitely simpler "experiment" of the same sort would be to pick up a stone, and ask triumphantly what has become of the force employed in raising it from the earth? Of course, a babe in science could reply that the force has increased the distance of the stone from the earth; that, in so doing, it has altered their common center of gravity, produced a perturbation (tho an infinitesimal perturbation) in the earth's orbit, affected the courses of all the planets and all the suns; and, not to mention the endless series of changes set up in the body of the operator, that is partly what has become of it.

prayer guage discourse,* was formal vindication of the old theological doctrine concerning miracles and special providences† which every thinker has considered obsolete since the celebrated essay of David Hume. Rev. Samuel Wainwright's pamphlet "Scientific Sophisms," in the "Humboldt Library" (poor Humboldt!) is an elaborate attempt to refute the theory of cosmical development on substantially Newman's grounds—there are certain "missing links" in the chain of demonstrated causation—the chemical atoms appear to be "manufactured articles"—there is an impassable gulf between the vertebra and other sub-kingsdoms (?) between the mammalia and other classes (?); therefore, in spite of gods, men, and columns, we must see miraculous creation in atoms, vertebrata, and mammalia!—Knowledge has reached a certain point. One point within the penumbra of ignorance lurks theology, with its thus-far-shalt-thou-come-and-no-further!

What first made me acquainted with the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, whose existence I had not previously suspected, was the attitude taken towards certain Southern outbreaks of superstition by a paper called the *Christian Statesman*, which figured during the seventies as the organ of a project to incorporate in the Constitution of the United States something which the promoters called Christianity, tho it might more properly have been designated as Puritanism, or even Know Nothingism.‡ The Negro preacher, Brother Jasper, had just achieved notoriety by his scriptural demonstration that "the sun do move." A college was founded to teach the cosmology old enough to have become new. It was introduced into the curriculum of many schools for colored people. An immense "revival of religion" occurred among the negroes. As usual, the end of the world was predicted; and other really alarming traits of fanaticism, at last, I believe made an end to the mania. The *Christian Statesman* did not formally endorse Brother Jasper's doctrine. It was able to veil its sympathy

* Tho I say it who should not, I could have given orthodoxy a much better "reply" to Tyndal than any I ever read. Tyndal's proposal was to make the sick in a particular hospital ward a special subject for prayer, and see if they were any better for it. This proceeds on the assumption that prayer is the efficient cause of "answers to prayer," and becomes totally irrelevant if prayer be conceived only as an indication. Prof. Tyndal would not have said a compass was useless because fifty magnets do not point out the meridian any better than one! Now a fair reading of the Sermon on the Mount would show that Jesus did not, in the famous passage, Mat. VII. 7-11, mean that prayer operated as so much pressure upon God, but that, being his own gift, it was sure indication of his will. Cf. VI. 7.

† Mosely, as Tyndal points out in his reply, does not adequately distinguish miracles from special providences. To the eye of science, any extraneous interference with the eternal sequence of causes and effects would be a miracle, incredible on the ground stated by Hume. The only believable view of a special providence (such as we might suppose the early winter which wrecked Napoleon's ambition) is the predestination, which brings it within the sequence.

‡ Among leading points in the *Christian Statesman's* plan of advance were legislation to enforce observance of "the Sabbath" (Sunday, not regarded as the Sabbath by any Christians, or any one else, except English and American puritans); temperance legislation (actually contrary to Christianity, one of whose chief rites is drinking wine); and hostility to Romanists as pronounced as if they were not Christians.

with his work under cover of his being an interesting character. But the outline showed thru the veil. This was not a sufficient excuse. Oscar Wilde was an interesting character. What would have been said by the clergy of a freethinking editor who, perfunctorily acknowledging that Wilde had been convicted of a shameful vice, took pains to keep him before the world as a man of genius? But his error, waiving all questions about the fairness of the trial or the expediency of the punishment, was only a vice. Jasper's absurdity and its success were direct play into the hands of the quasi-slavery system. Surely, the emphatic duty of educated northern clergymen who professed great interest in the intellectual and social elevation of the colored race, was to denounce Jasper as a pestilent ignoramus; warn all who ran after him that they were acting against the protest of their only powerful friends and the hard-won rights of their people; and clear the Church from the frightful stigma of reviving medieval superstitions. About the same time there was a panic among the ignorant class of both Negroes and poor whites in North Carolina occasioned by explosions which proved to be the work of a railroad company but were at first supposed volcanic. This too caused a great "revival," and again that was hailed as a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit which should have been denounced as the work of the devil. For it is evident nothing can in the long run, be more injurious to piety than associating it with the abject cowardice which springs from ignorance of the true divine law; and the priestcraft which will encourage that, does not hope nor aim to regenerate mankind, but only to keep them enslaved as long as possible.

Outside these direct attempts to discourage science in the name of religion, probably the most important phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance wears the mask of sexual morality. Lust, ignorance, and stupidity, among them, so valiantly defend the Holy Alliance of Prostitution and Marriage, two ancient institutions of which the latter, as St. Louis and Maria Theresa proved, cannot exist without the former, that conservatism has here a very strong Coward's Castle to get into. What assails it, of course is knowledge. The Malthusian theory was doubtless the first and heaviest gun. But multitudes who do not care to defend theology against increase of knowledge will fight for what they facetiously call virtue. At this point, therefore, it is peculiarly easy to meet knowledge with the familiar weapon of persecution. The Malthusian theory was at first furiously denounced as "immoral," and tho it is now sheltered against Lust Power by the supposed interest of the Money Power,* this immunity does not

* This term "Power," in composition with some other, was, I believe, first heard among the radicals, in the days of the anti-slavery agitation; the Slave Power being the earliest which had a name. Since then the Rum Power, the Money Power, etc., have become familiar expressions. The idea expressed by the word Power in such a case is that of a "vested interest," wielding immense wealth for the purposes of its corporate selfishness, against what are commonly understood by "the principles of justice" and "the public good." Only Anarchists, however, adequately understand the whole machinery of government was devised and is manipulated by the Powers collectively

extend to its corollaries (as Neo-Malthusianism). Charles Bradlaugh, since honored with an important place among the representatives of the English people, and Mrs. Besant, now universally recognized as one of the noblest among intelligent English women, were prosecuted and convicted, and only narrowly escaped by a technical plea the hardship and ignominy of imprisonment under a labor commitment, for circulating "obscene literature," the obscenity consisting in this evident corollary from the Malthusian theory that (if marriage was to continue, as was assumed) means of preventing conception must be adopted. Another English publisher was actually imprisoned for the same offense at the same time. Mrs. Besant's daughter, a girl of eight, was taken from her till coming of age, when she immediately left her father and rejoined her mother. Havelock Ellis is one of the principal authorities on "moral," that is on sexual science, in England. His reputation is not dependent at all upon the sympathy of radicals with the anti-clerical and anti-Lust Power tendency of his publications. It is fully recognized by the scientific world.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

for such purposes; so that "the powers which be" are ordained by the devil; and the "principles of justice," "public good," etc., mean only what little honest men can get thru rogues' falling out. The bench and bar are a lawyers' trust, the legislative and executive authority a politicians' trust, etc. If the lawyers' trust had the field to itself, as in the Lord Chancellor's court it very nearly had till lately, no suit would ever be decided at all. That "justice" is ever done is because the politicians' trust must keep up some show of forcing the lawyers' trust to do it; that government is anything else than the purely arbitrary rule of an oligarchy is because the lawyers' trust has an interest so far coinciding with the public's, that it will stand with the public for whatever advantage conformity to precedent has over mere arbitrary rule. And the superiority of Anarchy to these mutual limitations of robbery by the "Powers" becomes clear when we recognize what is illustrated in the text that the points at which the "Powers" check each other are of little consequence compared to that vast field in which

"Each party joined to do their best
To damn the public interest."

* Malthus, while pointing out that marriage, unless restricted, meant increase of population to the point at which it must actually be checked by premature death, therefore the existence of a class poor to the degree of dependence upon others, proposed no remedy but delay of marriage. The clergy at first said, and said truly, that this doctrine was unfavorable to the accepted morality; because, tho Malthus was right in holding continence by no means impossible, he was clearly visionary if he thought the majority likely to practise it. The Money Power thought serviceable the hypocrisy of giving advice which would certainly not be followed; as a substitute for rendering justice or even charity to the poor. But Neo-Malthusianism, as propounded by Robert Owen, whatever else might be said about it, was practical; as has been proved in France. The man of money, according to the most weighty criticism on Malthus ever made (Karl Marx's), did not want restraint on population made practical; so they gave up to the clergy antiquated laws against immoral doctrines. The hypocrisy of the clergy is coming round at the Money Power's behest, to what, they themselves being witness, they well knew was against the ethics they had always taught, is worthy their paymasters' in upholding Malthusianism as a theory but abandoning it at the first sign of practise. It deserves mention that Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant republished Knowlton's Neo-Malthusian pamphlet on the express ground, not that they particularly approved of its doctrines, but that the principle of a free press was at stake. They are, therefore, much misrepresented by the allusions to them in "Progress and Poverty."

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