



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 429.

Victory.

Victory at the end, there's no defeat!
Let tyranny have its day and then depart:
In mankind's teeming brain and throbbing heart
Slow germinate and bloom the measures meet.
There is no shame that shall not be atoned,
No suffering or wrong that can endure;
Humanity is silent but is sure,
Triumph is not abandoned but postponed.
We may not share the glories of the goal,
Nor even view afar the promised land;
Enough to leap a-thrilled at love's command.
Go down in battle with a deathless soul.
The banner's borne aloft above the fray,
We perish, but the truth and victory stay.
—William Mountain.

Law and Lynching.

During the last decade lynching has increased to such a degree that its prevalence is made the subject of thousands of editorials in the daily papers and long essays in the leading magazines. The people, with the mass of officials, are at their wits' ends in accounting for the epidemic of torture and slaughter, and, let the apologists palliate and explain as they will, a feeling of shame is gradually developing in the public mind accompanied by something very like panic. Unrest is everywhere, and no one can tell what a day may bring forth in the way of murderous carnival on the part of lynchers, and terrible reprisal from a maddened and fearful people, bent on stamping lynching out as a pest.

One fact in connection with lynching and the attempts to suppress its terrible deeds is of importance particularly to those students of sociology who call themselves Anarchists; that fact is that press and public alike comment upon lynchings as tho they were expressions of the spirit of Anarchism. Everything written upon the subject announces that lynching is "Anarchistic" and names the murderers of human beings Anarchists. Thus two things are accomplished: the law is exonerated, and Anarchists are made to bear a stigma in addition to those which it had hitherto borne, and which alienates a sympathy that otherwise might come to it from sensitive and developing radicals.

Theodore Roosevelt is one of those who talk largely for effect, and his utterances carry great weight with the unintelligent masses. He has lately joined anew the hue and cry against lynching, and at the same time has sought to fasten blame upon those

who are opposed to all law. His utterances are of the kind to which reference has been made, and may be quoted as fair representatives of that kind of obscurantism.

In a letter to governor Durbin of Indiana, complimenting that person upon the stand which he took in the Evansville riots, the president uses these words:

Of course, mob violence is simply one form of Anarchy; and Anarchy is now, as it always has been, the hand-maiden and forerunner of all tyranny.

One of a thousand similar statements, in which Anarchism is held up to execration by implication, this utterance is ample for my purpose, and more than satisfactory in its definiteness.

Were the critics of Anarchism and lynching to try the severe path of induction before confusing and identifying mutually inharmonious things they would experience a shock of enlightenment, which would probably be followed by a measure of chagrin when the truth settled itself in their minds; for lynching is really not an expression of lawlessness at all, but is rather harmonious with and based upon what the law is based upon: viz., conceptions of that metaphysical thing, "justice." But since these infatuated confusers of law and order do not do this, nor are soon likely to do it, it is well that protest be made by those who know the truth and make it clear; that the intelligent at least may not be misled and confused.

Almost as old as man, no doubt, is the idea of blood atonement, the Mosaic expression of which, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," is only one of its forms, every people practically, having it embodied in their moral precepts and legal codes. The law is based upon "justice," and "justice" is based upon the demand for revenge. All primitive peoples, including the American Indians, furnish the facts upon which the induction can be made, and the data hardly require repetition, so familiar are they to the mind of the world. Given the desire for revenge, the acts of revengeful persons would in time come under the control of developing government, and conceptions of "justice" would take the place of the indiscriminate and formless codes expressed in individual irresponsibility. With the growth of laws and oodes of reprisal and punishment the barbaric demand for revenge would of course tend to become fixed; and down to this day

blood atonement is demanded and given.

It does not matter, then, whether the deliberations of a court consisting of a judge and jury, or the swifter methods of a mob result in a specific act of punishment by death, in either case the desire for revenge results in a demand for "justice," and in the case of lynching, it being considered that the law would condemn the accused, he is only the more quickly dispatched. The law of blood atonement in the minds of men and written down in the statute books is that to which lynchers appeal for justification. They act because they believe in "justice" and law. Lynching is thus only the result of law in a hurry, and those who uphold it are the strictest sort of believers in "justice" and law.

The southern newspapers publish much upon the subject; and that their utterances often bear out my contention, one or two extracts will suffice to show. The New Orleans *Picayune* says in a recent issue:

The people have created the machinery of justice, and when that fails, the people must and will apply some other remedy for the protection of society and the repression of crime.

Here we find all required respect for law and justice; and fault is found only with the "machinery" by which these things are administered. The Nashville *American* says:

The law is so frequently used to subvert the law that the lynching of rape fiends is often the only way to secure their punishment.

Lynching is everywhere done in the name of law, order, and "justice," the premeditated desire for vengeance being expressed in the bloodthirsty attitude of the mob, while its members quiet their consciences with the plea that they are carrying out the law and insuring the triumph of "justice."

For further evidence of the causes of lynching, consider the doubt of the efficacy of all punitive institutions which is beginning to be felt by educated people, and which is affecting to some extent even the common mind. The apathy of the public at times when a great criminal is tried only to escape punishment, and which is more and more made manifest as it learns that all men are criminals in some sort, are influences working to the same end; and the increasing tendency toward mercy shown by the courts may also be taken into consideration. When atrocities are committed by individuals, how-

ever, outraged feelings prompt return to rejected but custom-fixed practises and atavistic influences bring merciful thoughts and feelings and apathetic tolerance up standing. And as tho it were sure that the courts could not be depended upon, the mob begins to reassert the reign of law and order, of "justice," of blood atonement.

Without the desire for vengeance, then, there would be no punishment; without the law there would be no fixed "justice" and without any one or all of these, there would be no lynchings to explain, regret, or excuse. The relation, that of parent with child, which exists between all punishment and "law and order" is plain, and not to be denied.

As to Anarchism and lynching; in denying law Anarchism denies "justice," and in denying "justice" it denies punishment. Instead of thinking of the punishment of criminals, Anarchists think of means to cure and prevent crime. Anarchism's lawlessness is the lawlessness of those who would abolish force and authority in the interest of universal weal, not woe; in the interests of well-being, not misery; in the interest of solidarity and individuality. "Justice," Anarchists leave to the metaphysicians, who can be trusted to never find its origin in those lusts of blood from which it rose in the older days of the race.

Anarchists, as such, condemn the "machinery of justice" altogether; alleging that circumstance plays a chief part in determining the character, and therefore the conduct of the individual. They think too, that even if this were not so, "justice" would not result thru any amount of deliberation, because the evidence to be considered would be subject to doubt, no matter what its character or source, and because of its confusion. As to preventing crime, they say that punishment does but increase and foster crime's every form and manifestation, and that what is needed as a remedy is a change in social conditions which will encourage all that is best in men into vigorous growth and fruition. Lynching, therefore is as far from being Anarchistic as the east is from being the west.

One by one the expedients which they adopt who would obscure the real nature of Anarchism must fall as others have already fallen. It is now in order for the mouthers of prejudice to make proof of their statements as to the nature of lynching. When they confess the truth, as they must finally, they will not be punished, however, but will be given the hand of fellowship by those who deny all punishment, and who hope the best of man: the Anarchists.

AMERICUS.

Replies to Critics.

It is among the fine old fallacies of philosophy that a man's bias has nothing to do with the force of his argument. Among the fallacies, because men are not logic-chopping machines, but living organisms; and if you once see what a man is after, other than truth, you often find there the clue to all his

aberrations from induction. My critic on the subject of heredity, in *Freedom*, betrays his animus by such sentences as "I cannot agree with Comrade James' position . . . because the theories of Lombroso provide, if they are true, a very formidable argument against the progress of the human race. . . ."

The first writer to give a full argument for Anarchism based his argument on the fact that 'the characters of men originate in their external circumstances.' And every writer on Anarchism since has practically assumed that position. . . . And if men are bound to stay what they are . . . then some of us at least would have to acknowledge that Anarchism is a vain and impossible dream. . . . Our message to the makers of prisons and the ignorantly learned professors is this: provide healthy and pleasant surroundings for the children of our great cities . . . and your prisons will be empty."

If there be a note that rings thru my whole "Vindication of Anarchism," it is this, that Anarchism does not rest on Christianity, as Tolstoy thinks; nor on transcendental Idealism, as Emerson thought; nor on Materialism or Egoism, as many Anarchists have thought; nor on Spiritualism, as some of them think; nor on the "environment" hobby, as Godwin and most extreme radicals a hundred years ago thought, and as my critic still thinks; nor, in short, on any dogma older than itself, but on Induction, whose evidences are alike for all men whatever dogmas they were taught to believe.

I entreat my critic to trust me when I affirm that I do not give a twopenny tinker's condemnation whether previous Anarchists have pinned their faith to the environment doctrine; whether some of them love that more than Anarchism; whether it be an argument for or against the progress of the human race; but only whether it be true. This determination to follow truth alone, by the only method whereby new truth can be discovered, is exactly what enables me to feel sure that whichever way the toad of previous theory hops, Anarchism is not a vain and impossible dream.

Now, the environment doctrine, as my critic applies it, is certainly not true. Remorseless statistics show more crime of pretty much every sort in the country than the cities; therefore providing surroundings of whatever kind for the children of the cities would not extinguish crime. Pleasant and healthy surroundings did not prevent the crimes of Tawell, Palmer, Lamson, Smethurst, Wainwright, and other murderers too numerous to mention, without going beyond English ones. And then who is to "provide healthy and pleasant surroundings for the children of our great cities"? My critic says "the makers of prisons and ignorantly learned professors." I submit that means the Omnipotent Goodness at Westminster: and the idea that Omnipotent Goodness at Westminster can extinguish crime is not Anarchism but State Socialism.

Does my critic mean to deny the substantial truth of the Darwinian theory? If he does, I must leave him to other hands than mine. Does he think it a formidable argument against the progress of the human race that evolution, in spite of the Omnipotent Goodness at Westminster, Washington, and elsewhere, has raised men to what they are,

from cannibals, nay from monkeys, nay, if we go farther back, from ascidia, or, probably at last, from inorganic matter? If he does not, he must not fear the corollaries of these doctrines. One of those corollaries is Degeneracy, or atavism. As long ago as Virgil, every practical farmer knew that plants and animals were adapted to the needs of man by selection, and that if this process ceased they reverted to the worthless ancestral type; (I Georgic, 196-203). This is equally true about the adaptation of men, animals, and plants, to their own conditions of life, by natural and sexual selection. Whenever the mischievous hand of government has interfered by "providing surroundings," which encouraged aristocrats, as in all countries, or paupers, as in England before the New Poor Law, to propagate, notwithstanding personal unfitness for their larger environment, Degeneracy, on a wide scale, has set in at once. And, of course, on a smaller scale, it sets in wherever anything checks the normal progress of selection. Fatal as these conclusions are to the dreams of the penologist and the State Socialist, I hardly understand how anyone can have read my fifth section without seeing them to be the strong points of two doctrines—that crime is never materially lessened by punishment, and that, like other degenerate traits, it would yield rapidly to emancipation of women. But these are the fundamentals of Anarchism. Lust and cowardice—fear of a few hobos and desire to keep women in sex slavery—are what make most men think government necessary. Teach them that marriage law makes the hobos, while penal law makes them worse, and you remove the *raison d'être* of authority.

But my critic endeavors to impugn Lombroso's doctrine of degeneracy on inductive grounds. He says it is declining in Europe. I suspect Manonriof of misleading him there. I am sure that, in America, it is sweeping everything—penology particularly—before it (see Sec. V in "Vindication"). To say that criminologists pronounce everyone who has degenerate traits a criminal, is a simply absurd misrepresentation, on which I will not waste another word. To call criminology metaphysical, as my critic repeatedly does, is another; most inconsistent with the cant which he has also learned from its opponents, of pronouncing it empirical. He says in one place that the norm of humanity is *ascertained measurements* (alone?) of *average* people, and in another suggests that *average* people "probably" differ from this norm just as much as the criminals whose glaring differences from it are the basis for the theory that crime is a trait of physical degeneracy! He dogmatically asserts that "the moral sense of the individual depends on the training of his early years"; forgetting that almost every respectable family has a "black sheep" and almost every criminal one a "dog son of a wolf"—notorious facts, easily explained by atavism, but wholly inconsistent with his assertion. Quite in harmony, however, with his rage for environment, is his assertion that the laws of Moloch worshippers and cannibals developed the moral sense. I believe they never did anything but resist its evolution. He finds fault with criminologists for not defining

crime; admits that legal phraseology makes this difficult; and winds up by giving a definition which is theirs' (see again my Sec. V), "crime is violation of moral law"—or there is no scientific distinction between crime and vice. He is quite mistaken in saying the Born Criminal is defined as a person without moral sense, like any baby. A Born Criminal is defined as a person with an irresistible, congenital propensity to some kind of crime—as Jesse Pomeroy to murder. Such persons are not necessarily, as he assumes, without moral sense. But experience (not metaphysics) does show it can never be made strong enough to keep their propensity from passing into action upon opportunity.

My critic's blunders are traceable to his evident bias. He is half a State Socialist, wholly a believer in obsolete theories of education and environment. There is, or ought to be, he thinks, some Omnipotent Goodness or Wisdom which will make diamonds of all the moral and intellectual bricks. Anarchism deals in no such miracle-working machinery. It looks to nature's processes for the gradual improvement of humanity, and finds nothing but mischief in the history of human attempts to improve them by legislation. Most mischievous of all, it finds restraint on sexual selection, and restraint on any criminals but a few of the dangerous Born kind, who desire it themselves. Having this bias, however, my critic is prejudiced against Criminology. He has read, swallowed, distorted, and exaggerated, the stock argument against it; which may be read between his lines. The argument really is that criminology has not established a definite criminal type. The obvious answer is that no such type exists. The normal alone is typical. The abnormal diverges from it in all directions, not in any given one. This alone we can predicate about abnormality in general—that it reverts to older types of some sort. No degenerate will be born with angel's wings. He may, indifferently, be born with the ape's forehead, the tiger's fang's, or even the fish's tail.

C. L. JAMES.

"Liberty" Shafts.

Hereafter people crossing the Atlantic in a westerly direction should be careful not to talk politics until they are well ashore. It is dangerous business. Eight who incautiously did so recently, in the steerage of an Italian liner bound for this port, will know better another time. After their arrival they were examined for an entire day on a charge of having "discussed European political conditions at great length on board ship." The board finally concluded, however, that they had not gone into politics deeply enough to disqualify them for American citizenship, and so admitted them to the country. The *New York Times*, in reporting the case, said: "So earnest did their conferences become at times that the suspicion arose that they might be Anarchists." *Liberty* notes with satisfaction the virtual admission of the *Times* that every earnest man is an Anarchist, and every Anarchist a trifle.

The *Evening Post*, very properly disturbed over the increasing frequency of lynching,

asks: "Have we already forgotten the thrill of pride we felt in the orderly and dignified trial of Czolgosz? Every privilege and immunity which the law affords to any man accused of crime were secured to that moral monster." As a matter of fact, the boasted trial of Czolgosz was one of the most impudent shams ever lauded as the genuine article. Czolgosz had committed a murder; he admitted it; he gloried in it; there was no doubt about it; he made no defense; and, as far as the question of guilt or innocence was concerned, there was no defense to be made. The counsel assigned to defend him had but one duty to perform in justice to their client,—the duty of comparing the motive of this man who believed he had done a righteous act with the motives that ordinarily prompt malicious murder, for the purpose of securing a mitigation of the penalty. Instead of that, they simply saw to it that the forms of law were observed, for the rest abusing their client in the most outrageous manner, apologizing for appearing as his counsel, and holding him up to execration as a much worse man than the malicious murderer. And, because of this observance of the mere forms of law, the vainglorious American people, thru newspapers in every way worthy of them, plume themselves on their orderly behavior, tho the truth is that a crazier pack than they were at that moment never applied the torch to burn a Negro at the stake. Than this shameful travesty of justice lynching itself would have been less repulsive to every man whose eye can pierce a fraud.—*Liberty*, New York, N. Y.

Condensed Postal History.

Against the argument that our present cheap postal service is due to government ownership, Comrade J. F. Hartman, of Providence, R. I., has published the following in the *New York Evening Journal*:

What really caused the reduction of postage is strangely ignored by the postal histories. It has been ascribed to the example of the cheap postage in England, but this really deterred Congress from reducing the postage, for it had caused a loss of about half of the original revenue. It was a fixed principle, adhered to with bigoted tenacity, by our government, that the department should support itself, and thus far its expenses had entirely consumed the revenue. Therefore Congress had for a long time been deaf to all petitions for cheap postage.

England's cheap postage went into effect in January, 1840. In 1845 the reduction of postage was forced upon Congress against the determined opposition of that body by the establishment of private mails, and such an exposure of the unconstitutionality of the laws prohibiting private mails as satisfied Congress of its inability to suppress competition, and it accordingly reduced the postage to a point that made competition unprofitable.

Lysander Spooner, of Boston, was the first to prove by argument that Congress had no constitutional power to forbid the establishment of mails by the States or by private individuals, as in competition with the mails of the United States, and the first to establish mails on that principle.

Hale & Kimball began carrying letters about a month before Mr. Spooner's mails were started. They did not deny the right of Congress to prohibit private mails, but only took advantage of an accidental omission in the wording of the statute. Which, of course, did not effect postal legislation.

Mr. Spooner published his twenty-eight propositions, any one of which was a sufficient argument for private mails.

The constitution says: "Congress shall have power to establish post offices and post roads," of its own,

but not to interfere with those established by others. The right of men to labor for each other for hire, to dig potatoes or carry letters, was never surrendered to Congress and should not be.

Congress is not required to establish any postoffices and could constitutionally abolish its mails altogether, but it has no power to prohibit private mails.

The letter rate had then 3/4, 10, 12 1/2, 18 1/2 and 25 cents, according to distance. Mr. Spooner's company fixed it at 6 cents for all distances. Their postoffices had been established from Boston to Baltimore, when their agents were arrested. Other companies were started, reaching as far west as Cincinnati, and were getting about all the letters on their routes.

Members of Congress indulged in the bitterest denunciations of those "law breakers" and "outlaws," whom they proposed to prosecute to the fullest extent of the law, etc.

But when Mr. Spooner sent each of them a copy of his twenty-eight arguments, they suddenly turned round and reduced the postage and prosecuted no one. They did not dare to.

The first reduction was to five cents for three hundred miles and to ten cents for over that distance. As this was not low enough to discourage private companies, the next Congress reduced it still more.

It was, I think, in 1882, that letter postage was reduced to two cents. In New York city a private company was started, carrying letters for two cents while the government was yet charging three. They were promptly arrested.

Splinters.

Brother Shoaf, your eloquence has melted my heart, and as you now show a disposition to make amends, you are forgiven.

If trades unionism is to become a "business institution," as some "labor leaders" allege, it had better go out of business.

The Italian comrades of New York have about completed the task of canonizing Bresci. It is rather a sad sight to see Anarchists in the saint-making business.

Lynching has become a regular industry in this country. Let Congress now establish a department of mobs and lynchings, or at least add it as an adjunct to the department of "justice."

Conservative trades unionism is an article much praised by capitalists. These know what is good for themselves. But they are not "conservative," and as soon as they perfect their organization, now rapidly being formed all over the country, they will no doubt proceed to give "conservative" labor such a lesson as will put it off the fence in a hurry.

ABE ISAAC JR.

"Papa, why is it that truth is stranger than fiction?"

"Daughter, don't say that I told you, but I suspect it is because the truth is so seldom uttered."

Reformer:—"Is government a good thing, do you think?"

Politician:—"I should say it is a good thing. I made twenty thousand dollars out of my job this year. You must be an Anarchist, mister!"

For Chicago.

The Workingmen's Educational Club will meet Saturday evening, Aug. 29, 8 p. m., at Pordgess Hall, cor. Maxwell and Jefferson. A discussion on some pertinent subject will take place.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by.....A. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

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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 30, 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 few comrades have volunteered to arrange a grand entertainment for the benefit of the propaganda in the English language, which is to take place in November. Those who feel inclined to aid the comrades in their efforts to make the ball a success, will kindly attend the business meeting to be held at the home of FREE SOCIETY, Thursday, September 3.

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 New York.

A Grand International Picnic for the benefit of Comrade John Turner's four and FREE SOCIETY, will take place Saturday, September 12, in the afternoon and evening, at E. 133rd St. and Willis Ave., Brommel's Union Park. Admission 25 cents. Take Third Ave. electric car to 133rd St., then walk one block. All comrades and friends are cordially invited. Tickets can be procured at the following places: M. Maisel's book store, 194 E. B'way; Parnesa's Cafe, 167 E. B'way.; Herrick's Cafe; Modest, 50 First St.; Arbeiter-Lerezimmer, 400 E. 76th St.; Blotti, 27 Sixth Ave.; and Emma Goldman, 50 First St., thru letters.

Comrade M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way, New York, has kindly volunteered to visit all the delinquent subscribers and collect money for us, and we hope that all those in arrears will aid him by leaving the money ready at their addresses, or seeing him at his bookstore, which would save him carfare and time.

Sunday, August 30, a grand picnic for the benefit of the *Freiheit* takes place in Liberty Park.

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.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Votes do not make men.

The truth never turns its coat.

There is hope where men work.

Liberty's dreams are prophecies.

Misery's lessons often come too late.

Love suffocates in an atmosphere of hate.

In the midst of plenty rapacity is out of place.

The State is the fetish of social superstition.

Marriage is the mark that property puts on love.

Carnegie is an agnostic, but still he has a god: Gold.

The records of the money market are written in blood.

The love of a great heiress frequently costs twenty million dollars.

Greed always preaches contentment to others; it makes things easy.

Capitalism is the disguised monopoly of murderous highwaymanship.

A lifetime of experience is a big price to pay for what some men learn.

Promises made by politicians are like candy which is given to crying children.

Anarchism does not ask for the opportunities to steal which politicians claim as theirs by right.

Lord Salisbury, a premier of England, who has been dead for at least fifty years, has just been buried.

That tea-coffee-and-sugar Nero, Sir Thomas Lipton, knows where to get the money to build a hundred yachts with.

Joseph Pulitzer's school of journalism may make smoother liars: it could not make bigger ones than those who now fill the papers.

All gossips oppose liberty: in the absence of a moral standard their occupation would be gone, and they would have to choose between reason and death from ennui.

A project is on foot to make every railway train a mail train, and thus suppress railroad strikes; a fitting addition to the already triple pay which the government gives the railroads for carrying the mails.

The Humberts have been convicted, and the thieves who resent and oppose all ri-

valry, the gentlemen in whose hands France has laid her fate, the spotless officials, may again take the path of pretense and speculation.

The Russian government has made short work of Tolstoy's pamphlet, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," having burned all unsold copies and destroyed the plates. Christ, and the Ten Commandments are all right until they are likely to be listened to by a people; then "good government" makes an end of them.

A woman contributor to the *North American Review* declares that woman has less liberty under a republic than under a monarchy, and that with Anarchism she would be a slave. Reasoning backwards, then, she should believe that where there is the greatest degree of slavery, there also the greatest degree of liberty will be found.

Theodore Roosevelt is kept busy trying to parry the blows which the Democratic politicians aim at him; criticisms of his utterances upon lynching, of his attitude respecting postoffice thieves, of his promotion of General Wood, and of his big boasts and small deeds in particular. It is reported that the unfortunate man is near collapse. The strenuous life begins to look like a lobster's life.

The *Truth Seeker*, of New York, is greatly shocked because some Doukhobor women in Manitoba removed their clothing recently and began a pilgrimage in search of the Christ. There is something suspiciously perfunctory in the insistence on the letter of puritan morality which characterizes the utterances of those who reject puritanism in religion. Is truth demonstrated thru the morality of the demonstrator?

A young Russian captain, revolted by the attitude of the government during the recent labor strikes at Kieff, stepped in front of his company and addressed the soldiers as comrades; adjuring them not to fire upon their "poor, starving brothers." His appeal was hearkened to, and as a result he is in St. Petersburg under sentence of death at the hands of a court-martial. Events like this one, despite the scorn of Plutus, help to inspire our noblest dreams.

Spain is in a ferment: Republicans, a few political Socialists, and all the Anarchists being active in discrediting the government in the eyes of the people. The project to build several new warships, the cupidity of the king, and the discontent of the peasantry with the taxes, are influences which in this juncture may end in revolution. Spain, as Italy, is ripe for change, but whether that change will end in liberty only events can tell. All depends upon intelligence.

The labor situation in and around Cripple Creek, Colo., is an interesting one. Thousands of miners are being coerced by the mining companies, and are on the verge of great want and privation, while the trades union agitators and the advocates of political Socialism are reaping harvests of adher-

ents every day. Meanwhile there is a growing feeling favorable to an appeal to violence, and no one can tell what an hour may bring forth. A good pamphlet on the general strike scattered broadcast at this juncture would be a piece of propaganda of the greatest importance and value.

If the State should control one industry it should control all. If it should control the postoffice, gas works, electric lighting, railroads, the telegraph, etc., it should control the comings and the goings, the productions and distributions of John Doe and Richard Roe, and be done with it. The advocates of government control of things are afraid of their own logic, and draw a spurious line of demarcation between what the State should and what it should not do. All, or nothing, should be the word; and Anarchists, who see the government as an employer today insist that that word should be *nothing*. The delusive promise of reform tickles alone the ears of those who have no memories.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"Freedom, on paper," says a contemporary, "which is overturned by every piece of bread that one has to pick up under economical dependence, is a political fraud. On the other hand, a full stomach without freedom, without development of manhood, is neither an ideal. The combination of both, free labor and free partaking of its fruit, is the aim to be achieved."

Sidney George Fisher has written a "True History of the American Revolution," and the "Sons and Daughters of the Revolution," who arrogantly boast their descent from men who established this republic, are quite disturbed in their complacency. This iconoclastic historian, Fisher, mercilessly tears the mask from their faces by pointing out that those who shy at a revolutionist today have little knowledge of their revolutionary fathers, who were rather less than aristocrats. Sam Adams utterly neglected his business, went bankrupt, and devoted "all his time and energy to stirring up public discontent with the established State." Neither were the revolutionary fathers very dainty in their expressions. Josiah Quincy advocated "a dagger of a cubic in his belly," as the only answer of Americans to King George, and Warren hoped "to die up to my knees in blood."

"The system of the government became masterly, and the servitude of the people became complete," says Winwood Reade in the "Martyrdom of Man," speaking of the Egyptian empire. Thus a "masterly government," or "good government," as the well-meaning but deluded Americans prefer to call it, implies abject slavery. This is encouraging indeed, for the universal scandals in governmental affairs and the invention of the whitewashing-brush are not signifying a "masterly government," consequently we have not yet reached the blessed state of "complete servitude." But we are rapidly drifting there, and if the "sovereign American citizen" continues to drowse in his at-

titude of superiority and infallibility, who imagines that he cannot learn anything from the European labor movement, he will soon feel the lash of Russian despotism. We have already the "masterly" postal institution, the employes of which never dare to go on strike, and now attempts are being made to bring all passenger trains under the postal service, in order to prevent railway employes from going on strike. Arbitration between employer and employee is getting more and more in vogue, and if the politicians succeed in their efforts to incorporate trade unions, "complete servitude" will soon be an accomplished fact.

INTERLOPER.

Comrades and Friends!

One of our silent workers in England, T. Cantwell, who for fifteen years has suffered privation and imprisonment for publishing and spreading our literature, is now suffering a trying illness, and we appeal to you to contribute your mite in order to bring a little sunshine and comfort into his life. Altho, one of those who thru their tireless efforts have kept *Freedom* and its library alive, "he would be the last," as the present publishers of *Freedom* say, "to ask for any reward for his long and arduous labors in the movement, but help in the spirit of 'mutual aid' will, we are sure, be welcomed by him as a real expression of solidarity."

Send all contributions to H. M. Kelly, "Oakdale," Cambridge Rd., Amerly, London, S. E., England, or to Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York.

Our contemporaries will please copy.

"The Fool-Killer" and the Tax-Payer.

"What's that?" asked the Fool-killer.

"That's an unemployed man in a vacant lot," said I.

"Why don't you have him work on the lot and produce something?" asked the Fool-killer.

"Because," I said, "we suffer from over-production already; and, besides, the owner of the lot won't let him work on it."

"I must get my club," said the Fool-killer.

"Hold on!" I said. "Pretty soon we will arrest the man because he does not do anything; then the judge will fine him, because he has no money; and we will keep him idle in jail because he was idle out of jail; and the workers will tax themselves to pay for all that."

The Fool-killer gasped, "I must order a Gatling gun."

"Don't go off half-cocked," I said. "Those are our laws."

"Who made those fool laws?"

"Everybody, civilized men," said I.

"The men that pay the taxes?" asked the Fool-killer.

"Why, yes."

"I must swear in some deputies," said the Fool-killer.

"Stop," I said; "no one speaks like that about the laws; they are the accumulated wisdom of the ages, and must be treated with respect."

"Why don't some one tell the truth, and say the laws are stupid and wicked?" asked the Fool-killer.

"We kill such fools as speak the truth about such things," said I.

"Come," said the Fool-killer, "I will go and poison the water-supply."

On the way the Fool-killer asked again.

"What are those places?"

"That is a tobaccoist's," I said, "and the other is a gin-mill. You see we poison our own drinking supply—oh, the next is a drugstore, and beyond is a hospital—"

"I will go home," said the Fool-killer. "These fools are doing my work themselves."—*Bolton Hall*, in "Game of Life."

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.

LETTER BOX.

E. M., New York.—The sentiments expressed in your article are excellent, but it is not "ripe" for print, and we cannot spare time to rewrite the Ms. Greetings.

P. F., Lincoln, Neb.—Of course we are against Madden's proceedings in annoying the press, but to denounce him as "a persecutor of the radical papers" is falsifying facts—an attitude the Anarchists should not be consciously guilty of. The facts are that the radical press has comparatively suffered less than the religious and society papers. Perhaps two hundred periodicals have been suppressed by Madden, and about a thousand less papers now exist than under the normal rate of increase formerly, on account of the difficulty of securing second-class mail matter rates; 27 religious and society papers have been suspended in Chicago, if the reports are correct, while the liberal papers in this city are still afloat. Madden is simply a fanatic in complying with the postal regulations; and his procedure again shows that even the "law-abiding citizens" hate to be dealt with strictly according to law.

For Milwaukee.

The Arbeiter Lese-Zirkel of Milwaukee will give a picnic for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY on Sunday, August 30, 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.)

The editors of a radical paper in England were prosecuted for selling "obscene literature" (the works of Havelock Ellis) perhaps really to suppress their journal, but ostensibly on the ground so familiar to medieval obscurantism, so opposed to every instinct of Protestant and scientific education, that knowledge ought not to be circulated "indiscriminately." They were intimidated into pleading guilty, and discontinuing their work. This was in 1898. See the files of *Lucifer*, November and December in that year. In America the transmission of the "Kreutzer Sonata" thru the mail was arbitrarily prohibited by Postmaster General John Wanamaker. That laws, or powers derived, if not quite regularly, from the law, should exist which enable men of Wanamaker's grade to hinder the work of men like Ellis and Tolstoy, is a thing for any good loyal voter, who believes in "law and order," to be ashamed of; nor do we need much familiarity with magazines like the *Cosmopolitan* or *Harper's* to perceive that in such quarters it does produce the proper moral effect. But the promoters of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance—ah! "They were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush." Tho probably none themselves above the lowest point in ignorance at which, being rather moved than moved, they are excusable, would dare defend such proceedings before an educated opponent, these creatures have no scruple about deceiving the uninformed. Comstock, to whose infamous record, as published by his old enemy Bennett, has been added his own open confession of receiving blackmail from the *Police Gazette*, is able to boast that the churches, Catholic and Protestant, sustain him with perfect unanimity. Tell it not in Irkutsk; publish it not in the streets of Vladivostok! for a Russian censor of the press is at least an educated, responsible man. America and perhaps England are the only countries in which Philistinism, backed by bigotry, goes such lengths that a common informer, who cannot write a grammatical sentence in his only language, and whose reputation a jury of his own townsmen have appraised at six cents *minus* the costs of a libel suit, is respectfully described by doctors of divinity, editors of important periodicals, and judges: or, by selecting his own courts in which to prosecute, can bring on any publisher an amount of pressure such as only high and martyr-like virtue is able to resist. Since the worst days of the Spanish Inquisition nothing more outrageous has been recorded. That both science and literature are not killed by tyranny so ingenious, so ferocious, and so well protected thru the ignorance of the multitude, is due wholly to the spirit of a few radicals. Warren Hastings, says Macaulay, was considered an ill-used man, even by those who condemned his government in India, because he had suffered the punishment of a trial which lasted eight years. The editor of *Lucifer* was eight years under indictment, and a great part of the time in prison, ostensibly for printing one word which is in every unabridged dictionary, really for protesting against a marital privilege which every physician knows

to be among the greatest of existing evils. Since I began to write this book, Ida C. Craddock has been hunted to death for the same glorious offense. So, it is believed, was Ezra H. Heywood. All this after full exposure of the real character of the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," its method, its agents, and its uses. At such a price must the culture of the Saxon nations be preserved from extinction till their stupid, slow-waking masses become aroused to the extent of the evil which absorption in muck-raking and false notions of moral culture have together induced them to connive at.

Tho the Money Power has found it inconvenient to give up Malthusianism to the zeal of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, it is in perfect harmony with that movement about other things. Previous to the Revolution in France, the Reform Bill in England, the abolition of slavery in America, and other nineteenth century victories of the bourgeoisie over the aristocracy, the former made common cause with the proletariat, and therefore, perhaps sincerely, advocated universal education. But they no sooner, by overcoming the aristocracy, brought themselves in sight of settlement with the proletariat than they changed their tone. Their opinion at present evidently is that the aristocrats were right in pronouncing education a dangerous influx which heaves the lower class up without enlarging the shaft thru which it must rise, and thus threatens a social explosion. They warn young men against higher education as a disqualification for trade. (Carnegie, "Empire of Business.") This great protected monopolist is not a solitary offender. All the multi-millionaires who have condescended to answer oracularly that question of questions how an ambitious country bumpkin or city cad can get into their magic circle, have replied, with singular unanimity, in such phrase as they could command, that culture was against him. Graduation from a college, the rough test, which, being themselves generally ignorant men, they found handiest, is, they agree, a disqualification both for wage labor and success in managing capital. It would be hard to blame them for telling the truth; and we have elsewhere seen reasons for thinking that this is partly true. But it will scarcely be said that a common school education is disadvantageous to the proletariat. If then the bourgeoisie are discouraging that elementary knowledge which they admit is good for all, while they are encouraging that higher education which they say is good only for men of fortune, it is impossible not to smell a rat. We need only trace the animal to his hole. Now it is a glaring fact that the great capitalists, like Mr. Carnegie, keep up a reputation for benevolence and public spirit by bestowing much of their superfluous millions upon libraries, universities, lectures, and other instruments of that higher knowledge against which they gently caution those whom they can get to listen, as against an impediment to successful wielding of the muck-rake. And it is equally true that, for want of common school facilities, common school education is becoming less general in the great cities, the sites of the bourgeois perfection. The figures bearing on this point which were

published some years ago by Mrs. Florence Kelly Wishnewetsky (daughter of the once famous congressman who was known as Pig-Iron Kelly), I have not, unfortunately been able to find again, and cannot therefore refer to the magazine which contained them. But with the aid of a good city library they must be still easily accessible. Two points about them I remember very well—that the common schools of the cities were overcrowded, failing to fulfil their function because there were not enough of them; and that the statistics, like those of the churches, which make it possible to write articles on the "Progress of Christianity in the United States," were somewhat carefully befogged. Only by unkind analysis, was it possible to arrive at Mrs. Wishnewetsky's results; which, nevertheless, when drawn, were plain enough. The inference is unequivocal. We learn a man's motives not by what he says and does for effect, but what we accidentally catch him in. The multi-millionaire founds colleges, because that is a good buncombe card. He takes care to prevent their teaching too much (it would be easy to produce notorious instances in plenty); he quietly dissuades from making any use of them the young man who is likely to become his fellow agent of the London and Frankfort ring,* and, well knowing that he has already educated too much for his own convenience the proletariat—likely to remain one, he is, where his own power reaches its height, taking away, as fast as practicable, the means of primary instruction from the proletariat.

Maddenism is evidently a new phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance.

The most troublesome phases of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance are those which appeal to the prejudices of radicals; for to engage them in promoting misinformation or no-information is to make them cut their own throats. Of such phases, unfortunately, there are several.

Many Socialists and other labor reformers, including some Anarchists, have, as elsewhere noted, a prejudice against the Malthusian theory, because they know it has been used (tho illegitimately) as an argument against the possibility of emancipating the laborer; because, as also noted above, they take Malthus' explanation of the enslavement of labor for an apology.

* One of the hopeful phases of the present situation—that is one of those which portend the social revolution—is its being an open secret that the Money Power, "the Great Red Dragon," which controls the markets and policy of the world, is a very small ring, easily overthrown when mankind once reach the point of revolt against it, consisting chiefly in fundholders at the two great centers of usury, London and Frankfort; and that the great American capitalists, the Fisks, Armours, Rockefellers, Belmonts, etc., are mere employees, selected for their talent, to fleece their own countrymen with the shears of these gentlemen's money. Logically, of course, it makes no difference, if we must pay tribute for the privilege of breathing our native air, whether we pay it to Americans or foreigners. But public affairs are quite as much affected by sentiment as by logic; and nothing bids more fair to awaken a wholesome feeling against such gigantic robberies as the Credit-Mobilier repudiation, or the demonetization of silver thruout the world, than knowledge that the Americans who chiefly affected them were, in the cant phrase of patriotism, traitors, acting in the pay of English and German landowners or bondholders, themselves very few in number, and therefore by no means able to bleed us when they once lose the power of lulling us into fatal repose.

tho Malthus partly pointed out the remedy; and because,—I much dislike to say it, but there are facts which force me to think so,—because their radicalism does not go the length of willingness to emancipate women, which is the only real solution of the Malthusian dilemma. Accordingly, they devote a good deal of energy to refuting the theory. They can hardly, one would think, know that it has undergone the process of being refuted for a hundred and four years, without reaching that consummation, as proved by the continued demand for a refutation which shall refute—at all events it is incredible they can have read the refutations which did not refute, or the very terse synopsis of them at the end of Bonar's "Malthus" (published by the Harper's)—else they would surely know that there is nothing new to be said on the subject, and that they are but threshing empty chaff. This is a very mischievous phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. It discredits radicalism, by putting radicals smart enough to write argumentative books and papers, some of which are really very able, in the ridiculous position of kicking against the multiplication-table, and of writing about what they do not understand. It furnishes conservatives a ground for saying that Anarchism is a movement of the ignorant class; tho in truth, Anarchism has always been eminently a movement of the educated class. It divides our force; compelling some of us to spend on correcting others, energy which ought to be directed against the common enemy. And, in conclusion, it is bad policy, for even if the Malthusian theory could be refuted, which it cannot, any more than the law of gravitation, still there is infinitely more effect in arguing, like John Stuart Mill, that, instead of a capital reason against Anarchistic Socialism, this theory may prove to be the strongest reason in its favor.

Some Anarchists, perceiving clearly that the public school system is a humbug, and that (on very different grounds) it is opposed by Catholics, bourgeois lovers of proletarian ignorance, etc., conceive this a good point at which to attack the great enemy. Alas! the Movement in Favor of Ignorance has roped such Anarchists in. Their point of attack is execrably ill chosen. To help the Catholics and bourgeois against one of the most popular humbugs of our peculiar government is not to weaken government in general, but assist the very tendencies which contribute to give us more of it, while increasing prejudice against the only true remedy!

Some Anarchists are Spiritualists, and have a prejudice against science in general, because its severe critical methods expose the pretensions of bogus media (whom they cannot deny to be numerous), besides subjecting all the claims of Spiritualism to that searching investigation from which truth always comes out the stronger. I do not know if this phase of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance be very common; but I regret extremely to say that one of our noblest martyrs, Ezra H. Heywood, was deeply involved in it. His paper, the *Word*, used to announce every month that "Science must go." "Infidel priesthood," "materialistic dogmatism"—I quote from memory—

these, and other expressions like them, were the amenities he had constantly on hand for the men and methods to whom and which I have appealed for an argument in favor of Anarchism such as I conceive unanswerable. The truth, as pointed out in Section X, is that science and Materialism have nothing to do with one another. Matter means, if it means anything, the objective. Science knows only objects, therefore it uses the language of the Materialistic hypothesis. But Materialism, in that sense which excites the spleen of Spiritualists and Idealists, is something more than an hypothesis. It is a dogmatical assertion that Matter is all—a metaphysical speculation, which rushes, as all such speculations do, to a palpable *reductio ad absurdum*, affirming, in short, that the subject is a reflection of the object; which, however, cannot be conceived as existing without the subject. Far from tying themselves to any such theory, it is the "infidel priesthood"—Spencer, Huxley, etc.,—who have refuted it by showing very plainly that, while the object may be a reflection of the subject, it is impossible the subject can merely reflect that which exists only for and thru itself; also, that the inductive method aims at something quite different from establishing either view of Unknowable, namely, to ascertain by observation and experiment the laws of the Knowable,—a program necessarily requiring, in due season, such investigation of Spiritualistic phenomena as the Society for Physical Research is now prosecuting, and by which alone the truth about them can be ascertained.

Among a very few extreme political and social radicals there is also a prejudice against science in general, on the ground that at present it serves the turn of the bourgeois, or that it furnishes them a plea for delaying energetic reform. The first of these propositions is true of everything else as well as science. But this observation does not make the matter any better for such an extremist as Bakunin—at least if he meant all he said. Science, according to his "Groundwork for the Social Revolution," had one recommendation—it had given us dynamite. Otherwise it only aided the bourgeois to exploit the proletariat more effectually. Let us see if the other objection, carefully considered, does not refute both this and itself. "A system of sophistries needed for the maintenance of the existing order of society" (such as orthodox economy) "and, on the other hand a shapeless mass of miscellaneous knowledge, for the most part good for little or nothing" is Count Tolstoy's summary of science *in esse*. He finds (no wonder) some difficulty in giving examples of the knowledge which is not good for much. In his coming "Golden Age," he says:—"Astronomical, physical, chemical, and biological science, as also technical and medical science, will be studied only in so far as they help to free mankind from religious, judicial, or racial deceptions, or can serve to promote the well being of all men, and not of any single class." The exceptions annihilate the main proposition. This true use of these sciences is enough to justify a million times the labor and expense which has ever been bestowed upon them! What is the great enemy of religious

superstition? It was astronomy, and is biology. Of juridical deceptions? Biology. Of social? Again biology, including psychology. What confers the greatest benefit upon all classes and not merely one? Beyond all reasonable question, medicine, hygiene, and surgery. That the results are meager to what they should be and will be, is not because these sciences are cultivated too zealously, but because the pseudo-sciences—idols of the Theater, like theology, jurisprudence, but above all ethics, make it difficult, as well as dangerous, for the scientist to tell what he knows; more difficult to advance tentatively what he thinks; most difficult of all to think against the roaring torrent of dogma and assumption. Count Tolstoy dislikes the pursuit of truth for itself alone, because he thinks it diverts and amuses many who should be laboring for practical good. But I have written to small purpose if the reader who has followed me thus far does not see that without a religious self-devoted love of truth for its own sake, science would long since have been extinguished by priestcraft; that the very inquiries most prompted by pure curiosity, such as the astronomical, are precisely those which have most practically benefited mankind; in conclusion, that if it were possible for an unscientific Anarchism like that of many earlier Christians than Tolstoy, to find its Constantine, and suddenly succeed, it would be sure to discover a bad side and degenerate just like Christianity during the century after Constantine. Science is slow but sure. There never is a reaction against her demonstrations; and therefore her road is the shortest which really leads to the City at all. Liberalism, like Calvinism, has Five Points. The first is Conscience, but for whose worship, in the Judæo-Christian movement, priestcraft must have suppressed inspiration. The second is Liberty, which Conscience exacts, and which without Conscience cannot be secured. The third is Science. The other two Progress and Reform. Zeal for them which would advance them faster than the others is that of the foolish man who "without a foundation" built his house upon the sand! It would be very easy to find examples of such zeal. The voluntary Communistic organizations of which there were so many in the United States at one time; the crude and hasty schemes of many State Socialists; the projects for "mutual" (cooperative) insurance which follow like sharks the labor organizations ignorant of financing; all these are examples of zeal without knowledge. Their unfailing termination in failure and disgrace is not only a most serious waste of time, labor, and material, but a potent cause for the popular prejudice against radicalism. Indeed the prejudice would be perfectly just if science were not in fact a hundred times more practically radical than blind zeal—laying an axe to the root of the authoritarian Upas while they hack at some of the branches. For, in truth, we seldom, if ever, find a radical, not thoroly imbued with the spirit of inductive science, who is not a slave to some superstition springing from the old authoritarian root—some such superstition as dualism in the relation of the sexes, for which a cross-examining Socrates would soon compel him to acknowledge that he had no ground but habit, tradition, and association. And no "system" involving such a superstition can prosper. For the mills of experience grind exceeding small; and a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit. C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

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