



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 3.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 18, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 397.

Cursed Trade!

O, Trade! O, Trade! would thou wert dead!
The time needs heart—'tis tired of head!
Yea, what avail the endless tale
Of gain by cunning and plus by sa'e?
Look up the land, look down the land,
The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand
Wedge by the pressing of Trade's hand
Against an inward opening door
That pressure tightens evermore;
They sigh a monstrous, foul-air sigh
For the outside leagues of liberty,
Where Art, sweet lark, translates the sky
Into a heavenly melody.

—Sidney Lahier.

A Letter to Mr. Henry George.

(This letter appeared in *Solidarity* of March 1, 1895, and is reprinted by request.)

"No man made the land, therefore no man can own it." Very true. "Only the presence of the community makes land valuable, therefore that value belongs to the community." True again. And no man made anything else alone, unaided by other men; not even a naked sailor thrown by a wave on an uninhabited island, Mr. George; for even that man would bring with him knowledge acquired from other men—his share of that great heritage of experience that mankind has gained in the struggle for existence during untold generations.

Land value is not the only social product, but every scrap of knowledge, from the simple observations and experiences of primitive man to the profoundest generalizations of science is a social production too. And not only is all knowledge a social product, but every material thing shaped by man from the raw material of the earth to a thing of use or beauty, from the flint hatchet of the cave man to the Brooklyn bridge is.

Take the case of Andrew Carnegie. Is he entitled to the great iron and steel works that enrich him? Did he create them? Why, what share would you assign to Leibnitz, who, by his invention of logarithms, made modern engineering possible? True, Leibnitz is dead this many a year; but his knowledge is the common heritage of all mankind, just as he inherited the use of all that mankind had learned before him. Then, take the science of metallurgy; without it there would be no Homestead. Does it not sum up all the infinitely long travail of humanity in its quest of knowledge? Who could sum up the men whose lifelong studies are embodied in the process of modern iron and steel manu-

facture? Who made Andrew Carnegie an heir to the labors of all these any more than you or I? And then the practical side. What generations of men have labored to acquire the knowledge of detail, the mechanical skill, the quickness of eye, the certainty of touch, that make it possible to apply the abstractions of science to the art of making iron and steel in all its multifarious forms? "The power of organization." Oh, yes, I have heard that before; but, as a matter of fact, neither Andrew Carnegie nor any other man could have organized Homestead if men trained for countless generations by working together had not been at hand, nor would these men have learned to work in unison if they had not descended from gregarious animals accustomed to mutual aid and association, long before humanity itself appeared. Organization—the power to cooperate—is the heritage of the race from which all other capacities and achievements of humanity spring, as the branch springs from the tree; the flower from the stalk.

But in the ordinary sense—the business sense of the world—did Mr. Carnegie organize Homestead? No. He is not a technician; he bought the knowledge of competent men, as one buys potatoes; and he got them cheap. One of the men he bought was a genius, who did really great things and lost his life, finally in his passion for work, a most striking proof that no man is essential to a great work, for his death caused no stoppage of the works. Carnegie bought another slave in the market—that was all.

Then what does he do, this blatant, oily-tongued little murderous philanthropist? He confiscates the finished product, according to law! Less bold but more cunning than the buccaneers who used to waylay home-coming merchantmen and relieve them of their cargoes by force of arms, he and his kind make use of law and religion to accomplish the same end. Generally the victims, deadened by the clamor of priests and demagogues, submit in silence, and when they rebel, the modern buccaneers, still true to their policy, employ their servants of the State to do their fighting for them, and all in the name of public order, law, morality, religion, even civilization itself.

Now, Mr. George, you know something of the inside of our so-called "government of the people by the people." Come tell us

how the Wilson tariff bill was framed. Was it by people anxious to further the public welfare, or by politicians anxious to make good their pre-election promises? Or was it a wild scramble of various rich men and corporations, each clique anxious to save its own bacon, and congressmen and senators anxious to serve such masters as Andrew Carnegie, well knowing that it is upon such people that their political fortunes depend? Tariff, we were assured, was to be levied for revenue only. But the tariff on Mr. Carnegie's goods was laid at a rate that prohibits importation, and this, in spite of the fact that the white raven, Tom Johnson, told Congress the whole truth about the matter. And all this, Mr. George, in a Congress elected on the specific issues of "tariff for revenue only."

The fact should be plain to all national men that such a change in our fiscal system as the "Single Tax" contemplates could only be brought about by a revolution, and that to advocate its peaceable and lawful adoption by the American people is merely to serve the monopolists by diverting attention from the real question.

Why should we starve in the midst of plenty? Time was, in the history of humanity when man's command over nature was so slight that periodic famines could not be averted. That time is gone, but still we have "progress and poverty"; the monstrous spectacle of men suffering from their own powers of production. Why? You were very indignant the other night because the Rev. Rainsford spoke of people who claim to have a remedy for this state of progressive poverty, as quacks, and yet your own remedy has all the earmarks of a quack medicine. In the first place, you claim it will cure poverty—that is, change all the financial and social relations of men as they have never been changed in human society before; and then you say it will be done peacefully, without causing any great change in social, industrial and political relations; and this miracle is to be accomplished by changing the rent collector merely. You go to bed paying tribute to a private landlord for the right to live on the earth. You wake up paying some politician the same rent, and thereby you are emancipated. Altho all the machinery, all the instruments of production—everything, in fact, now subject to private property—is to remain so, and is even to be freed from

paying tribute to the politician in the shape of taxes.

The word "quack" is too mild, Mr. George. One is inclined to believe Sullivan's story that you borrowed your whole theory ready made, for it does seem almost impossible that a mind capable of thinking out "social problems" could have gone on all these years repeating the old phrases of alleged philosophy, neither learning anything nor forgetting anything. Fortunately, the financial relations of men at the bottom of our whole society cannot be changed without a convulsion of that society. The revolution is not a matter of the future; it is actually here, and will go on from year to year, until the light of a new social hope dawns on men's minds, but what an awful pity it is that so many good and true men entangle themselves in the meshes of such reforms as the "Single Tax!"—J. H. Edelmann.

The Labor Problem.

The mail brings me a pamphlet with the above title and the compliments of the author, Eugene P. Hourihan, San Luis Obispo, Cal. Should this article meet his eye he will wonder who it is that signs himself Loubal. Right here I want to say a word in defense of "hiding behind a *nom de plume*." Why should a criticism be less welcome because the writer is unknown? The poet tells us "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." I look upon all communications to the press as public property, to be accepted, rejected, amended or criticized by the readers. The author is unimportant—it is the question or principle discussed that invites attention. I do not have to know the author in order to answer the article. That some names carry an influence I have no doubt, but that a name adds anything to a principle I deny; and so, perhaps, it would be better if all articles were unsigned and the reader left absolutely free to digest the offering. But H. need not congratulate himself. I withhold no influence by taking a pen-name, neither need he fear my criticism. I heartily concur with him in his presentation of "the industrial problem"; but his solution, "The New Democracy," is nothing but quackery. He says:

The greatest problem in the world's history faces us today—and it is caused by the passing of the control of industry into the hands of a few.

Very true; but would it not still be in the hands of a few if government controlled it? Mr. Hourihan contends:

There never was a greater "issue" than there is today, and the world was never in such need of a great reform party as it is now, and there never was a better opportunity to build one.

He then calls on all Democrats, Populists, Socialists, honest Republicans, and other reformers to unite and help him establish "the new democracy."

Mr. H.'s pamphlet is made up of the principal parts of four chapters taken bodily from "The New Democracy," another work by this writer, and I must say it is quite forcibly written and drives home by many repetitions some well-known truths. Judging the larger work by these chapters, I can recommend the book as interesting and desirable, in that it presents facts in such man-

ner that we are forced to realize their importance.

The centralization of industry creating a class which has grown to be the largest in society; a class wholly dependent upon capital; a class that creates all wealth, yet receives barely enough to live and reproduce; a class whose members are continually being thrown out by inventive genius filling their place with machinery, or being laid off owing to the fact that machinery so facilitates manufacture that the supply exceeds the demand. Observe the situation: the "great industry" taking one field and "machinery" the other! Millions squeezed out and forced to become dependent workers, only to find that they are not wanted—machinery having taken their places. Forced from the independent to the dependent fields and from there out on the streets. From this to tramps, to fraud and crime. Our author wants the control of industry taken out of the hands of the few, and managed by government, so the hours of labor may be shortened instead of the number of laborers lessened, thereby giving all a chance to work.

Mr. H. assumes that laborers as a class, developed the centralization of industry. He says:

Formerly, this class did not exist—as a class—to any great extent. Then industry was free and independent, and everyone had a chance to engage in it, which they usually did in some line or other.

As a matter of fact, and of history, the labor class always existed and was always oppressed. Every evil affecting labor is and has been chronic for ages. His argument that industry belongs to the people, that is to say, society as a whole, because it was formerly controlled by the individual and has gradually passed into the hands of a few, is nonsense; whoever engages in industry, to him it belongs. It is the interference of the State that has caused all the trouble.

In his preface he says:

In the first place we claim that the "Great Industry" is the people's industry centralized.

This is about as clear as the "social organism" of the State Socialists. They postulate a dream as a working hypothesis.

Speaking of the trust he says "we want to preserve the organization but destroy the monopoly." But the organization that would not monopolize would die a-borning. The State Socialist is more logical: his State monopolizes everything.

Competition, according to Mr. H., raises prices instead of lowering. He says:

The more competition the less each competitor can sell, hence the more he must charge in order to make a living profit. Thus you see competition raises the price and in proportion to its intensity.

The foregoing he puts in small capitals, and then continues:

As the numbers increase the competitors are forced to raise their price, *else swindle, cheat, adulterate, give short measure, underweight or something else if they would live, make ends meet, and stay in the fields.* (Italics mine.)

Here is an item for our "free commercialists"—let them digest it. It is a good picture of commercialism, and a necessary result of competition under government. But his remedy would be "jumping from the frying pan into the fire."

If the laborer is a slave because a few have

monopolized certain industries, would he be less a slave if government monopolized all? If monopoly is wrong for the individual, would it be right for the State?

The labor question is a question of commercialism. As long as commodities are bought and sold for profit, labor will be in the market. As long as government gives advantage to certain classes—and that is what it exists for—the labor problem will not be solved.

A. LEROY LOUBAL.

In the Hell of Blackwell's Island.

In the midst of a noble river, flowing peacefully thru the heart of Greater New York, lies an island; by nature rendered green and fertile—by man disfigured.

That island is Blackwell's Island. It would be better named the Black Hell, for there the lives and liberties of men are destroyed—human hopes and manly enthusiasms crushed.

The approach to it is singularly pleasing. One beholds a spot which could well serve as a lung to the congested city. But upon it there is a huge stone building, castellated as an old feudal fortress, guarded by uniformed thugs, whose work is to drive the unfortunate beings, who toil with their hands.

It is a prison, and what a traversery upon human nature it presents!

Men who are hungry steal a loaf of bread—what right have they to be hungry?—send them to Blackwell's Island. Some poor devil of a woman has forgotten to pay "protection" money to the captain of the precinct in which she sells her "favors"—send her to Blackwell's Island. Some befuddled fool cannot restrain his appetite for liquor, gets drunk and is committed there. An advocate of better times criticises the authorities in too free a manner,—he is there.

It is this that mainly concerns us as we journey across the East River to visit one of the best of our ever-growing army of reformers—our dear old Comrade John Most, now suffering one year's imprisonment because he reprinted an article that was written fifty years ago by one Karl Heinzen, entitled "Murder and Liberty," part of which appeared in a recent number of *Liberty*.

A feeling of oppression creeps over you as you approach the entrance to the den. A surly jailor demands your pass, and after carefully scrutinizing it admits you to a large waiting room elaborately fitted up. Christmas is nigh, so piles of oranges and evergreens are heaped in a corner—to decorate the woe-filled corridors!

What irony, to remind the miserable inmates of days that are usually associated with happiness and pleasure.

After a period of waiting, an hour that feels like years, you are ordered to stand up and are searched,—for fear that you might have brought solace to some poor soul.

Then you file into one of the corridors in which the cells are situated, and sit upon a bench, expectantly. There were about twenty of us, and surely a more pathetic sight seldom met human eyes. There was one young woman, baby in arms, beaming delightfully at the idea of meeting her husband, "in" on some paltry charge.

Suddenly from the distance one heard words of command. "Attention" and then

the roll call and numbers of men who were to receive visitors was called. At the sound of her husband's name, the poor young mother clasped her babe closer and the tears flowed fast down her cheeks.

She was about to be in the presence of her loved one—her all in all.

He came, and with a jump that was even tigerish, she dashed into his arms—he mingling his tears with her's.

Oh, the tragedy of it all!

One felt the tears welling into one's own eyes at the thought of it and a throbbing of the heart with a desire to sweep the whole thing away. "Down with the system; to hell with those who support it!"

Why should men and women be penned up like sheep by the vultures who control society? You must rebel!

Here comes John—and what a pitiful sight. His hair is cropped short, his white beard, so reminiscent of his hard struggle on behalf of the workers, shorn. Here was the man at whose pen and voice a myriad of men had clenched their hands and thought of the good time coming—the comrade whose hand was always open to the good and true,—who was always helpful to his neighbors.

Dressed like a scarecrow, in a suit of black and gray striped clothes, humiliated in every possible way, he was still courageous, still full of the fire and energy that has always marked his career. Eagerly he inquired for news from the world, eagerly for news of the progress toward a social revolution.

Regards to friends, "zu der ganzen rothen Bande," (to the whole red band,) a talk about *Freiheit*, and a joke over his escape from implication in the Paterson affair, and the few brief minutes are over, and we suffer the pain of seeing our friend led back to his living tomb.

Our consolation was to see him in good health and to learn that his work was not too hard. He's working the bellows at a forge in the smith shop—a suitable job in the opinion of the authorities for a journalist.

We came back on the boat with aching hearts and a suspicious wetness about the eyes, and a desire to see the "Hell of Blackwell's Island" at the bottom of the river.—MacQueen, in *Liberty*.

— o —

The Seamen's Strike in Marseilles.

The capitalist dailies reported the end of the great strike; they predicted and even announced the victory of the employers. One lie more or less does not matter. But that the European labor press suppresses the truth that the seamen carried the victory, can only be explained by the fact that the victory was gained thru the methods of a general strike, which are recommended by the Anarchists and sneered at by the Social Democrats.

The spokesmen of the seamen did not consider property inviolable, and frankly declared that they intended to incite the masses. Soon other unions joined the seamen, and the "treasonable" and "dangerous" demonstrations on the streets could neither be suppressed by the police nor the troops. To be sure, the alarmed magistracy succeeded in arresting some strikers and their leaders; but that the leaders, who had instigated rioting, were soon discharged, is

the best proof that the menacing attitude of a determined people excites the law-forgers with fear and horror, and that only by putting the fist under their noses can the worker gain the respect of the accomplices of his employer.

The history of the strike, which broke out Nov. 26, is as follows: In voting upon the strike proposition, 14,625 recorded seamen participated. After the strike had been proclaimed, no ship was able to leave the port for lack of men. Besides the passengers, 2300 recruits, to be transported to Tunis and Tonquin, were detained in Marseilles.

The cause of the strike was a breach of an agreement on the part of the ship companies, made with the seamen in a convention after the strike of 1900, stipulating the hours of work and pay for overwork on sea.

The secretary of the seamen, Rivelli, telegraphed to the admiralty that, if the conflict was not settled Dec. 5, a general strike would be proclaimed. The Seamen's Union in Havre had endorsed this step.

The first transport of recruits since the beginning of the strike, left the port for Tunis, Nov. 30, being protected by marines. The passengers were detained. Finally the government determined to take charge of the ships of the companies, and to man them with the sailors of the navy. This caused the dock laborers to join the strikers.

The companies finally decided to negotiate with the strikers, but the conditions were not agreeable to the strikers, and the delegates of twenty-nine unions held a convention on Dec. 4, in which it was resolved to postpone the general strike, yet the president and secretary of the seamen's union were reproached for their timidity.

Dec. 7, the strikers submitted their counter-claims to the companies. And after 6,000 men of the navy reserves and the organized bakers had declared for the continuation of the strike, all foreign and interior commerce had been brought to a standstill in spite of the police and the troops, and Rivelli had called upon the strikers to revolt, and his subsequent arrest had excited the masses still more, the companies found it at last advisable to concede the demands of the strikers. Thus the strike ended about four weeks ago in the favor of the workers.—Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

— o —

Literature.

WAR AND WORSHIP: A Poem. By Henry Bedlow. The Truth Seeker Co., New York. Pp. 190, duodecimo. Price, \$1.25.

"War and Worship," by Henry Bedlow, is a metrical expression of the author's mind respecting religion and the struggle for liberty; and it was inspired, we are told, by that wonderful upheaval in Europe known as the revolution of 1848. Mr. Bedlow, who is an American, was far across the seas at that time, and the throes of humanity near at hand moved him deeply; and the result we have in a tasteful volume after long years.

Tennyson published "In Memoriam" in 1851, and the verse formation which the laureate used to such splendid and acclaimed advantage in that great poem was adopted by Mr. Bedlow for his work; nor was he less influenced by the English poet's general

style, phrasing, rhythm, turn of thought and expression, etc.; so that in reading the later man's work the discerning student will sometimes easily imagine that he is perusing stanzas in the laureate's tribute to the memory of Arthur Henry Hallam. Mr. Bedlow has grace, dignity, and taste, and while his verse often is over Latinized and polysyllabic, still, taking into consideration the task which the author set himself to perform, the result is fairly good.

The first part of the book is devoted mainly to war and the effort of the world to throw off the yoke of tyranny. Of course (I say of course because the thing is so common) Mr. Bedlow desires that increased liberty shall come thru certain respectable means, and in a way to prevent all serious upheaval in the existing social state. In other words he regards progress as a very proper person, having no part with those who would overthrow things violently, and holding a dainty handkerchief to her nose whenever she finds herself amidst riotous scenes and where the cry of the mob is heard; and in this attitude again he resembles Tennyson. Remembering that Mr. Bedlow is an American of the early part of the nineteenth century, an American of today, who happens as I do, to believe in liberty and also in the necessity of a complete change in the construction of society, will not be surprised at Mr. Bedlow's conservatism nor at the following illustration of it.

"When 'gainst mild rule the rattle plot,
And riff-raff riot stalks abroad,
Dons Phygian cap, girds Spartan sword,
Great Freedom's forehead flushes hot.

"If Freedom, in thy hallowed name,
Grim Insurrection, gathering head,
From realm to realm, incentive spread
To souls who lack thy sacred flame,

"And, prompted by a senseless hate
Of social laws which bind the race
In civic virtue's linked embrace,
Invite an Anarchistic State.

"Smite the blasphemers! putting down
The right arm of revolt, and stay
The demagog's seditious sway,
That falsifies thy fair renown."

In Mr. Bedlow's conception liberty must walk in chains. But in praise of a qualified liberty, it is only fair to say, that Mr. Bedlow sings a not bitter song. Could he think of things as they are now he would not plead for constitutional liberty and law, but would tremble, even while he hoped, for a society-like ours, distraught with madness and weak with disease. But to him America is the place of places, the land of the free and the home of the brave; America will welcome all those who suffer from social and political injustice.

In the latter pages of his book the author is much happier, seeing as he sings, clear, about the Church and religious superstition in general. He still finds room for a god, however, and thus steals a measure of greatness from humanity. The Church, with all that it implies is treated as tho it were the arch enemy of man, and in burning verse at times the evils of superstition are consigned to the flames of hatred and loathing.

The book is printed on deckle edged paper and there is a fine frontispiece of Truth emerging from her well, tho held by Church and State; a copy of a Salon picture by Debat-Ponson, exhibited in 1898. W. F. B.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by..... I. ISAAC.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 331 WALNUT ST., Chicago, Ill.

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

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

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

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 18, 1903.

397

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

* * *

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

The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free discussion. Sunday, Jan. 18, M. Kaplan speaks on "Socialism and the State."

The Chicago Anthropological Society meets every Sunday 3:30 p. m., in Masonic Temple, Hall 913. Free discussion. Jan. 18, Mrs. Hulda Loomis will speak on "Is Astrology the Key to Human Destiny?"

The Workmen's Educational Club meets Saturday, 8 p. m., at 278 Blue Island Ave.

The Russian Revolutionary Club meets on Sunday evenings at 278 Blue Island Ave.

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

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

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 4 p. m. at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale. Subject for Jan. 25, "What is the State?"

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

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

— o —

Freak thinking should not be confused with free thinking; there is a difference.—Ironicus.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Freedom is peace.

Government is conquest.

Constitutions are only paper.

God does not hear. Call on man.

Respectability is ancestor worship.

Love is powerless to make a contract.

A lie does not gain its friends at all fairly.

The evil, with the good, are seeking happiness.

Man made the laws; therefore man is above the laws.

What is "moral" depends largely upon climatic causes.

There is nothing great about precedent save its vast ears.

To die for freedom is to live a whole lifetime in an instant.

To live for freedom may bring suffering, but slaves are dead alive.

There can be no commandment to love; love makes commandments superfluous.

Kipling's poetical attack upon Germany reads as if it were written in blood.

Are men children that they need rulers; and what children among them should rule them?

Clergymen, who believe in divine government, naturally believe in the need of human government.

The ultimate object of trusts, after getting control of production and distribution, is to control human life.

Thruout the country the people are suffering from lack of fuel; but militia and police move not, save for the rich.

The Secular movement is almost dead, both in America and England, which makes it clear that monopoly is the problem of the age.

When they threw the British tea overboard in Boston harbor, Americans believed in violence. Now only governmental violence is popular here.

The trusts are taking their servants into partnership, that in picking up the crumbs they may be deceived into thinking that they have a loaf.

Don't be afraid to admit that you have been a fool to depend upon government in the coal strike. It was the State which gave the trusts all of their power.

Passive resistance is the only resistance which leaves nothing for the soldiers to fight or the police to club; which defies the hangman and makes the judge ridiculous.

It should be easy to make State Socialists. A gospel which preaches "conquest" and "political power" is as much like what we are used to as tweedle-dum is like tweedle-dee.

Dr. John Bascom, who dared to give Rockefeller's gains their right name, is being assailed by an army of sycophantic scribblers. They reason that as he is not in jail, Rockefeller is no thief.

The editor of McClure's takes to task both the unions and trusts for their "law-

lessness." When this man sees a little beyond his nose he will know that unions originated after exploitation.

President Roosevelt is trying to curry favor with the Negroes by appointing some of them to office in the south; the whites of the north, who are dying of cold, he does not trouble over; he already owns them, he thinks.

In the Philippines Americans are known as "hogs that eat hogs." Shades of George Washington! is this what the glorious republics of the world come to when they get established? Faugh! Give us a new Declaration of Independence.

Man is not entirely a creature of environment, and let us be glad of it; otherwise we might justly despair in contemplating that in the midst of which he lives. The love of liberty is native and primordial with man, hence let us take hope.

Father Augustine, a Filipino priest who was a prisoner of war, was murdered by American officers, so it seems, according to facts which are just being made public. He was killed by the water cure. Kill, devil soldiers; you are safe, being "warriors."

Smoot, the Mormon apostle, is not wanted in the Senate. Hanna, the robber, and as many of his kind as can deceive the people, will be welcomed with open arms, for they are "all honorable men." A polygamist is only able to support several wives, but a monopolist can build a palace of human bones.

Alfred Beit, who is thought to be the richest man alive, is dying, so the press despatches say. Well, all men come into their own sooner or later, and the dirt which was the soul of this monster will find better employment at last in the humble task of filling a grave. Death is really condescending in taking Beit's body. AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"Drawing interest is just like finding money," said a patron at a bank on the first of the year. It occurs to me that people do not find things unless others have lost them.

* * *

Sometimes the truth dawns even upon judges. Judge Gaynor, of the New York Supreme Court, co-incides with the Anarchists when he says: "It behooves a free people never to forget that they have more to fear from the growth of the one vice of arbitrary power in government than from all other vices and crimes combined."

* * *

The associated press makes much ado about the brutalities of the Turks committed in some Christian villages, which consisted in stealing and flogging. What hypocrisy! Why, the Turks are mere apprentices in the art of brutality when compared with the Christian soldiers in the Philippines. In the trial of General Glenn a native gave an impressive picture of the manner in which seven natives were murdered. They were not simply shot, as was declared in the first trial of General Glen, but were forced to kneel down, then clubbed to the ground with the butt-end of the guns, to be stabbed to death finally with bayonets.

"Scientific" Socialism has entered another stage of "development." Until recently Socialists agreed with the Anarchists that so-called criminals were the products of society, and that murderers under proper conditions—if there be such—would be treated as the sick are treated today. But since "Socialism is coming" timid inquirers are frankly told that murderers will be promptly locked up and compelled to perform useful work for the benefit of society. Still, it is gratifying to hear that the State Socialists will at least be as humane as the Russian government, which allows no capital punishment for common murderers.

The poor people of Arcolo, Ill., solved the problem of the "coal famine" last Friday in a most rational manner. They went to the railroad tracks, and supplied themselves with fuel for all winter. The railroad magnates threaten arrests, of course, but the mayor of the town declares the "expropriation" was justified and that the city officials shall take no action against the expropriators. This is the solution of the whole economic problem in a nutshell, and if the producers of wealth apply this remedy in obtaining other necessities of life, land and machinery included, poverty will be abolished. But before this can be done, the workers must learn that the present division of wealth is simply a matter of might—brute force—on one side, and ignorance and submissiveness on the other. Once the disinherited awaken to the fact that all property rights rest on violence and arbitrary power and not on justice or equity, then the era of "Peace on earth, good will to man" will be realized. Our mission is to make the people conscious of the fact—and the rest will suggest itself. INTERLOPER.

At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

After an interval of several weeks, the Philosophical Society met again last Sunday, Jan. 11, in Lincoln Hall, 72 Adams St. Owing to circumstances, Mr. Kaplan was unable to keep his engagement as speaker of the evening, and Mrs. Hulda P. Loomis consented to fill the vacancy. She spoke on "Sunday Legislation"; and although some wiseacres thought the subject was not essential as a pertinent social question, the animated discussion that followed developed into consideration of the merits of legislation in general, and was interesting and instructive.

Mrs. Loomis briefly related her experience in the legislature of Massachusetts, where the sky-pilots and other bigots had attempted to have Sunday laws passed. In an assembly of about 600 dignitaries, she had been the only one speaking against the proposed law, showing that such legislation, aside from being "unconstitutional," was a stigma upon civilization. The old "blue laws" were a black spot in American history, and the farther mankind got away from such legislation the better. The bill was not passed, owing to the efforts of a single woman; which shows that the efforts of intelligent individuals are paving the road to freedom.

As the speaker had declared against all legislation, the battle in the discussion

hinged between the Anarchists and State Socialists. If the author of the collection of French law known as "Repertoire de la Legislation," Dalloy, is correct, remarked a critic, when he says, "When ignorance reigns in society, and disorder in the minds of man, laws are multiplied, legislation is expected to do everything, and each fresh law, being a fresh miscalculation, men are continually led to demand from it what can proceed only from themselves, from their own education and their own morality," then the Americans are most stupid, for in no other country are so many laws passed, so much expected from law as in this country. Others pointed out that laws intended to regulate the conduct of individuals in society, were only enacted and effective after the thing had always been practised, otherwise the law was merely a dead letter to be defied by society. Laws originated, not to improve morality, as it was generally supposed, but to exploit and enslave the workers. If these conditions—extravagant wealth on one hand and poverty on the other—upheld by law were abolished, laws would be forgotten, for crime would be almost unknown. The Socialists attempted to confound law with agreement, but they were promptly shown that laws were backed by brute force—bullet and bayonet—while an agreement which was not backed by brute force could do no harm in society.

Next Sunday, Jan. 18, M. Kaplan is to lecture on "Socialism and the State," a subject which will surely be interesting and provoke a hot discussion. REPORTER.

Who was Czolgosz?

In the article "Who killed McKinley?" Mr. James employs all the efforts of a skilful writer to present Czolgosz as a mere tool of a Catholic conspiracy. But the facts upon which he bases his speculation are so weak that a thought suggests itself concerning the motive which prompted Mr. James to picture Czolgosz in that light. Still while ignorant of his motive, I am fully aware that there are others who for one reason or another would gladly accept this fantastic suggestion regarding Czolgosz. I therefore call attention to the fact that, though not known as an Anarchist, Czolgosz was known as a Socialist, and it is absurd to suppose that he would sacrifice his life for Catholicism as his ideal. The sense of justice revolts at such crucifixion of a man who was the personification of feeling, suffering, and love. How many of the Jesuits mentioned by Mr. James were in sympathy with any radical movement? Can one be mentioned? I am satisfied that those who are endowed with a sense of justice will learn about Czolgosz from other sources. They will read the testimony of his beautiful soul in the words which came from the very depth of his suffering heart, when he said: "I am not sorry for my deed; I have done it for the workingmen,—the good workingmen."

Listen to the voice of Czolgosz, to the last words before his death, and think for a moment of our brutal system, the basis of which is violence. Does Czolgosz then present himself to us as a fanatic Catholic? Oh no. We see in him a man who took the sorrows and sufferings of the great mass of

the working people to heart. He carried the burden silently, until he could no longer endure it, and gave up his life. It was easier for him to die than to live in the midst of slaves and tyrants. Not being either, he stood alone in the world. Who can conceive of greater suffering?

Czolgosz was a plain workingman. He did not know much of philosophy. He received a common school education, where he was taught that the American flag represented liberty, equality, and fraternity, that government is to protect the weak; and many more hypocritical lies. But he saw what a flag really represents when strikers were shot down like dogs for daring to demand more bread; when the flag was raised over the Philippine Islands, where it was washed in the blood of innocent men, women, and children; and the susceptible, sensitive, honest soul of the man was moved—moved with compassion for the suffering and oppressed people. And he struck. He did not know of any other method of resistance. And how could he know? Christianity, the basis of which is love, has been preached—but not practised—for nineteen centuries, and what is the result? It is a mockery in the face of existing conditions.

Now the question arises, Who killed McKinley? Czolgosz? No, a thousand times no! The ignorance, cowardice, and submissiveness of the people at large compelled Czolgosz to do what he did. Society is responsible for his deed, as for all other deeds of violence which are committed every day, every hour, and every moment of our life. So "judge not that ye be not judged."

In conclusion I will say, if I fail to describe Czolgosz in his true light, I am at least satisfied that all those who feel and love have passed their judgment on him in their hearts; all others have condemned and crucified him, and I am sorry to know that Comrade James is among these.

B. SACHATOFF.

Entertainment of the Progressive Club.

On Saturday, Jan. 3, a number of friends and strangers gathered in Libuse Hall on Twelfth St., where all had an enjoyable time in listening to recitations and singing, in dancing, drinking, eating, and in discussing. Although the attendance was not large, the beautiful and cozy hall made everyone feel at home, so all were in high spirits until the time came for breaking up in the morning. There were present a few bald-headed dignitaries who watched the young folks enjoy themselves; The Editor, as usual, diverted himself by soaring in high flights, and, what naturally follows, falling in love; our friend Americus extended his geniality to such an extent that he came within an inch of having an old fashioned "jag"; and nearly all were reluctant to go home when the hall keeper closed his place. However, next day, in place of the customary "Katzenjammer," we were all wishing for another ball, and are awaiting that event with anticipation and pleasure. REPORTER.

"The fear of God is the beginning of folly," the preparation of a state of mind in which the fear and respect of tyrants finds birth.—*Ironicus.*

A Vindication of Anarchism.

II

It might be inferred from the results of the previous section that governments, at first establishment, would be very arbitrary, but also that certain limits to their tyranny would be set by the previously existing customs of the tribe. And this, it will perhaps be allowed almost without proof, is the case. Patriarchal authority is absolute; the kings of savage tribes are usually despots; chiefs whose government is of a more intermittent character are generals, that is unchecked tyrants, during war;* the nearest approach to that republican form of government, so common under advanced civilization, which we find among any rude people, is a federation of patriarchal tribes like the ancient Hebrew; and even this does not begin very early. But on the other hand, immemorial customs everywhere constitute common law; to violate which is neither considered the mark of a good king nor, if much against public opinion, at the time, is it quite safe for the most powerful despot. Everywhere, I am inclined after considerable archeological research to think, an important change requires among a rude people a "palaver";† so that those early changes in which statutory legislation begins‡ may correctly be described as of partially popular origin. It is only in communities rich enough to have standing armies that the king can absolutely make his will the law, subject to no other check than the danger of mutiny, conspiracy in his own household, or assassination. Hence the famous saying

* Jefferson, whose early political writings are full of Anarchism, repeatedly, but not very correctly, describes the Indians as having no government. It would be more accurate to say that the almost exclusively military authority of their chiefs represents government in the least developed form.

† Such, for example, is the case in Africa; where the spirit of despotism attains its acme, so that the slaughter of subjects by a king of Ashantee or Dahomey is a mere routine matter; and where the art of civilized nations, like the ancient Egyptians, represented a god or king under the figure of a slave-driver with his whip.

‡ The common law of barbarians, including a great deal still in force among ourselves, is for the most part a mere mass of superstitious practices, so grossly irrational that even to conjecture their origin is futile; nor do lawyers usually attempt it, but content themselves, just like savages, with saying "it has been law so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." There are, however, among very rude people, some laws which, tho' of course, not written, have the essential character of statutes, being evidently results of a "social contract," adopted at some assignable stage in the nation's development, and for an intelligible reason. Thus, while most savage tribes hold land in common, the Anstralians, one of the most backward, hold it in severalty. This is an arrangement which could by no possibility have arisen without an adjustment among conflicting interests, having the nature of legislation; and the reason for it was that, while savages live by hunting, which requires free range over a wide area, the Anstralians, having no large animals, rely chiefly on roots, gum, berries, and small creatures attracted by the same, so that there is a marked difference in the value of particular lots, and a disposition to insist on the right of pre-occupation. In Polynesia, the right of property is what economists call land was still more technical, so that one man might own a lot, another a tree growing on it. (Ellis, "Polynesian Researches.") Near the Zambesi, when a hunter killed an elephant on land belonging to another tribe, he took the upper half, after the animal had been divided by those on whose territory he had encroached, while they kept the rest (Livingstone.) Many similar examples, in "Origin of Civilization," are just as obviously the result of treaties among tribes, or sometimes, as in Australia and also Greenland, of arbitration among individuals.

of Madame de Stael that liberty is ancient, tyranny always an innovation. But it is important to remember that the primitive idea of a good ruler, by no means obsolete now, is one who will vigorously enforce the common law. This institution we have also seen to be just as capricious, foolish, and, from the time it really assumes the character of law, tyrannical, as the king's own fancies can be. It is not therefore the spirit of liberty which at first limits the power of civil government, but another tyranny no less arbitrary. The king; the priesthood; the aristocracy; the heads of families, each a despot in his little sphere; and last, but not least, "Mrs. Grundy"! are so many tyrants, who often quarrel among themselves, but are perfectly agreed in forbidding the individual to act or even think except by rule.

I am now about to state a thesis of the highest importance. It is commonplace that every advance in knowledge must be the fruit of departure from rule. Only by presuming to think for himself, can a man add anything to the general stock of wisdom; and it has also been a commonplace of philosophy at least since Bacon's time, that new truth cannot be spun out of the human brain, which long since evolved its whole stock of original creations,* but comes from increased familiarity with nature, that is from experiment, which means from independent action. Moreover, it is a principle, not perhaps so generally known as the preceding, but associated with the unanswerable reasoning of a great and famous sociologist, that knowledge is the single progressive element in civilization.† The maxims of morality are to us what they were to Moses or Ptahotep—all but the application, which depends on knowledge. The improvement of the race by natural and sexual selection is a matter of vast importance to our happiness in various ways; but a Negro or an Indian can be educated to differ from a white man in none but bodily respects. The moralizing influences of Art (in which those of religion are included) require a preparation of mind to receive them, and are wasted on barbarians by missionaries who neglect to introduce knowledge as well as orthodoxy. Knowledge is what makes the difference between a society like that of Boston and a society like that of the Etah Eskimos; it is the inductive method of inquiry, never foreign to common sense, and therefore never wholly neglected in the most barbarous age,‡ but resisted at every step by the pre-

* Mathematics, in which alone it is possible to arrive at such deductions from first principles as increase our acquaintance with nature, appears an exception merely because these deductions have the nature of hypotheses suggested by new physical problems, as the Cartesian application of algebra to geometry by the increased importance which gunnery and astronomy had in Descartes' time given to the study of actual curves. When mathematical genius expends itself on a purely ideal study, such as chess, it does not increase the possessions but only exercises the ingenuity of the human mind.

† Buckle, "History of Civilization," Ch. IV.

‡ "Bacon," says Macaulay, "has remarked that in ages when philosophy was stationary, the mechanical arts went on improving. Why was this? Evidently because the mechanic was not content with so careless a mode of induction as served the purpose of the philosopher." Among physical inventions made, or at least rendered practical, between the plunge into medieval neglect of what alone deserves to be called higher studies and Bacon's time, were the compass, the pump, clock, paper, printing, and gunpowder.

scriptions of law, priestcraft, fashion, caste, and routine education, which has substituted such civilization as we possess for cannibalism, and which yet will raise the civilization of our descendants as far above our own as ours' is above that of the African Negroes.

From these premises follows by syllogistic necessity what I propose to prove also by references to facts, that—the dispositions to exact and to yield obedience vary directly as each other; but inversely as the state of culture. It would be unprofitable to inquire which variable is the dependent. The truth is they act mutually. Man in his pristine state is like a savage wolf. He will devour whatever he can master; whatever can master him will make him a fawning dog. In proportion as he becomes wiser, he leaves the impolicy of either bearing a master or wishing to be one. But it is also true that in proportion as he curbs his tyrannical and outgrows his slavish instincts, he acquires that disposition upon which progress in wisdom depends. Such are the principles which I shall now proceed to illustrate in some detail.

For a general view of the subject we may go back as far as Aristotle. This great thinker, who tho so often contrasted with Bacon was actually more like him than any philosopher of antiquity, made those remarks on government in its different forms which, commonplace as they are in our time, were profoundly original in his; and establish the proportion immediately before us, tho not all the merits of Anarchy. This, Aristotle saw to be a frequent result of revolutions, but, thus far, he remarked, a short-lived one. The principal forms of government are monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. They have in common a vice—the encroaching spirit—which seldom fails to destroy them: monarchy corrupting into despotism when the king forgets that he rules by will of the people, according to their customs; aristocracy into oligarchy, which is always most tyrannical; and democracy into ochlocracy, that is, the rule of the vicious class, which, tho a small one, often manages to usurp power by united voting for those who will pay it, and by intimidating other citizens. A mixed constitution may be tried as the remedy which experience suggests. How extensively this has been done since England set the example on a large scale, we know. But despotism is the only form of government in barbarous countries; nor did the reason escape Aristotle's penetration. Government, in all forms, reposes on force. But force is the barbarian's first impulse, which he restrains only from fear of greater force. To the intelligence of civilized man force is repulsive; it is his last resort; he will not commit so dangerous a weapon to an unchecked magistrate; thus all improvements in politics, very notably the vote which Cleisthenes substituted for civil tumults, have been designed to avoid a necessity of actually employing compulsion—to divide power, to delay harsh measures, to furnish time for compromise and discover the weakness of small factions, which if they ignorantly dared to risk it might quite likely make themselves absolute by a bold stroke. In the third, fourth, and eleventh chapters of the "Origin of Civilization," we may read

at much length how similar tendencies operated yet earlier. In all countries, with a possible exception from our own, a man still has, theoretically and practically, some authority over his wife. But the marriage ceremonies of all show that at one time he could get a wife in no other way than with a club or a sword; that after buying one came into use it was still the height of immodesty and bad *ton* for her parents to consent openly; that the tradition of force was strong enough to make a demonstration indispensable after its meaning had been totally forgotten; and that when the bride had been won she was absolutely the slave of her husband—as indeed the fragments of old laws still extant also prove. What a change from the social state of those people, our own forefathers and foremothers, who thought the woman's consent a breach of etiquette requiring a tremendous *utu** to that which holds it indispensable, and abduction without it, not only a vitiation of the marriage, but a crime inexcusable even by the state of war; and which thru the appliances of dower and of divorce provides for the continued tho to our shame only limited freedom of the married woman! All this was effected early in Grecian civilization; and if anyone doubts the phenomena to have been those of advancing knowledge, he may reflect that in the Dark Ages primitive customs revived—dower† to a great extent fell into disuse,‡ girls were given in marriage without their consent; and sovereigns as able as William the Conqueror attracted adventurers to their standards by the promise of marriages which the right of wardship,

* In New Zealand, where the practises of *tahoo* and *utu* were at their height, the missionary Yate (ap. Lubbock) relates that when two of his converts were to be married: "The bride's mother came to me the preceding afternoon, and said she was well pleased in her heart that her daughter was going to be married to Pahan; but that she must be angry about it with her mouth in the presence of her tribe, lest the natives should come and take away all her possessions and destroy her crops. This is customary on all occasions." Accordingly she observed to admiration the duty of being angry "with her mouth."

† It is not difficult to see how the practises of jointure and dowry arose. The former was a concession by the bride's parent, both to her and her husband, who, instead of giving them the *mundium*, gave it to his wife. Dowries, on the other hand, began to be given with wives whose rank was inferior to that of their husbands, by way of consideration for an alliance advantageous to the former but lowering to the latter—as in Hector's case. Among the Romans this was more usual than a jointure; among the German tribes who occupied the Roman Empire the opposite custom prevailed (Tacitus, "De Mor. Ger."). The laws of the Middle Ages limited the jointure to a third of the bridegroom's possessions,—I have no doubt in order to prevent his shirking feudal obligations by alienating his estate. In the same spirit, they require the dower to be given publicly, before marriage, which was not the old German custom. For all these details, see Lecky, *cit.* The substitution of the German for Roman usages must also have tended to discourage giving dowries. The wife's right to dower, which the Justinian code guarded most strictly, first appears in England at a somewhat late period as a principle of "equity" not law; and this, probably, was due to general substitution of jointure for dowry. As for compulsory marriage in the Middle Ages, its prevalence is too notorious to need much proof. By the *assize* (code) of Jerusalem, under the crusading sovereigns, Gibbon tells us that every heiress, whether maiden or widow, was required to make choice among three suitors nominated by the king, unless she could plead exemption on the ground that she was over sixty years old. This is the more remarkable because force is among the canonical pleas on which marriage can be nullified.

extended by victory, would enable the king to enforce. In the eleventh chapter of the "Origin of Civilization," we shall find proof that these changes only illustrate the general softening of authority by culture—that the further we push our researches into primeval barbarism the less we find of voluntary contract, the more of artificial *status*; and the more every actual exercise of personal choice was encumbered with an envious mechanism of red tape. Finally, in the Encyclopædia Britannica article "Government," the reader may find collected the most signal proofs how the mania for repressive legislation has increased of late with extension of democracy—that is with increased power of the least enlightened class. He may also find there the pungent observation that this is especially noteworthy because that class is the very one which chiefly suffers—all the laws of this type, but especially the "moral" regulations, which alone, remarks the writer very justly, appear subject to no constitutional limit at all, being obviously much harder on the poor than the rich. And to cap the climax, this least enlightened class generally sees a remedy for all its woes in State Socialism, which proposes reducing it to actual slavery, regulating by statute or supervision even those few particulars in which the individual proletaire was ever allowed to please himself!

It would be easy to multiply more special proofs how the spirit of authority is softened by social culture, that is by the progress of intelligence.

In Herbert Spencer's essay on "Manners and Fashion" he traces the doctrine of social tyranny. "Manners" were originally marks of submission to the powerful; fashion an ambitious imitation of the powerful, which, tho they sometimes resented it as presumptuous, on the whole flattered their vanity by witnessing that they were worthy to be imitated. As people advance in civilization, they acquire a feeling of courtesy which extends compliments from rulers to equals, and the most august titles, Sir (sire, father,) Madam (*mea domina*, the address of a slave to a mistress,) become universal. But since these compliments are essentially absurd, they are slurred over as fast as they extend to persons not really feared. Prostration, one of the few which we may believe truly instructive, since even a dog will lie down to deprecate the challenge of a bigger dog,* diminishes thru successive stages—a genuflexion, a salaam, and a bow, to a mere nod.

* Most people take it for granted that the practises to which they are accustomed must needs be founded in instincts of our common nature; but acquaintance with rules of remote nations proves them far too versatile for this hypothesis. "The Polynesians and Malays sit down when speaking to a superior; a Chinaman puts on his hat instead of taking it off. . . . Cook asserts that the people of Mallicollo show their admiration by hissing. . . . In some of the Pacific Islands, in parts of Hindostan, and some parts of Africa, it is considered respectful to turn your back to a superior. In the Hevey Islands the head is thrown back instead of forwards, as a salutation. Doughty tells us that in Arabia . . . parents often ask their children to spit at them. . . . Some of the New Guinea tribes salute a friend by squeezing their own noses; . . . and the people of Iddah shake their fists as a friendly greeting. The Todas of the Neigherry Hills are said to show respect by raising the open right hand to the brow, resting the thumb on the nose. "Origin of Civilization," Ch. I. On this subject, which is full of interest, cf. Darwin, "Expression of the Emotions in Man and the Lower Animals."

Moreover, the customs thus extended, but shirked, *corrupt*. They become ironical, ridiculous, at last positive signs of meaning to be cool and contemptuous; after which they are abandoned as offensive. Fashions run a similar course to extinction. I do not doubt the average reader will learn with amazement and incredulity that barbarous nations are more punctitious than civilized, and that they become retrogressively more so down to the painted savage. But he may find abundant proof in the "Origin of Civilization," Chs. II, IV, VIII, IX. A fashionable woman of our age and country may submit to go half naked in winter to a ball, but she does not cripple her feet like a Chinese lady: and tho a western dandy may spend more on dress than he can afford, he would not endure to be scarified from head to foot with shark's teeth, like a Polynesian beau. The very versatility of modern etiquette; tho a subject of well deserved ridicule in itself, is a mark of our independence compared with the ancient and stationary nations; among whom every act of life has been regulated by immutable routine.

The tyranny of the male sex over the other is the oldest in the world except perhaps that of custom over all alike. That it has been very greatly softened by civilization will scarcely be disputed; but the details are worth study by whoever doubts the tendency of progress to relax authority, instead of confirming it, as some people are still ignorant enough to suppose. Besides the chapter in Lecky's "History of Morals," already cited, consult on this point his "History of Rationalism in Europe," and Bishop's "Marriage and Divorce." Nothing can be more striking in the study of these works than to observe how the freedom of women has everywhere advanced with enlightenment but declined again with every great retrogression, such as that of the "Dark Ages." For the history of a very modern phase in this beneficent change, see Jacob's "Woman's Suffrage." It is important to observe that in every case the progress has been manifestly either an effect or a cause (no doubt in general both) of that advancing intelligence on which all social improvement depends; and not of other changes, such as moral reformations or literary and artistic influence. Of this truth abundant and uniform illustrations are afforded by the data to which I refer. The reign of Charles II was a most profligate period and by no means a brilliant one esthetically. But it was an epoch of great and rapid intellectual progress; and it witnessed some of the most important steps in the emancipation of women. Much the same may be said of the later Greek and Roman eras. On the other hand, whenever superstition and ignorance have (from causes to be investigated later) had a revival, the liberties of women were at once depressed; no matter how good the ethical principals of whatever fanaticism prevailed. It was so in India during the fall of mere paganism, with intellectual energy which we can see by the Vedas that this left at liberty, before the vigorous, tho speculative superstition of the Brahmins. It was so when the Christian Church, highly as it exalts individual women, extinguished the intellectual culture of antiquity. It was so under the narrow and glowing, tho very correct regime of Puritanism. In this, as in other things, men become liberal in proportion as they become wise, and wise in proportion as they learn those secrets which constitute science. The great forward movement of women in the nineteenth century sprang from the questions of property raised by their employment in the factories; and that, obviously, from progress in the practical arts.

C. L. JAMES.
(To be continued.)

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions to FREE SOCIETY.

ALLEGHENY Pa.—H. Bauer 73 Spring-garden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
BOSTON—K. A. Snellenberg, 31 Bee h Glen St., Roxbury.
CHICAGO—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Av.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 4 Elwell St.
COLUMBUS, Ohio—H. M. Lyndall, 416 E. Mound St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.
NEW YORK—A. Lopatiner, 135 Monroe St.
PHILADELPHIA—Natasha Notkin, 242 N. Second St.
SAN FRANCISCO—R. Rieger, 322 Larkin St.

JUST OUT!

Memoirs of a Revolutionist

By PETER KROPOTKIN,

In the Danish Language.

Elegantly bound.....\$1.75
Paper cover..... 1.00

M. R. Ackerman,
364 Milwaukee Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

RECEIPTS.

S. Weiss, \$3. Sacramento Group, \$2.50
Portugaloff, \$2. Fishman, Wagner, McAnulty, Brewin, Gibney, Weiss, each \$1.
Kovaloff, Landow, Lung, each 50c.
Aron, 25c.

LEO TOLSTOY'S COMPLETE WORKS.

Twelve volumes, translated by Maud, Hapgood, and Dole. Printed on good paper and from new plates.

CLOTH BINDING, PER SET \$15
SAME, GILT TOP, BACK, AND CENTER \$18
SAME, HALF GILT \$35

Another uniform edition, 22 volumes, cloth, containing a photogravure frontispiece on Japan paper:

PER SET \$44

\$2 down, \$2 a month.

R. Goodheart,

919 Talman Av. - - Chicago

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

BY

PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known Anarchist and scientist, is one of the most important books of the Anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime; as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half-century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp. Price \$2.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS

RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

| | |
|---|------|
| Essays on the Social Problem..... | 05 |
|H. Addis | 05 |
| The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen | 05 |
| Plain Words on the Woman | 05 |
| Question....." " | 05 |
| God and the State.....Bakunin | 05 |
| The Same. London edition..... | 10 |
| Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings.....Helena Born | 1.00 |
| Love's Coming-of-Age. Edward Carpenter..... | 1 00 |
| Prodigal Daughter: or, The Price of Virtue.....Rachel Campbell | 25 |
| The Worm Turns.....V. de Cleyre | 10 |
| The Emancipation of Society from Government.....Dallan Doyle | 05 |
| Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism.....Jay Fox | 03 |
| Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1..... | 50 |
|Rosa Graul | 25 |
| Moribund Society and Anarchy. Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave | 05 |
| Motherhood in Freedom.....Harman | 05 |
| Origin of Anarchism.....C. L. James | 05 |
| Government Analyzed.....Kelso | 50 |
| Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal.....Peter Kropotkin | 05 |
| Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles....." " | 05 |
| An Appeal to the Young....." " | 05 |
| Anarchist Morality....." " | 05 |
| Expropriation....." " | 05 |
| Field, Factory and Workshop....." " | 45 |
| Law and Authority....." " | 05 |
| Memoirs of a Revolutionist....." " | 2.00 |
| Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution....." " | 2.00 |
| Organized Vengeance....." " | 03 |
| Paris Commune....." " | 05 |
| The State: Its Historic Role....." " | 10 |
| The Wage System. Revolutionary Government....." " | 05 |
| Resist Not Evil. By Clarence S. Darrow.....Cloth..... | 75 |
| Social Democracy in Germany....." " | 02 |
|Gustave Landauer | 75 |
| History of the Commune. Cloth.....Lissagaray | 1.00 |
| Wind-Harp Songs.....J. Wm. Lloyd | 25 |
| The Economics of Anarchy....." " | 10 |
|Dyer D. Lum | 05 |
| Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream? Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....Malatesta | 10 |
| A Talk about Anarchist Communism between two Workers....." " | 05 |
| A Chambermaid's Diary....." " | 50 |
|Octave Mirbeau | 05 |
| God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition.....W. Nevill | 05 |
| The Pyramid of Tyranny....." " | 05 |
|F. Domela Nieuwehuis | 05 |
| Mating or Marrying, Which?....." " | 05 |
|W. H. Van Ornum | 05 |
| Evolution and Revolution.....Reclus | 05 |
| Pure Economy.....J. H. Rowell | 10 |
| Pages of Socialist History....." " | 30 |
|W. Tcherkesoff | 75 |
| The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.....Leo Tolstoy | 15 |
| Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses.....E. C. Walker | 10 |
| Revival of Puritanism....." " | 15 |
| Vice: Its Friends and Foes....." " | 10 |
| What the Young Need to Know....." " | 10 |
| The Ballad of Reading Gaol....." " | 10 |
|Oscar Wilde | 10 |
| Life Without a Master. 336 pp. Cloth \$1.50.....J. Wilson | 1.00 |
| The New Dispensation. Cloth....." " | 1.50 |
| The Coming Woman.....Lillie White | 05 |
| Anarchism and Outrage....." " | 03 |
| Anarchy on Trial....." " | 05 |
| The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab..... | 25 |

History of the French Revolution.

— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

An excellent history of the French Revolution, well written by one thoroly familiar with his subject. Special care has been exercised to give the facts as they are, the author not having made himself the champion of any faction.

Justice, Wilmington, Del., says of it:

It is concise; it is accurate; and above all, it deals with essentials; the author has entered into the spirit of the Revolution.

Azariah S. Root, librarian at Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio, says:

I was much interested in looking over the work. It seems to me to indicate careful study of the sources, and to be the work of one profoundly interested in democracy.

It is neatly printed from large type on good book paper, with a substantial binding. There are 343 pages, with an index and bibliographical epitome.

Price, bound in cloth, \$1 postpaid; paper bound copies, 50 cents, 9 cents extra for postage. Send orders to

ABE ISAAK Jr., 331 Walnut St., Chicago, Ill.

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME YET PRODUCED.

— BY —

DR. J. H. GREER.

IT HAS 16 COLORED PLATES SHOWING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you doctor bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple and harmless home remedies. The book recommends no poisonous or dangerous drugs. It teaches simple common sense methods in accordance with Nature's laws. It does not endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's knife. It teaches how to save health and life by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches prevention—that it is better to know how to live and avoid disease than to take any medicine as a cure.

It teaches how typhoid and other fevers can be both prevented and cured. It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, diptheria, catarrh, consumption, appendicitis and every other disease. This book is not an advertisement and has no medicine to sell. It tells you how to live that you may prolong life. It opposes medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising war on vaccination and the use of anti-toxine. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. The chapter on painless midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women. It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "Care of Children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of air, sunshine, and water as medicines. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay getting the book. It is printed in clear type on good book paper, beautifully bound in cloth and gold letters. It has 800 octavo pages.

PRICE \$2.75.

SEND ORDERS TO FREE SOCIETY.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

CONTENTS:

The Anarchistic Idea and Its Development.—Individualism and Solidarity.—Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.—The Family.—Authority.—The Mafia.—The Right to Punish and the Savants.—The Influence of Environment.—"The Country."—The Patriotism of the Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colonization.—There are no Inferior Races.—Why We are Revolutionist.—As to What Means follow from the Principles.—Revolution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Reforms.—The Experimental Method.—What Then?—Anarchism and its Practicability.—The Unvarnished Truth.

The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

Price, paper cover, 25c; bound 60c. Five copies \$1.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY

FIELD, FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting work has now been published in a popular edition. No student of social and economical affairs can do without it.

The book contains the following chapters: The Decentralization of Industries.—The Possibilities of Agriculture.—Small Industrial Villages.—Brain Work and Manual Work.—Conclusion.—Appendix. Price, paper cover, 40 cents, postpaid 45 cents.

Order from FREE SOCIETY.

COLLEGE of MEDICINE & SURGERY, Chicago

Four years Graded Course. Laboratories fully equipped. Abundance of Clinical Material. FEES MODERATE.

Fall term opens in September Write today for Catalog to

FLORENCE DRESSLER, M. D., Sec'y
245-247 Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill