



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 401.

### Government the Living God.

I make the right,  
I make the wrong,  
I make the truth and error.  
I am the State,  
I am the Law,  
I am the living terror.

I own the earth,  
I own the sea,  
I own the treasure hoards.  
In every land,  
In every clime,  
I am the "Lord of Lords."

I suck the strength  
From out the veins  
Of mad laborious hordes.  
I rule and reign  
Behind a wall  
Of fifty million swords.

RICHARD THORLAND.

### Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution. PART II

All things belong to all, and as all men and women contribute their share of labor for the production of necessary objects, they are entitled to their share of all that is produced by the community at large. "But this is Communism," you may say. Yes, it is Communism, but is the Communism which no longer speaks in the name of religion or of the State, but in the name of the people. During the past fifty years a great awakening of the working class has taken place: the prejudice in favor of private property is passing away. The worker grows more and more accustomed to regard the factory, the railway, or the mine, not as a feudal castle belonging to a lord, but as an institution of public utility which the public has the right to use. The idea of possession in common has not been worked out from the slow deductions of some thinker buried in his private study, it is a thought which is germinating in the brains of the working masses, and when the revolution shall have hurled confusion into the camp of our exploiters, you will see that the mass of the people will demand expropriation, and will proclaim its right to the land, the factory, the locomotive and the steamship.

Just as the sentiment of the inviolability of the home has developed during the latter half of our century, so also the sentiment of collective right to all that serves for the production of wealth has developed among the masses. It is a fact, and he who, like ourselves, wishes to share the popular life and

follow its development, must acknowledge that this affirmation is a faithful summary of the people's aspirations. The tendency of this closing century is towards Communism, not the monastic or barrack-room Communism formerly advocated, but the free Communism which places the products reaped or manufactured in common at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.

This is the solution of which the mass of the people can most readily take hold, and it is the solution which the people demanded at the most solemn epochs. In 1848 the formula "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" was the one which went straight to the heart of the masses, and if they acclaimed the republic and universal suffrage, it was because they hoped to obtain Communism thru them. In 1871, also, when the people besieged in Paris desired to make a supreme effort to resist the invader, what was their demand? That free rations should be served to everyone. Let all articles be put into one common stock and let them be distributed according to the requirements of each. Let each one take freely of all that is abundant and let those objects which are less plentiful be distributed more sparingly and in due proportions—this is the solution which the mass of the workers understand best. This is also the system which is commonly practised in the rural districts of France. So long as the common lands afford abundant pasture, what commune seeks to restrict their use? When brush-wood and chestnuts are plentiful, what commune forbids its members to take as much as they want? And when the larger wood begins to grow scarce, what course does the peasant adopt? The allowancing of individuals.

Let us take from the common stock the articles which are abundant, and let those objects whose production is more restricted be served out in allowances according to the requirements, giving preference to children and old persons, that is to say, to the weak. And, moreover, let all be consumed, not in public, but at home, according to individual tastes and in company with one's family and friends. This is the ideal of the masses.

But it is not enough to argue about "Communism" and "expropriation"; it is furthermore necessary to know who should have

the management of the common patrimony, and it is especially on this question that different schools of Socialists are opposed to one another, some desiring authoritarian Communism, and others, like ourselves, declaring unreservedly in favor of Anarchist Communism. In order to judge between these two, let us return once again to our starting point, the Revolution of the eighteenth century.

In overturning royalty the Revolution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; but, by an inconsistency which was very natural at that time, it proclaimed, not a permanent sovereignty, but an intermittent one, to be exercised at certain intervals only, for the nomination of deputies supposed to represent the people. In reality it copied its institutions from the representative government of England. The Revolution was drowned in blood, and, nevertheless, representative government became the watchword of Europe. All Europe, with the exception of Russia, has tried it, under all possible forms, from government based on a property qualification to the direct government of the little Swiss republics. But, strange to say, just in proportion as we have approached nearer to the ideal of a representative government, elected by a perfectly free universal suffrage, in that same proportion have its essential vices become manifest to us, till we have clearly seen that this mode of government is radically defective. Is it not indeed absurd to take a certain number of men from out the mass, and to entrust them with the management of all public affairs, saying to them: "Attend to these matters, we exonerate ourselves from the task by laying it upon you; it is for you to make laws on all manner of subjects—armaments and mad dogs, observatories and chimneys, instruction and street-sweeping; arrange these things as you please and make laws about them, since you are the chosen ones whom the people have voted capable of doing everything!" It appears to me that if a thoughtful and honest man were offered such a post, he would answer somewhat in this fashion:

"You entrust me with a task which I am unable to fulfil. I am unacquainted with most of the questions upon which I shall be called on to legislate. I shall either have to work to some extent in the dark, which will not be to your advantage, or I shall appeal to you and summon meetings in which you

will yourselves seek to come to an understanding on the questions at issue, in which case my office will be unnecessary. If you have formed an opinion and have formulated it, and if you are anxious to come to an understanding with others who have also formed an opinion on the same subject, then all you need do is to communicate with your neighbors and send a delegate to come to an understanding with other delegates on this specific question; but you will certainly reserve to yourselves the right of taking an ultimate decision; you will not entrust your delegate with the making of laws for you. This is how scientists and business men act each time they come to an agreement."

But the above reply would be a repudiation of the representative system, and nevertheless it is a faithful expression of the idea which is growing everywhere since the vices of representative government have been exposed in all their nakedness. Our age, however, has gone still further, for it has begun to discuss the rights of the State and of society in relation to the individual; people now ask to what point the interference of the State is necessary in the multitudinous functions of society.

"Do we require a government to educate our children? Only let the worker have leisure to instruct himself, and you will see that thru the free initiative of parents and of persons fond of tuition, thousands of educational societies and schools of all kinds will spring up, rivaling one another in the excellence of their teaching. If we were not crushed by taxation and exploited by employers, as we now are, could we not ourselves do much better than is now done for us? The great centers would initiate progress and set the example, and you may be sure that the progress realized would be incomparably superior to what we now attain thru our ministries. Is the State even necessary for the defense of a territory? If armed brigands attack a people, is not that same people, armed with good weapons, the surest rampart to oppose to the foreign aggressor? Standing armies are always beaten by invaders, and history teaches that the latter are to be repulsed by a popular rising alone. While government is an excellent machine to protect monopoly, has it ever been able to protect us against ill-disposed persons? Does it not, by creating misery, increase the number of crimes instead of diminishing them? In establishing prisons into which multitudes of men, women, and children are thrown for a time in order to come forth infinitely worse than when they went in, does not the State maintain nurseries of vice at the expense of the tax-payers? In obliging us to commit to others the care of our affairs, does it not create the most terrible vice of societies—indifference to public matters?

On the other hand, if we analyze all the great advances made in this century—our international traffic, our industrial discoveries, our means of communication—do we find that we owe them to the State or to private enterprise? Look at the network of railways

which cover Europe. At Madrid, for example, you take a ticket for St. Petersburg direct. You travel along railroads which have been constructed by millions of workers, set in motion by dozens of companies; your carriage is attached in turn to Spanish, French, Bavarian, and Russian locomotives? you travel without losing twenty minutes anywhere, and the two hundred francs which you paid in Madrid will be divided to a nicety among the companies which have combined to forward you to your destination. This line from Madrid to St. Petersburg has been constructed in small isolated branches which have been gradually connected, and direct trains are the result of an understanding which has been arrived at between twenty different companies. Of course there has been considerable friction at the outset, and at times some companies, influenced by an unenlightened, egotism have been unwilling to come to terms with the others; but, I ask, was it better to put up this occasional friction, or to wait until some Bismarck, Napoleon, or Zengis Khan should have conquered Europe, traced the lines with a pair of compasses, and regulated the despatch of the trains? If the latter course had been adopted, we should still be in the days of stage-coaches.

The network of railways is the work of the human mind proceeding from the simple to the complex by the spontaneous efforts of the parties interested, and it is thus that all the great enterprises of our age have been undertaken. It is quite true, indeed, that we pay too much to the managers of these enterprises; this is an additional reason for suppressing their incomes, but not for confiding the management of European railways to a central European government.

What thousands of examples one could cite in support of this same ideal! Take all great enterprises such as the Suez Canal, the lines of Atlantic steamers, the telegraph which connects us with North and South America. Consider also the commercial organization which enables you on rising in the morning to find bread at the baker's—that is, if you have the money to pay for it, which is not always the case nowadays—meat at the butcher's, and all other things that you want at the shops. Is this the work of the State? It is true that we pay abominably dearly for middlemen; this is, however, an additional reason for suppressing them, but not for believing that we must entrust government with the care of providing for our feeding and clothing. If we closely scan the development of human mind in our times we are struck by the number of associations which spring up to meet the varied requirement of the individual of our age—societies for study, for commerce, for pleasure and recreation; some of them, very small, for the propagation of a universal language or a certain method of short-hand writing; others with large arms, such as that which has recently been established for the defense of the English coast, or for the avoidance of lawsuits, and so on. To make a list of the associations which

exist in Europe, volumes would be necessary, and it would be seen that there is not a single branch of human activity with which one or the other does not concern itself. The State itself appeals to them in the discharge of its most important function—war; it says: "We undertake to slaughter, but we cannot take care of our victims; form a Red Cross Society to gather up the wounded on the battle-field and to take care of them."

Let others, if they will, advocate industrial barracks or the monastery of authoritarian Communism, we declare that the tendency of society is in an opposite direction. We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting themselves for the satisfaction of all the varied needs of human beings—some of these groups organized by quarter, street and house; others extending hands across the walls of cities, over frontiers and oceans. All of these will be composed of human beings who will combine freely, and after having performed their share of productive labor will meet together, either for the purpose of consumption, or to produce objects of art or luxury, or to advance science in a new direction. This is the tendency of the nineteenth century, and we follow it; we only ask to develop it freely, without any governmental interference. Individual liberty! "Take pebbles," said Fourier, "put them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves in a mosaic that you could never get by entrusting to anyone the work of arranging them harmoniously."—P. Kropotkin.

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#### The "Mano Negra."

For some months our contemporary the *Tierra y Libertad* of Madrid has been energetically trying to unearth the truth as regards the above named organization, and as energetically agitating for the release of the unfortunate men (some seven or eight) who were accused and condemned as members upon false or manufactured evidence, and who, the survivors of many such victims, have been lying more or less forgotten in various Spanish prisons for the past twenty years.

The *Mano Negra*, as most of our readers are aware, was the sinister name given an agrarian and so-called Anarchist secret society, formed in 1882 in Andalusia for the express purpose (as claimed by the prosecution) of robbery, incendiarism and assassination upon the estates of local landed proprietors. As a matter of absolute fact, such a society except in the imagination of the police and government, never existed. The title "Black Hand" arose simply from the discovery one day at Villamartin of the imprint of finger marks on the face of the communal wall. The culprit may have been a passing schoolboy who in a spirit of mischief daubed his freshly inked hand several times upon the whitewash. But whether so, or whether the sign was deliberately contrived by the police, the fact remains they took it as a startling label for a lie; a lie which was eventually to cause three hundred arrests, to put seven workers to death, to imprison many for life. Incidentally



they may have hoped also that the lie would crush all desire for organized combination from the hearts of the Spanish peasantry, so that thenceforth the landlords of Andalusia might 'enjoy their riches in peace'; but the events of the past few years have proved this pious hope a fallacy. The *Tierra y Libertad* has been patiently investigating documents and such direct testimony as at this distant date is procurable, with results which not only disprove the police made evidence of the day, but which show a glaring light on the inhumanity and gross injustice that characterized the prosecution.

In 1880 the vast and fertile agricultural districts of Andalusia were, as they still remain, the property of a few wealthy owners. The peasantry subsisted, as they still do, on the miserable pittance paid them as laborers in their masters' fields, olive woods and vineyards. Burdened with taxes, half-famished, their whole existence a battle against want, a spirit of revolt developed amongst them; many at length openly declared they might as well die of hunger in their hovels as while at work in their master's vineyards, and put their principles to the test by striking. But insubordination was quickly punished by the gendarmerie called in for the purpose by landed proprietors. Persecution bitterly enforced was as bitterly resented, until finally finding every appeal for fair wages and justice to be futile, the peasants placed their hopes more and more upon a change in the economic and social conditions which alone promised relief.

The old International had had its links in Spain as elsewhere, and tho the government had contrived to destroy its unity and strength, it was not dead. By degrees amid the misery of the population the old spirit of solidarity and self-help revived, until in 1881 police and authorities became alive to the fact that the rural population in Andalusia was not only seething with discontent but had learnt to believe in organization—in short that the supposed defunct International had taken a new lease of life. Renewed persecution in order to frighten the timid was the result, followed by efforts to rouse the starving peasants into acts of depredation which would give a handle for wholesale arrests and the stamping out once for all of the obnoxious International Association of Workers. The latter task seemed simpler in that altho workmen's meetings were tolerated by the government, the workers in industrial centers were so harried by the police that they were often compelled to meet in private and turn their memories into minute books. This gave color to the quickly spread police reports of illegal conclaves, secret resolutions and projected nocturnal attacks on property in rural districts. The fact that these last when they occurred were practically isolated acts, consisting of no more than the stripping of a vine or theft of a kid by a famished villager, was suppressed. The phantom of the *Mano Negra* had been evolved and the belief had to be pushed home that every such act was the work of organized bands of secret marauders more or less closely affiliated to the International. In 1881 at Barcelona, and at Seville the following year a congress of the Federation of Workers was held, at each of which political action was

condemned and statistics given showing there were close upon 60,000 members and an increase of 10,000 adhesions in one year. The bourgeoisie were dumbfounded, and the governor of Cadiz, a liberal, at once proclaimed that every outbreak of fire in his district, other than what was proved accidental, would be considered as incendiarism on the part of the people where it occurred, or, failing them, of the local committee of the worker's association, which would then be placed at the disposition of the law. It was then also that two officers of the rural gendarmerie conveniently discovered, under a stone in a field, a roll of compromising papers and the secret manual of the *Mano Negra* exhorting to pillage, incendiarism, and murder.

Events quickly followed under the regime of fraud and force instituted by the police; every effort being made to provoke ill-feeling among the peasants, to tempt each to speak against the other, to manufacture false charges and work them home against innocent persons. Two officials, Monforte and Oliver, of the gendarmerie, were especially zealous and successful in their role of *agents provocateurs*, their efforts being chiefly directed against members of or sympathizers with the International Association of Workers. Persons are still living who can prove being cajoled into interviews with these two men, and offered rewards to bring their friends into trouble by firing ricks, pillaging vines and so forth. In one case a deliberate ruse was laid to induce men to visit a brandy store; on their approach one was shot dead by concealed police and the others arrested and sent to penal servitude on a charge of attempted theft.

Amongst many lesser trials of the period three stand out in sharp prominence; they are the *Parrilla* trial, that of *Acros de la Frontera*, and the *Venta Alta*, all of which occurred in 1883.

The first concerned the death of one Compas, a sectional member of the Federation, who had incurred discredit by misconduct and was finally expelled from that body. On Dec. 4, 1882, during a quarrel with two men, one his cousin, he was killed, and buried where he fell. The affair was quickly known, as were those concerned in it; but it was one of those opportunities the police waited for. Instantly over a hundred men were arrested, for fifteen of whom the public prosecutor demanded the death penalty, his contention, absolutely devoid of a shadow of truth or proof, being that the Workers' Federation was a vast secret society, with ramifications thruout the country, of which the *Mano Negra* was the most important and powerful, stress being laid on the fact that two of the accused, Ruiz and Corbacho, were respectively secretary and president of the Jerez section of the Federation, and the latter also a delegate at the Seville Congress. To bear out this legal contention the prisoners before and during trial were constantly maltreated in the hope that fear and pain combined would drag mutual accusations from their lips, while their friends in the villages were temporarily arrested and bullied with the same intention. On the termination of this trial fourteen were condemned to death, of whom seven were hung, six reprieved and sent to penal servitude for life,

while the fourteenth lost his reason thru ill-treatment in prison and still lies in the infirmary. Two of the arrested also died in prison before trial in consequence of inhuman treatment. Ruiz and Corbacho were amongst the martyred seven.

The *Arcos* trial rose from a commonplace murder, if murder it was, for to this day there has been no actual proof. Like the above, the case was also manipulated by the police with the intention of proving it to be the outcome of conspiracy between federated workers and the mythic *Mano Negra*. On this occasion one Olivera Montero, a rural guard, reached home one night in a half-conscious condition and died in a few days. It was reported he had affirmed that when stooping to gather wood he had tripped over his gun and given himself a fatal blow on the body. The police affirmed he had been assaulted and brutally kicked by members of the *Mano Negra*, who had long before suggested his joining the fraternity, and arranged for his death upon his refusal. A peasant, named Duran Gil, was arrested, denied all knowledge of the matter beyond what a brother of the deceased had told him, viz., that the death was accidental, and was then beaten and bullied until, in desperation, he suggested the villagers where Montero had lived might know the truth. The hint was acted on and a man named Dominguez arrested, each being presently informed that the other denounced him. Both were brought to trial and finally condemned, Gil to penal servitude for life in chains, and Dominguez to fifteen years seclusion; the later died long since in prison. Gil, altho a member of the federation, had never taken an active part in its work, but he believed in the right of combination, and that sufficed to increase his guilt in the eyes of judges who not only refused to credit the deceased man's statement to his wife and physician as to the cause of his injury, since the police insisted fear made him shield the *Mano Negra* even at the point of death, but concurred in the wisdom of the doctors, who refused to exhumate the dead man's body and perform an autopsy on the score of danger to the health of the community.

The *Venta Alta* affair concerned the death of the innkeeper Vasquez, who was found assassinated in March, 1883. As in the *Parrilla* case, numberless arrests were made, but the indictment was finally directed against four only: Roldan, the *pseudo-murderer*, and the three other men, because they were his friends. All four were condemned to death, but were subsequently respited owing to the action of the workers of Puerto, in which township the inn stood, who protested openly that if one of the four was executed they would fire each quarter of the town. This so frightened the bourgeoisie that they petitioned the authorities at Madrid to intervene, and accordingly the death sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life in chains. Roldan soon died. On this, as on each of the other occasions, torture was resorted to as a means of extorting confession or false accusation; to the police it did not materially matter which, so long as the public could be made to believe in *Mano Negra* and the International crushed out.

(Continued on page 5.)

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## 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.

For announcements of meetings, see eighth page, first column.

## Outpost Echoes.

Love; but hate.  
Dare to be yourself.  
Despair does no work.  
Love is a revolutionist.  
True Socialism is voluntary.  
A flag is a painted prejudice.  
Blood does not wash out a stain.  
Better dream than always be asleep.  
War only determines who is strongest.  
There are two classes: knaves, and slaves.  
Without freedom there is no opportunity.  
Liberty listens; humanity has but to call her.  
The hope of the future is the joy of the present.  
A man without a heart does not know that he is dead.

Are you for freedom, partial slavery, or complete slavery?

Anarchists are men who do not feel qualified to rule others.

The nationalist loves his country, the Anarchist loves mankind.

Darrow in the mayor's chair would look like an atheist in church.

"Justice according to law" is only another way of giving a Judas kiss.

The devil is a pensioner of the "good," who would not be happy without caste.

Tom L. Johnson wants the people to stop him "from robbing them." Can't he stop?

There are enough prejudices left among libertarians to stock a reactionary movement.

The capitalist conception of society is like that of a driver, who feeds his horses, and uses them.

Dowie is going to occupy Madison Square Garden, and New York will have Chicago's newest and biggest circus.

Still they are playing the game in Venezuela, with peoples for pawns. And this is diplomacy; or is it trickery?

In southern Russia the inhabitants are murmuring revolution. Well if that murmur might become thunder tones of revolt.

Now it is the robbery of tombs which engages fickle public attention. Thousands for a sensation, but not a cent for truth!

Rubini is on trial; and of course as he shot at a king he must be an Anarchist. Kings were not killed before Anarchy had its origin.

Those who are afraid of freedom in love relationships should hasten home at once, where the blessings of government are unalloyed.

He who votes shoots another man down with his ballot. War never yet determined which one among the contestants was in the right.

Young France, in so far as it is literary is libertarian. All the repressive laws which came after Carnot only served to raise laughter.

The Catholic Church is opposed to Socialism, and Socialism may pause a moment in the midst of its ardors to smile, and then congratulate itself.

Those who believe that liberty will make men love each other, thereby rid themselves of the sense of original sin, the rightful property of those "who fear God."

While the Finns are starving, royalty continues with all its exactions of money. But the people should be satisfied, the poor are to be allowed to help the poor.

The State president of the W. C. T. U. says that woman must help save Chicago from degradation. The lady should read her Bible and learn that woman's Christian duty is "silence."

The spirit of progress has a bad reputation, but it is sure to survive it; for that which slanders it and wars against it is the spirit of a dying past taking its last desperate stand.

"Interest is 'not' the reward of abstinence," for those who get the interest abstain from nothing. Those who do abstain, the poor, finally pay all interest and have their abstinence for their pains.

Freedom must be taken or it will never be possessed; for in their wildest dreams of philanthropy those who enslave the race only think of enlarging our shackles that they may line them with velvet.

After fifty years of experiment Vermont is throwing over its prohibition law. Thus are the lessons of Anarchism taught. You cannot make the world virtuous by statute any more than you can inculcate love with a club.

Morgan wishes to own the street railways of Chicago, but the Municipal Ownership League demurs. Of the two robbers, the

municipality, or the capitalist, the wise man knows not which most to fear.

Liberty bids us question every principle, examine all ethics, and doubt every system. Propriety is her special aversion, and the shocked ears and eyes of the "good" only move her to healthy laughter.

AMERICUS.

## The Question of Restraint.

Our readers undoubtedly look for a rejoinder from C. L. James, regarding the question of "Restraint vs. Government," which was broached by our friend M. Harman in FREE SOCIETY last week. But Comrade James refrains, and the following paragraph, quoted from a private letter, gives one of the reasons why he does not care to discuss the question at present:

"It will come out sufficiently during my Vindication (Ch. V.) that I believe restraint of abnormal individuals may be at once reduced to a minimum—and that this minimum would require no organization for the purpose, inasmuch as all the criminals whom there is any need to restrain are admitted by all—even themselves—to need it. On the other hand, my whole treatise is to show (inductively) that such organizations are formed only to benefit the projectors. The *pons asinorum* of Anarchism is that people don't take the trouble to exercise authority for nothing, but always propose encroachment at the end; so that authority is the only kind of 'invasion' we all need to resist any more than we all surely shall."

## By the Wayside.

Freethinkers who are so anxious to retain government for the prevention of crime, do not seem to coincide with Ingersoll when he says: "It is safe to say that governments have committed far more crimes than they have prevented." Was Ingersoll wrong, friends?

The district attorney of New York seems to be far in advance of many radicals who believe in punishing so-called criminals. He shows plainly that even the death penalty does not serve as an intimidation for others. On the contrary, he says, it makes a hero of the murderer, and he has public sympathy on his side. The punishment would be more severe, contends the lawyer, if the murderer were "simply convicted and allowed to go free."

It remains for the so-called individualists to prove that the "restrainers," or "voluntary police," will be able to tell in advance that this or that man is going to commit homicide in a moment of passion, and lock him up before the crime is perpetrated. If the guardians of "equal liberty" are to possess such omniscient qualities, and limit their power simply to the detection of criminals, then the Anarchists may find some consolation in the proposition of having liberty meted out by yards and bushels. But if such is not the case the question of restraint is nothing but "metaphysical nonsense."

D. M. Parry, president of the "National Association of Manufacturers," urges the



"barons of industry" to organize in order to crush labor organizations. His recent speech reeks with invective against labor unions, Socialists, Anarchists, and all those who disturb the legalized highwayman in their "honest pursuit" of fleecing the toilers of the world. He admits that the workers have rights—to drudge and breathe—"which should be respected, but the rest should be left to the mercy and good-will of the modern pirates on land and sea. The cry for more humane conditions must be suffocated, of course, and he hails the army organization bill, which provides a larger number of slaves with Krag-Jorgensen rifles and dynamite guns. But suppose a ray of light should strike the slaves and tempt them to turn the rifles the "other way"? Such cruel things have happened before, Mr. Parry, when the workers had learned that the tyrants were not invulnerable.

INTERLOPER.

#### At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

The subject "Man and His Work" proved to be a novelty to the audience last Sunday. The speaker, W. F. Barnard, took the position of William Morris and his followers, that the free worker would be an artist, and that consequently in many branches of industry man would return to handicraft, in order to express his individuality, and to develop his mind and feeling. Wherever the machine did not thwart the individuality of men its utility could not be questioned; but when a man was compelled to cut holes in a board or to push a board into a machine year in and year out, it was a suicidal occupation, which only slaves consent to perform. But the division and specialization of labor was a natural concomitant of capitalism, the object of which was to manufacture cheap goods for cheap people, thus extracting large profits from the consumers. Capitalism and monopoly were the enemies of humanity, and as the sole purpose of government was to protect capitalism, the Anarchists direct their mental arrows chiefly against the State—the institution of tyranny.

Few had understood the speaker, as was shown by the critics. Their opinion was that the Anarchists were against all machinery, and they vigorously protested against such proposition. But when the speaker retorted that he wanted man to own the machine instead of the machine owning man, and a condition in which each would choose his own work, nobody being compelled to ask for work, many protestants calmed down.

REPORTER.

#### Much Fuss.

Was Czolgosz an Anarchist or a Catholic? What does it matter? If he was a conscious slave indulging in revolt against a master, the act gratifies me. His reported words signify that he knew what his position in society was.

And why such an ado by the slaves in all quarters about the death of a master? Do they not realize their condition? Why should the lives of our masters be of more importance to us than ours is to them? They kill us off with as little compunction as if we were flies.

As we know we are slaves and we wish

our freedom, we should also have discovered that the only way to get it is to revolt. Obedience will not help us to capture liberty.

Every rebellious act, whether great or small, wise or unwise, *when done by a conscious slave*, adds to the struggle for freedom by that much, and deserves the support of all other actors in the cause.

The life or death of a master here or there is of no consequence except to themselves. They must take their chances in such matters as we, the slaves, do. They do not hesitate to dispose of us when their "interests" require it. There is no more reason why any of them should be shielded by us in the conflict between us.

A comrade said to me that the article of C. L. James is a timely one. Whether or not he is correct in his surmise of what Czolgosz was matters little, but it is of *great importance* that the style of Catholic worship should be often called to the attention of the public.

Every act done by a Catholic is for the "glory of God." The deed may be the taking of life either of a king or a day-laborer. It may be almsgiving or hospital service; but be it murder or what not, the object is the same always. They have ever acted without scruple, and there is no reason to doubt that they will continue so to do. Whomsoever or whatsoever stands in their way, they strike, and "strike to kill."

VIROQUA DANIELS.

#### The "Mano Negra."

(Continued from page 3.)

Such, in brief, is the history of the iniquitous proceedings that twenty years ago devastated innumerable Andalusian homes, breaking up whole families and sending the bread winner to death or imprisonment. Our Spanish comrades are doing their utmost to awaken the public conscience and gain the release of the survivors of relentless police persecution. Those in France have also taken up the cudgels nobly on behalf of the injured men, and to the pages of the *Temps Nouveaux* (Nos. 27-32 of the current year) we refer our readers for many details as to police methods in Spain, as well as letters from the condemned, which we have not space to reproduce. The fact that the Spanish workers were in an excited and discontented condition at the period named is not questioned. Their lot was miserable in the extreme, and the bourgeoisie and authorities combined to keep it so. That many small pilferings occurred in and about the rich vineyards and farms is also quite possible. The hungry man has to satisfy his needs, all laws notwithstanding. Every country, every city has its hooligans, therefore it may also be that here and there a band of riotous youngsters consorted together and looted on their own account. But there was no *Mano Negra* with its manual of robbery and slaughter. Monforte and Oliver were the prototypes of our own Sheridan.—*Freedom*, London.

The funeral ceremonies of the most powerful monarchs, have rarely been wetted with the tears of the people—they have commonly drained them while living.—*Holbach*.

#### A Vindication of Anarchism.

IV

The induction of a former section, that advancing intelligence undermines authority in two ways, making people less willing to obey and at the same time less desirous to exact obedience, was embarrassed by obvious difficulty about determining as between increase of intelligence and decline of authority, which is cause and which effect. The action is always doubtless in some degree reciprocal; tho we found evidence enough, I think, that some great steps, as decline in the tyranny of etiquettes, in theological tyranny, sexual tyranny, tyranny by educators, cruelty to criminals were almost wholly due to advance in knowledge, the latter being comparatively little promoted by them.\* The converse proposition that authority depresses civilization, whose variable element, we remember, is knowledge, can be established still less equivocally, both by positive examples, in which this has actually happened, and by negative examples, in which the condition (authority) being wholly or partly taken away, the result has been inverted and civilization has made progress. Readers who, not content to study me, would refer to my authorities, are the only kind who do as I desire. They may obtain a general view of the whole subject from Herbert Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology," "Principles of Sociology," and "Social Statics"; and from the Encyclopedia Britannica articles on "Government" and "Law." But it will perhaps be found more interesting and equally instructive to pursue the subject into specific details.

Chattel slavery has been the actual ruin of very important civilizations. Egypt, probably the oldest civilized country in the Eastern Hemisphere except China, and the one whose culture far exceeded that of all others till the rise of Greece,† does not appear to have had this institution before the expulsion of the Hyksos, which fact, considering the profuse illustrations of Egyptian customs afforded us by the Egyptian monuments, may be taken to prove that slavery did not yet exist on an extensive scale. Egyptian civilization was weighed down by a powerful and extravagant monarchy, a privileged and dogmatical priesthood, and a landed aristocracy. But with all these disadvantages it improved quite steadily up to at least the time of the Twelfth Dynasty.‡

\* That intelligence has been very much promoted by the decline of theological tyranny since the Reformation, will be disputed indeed by no one who compares the state of northern Europe with that of southern. But this improvement, not beginning till near the end of the sixteenth century, is beside our point, because too late to be regarded as either cause or immediate effect of the Reformation. We must attribute the liberation of 1517-1558 to that much greater previous intellectual quickening, in which the nations now Catholic had shared with others since the eleventh century, tho, among them, the reaction represented by Loyola prevented its producing as great effects as elsewhere.

† I hesitate to admit on the testimony of one much later inscription the extreme antiquity now attributed to Sargon of Accad. I also believe that of Egyptian records to be exaggerated by most chronologists; but taking it at the lowest estimate and leaving Accad for further investigation, Seneferu is still earlier than any really known prince except the first historic emperors of China. That Egyptian civilization in its best days far surpassed Chinese or Assyrian, is hardly like to be disputed by those who have studied its remains.

‡ The Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes, was in part con-

The merely colossal architecture of the pyramid period gave place to an elegant style; the symbolic portraiture of such kings as Seneferu is succeeded by real likenesses; and useless ostentation in great measure gives place to useful works like those at Lake Moeris. Above all, the Egyptians, pushed to the extremity of their country by the Hyksos invasion, found energy enough to rally, drove the invaders out, became conquerors in turn, and under the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty attained the acme both of power and culture. A new and fatal element was, however, introduced, principally by Thothmes III. The great wars of this conqueror peopled the country with foreign slaves. Rameses II, supposed to be that Pharaoh who oppressed the Jews, finding it not so easy to conquer Syria as it was in Thothmes' time, extended the system of slave-catching in Ethiopia. From this date the decline of Egyptian civilization is to be reckoned. Architecture and sculpture indeed held their own for some time; but, except in a small way under Rameses III, there were no more works of public utility. (Necho's murderous failure at the isthmus, I discard.) The conspiracies and libels of the Rameside period show complete decay of the old morality. Under the later Ramesides, art declines; and by the time of those Sheshonks, about contemporary with Rehoboam, that intellectual barrenness never since relieved among the native population, was complete. The ease with which Egypt was conquered by Assyrians, Babylonians, Ethiopians, Persians, and Greeks, shows advanced decline of the military art; and the country, no longer rich in letters, skill, arms, industry, or enterprise, held its accumulated material wealth at the mercy of every spoiler. The connection of these calamities with slavery is not matter of conjecture, scarcely of inference alone. We can trace the steps. The real wages of labor do not appear to have been very low in ancient Egypt.\* Before the Eighteenth Dynasty it

temporary with the Sixth at Memphis. See Birch's proofs, which might be carried much further. The "monumental chasm" between Unas and Amenemha, (XII Dy.) too long enough for some development of art, is therefore brief. Of later dynasties, the monuments tell us little about the Thirteenth and almost nothing about others till the Eighteenth. They do, however, show that this was the period of the Hyksos, who have left a few. Nothing else is needed to explain their paucity.

\* Buckle (Vol. I, Ch. II) attributes the facility with which the lower class of Egyptians were oppressed to the facts that a tolerable life is very cheap in Egypt; hence population increased rapidly, wages became very low, and the people submissive because desperately poor. But this is an example of forcing important facts into harmony with a deductive theory. Buckle chose to ignore race. The Negro blood so largely represented in the Egyptian, is very submissive but not astemious. A Negro had always much rather be whipped than starved; and accordingly, upon Mill's principle that the wages of labor are what labor will take, the Negroes of our own country were often whipped, but seldom underfed. It was not very different in Egypt. Impressed labor of men reckoned free is no doubt as old as Shufu (the builder of the great Pyramid). But the monuments confirm the statements of the discontented Israelites in the wilderness, that the laborers were always exceedingly well fed, and that their families did not suffer. It is only after the Rameside system had attained full growth at Amenemha tells us the fellahs found it hard to live, and "every door was closed" against the tramp, discharged, as worn out, from the canals. Whipping, moreover, is not as yet known to be mentioned or represented before the Eighteenth Dynasty, tho labor on the public works was probably always forced.

is intimated that particular kings were impious to the gods, as Shufu, or unpopular with the nobles as Teta.\* But complaints about poverty and suffering among the people begin with the late writer Amenemha, in whose time they were not only forced to compete against slave-labor but treated like slaves by kings accustomed to the slave-system. These kings, relying on slave labor, no longer took the same care to improve the country as their predecessors. The resources put into their power by slavery enabled them to employ mercenary troops from Syria, Greece, and other countries. Thus the native military caste were alienated from the government, which, if we may believe Herodotus, they at last actually abandoned altogether. Religion, indeed, was apparently patronized on a grander scale than ever. But the spirit had departed from it. The old kings were gods upon the old principle—the national totems inspired them to administer the national law. The new kings, upstarts of Semitic origin, like Rameses,† placed their deity in their own genius, and with an Amenhotep, adopted heresies. The complete alienation of the priests is attested by the fact that a priestly revolution and dynasty appears. But the piety of the Egyptians was nothing if not loyal and patriotic. When it had ceased to be that, the best of their kings was slandered in published books, and priests of Hadean deities were detected in an extensive conspiracy to rob the dead, whose costly sepulchres appealed to their cupidity. The persistency with which the Egyptians rebelled against Persia shows that they did not want courage. But tho they fought bravely enough, they had lost the art of fighting to advantage. They were compelled to trust Greek mercenaries, and at last fell rejoicing before the feet of Macedonian deliverers. No order except the fellaheen retained vigor enough to perform its functions; and Egypt, reduced to a land of slaves, became, under a succession of foreign masters, a scene of misery and desolation.

\* The first monumental king of the Sixth Dynasty. He was assassinated by his guards. A somewhat careful study of the monumental evidence convinces me that they were nobles of rank, who set up the Eleventh Dynasty of Mentuhotep. Teta's sister, the Nitocris of Herodotus, was the wife of Meri-ra or Ra-meri (beloved by Ra) whom some Egyptologists confound with Pepi, but who is represented in one monument with him, as an unmistakably different person. She afterwards became the wife of the great Unas, under whom it is abundantly evident that Pepi, Meri-ra, and Mentuhotep, were little else than nominal kings. The romance of Nitocris in Herodotus, striking enough as it is, derives much improvement from the monuments, which show her the grand passion of the most ancient hero whose able patriotism, judicious unscrupulousness, his calmness, moderation, and long-sighted ambition, entitle him to be called a statesman. Unas's love for Nitocris (Neith the Perfect, a title which he gave her on becoming king, for her former name was Ankhes) is expressed upon her monuments in a very unusual manner. According to Herodotus, she avenged the murder of Teta, and built or rather enlarged, the third Pyramid of Meren-ra, who was probably her father. Here the Arabs say that her spirit may still be seen by night; which much confirms Herodotus, by showing this pyramid has always been locally reputed the work of a woman.

† The Semitic origin of Rameses II is inferred by Egyptologists from his appearance. His father, Seti, was an usurper. That the Sheshonks were Semites appears clearly proved. The mother of that Amenhotep who introduced the heretical worship of Aten (the material Sun) is described as a foreigner; and her extremely pretty face represents the best Semitic type.

A far larger and better known example of like effects from like causes, is afforded by the Roman Empire. It had many advantages which Egypt had not. The Romans themselves, and all those dependent cities which they dignified with the name of allies, were accustomed to self-government. The form was rather democratic than aristocratic. The institution of *municipia* by Sulla,\* gave it an elasticity which actually struggled thru the storm of the Empire's dissolution. The old system of landed tenure was liberal, and had a series of sturdy champions, like the Gracchi. From the time of the Social War, the policy of Rome towards other cities became progressively more generous. The Emperors were sensible of the evil of slavery, and adopted laws to mitigate it. The heterogeneousness of an enormous country appeared a safeguard against lifeless crystallization of manners. The philosophy of Greece provided a moral sentiment which might have been expected to replace the old ethnic cults as they were successively outgrown; and Christianity, eminently an universal religion, had achieved its triumph before the decline of the Empire by any means became a headlong fall. All these sanative influences were vain against the poison of slavery. The influx of slaves made inevitable those latifundia which "ruined Italy"; for under the slave system immense sheep and cattle walks were far more profitable than agriculture. The Gracchi, contending against a tendency resistless unless slavery were abolished, appear mere reactionaries overcome by the spirit of their age. The half savage horsemen who tended cattle on the latifundia became the terrible warriors of Spartacus; but the Servile War in Sicily, tho less known, was even more obstinate and protracted than that in Italy. Then it was that atrocities beside which those of San Domingo pale, were perpetrated by the self-free human chattels; that absentee landlords protested against the waste of their property involved in executing rebels retaken after these enormities; that a slave who had killed a wild beast and came expecting a reward, was immediately crucified for having a weapon; that a proconsul familiar with martial law dared put a Roman citizen to the same death within sight of Italy! The immediate danger was averted; but only by creating an army whose generals thought no more of dividing the country among them than cutting up a melon. It is moonshine to pretend that Caesarism was popular, or rested on anything except the sword; but, it is equally futile to attempt making out that, unless slavery were abolished, there could have been a government which rested upon something else than the sword. As in Egypt, under Ochus, the old spirit was by no means extinct; but the material power thru which it should have acted had ceased to exist.

\* See the account in Mommsen of Sulla's new constitution. The *municipium*, like the *urbs* of antiquity, was autonomous, which the *oppidum* (town) was not; but it derived its charter from the general government. In France, accordingly, the cities were the strongholds of national sentiment against the local nobility: in Italy, where they had early subdued this turbulent class, they were centers of the Guelph party, which resisted the German Caesars and acknowledged only a shadowy dependence on the pope. Naturally, during the struggles of the thirteenth century, the nobles were mostly Ghibellines.



Those senators who fled with Pompey were not unworthy to have shared the councils of Drusus or the command of Scipio. But the army which Pompey expected to spring out of the earth as it did in Hannibal's time, was never raised on latifundia. Because there could, consistently with the slave system, be no government but a military despotism; and because the people wanted the slave system but did not want military despotism, it was necessary the rulers should do what they immediately did—increase the army and begin making it of something else than Roman citizens. So long as conquest brought more land and more slaves together, wealth, indeed, continued to increase. But when Arminius had taught the Romans that their army was not great enough to conquer the world, they soon began finding out that it was too big for their Empire to support. Arminius' victory was in A. D. 10. About A. D. 80, soon after Boadicea's rebellion, every statesman, like Vespasian, had to face the facts that the finances were embarrassed, that the country was growing poor, that there were no means of getting enough out of it to support institutions without which it must break up. Henceforth the decline was steady—for, I will not linger on such ephemeral revivals of extension as Trajan's, or such superficial restorations from within as that of Antoninus Pius. Like all their conservative people from Gracchus to Rienzi, these noble-minded Romans "confounded memories with hopes." There was no hope but abolition of slavery; and as they could not or would not propose that, this deadly microbe destroyed the Empire while working out its own destruction. First, the tenant farmers (coloni) began deserting the land to escape taxation, and swelled the pauper population of Rome. In Campania, the fairest province, three hundred thousand acres of taxable lands were formally declared vacant at one stroke, without finding anybody to take them. A constant exportation of precious metals to India for the supply of court luxuries, together with disuse of the mines as they became more costly, made currency very scarce and increased the evil by that encouragement it gave to hoarding. As the cities lost their trade and shrank, they took each to producing whatever its poverty demanded, within its own domain; a manifest step towards disintegration. That barbarous series of laws by which tenants and small proprietors (curiales) were reduced to serfdom, as the only way to prevent agriculture from ceasing altogether, prepared division of the country among generals of barbarian origin. The time came when these generals and their soldiers could no longer be paid except by quartering them on the great landed estates; after which they would not move off them; and thus, at last, the Empire broke up into fiefs. Like the Egyptians' loss of reverence for their kings and gods, this might at first sight be supposed no evil. But the concomitant ills surpass description. Institutions, however bad, which suit the people better than anything else they know, do not wholly perish by causes beyond and against the people's wishes, without destroying their social, industrial, and commercial system. If something new and vital has been grafted on it, as Tuetonism and

Christianity on Romanism, the graft will supplant the stem. If not, as in Egypt, only age-long rottenness remains. Before the Empire dissolved, the population had been frightfully diminished. By a most unnatural coordination of evils, the standard of comfort was greatly lowered.\*

To a modern man of business, nothing appears stranger reading than the maximum of Diocletian. Notwithstanding scarcity of money, the enormous price of everything, except wine, which was cheap, and bread, which is not mentioned, suggests to him forcibly that nothing could have been easier than for an enterprising capitalist to grow rich apace. But taxes, making the price of everything inordinate, and continually growing heavier, are not the atmosphere in which enterprising capitalists vegetate.

The Jews, who alone in some measure bore that character, were attracted to money-lending by something else than their being allowed no other trade—an explanation chronologically untenable. In the decline of the Empire, as through the beggarly Middle Ages, there was no trade more tempting than usury.

When the commonest of earthly hopes were thus frustrated by tyranny, and the most elementary human instincts outraged by profligacy which the tyranny promoted, men's minds naturally turned with fanatical energy towards another world. I am not inquiring now into the success of Christianity, but into the peculiar complexion it assumed. The art of the catacombs, as Lecky has observed, shows, in times of horrible persecution, a mild spirit, not unworthy of the Gospel. But the Christianity of Theodosius' age had become an insane superstition, destructive and self-destructive. Nor was this wholly the difference between the same religion weak and strong. Christianity was never stronger than in Spain under a Ximenes; but there, tho deformed by some excesses of zeal, it was not unfavorable to knowledge and culture until weakened sufficiently to become alarmed. The spirit

\* Among those consequences illegitimately drawn from the Malthusian theory, one is that the rate of marriages needs must vary, as it sometimes does, inversely with the price of food. Another is that continence, by diminishing the supply of laborers, needs must raise wages. In the Roman State, celibacy was enforced on the majority of slaves, it was very common among wage workers and small artificers, and it was encouraged by the example of the upper classes. Yet real wages fell to less than a pauper's dole. All this time bread, at Rome, cost nothing, and through the Empire was cheap, owing to free distributions by the government. The true Malthusian doctrine upon these points is that where increase of population, encouraged by such conditions as the potato culture and cottier's rent in Ireland, or the old English poor laws, depresses the standard of comfort, such increase will keep well up with the cheapness of food, and real wages will not rise. Malthus, it should be known, was opposed to the parsimony recommended by some pseudo-economists and more false philanthropists as the sovereign remedy for poverty. He fully understood these great economic truths that demand creates production and production wealth; that abstinence can enrich one producer only in proportion as it impoverishes others; and, consequently, that its practice by producers generally, as in France, among the Chinese coolies, and by the Jews in some places keeps them all poor alike. The thing essential to improvement in the condition of the masses is that they should learn to set their standard of comfort high—which is just Mill's doctrine that the common laborer's minimum wages are not the least on which he can live, work, and marry, but the least on which he will.

which destroyed almost all of the noblest sculpture in the world, which threatened to turn the whole people into monks and nuns as frantic as howling dervishes, which suppressed the writings of Aristotle, closed the theaters, and concentrated the minds of the reading class on theological subtleties, was the spirit of a religion congenial to despair. It sprang from the temper of an age which could find comfort in hearing that so wicked a world would shortly be burned up and the torment of its tyrants made an everlasting spectacle. The effect, not of any specific doctrine but of feelings and doctrinal realizations such as these, is very intelligible, and has been often traced. It fostered a learned ignorance, a pursuit of unreal wisdom, a cultivation of false methods; so that the more a man read of what he was permitted to read, and the more he thought on the topics in vogue, the less he knew. From the age of Ambrose to that of Calvin the most powerful intellects are to be found among the clergy. But, it would be difficult to prove that during that whole long period an item was added to the world's positive knowledge by a clergyman. Those many important discoveries and inventions of the Middle Ages to which reference has been made elsewhere, were almost altogether the work of the diminished citizen and commercial class, which read less than any except the serfs and warriors, but cared less for theology than even they. It is, however, important to remember that tho a degenerate and corrupted Christianity encouraged, it could do no more than encourage these tendencies. Before the triumph of Christianity, the literature of Greece and Rome had become wretchedly pedantic and meager. Slavery was the Upas on which every evil fruit of the age grew naturally. Neither the change of religion, nor the official system of Diocletian, nor the ravages of hostile barbarians, nor the encroachments of those who had become naturalized, had any bad work left them except helping along the suicide of a radically vicious society. The first faint gleam of reviving knowledge appears among the Culdees amidst the midnight of the seventh century, when slavery had ceased to be the social basis. It would be unnecessary to add in any detail how fearfully a large portion of our own commonwealth has been demoralized and shattered by the same institution and the convulsion required to get rid of it. The old South perished, like the Roman Empire. The new South still presents in many respects a very striking analogy to the Europe of the Dark Ages. Every paper unhappily furnishes illustrations of the barbarism which slavery has left behind it. On the progress induced by emancipation, see the United States Census, for the Southern States from 1860 to 1900.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

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This old society has long since been judged and condemned. Let justice be done! Let this old world be broken in pieces . . . where innocence has perished, where egoism has prospered, where man is exploited by man! Let these whited sepulchers, full of lying and iniquity, be utterly destroyed.—  
*Heinrich Heine.*

## RECEIPTS.

S. S. Club, Philadelphia, \$3. Carey, Grand, Carter, Neper, Ralston, Suessmilch, each \$1. Menkin, Bonowitz, Noel, each 50c. Permet, Weinstein, each 25c.

## FOR CHICAGO.

Tuesday, Feb. 17, Lucy E. Parsons, R. Grossmann, and others will speak on "The Coal Strike" in the English, German, and Russian languages, at the Apollo Hall, on Blue Island Ave., near Twelfth St.

## FOR PHILADELPHIA.

The Sixth Annual Russian Tea Party, with concert and ball, will take place Thursday, March 5, 7:30, at Pennsylvania Hall, 8th and Christian Sts. Mrs. Kovitch, Miss McGuckin, and other talents will participate in entertaining the audience. Dancing till 3 a. m. Tickets, 25 cents.

## FOR CHICAGO.

The Progressive Club gives an entertainment and ball for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, March 28, 7:30 p. m., at Libuse Hall, 936 Twelfth St. Tickets, in advance, 15 cents; at the door 25 cents.

## MEETINGS.

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday, 5 p. m., at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free Forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale.

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Free discussion.

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free admission. All strangers are invited to take part in the discussions. Feb. 15, Lucy E. Parsons speaks on "The Struggle for Liberty."

The Progressive Club meets every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St., for the purpose of promoting the propaganda and good fellowship. Feb. 13, important matters concerning the Philosophical Society are to be arranged, and all the active friends are invited.

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

The Workmen's Educational Club meets at 278 Blue Island Ave., 8 p. m. Saturday, Feb. 14, J. E. Lee will speak on "Anarchist Individualism."

CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday, excepting the first Sunday of the month, in Forester's Hall, 237 Champlain St. at 2:30 p. m. Free discussion.

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." Feb. 15, Jay Fox speaks on "What is Liberty."

Feb. 22, C. Cooper speaks on "God." Feb. 27, Friday evening, the Bauern Ball of the Radical Reading Room will take place at Lenox's Assembly Rooms, 252 Second St. Tickets, including hat checks, 25 cents.

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