



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 9.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 403.

### Pioneers.

Too full of freedom's passion to endure  
The lightest bonds of custom, age on age  
Men rise up having strength and courage sure,  
And would in life's most arduous tasks engage.

Alien in settled lands, Earth's titans these,  
Whose mighty strength must find fit deeds afar;  
In search of work they sail o'er all her seas,  
Asking no guides save sun, and moon, and star.

They climb new mountains, pierce vast pathless  
woods,

They use their giant strength, then hasten on:  
Taming the soil for following multitudes,  
They face the beckoning sunset and are gone.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

### A Sad Truth.

History teaches us that every political party, which had for its final aim the conquest of power, was doomed to a miserable failure thru the consequences of its own victory. The means and methods employed to gain power were naturally adapted to prevailing morality and respectability, and the departing from the original starting point was inevitable, for their application necessitated the abandonment of the once binding ideal. Christianity, for instance, which at bottom was a revolt against Roman despotism, developed in the course of time, especially after it had been made the religion of State by Constantine, into a prop of the Roman empire, and even adopted the language of the enemy. This can be observed in all popular movements which hailed pretended momentary concessions and compromised their ideals: parties which were dangerous to the State were transformed into its supporters. And unfortunately the present time again gives us such a lamentable exhibition of a theoretical and practical shallowness in a great popular movement—the Social Democracy—which in those countries where it has almost reached the enticing pinnacle of power has ceased to propagate Socialism altogether, and has become the bulwark of the State—a bulwark which is acknowledged and appreciated by the class in power.

Regarding the last point the middle class journalist and editor of the *Zukunft*, Maximilian Harden, speaks in no ambiguous terms. In a lengthy editorial he takes issue with the German emperor and points out that his fits of anger against the Social Democrats are unwarranted, as they are no longer dangerous to the State. Harden shows that it is the Social Democrats at present who

give security to "law and order," and who are preventing the outbreak of a revolution. He says, among other things:

"The hope to see a labor party arise which has recovered from the baby-sickness of Socialism is entertained today only by the little group of the liberal alliance, who therefore, altho they are the very people who represent the interest of large capitalists, court the workers with the imposing tenderness of a longing and unappeased widow. In their zeal they forget that Socialism in Germany long since has become endemic and is therefore less dangerous than a new form of political disease among the masses. The 'plain man of the shop' (not being taught to look with contempt upon rebellion, not being told a thousand times—by appealing to Saint Marx and the apostolic father Engels—that only the mystical power of development can bring redemption) would not endure so long as the Marxist; he would seek to overbridge the gross contrasts of modern livelihood with barricades,—and the undisturbed peace of the country would soon be a thing of the past. That a proud king should get angry at the millions who refuse to do him homage is easily understood. —But his responsible servant ought to tell him that the Social Democracy is one of those things which should be invented if they did not already exist. The astonishing progress of German industry is due to a large extent to its little, invisible drilling work, which stimulates ambition and gives even to the life of the poorest, who is harnessed to the yoke of lifeless and monotonous drudgery, a meaning; and to its peculiar kind of agitation is due the peace which has prevailed this half century in Germany. Do not stir, says the Social Democrat to a new comrade; do not think man's hand can take hold of the giant wheel of history; its spokes would crush your fingers; and your reward would come from small caliber guns; and even tho hundreds of thousands should unite in similar efforts, you must wait patiently for development, the modern deity Evolution, which one day will put a polished paradise on your kitchen table and by magic power bring the dictatorship of the workers from the book into realization. But do not try to push it; everything comes of its own accord. General strike? Nonsense; that has been hatched out by order of the police

to Anarchists. Revolution? Only the desperate middle class or an impoverished aristocracy can give such advice. Assassination? All assassins were and are idiots or spies, often both, even if they are *pro forma* executed. This sounds like jesting, but it is in earnest: thus think nine of ten Social Democrats, and the tenth is one of those dispersed during '48. The stagnation of our politics can only be explained by the fact that the single only strong party, to whose interest it would be not to hesitate in its opposition toward harsh measures, in its dogmatism of Marxism is forced to renounce all violent deeds. After the red generation of the guardians of the Holy Grail have died out there may in the end emerge a suspicion that the authors of the "Communist Manifesto" had only been anxious to secure the safety of the bourgeoisie, and were paid for this service by the *Alliance Israelite* or the Hirsch bequest, the greatest part of which money is invested in Prussian bonds. Never was the mass of the poor stronger, better prepared for the struggle, and yet never were the governors and millionaires more safe in the German Empire of Social Democratic victories. There are no violent measures, no riots on the streets, not even a dangerous strike after the pattern of Belgium and Spain.

"That is due to Carl Marx, who, just as the older prophets of Abraham's race, taught the congregation to wait for the approaching miracle. A 'natural urgency,' he promised, will emancipate the working class; and Engels only executed the bequest of his greater friend when he gave warning not to be 'taken by surprise' or not to be found 'at the head of revolutions conducted by the unconscious masses'; and he wrote: 'The law and order parties collapse thru the conditions they created themselves; *legality* destroys them; but we, the revolutionists, 'destructionists,' thrive far better thru legal means than thru illegal ones and 'destruction.' When this almost transcendental credulity shall once be uprooted, when these watch-words of 'development,' of the 'dialectical process,' and the 'economic law of motion of modern society' will only resound in our ear from a remote time of spooks, and the worker will have left no other hope for success than his own action, only then will the heated and poisonous gases of the subterranean fire scorchingly strike the fatherland."

We do not think there can be any sadder truth for every real Socialist than the above which comes from the mouth of a bourgeois. This making sport of revolutionary thought in Germany, of which the Social Democracy is guilty, is the work of parliamentarism. It has enervated the nation; and not until the workers can see thru the falsehoods of their leaders, turn away from the ballot-box, and begin to assert their demands by their own volition, will Socialism befittingly celebrate its victory in Germany.

The German Social Democrats prudently ignored the cutting sarcasm of Harden, but original in its folly was the reply of the American Social Democracy. R. Steiner, editor of the Buffalo *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, for instance, who was bold enough to take up the battle-ax, accuses Harden of hugging himself in the role of an *agent provocateur* who has an interest in seeing revolution break out. But the transparency of such argument is altogether too apparent. A provocator could only be successful among the working classes, and not among the "enlightened and well-to-do" citizens by whom the Harden's *Zukunft* is almost exclusively read. Thus Mr. Steiner merely falls into a shuffling excuse, and the truthful utterances of Harden, sad as they are, stand still unrefuted. And not only is it true of Germany, but in all other countries the same phenomena can be observed: political action drags the proletariat into the social mire.

R. GROSSMAN.

#### Free Love.

Jack Oliver says that Americus fails to give him "the definition he asked for." It seems to me that the answers have been plain and comprehensive. The trouble with some people is that they have defined certain things in their own minds and expect every one else to give the same definition.

Love may and does exist in spite of the restrictions placed by law upon its expression. But while love itself can neither be engendered nor restrained by law, yet the expression of it is supposed to be legally controlled.

The kiss is recognized as one of love's expressions, yet it may be given and received in anything but a loving way—covering deception and even enmity. But there have been laws saying a man may not kiss his wife on Sunday. And many cases of procreation have been cited where persons have been fined and imprisoned for kissing one of the opposite sex against her will. Jack Oliver may be unfortunate in his acquaintance among free-love women, and perhaps the one he mentioned loves no one so much as she loves herself.

Once for all, our conservative friends ought to learn that promiscuous sex relations do not mean free love, nor vice versa.

As a race we are in a state of development. The needs of the people of today are greatly diversified, and we are no longer capable of living in a primitive manner. We are learning that procreation is *not* the only object of sex association, but that thru this relation electrical and magnetic forces are blended, and that the mental life is quickened thereby.

When we can learn that there is other than the physical side of our natures that calls for love relations, we are ready to say, "Away with the artificial restrictions that interfere with the fullest and freest expression of love!"

Women are probably the conservative element in society, and it is thru their education that liberty will come. Some of them will go to extremes—all will make mistakes; but finally they will awaken to the fact that love in freedom is the savior of the race.

It is gratifying to note the interest manifested along these lines. We who for years have advocated the unpopular theory of free love, are gladly welcoming to our ranks the intellectually enfranchised.

MYRA PEPPER.

#### Straws.

There are many circumstances related in *FREE SOCIETY*, now and then, showing the softening of sentiment toward Anarchists, and the deepening of interest in Anarchism. A remarkable instance of that sort was the appearance in the January number of the *Pacific Monthly*, Portland, Ore., of an article on the "Questions of the Day," with the Pennsylvania coal strike as an object lesson, by C. E. S. Woods, one of Portland's best known and able attorneys. He is receiving eighteen votes in the legislature for the United States Senate.

He argues that Baer and the other coal barons have a perfect legal right to close their mines for as long as they please, and that it is not Baer and Morgan that are to blame for people freezing, but the legal monopoly of the coal fields, and it is the institution and not the men that should be condemned. He points out that present conditions must change, and that all changes must be toward Socialism or Anarchism. He says:

I repeat that all changes must tend toward Socialism or Anarchism. . . . But I believe that the final and higher and better tendency will be toward Anarchy—and if I could I would direct our growth in that direction.

Nothing is ever settled in this world till it is settled right, and the one "right" in man's progress seems to be Freedom. . . . Liberty of the individual seems to be the destiny of the race. Liberty of the individual seems to be our highest ideal and ultimate truth. Therefore I believe thru every experiment something will be gained toward a perfect liberty of the individual, or Anarchy.

In personal appearance Mr. Woods bears a striking resemblance to the pictures of William Morris, but his life having been thrown in very different channels we never hope to see a counterpart of that most remarkable Englishman of the nineteenth century. Let us hope that he may be of much service to the cause.

Lately one of the most able attorneys of Seattle was "discovered" by Comrade Danilewicz. This attorney has now publicly declared himself a Tolstoyan, and determined to devote the remainder of his life to the spread of his ideals. His name is James. He will probably never be as prominent as Comrade James of Eau Claire, but we are glad to see one more lawyer added to our ranks.

These are straws showing not only the way the wind blows, but illustrating the

truth of Comrade James' assertion that Anarchism is made possible by culture—the increase of knowledge and intelligence. While State Socialism is spreading like wild-fire in dry grass among the industrial slaves, Anarchism is taking firm root among the readers and thinkers of the middle class,—those who have had educational advantages. This in turn will have its effect on account of the immutability of the majority, for when they learn that Mr. So-and-So is an Anarchist they will read up on the subject.

I hope no one will be "disgusted" at my welcoming lawyers to our ranks. But if they are I cannot help it, and I do not care very much.

W. H. ADDIS.

Mt. Tabor, Ore.

#### Tuckerism vs. Freedom.

A marked copy of *Liberty* has just been sent me. I am not sorry to see the old gal again, for several years "lost to sight, to memory dear." But the marked article seems meant for me, by other tokens than being marked. So I answer it, and send it, answer and all; tho it is long. The editor will print it doubtless, if he thinks it worth while; and if not, why I don't know that I think so either. Says *Liberty*:

Those Communists who profess belief in liberty insist loudly on the virtues of voluntary cooperation and deplore the individualistic love of independent action. Nevertheless, it is the Anarchist and not the Communist, that really believes in cooperation when economy, efficiency, and order render it advisable. This is shown nowhere more clearly than in the respective attitudes of the two on question of defense against invasion. The Communist insists that there is no distinction between invasion and non-invasion, and that liberty prevails only where each defends himself in his own way against whatever he may find disagreeable. In his view, whenever two or more persons find themselves in agreement as to what is invasive and what is not and combine accordingly for mutual defense, they are destroying liberty and instituting government. In other words, he absolutely rejects that voluntary cooperation for defense, of which the Anarchist is a strenuous champion. Moreover, in rejecting it, he shows simply that his advocacy of what he calls "absolute liberty," as contrasted with the "equal liberty" favored by the Anarchist, is really not an advocacy of liberty at all. To him the distinction between liberty and authority lies, not in the nature of the act, but in the capacity of the actor. In reality, his creed does not deal with liberty in the least, and has no business to make mention of the word, amounting as it does to nothing more or less than vindication of all individual coercion and condemnation of all cooperative coercion.

Bosh. The inductive Anarchist simply observes that, as a matter of fact and experience, "cooperative coercion" enslaves, while "individual coercion" does not. The reason, however, if one be wanted, is evident. A sufficient number of cooperating individuals *can* enslave; and no one individual, by himself, is stout enough to do that. Therefore, love of liberty teaches us to condemn "cooperative coercion"; and it finds condemning the other kind of coercion needless. The inductive Anarchist keeps his shot for living game; and leaves abuse of "individual coercion," which no one "vindicating," to metaphysicians. This has nothing to do with vindicating anything or quibbling about the meaning of liberty. But why do you call the inductive Anarchist a Communist? He may be one, or he may not. Why do you say he deplores "the individualistic love of independent action?" I defy you to find a ground for that assertion in my thirty-three years of radical writing;



nor have I ever found a warrant for it in the columns of FREE SOCIETY. There are Communists who talk that way; but they are not Anarchist-Communists. Was it intended to make out that the inductive Anarchist is "inconsistent"? Always be sure you get both an opponent's ideas straight before attempting that. Or was the trick to make out that inductive Anarchism is not Anarchism, and only the Spencerian metaphysical moonshine Individualistic formula is? Well, in another part of the same paper, under the approving headline "Truth Found by the 'Truth-Seeker'" are reproduced a lot of George Macdonald's sneers at Voltairine de Cleyre for not wanting papagovernment to take care of naughty Helcher. George may be a better Anarchist than Voltairine—but I doubt it.

C. L. JAMES.

#### On Restraint or Liberty.

A human being is a very complex matter; so also is that being's environment. I have lived a good many years, and from my youth up have reflected a great deal on these subjects, but as yet I find myself in the dark as to all except a few points. For the "authorities" I care not a fig; I believe they make confusion worse confounded. The "primitive man" is an object of my implacable dislike and I shudder at his approach whenever I see it in the printed page or hear it in a lecture. And between you and me—I know it's an awful heresy since evolution has taken the place of theology as to orthodoxy and positiveness and infallibility—I believe the guesses about the human being are as likely to be wrong as right. Sometimes when the "authorities" pile up to such agonizing heights I am tempted to wish for a wholesale conflagration of works such as that which destroyed the Alexandrian library. Still there are men and women who have books "on the brain," so we should not be able to start new any way.

But this is not quite what I started to write. I have been watching the course of "Restraint and Government" as conducted by friend Moses Harman. Usually I agree with the grand old man and always I thoroughly admire and respect him; but it seems to me I must dissent, most decidedly, from the statement that "most of us at some period of our lives need compulsory restraint to keep us from hurting ourselves or others."

These are not the words used by Friend Harman in his article in FREE SOCIETY for Feb. 8, but I think they convey his idea.

In bringing up my children I early learned, or at least I thought I did, that the negative or restraining course usually adopted—"Don't do this and don't do that" might be completely eliminated by studying the child's needs and disposition and furnishing it with the opportunity of self-expression in accordance therewith. I was not always able to do this, but I have seen no reason yet that convinces me that the idea is wrong.

Further than this; I have believed that grown up people were amenable to the same plan, and therefore I am a Socialist. I have not the smallest sympathy with compulsory education as advocated by many Socialists, but I trust them to outgrow that.

It is not strange that with all the horrors of child-labor about us it is sought to push the child into the school-room as an asylum from the factory. CELIA B. WHITEHEAD.

#### Revolution or Freedom.

We must abandon the legend that revolutions are inspired by a popular passion for liberty. Revolutions are not made by the masses but by the gentry. In the Congress that declared America independent of England nearly every member was a wealthy aristocrat, and the revolutionary leaders in France were of like social rank. The freedom fought for in such movement is not human or personal freedom, but freedom to exchange one master for another. When America threw off the yoke of England its citizens were not quite so free as before; they were subjected to more rigid Sabbaths, their theatres were closed by act of Congress, and they were compelled to accept paper money for their goods. As individuals they were given up to the uncontrolled despotism of their respective colonies, whose supremacy represented an irresponsible power, not claimed by any monarch or even legislature in Europe. The fallacy exposed by Thomas Paine in 1804, when the Louisianians demanded freedom to make men slaves, is still widespread.—*Moncure D. Conway.*

#### Literature.

PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY. By W. Tcherkesoff. C. B. Cooper, 240 E. 14th St. New York. Price, 30c.

Tho a small book, this is eminently an instructive one. It treats of those modern subjects whose history is not accessible in a convenient form, but is of especial importance to friends of the Social Revolution. The author is a learned man, abundantly able to cope with the pretensions of "scientific Socialism" upon the field either of speculative philosophy or history. On the first he establishes (Chs. I, XI,) the profound difference between scientific, or inductive, and metaphysical, or dialectic, "materialism." The former perceives that the purpose of doing anything practical can be effected only thru knowledge of objects, or, in phraseology which ought now to be obsolete, of Matter, which knowledge is acquired only by actual experiment upon the objects; so that it has no use for *a priori* theories. The other, starting with the mouldy dogma "Matter is all," and neglecting to acquire experimental knowledge of those particular things which are the "matter," deduces from this theory of everything in general—whatever you please. For Everything in General is Nothing in Particular, and no proposition about it leads to anything definite. Christians, Jews, Mussulmen, Buddhists, Platonists and infidels, agree on the effects of the X ray, because they all can bring them to an experimental test. But from the proposition that "Matter is All," Hobbes deduced despotism and Marx Anarchism—plain proof that their common premise of metaphysical materialism is inconsequential, and their common method, of dialectics, without practical use.

The pretensions of "scientific Socialism" to its boastful title rest upon four things,

which hang together in pairs—the "materialistic history" and dialectic method of Karl Marx—the doctrine of surplus value\* and the law of capitalistic concentration.

As metaphysical materialism, like everything else metaphysical, reverts from the inductive to the dialectical method, and therefore is not scientific, so the theory of surplus value is bound up with the alleged concentration of capital, and falls before demonstration that no such concentration occurs. A large and interesting portion of the book is accordingly given to proof that the number of capitalists is constantly increasing; and that that predestined fusion of all into one, which forms the corner-stone of "scientific Socialism" gives no sign whatever of coming nearer. Thus the claim of the Marx-Engels school to being scientific is effectually demolished. It is a metaphysical dialectical school, whose first principles are *a priori* instead of experimental, and whose conclusions the facts refuse to verify. The truly scientific Socialism is all outside of it.

The great name of Marx suffers less from these slaughtering conclusions than might be inferred; as we see on turning to the historical portion of the book. Marx grew up under the shadow of two mighty dialecticians, Hegel and Ricardo, in which the sap of his vigorous intellect waxed pale. But originally he was an inductive thinker and an Anarchist. As the unfriendly critic of the Encyclopedia Britannica pronounces him "the philosophic historian of the bourgeois system"; so Tcherkesoff shows that his importance to the Socialist movement lay in his massive assault upon nationalism and militarism. The degradation of Socialism into a phase of politics was a decline to which he yielded with ever-increasing reluctance under the ill omened influence of Engels. The disciples' misinterpretation of the master, could not acquire full potency till he was left alone.

The style in which the most abstruse questions are treated here is lucid; and the abundant references furnish readers previously but little informed a plentiful supply of answers to much shallow dogmatism.

C. L. J.

*El Productor*, Barcelona, which has been suppressed since the outbreak of the disturbances there about a year ago, will will from now on be published as before.

Benj. R. Tucker's *Liberty* now again makes its regular appearance. Three issues have so far come to us. They are all done in Tucker's able and vigorous style. His many friends will certainly rejoice at the resurrection of *Liberty*, the articles of which are a literary treat even tho the reader may not agree with their tendency. The address is Box 1312, New York, N. Y.

\*I mean the peculiar Marx-Engelism of the doctrine, viz., that there is a necessary relation between capital and labor which enables the latter to exploit the former, and points to appropriation of capital by the laborers as the sole remedy. That there is a surplus value appropriated by capital now, was recognized long before Marx wrote; and that the means of exploitation is not in a necessary relation between labor and capital but in a necessary relation between government and the governed, this (the Anarchistic doctrine, inconsistent with the other) was recognized at one time by Marx himself.

# FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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

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, MARCH 1, 1903.

403

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.

## Outpost Echoes.

Man is God.  
 Hope is young.  
 Seem what you are.  
 Love engenders love.  
 Without gladness we die.  
 A true man has true friends.  
 Thought is the soul of action.  
 Life consists in self-expression.  
 To know the right we must be free.  
 Be not immoral, but be quite unmoral.  
 Freedom is an aspiration, not a refuge.  
 The Anarchist rises to hope out of discontent.  
 Liberty recognizes no standard of conduct.  
 Rhodes scholarships are rogues' scholarships.  
 Who makes the lawmakers obey their laws?  
 History is largely a story of humanity's errors.  
 In the name of order the State establishes disorder.  
 It is better to make Anarchists than to make bombs.  
 Let us make the "beautiful dream" a beautiful reality.  
 You can understand others by understanding yourself.  
 President Harper and Rockefeller harmonize good and evil.  
 The pope is having a jubilee; when will the people have one?  
 Man destroys his gods because they are less noble than himself.

## FREE SOCIETY

By "necessary evils" we mean those which we desire should continue.

Chicago aldermen are to be indicted. The system which corrupted them remains.

He who does not want to reason will be sure to be unreasonable in his actions.

The plutocrat talks of "the right to work," and believes in the right to steal.

To be in revolt is not enough; the true revolutionist puts wisdom into his revolt.

Before Peary again seeks the north pole let him try to find the heart of J. P. Morgan.

Those who oppose freedom in love logically oppose freedom in all things. Freedom is freedom.

Free initiative may be trusted wherever it is possible for a man to secure his well-being without stealing.

There are freethinkers who oppose free thought on liberty, as there are Anarchists who oppose free love.

So many condors were waiting to pick the bones of Venezuela that they have made a compact to divide them.

Sir Conan Doyle tries to prove that the Boers were wholly at fault in the late war. The devil is getting his dues.

Twelve hundred militiamen were called out at Waterbury. There were eighty strikers; but the people were with them.

While strikes are being everywhere resorted to in order to get justice, "the majesty the of law" begins to look ridiculous.

Theodore has a new cabinet position to confer. Its occupant will—well he will study labor and when the occasion arises will do a lot of talking.

At a banquet ex-governor Budd, of California, announced W. R. Hearst as a candidate for presidency. The thing was nipped in the bud.

Dakota divorces are troubling the clergy, who are fearful for marriage. For something made in Heaven, marriage should give more satisfaction.

It is argued that women purify the polls; when women understand what they are doing at the polls they will cease to try to purify the crime of government.

The *Chicago American* asks H"ow can Chicago be made a better city?" and offers twenty-five dollars for the best answer. This answer should win—Let all officials at once resign.

Co-education is making more enemies every day as freedom between the sexes becomes increasingly noticeable. The young must not be free with one another, for that—oh horror!—could make them natural.

The solemn stupidity of the anti-Anarchist bill, which has just passed both Houses, is relieved by one gleam of unconscious humor; it provides that no Anarchist shall be naturalized. As tho one would wish to be!

All the spoils which accrue to a mayor are not sufficient to tempt Clarence Darrow; and after he has escaped from the mire at Springfield, may he be able to read his own latest and best book again without rubbing his eyes.

Anarchism and assassination are no more identical than Christianity, Monarchy, Republicism, or any other teaching, and assassination are. Anarchism is a theory of life and happiness, and is only a method of murder to those who wish to misrepresent it.

History repeats itself: the early Christians were regarded as conspirators and murderers by the powerful of the world and their dupes, and Anarchism must needs be misrepresented too, that the people may be kept from learning that its message is universal well-being thru the abolition of crime.

AMERICUS.

## — o — Comments.

It is to be hoped that if Clarence Darrow gets elected mayor of Chicago he will find a crib for all the labor politicians at the city hall, so the trade unions will be rid of them for good.

The anti-Anarchist bill, which has been buried in a conference committee for nearly eighteen months, has suddenly bobbed up in Congress, and has apparently passed. The newspapers have reported the facts meagerly, so just what the provisions of the law are will not be known until detailed reports are on hand. The provisions of the bill are, so far as known, of the most drastic character; putting this country back of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Austria so far as political crimes are concerned.

JR.

## — o — Clippings.

"Fortunately it is not true that politics always corrupt the character," remarks an exchange. This is correct. But this well-known idea is no more quite seasonable, and ought to be altered to the effect that a man with a character will not be a politician at all, consequently cannot have his character corrupted thru politics.

It can happen that we make a mistake in the choice of presents for our friends. For instance, an able spokesman, a keen advocate and representative of the cause of labor, is—after a competent discharge of his task—offered a political candidacy. "The masses" want to support him from gratitude—push him to the front. But in reality this is ingratitude, holding in disdain the character of the one concerned; for the man is either too precious or not fitted for the political cesspool; in this case he will be suffocated like an Altgeld, or will swim with the current and turn out to be a quack and office-hunter. If the latter the "grateful masses" fasten upon themselves a new parasite and oppressor.

Anent the general strike idea. Imagine that the working bees of a hive came to the conclusion that it was an inexcusable stupidity to feed the fat and idle drones interruptedly with honey and to spend the bright and alluring summer-day in nothing else but procuring the necessities of life. All working bees would declare a general strike. What would the drones do? They would get angry, very indignant, and come to an understanding that this was a disgraceful



breach of contract, riot, treason—a revolution had broken out. There would be lamentation and cursing about the overthrow of "law and order"—about the same utterances and arguments that are put forth by our capitalistic literary ennuchs when they talk about "the insanity of a general strike."—*Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung*.

#### From the Home Colony.

The Home Publishing Group have arranged to issue *The Demonstrator*, to take the place of *Discontent*. The first number will appear early in March. *The Demonstrator* will appear weekly, at fifty cents a year. Its general policy will be similar to that of *Discontent*; but it will devote more space to news matters, and will possess added features of interest. Former subscribers to *Discontent* are requested to send immediate notification of any change of address. Those whose subscriptions have expired, and any others who desire to learn the news and views of the Home comrades, are invited to send in their subscriptions. Letters may be addressed to Home, Wash.; but money orders should be drawn on the postoffice at Lakebay, Wash. Of course, unexpired subscriptions to *Discontent* will be filled by *The Demonstrator*.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

#### At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

A large audience gathered last Sunday night to hear Mrs. Warren Springer's opinion on "The New Way." The speaker dwelt on the old and new ways to attain happiness and make others happy. Perfect happiness could never be attained, as people were always striving for higher ideals; so soon as one ideal is realized we have already a higher ideal before us—always looking toward the sun; or, in contact with gods and devils gods and devils die and become a matter of amusement. Every step made in progress is a step away from tyranny. Man is not great for what he is but for what he may be. In the new way we let the individual grow, even desire that our children may excel ourselves, while in the old way people forced others to be happy according to their own notions. What has been accomplished after thousands of years of force and torture to make people virtuous and happy? But we are always inclined to make other people do as we would like them to do. By stifling others in their growth we starve both ourselves and others. Today we are all slaves to conditions and environment, and will be slaves so long as we submit to these conditions. Let us wake up and show that we want something better. Love and mutual aid ought to be cultivated. Love exists and cannot be injected, but if we realize that the happiness and misery of others is really our own our love for others will grow. To perform a duty is a hard task, but the task of love is easy. Duty has rulers, but life has no rulers—it is growth. In the old way it was a duty to do right and to be happy according to a rule, while in the new way everybody is to act and to be happy in his own way. Ways and means to reach a higher society, these are many—Socialism, Anarchism, Individualism, etc., etc.—and, according to the speaker, all ways lead to

Rome. The main thing was to do right, and to live a happy life.

Unfortunately few critics confined themselves to the subject, but rather thought it more important to tell the speaker that she ought to go home and reform her husband—who was a notorious exploiter—before she preached reform to others; and that rich women like the speaker became liberal simply because they were afraid of the approaching revolution. Others pointed out that there was no possibility for the industrial slaves to enjoy pleasures and happiness so long as they were simply working machines, a statement which the speaker of the evening did not dispute. All ways could not lead to Rome, remarked a critic, no more so than a lie could be a truth.

Sunday, March 1, Comrade R. Grossman will speak on "Tolstoy or Ibsen. Which?"

#### Here and There.

The news from Russia is gratifying, so far as the spread of enlightenment is concerned. According to *Free Russia* (London), (a periodical which every friend of Russian freedom ought to read), revolutionary literature is scattered all over the country, and especially active are the agitators in the army. The government does its best to nourish the revolutionary spirit among the workers, which can be seen from the following measures adopted by the authorities to put an end to the strike at Tikhoretsk near Rostov.

The headman of the place appeared on the scene, accompanied by Cossacks, and ordered the workmen to resume work at once. The workmen, however, insisted that their demands should first be fulfilled, whereupon the headman gave the command to the Cossacks to disperse the crowd. The Cossacks rode among the defenseless men, using their swords and kouts freely, and when the crowd was ultimately dispersed it left behind a number of hacked-off limbs and a pile of wounded men. As the workmen were fleeing from the scene the Cossacks fired after them, killing five men and severely wounding seventeen others. Then looting began. Cossacks flung the workmen's goods into the street, and appropriated what was worth stealing. Women and girls were outraged, and one woman, who tried to prevent her household treasures from being carried off, had her body split open. In one room a child was pinned to the floor with a dagger.

The sooner Russian despotism is swept from the face of the earth the better, and all means are certainly justified in performing the task.

#### An Explanation.

Perhaps the reason of my failure to make "even an acknowledgment" of the letter of your correspondent "Jay Fox" published in your issue of Feb. 22 is not, after all, so "obvious" as appears. I do not know "Jay Fox" and he forgot to add his address to the letter sent. I could not communicate with him. I believe, in fact, that I had written a brief acknowledgment and dredged to his very friendly criticism before I discovered the fact.

J. SPARGO.

Editor *The Comrade*.

#### A Vindication of Anarchism.

##### IV (continued.)

If we approach the subject inductively instead of by assumptions, we shall find, I think, first, that the hostility of a religion to progress depends upon its power, authority being always conservative; secondly that its power depends on mixed conditions. To have any it must be the religion either of the executive, or the multitude, or both. But to have much, even then, it must be a zealous religion, representing itself as immediately indispensable either to men's salvation, like Christianity, or to their temporal safety, as the established paganism did in Marcus Aurelius' time. Buddhism and Taoism are tolerant because they admit the possibility of salvation aside from any clearly defined doctrine; Protestantism usually is so because few Protestant sects have ever had exclusive authority. Finally, a religion which by insisting on Predestination puts the responsibility for men's souls out of its own hands, in so doing erects a barrier against its own tendencies to exercise authority. Calvinism, tho perhaps the most fanatical of Christian denominations, frequently in full control of important governments, has been much less hostile to either dissent or scientific free-thinking than those creeds which, like the Anglicanism of Laud and the Romanism of Torquemada, exalted man's part in his salvation at expense of God's. So too, Mahometanism, the most predestinarian of religions, while it justified enslaving Gaiours, has not, for all its notorious zeal, thought exterminating them necessary; and tho its bigotry gradually extinguished the light of Arabian philosophy by systematic discouragement, men like Averroes and Avicenna were at least not burnt for knowing more than their neighbors. It is because all the factors of religious authority meet in the Roman Catholic Christianity where it has most power, that this creed above all others has withstood the development of the human mind, must have stopped it had the mind of Europe been as purely speculative or as easily directed as that of Asia, and furnishes the great example continually referred to.

These observations, if just, establish the important point that religious authority depresses mental activity because it is the nature of all authority to do so. The most comprehensive view of the subject ever taken is doubtless in White's "Warfare of Science with Theology". There the reader unfamiliar with obsolete controversies may read how the earth's sphericity, a truth known to Pythagoras, Virgil,\* and it would seem the Romans generally,† was denounced for heresy by such mighty Christian thinkers as Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Lactantius, Ambrose, Augustine; not to mention the comparatively obscure Isidore and Cosmas; and how much their authority hindered Columbus in effecting the greatest of discov-

\* Quinque tenent coelum zonæ: quarum una coruscò  
Semper sole rubens, et torrida semper igni;  
Qua circum extrema dextra lavaque trahuntur.  
Cærulea glacie concretæ atque imbribus atris;  
Hæc inter mediæque duæ mortalibus ægris  
Munere concessæ divum; et via secta per ambas  
Obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo.

Georgica, l. 233-9.

† They invented the division of the sphere by latitudes and longitudes.

eries. There he may find those falsehoods by which the Church has endeavored to cover up her error in condemning Galileo's discoveries, refuted out of the trial documents at the Vatican library, which were first honestly printed by L'Epinois in 1867. There he can find in detail how those great men who first dared oppose (tho very moderately) the dreadful witchcraft superstition, were themselves persecuted as sorcerers, a reputation almost invariably borne by one of the chief among them, Cornelius Agrippa; how a series of ecclesiastical enactments, followed up by civil, actually prohibited chemical experiments during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; how anatomists were persecuted, medical knowledge openly discountenanced, filthiness represented as a trait of piety, pestilences attributed, in the worst spirit of paganism, not only to divine judgment, but even the indignation of particular saints who had not been sufficiently worshipped; and how more energetic persecution of the Jews was held up as a sovereign remedy. How theological prepossessions, authority, and methods, nursed common hysteria into such manias of diabolism as the Flagellants' pilgrimages; how the worst errors of political economy were perpetuated by the same evil influence; how that pseudo syllogistic method of interpretation to which authority always runs, made the assumed theological text book, the Holy Bible itself, during many centuries a mere collection of riddles which the laity might well neglect to read since the clergy did not understand it; all this is set forth in the same record; but "the end is not yet." In fact it is a long way off. The more conspicuous evils are comparatively few, they are therefore outweighed by the innumerable minor ones which may be found pervading every department of thought. The fatal inheritance of the Catholic Church by no means ceased with her power. In some respects, as regards witchcraft, for example, some Protestant countries were as bad as any Catholic, and worse than they themselves had been before the Reformation. The slow retreat of theology before knowledge is traced to the present day. Yet Dr. White by no means says as much as I shall have to say. Either from unfamiliarity with this branch of his subject or fear to excite prejudice, he says nothing about the essentially false (and theological) basis of nearly all current morality, especially sexual; nothing about the clergy's love of slavery, capital punishment, and all the barbarisms which have lingered into my own time; nothing of their furious zeal against dissemination of physiological knowledge; nothing of the modern "Movement in Favor of Ignorance." But if he had treated these subjects in the same exhaustive manner as those above referred to; still the physical evils directly created, or less directly perpetuated by theological authority, enormous as they are, would seem insignificant beside the intellectual. Among those who personally shared in this most unholy work, were churchmen like Augustine, Bonaventura, Aquinas; that is minds of the first order, capable of the most beneficial researches. Under the withering spell of the ecclesiastical magicians's rod, they shrink, like the genie, to the stature of babes who

might have played under their feet. I have caught myself in an incorrect statement; and instead of changing it I will let it stand, because it so happily illustrates my meaning, and also the futility of attempts to repel generalizations like these by picking, as often is done, at some detail. Saint Isidore knew the earth was round. But that the wrong side of it could be inhabited, he dared not, in face of Augustine's authority suspect. And why did Augustine deny that there could be antipodes? Really, of course, because that opinion was unpopular among theologians; but ostensibly because antipodes would not be in a position to see Christ when he came to judgment! Moreover, St. Paul had applied to himself and his compeers the verse of David "Their line is gone out thru all the earth." But they never visited the antipodes; therefore there are none! Nonsense like this from the mouth of such a man is the true measure of the harm theology can do. There has very seldom been a keener logician, a more penetrating thinker, a controversialist who better knew the difference between real reasoning and merely verbal, than St. Augustine. When he descended to such anility he was guided by authority, and only played at reasoning. Because the tendency of authority is always to put itself in the first place and reason in the second, it is responsible for degrading philosophers into fools, and the world's natural teachers into blind leaders of the blind.\* It can scarcely be necessary to add that the slackening of theological restraint, tho still rather effect than cause, as stated, has everywhere brought about great advances; but for very striking comparisons *secundum magis et minus*, Buckle's "History of Civilization" may be consulted.

In the last section I endeavored to show that the tyranny of capital, about which there are so many complaints, is founded on Property, as distinguished from possession, and this, (of course) upon authority. Bourgeois writers generally say that it is necessary this tyranny should be sustained, else property (which they confound with possession) would be insecure; but the insecurity would discourage saving; while to discourage saving is to dry up the sources of enterprise and cut off the fund by which labor must be supported. In a later section I expect to show that possession is not endangered by want of protection from government. For the present, my reply to all these *woulds* shall be that, as a matter of fact, labor is not supported or remunerated

\* St. Augustine's argument that antipodes could have no place in the scheme of salvation, was the *piece de resistance* within all subsequent discussion, till Magellan proved they actually existed nevertheless. Thus Darras, the ultramontane historian, says the censure fulminated by the pope Zachary against that Virgil, who, in the eighth century, asserted the existence of antipodes, applied only to a theological error, unconnected with geography—that the antipodes must needs be men not descended from Adam nor redeemed by Christ. The reference to St. Augustine's dilemma in this controversy (St. Boniface, ap. White) shows this was a hostile inference from what Virgil said; so Darras, as usually is done in such cases, splits a cummin seed and leaves the mountain whole. This Virgil (bishop of Salzburg) was a Culdee, and, like his pagan namesake, knew more about Nature than the degenerate Romans. An epigram of the period states that "Ireland gave him birth, brought him up, taught, and loved him."

by any previously accumulated fund, but by contemporary production; that those depositaries of money (banks) by which the great modern industries are so largely fed, are themselves supplied, not by parsimony, but in another way; that, convenient for sundry purposes as they unquestionably are, they are not necessary to the support of these grand enterprises so characteristic of modern civilization, but, that, just as the projector of a railroad or canal maintains and pays his laborers out of the contemporary product of other laborers, for which theirs' exchanges day by day, so his own ability to build the railroad, etc., does not consist in his having money enough for the purpose, which he scarcely ever has, but in that belief that his project is practicable which makes others willing to venture something on its execution—in short, that credit founded upon honesty, skill, and energy, not money accumulated by saving, is the basis of modern industrialism. I then propose to show that parsimony is chiefly practised for the purpose of buying into, not industries but monopolies, a distinction almost identical with that of property and possession; that all such monopolies, instead of promoting industry, depress it; and finally that those revolutionary confiscations of their property-right "to misuse" periodically induced by their liberal exercise of this "right" never do result in ruining thrift and enterprise, but always in promoting them. For refutation of the wage-fund doctrine, I refer my readers to the great chapters on this subject in "Progress and Poverty" which deserve to be considered Henry George's best work; and this the more readily because the argument and exclusion are not entirely original with him, tho doubtless no one else has handled the subject so ably and thoroughly as he. This demonstration should be read, and is far too long to reproduce; but it may be summarized as follows. Not all, but in truth only a small part of labor has even any appearance of being supported or paid by capital. When a man works for himself, there is of course, no question that his wages, including his keep, are produced by his labor as he gets them. But this is equally evident also if he works for a landlord or other employer upon shares. It is only hired wage laborers from whose case the fund doctrine can, even fallaciously, be generalized. But the laborers on a tunnel, for example, are never paid anything till they have produced more than their wages—a week's wage in most places at the end of each week's work. Their board, indeed, they receive during the week, but not even a meal till they have earned it, that is produced more than it came to. If the laborers were paid in tunnel, which if thought best could easily be done by paying them in stock of the company, no previous accumulation of capital would be required for their pay; whatever might be necessary for board and tools. To keep and pay them it would only be necessary that other contemporary producers should believe in the tunnel sufficiently to take its stock for their own product, either directly or thru the medium of money. Adam Smith said the natural wages of labor were the product of labor. It is evident his followers have illustrated that Original Sin of Political Economy which he did more than any other man to



purge away when they describe money, not as a mere convenient instrument of barter, but, in true Mercantilist fashion, as wealth whose accumulation provides the fund out of which labor must be supported. This absurdity was carried to the last possible extremity by MacCulloch, who does not stop short of saying that there is nothing but the accumulated savings of a nation from which the laborers as such can draw either maintenance or other wages; just as if these savings were not produced in the first instance by labor or as if the laborer did not necessarily therefore precede the capitalist! That accumulated wealth is necessary to the great modern industries is manifest indeed; but the need for it is of a widely different kind from what the wage-fund doctrine imports. To build a railroad, machinery is required. Machinery is accumulated wealth; and for application to the purpose it must be accumulated not only in factories or stores, but at the spot. For this, money (or credit) is required. The necessary loans for this, and for wages, (observe how it all resolves itself into credit!) are indeed mostly made by that accumulating class, of whom a banker is the type. But I deny that banks derive their accumulations from the savings of parsimony. I appeal to the itemized schedules of their deposits, wherever these can be found—for example to the figures in Encyclopædia Britannica article "Savings Banks;" It will appear on reference that in these very institutions, whose ostensible purpose is to encourage accumulation by proletaires, the chief part of the funds is deposited in large sums and on short time; that is, it does not represent the accumulations of parsimony, but those trade-balances which, at settlements, are continually falling into the hands of one exchanger or another. A bank is an useful institution not because it introduces the man who saves that he may lend to the man who wants to borrow, but because it introduces the trader who temporarily has more money than immediate use for it to the one who has such an use and has not enough money. Money hoarded for the purpose of investment will be found, if we look for it, mostly in other places than banks or great industrial enterprises, tho some of the larger hoards get into the latter thru purchase of shares\*. It will be found in mortgages, pawn-shops, government bonds, and to a certain extent in the hands of those small capitalists whose

\* The reason is not difficult to see. The instincts of the parsimonious investor seek high usury and good security. But banks, which aim to combine good security with extensive business, can pay him only low usury. High usury means urgent need. Urgent need and good security, which the parsimonious investor also wants, go together only in a small proportion of cases. Accordingly he invests either in mortgages, which pay more than savings' banks; or pledges which pay more still; or sometimes shares in a business enterprise, sometimes a sweat shop; but here he has to face a certain risk; or sometimes government bonds. These latter are of two kinds. The safest pay little and are attractive only to timid persons; the doubtful pay well. One motive or the other induces almost every investor to trust a government rather than a bank, which does not pay as much as a shaky republic and is not as safe as the consols. The depositor in a bank as such is seldom an investor. He puts his money in the bank, as the Unprofitable Servant should have done, because he does not know what else to do with it, tho he reasons, of course, that anything it will draw there is so much gain over burying it outright.

type is the sweater; tho I suspect that they, like larger ones, do business chiefly on credit procured by their reputation for business ability, and not on accumulations. To make a long story short, if we cast an analytic eye over those investments in which parsimony sinks its accumulations, we shall see that, with a few exceptions, they are Capital in the strict Marxian sense. They are not wealth employed to produce more wealth; but only (for the most part) wealth employed to exploit producers. They are examples of what Proudhon meant and proved, when he said that property was robbery. In other words, they have the nature of monopoly. If then, the doctrine that parsimony, instead of invention, as I contend, gives rise to that accumulation of wealth by which the creation of more wealth is facilitated, be part and parcel of the economist's Original Sin, it is surely a most pernicious one. I need cite no other authority than Adam Smith for proof which the whole scientific world has accepted as exhaustive, that every kind of monopoly depresses industry. Every penny which an individual who practises the economic virtue of saving is able to invest in anything having the nature of a patent, chartered corporation, protected "infant industry," or trust, so far as the usury it draws depends on such monopoly's character as such, is simply a penny devoted to hindering the economic ideal of increase in the world's riches. A penny invested in a mortgage, pawn-shop, or sweat-shop, is not quite so bad. Popular execration of the pawn-broker and the sweater overlooks the rather obvious truths that the pawn-broker does not make his victims but actually relieves them, tho with heartless intent to profit by their misery; that the sweater is not the cause of his workman's lacking jobs but the means of his getting a job, altho a wretched one. These hangers on upon the skirts of greater social ogres rather mitigate than increase the ills they do; but the existence of pawn-brokers and sweaters is due to the ills; and that these are able to perpetuate themselves is largely due the praise of parsimony. For if we consider how parsimony operates, not in the long run but directly, nothing except common sense is necessary to see that every cent a producer spends represents a cent's worth of something which he causes another to produce: whereas, every cent he hoards, no matter what transmigrations it passes, thru old stocking, saving's bank, and active business, is nevertheless a cent's worth of production stayed until the coin finally reaches some one who will spend it. Nothing is produced for any other purpose than that it may be consumed; nothing, above what the producer requires to exist, is produced except that he may sell it; nothing else which directly satisfies desire would, therefore, be produced unless others,

\* It may with some reason be objected that since "the play-instinct is the creative instinct" this is not altogether true. Flowers raised by one who is not a florist; books, which the author knows will not sell, are produced from nobler motives than to sell them! I answer, these exceptions occur only when production, stimulated by exchange, has made the highest kind of luxuries necessary to at least some individuals. A people without trade produce only what they eat; and their play-instinct takes such forms as dancing till they are too full of beer to do it.

who must be either producers or exploiters of producers, would spend something to get it; and nothing which indirectly satisfies desire, as a machine' would be produced unless they would spend something to get what is produced by means of the machine. Thus, in directest opposition to the parsimony dogma, *the luxury of producers is the sole cause of the accumulation of wealth.* Ships cross the ocean because Bridget drinks tea. Railroads span the continent because California children want Yankee toys, and children in Maine like oranges. But Adam Smith is my witness that the wealth of nations consists in such things as railroads and ships; not in hoarded dollars, which except to facilitate exchange, might as well have slept in the pupastate of ore. If therefore, in the circle of exchanges, there be a man who "saves", except to get the cash needed for some productive enterprise, which, if it were hopeful, would usually command credit just as good as cash, there is a man who hinders the process on which accumulation of real wealth depends. And because only common sense is necessary to see this, no fallacy less plausible than the parsimony-source-of-capital doctrine could prevent every body's seeing it.\* But I promised that my method would be inductive. I affirm, therefore, that whenever all the people in any large community try to get rich by hoarding, the result (very naturally) is that, while a few of the best starvers do grow rich, that community is kept miserably poor. This might be illustrated by numerous examples, as the French peasants† or the Chinese coolies; but one such population has been minutely described by a close and graphic observer. And tho my doctrine on this point is too much that of Malthus to be altogether novel, it so opposed to common cant that I will depart from my usual brevity to quote.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

\* Adam Smith justly remarks that idleness and extravagance (spending money for the least permanent satisfactions, such as liquor) are held the worst of vices by the poor, and, therefore, in a society like ours', where most people have been poor; because to the poor, where there are any rich, these follies mean utter ruin; while the wealthy, who can indulge them moderately without being much worse off, think lightly of them, and reserve their censure among themselves, for such sins as stinginess and cowardice, which hurt them by giving them a bad name. The unpopularity of extravagance among sensible proletaires is what enables the parsimony fallacy to impose upon them. The fallacy, on this, its tempting side, consists in confounding hoarding, which impoverishes them, as a class and the world also, with judgment about what they will spend money for, which enriches not only every individual who practises it but the community.

† 'Tis the voice of the Philistine—"Good God! the French peasants paid the five milliards!" The old Adam! The Original Sin of Political Economy again! The French peasants did pay the five milliards. And their numbers are steadily decreasing not from "French morals," for those exist only in the cities; not from Neo Malthusianism, for they have children enough to keep population up; but from over work and voluntary starvation. Competent observers attest that the peasants' notorious hunger for land does not enrich them, but the conveyancers. Like our western farmers very often, they are land-poor." But the five milliards proved that even land is not such a bait for the parsimonious as government bonds. The peasants paid the five milliards; and their profit is that when Germany gets into trouble they may be slaughtered in another war like that of 1870. Among all the wretched features of this bloody farce, there is not a sorer one than this, that the chief emptier of flower-pots and secret drawers is interest paid on what the payees owe for these infernal butcheries.

**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.

**RECEIPTS.**

Lopatiner (Sale), \$3. S. S. C. Lub, Iadeldhia, Sacramento Group, Marrow, each \$2. Rice, Holbrook, Langleben, Sellen, Richards, Levinson, Cohn, Cervenka, Star, Quekbrenner, Greenblatt, Robinson, Hall, Rosenberg, Morgenthal, each \$1. Siegmeister, Cruzon, Greenberg, each 25c. Smith, Saphir, each 25c.

**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. March 1, R. Grossmann will speak on "Tolstoy or Ibsen, Which?"

The Progressive Club meets every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St., for the purpose of promoting the propaganda and good fellowship.

The Workmen's Educational Club meets at 278 Blue Island Ave., 8 p. m. Saturday, Feb. 27, H. J. Rowell speaks on "What is Revolution?"

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." March 8, J. Fox speaks on "Love."

March 1, Chas. B. Cooper speaks on "Egoism and Altruism."

Feb. 27, Friday evening, the Baurn Ball of the Radical Reading Room will take place at Lenox's Assembly Rooms, 252 Second St. Tickets, including hat checks, 25 cents.

SEATTLE, WASH.—The Progressive Club meets on Saturday evening, 8 o'clock, at the Theosophist Hall, 1118 Third Ave. Lectures on all pertinent social questions. Free discussion.

**BOOK LIST.****ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS****RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.**

Essays on the Social Problem.....	05
.....H. Addis	
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen	05
Plain Words on the Woman	
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 Anarch-	
ism.....Jay Fox	03
Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1.....	
.....Rosa Grail	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy.	
Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave	25
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 Ba-	
sis 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 Evolu-	
tion.....	2.00
Organized Vengeance.....	03
Paris Commune.....	05
The State: Its Historic Role.....	10
The Wage System. Revolution-	
ary Government.....	05
Resist Not Evil. Cloth. Clar-	
ence S. Darrow.....	75
Social Democracy in Germany.....	02
.....Gustave Landauer	
History of the Commune. Cloth.....	75
.....Lissagaray	
Wind-Harp Songs.....J. Wm. Lloyd	1.00
The Economics of Anarchy.....	25
.....Dyer D. Lum	
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?	
Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....Malatesta	10
A Talk about Anarchist Commu-	
nism between two Workers.....	05
A Chambermaid's Diary.....	50
.....Octave Mirbeau	
God and Government: The Siamese	
Twins of Superstition.....W. Nevill	05
The Pyramid of Tyranny.....	05
.....F. Domela Nieuwenhuis	
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....	05
.....W. H. Van Ornum	
Evolution and Revolution.....Reclus	05
Pure Economy.....J. H. Rowell	10
Pages of Socialist History.....	30
.....W. Tcherkesoff	
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.....	75
.....Leo Tolstoy	
Our Worship of Primitive Social	
Guesses.....E. C. Walker	15
Revival of Puritanism.....	10
Vice—Its Friends and Foes.....	15
What the Young Need to Know.....	10
The Ballad of Reading Gaol.....	10
.....Oscar Wilde	
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
Anarchy and Outrage.....	03
Anarchy on Trial.....	05
The Chicago Martyrs: The Fam-	
ous Speeches of the Eight Anarch-	
ists 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 Develop-	
ment.—Individualism and Solidarity.—	
Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.	
—The Family.—Authority.—The Magis-	
tracy.—The Right to Punish and the Sa-	
vants.—The Influence of Environment.	
"The Country."—The Patriotism of the	
Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colo-	
nization.—There are no Inferior Races.—	
Why We are Revolutionist.—As to What	
Means follow from the Principles.—Revo-	
lution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Re-	
forms.—The Experimental Method.—	
What Then?—Anarchism and its Practi-	
cability.—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., So'oy 245-247 Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill.