



The Graves of Shelley and Keats.

Protestant Cemetery, Rome.

Is this where Death his jealous state doth keep
Over two glorious ones who early passed
Out of the ways of song and into the Vast;
Out of being into sealed sleep?
Is this the spot where joy lies buried deep;
Where hope and love are hushed; where prisoned
fast
Young power and high desire are cold at last,
Moving no more? I smile, and cannot weep.
Ye trees; grey pyramid* cleaving the blue air,
Within whose shade the flowers with beauty bent,
Grow thickly; ruined walls; and sighing wind;
Green grass, and sunlight; is there elsewhere
Fitter for poets on whose heads were spent
The scorn and maledictions of mankind?

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

*) An old Roman tomb.

The Freethought Congress.

The International Freethought Congress, recently held in Rome, has evidently grieved both the pope and the would-be Freethinkers, judging from the reports appearing in the New York *Truth Seeker* and the London *Freethinker*. The former boldly asserts that the many Socialists and "few Anarchists of the European variety, who were shrewdly suspected to be put up by the Catholic church to taint or disgrace the congress . . . were soon quieted." The editor of the *Freethinker*, who, by the way, was on the scene as a delegate, also seems to deplore the presence of Socialists and Anarchists, but finds it neither a "disgrace" nor does he inform his readers that they were silenced. On the contrary, according to him they made the discussions quite lively, for he says: "Imagine the scene, then, when the warmth of Freethought is intensified by the caloric of Socialism, Anarchism, and other political or social idealisms." The pope thinks the congress was an offense against God and himself, and feels "deeply grieved."

But both the *Truth Seeker* and the *Freethinker* report that Leon Furnemont, the secretary of the congress, is a sane and safe and extremely eloquent leader, and none of the Socialist schemes was allowed to swamp the purposes of the congress, and "his presence saved the congress from falling into absolute and irretrievable chaos." Now, the fact is that Furnemont is a well known revolutionary Socialist, and it is obvious that in this respect the pope was much better posted than the Freethinkers, for the Catholic press has already pointed out that the congress was "disgraced" thru the "leadership of the most advanced and revolutionary Socialist, Furnemont, who repudiates both God and government." And

that Furnemont did not attempt to suppress free speech, as the Freethinkers would have it, can be seen from the report of Frederic Stackelberg, which appeared in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, of Paris, and from which we take the following extract.

* * *

September 19 the Anarchists met to consider their attitude at the congress. Thanks to the Italian revolutionary Socialists, supported by French and Spanish comrades, the congress, which was to be merely a platonic and theoretical manifestation of anti-clerical freethought, asserted itself proletarian and revolutionary.

Ernest Häckel proposed to vote congratulations and encouragements to Premier Combes for his endeavors to separate church and state. This was opposed by the Anarchists on the ground that the French government maintained anti-Anarchist laws, and the proposal was referred to a committee. Subsequently Domela and Fabbri read addresses recommending that both church and state should be fought. They were approved of by nearly half of the delegates.

The congress opened under the auspices of "peaceable scholars," little in favor of "demagogic agitation," and was not at first disposed to allow itself to be inveigled into revolutionary and socialistic ideas. But thanks to the pertinacity and unity of the radical element the gait of the congress was completely altered. On the motion of Allemane the congress expressed its solidarity with proletarian movements and pronounced itself in favor of combating capitalism. The plea of Bellen Sarraga for the abolition of repressive (exclusion) laws and the general amnesty of political prisoners was also warmly received. In short, to characterize the congress I shall quote the motion made by Sorgue, which was accepted unanimously:

Nothing bearing on freethought and oppressed humanity ought to be indifferent to us. I call your attention to Russian Freethinkers and Revolutionists. Anyone in the land of the ally of the French republic refusing to worship the emperor-pope, to kiss holy ikons, or to admit that all is well under a government of rascals and assassins, is subjected to atrocious persecutions. Exactly as in the time of the Inquisition: The best in society are exterminated; the victims of czarism augment daily. Millions of our brothers and sisters drag their chains in horrible dungeons. The czar's bastiles swallow men and women, intellectuals and laborers, who sacrifice all to obtain their double ideal: Emancipation of the individual and the masses. We ought not merely to protest indignantly against the judicial crimes perpetrated upon our sublime and heroic comrades in their struggle, but we ought to see to it that our protest does not remain sterile. We ought to pledge ourselves to press upon our respective countries to help wipe out this disgrace of having

our capitals made infamous by the czar's detectives. Let us vote congratulations to the Italian Socialists who prevented the czar from visiting Italy. Let the congress address to our unfortunate brothers and sisters of Russia, the heroes and martyrs of the revolution, not only an expression of ardent sympathy but a formal assurance that we shall persistently work to inflame public opinion against Russian absolutism and obscurantism. That no government shall dare offer Nicholas II material and moral support.

This disgraceful and dangerous regime must be put an end to. Down with the Russia of priests and ikons! Down with absolutism! Long live Russia free and revolutionary!

The following resolution proposed by myself was approved by more than half the delegates:

In the name of the society *Le Lien du Peuple*, of Paris, I declare that the triumph of freethought and liberty is bound up with the economic transformation of society . . .

A society in which the producers are exploited by a gang of bandits and capitalists is a wholesale murderer. A society in which production is carried on for the sake of enriching a minority and not according to the needs of mankind; in which overproduction—instead of creating abundance—always brings forth misery and death, such a society is incapable of realizing the victory of freethought. But, fortunately, we demand social renovation. Ethics, free from metaphysical speculations, proclaims the sovereignty of *Liberty*, the equality of manual and intellectual labor, the emancipation of the woman, and the freedom of *Love*.

Only thus can we have a future society without gods or masters.

At the close, the congress, singing the *Internationale*, honored the statue of Giordano Bruno, Furnemont and Merlino making appropriate speeches. In conclusion I will say: The turn which this congress has taken, due to the influence of the radical element, shows what the revolutionists can accomplish if they know how to behave and act.

As many readers of *FREE SOCIETY* know, I am now in the east, and intend to return west this fall by slow stages, meeting as many comrades as possible, and delivering lectures where desired. As I wish to arrange my tour so as not to disappoint any, I desire to hear at once from comrades east of Chicago, who would like to arrange for lectures or to receive a personal visit. It is my wish to do as much propaganda work as possible; and I desire especially to speak on the subjects of Anarchism, sex reform, free speech, trades unionism and the race question. However, I have a number of other subjects, and will send lists to all requesting the same. In order to help meet expenses, I will accept engagements to speak before conservative literary or educational societies on topics connected with travel, art, literature, science, history or philosophy. Even in small towns, these lectures might be arranged. My address, until further notice, will be care of E. C. Walker, 244 W. 143rd st., New York.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly *The Firebrand*.
Issued Weekly by FREE SOCIETY PUBL. ASSOCIATION,
A. ISAAC.....Editor.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money
Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 230 East Fourth
Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter March 3, 1904, at
the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of
Congress of March 3, 1879.

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



SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1904.

487.

If these figures are ahead of the number printed on
the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, it indicates that
your subscription expired so many weeks ago.

..ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the
union of order with the absence of all direct govern-
ment of man by man as the political ideal; absolute
individual liberty.—*Century Dictionary*.

If you receive this paper without having paid for
it, some friend paid for it. It will not be sent any
longer than your friend paid for. Will you not sub-
scribe?

All delinquent subscribers are earnestly requested to
renew their subscriptions if they wish to receive the
paper. A blue pencil mark on the wrapper indicates that
the subscription expired.

By the Wayside.

It is characteristic of so-called civilized na-
tions, says a Japanese writer, that they have
begun to call us civilized as soon as we proved
our capability to slaughter people in warfare.
For centuries our people had its literature and
art, but in the eyes of christian nations we re-
mained barbarians.

* * *

The Board of Trade in England has issued
its eleventh annual report, showing that 875,-
000 workers had their wages reduced (during
the last twelve months) in amount about
\$189,794 a week. This reduction was effected
by arbitration, wage boards, or other concili-
atory agencies, which again goes to show that
as long as the producers in the world submit
their grievances to arbitration and other "con-
ciliatory agencies" they are the losers in the
end. "God helps those who help themselves"
is a proverb which the slaves should ever keep
in mind.

* * *

According to a news dispatch "no white
man is allowed to take up his residence in the
prosperous town of Boley, Texas." This
prosperous town contains some four hundred
Negroes, and altho only a year old it, boasts a
schoolhouse, several large stores and a \$5,000
cotton gin, owned exclusively by Negroes.
And, oh horror, it is "the only town in the
United States without any form of govern-
ment" and "the town itself has no municipal
laws." Yet no serious crime or offense of any
kind has been committed in the place, as the
Chicago *Public* adds to the report, and "Anglo-
Saxon civilization has something to learn of
one race which it has outraged and abused and
despised."

* * *

"It is not kings, or land owners, or capital-
ists that really enslave us: it is our ignorance,"
says the *Laborer* correctly. But the editor
does not realize that he is fostering this igno-
rance when he tells the workers that they can

rid themselves of the chains thru the ballot-
box. Politics is an excellent means for the
oppressors to, appease the turbulent toilers,
who, by shifting political parties, are only
forging new chains around their necks. The
belief that they can emancipate themselves
from the thralldom of exploitation and oppres-
sion thru political action is one of the most
perilous superstitions among the toilers.

* * *

"Democracy on shipboard is a thing of the
past," says the *Coast Seaman's Journal*. "In
the days when the Norse Vikings were
masters of the sea, every man who boarded a
tack, hauled a sheet, or pulled an oar, was as
good as any other man on board, not even ex-
cepting the leader. His leadership was by con-
sent of the led, and its continuance depended
entirely upon his ability to retain the confi-
dence of his followers. Times have changed
since then, and today the seaman who should
have to omit the customary 'sir,' when ad-
dressing the mate, would be lucky, if he got
forward without a taste of the latter's boot."
And yet when people argue with us about the
necessity of government it is pointed out to
us that a ship could not be successfully sailed
over the seas and oceans if the officers were
not vested with absolute authority.

* * *

A comrade writes that, since the most
learned lawyers and the prominent "servants"
of the people have failed in their earnest (?)
endeavor to bring the conspirator and murder-
er ex-Gouverneur Taylor to justice for killing
Goebel, the governor elect, the Iowa College
of Law is going to try the infamous conspiracy
case and save this country from the disgrace
that the Indiana state has heaped upon this
country by sheltering and shielding a common
murderer. The comrade wonders why it is
that the authorities at Washington, who are
replete with statutes for the deportation of
suspected Anarchists, let a man guilty of mur-
der and conspiracy rest in peace. "Either
justice is a mockery, where politicians and
lawyers are involved," says our friend, "or
lawyers and politicians have a way of defeat-
ing justice peculiar to themselves." This com-
rade seems to have forgotten the old adage:
"Accomplices won't pick holes in each other's
coats," which is characteristic especially in the
application of law.

* * *

Much has lately been said about the terrible
slaughter of human beings caused in the Rus-
sian-Japanese war, but in this country we hear
little or nothing of the wanton, wholesale
butchery now perpetrated upon the helpless
natives in the different colonies by so-called
christian and civilized nations. In Europe
there are still some dailies which have retained
a degree of independence and decency, and it
is from these that the world learns some de-
tails of the brutal and horrifying wars of ex-
termination—pardon me, "benevolent assimi-
lation"—now going on in far-away countries
which are at the mercy of christian plunderers
and whiskey dealers. In Sumatra the natives
began to rebel against the brazen pillage of the
Dutch civilizers, and according to the latest
news "law and order" has been restored by
slaughtering four thousand "barbarians,"
among whom were found nine hundred and
fifty six women and children. The troops lost
four men. The number of the wounded is
not reported, altho the dispatches say that a
host of mutilated men, women, and children
were found hidden in caves. And yet Hol-
land is the country at the head of which stands
a personified angel in the garb of a queen,
where peace congresses take place, and where
Carnegie has erected a temple of peace from
the blood-stained money he accumulated in the
steel (steal) business.

* * *

The news from Russia is of a gloomy and
appalling nature, and the sooner Russian

autocracy is swept from the face of the globe,
the better it will be for tyrannized humanity,
no matter how bloody the sweeping process
may prove to be. In Odessa one hundred and
fifty-three young students of both sexes were
arrested in one day, their ages ranging from
fifteen to twenty years. Many of these girls
are outraged by the gendarmery, and their only
redress is suicide. And the condition of the
poor is thus described by an eye-witness: "Re-
turning to my hotel from a theatre party in
the early hours of Tuesday morning, I was
accosted literally by hundreds of beggars of
both sexes and all ages. In their blanched,
fleshless faces, gleaming like ghosts in the
morning twilight, I read insatiable hunger, un-
utterable degradation, vice, crime, and all the
fierce longings of the downtrodden and spirit-
less proletariat which form half of Russia's
cities. One could not hold in his palsied hand
a kopeck I gave him. Another, staggering
against a lamppost, implored and cursed al-
ternately, and a third—an old woman of
eighty—chewed a mouldy bone ravished from a
stray cur in the gutter. All the street was a
via dolorosa of unclothed, unfed, unwashed,
hopeless humanity." And this in a time when
hundreds of millions of dollars are spent in
wanton slaughter of Russian and Japanese
toilers! Verily, governments are a great bless-
ing, but if the victims of autocracy and com-
mercialism should in their despair wreak a
bloody vengeance upon their tormentors only
the heartless specimen of humanity would dare
utter a reproach.

* * *

The general strike in Italy, altho only in its
inception, and which, according to the *Grido
Della Folla* (Cry of the Crowd), was frustra-
ted by the timidity of the Socialists, has also
awakened the American dailies to the dangers
that such movement is apt to evoke "in favor
of lawlessness" in any country. The new
York *Times* points out "the strikes in Italy
have been the most formidable menace ever
directed against industrial progress and public
order," and "the strikers have had complete
control of the communities." But "curious to
see," the editor remarks sneeringly, "the chief
bulwark against the further progress to com-
plete success of the Italian movement toward
general Anarchy was raised by the fact that
the railroad service had already been 'militar-
ized,' and that the men employed in it had been
enlisted and put under military discipline. In
other words, a step had been taken in 'State
Socialism' of which the effect was to defeat
and discourage the advocates of that panacea!"
Yet, in spite of this consolation, which should
furnish food for thought to the advocates of
government ownership, the editor is greatly
irritated over "those traitors who have openly
undertaken to weaken the militia" in this
country, and he is happy in the belief "that
any organization opposed to the principles of
the American government would be the doom
of that organization." Gently, Mr. Editor; for
it is to be hoped that even the Americans have
not yet reached the climax in human develop-
ment. And when the workers are taught they
can find no employment in the mining districts
unless they are permitted to work by the grace
of the Citizen's Alliance, and that they are de-
ported because they belong to a union; when
they are sent to jail on the charge of having
conspired to bring about a strike," as hap-
pened recently in Connecticut; when eight-
hour laws and ordinances are declared "il-
legal" and "unconstitutional" by the highest
courts; when the railway workers are held re-
sponsible for a collision, altho it was proved
that they had been kept on duty for twenty-two
hours, and the railway owners go scotfree;
when the employers can throw the workers on
the street by the thousands with impunity
while the toilers are prevented from using per-
suasion as a means to guard their interests;
and last, but not least, when the editor himself
proves that during a century the Americans
have not succeeded in establishing a "govern-

ment by the people"—then it must dawn even upon the dullest minds that there is something utterly wrong in the "principles of the American government." And once the people have arrived at this conclusion it is only a matter of time when it will dawn upon them that government is the culprit cause of the most pernicious evils in society. INTERLOPER.

Comment.

I cannot consider that Steven J. Byington's last apology needs any comment but itself to show that his insulting, jeering, mocking attack was totally unjustifiable, and my treatment of it very good-natured. If it can be boiled down to this, he should have said he differed with me on some points of Hebrew etymology and other questions lying widely to one side of the main subject. Perhaps he will not be surprised at my saying now that he is welcome to differ. I at least feel keenly that life is too short, and I might add, the Anarchist papers too small, for lyceum controversy on topics very little relevant to my work. But that is not a Tuckerine idea. He objects to the generality of my statement that all organizations (ostensibly) to resist "invasion," themselves become "invasive," and demands particulars. By the laws of controversy, in which he is versed (lyceum fashion), a general proposition, like a negative, which it essentially is, neither need nor can be verified. If I say it is always night between sunset and sunrise, my opponent's business is to give a case of its being day. This is pertinent. His other points are not; so I will treat them very briefly. — "Jehovah" is archaic. Well, the Book of Samuel is the most archaic in the Bible, — very much more so than the Pentateuch, which, accordingly, I, at least, have not supposed to be written by Moses any time these forty years. All the historicity I attributed to it was supposing that the author of Exodus meant to represent the name as new; which he explicitly says.

Shaddai does not occur very often, except in Genesis, Job, Psalms, and (translated) in the New Testament. But El does throuth the O. T., of course with variations, Elohim, Eloah, etc., and all these titles (Arabic, Allah) have the radical idea of power, unlike Jehovah; as shown by their occasional applications to kings, heroes, angels, etc.

Zeus Piter (corruptly Jupiter) is Greek; Jove altogether Roman. That the former came to with Hellenism, about the time of Scipio, follows, and that it did not come in with the multitude, but the eclectic scholars who got chosen to priestly offices—like the augur Cicero and Pontiff Caesar — is both presumable and obvious on comparison of popular with priestly Latin in extant literature.

I have already refuted Byington's blunder about astronomy once. He said lifting a stone did not change the earth's center of gravity, because it showed the earth just as hard the other way. In the first clause, "the earth" means the globe with all its appurtenances; in the other the globe, which a man, derrick, etc., on its surface, shoves. If Byington, will try the effect of rising up in a canoe, he will be apt to learn that tho the man shoves the canoe down one end just as hard as he lifts himself, the center of gravity common to canoe and man is altered quite perilously.

He wants me to admit that the priest in him is a shaky deductive inference. No, no. It's as plain as the nose on his face. C. L. JAMES.

The Problem of Parentage.

The sex question is at present agitating the whole world; people who have heretofore been negative are aroused, and people have done well in bringing up that which affects the welfare of every earth-born child.

Generation, its uses and abuses, is the beginning of the end; generation precedes regeneration, and none should be deceived by thinking themselves the "children of God," or regenera-

tion, until they at least understand the first principles of creation or generation.

Woman has borne too heavy a burden — her yoke has been made heavy and hard to bear. No woman is true to herself, her higher self, unless she can have all that the creative force demands of her for her unborn child, and have a reserve fund of strength left to draw on in emergencies. There is nothing superior to motherhood, yet there is nothing more desecrated today. Too many mothers are made machines for man's unlimited lust, besides being his household drudges. There has been a conspiracy against woman from the beginning, but woman must and will free herself — that is the word, freedom; it means just what she needs and must have. Popular opinion, society, and even our laws in this boasted land of liberty conspire against her; but we must remember that mothers precede them all; men make laws but women make men, and if men would do their part, even the men women give the world, the world would be better. There are some men who are willing and doing everything to uplift mothers to their divine sphere.

Remove the evil from motherhood and in a few generations you will find evil eliminated from the offspring; like begets like; love and liberty beget love and liberty — these qualities are begotten, not forced.

There are several ways of avoiding conception that are right, and nothing but ignorance ever kept the knowledge from woman. Many doctors are willing, nay anxious, to extend their needed help to woman, but prudishness, or custom, even law in some states, forbids, and many mothers die in parturition because of unfitness for maternity, and others bring into the world born criminals, because they were hated and not wanted before they were born; hence the resultant need of penitentiaries and reformatories.

The dissemination of a pure and harmless method of preventing conception would lessen the ever increasing criminal population; stagnation would cease, and the current of life flow with its wanted clearness and natural action. We should not their need wars and plagues to carry off an overplus population. Some benighted minds think war a necessary evil. There is no necessity for evil. If there is, then their God is made a liar. "Be ye, therefore, perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect," was meant for all times and all peoples, and the Christians should beware lest they transgress the commandments of their God. The lust for power is at the bottom of unhappiness of the people of the world. Abortion, murder, and a stunted humanity are the results of the abuse and misuse of the procreating powers. I know, and many others know, what to do, and yet retain perfect health, or at least as good as we enjoyed before entering the marital state, and I should willingly publish it, if I dared to, for it is harmless, effectual, and used in restoring weak women to health again; but I, like many others, must keep silent. But do not despair, ye overburdened, life-weary mothers, for the star is still shining in the East to those who will perceive, and the quickening that is going on in the people's minds is only the heralding of the dawn which is to usher in the millennium of peace on earth, good will to all men and women. The dragon will have ceased to persecute the woman and her child, whose only offense was the creed of immaculate conception, which is always incompatible with the dragon's force, for force is the antithesis of love—the moving force in all mankind.

LAURA J. LANGSTON.

Paonia, Colo.

"An alarming state of affairs" is being revealed by the navy department. More than a thousand men are lacking the number necessary to man the new warships, which indicates that not only in Russia but also in America the young men are not eager to be slaughtered for the benefit of tyranny and greed.

Herbert Spencer.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

III.

When allowance has been made for the error concerning the unknowable, which we have already noticed in the last chapter, Spencer's philosophy allows us to account for the whole series of physical phenomena — biological, psychical, historical or moral — always by means of the same scientific inductive method.

Reading his works, we see how all these varied facts, having their place in such different sciences, hold together, how they are all manifestations of the same physical forces, and how we understand and judge them if we follow the same methods of reasoning that we would use for physical facts.

Does it follow that the judgments uttered by Spencer in conformity with this method are correct, and that he has himself always applied the good method to perfection? Certainly not! Be the book written by Spencer or any other thinker, it is the business of our own reason to judge whether the author concludes correctly and whether he has been faithful to his method. Here it is that we see the scientific method in its best light. It compels the author so to state his facts and arguments that we may judge them for ourselves. No god is speaking with you; your equal argues, and invites you to do as much.

So long as Spencer treats of physics, chemistry, biology, and even psychology (in other words, our emotions, our ways of feeling, thinking and acting), his conclusions are almost always correct. But when he comes to sociology and social ethics it is quite another matter.

* * *

So far he has searched—and found. Here — we feel it at once—he has ready-made ideas; the ideas of middle-class radicalism that he developed in 1850 in his "Social Statics," before he had begun to elaborate his philosophical system. Besides, he had revised those ideas, developing them further in the bourgeois direction.

It is evident that in all scientific study everyone has, at the start, made some supposition—some hypothesis that he sets out to verify, be it for proof or rejection. Even in the natural sciences it happens that a man becomes attached to his hypothesis after others can well see its faults; much more will this happen when the life of societies is the subject under discussion. Everyone starting work in this province has already his ideal of society. He has already drawn from his life and experience a given manner of judging the privileges of fortune and birth, which he either accepts or repudiates; he has his standard for the divisions of society; he submits to thousands of influences from his environment. As the sciences treating of social facts are in their infancy, and Spencer was the first to apply a really scientific method to them, it is but natural that he should have been unable to clear himself entirely of the middle-class influences that surrounded him.

Thus it happens that we are continually astonished by Spencer's conclusions. As we admire his suggestions in the "Principles of Biology," so we feel the narrowness of his views as soon as he treats, for instance, of the relations between labor and capital in society.

* * *

To quote one instance only — a very important one in truth — Spencer has been educated in the bourgeois and religious idea of *just retribution*. You have acted wrong—you will be punished; you have been a very hard-working engineer — your employer will add a shilling a week to your wages . . . Spencer believes so, any way. Thus does the principle of "just" retribution become for him a law of nature.

So far as children, the young that have not learned to shift for themselves, are concerned, retribution will not be proportioned to effort; it is inviolable. But among adults, it is necessary that there be conformity to the law, according to which, benefits received, will be proportioned

to the merits of each: merits being measured by the capacity for self-support. Further, such are the laws of the preservation of species; and if we admit the preservation of any given species to be desirable, the obligation to conform to such laws, which we may call, according to circumstances, ethical or semi-ethical, will naturally follow.

Obviously all this language, with its idea of retribution, law and obligation, is no longer that of a naturalist. It is not an observer of nature that speaks to us, but a lawyer and an economist that moralizes.

The explanation of this is as follows: Spencer knows Socialism; he repudiates it on the grounds that if all were not repaid strictly in proportion to their works and merits we should have the death of society. To prove this principle — unassailable in his eyes—he tries to make it into a law of nature, and is thus compelled to abandon the scientific method for the time being, leaving it to us to take note of his mistake.

* * *

The science of society, modern sociology, contents itself no longer with a special manner of describing the "laws of thought" as the Hegelians did. Since Comte it has studied the various stages thru which humanity has passed, from the savage Stone Age up to our day, and thus discovers a mass of survivals, in our modern institutions, from institutions dating from the Stone Age.

Our religions, our codes, our burial customs, our great yearly feasts and our ceremonies are all full of them. It is by investigating the evolution, the gradual development, of our institutions and superstitions, that we come to understand—speaking plainly, to despise—them, whether legal, governmental, ritual, or other; also we thus come to guess at the future developments of our societies.

Spencer has done this work, but with the lack of comprehension for all institutions not to be found in England which characterizes the great majority of Englishmen. Besides, he did not know men, he had not travelled (he had only been once to the United States and once to Italy, where he was quite unhappy in other than his habitual English surroundings), and he never understood the institution of non-political populations.

This is the reason why we continually meet, in his sociology and ethics, with absolutely false statements, whether it be a question of interpreting ancient customs or of lifting the veil from the face of the future.

* * *

If the Anarchist Communist can reproach Spencer in the way we stated in our last chapter — it must none the less be confessed that his concessions in sociology and ethics or social morals are far more advanced than any to be found in the state theories of society hitherto given us by writers of the middle class.

The conclusions he draws from his learned analysis is that civilized societies are on the march towards complete enfranchisement from the theocratic governmental and military survivals that exist among us to this day.

So far as it is possible to foresee the future by reading the past, human societies are progressing towards a condition in which the warlike and aggressive spirit, besides the military structure that characterizes the infancy of societies, will give place to an industrial spirit and an organization based on reciprocity and voluntary co-operation. As the old military institutions — royalty, the nobility, the army, and the State—tend to disappear, this new organization will develop mutual aid and the communistic spirit. Thus — and here Spencer is at one with the Anarchists — society will reach a stage at which each man will no longer aim at enslaving others, but will, on the contrary, contribute to universal welfare and independence, not under external pressure, but by virtue of established sociable habits.

While the partisans of the State preach discipline, subordination, and government concentration. Spencer foresees the abolition of the State, the enfranchisement of the individual, and complete liberty. Also, tho he remains a bourgeois and Individualist himself, he does not stop at this stage of Individualism, which is the ideal of our present middle classes; he foresees free co-operation (what we call the Communist free understanding) extending to all branches of human activity, and leading society to the perfect development of the human personality, with all its personal and individual characteristics — to what Spencer calls *Individuation*.

* * *

As land will be common property, and the whole revenue it gives belong to society and not to the individual, Spencer thinks (and here he is obviously mistaken) that there will be no need to touch private property in the domain of industry. Intelligent co-operation will be sufficient. But we must note that Spencer does not mean by co-operation the companies of proletariat shareholders that monopolize the name nowadays. He understands all combined efforts, whether to consume or to produce in common, without the idea of profits and exploitation by the shareholders that form the essence of existing co-operation. He sees what among Anarchists might be called the free atmosphere.

Spencer says that we shall have a society in which individual life will be developed as far as it is compatible with life in society, while social life will have no other aim than to offer the best sphere of development to the individual. Thus he would go the lengths of Communist free understanding, the aim of which should be the widest development of individual life—the highest degree of *individuation*, as he says, with the view of opposing it to Individualism—including the most complete development of all of each man's faculties, and not the stupid bourgeois Individualism that preaches each man for himself and "the devil take the hindmost."

Only as a true bourgeois, Spencer would see at every corner the ghost of the sluggard who will not work at all if his existence is ensured by a communistic society; everywhere he expected the loafer who shivers at the club door, waiting for the bourgeois whom he will help into his carriage and of whom he will demand a penny — the rascal! It is thus that on reading Spencer we often stop to rub our eyes, asking if it be really he, a man of such intelligence, that fings these rough words at the tramp, and grumbles at having to give a copy of his writings to the free library of the British Museum, or at universal free education!

(To be continued.)

FOR NEW YORK.

A concert and dance will be given by the federated groups of Russian-American Anarchists on Saturday, November 5, 8 p. m., in the Pacific Hall, 209 East Broadway. Tickets, 15 cents.

The German singing societies "Freiheit" will give a grand vocal and instrumental concert and dance on Sunday, November 6, 7 p. m., in the New York Männerchor Hall, 203-207 East 56th st. Tickets, 15 cents.

A meeting to commemorate the Eleventh of November of 1887 will take place November 10, 8 p. m., at the Grand American Hall, Second ave. and First st. Emma Goldman, Lucy E. Parsons, James F. Morton, Jr., and Harry M. Kelly will be the principal speakers.

November 11, 8 p. m., the same speakers will address a massmeeting on the occasion at the Labor Lyceum on Willoughby ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

FOR BOSTON.

Under the auspices of the group "Progress," a concert and performance, "The Innocent Walking Delegate, or Justice by Force," will be given for the benefit of a library fund in Paine's Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton st., Sunday, Nov. 6, 7:30 p. m. Single tickets 20 cents; 35 cents for man and woman.

The Caged Bird.

As the little bird sat on the branch of an old tree, a man passed.

"Oh, what a beautiful creature," he exclaimed, "I would like to take it with me."

The next day he came again, and again he saw the bird. He tried to give it some sugar, but the bird was shy; the man left the sugar and went away. So he did every day, till the bird began to trust him. One day the man held some sugar in his hand, and the bird came to eat from his palm. But when it wanted to fly back to its branch, the man held it fast, and in an exploring voice he begged it to remain with him.

"Come with me," he said, "you will be treated well, every one of your wishes will be fulfilled."

The bird had confidence in the man's words and went with him. When they came home, the man put the little bird in the cage he had ready for it. It was a nice cage made of gold, but it had a gate that was tightly shut as soon as the bird entered.

The first few days the bird was pleased with the sweet sugar and clear water the man gave it. IT sang gayly.

After a short time; the bird grew tired of the cage, and wanted to return to the woods. IT stretched its wings, but the bars kept it back. The bird began to cry bitterly. The man heard it, and was pleased, he could not understand the bird's sorrow. He mistook its song.

Spring came and went; the bird became accustomed to the cage, it forgot the woods and the meadows, the brooks and flowers. The songs of free birds it could not understand, they seemed like discordant notes. In the long years of imprisonment, the little bird forgot the songs of freedom.

One day when the sun shed its beautiful rays and birds were busy making nests, a sister of the caged bird passed.

"What are you doing here," she asked, "would you not rather come back to the woods? Come, sister, I will help you break the bars that imprison you."

"Go away, you disturber of peace," answered the caged bird angrily, "you try to lead me from the right path. Go, or I will tell the man to shoot you."

And the free bird left the place with a deep sigh.

O. LEONARD.

Letter-Box.

C. V. C., San Francisco.—That Comrade Ciancibilla died of consumption was stated in one of our Italian contemporaries. If your statement is true it is certainly to be deplored that people who pose as Anarchists should resort to brute force in settling their quarrels.

J. L., Kansas.—Your plea "that the laws should be applied to all alike or be repealed at once" is a voice in the wilderness. So long as government exists the favorites of those who apply and enforce the laws will be immune from penalties. It is only the poor and helpless victim who suffers all the penalties of law and "justice."

A. P., Beauvais, France.—The translation of your poem is very poor. Send us the French text, and some of our comrades here will translate it for FREE SOCIETY. Greeting.

I. W., St. Louis.—New subscriber and one dollar received. Thanks.

I. H., Boston.—I am glad to hear that you can easily sell FREE SOCIETY at meetings. Back numbers for free distribution can also be supplied.

E. B., Akron, O.—No, missionaries who respect the customs and religious habits of so-called barbarians and savages are in danger of being maltreated by these primitive people. As one American writer says: "Some missionaries filled with the spirit of Christ have gone out alone, asking no help of government, and needed none."

...A profession of faith is often a sign of infidelity. — B. G. RICHARDS.