

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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WHOLE NO. 310.

Revolt.

I

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of the ideal, daughter of the far-away truth!
Without thee the nations drag on in a living death;
Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth;
Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in
China's lethargy,
Smothered in the past, having no horizon but the actual.

II

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of eternal love,—
Love rebelling against lovelessness, life rebelling against
death!
Rise at last to the full measure of thy birthright;
Spurn the puny weapons of hate and oppression;
Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all
the myriad shams of man, and they will fade away
in thinnest air;
Gaze upon thy gainsayers until they see and feel the
truth and love that begat and bore thee.
Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest
aspirations,
And we shall see done on earth as it is in heaven
God's ever living, growing, ripening will.
—From "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by
Ernest Crosby.

Free Speech Strangled.

On Sunday, April 7, Comrade Emma Goldman was engaged to speak before the Social Science Club, of Philadelphia. On her arrival at the meeting, she found the hall locked by order of the police, and about forty policemen on hand to prevent the meeting at all costs. Again on April 9, she was invited to speak before the Shirtmakers' Union, where the police prevented her from entering the hall. The police declared that she would not be permitted to speak in Philadelphia, but the following report from the Philadelphia *North American*, will show that the police were unable to carry out this boast:

Despite the orders, threats and warnings of Director English, Emma Goldman, Anarchist, made a public address last night, in the very shadow of the City Hall, and the police authorities knew nothing about it until an hour or more after the meeting had ended.

She spoke to the Single Tax Society of Philadelphia, in Mercantile Library Hall, Tenth street, above Chestnut.

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen," she said, when a second outburst of applause had subsided, "I thank you for this kind reception. I did not at first intend to come here tonight—not that I doubted that you would receive me as you have, but because I hesitated to take advantage of your hospitality in the face of the action of the law and order people of your city, who say they will not let me speak.

"I can think of no other word than absurd to characterize that action. It is enough to set not only people like yourselves thinking, but every half-intelligent man or woman—even the 'dummies,' as we call

them, for these two gentlemen, your Mayor Ashbridge and your Director English, are attempting in these free United States such a wilful act as, even if free speech were tolerated in Russia, the czar would be ashamed of.

"These authorities of your government say that I shall not speak. As I do not believe in government, I shall ignore them. I have decided to take up the fight here and to fight it out to the end. I do not want to go to prison. I want to walk under the sky, under the stars—but not the stars and stripes—but prison or no prison, I will not be silenced.

"If you are willing to stand quietly by and permit the freedom of speech to be taken from you, then you might as well go back forty years and restore slavery, for what good can be accomplished for society if expression is denied, and if a man like English is to dictate what you shall say and what not?

"He has gone further than that, though. He has taken to himself the potency of the pope of Rome to decide what is going to be said before it is spoken. This is not, as I first thought, vanity. It is insanity! I certainly shall oppose it on every occasion and find out how far they will go. It is Emma Goldman today, but it may be you tomorrow and somebody else the next day.

"I notice that all America is aroused and indignant over the outrages now being perpetrated in Russia; but when it happens in America, in your free America, you are all quiet. If on last Tuesday night I had dared, not to use a bomb or a dagger, as they do in Russia, but if I had dared to touch with the tip of my finger, a button on the precious person of this Lieutenant Woods, he would have lashed me as the serfs are lashed by the Cossacks, because I could see that he is a brute, although he was drunk beyond his capacity, and perhaps did not know what he was doing.

"The trouble is that these men, Ashbridge, English and Woods, know that we are telling the truth. Nothing is more dangerous than the truth; and that's why they want to silence us. But their action has done more for Anarchism than I and my comrades have done in ten years. I am thankful to them, and I think I'll take up a collection and send them flowers, or cigars, or whisky, which they would rather have, perhaps.

"The authorities have seized upon this as a pretext. I know that your mayor is a man with a past, and he is trying to get the admiration of the so-called respectable people of the community by saying that he and English are always looking after their safety, and that they know better what these people need than they know themselves.

"But what does it mean to be one of the

'respectable' people today? It means to be one who never objects to anything, who pays his taxes, who submits to fraud and oppression, who goes to church on Sunday and during the sermon thinks up a way to beat somebody on Monday. To be a 'respectable' person nowadays is to place men in positions to guard your safety who are least fitted to do so—it is to be an idiot. I am glad to say that I do not belong to that 'respectable' community.

"In these times in America, as soon as a man commits a crime, no matter how black or treacherous, if he is backed by the government, everybody falls on his knees, and they erect arches to him or smother him with kisses. I am sure that English has received hundreds of letters of congratulations from these old maids.

"That is the root of it all. Ashbridge and English are only the tools in the hands of those behind them. It is the community that keeps such men in office that is guilty of the outrage.

"These men have made a mistake, and they have not the courage to admit it. In face of the fact that a paper like the *North American* and all thinking people are opposing their action, they say they will go right on and continue to stop free speech.

"To me it is a settled question that free speech does not exist in America unless it suits the government. If the people of Philadelphia do not take immediate action to oppose the outrages committed in their city this week, they will sacrifice their freedom on the altar of greed, robbery, fraud and all that represents government.

"I repeat that I shall speak in Philadelphia. If I cannot get a hall I will speak nevertheless, if I have to do so from the City Hall tower. If this is to be a fight for my principles, the mayor will find that I am more courageous than he, and that I can die for them if need be."

Miss Goldman having finished, the floor was again "open." An old, grimy workingman took advantage of this. He walked up to the platform, and said: "I am reminded of what one of the poets once said:

He is a fool who tries by force or skill
To stem the torrent of a woman's will;
For when she will, she will, you may depend on't,
And when she won't, she won't, and there's an end on't.

"The mayor said that Miss Goldman wouldn't speak. Miss Goldman said she would, and she has; and we hope to hear her oftener."

Anarchist Brown denounced the police interference as an outrage, and said that if the coming social revolution—he is satisfied that it is inevitable—is to be peaceable, the people must have the right to free speech in its fullest expression. "In European countries," he said, "Anarchism is forced to keep secret until some blood-curdling event shocks the whole world. If we are denied

free speech here, we, too, may be driven to secret propaganda, and then who will be to blame?"

"It has come to the point where some link-headed policeman on the corner is to be a judge of what we say; but government is a final appeal to the policeman's club, any way."

"The mayor and the director could have done nothing to furnish the Anarchists with a stronger argument than their action in the matter," said Mr. Pleydell. "It is the fundamental position of Anarchy," he continued, "that all government is necessarily tyrannical, no matter how free and beneficent it may have been in its inception. The fact that a few men are given power over all other men makes it essentially tyrannical. So, every time a man in power makes himself a petty tyrant or a despot, he gives the Anarchists one more proof of the truth of their reasoning."

"I could almost believe," he added, "that Ashbridge and English are Anarchists themselves, and are using this method to convince the people of the evils of government. I don't know of a writer or painter who could adequately tell the story of the last two years of fraud, robbery and tyranny prevailing in the City Hall."

"It has been pointed out by the one newspaper of Philadelphia—it is scarcely necessary to say that I mean the *North American*—that the authorities have seized upon this occasion to make capital out of the popular misunderstanding of Anarchism, but we must remember that if Emma Goldman is suppressed as the most radical, they will go on with the second most radical, and so on."

"Do not let us start the fighting, but if they force it let us do it right here and now. There will never be a better chance, and every time we make an organized resistance the next assault on the liberties of the people will be weaker."

"Ashbridge and English will find that it is just as impossible for them to put down Anarchistic ideas by force as it is for the Anarchists to put down governmental ideas by force. The Anarchists have sense enough to see that they can't do that, but the Ashbridges and the Englishes haven't."

Anger and chagrin were expressed by the officials of the police department last night when they learned that Miss Goldman had made good her threat of delivering a lecture in Philadelphia.

After Miss Goldman had boarded a car to go to the home of friends, Lazelle was asked:

"Do you know that Emma Goldman has just addressed a meeting in Mercantile Hall?"

"It is impossible," he replied. "I have been on the beat all night."

G. Frank Stephens, the Single Tax advocate, visited Director English yesterday and elicited the fact that the ban will not only be kept upon Miss Goldman, but that it will be extended to all other exponents of Anarchistic theories, and that all meetings where the discussion of such subjects might take place will be promptly suppressed.

"In my opinion," says Mr. Stephens, "in taking the stand he did in the interview, Director English has constituted himself supreme censor of speech in this city. He has arrogated to himself the right to permit

or restrict at will. Consequently the issue becomes one of burning importance. Miss Goldman is now only an incident. It is now a question of whether the head of the police department, frustrated in his attempt to gag the press, can stifle the freedom of the arena of public debate."

Under the heading of "Official Lawlessness," the *North American* says editorially:

The interference of the police of Philadelphia with the rights of peaceable assembly and free speech is wholly without legal warrant, and is a direct incitement to resistance and breaches of the peace.

Let us hope that the Anarchists and workmen who are being subjected to this indefensible tyranny will continue to exhibit the creditable self-restraint which has marked their conduct under provocation to which American citizens are not accustomed.

The example of lawlessness being given by the police authorities is at once dangerous and disgraceful. Should force be met with force the moral responsibility would rest upon the stupid despots of the City Hall. Under pretense of "suppressing Anarchy" they are behaving like the worst kind of Anarchists—the sort who trample law under foot and rejoice in violence.

Multitudes of citizens who know nothing about the gospel of Anarchy, and care less, are being roused by the brutal folly of Philadelphia's police department. This is especially true of the workmen, who see in the Ashbridge-English imitation of Russian methods a very serious threat against their own liberty to meet and discuss their grievances in the future at times which may not be so prosperous as at present. Every American who believes in freedom of speech is indignant.

The law should be brought to bear upon the lawless mayor and director of public safety.

Power Is Degrading.

Great power degrades all men, and almighty power degrades a God. History is crowded with examples of men and women, normally good, changed by power into brutes and fiends. All kings and queens are most degraded, otherwise they would not live in luxurious pomp, which they know is maintained with the life-blood of their overworked and underpaid subjects—the poor who produce all wealth.

The fulsome eulogies on "the most loving and gracious Christian ruler," as the sycophants of royalty say, "ever sat on a throne," with which the papers and magazines have recently been flooded, can only disgust those who think of the millions starving in India, because of the enormous drain on that unfortunate dependency, seized and held in the name of the late Christian empress (what a conjunction!). The Boer war too, too brutal to think of calmly—77,180 Englishmen already sacrificed to the lust of power. There is one consolation, however. The loss of every soldier is the loss of one menace to freedom, and every reasoning man knows that if the two South African republics are stolen from the noble Boers, the British fighting tools will not be one penny the better off, but worse; because after the war the taxes still run on to pay

the usury on money borrowed and bonds issued, as well as the original money borrowed. And the volunteers who, unfortunately for them, survive the war, will immediately go to work to pay back the money which they received from the government for their services as human butchers.

The corpse of such a ruler was most appropriately borne to its resting place on a gun-carriage—part of a brutal murder machine, used for blowing starving Indians to heaven or elsewhere, and other such like brutalities. Ten miles of warships and detachments of forty regiments of soldiers being a naturally fitting accompaniment for the funeral of such a powerful being. The "spirit" of this most beneficent ruler, it is said by the superstitious, winged her way to the "God of Love and Prince of Peace." Superstition makes fools, for no others would serve as soldiers. The chief work of all governments is to prepare to murder.

Four years ago the United States was satisfied with an army of 25,000; but the lust for power is such that 25,000 soldiers were thought necessary in Washington at the late inaugural imperialistic exhibition. Verily, power is degrading, and the power to raise 150,000 soldiers will still more degrade the United States.

There was not a scintilla of humanitarianism in the undertaking to free the Cubans from the Spanish yoke. The sole motive was the greed of the money power, and the whole plan was schemed from beginning to end by the men of greed who placed McKinley in power. Twenty-five thousand soldiers—equal to the whole army at the time of McKinley's first accession to power—to make a display of brute force—was the striking feature of the second inauguration of one who has trodden down love, truth, justice, and—Labor, in his scramble for power.

Such is the power of gold that Hawaii has been—Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines will be—stolen by men who have the almighty gold behind them, and have planned to exploit these islands of their wealth.

Lycurgus divided the land of Sparta into equal parts, abolished gold and silver money, and allowed only money made of iron, so bulky that if any one accumulated twenty or thirty pounds' worth (\$100 to \$150), a yoke of oxen was required to remove it. This immediately stopped a number of vices; all lawsuits ceased, for no one in Lacedaemon would rob another of such cumbrous coin, or unjustly detain, or accept as a bribe, a thing which was so difficult to hide, nor of any use for manufacturing purposes, because when the iron was red hot it was quenched in vinegar, thus making it unfit for use as a metal.

In war the Spartans after they had routed the enemy, only pursued them till well assured of victory, and then sounded a retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a Grecian people to kill men who had given up resistance.

The city of Lacedaemon continued to be the chief city of all Greece for five hundred years, no manner of alteration in the laws of Lycurgus being made during the reign of fourteen kings. There was neither avarice nor poverty, every one's wants being sup-

plied. When not at work in the fields, their time was enjoyed in choral dances, hunting, at the exercise grounds, or public conversation. These people were wise enough not to worship any "Almighty God." They had their *department gods*—Minerva, Apollo, Ceres, etc., and the results show that each department, and therefore the whole, was conducted in the best manner possible.

Plutarch, in writing the life of Lycurgus, says: "So long as the laws of Lycurgus were in force, the aspect presented by Sparta was rather that of a rule of life followed by one wise and temperate man, than of the political government of a nation." And the conditions and morals of the Spartans were far above those of modern English-speaking countries.

But the "Almighty" has made a hash of the whole business. Last year the wealth of the United States was \$100,000,000,000, of which "God" allowed those who produced it to retain \$10,000,000,000, and allowed those who produced nothing to steal \$90,000,000,000. The question naturally arises, which of these two classes are God's peculiar people? Perhaps a peculiar question to ask, but any Churchite's reply would be still more peculiar. In 1850 the same "Almighty" allowed \$8,000,000,000 to be the wealth of the United States, and the producers retained about two-thirds of this amount.

The lawyer's power is so degrading that the majority of cases are arranged between the opposing counsel in advance of the case being called for trial. In "will" cases their dishonesty is appalling, both in making and breaking wills—in short, the just side is the one that usually scores a defeat.

The unutterable miseries now suffered by the producers of wealth, are caused solely by the monopoly of land and money. The chief owners of the land and the gold power form the government, therefore the laws will not be altered to militate against the law-makers; to expect otherwise is too absurd a proposition to deserve even a passing thought; and how does the government enforce the laws? Passively by parsons, forcibly by police, and murderously by soldiers—all three of these forces against freedom being uniformed. Uniforms are ugly, grotesque, and ostentatious, varying, certainly, from the six-dollar kakki to the three hundred and seventy-five dollar uniforms of some officers, but all are symbols of power, force, aggression and oppression.

Real bravery is very rarely found in uniforms of soldiers, police, or parsons, so rarely that when an exception to the rule occurs, it is blazoned about by the subsidized press, as something prodigious, while the real article is continually found among the poor working and struggling classes; and among the un-uniformed Boers and Filipinos.

If the women of America could be induced to think seriously and carefully on this subject, with the result that they look on uniforms with aversion, even to detestation rather than with admiration, what an influence for good they would create! Then the era of right living would be inaugurated, and a free people would be the result.

Humanity's hope for freedom rests chiefly on the women; their influence could soon

turn the tide of oppression; the way suggested would bring about a peaceful evolution, otherwise the present conditions will soon bring us to a sanguinary revolution.

Women! choose the better way, or your fathers, husbands, sons, lovers, and brothers will be the victims of military power.

KINGHORN-JONES.

San Francisco, 36 Geary St.

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A Contrast.

There are no classes in this country.—William McKinley, 1896.

In the *Elizabeth (N. J.) Journal*, of March 19, 1901, appears the following:

Peter H. Thomsen, aged 19 years, who was a car-maker by occupation, met with a fatal accident last night at the freight transfer station of the Central railroad.

The young man's home was in Bayonne City, and he had come to this city preparatory to going to Plainfield to secure a situation. It was while he was boarding a freight train that he fell under the cars. Both legs were cut off above the knees, and he died in the ambulance of the Alexian Brothers' Hospital while being removed to that institution.

Thomsen was a member of the International Iron Moulders' Union, and had in his possession a working card of that organization. There were also a number of tools in his pocket, the implements of his occupation.

At 4:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon the ambulance was summoned to the Elizabeth avenue depot to convey to the Alexian Hospital Constance Woina, a Pole, who, while attempting to board a freight train on the Long Branch division near this city, fell and had his left foot so badly crushed beneath the wheels that amputation above the ankle was found necessary.

Woina is 23 years old, and homeless. He says that he left Philadelphia on Sunday for this city in search of employment.

The same paper of March 21, gives us this:

Washington, March 21.—Secretary Cortelyou is busy outlining the itinerary of the president's western tour. The return journey is now receiving his attention, as the schedule for the outward bound trip has been practically completed.

"We will attempt to take in as many of the country's natural sights as possible," said the secretary this morning. "In other words, we will get away from the crowds now and then in order to give the ladies of the party a little relaxation."

"The great trees of California will be among the points of interest visited. Several days will probably be spent in Yellowstone Park, and if we come back by Buffalo, Niagara Falls will be visited. The steamer ride down through the great lakes will be one of the most pleasant features of the outing."

The "president's special" will be limited to six cars. The president and Mrs. McKinley will occupy one, the members of the cabinet and their ladies two, the invited guests the fourth, and a diner and baggage car will complete the half dozen. Were it not for the limited sleeping space aboard, the party would be considerably larger. The cars will all be Pullmans, three of them compartment coaches. Each cabinet officer will be given two staterooms, and the invited guests and newspaper men one each.

Words fail when we would emphasize things like these. These two items speak eloquent comment on McKinley's assertion that "there are no classes in this country." What do they tell us?

"The 'president's special' will be limited to six cars." "Two men tried to board freight trains." No classes!

And these things go on and on, and editors publish them, people read them, and everybody seems to take them for granted, as if they were right and proper—or, if not that, inevitable and to be submitted to without protest.

I would not incite to vengeance or murder for these wrongs. They cannot help. If no

man could be found to shoot a gun for McKinley, for King Edward and their like, all this lavish expenditure on the one one hand, with its special trains, and all this poverty, out-of-work, and riding on freight trains, on the other, would soon end.

My heart bleeds, my eyes weep, as I think of those two bundles of "freight" crushed under those iron wheels. Tell me, comrades, is there anything I can do, that anyone can do, which gives any promise of success, against the stupendous mass of tyranny and wrong?

CELIA B. WHITEHEAD.

Denver, Colo.

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A Pertinent Proposition.

All active agitators in our ranks are constantly approached with the question, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" I think a pamphlet treating the idea of a "general strike" would to a great extent answer the question. The idea is strongly advocated by our Latin comrades in Europe and America, and we should join hands. There are several excellent works published in the French, Italian and Spanish languages on the subject; and according to my opinion it would be advisable either to translate the pamphlet published by the International Revolutionary Group of Students, of Paris, or the treatise presented to the Paris Congress by the Bronze Workers' Union. The English edition should, of course, also deal with the gigantic American Railway Union strike, the two street car strikes in Cleveland and St. Louis, the gold miners' strike in Idaho, and the last coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania.

Such a pamphlet, dealing with facts and giving positive reasons why the strikes were lost, how to avoid mistakes in the future, and how to prepare for a general strike to achieve economic freedom, would be a means to approach the trades unions, gaining their attention and sympathy. A. KLEMENCIC.

Honolulu, H. I.

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There are great opportunities for young women in the field of labor right here in Pueblo. Most any day a woman can get a job at dressmaking. She will work a month for nothing, and then she will receive \$1.50 a week for six weeks, and then—then she will be discharged and another beginner, to work a month for nothing, will be engaged. If she doesn't like this she can get a job at helping to trim hats. At this occupation she will be paid nothing for six weeks, and at the end of that time has no hope of employment, for the reason that another one will be engaged to work six weeks gratis. And that is right here in Pueblo.—*Pueblo Courier*.

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Literature.

A Study of Consciousness, Intelligence and Matter. By Dr. Geo. Pyburn. Geo. Pyburn, Sacramento, Cal.

A short but interesting inquiry. The conclusion of the author is that consciousness pervades all matter, and that intelligence is founded on consciousness. He considers the booklet "a fairly comprehensible introduction to one portion of the Monistic philosophy."

A. I. JR.

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

With ample power to supply to the fullest extent, necessities, comforts, and even luxuries for all, we have so mismanaged our social economy as to give injurious luxury to the few, while millions are compelled to suffer a lifelong deficiency of the barest necessities.—A. R. Wallace.

Note and Comment.

The thievery and robbery of the American kings has at last reached such colossal dimensions that they no longer feel safe in mingling with ordinary mortals, without being safe-guarded by a horde of policemen and detectives—even as the monarchs of Europe. Hence the fact that J. P. Morgan, the greatest of the robber gamblers, otherwise known as financiers, had to have detectives sent in advance to arrange for his protection on his present tour to Europe.

Once in a while even a legislature turns aside from its usually pernicious work of shackling other people, and indulges in a practical joke. Recently a member of the New York legislature introduced a curfew bill, making it unlawful for children to remain out of doors after 9 o'clock without a guardian. The scope of the bill was gradually reduced from the State of New York, until it applied only to the member who introduced the bill. It was then "killed." But this is an example which all legislatures should speedily adopt for all their legislation. If all the laws passed by these bodies applied only to their members; individually or collectively, the rest of the members of society who did not pass these laws would have cause to be profoundly thankful. It is a step in the right direction.

Last week in Chicago a girl who was desperately ill was in absolute need of restful sleep; but this was made impossible on account of the noise of the passing traffic. Thereupon the city authorities had the street blocked, notwithstanding the fact that this was absolutely prohibited by the law. Two policemen were stationed at the ends of the blockade, and explained how matters stood to the drivers of the vehicles, being deprived this time of their usual argument—the club—offering to allow them to pass if they insisted upon their legal right. "No one does insist," says the *American*, "as the State law has given way to the law of humanity." As a consequence of this action the girl is speedily recovering. Can we ask for a better illustration of practical Anarchy? It is usu-

ally the case that man has to be appealed to, as against the law, in an extraordinary circumstance. An appeal to the intelligence of man is always found to be more effective than brute force. But, aside from this, can you imagine the police taking such action in a case where the patient was poor, instead of rich? In a free society no distinction of class would be possible, and the life of one individual would be as valuable as that of another.

From Germany comes the cheering news that "the Goethebund, a union of many leading writers and artists, was formed, for the purpose of protecting art, literature, and dramatic performances from the clumsy efforts of legislation and police administration to force narrow and prudish ideas upon them." The organization has spread rapidly all over Germany, according to Wm. C. Dreher, in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is gratifying to learn that German Comstockism has thus a formidable foe against it. It is high time that the intelligent people of all countries resist to the utmost the infamous attempts of Puritanism to strangle all ideas of common sense in art and literature. Under the guise of "morality," these puny old women, who think they are men, attempt to stifle the noble expression of our greatest minds, because they go beyond the grasp of their own narrow brains. In this country this sort of "morality" has gone to such an extent that translations of some of the greatest men of letters of the present age, dare not produce their works entire, lest they be suppressed altogether.

Imperialistic ideas are rapidly penetrating the minds of the people here, and the greatest outrages are perpetrated with impunity by every petty police tyrant. The case of Rice, the Manila editor who was deported by the military authorities for exposing official corruption, and the case of Governor Wood suppressing a Cuban paper for daring to print a cartoon which was displeasing to him, have received the widest publicity; and this is borne patiently, almost indifferently. A short while ago some comrades in this city were most brutally arrested for the intention of holding a meeting; in Los Angeles and San Jose Socialists were arrested for exercising the right of free speech; the comrades of Brooklyn and New York were prevented from presenting a play which was permitted even in Italy; now in Philadelphia Comrade Goldman is prevented from speaking because of the whim of a city official; and to top the whole climax, a policeman in Philadelphia threatened to stop a meeting which was held to advocate three-cent street car fares, because someone made a remark about "monopoly," which was introducing politics! There is still more evidence of this character. The struggle of the liberal press against Comstockism is well known. In view of these facts, a movement in favor free press and free speech should be inaugurated, which all social reformers could join. This unwarranted tyranny has gone altogether too far without let or hindrance. A Free Press and Free Speech League, permanently established with

branches all over the country, to form a sort of vigilance committee, and energetically protesting against all cases of this kind, would be effective. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Only a very wide-awake and active propaganda in favor of free press and free speech will keep the enemy of all progress from gaining a very potent vantage ground—the suppression of all liberal thought.

ABE ISAAK JR.

A New Colony.

Alice Wolverton Eyre, an earnest worker in the cause of freedom, is on her way to Southern California, where she will establish a colony of true liberals. She intends to procure 50,000 acres of land, which shall be purchased by means contributed by wealthy persons residing in Europe, Australia and the United States. The circular states, among other things, the following:

The Ideal Commonwealth is composed of men and women who have outgrown the order of society which results from attachment to vested interests, is founded upon private ownership, is held together and governed by unnatural and arbitrary laws.

The property of the community of whatever nature shall be for the common use of all. Each person will be required to work two hours a day, and the product of such labor shall be placed in common storehouses from which each shall draw according to his need.

The dwellings shall be circular and shall be conducted on the cooperative or individual plan according to the desire of those entering into the experiment.

The colony shall be governed by the law of Love alone. It will be a realm in which (quoting Prof. Geo. Herron) "there will be neither 'mine' nor 'thine'; a realm beyond the reach of weights and measures, morals and laws, in which there is neither wage nor interest, neither price nor bargain, servant nor master; a realm in which there is no more question about how much one shall have over and above another than there is question about a division of the air for individual breathing." In short, the use of money, commercial or economic values will be entirely eliminated and all efforts will be directed toward bringing about a realization of the highest aspiration of the soul.

Ideal Love between the sexes will be promulgated and the purity of normally-expressed sex-life will be established.

A Reply.

How sad it is that us common folks know so little about Greek, Hebrew, and all other decayed languages, and that we don't understand the art of overawing the other fellow with them big words and conglomerated sentences! If we did we might succeed in making dem dedicated fellers see that to force some animal rot and filth into our bodies cannot improve upon the plan of old mother nature in our construction; that such a process is nothing but an antediluvian plan of murder. Too bad us common folks and "cranks" care much less for a ton of our greatgranddaddies' superstitions than for a grain of our own—common sense!—S. D., in "Peppery Pot."

It is too bad, for your own purposes, S. D., if you cannot at least command straighter English. Also that you should know so little of the facts as to call the most recent discoveries of science, made in your children's time, "antediluvian," or attribute them to "greatgranddaddies," (sic). But for the rest of mankind it is well that all kinds of ignorance, down to "mother nature's" nakedness, tree-top lodging, and fern-root eating, should be shown in sympathy, each with each. "Common folks" will class all together, when they see that. As to "cranks"—it is of their essence to be uncommon. Else they would know that ignorance is always 'a melancholy thing—in

dead earnest, not irony. It is not itself a shame, for we are all born into it, and none of us ever more than very imperfectly get over it. But to boast of ignorance, and to encourage a Movement in Favor of Ignorance, is shameful. None who possess "common sense" do that. Only "cranks."

C. L. JAMES.

Here and There.

In Switzerland, a country in which "the people govern themselves," out of 5,902 factories there are only eight in which the eight-hour day prevails. In most of the rest the toilers drudge eleven hours.

The Ruskin Colony has again been broken up on account of dissensions. But that little colony Home, Wash., is still growing without "rules and regulations."

"Only" 25,000 Filipinos have so far been murdered by the American "civilizers."

The workmen of Porto Rico have sent a petition to the United States, bearing six thousand signatures, asking for immediate aid. Many toilers die of starvation, others commit suicide, to escape seeing their mothers, sisters, wives and children starving and suffering. Such are the blessings of "American freedom." "If the Cubans do not wish to become slaves to the American cotton and sugar planters," says Captain Janes, "they had better get their guns ready. Their shackles are now being forged at Washington."

In Bohemia the miners have achieved the eight-hour day—without "political action." They simply refused to work longer than eight hours.

The *Coming Nation* urges Socialist papers to use the word "organization" rather than "cooperation," in order to make it clear to business men that "organization is the opposite of Anarchy or disorder." It is hardly necessary, Mr. Editor. Intelligent business men have grasped ere this that "Socialism," as advocated today, means tyranny of the most abominable kind. Freedom is the mother of order, government or "organization" the root of all disorder and strife.

A Russian monthly published in Switzerland says:

From the reviews regarding the merits of the translation of Tolstoy's "Resurrection," we learn how this great literary production has been mutilated in Europe and America, where, as can be seen, they have no government censors, yet strong public censorship. In England and America the novel was found immoral, and was altered accordingly. In France the indictment of militarism, and even of the Church, are omitted. In Germany they were not pleased with the reflection on the judiciary, and abridged the book to suit the authorities. Thus the book at once revealed the sins of these nations: the hypocrisy of the English and Americans; chauvinism (jingoism) of the French; and government-alism of the Germans. Fortunately there are also correct translations of the work, the English of which is the one translated by Miss Maud.

Charity Does Not Cover All Sins.

Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie sailed for Europe on the American Line steamship St. Louis. The trip of the Carnegies was purely one of

pleasure. I sailed in the same ship, bound for Europe to help my family, who were in great distress. Knowing that Mr. Carnegie was on the St. Louis, I thought it a good opportunity to endeavor to gain an interview with this man who had set all the people aflame.

True, I was a steerage passenger, and Mr. Carnegie and family occupied the finest cabin that could be found on board the St. Louis. But I determined not to be daunted by this fact.

When I gathered enough courage to approach the entrance to the first cabin, I was ordered back by an officer stationed there, who besides regarded me with some suspicion, on account, I suppose, of the shabbiness of my clothing and my careworn looks. This put an end to my expectation of seeing Mr. Carnegie in his own apartment. But one day, Mr. Carnegie, as a matter of curiosity, visited our quarters below deck, attended as a courtesy by a ship officer who led him through our place, a "living hell."

"Now," said I to myself, "now is the time to talk to him." I approached him, hat in hand, for I knew that only by an appearance of respect and subservience could I approach so "high" a personage, and said:

"Good morning, Mr. Carnegie. I am one of your old employees, and I would like to speak to you."

He reached out his soft, white hand and grasped mine, saying with a slight smile:

"Good morning. I will take you to my cabin, where you can say all you wish."

I walked away with Mr. Carnegie, the other passengers regarding us with a great deal of wonder; although there was no good reason why I, a man and a useful member of society, should not walk beside Mr. Carnegie. The cabin was furnished with the best of everything, soft, silken lounges, and rich drapery. But to confess the truth, I did not feel as comfortable there as when I sat on the hard chairs in our humble quarters. Mr. Carnegie pointed to a seat which I took, and then began the conversation.

"Mr. Carnegie," said I, "I have read in the newspapers of your gift of \$5,000,000. I am always a little loth to believe the newspapers, but in this case I think it is true."

"Yes, it is true," he said, "here is a copy of the letter I have sent to the managers of the Steel Trust. I will read it to you."

"Gentlemen: Mr. Franks, my cashier, will hand over to you upon your acceptance, \$5,000,000 of the Carnegie Company bonds, in trust, for the following purposes:

For pensions for Carnegie workmen.....	\$1,000,000
Annual income therefrom.....	200,000
Trust fund for free public libraries in Homestead, Braddock, and Duquesne,	1,000,000

"To be short," said he, folding up the letter, "I wrote them that I make this first use of my surplus wealth, upon retiring from business, as an acknowledgment of the deep debt I owe to the workmen who have contributed so greatly to my success."

"Mr. Carnegie," I said as he finished, "would you ever want to be dependent upon the charity of any one?"

"No, certainly not," he answered, "but say on."

"Then why, Mr. Carnegie, do you expect the workmen who, as you say, have con-

tributed so greatly to your success, to depend upon charity?" I asked earnestly.

"I see you have an opposing view of charity; but I will allow you to explain your ideas, and to put any questions you desire."

"Mr. Carnegie, do you think it just for a man to have surplus wealth? Can you deny that this wealth is not yours, but the wealth of the miners whom you desire to help through your 'charity,' and who have produced it? Do you know that the 'surplus wealth' is but the unpaid wages of the men who have 'contributed so greatly to your success?' Do you know that the interest on that \$4,000,000 which amounts to \$200,000, out of which the miners are to receive the pensions, is but the product of the same laborers, or laborers at large? Do you not think it most unjust that after a man has toiled for a number of years, and is unable to work any longer, to be supported by charity bearing the Carnegie or any other label? You give money for the erection of libraries in Homestead, Braddock and Duquesne; do you not know that the majority of the miners and their children are unable to read or write, because they never have had the opportunity, that you and men of your calibre have had? Do you not know that these miners have not the time to go to the library and read, because they are below the mines from 5 a. m. to 4 p. m.? And on their only day of rest, Sunday, they are too tired to drag themselves down to the library? Why are you now willing to give so much to the miners, when you were so unwilling to yield them their meagre demands which were but a little part of what was just? Why did you not prevent their slaughter at Homestead, Braddock and elsewhere where your interests were involved? You see that I am a cripple. Do you know that this is the work of you and your helpers—the 'authorities' who protect you and your kind only? Your charity—bah!—is but a mockery."

By this time both Mr. Carnegie and I were very much excited; Mr. Carnegie, however, bade me sit down and quiet myself, and at the same time he would endeavor to calm his own feelings. I took a book from my pocket, and read from Marion's poem, "From the Teeth of the Gray Wolf," these stanzas:

The curse of fathers and mothers made mad
By the sight of their murdered dead,
Shall ring all night in your straining ears,
As you toss on your sleep-fled bed,
And men shall rise from unsodded graves
In rivers and tunnels and mines,
And your blood shall freeze as ye meet the gaze
Of the ghastly, unbroken lines.
Men ye have robbed and killed and sent
To destruction in gruesome places;
Men all bleeding and burned and crushed,
With their dead, accusing faces.
On the bones of these, the slain, no more
Shall ye lie at your full-stretched ease,
For the sob of the storm that is coming, sinks
At no ego of Christ-bid peace.

When I finished, there were tears swelling up in the eyes of both Mr. Carnegie and myself. He asked me to leave the poem with him. I did so, and gathering my senses together, for I was much unnerved, I left the cabin. Mr. Carnegie was too nervous to ask me to visit his state room again.

New York.

SAMUEL MINTZ.

History of the French Revolution.

II

The interesting observation has been made that the Church, with her great system of local, provincial, patriarchal, and oecumenical councils, first made the representative idea successful. The Church, in the Middle Ages, was far the richest of corporations; and, being unwarlike, was the most apt, for a double reason, to be taxed. She had, however, her own way of protecting her property, and would not find money unless the nobles and cities, according to their means, did likewise. Hence the organization of the mediæval Parliament, an institution unknown to antiquity, consisting in representatives of Three Estates—the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Commons.*

Time was needed to mature these germs. Under the Merovingians, we hear little about parliaments. The kings of this time were at first mere barbarian chiefs, whose armies lived on the invaded country, and who doubtless would as soon plunder a refractory tenant as some one else. After Dagobert, they were slaves of State, over whom their tenants-in-chief had put a guardian, designated in conformity with a fashion which Diocletian introduced, as his principal servant, Steward, or Mayor of the Palace. The Mahometan invasion changed all this by necessitating great national exertions. Charles Martel, who defeated the Saracens at Tours, exacted much money from the Church, and may be considered to have founded that system of lay-patronage which is her greatest curse. He also practised extensive confiscations of allodial estates, turning them into fiefs of military tenure. His successors, after having, from Mayors of the Palace, become kings, were addicted to holding parliaments, which generally sympathized with their ambition. They had, however, set an example which proved fatal to their own authority. Each prefect and governor aspired to do somewhat as they had done. Meanwhile, from every quarter, hosts of stronger and fiercer barbarians than themselves came pouring. Against the Saracen from Spain, the Magyar from Tartary, the Scandinavian suddenly rising out of the white mysterious sea, the inhabitants of a divided, distracted empire had no protection but the castle and armour of their local lord. In this age, so like that which preceded the ancient cities, surviving Roman institutions appear at their best, for it was they which tided civilization over the bar. The Church, to the extent of her ability, held up before all Christians the double standard of religious and Roman unity, exhorting them to know no enemies but the Mussulman, the heretic, and the pagan. The towns took a more practical view. They were neither *urbes*, like ancient Rome, nor *oppida*, like ancient Lyons, but what since Sulla's time had been called *municipia*; that is cities whose autonomy rested on a charter granted by the general government. Their ancient

* This is a correct description of all parliaments, not merely of the French. In Spain, the Clergy decidedly predominated over the other Estates. In England, not only are they still represented by the Lords Spiritual, but, until the Stuart period, they voted their own taxes in Convocation. When deprived of this power (because they were too willing to assist the crown), they first became eligible to the Lower House, and began to vote for its members.

Roman franchises, renewed by wide-ruling conquerors like Clovis, directed their aspirations towards the national capital, where Clovis' successor held his parliament. Thus, at the very time when every count and baron began exercising from a castle absolute tyranny over the small district below, and hurling defiance at a distant court, that court, in which national unity, a practicable ideal, stood embodied, began to receive united support from the Church, the old municipalities, and the new ones, of which a plentiful crop sprang up through resistance by armed serfs to feudal tyrants. It is true in a wide deep sense that "Paris is France." For a long time this was simple fact. About Paris the name of France originated, when the king had but a shadowy claim to power anywhere else. In Paris the language of France became literary. At Paris the standard of its purity is preserved. The political attraction which radiated from Paris made a Nation of France, a most heterogeneous country, Celtic in the west, half German in the east, Scandinavian in the north, Basque on the Landes, half Spanish at Perpignan, half Saracen in Languedoc. From Paris proceeded also those edicts which abolished serfdom, and which gave the inhabitants of every duchy and county representation in an assembly of States General.

But since I have spoken a good word for certain Roman institutions, I must digress to say that they have received much undeserved praise. Their merit is altogether conservative—they merely kept from being lost some previous acquisitions, which, except for normal results of Roman over-cultivation, would not have been in any danger. The familiar assertion that the Church, or indeed anything else, "softened slavery into serfdom," is absurd. "Slavery and serfdom existed side by side throughout the Middle Ages—the former declining, the latter, which better suited an age of weak government when extradition was not easy, gaining ground. But the serfs, instead of partially emancipated slaves were partially enslaved citizens. As early as Constantine, the beggared tenants and small farm proprietors began being declared *servi*, *adscripti glebæ*, with a view to keeping them from flight into the cities. This purely Christian legislation was steadily improved by a series of most merciless edicts, which those who do not care to analyze the Justinian code may find reduced to synopsis in Michelet's "History of France," or Hodgson's "Italy and Her Invaders." Serfdom and feudalism, which advanced each other, reached their height about the end of the twelfth century. Their rapid decline after the middle of the fourteenth was due principally to events which had nothing to do with religion or politics. In 1348, the great pestilence known as the Black Death produced a scarcity of labor with an unwonted exuberance of capital. This was the knell of serfdom. Wages shot upward. They were freely offered in money. The laborers, who found they might improve their condition by leaving those lands on which they were born, could not be kept there. The great insurrections in England under "Wat Tyler," in Switzerland, associated with the still hazier name of Tell, in France (the Jacquerie), and elsewhere, had all a common cause—the people's new-born

consciousness that they could be kept as serfs no longer. In 1346, two years before the Black Death, cannon are said to have made their first important appearance at the battle of Creci. The resistless power and very considerable cost of these new appliances transferred military supremacy from the chateaus to the cities, and the central government whose cause was identified with theirs. Thus feudalism also fell. Religion, during the whole critical period, was in a depressed condition. The intellectual movement of orthodoxy (scholasticism) gave way to a pagan Renaissance. Heresies were rampant. The pope, no longer able to influence the factions of any country, was a prisoner and creature of the French king.

The interval between the Black Death and the Reformation was the best period of the Middle Ages. All the arts and sciences made rapid progress. The ever-mischievous influence of Rome continued much diminished. Feudalism lingered only as a relic, upon sufferance. Parliaments were more frequent and influential than ever before. If they were still rare compared with what they have come to be since, that is because there was little need for them. The people, as Macaulay points out, could safely be careless about their liberties, such as these were; for the king, though he might be indulged in some freaks by which only unpitied nobles suffered, was pulled down directly he attempted general oppression. If the condition of the poorest class was not much better than when they were called serfs, we may very pertinently ask whether it is much better now? The statistics collected by Cobbett in his violent pamphlet on the Reformation, by Froude in his ponderous and authentic, though not always logical, history of England, go far to show there was more material comfort for the proletarian and tenant than there is at present. It is to the moral and intellectual quickening of a later period that believers in the necessary character of progress must principally appeal.

The fortunate classes have undoubtedly much reason to be pleased with subsequent changes. But, again to cite Macaulay, there is great danger to whatever freedom exists, when a poor and rude people pass into a state of higher civilization with accompanying increase of wealth. This change passed over Europe about the end of the fifteenth century, principally in consequence of Columbus' and Gama's voyages. For the first time since the Roman Empire broke up, there began to be standing armies. The ensuing period was "the great plague and mortality" of political constitutions. That of England survived, principally it may be as our popular historian suggests, because her insular situation prevented her needing an army, until her politicians had seen how this weapon served tyranny elsewhere. The circumstances of France were quite opposite. The terrible wars with England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the great civil convulsions of the Reformation in the sixteenth, and the invasion of her soil by Spain, the first modern kingdom which possessed a standing army, had taught France to appreciate the value of this organization and to underrate its dangers. The crown lawyers made out that certain taxes, being

necessary for the public safety, were matters of course. Thenceforth the king was as independent of the States General as Charles I of England would have been of his Parliament, had a similar scheme succeeded there. Accordingly, they soon ceased to meet. The sovereigns and statesmen (Henri IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin) who principally effected this change, knew their business too well to interfere with the privileges of the nobles; for the nobles were still influential enough to get up considerable rebellions even in the seventeenth century. Those taxes selected for permanence, the *octroi*, upon sales, and the *gabelle* on salt, were indirect, and paid almost wholly by the common people. The time came when the nobles had to suffer; and at the beginning of the Revolution they, accordingly, were against the court. The system of arbitrary imprisonment in such institutions as the Bastille, was devised principally for a check on them. But to conciliate them was still State policy. Blank forms of *lettres de cachet* were distributed among those in favor, thus enabling them to imprison their own enemies, rivals, or inconvenient relatives, without law!

"The evil which men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

Queen Isabella organized the Spanish Inquisition; the philanthropist Las Casas created the African slave-trade; and the great minister of Louis XV, "Honest Fleury," is chiefly responsible for discovering the merits of the *lettre de cachet*. Surely such examples should teach us that statesmanship is a producer of evil, not good. On the same principle of pampering the nobles, they were allowed a practical monopoly of bishoprics, abbey, diplomatic and judicial positions, military and naval offices above the company or on the quarter-deck. The practice of creating new nobles was also curtailed, as an offense to hereditary pride. The various relics of serfdom were jealously preserved; the legal rights of the commoner negligently guarded. The peasants were compelled to labor on the public roads (the *corvée*). They were treated like dogs at home, and menaced by cruel vagrancy laws if they sought to leave. They were compelled to grind their grain at the landlord's mill, subject to the landlord's toll. Their crops were liable to the ravage of his horses, birds, and dogs. They were made, in the name of customary service, to do slavish work, such as drawing carts on the landlord's farm, or quieting the frogs which disturbed his sleep. Even in cities, the patrician practice of furious driving threatened vulgar bones, and the grossest personal outrages were more safely borne than complained of. All this, while the extravagance of the nobility was turning their land into mortgage-saddled wastes, and the easiest way of getting into their privileged circle was for aspiring plebeians to assume their debts. The army which sustained these atrocities consisted largely in foreign mercenaries; for things had reached that pass where trusting French soldiers would not do. The courts of justice remained. They opposed the encroachments of power, if not with the zeal of patriots, at least with the conservatism of lawyers. In their resistance to despotism, the Revolution may be

said to begin. But their organization was peculiar, and favorable to the grossest corruption. They were the old local parliaments of Paris itself, and of those various States which the French monarchy had absorbed during the Middle Ages. (The parliament, in all countries of Europe, is also the highest court). Their legislative powers had commonly long passed to the now obsolete States General, leaving only their judicial. In one province (Brittany) the parliament was still elective. In one other (Dauphiny) its ancient charter had been solemnly guaranteed at the annexation, and was guarded by a spirited people. But in general, parliamentary seats were inherited; and paid for, after the old feudal fashion, at demise—a system introduced by Henri IV, who had it cover the cost of the religious wars. Judges so made naturally indemnified themselves by plunder, which gave rise to most circulating scandals. As there was now no legislature, the kings had adopted the practice of holding what was called a "bed of justice" when they chose, and requiring the parliament to register their whims for law. And though this was never quite tamely borne, they usually got their way, until the last of them had quarreled with the whole aristocratic order.

Having thus traced the development of absolute tyranny in France to a climax, under Louis XV, when it reached in irrational profligacy and cruelty the worst excesses of Morocco, we may begin intelligently to describe the revulsion which overthrew it.

The settlement of permanent taxes upon Henri IV and his successors, had apparently made them forever secure against unwelcome proposals of reform. The *octroi* and *gabelle* yielded a revenue ample for the support of an economical government, though it kept an army adequate to coerce the people; but, with rapid increase of wealth during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these imposts became far more productive than at first. Happily, it is not the nature of tyranny to observe moderation. The administrations of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI, were quite the reverse of economical. These kings were always in debt. The terror of being obliged some day to call the States General together and seek new ways of raising money, was continually before their eyes. The embarrassment of the finances was almost chronically extreme. The revenue was raised by the wasteful and tyrannical process of farming-out, which became a chief source of plebeian fortunes. Meanwhile the masses reached the depths of misery. The philosopher Helvetius was a farmer of revenue, distinguished by moderation in the exercise of his odious office, which he eventually gave up because it went against his feelings. Far from being surprised that the Revolution came, we may well wonder that something similar did not occur in the last days of Louis XIV, full seventy years earlier than it did. Courtiers like Saint Simon and officers like Vauban expected it then. They got themselves into various degrees of disgrace by saying that nothing short of radical reforms could avert it. The disastrous war of the Spanish Succession had emptied the treasury. The persecution of the Protestants had impoverished the cities. In Dauphiny

there was actual rebellion. Throughout the kingdom there was actual famine. When the creator of the Paradise at Versailles breathed his last, the guards were scarcely able to carry his remains through an infuriated multitude to their resting place at St. Denis. A revolution at this time, however, would have lacked that character derived from ideas of later origin. The great natural resources of France carried her over the crisis without reforms. That general rival of trade followed the Peace of Utrecht produced wealth so rapidly that only a few years later the chief commercial countries witnessed a new and portentous phenomenon—the financial Bubble. The tulip mania in Holland had been perhaps the earliest example of this strange Nemesis upon over-accumulation: the South Sea scheme in England and the Mississippi scheme in France are still remembered as the most striking. Both occurred while the duke of Orleans was regent for young Louis XV. Injustice has been done the memory of an eminent financier by identifying him with the Mississippi swindle. He was scarcely as much even deluded by it as his conservative predecessor Paterson, who founded the Bank of England, was by the Darien Project. John Law deserves an honorable place in the history of political economy as discoverer of the important facts that credit, so far as it extends, will serve every purpose of money, and that it goes much the further of the two. In opposition to the Mercantile Theory, he stated as plainly as Adam Smith that the wealth of nations does not come in bullion but goods of all sorts. Another excellent idea, not yet as fully appreciated as it will be, was that production is measured by demand, and wealth, consequently, by trade. With these original truths he mixed up the familiar errors that the value of land and the powers of government are infinite—which entitles him to be considered the father of State Socialism. When he established his *Banque Generale*, the national debt amounted to 3,000,000,000 livres. The revenue, estimated at 148,000,000, scarcely met current expenses; so that the interest was constantly accumulating. Credit had been fearfully shaken by attempts to evade payment. The government's notes were hardly worth 25 per cent of their face. Law received three fourths subscription for shares, in this depreciated paper. Interest on deposits enabled him to redeem his own, in coin, at sight. The rate of usury, which had been high and terribly fluctuating, fell to 4 per cent. In August, 1717, Law became head of a new corporation, succeeding an old and unlucky one, which held a monopoly of the Mississippi valley trade. The interest on government notes paid for shares in this project, was reduced to the new current rate of 4 per cent. Having crushed a rival enterprise, with aid of the regency, Law's company held its shares at 100 per cent premium. He now proposed to buy out the remaining national debt of 1,500,000,000 livres, and reduce the interest to 3 per cent. By December, 1718, speculation had become mania. Shares were sold for forty times their face. When the inevitable crash came the debt was refunded, government henceforth paying only 37,000,000 interest instead of 80,000,000. The regent had used Law, who got the blame, to effect this gigantic repudiation without making another loan impossible. But the effect on the government's reputation was never overcome.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

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Owing to an untimely illness, Comrade P. Kropotkin did not arrive in Chicago at the expected time, and his engagements were postponed. The social and meeting will now take place as announced below.

For CHICAGO.

Special lecture by Peter Kropotkin, on "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal," in Central Music Hall, Sunday, April 21, 1901, at 8 p. m. Clarence S. Darrow will act as chairman and open the meeting. Admission 25 cents. Advance tickets may be obtained at the following places:

A. Edelstadt, 366 State St.
Anna Edelstadt, 977 W. Lake Street.

FREE SOCIETY, 515 Carroll Ave.
C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave.
Toggenburger, 105 Wells St.

All those in possession of money or unsold tickets for this meeting are requested to deliver the same before the meeting is held.

For Chicago.

Grand social and entertainment in honor of Comrade Kropotkin will be given Wednesday, April 24, 7:30 p. m., in Medinah Temple Hall, corner Jackson and Fifth Ave. All friends of freedom are cordially invited. Admission free.

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Take the Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Ave.

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The Letter-Box.

S. P., Columbia, Tenn.—Subscription for six months received. If our "philosophy is all right," it will surely be "carried out," in spite of "the mob in evidence." How it will be realized concerns us very little; for as soon as people comprehend that Anarchy—freedom—is their only salvation, they will then know how to get rid of government and commercialism, just as all other great changes in society have been achieved.

"Boomerang," Point Sur, Cal.—As your article merely asserts that all Americans are born free, and then admits that they are not, it is hard to see what you wish to prove. Besides, it is too badly written for publication; but as we learn from your own pen that there "is no excuse for ignorance and illiteracy" (in your own case?) we reject the article without regrets.

Mrs. L. R., San Francisco Cal.—Subscription received. Thanks for encouraging words.

RECEIPTS.

Walker, Pyburn, Swens, Burgstaller, Nielsen, Klotz, Shapiro, Kramer, each \$1. Miller, 75c. Weinstock, Kaufman, Kahn, Seltzer, Gerstein, Palivec, Knothe, Ziska, Siskin, Reinhardt, Schoenbach, Schubert, The Lyra, Wright, Schmidt, each 50c. Pratt, Prell, Braff, Gordon, each 25c.

DONATIONS.—From the Proceeds of Kropotkin's meetings, New York City, \$100. Proceeds from Russian Tea Party, Philadelphia, \$60. Social Science Club, Philadelphia, \$4.10. Salt Lake City Group, \$1.40. Clarkson, \$1. Fingold, 50c.

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