

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

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. 318.

Jean Misere.

Emaciated, clad with rags,
Crazy with fever, in a back alley,
Jean Misere is squatted down,
"Pain," he cries, "art thou never tired?"

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"No star, no friend for me,
The street deserted and lost,
Were the weather dry I could sleep,
But it rains melted snow,

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"I was a good tailor,
Now old, only a filthy rag;
'Tis the history of the workingman,
Since this world has been a world.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"Low wages and little rest,
You must get used to that or die;
Cocked hats, and rifled guns
Never go on a strike.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"They teach us a nice lesson,
They teach order to our families,
Their war killed my son,
Their luxury debauched my daughter.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"The Church blesses
These inhuman highwaymen,
And their God holds our hands
While they pick our pocket.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"One day the sky grew bright,
And the sun shone in my den;
I took the arm of one of my fellows
And followed the red flag.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"But thousands shot at us,
Oh, crime, in clear moonlight,
When they dragged me from the heap of dead,
I cried out, 'Vive la Commune!'

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

"Farewell, martyrs of Satory,
Adieu my castles in the air;
Let me die; this world is rotten;
We go from it as from a prison vile.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?"

At the morgue they lay him down.
And daily, on the cold stone,
They displayed the last dead,
Hostages of misery.

Ah! Me!

Will this never end?

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Strikes and Labor Unions.

A noteworthy feature of present industrial tendencies is the spirit of compromise displayed toward organized labor by combined capital. This is seen only where the workers are thoroughly united, skillfully led and occupy a strong position,—where resistance to their always too moderate demands would lead to commercial paralysis, and consequent danger to our capitalized values and prospective profits.

The success of a hundred thousand miners

last fall was not, as then claimed, chiefly due to political exigencies, but rather to the impact of so large a body against the highly sensitive commercial organization. That they retained the advantages then secured, and averted a strike this spring, shows that a deeper cause was at work than a passing phase of the farce of politics. Combined capital has now pretty well got the consumer by the throat, and can dictate the market prices of most commodities to an extent hitherto impossible. As competition is eliminated amongst the exploiters it becomes a matter of less vital importance to keep labor screwed down to the last cent. If the laborer demands a shorter working day or a trifling increase in wages, and backs the demand with a threat that means the disruption of present industrial conditions, so favorable to exploitation, he will succeed in proportion to his effective organized strength. The capitalists know that they can recoup themselves at the expense of the consuming public.

For these reasons the machinists have gained their point, a nine-hour day, which, however, their British comrades in the iron trades obtained through organization a generation ago. When capital caved in to the demands of the street car men in Albany, it was not because they feared a successful revolt, nor felt doubts as to the reliability of the militia when ordered to fire on strikers and their sympathizers, but they feared the continuance of the struggle would entail a shrinkage in railroad values greater than the gain of defeating the strikers.

Labor unions are an essential part of the machinery of wagedom. Like the trained boxers they stand prepared to seize an advantage when an opening presents itself. They undoubtedly mitigate the so-called iron law of wages, for without organization the workers would scarcely rise above subsistence wages, but as it is he continues to get more and more for his labor. Therefore prosperity, in the capitalistic sense, is an opportunity for him, according as he is united and intelligent, but when the inevitable crash comes, with panic and the ensuing industrial depression, neither his intelligence nor his union can save him from suffering.

In "good times" the union can wrest from the capitalists a small share of the benefits of such conditions, but cannot protect the producer from the direful effects of "bad times."

Commercialism is a state of war in which might is right, each class seeking to gain what it can at the expense of the other. Generally, an industry in which the workers are well organized shows a higher rate of wages for similar work than a poorly organized trade. The class war seems desultory and indecisive, the capitalists seeking to retain all their privileges, while the toilers are

ever striving to gain a slight advantage. In the nature of the struggle neither the union nor its chief weapon, the strike, can do more than to maintain an interminable conflict with the odds always in favor of the enemy.

One thing, however, must be conceded, that labor unions enforce solidarity and teach self-reliance. What is gained by united effort in open fight is likely to prove a positive and lasting benefit, but concessions such as shorter hours or compulsory arbitration obtained through political action are of doubtful advantage. Indeed any gain coming through legislation is a boomerang liable to be turned against the workers when occasion offers. Witness the anti-trust laws enacted in behalf of labor, which proved a pliable tool in the hands of partisan judges to suppress strikes and imprison their leaders.

What the organized worker needs is new ideals. He is content if the union secures him here a little more pay, there a slightly shorter working day, or at another time staves off a reduction. In short, he accepts existing economic conditions as final. This, however, only shows his need of education. (I don't mean that of the schools, or even of the universities.) It is safe to predict that if the organized workers of America had a social ideal such as most readers of FREE SOCIETY hold, their power would speedily be felt somewhat uncomfortably by the exploiting class, who would be squeezed so tight by the increasing and imperative demands of labor that no influence they now possess could long maintain them in the enjoyment of the power to rob the producer. Nor would the clumsy process of the ballot and political machinery be requisite. Spontaneous, non-political, industrial re-organization would surely be the outcome of an educated, united producing class with an ideal they were determined to carry out.

But it is puerile to deny that the workers are not yet prepared to reconstruct society in the interest of all. From the capitalists themselves they may some day learn the lesson. Meanwhile it is idle to cry for Revolution like a babe for the moon.

In the vanguard of the struggle for freedom, in the Anarchist camp, is observable an evolution of principle and policy even as in other realms of thought and action. Leading Anarchist thinkers a few years ago vehemently advocated, as the initial step of the impending Revolution, the general strike. A dozen years ago this plan was in much favor; writers in the press of the movement urged it and predicted its success, while the rank and file worked for it earnestly. Yet the general strike failed to materialize. Despite the growing solidarity of labor, it seems no nearer than before. Being merely negative in its character, it is extremely doubtful whether, had the method been tried, it would have accomplished any of the results expected of it.

There is always going forward an increase in the state of knowledge and intelligence amongst the workers. The process is slow but steady; events in the economic world are surely hastening it, and its fruition is essential to the successful revolt of labor. An abortive revolution is even more to be feared than a continuance of existing society. To say that the latter is moribund or rotten is to misapprehend the tendencies of change, unless indeed meant figuratively in the sense that the seed rots and decays in the act of germinating and bringing forth its fruit.

A strike is a protest, a rebellion, an act of defiance, but forms no part of the constructive process of social development. Nevertheless the strike is valuable, often righteous too, useful as a means of teaching the toilers that they possess some sort of power, though latent, and indispensable for intimidating the capitalist into some recognition of the rights of the wage workers. The Anarchist will continue to find a fruitful field for educational effort in the hum-drum ranks and attenuated outlook of labor unions no less than amid the turbulence of the strike.

WAT TYLER.

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Machinery vs. Human Labor.

Human labor is being rapidly displaced by machinery, electricity, compressed air, etc. The displacement is more in evidence in the United States than elsewhere, because here is the storm center of mechanical invention and discoveries of the resources and forces of nature. Already the American manufacturer is driving his foreign competitor out of the markets of the world; for, with the aid of machinery, he can produce more at less cost than his foreign rival, who still uses human labor to a large extent. In order to meet the American manufacturers, machinery must of necessity be employed in all other countries. Then what will become of the labor of those countries? It can no longer come to this country and settle on homesteads, for they are practically disposed of. Neither can it come here and find employment, for the machine is doing the work here also. And what will become of the American worker? In short, what of the surplus labor of the world when machinery takes its place? True, some may find some other occupation, but only till another machine will do the work. Surplus labor must continue to increase till the limit of mechanical invention is reached, this being necessarily the satisfying of every material want and desire of man at the minimum cost of human muscular energy. This means extermination for "surplus labor," unless they come to understand the cause that produces and fosters conditions of slavery and dependence, and destroy this system of insanity.

How can present industrial tendencies terminate otherwise than in the extermination of the unneeded portion of the workers, if they continue to loyally support and defend the very cause that has made them what they are—wage slaves? If it were not for this cause they could and would employ themselves, and retain the benefits of the fruits of their labor, instead of having to surrender

what they produce to those who employ them, except sufficient to sustain life and keep strength in their bodies while working. Through this cause the wage workers have been kept from getting possession of the only source from which can come the things that satisfy human material wants—the soil. This cause, which is the State, decrees that those who comply with certain laws can exclude all other beings from a given portion of the soil. Those who are unable to comply with the law in this respect are compelled, by circumstances, if they wish to live, to sell themselves to those whom the State enables to monopolize the natural resources, at a price fixed by the buyer, because, being defenseless, they must accept whatever terms are offered, or starve as a consequence of refusal. Being the property of the employer, they must do as bidden, and submit to any condition their owner chooses to impose upon them. If they revolt against their owners, their food supply is soon exhausted, and then they quickly submit. If they attempt to take the food which they themselves produced, but which the law, with the forces of government behind it, recognizes as the property of their owners, the employers, the State, that is the government, with whip in hand, flogs them into meek submission.

The law does not take cognizance of the fact that the laborer, having no other alternative to gain a livelihood than to sell himself for hire, is not in a position to protect his personal rights and interests when acting in the capacity of a hireling. The law fully recognizes and defines the employer's property, and punishes those who partake of the same without rendering payment. But the law does not consider the muscular energy of the worker as property, therefore if the employer takes from his hiring a greater measure of labor than he bargained to pay for, the law does not regard him as a thief. Yet, for some incomprehensible reason, the wage workers loyally support the State, and cheerfully obey its laws as do their masters, and even cry for more law and more government, and stubbornly refuse to consider that in order to have government it is necessary that there must be the governed, or in other words, master and slave. Thus the workers—slaves—are destined to succumb unless they realize that the monopolization of natural resources and the wage system are the causes of their misery.

In nature nothing can live in a condition of absolute idleness unless in a parasitical way. Machinery on the one hand and present industrial conditions on the other, produced by law and government, are creating that condition of absolute idleness for the workers which means death to those upon whom that condition is imposed. For the workers to escape this approaching danger, the State, instrumentality of law and force, must be abolished, so that mankind can adjust and readjust itself in accordance with evolving conditions. In this era of production for profit, the usefulness of a worker ceases, so far as the employer is concerned, when a

machine is made that will do the work. And as a consequence of the worker's inability to employ himself and keep up his food supply, he sooner or later sinks into misery and despair, often resulting in suicide, or either falls a victim of some disease, bred and nurtured by misery, which, if it does not kill immediately, at least weakens his vitality, thus shortening his life, or else he seeks escape from misery by becoming a so-called criminal. Here in America, where the amount of idle labor is enormously large in proportion to population, the resources of the country, territorial area and the amount of wealth annually produced, the elderly, the weak, the small of size and light of weight, be they young or old, find it difficult to find employment, and equally as difficult to retain it, because the employers can achieve more profitable results by employing strong young men. The applicant for work now-a-days is critically viewed from head to foot, for the purpose of estimating his strength. In the lighter occupations, those which do not require so very great amount of muscular strength, the same discriminating process goes silently on. The same is also true of mental-wage workers.

The alternative that confronts the wage workers today, is either to break down the barriers that stand between them and the source of their food, or else suffer misery and extinction.

The course of human society is mainly shaped by human thought. The workers are the major portion of human society, yet this majority is enslaved by a small minority, simply because of the prevailing superstition that government, private property in the means of production and distribution, are necessary institutions. But when the workers perceive that it is labor alone which creates wealth, and that government protects not labor but those few who monopolize wealth, then private ownership of the natural resources will perish; and society will no longer be plagued by institutions that breed famine and disease. Today only a few workers are aware of their social power and the impending danger; and in their keeping rests the safety of the stupid and indifferent.

The inventive genius has aided the workers to perform wonders; it has completely revolutionized production; and a like revolution in the distribution of the fruits of labor must also take place, or else society is doomed.

CON LYNCH.

San Francisco.

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Commemoration of Paris Commune.

The Anarchists in Boston held a commemoration meeting in Paine Hall, the last Sunday in May. A. H. Simpson was the opening speaker, and Henry Koch followed. Discussion was invited, but no opposition put in any claim to the floor.

A. H. Simpson said it was appropriate for the Anarchists to commemorate the downfall as it was for the Socialists to celebrate the opening of the Commune in Paris, because to each it taught different lessons; at least it taught to the Anarchists the failure

of a revolution conducted on political lines. Whether the Socialist learned any lesson didn't appear in evidence. After giving a short historical sketch of the growth of the International movement, and the split between the Marxists and the Bakuninists, he showed that the time was ripe in 1870 for the inauguration of the Social Revolution in France. The shooting of Victor Noir by Pierre Bonaparte was the last nail in the coffin of the empire, before the war with Germany, which was nothing but a re-herring scheme to divert attention from the industrial revolution then fomenting. He then gave an account of the origin of the Central Committees and the forming by Gambetta of the Government of National Defence, and showed what influence the old members of the International had in forming public opinion and directing events, and bringing about the election of the legally elected Commune. He dwelt most on events prior to the legally elected Commune, he said, because the story of the short period of the Commune in office was generally better known. That the Commune was not a success was no fault of the men elected. Probably a more honest, enthusiastic, noble and brave body of men—as a whole—could not have been brought together—certainly in this country no such body of men could have been selected under similar circumstances. But they could not govern successfully, among other reasons because they were generally too "good," and too independent thinkers. The elected Commune comprised men as different in thought and experience as Kropotkin and Gompers, as DeLeon and Wm. Jennings Bryan and Gunton, as Powderly and John Most. A committee of eighty made up of such an heterogeneous crowd as this, could not but fail, even if the principle of majority rule were sound. But of all their failures and blunders—great or little as one may think—their attempt to conduct a war with the enemy at Versailles was the most stupendous. Here it was nothing but blunder, and demonstrates the absurdity of a revolution run by bureaus or committees. If entire power and confidence had been placed in the persons of Dombrowski and Cluseret, there was a chance, and in the opinion of the speaker, a certainty of success as far as the fighting went. But these generals were hampered and regulated, and called upon to explain, and censured by a committee, and the result was to be expected. Of the last days of the Commune, the speaker touched on but slightly, saying he supposed the audience were as familiar with the barbaric and merciless actions of the party of "law and order," as he was himself.

What then was the lesson, from this fall of the Commune? Here the speaker went into a criticism of Socialistic labor parties. They like the Communalists, believed that the exploiters could be expropriated by the ballot. He then went on to show that after the voting to "take over land, capital, and the means of production, to be held for the people," then the fighting would have to commence, because the holders of property were as tenacious of holding on as ever. Law or no law, constitutions or not, they would not yield without a fight, and as the instruments of fighting as well as of production were already in their hands, what are the ballot

box Socialists going to do about it? They were guilty either of criminal folly or criminal perversity in leading the American voter to believe that he can bring about Socialism by peacefully voting the Socialist ticket.

Henry Koch then followed by giving a philosophic dissertation on the question of "getting what you want," and showed that the failure of the Commune was the same in character as all other political and social failures that put dependence on leaders and rulers, whether kings, priests, or Socialists. He cited many interesting illustrations of promising cases that failed, when managers and leaders instituted constitutional methods, the Cubans and the Filipinos being the latest.

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Reply to My Critics.

A comparison of what I said with what Morris said I said, both in recent numbers of FREE SOCIETY, will be enough for those who choose to make it. But for the sake of others, I will notice some of his points:

"The ignorance of the many and the knowledge of the few are the basic principles of power." "No matter what a man theoretically believes" (Anarchism e. g.?) "when he gets power he uses whatever influence he can to keep on the backs of the people, and becomes a tyrant." Evidently, then, "the knowledge of the few" is a bad thing: for "if all were equally ignorant none would have power." Yet it would be quite a mistake to suppose Mr. Morris promotes the Movement in Favor of Ignorance!

I oppose the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, consistently with my very different first principles. I hold that power (of man over man) always represents the ignorance of the past, enshrined in laws made by the past. It is the knowledge of the few which upsets the laws and the power. These few may not know any better than to set up new laws and power. But the more they know, the less they incline to do that; and, if they know enough, they are Anarchists.

Morris' ideas of science are evidently very loose. He says "mental science or mind cure" is used by "doctors of the new thought, who do not believe in the old foggyisms of the past." It was used by Jesus Christ, and was old in his time. I don't know much of it, nor of "physical culture"; nor does anyone else, for they are mere guess-work and haphazard; but I know enough to know that all the truth in them was familiar to "drug doctors" as long ago as Hippocrates; and consequently that their claim to be "progressive" is a bare-faced imposition. The true principles of positive philosophy, so familiar that I am almost ashamed to state them, are as follows:

When the scientist does not know, he doubts. Faith without knowledge is not science, it is personal conviction; assertion without proof is not science, it is humbug. The method of proof and test of knowledge is that the thing asserted can be applied. The progress of science is made by observation and experiment. But the experiments, to be satisfactory, must be comparative and exhaustive. All humbugs begin by exaggerating the importance of some sporadic observation; such as that a man who grew worse on drugs, grew well on regimen;

which any "drug doctor" could have told him was very probable.

The "drug doctors" have been preaching for centuries, and at last have hammered it into the heads of a few empirics, that most patients need drugs only because they are too lazy to take temperance and exercise; too ambitious or too unfortunate to take rest. As to mathematics—John Stuart Mill has shown that like all science, it is essentially inductive. The metaphysics of unextended points and polygons with an infinite number of sides, in which circle-squaring cranks delight, are not its rock-ribbed foundations, but the clouds where its apex is lost.

What is Anarchism good for if not to put down surgery and medicine? It is good to put down government of man by man. It is good to put down "China's vast torture system," "the hideous tortures of the Socialists and Anarchists at the Montjuich fortress," Comstockism, Rooseveltism, McKinleyism, the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, whose inspiration *does* come from Rome, because Rome is the embodied spirit of authority, and authority, I have shown, reposes not partly but wholly upon ignorance! To make out that Anarchism has any affinity with anti-vivisection, Mr. Morris repeats, by insinuation, that surgeonsexperiment upon (unwilling) human subjects. This is most uncandid. He began by saying that one of the greatest benefactors of mankind—the man to whom every one-legged and every one-armed victim of military or manufacturing tyranny, or of accident, in this country and others, owes his life, was guilty of torturing slaves "for the amusement" of an execrated king and his family! I reminded him that in this king's age and country, there were no slaves. He has nothing to say; yet he will not retract the atrocious slander which abundantly proves that the *Abolitionist* who imposed on him is a liar, and such authority quite worthless.

C. L. JAMES.

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Two Great Questions.

1. Has the "Church," in any age, unitedly and persistently, done anything with a view to improve the economic conditions of the toiling masses of people in any country?
2. Is the practical working out of a Gospel idea (after 1900 years) to be seen crystalized in a huge, devilish, killing machine termed a "War Ship," or in a corrupt government, or in corrupt legislation, or in corrupt municipalities, or in large standing armies and navies, along side of "established Churches," vying with one another for supremacy and power, or lastly in the destructive, selfish system of commercial competition?

Note: Question 1, speaks of the "Church," but which Church it is difficult to locate in 1901 A. D.

E. S. LISHMAN.

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The German government proposes to introduce special laws dealing with Anarchists. The lickspittles of the press advise proceeding against the Anarchists with the executioner's ax and deportation.

Three weeks ago eighteen strikers were shot dead and many wounded by the civil guard at Corunna, Spain. The guards fired on the people in the streets.

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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.

Notes.

In No. 18 of FREE SOCIETY we published a receipt for making bombs, which the unmasked Italian spy had given to a comrade in Paterson. The New York *Volks-Zeitung* is authority for the statement that any one attempting to mix the chemical elements as prescribed, would cause an explosion while mixing them and be killed. This was to be expected from a spy employed by the Italian government. It is of the same character as the fact that he allowed the Anarchists to express their contempt by spitting him in the face, and then sneaking away like a whipped cur.

Saturday, June 22, 8 p. m., Comrade Emma Goldman will speak in German before the Brewers' and Malsters' Union, 122 West Lake Street, on "Trades Unionism from an Anarchist Standpoint."

Tuesday, Jun 25, 8 p. m., she will lecture before the Lucifer Circle on "Failure of So-called Free Unions," at 500 Fulton St., one block from Ashland Ave. Students of the sex question are invited to take part in the discussion which is to follow the lecture.

July 2, 9 p. m., she speaks (in German) before the German Painters' Union, in an open meeting, at Lauterbach's Hall, 55 N. Clark St., on the subject "Cooperation an Important Factor in the Industrial Struggle."

Note and Comment.

Facts and figures are often cruel, especially when they demolish our gods and prejudices which we devotedly worship. Not even the "scientific" Socialists are secure from such disappointments. It is only a few years hence that the Socialist press called attention to the bonanza farms in Dakota and elsewhere as the beginning of the end to the small farms, applying Marx's theory of concentration to agriculture. But the figures of the last census mercilessly demolish this illusion. From 1,150,000 farms in 1850, the number has increased to 5,700,000, the greatest increase occurring from 1893 to 1897, a period in which America experienced a great crisis in the economic field. The bonanza farms are almost extinct, because they did not pay. "It is obviously futile to count upon a concentration in agriculture similar to that in industries," says the *Vorwärts*, a German Socialist periodical. "Socialists will, therefore, have to revise their faith in respect to agriculture as far as our country is concerned." Thus we see that

Socialist "science" is not always reliable, and unbiased Socialists—to say nothing of Anarchist writers—have already shown that the "faith" in the concentration of industry and the decrease of the middle class are equally delusive.

The "awakening" of the Socialists is indeed refreshing. Not only do they begin to realize that much of their "science" has proven to be simply "faith," but it also dawns upon the more broad-minded that red tape hampers the movement. A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, thinks that if Dickens, who wrote a cutting satire on government departments, "had had the opportunity of watching the machinery of the Socialist party of Chicago . . . he would have found miles of red tape and superfluous machinery to an extent that would make government departments look like lightning artists." But Mr. Simons does not yet perceive that red tape and governing machinery is the inevitable result of authoritarian "democracy."

President McKinley, during his whole reign of plunder, dishonesty, war, militarism, and imperialism, has been noted for his frequent sickening and flattering exchanges of compliments with the despots of the decaying European monarchies.

Rifles seem to be more effective than "law and order" in the protection of the weak in our glorious free country. In Minnesota people had for many years been settled on 30,000 acres of land, when—after having made vast improvements—Russell Sage disputed their titles. Of course the courts decided in favor of the millionaire, and the poor farmers have the alternative of vacating the land or paying tithes. Lately lawyers and surveyors swarmed South Louisiana to gobble up land on which oil has been discovered. But the Louisiana farmers did not appeal to the courts. About two weeks ago they appeared on the scene well armed, and threatened to drive out of the country by force of arms any lawyers, surveyors, or other persons who may attempt to gobble up land or to throw doubt on titles, and thus bring on litigation. "The surveyors tendered all their survey notes and papers to the mob, and agreed to leave, never to return," says a press dispatch.

Certain Comments.

Now that the Italian government has either murdered Gaetano Bresci outright, or tortured him into insanity, (in which latter case his so-called suicide is in reality a mere murder,) doubtless the European monarchs will draw a long breath of relief. While the balance of force remains on their side, they feel safe in getting to the full their lust of vengeance, regardless of the harvest of hate which must sooner or later be reaped by them. If assassination will not rid the world of kings, neither will inhuman ferocity and fiendish torture check the advance of king-killers. Those who have never shown mercy have little ground for complaint, if mercy is not shown to them. The rulers of the world are hastening their own destruction, by their excess of cruelty. The day of

reckoning may be distant; but it is none the less sure. Personally I have no love of revenge; but I cannot misread history, and pretend to believe that the people can forget the lessens of violence that their rulers have been at such pains to instil into them. One thing, however, is certain. The people will always remain in the right; for they could not, if they desired, exact a vengeance that would begin to equal the wrongs and infamies they have endured through ages of oppression.

The Supreme Court of the American Empire has done exactly what was expected of it, and has emphasized the fact that democracy is an exploded fiction in this country. The Filipinos, Porto Ricans, and the rest, are mere slaves, with absolutely no rights which the emperor and his satellites are bound to respect. And yet his imperial highness has the effrontery to declare that wherever the American flag goes, it carries along the blessings of liberty! The rule of exploitation at home and the law of the sword abroad are the gifts of a beneficent government to those under its sway. If such a state of things could continue forever, there would be no need to apply to theology for a picture of an eternal hell.

If it were possible to retain the slightest respect for President Jordan of Stanford University, after his contemptible pusillanimity in the Ross matter, his Commencement Day address of this year must have quenched the last spark in the mind of any honest thinker. His speech, from beginning to end, was as coarse and lying a specimen of base adulation, as ever issued from human lips. Leland Stanford acted shrewdly, when he founded a university to cover up his crimes. He knew that men like Jordan, educated and cultured, were ready to sell themselves and their influence to the highest bidder. He knew that under the guise of education, such a college would be an excellent breeding-place for capitalist sentiment. "The founder whom we love and the founder whom we revere," says Jordan; and he does not blush in thus designating the robber of the orphan, the oppressor of the poor, the exploiter of the people, the deadly enemy of the working class. We are told that Leland Stanford was at heart a profoundly religious man. No doubt; such scoundrels generally are. It is not surprising that he made it a condition that the University should teach a belief in "the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and that obedience to his laws is the highest duty of man." It would not do to allow honest investigation, lest students should learn to think for themselves.

The New *Abolition* has a marvellous gift of misunderstanding plain words. In a recent article, I referred to Socialism as right in instinct, though incomplete in analysis, and then went on to speak of the "incredible puerility" of the "reformers," who expect to regenerate society by means of the Single Tax, Prohibition, or some other one of the many patent nostrums which are far from "right in instinct." The New *Abolition* draws the astonishing conclusion that I ascribe all this childish nonsense to Socialism,

with which I have expressly contrasted it. The *New Abolition* can learn much from the columns of *FREE SOCIETY*; but its editor should try to understand what he reads. Anarchists are perfectly well aware of the Socialist position, and neither need nor desire to misrepresent it.

"Civilization" continues to advance with rapid strides in California. In Modoc Co., a mob of ruffians has just lynched five men for petty larceny. One of the victims was an old man of 72, another a boy of 16.

I see that Dowie has declared himself to be Elijah the prophet. Like other "prophets of the Lord," his first official utterance is a demand for the tithes. Hereby ye shall know them.

The "heroes" of the Presidio continue to distinguish themselves as drunken rioters. The latest military achievement is the smashing of a San Francisco saloon to an extent that would make Carrie Nation turn green with envy. The attempt to murder everybody in the place, both men and women, was a soldier-like variation, which would not have occurred to Carrie.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

Missionaries No Use.

To the Congress of Religions at the World's Fair came a Hindoo monk—one Vive Kandanda—who was gazed at compassionately by most of the self-righteous gathering as a heathen. I shall never forget this Hindoo priest, says F. H. Wentworth, secretary of the Social Crusade, never forget his huge frame, his dark skin, the flash of his burning eyes, and the magnificent scorn of his words.

"Don't send us any more missionaries," he said, "you are a lot of hypocrites! We know what your Jesus stood for! We know the beauty of his teachings! What we want to know is how to apply those teachings to the conduct of our lives, and you cannot teach us that. You have not learned it yourselves!"—*People's Paper*, Santa Barbara, Cal.

"Civilized" Brutes.

Mr. George Lynch, the well-known newspaper correspondent, contributed an article to the *Westminster Gazette* of May 17 on "The Dance of Death in China." It was an appalling account of some of the horrors he witnessed in China on the track of the Christian allies. "Many of the details," he says, "of the conduct of the Russian, French, and German soldiers do not bear publication." These must have been too frightful for words if they were worse than those which are recorded. The outrages perpetrated on girls and women were simply infernal. Mr. Lynch himself found two Chinese girls at the foot of a cliff, where they lay moaning piteously, and one of them at the point of death. "As I went towards them," Mr. Lynch writes, "the one who appeared least injured shrank from me with an expression of loathing and horror until I offered her a drink out of my water-bottle. Her delicate, childish little hand trembled violently on mine as she drank eagerly from it. The other

was almost too far gone to swallow." From the houses above came the hoars cries of soldiers, and the sobbing screams of women, telling eloquently what it was that these two poor creatures had tried so desperately to escape from. "This scene," Mr. Lynch adds, "was typical rather than singular." On the way to Peking and in Peking itself, it was no unusual sight to see entire families lying side by side on the river, where they had suffocated themselves, or to see them suspended from the rafters of their houses. Suicide was their only refuge from the memory of Christian infamies.—*London Freethinker*.

Here and There.

In Augusta, Ga., more than 400 children, under 12 years old, work in a cotton mill, of whom only 116 can read and write.

The police broke up an entertainment by the "Anarchists" in Clarendon Hall, New York, last Saturday night on the pretext that the hall had no theatrical licence.—*The Truth Seeker*.

Mrs. Nancy B. Irving, of this city, has offered a reward of \$1,000 to the first business or professional man who can prove that he has carried on his business for a month without lying. She has no fear that she will be called upon to pay over the \$1,000, for she rightly contends that the professional and commercial life of today is conducted in an atmosphere of lying and deceit.

In many cities of this country the Jewish shop-keepers protest against the Sunday-closing law, because they are compelled to celebrate the Christian Sabbath besides their own. One of them observes:

But certainly the stranger in this country would be extremely surprised at the way the Hebrews are treated here just now in regard to the observance of Sabbath. Who is to blame? The law or those who enforce it? Oh, the law. But perhaps our people now suffer the consequences of having been among the first to bring laws into the world. When people saw that the world was too good they began to make laws, and ever since they have kept up making and multiplying them faster than even the lawmakers can break them. Why, one can hardly walk two steps before he finds that he is breaking a useless law which it is very tempting to violate. I am not so radical as some of my friends. I do not believe that all the stupidity of the age has been incarnated into our laws. A great deal of it has been left in our customs, traditions and superstitions; but a law that interferes with religious liberty in a free country is bad enough.

Eighteen thousand ex-slaves of the island of Cuba, who are afraid of being maltreated and oppressed under American rule, have addressed a request, through one of their number named William Georges Emmanuel, who is presented as their leader, for permission to allow them and other colored Cubans to settle in the Congo Free State as Belgian colonists. The government of the Congo Free State is willing to receive the Cubans if America has no objection to their emigration. These "ex-slaves" do not seem to have been favorably impressed by American freedom.

Discussing the question of gamblers and speculators, "The Inspired Idiot," of the *Chicago Daily News*, concludes:

"Would you allow the speculator nothing for his energy, capital and business acumen?" asked the Shoe Clerk, as he declined a second piece of pie.

"If we allow anything to one who has not added to the country's products or handled them in transit he is

getting something for nothing, and ten books on political economy, each ten inches thick, couldn't prove anything else. Some people assert that the speculators do not rob the public, but that they take from one another. The man who can prove that proposition will be able to demonstrate to you that two men can be locked up in a room alone together and both get rich trading jackknives."

A certain capitalist, unbosoming himself with a capitalist editor, is reported, black upon white, as having used this language:

"It might as well be admitted, once for all, that the time of arbitray rule, exercised by employer over employee, is gone by,—said to say. Until recently we did as we pleased with the workmen, or almost so. It didn't work bad. That that is over, thoroughly over, strikes one in the eye; the thing is no longer open to doubt. The workman has opened his eyes; or at least some people have made it their business to open them for him. He now is conscious of what he is, of his power, of his omnipotence. Henceforth he is to be reckoned with. We long had reason to expect that we would dispose of those Trade Unions, that reared their heads in the face of our authority; we seduced their presidents and bought them over to our side. But that's all over, all over."

Where this occurred? According to the *Weekly People* the capitalists in France are thus frightened by the spread of radical and revolutionary ideas.

In Switzerland many Russian police have arrived to assist Swiss detectives in procuring a list of known Anarchists. A list similar to that is being compiled in Paris. The object is to inaugurate an international chase and blackmail. This looks like a deliberate provocation to violence.

In France a split among the Socialists has occurred which will undoubtedly weaken the movement as far as "political action" is concerned. The issue pro and con is their Comrade Millerand, minister of commerce, who has ceased to be a "class-conscious" Socialist.

In the interest of good morals a Negro was killed last week at Pheba, La. He had been living with a white woman and was repeatedly ordered to leave. Failing to go, he was shot dead by a mob of whites.—*The Truth Seeker*.

The Illinois legislature has been considering a bill forbidding idiots to marry. How do the Illinois capitalists parties expect to remain in power, if idiots don't marry, and breed voters for them?—*The New Dispensation*, Springfield, Mo.

"The militia of Belgium seem to be carved from different timber than their 'colleagues' in America," says the *Freiheit*. "A quarrel arouse between the officers and soldiers regarding discipline. The officers were given a trashing, after which the privates paraded the streets singing the Marseillaise."

A Correction.

In your last issue C. L. James says he is not allowed to answer Clarkson through *Lucifer*. While it is true that I refused to allow *Lucifer* to be monopolized by a few writers on vivisection and vaccination, I have not denied to Friend James the right or the opportunity to answer Clarkson, Walker, or anyone else. The first and chief qualification of an editor is even-handed justice. No one has less reason to complain of injustice at the hands of *Lucifer's* editor than has the sage of Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

M. HARMAN, Editor *Lucifer*.

History of the French Revolution.

X

On October 5, 1789, a disagreeable day, threatening to storm, a woman appeared in the Faubourg St. Antoine, beating a drum and crying, "Bread! Bread!" She was soon followed towards the Hotel de Ville, by several hundred furies, with streaming hair and hungry faces. Before they reached the civilized region about the Place de Greve, they numbered at least seven thousand,—some authorities say ten. If reading any history more modern and authentic than Plutarch had been the fashion, Messrs. Bailly and Lafayette, who had taken upon themselves to guide this raging Revolution, might have known that, in such times, the normal result of overawing agitation among the men is—an Insurrection of the Women! They did not know it, and were without an idea what to do. It really looks as if they kept out of the way intentionally; and considering the result of their previous dictation, one may doubt whether this were not the best thing in their power. Bailly being *inventus non*, the women abuse him and Lafayette; sack the Hotel de Ville; and mob poor Abbé Lefevre, who was not afraid of De Broglie, but is of them! Maillard, a Bastille hero, tells them they will get no bread here—they must go to Versailles. The idea takes. "To Versailles! to Versailles!" cry the Amazons. After they were gone, Bailly appeared, and sent for Lafayette. Lafayette called out the National Guard—3,500 troops of all arms. But far from being willing to suppress an insurrection of women, among whom many had eaten nothing for thirty hours, these warriors declare that Lafayette must lead them to Versailles "for protection of their women against those traitors who have just insulted the nation." An immense crowd joined in the clamor. It was mainly to overawe this mob, already large enough for danger, and every moment increasing, that Lafayette had assembled his soldiers! Lo, the crowd orders the soldiers, and they order their general—who shortly before had told Gouverneur Morris that he, Lafayette, was master of the situation, and really felt himself more powerful than a subject should be! As for the women, it does not seem to have struck him that they were any account! He had only wanted to avoid a disagreeable encounter with them! But he stood for hours talking to the the soldiers and citizens—at last said he would do as they wished if Mayor Bailly sanctioned it. Mayor Bailly orders it instead. Lafayette drifts away with the flood he "arrested" last month. But it is now 5 p. m. Before this, the women had captured Versailles—king, queen, and National Assembly.

As they started, one said, "We shall bring back the queen's head on a pike." At the Sevres bridge, another was heard to say, "Cut her throat, and make cockades of her entrails!" Similar threats were uttered against the archbishop of Paris, Maury, chief of royalist priests, and D'Espréménil. No one menaced poor harmless Louis—on the contrary, the women sang songs in his praise, and Maillard took every opportunity to tell people whom they passed that the good king was to be delivered from his bad advisers. Maillard, self-elected general, had given his female army a military organiza-

tion. At head and at rear, for greater safety, are a few National Guards, mostly Bastille heroes, like their chief. Foremost among the women, are a troop of courtesans—not street-walkers, but queens of the demi-monde, "most of them young, dressed in white, with hair powdered, and a sprightly air." One wields a naked sword. The famous Théroigne sports a red vest, and rides on a cannon. Another piece of artillery is also in the column. The rest of the "Mænads" are fishwives, nondescripts, poor, hungry, furious. A few tallest are suspected of being men.

The impression produced by this unique procession, is everywhere, first ridicule, then terror, at last admiration. Messengers had been sent at the very outset to warn the Assembly and the royal family. There were hours for preparation. But the Assembly pooh-poohed. The queen was at Trianon, the king shooting hares at Mendon. Instead of flying, they returned to Versailles. As excitement and rumors of danger increased, the carriages were brought out. But Louis now became afraid that if he fled Orleans would be king; which is very probable. He entreated the queen to go; but she would not without him. All along the way, most people fled from the Mænads' approach; but those who remained, were favorably impressed, and cheered them. It began to rain in good earnest; the wind blew fearfully; the cold became severe. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, the Mænads, now fully recognized as deliverers, tramped through mud and mire into Versailles, amidst shouts of "Long live our Parisiennes!"

The king had neglected to sanction the Declaration of Right and that abolition of feudalism which not a single priest or noble chose to vote against. On this 5th of October, the Assembly angrily discussed his conduct. Mirabeau, Robespierre, and Pétion, of whom we shall hear more, spoke against it. At sight of the Mænads, Louis sent the Assembly a qualified acceptance. As usual, he was too late. Maillard had been admitted to the Salle, where he made a very temperate address. The women overflowed the galleries, and put in their oar. "Who is that sponser? Silence that babbler: he does not know what he is talking about. Let Papa Mirabeau speak: we want to hear him. M. Mounier, why did you vote for that vile veto? Beware of the lamp-post!" Mounier, who presided, was sent to the palace. His chair shortly becoming vacant, a woman sat down in it. Some Parisiennes were sent by their friends with Mounier. Louise Chably, a beautiful flower girl, was pushed ahead and bidden address the king, who encouraged her to speak. Eleven miles walk, with probably nothing to eat, the presence of majesty, and a sense of her responsible position, were too much for her. She stammered and fainted. Good natured Louis caught her in his awkward arms and kissed her pretty white lips. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." These women supposed a king to be an ogre who had baths of blood. They saw one now; and behold he was a man, prematurely obese indeed, but so fatherly that their hearts melted. They emerged with a glowing account of his kindness, which their constituents promptly interpreted in quite another way. They had

been bribed. "*A la lanterne!*"* The ruffianesses pull off their garters. Mounier and others got poor Louise back to the king;† who appeared on the balcony to justify her, and sent the whole delegation home in royal carriages! He promised to exert his authority for the relief of Paris; but, with characteristic judgment, did nothing about feeding the hungry crowd at Versailles. On the women's approach, Lecointre had drawn up the National Guard to prevent mischief. D'Estaing, insisting with true royalist stupidity on etiquette, pushed the Body Guard before them. These fools attempted to drive back Mounier and the women. Directly after, they began skirmishing with the National Guard and the Parisians. Some shots were fired, two or three of the mischief makers wounded, and a horse was killed. D'Estaing then withdrew his fellows, though the Marquis de Farras, a traitor, soon to be hanged, was for fighting.‡ Louis haggled five hours with Mounier over the Assembly's demands; but at last accepted unconditionally. And now it was night. The licentious part of the women easily find quarters. The National Guards eat, drink, and sleep with them; and swear vengeance on the Body Guards, by whom they and the country have been insulted. But these adroit females seduce Body Guards also!§ It was near midnight when Lafayette arrived,§ with an army of good soldiers, loyal alike to king and country, but also encumbered by a formidable mob. Obstinate Louis has his Body Guard, and will be beholden for nothing to Lafayette. A few hundred women were feasted by the Assembly till 4 a. m. Thousands shared the dead horse, and camped as they could, on that horrible night, which brought them so terrible a reinforcement hanging upon Lafayette's rear and wings. About five in the morning, Lafayette having just lain down after making such arrangements as royal stupidity would permit, some Parisians, coming too near an ill protected gate, were, according to the most probable story, fired on by the Body Guards. They almost instantly broke into the Grand Court, thence into the Marble Court, which received the Grand Staircase. In this brief scuffle, however, an unarmed National Guard was shot dead, and some other persons wounded. Two sentries were slain. The bearded ruf-

* Louise herself wrote an account of this interview, which has lately attracted attention, and differs in some details from the time-honored story. Nothing is more difficult for an historian than to digest a consistent narrative from the conflicting tales of eye witnesses, and at the same time respect the rule that his evidence should be the best. Unless, indeed, he lets prejudice rule; when it becomes fatally easy—in his own conceit. An important point is that she was saved principally by Mounier, not the Body Guard. This I believe because it harmonizes so well with the other acts of both. But I suspect she gives us rather what she meant to tell the king than what she succeeded in making intelligible—i. e. that the fainting incident is true.

† Saint Priest. He was himself a royal officer, who, at an earlier hour, had advised resistance. Taine dodges the whole affair—sure proof he found nothing good for the court.

‡ Taine, Carlyle, and Mme. Campan state that men prominent in the revel of October 1 were also in the attack of the 6th. That the women distributed money among the soldiers is a very improbable and unsatisfactory explanation of defection so contagious.

§ Thiers says seven. But Taine's account, decocted from a host of conflicting authorities, is more detailed and consistent.

fian Jourdan (Jacques Coupe-tete) cut their heads off. Up the staircase ran the murderers, brandishing pikes and axes, urged on by a human sea behind. Before them, to the west, between the staircase head and the two famous galleries of Glass and Peace, is the very *nucleolus* of monarchy—the *Œil de Bœuf*. The Body Guards take refuge in it, and bar the door. To north is the king's bedroom, to south the queen's long suite of apartments. A few guards ran through them to the anteroom—the two last, both badly wounded, bolt the outer door. The others have broken in upon the slumbers of the queen's women, who cling round them sobbing and shrieking. "We will die here," said the brave fellows. "You save the queen!" Exhausted by the unwonted excitement of danger, she is sleeping sound within. Two of her ladies have some difficulty in rousing her. As her spirits, casting off the mysterious coil of slumber, return from the silent shore, what sights, what sounds they meet! Those frantic undressed women shaking her, regardless of etiquette; her voluptuous chamber otherwise as usual; white wax-lights burning to a pale October dawn; but in the air a noise as of a mighty tempest, while ringing through the corridors are curses, shots, and blows! She fled towards the king's apartments, her women, as she ran, fastening a petticoat about her waist. It was in the *Œil de Bœuf* she met her husband; who can hardly have slept as well as usual. There the fate of France has been decided for a hundred years. Here, today, it will be fixed once more. Here nobles had lounged, and chatted, and cabalised; here decided that this man should go to the frontier, and that to a living grave in the Bastille or the Chateau D'If. Though the contrary has often been stated, the mob did not break into the queen's apartments; but with truer instinct began storming the *Œil de Bœuf*. At the sound of their axes on the door, the queen loses heart and bursts into tears. "Oh my friends, save me and my children!" Dives and Lazarus, some political philosophers tell us, are physiologically associated poles of one social organism. There can be no real antagonism between their interests. Pity that neither Dives nor Lazarus learns this elementary truth! When Dives and Lazarus happen to meet, even during this life which now is, upon terms advantageous to Lazarus—when the *Cour des Miracles* breaks into the *Œil de Bœuf*—it is likely things may happen not contemplated in social-organism philosophy. But now some French regulars made their appearance, and called on the Body Guard, who had fought with them at Fontenoy, to hold out. Lafayette also came up, and bade the mob retire. One ruffian pointed a gun at him. Those men nearest took this fellow head and heels. They raised him high in air. They reversed him on the pavement. He never trifled with a gun again. A cry runs through the multitude that Lafayette has arrived. The human sea is petrified. The National Guards attend to some rascals who have been mounting the king's horses. Madame Adelaide (one of Louis' aunts) embraced the republican general exclaiming, "You have saved our lives." Yet nothing is clearer from Marie Antoinette's correspon-

dence that his own would not have been worth a rush with her power once restored. The courtiers laid up this nap against him. Instead of Cromwell, as before, they called him General Morpheus. That crowd which filled the lower court now began to cry, "Le Roi a Paris!" Papers were thrown out announcing that their wishes would be granted. They shouted, "Vive le Roi!" The queen was also called for. She announced that she would go to Paris with the king. Lafayette escorted her to the balcony. She led her two children. M. de Luzerne had heard whispers that she would be shot. He attempted to stand before her. She bade him give way. "No children!" shouted the mob. That is because they mean to shoot! She put her children back, and stood forth alone, in that white and yellow gown which she loved to wear at Trianon—this daughter of so many Casars. She stood with folded arms before women of the fish market and the pavé, at the end of whose vista, full of misery and oppression, they had always been wont to see her standing. There was little mutual comprehension. Her mind did not rise to the point of supposing her dignity could impress such wretches. She only stood up, game, to die. When she found this was not yet to be her lot, she retired to weep over the disgrace of being thus exhibited. But Princess and Poissarde, at all events, possessed in common that one virtue which, having been the earliest recognized, is the most usual. These Furies, who had helped to storm the Bastille, knew a brave woman when they saw one. A tremendous shout of *Vive la Reine!* made the court ring and rolled along the streets. Then Lafayette, laying aside Cromwell to assume Grandison, kissed her hand, and the acclamations redoubled. The Body Guards put on the tricolor cockade, and were also cheered. The National Assembly at once voted itself inseparable from the king, and ordered a hundred delegates to accompany him. Thus did the much reviled mob do, not without some hard winking from the much praised Lafayette, what he clearly should have done. Since no better use could be made of this king and queen, why, O Lafayette and his eulogists, find fault with your tools,—which never was the mark of good workmen,—nor rather put majesty where it could do less harm than anywhere else? That was what the mob did. The why and why not seem to me as follows. King Mob is in truth the father of sovereigns. All their power, wisdom, faults and folly also, if genuine, are but his. When they become shams, Mob must needs assert himself again. But so long as the royal brood which sprang from his plebeian loins reflect his purpose fairly well, he honors them, like any doting parent—which is their means to live. Naturally, the last to acknowledge that they have become shams, are legislatures, marquises, and such like—because these are part and parcel of the shams.

At half past one, the strange procession set out. The heads of those guards who had been killed were already in Paris, and did not shock the royaleyes.* But black loaves,

* Lafayette, Thiebault, Mito de Melito, Gouverneur Morris. The last is strictly contemporary. "Two heads of the Body Guards are brought to town, and the royal family are to come this afternoon."

stuck on pikes the previous day, to show Dives what Lazarus must eat, were carried back; for, after all, they could be eaten. Green boughs were waving. All the people were shouting. Fifty cartloads of provisions, detained hitherto at Versailles, were borne as spoil of real value. The women remembered Trianon. "We won't starve now," they said. "We have got the baker, his wife, and the 'prentice." At eight, the royal family arrived in Paris, to endure a reception at the Hotel de Ville before they could take possession of the deserted uncomfortable Tuileries. It rained hard all night. But next day there was another inundation of milk and honey. The king and queen were called forth, showed themselves, received a perfect ovation. Even Marie Antoinette might still be popular. But of course she could not understand that. When she left that palace she would never see again, her face was crimson and suffused with tears. She had scarcely voice to say, "Captives kings are near death." There was no danger, till she chose to make more. Bitterly she must have felt (one would think) the ignominious flight of her Flanders regiment and her 1,200 noble officers! "The days of chivalry were over!" But she was far from realizing how completely. The men who made chivalry, when there was something new and real about it, were not the nobles of that time.* Monseigneur's art—*son metier a lui*—is to have Jacques go first. So when Jacques sinks in the road of Ohain, no one thinks it strange; but when Piccolomini takes a hedge lined with pikes, and falls, all Europe rings with his valor—because one of Piccolomini's order very seldom does. These truths, we shall see, no experience could teach Marie Antoinette.

However, the mob had put her where her power of doing harm was a minimum; so, for a long time, there was nothing but sweetness. Louis walked in the Champs Elysees without guards. His sister, Madame Elizabeth, a beauty devoted to religion, sat at an open window that the multitude might see her eat, which condescension excited much more enthusiasm than if she had given them something to eat. Louis did give money freely to beggars.

A hall in the Tuileries was opened to the Assembly, which, on taking possession, changed its title of National to Constituent. A host of really valuable reforms ensued. The gabelle was abolished. The price of salt fell from fourteen sous a pound to less than one. Those acts which nullified the Edict of Nantes were themselves revoked, thus restoring toleration to a million Protestants. The decayed parliaments were abolished. All criminal cases were to be tried by a jury on previous commitment. While this was under discussion, both Robespierre and Marat endeavored to procure abolition of capital punishment.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

* The Plantagenets descend from Torthulf or Tertul of Rennes, a Breton peasant, made a forester by Charles the Bald. The counts of Flanders first appear in the same humble office. The Capets were Saxon adventurers. Nemeuse, the Breton, and his successor, Allan Barbetorte, are popular leaders, who exact freedom for every serf who flies to Brittany. Rollo and his Normans are sea-kings, penniless Scandinavians, who would not submit to asking on land. Everywhere, during the decay of the Carolingian empire, this new plebeian aristocracy supplanted effete ones descended from the Amals, the Paladins, or the Senators. See, for authorities, Michelet, "History of France," Chap. III, "Invasions of the Normans." It was at this same period chivalry arose, as if spontaneously (Charles Nodier, on St. Palaye in *Biographie Universelle*). Limitation of knighthood to the noble (military) race is not traceable further than the twelfth century (Menesier, *Preuves*, Chap. I, and see, for discussion of these authorities, G. P. R. James, "History of Chivalry").

* Campan, II. 75-87.

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L. D. M., Utah.—We do not wish to bore our readers with the effusions of Ella Wheeler Wilcox on divorce. As long as she teaches "faith in God and divinity" she is a hopeless case, and so are the women who "lean on men for support."

W. G., North Scituate, Mass.—Thanks. There is no hurry about the design.

T. J. T., Kansas City.—"Greenback" received. There is no reason why anyone should abstain from reading FREE SOCIETY on account of its subscription price. If people are not able to pay one dollar they may pay less. In short, we never refuse to send the paper to any one on account of poverty.

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And to show that "Canada offers all the freedom people want," you must demonstrate that the natural resources are neither monopolized by government nor capitalists. But how about the Russian Doukhobors, who are not even given religious liberty?

C. L., City.—Owing to the obscurity of the ideas you wish to convey, we cannot publish your article.

F. M., Lincoln, Ia.—There are certainly no more brutal murders than those committed by governments and an ignorant mob.

G. E. Lind, City.—Your accusing us of being an "intellectual aristocracy" because we desire a more or less correct grammatical construction of articles is wholly unwarranted. It is the business of every editor to correct what the contributors write, if necessary; but we did not wish to change anything in your article, in order not to expose ourselves to the charge of taking unfair advantage of the subject in discussion.

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Ebers, Richter, Lockwood, Harshneck, Tanner, Uhl, Price, Minnewegen, each \$1. Rice, 50c. Knizansky, Youmans, Sutton, each 25c.

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