

# 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. 322.

## How Long Will They Lie?

How long will the parsons lie,  
Who, smiling and smirking, tell  
Of a "beautiful land on high"  
For the vile who oppress—and cry:  
"Oh, Lord! I believe!"—and yell  
To the unbelievers who dwell  
In goodness, fierce threats of hell?  
How long will the parsons lie?

How long will the rulers lie,  
Who, double-faced, aye delight  
To trade on a cheap-drawn sigh  
For the poor, but are ever nigh  
To work on the rich man's spite,  
And crush, with tyrannic might  
All Freedom and Truth and Right?  
How long will the rulers lie?

How long will the rich men lie,  
And claim as their own the land—  
The land that the poor live by—  
And all things beneath the sky?  
The toil of the worker's hand,  
The lives of the hunger-banned?  
How long shall their false claim stand?  
How long will the rich men lie?

How long will the People lie  
In abject and crouching woe  
At the feet of the men on high,  
Who are only men, and can die?  
How long will they vainly cry?  
How long ere their rights they know?  
How long till they sweep the sky  
With Freedom's flag, and defy  
The force of Tyranny?  
How long ere they boldly go  
To Slavery's overthrow?  
How long will the reckoning grow?  
How long will the People lie?

—J. A. Andrews, in *Sydney Bulletin*.

## An Era of Transition.

### THE GROWTH OF WEALTH.

The real history of civilization is not merely a record of events, but an account of tendencies, as Buckle pointed out nearly half a century ago. There is sometimes adopted a method of fixing attention upon the work of an innovating thinker which is more striking than scientific. It is to persistently reiterate a single idea and thus, by excluding other equally important considerations, magnify the particular view of the subject you wish to have accepted. In this fashion the theories of Marx are usually treated by his followers. The stress they lay upon "scientific determinism," or the influence of economic conditions in the shaping of history, is often unwarranted, and tends to the narrowing of sociological investigation. Yet the importance of the economic interpretation of progress is by no means to be denied. Only in considering what appear to me the most notable tendencies of industrial evolution I would guard against accepting the economic explanation of the changes now under way as sufficiently adequate and complete.

Perhaps the most significant economic fact of the age is the phenomenal increase of

wealth, the rapid accumulation of capital seeking profitable investment. The changes now going forward throughout the world as consequences of this growth of wealth, will prove to be more revolutionary in their character and ultimate effects than anything seriously contemplated by the professed revolutionist.

Commercial wars of colonial aggression, the course of events in China, the opening up of Africa to civilization, the consolidation of industry by trusts, the unmistakable decline of the rate of interest, are all interrelated tendencies which mark a new phase of capitalism, the transition of an epoch. The reformer who believes it possible to inaugurate the era of equality, freedom and justice, by means of a rapid transit social revolution, will do well to keep thoroughly alert to these far-reaching changes, which are unconsciously but surely disintegrating the old forms of society. So quickly is evolution outstripping revolution that it would be unwise to break heavily on the illusive hope of a social cataclysm to put the quietus on capitalistic exploitation.

It will be necessary to state some relevant facts that may not harmonize with the preconceptions of the revolutionary reformer. An unbiased study of statistical data from various sources compels the conclusion that the laborer is not growing poorer, nor are his wages on the decline. On the contrary, there is a permanent upward tendency. The conditions of life for the masses are not only no worse than formerly, but compared with those prevailing a generation or two back are substantially improved, and in nearly every way more desirable. Notwithstanding the concentration of capital and the tendency to its control by a smaller number of highly specialized individuals, yet it is no less true that there is a constantly increasing diffusion of wealth throughout a large and ever growing number of people. This is an established fact in all civilized countries. But while it would be idle to deny that the wealth producers today are gaining an increasing share of an ever growing total product, that wages are both absolutely and relatively higher, and must so continue in the future, still these facts, so satisfying to the smug professional economist, are not at variance with the spread of discontent amongst the wage workers, and while furnishing a basis for hope in the future, should spur them on with determined effort to reap the full benefits which the transformation of industry and consequent abundance of wealth have rendered possible for all.

Our wants today are not to be judged by the standards of our forefathers. When the simpler needs are satisfied we then become conscious of more complex desires. And indeed this increasing demand for the satisfaction of new wants is the measure of progress, the very essence of civilization. At no point

in social evolution is it thus far and no farther. The producers of wealth must ultimately come to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Every privilege, every class, every institution that stands in the way must go. The process of democratization may be delayed, but cannot be stopped. The people learn slowly, yet individually and in mass they are determined to get all that is within their reach. The politicians govern only by carrying out in some fashion the crudely expressed desires of the people. Nor is it otherwise with the capitalist. He robs by means of privilege, with the State behind him. But his privilege will cost him more as time goes on. In the end the old system of exploitation will not pay. The transition of capitalism will be a necessity, even for the capitalist.

We set out to consider the present trend. Though anxious to avoid converting these articles into a dictionary of statistics, I wish to cite some facts bearing on the subject. Capitalism, spurred on by the desire for profit, aided by mechanical science and inventive genius, has already revolutionized the production and accumulation of wealth. But the revolution in its distribution is still to be accomplished. Otherwise we would not have the phenomenon of capital increasing faster than useless outlets can be found to employ it. The plethora is sufficient condemnation of our economic system. Though wages tend to go up, the producer's share is too small; though the return on capital is surely tending downward, the capitalist's share is still too large, hence surplus wealth grows faster than it can be absorbed.

In this age of abundant capital modern transportation facilities play a prominent part. The railroad systems of Europe and America have about doubled in the last quarter of a century. That the world is rapidly growing richer is seen in the enormous yearly output of interest-bearing bonds, stocks and other negotiable securities. The issues of 1900 equalled in value the combined earnings of four million workmen at \$500 each. If these investments return on the average five per cent, it will absorb the wages of two hundred thousand men earning ten dollars a week to pay interest on capital added to industry last year. This, be it noted, says nothing of the burden of labor in creating a return on all previously invested capital. The registered capital of British companies at present doing business is equal to one year's earnings of thirty-two million English laborers. To pay a profit of five per cent on this capital, not including individual capitalists, will absorb the earnings of over a million and a half British workmen.

Despite the accumulating burden of interest, which is ultimately borne by labor, it is a fact that the number of depositors on savings banks, as well as the amount of deposits, shows an astonishing increase in every

civilized country. In the United States since 1870 the growth has been four hundred fold. That the ordinary commercial banks show a rise of three hundred per cent in deposits in the last twenty-five years, and that wealth relatively to population grows at a fabulous rate are facts beyond dispute. In the past fifty years the wealth of this country per capita has multiplied four fold. Nor is it true that the producer finds the heavier load of interest he must carry increasingly burdensome. Such is not the case. The application of improved industrial methods, for which fresh capital is continually needed, results in such steady increase in wealth, that it not only becomes easier for industry to pay the added interest, but there is an unmistakable tendency for the rate of interest to fall.

This is the most hopeful economic fact of the time, and nothing can stop the final decline. In the next paper I shall point out some of the methods by which it is attempted to stem the tide that has set in, as a result of the evolution of commercialism, which renders it more and more difficult to live in idleness on a contracting rate of interest. The recent movement toward the inflation of values which has been the feature of the stock exchange, besides the old scheme of stock watering, will be shown to be a part of the capitalistic desire to overcome the tendency above noted, and, if possible, perpetuate the exploitation of labor. The intense rivalry of the nations for the world market, their unscrupulous desire to grab territory, and "assimilate" the inhabitants at every opportunity, are manifestations of the same spirit. Indeed it is true that modern governments, with all their stupendous armaments, which eat the life-blood of the people, are merely an adjunct to capitalism.

Man is still a beast of prey. The desire to get something for nothing is not confined to the capitalist class. There is a close similarity in the spirit that prompts the crowd of bargain hunting women who crowd the Monday sales of the department stores to that which sends our soldiers out to annex or annihilate weaker races in order that the commercial class may reap a profit by forcing trade upon the aliens.

There is plenty of room still for the present system to expand. The "civilizing" process will go on until unprogressive Asia, darkest Africa, and all the islands of the sea are by fire and sword brought within the pale of commercialism. This is the dream of the imperialist, voicing the capitalist ideal. Alexander longed for new worlds to conquer, but this tribe wants fresh fields in which to make a profit by exploiting labor. We still live in the age that believes might is right, in which the average man holds that the strong may swallow up the weak, and this is the essence of patriotism.

Yet the unthinking mass becomes slowly modified by the unconscious changes which will finally bring economic equality.

WAT TYLER.

#### "The Curse of Government"?

The article published in the June 30 issue of FREE SOCIETY, at first reading certainly seems to be, in every respect, a strong and sensible arraignment of the evil which gov-

ernment is only too prone to perpetrate. But the light contributed to illuminating the real why and wherefore of government is most conspicuous by its absence. A great man and a clear thinker is known to have said once: "You can fool all the people some of the time, some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." Now in consideration of how many centuries government has been in vogue it would seem as though the greater part of the people had been fooled the greater part of the time, had a government been tolerated over them instituted, as brother Tyler would have us believe, merely to suck their blood, and, in general, to enslave, oppress, and fleece them.

Government is in the present epoch of cosmic evolution of fundamental importance to the welfare of a society; and by society I mean a body of individuals blended into a social whole and cut off from other societies by peculiar physical boundaries. Government in fact, it seems to me, if an evil at all, is quite a necessary evil; and I believe most of us (Wat Tyler included) are quite properly instinctively reluctant to abolish it. Wat Tyler, however, seems to be reluctant to do away with government for quite a specific reason. He is of the opinion that government should be tolerated because all individuals within its jurisdiction are not yet qualified in thought and feeling to get along well without it. To be sure his reluctance on this ground is well taken. It certainly does seem as though not until each member of society is prepared to acknowledge and to live up to the principle that each individual shall be sovereign of his life, associations, and pursuits, so long as he does not interfere with the equal rights and liberties of others, can we by any means afford to demolish (even if we could) our present form of government "of the people, for the people, and by the people," which was instituted primarily to insure among us the realization of such inalienable rights and liberties of the individual. But on other grounds than the disqualification among us in point of too great crudity of thought and feeling, for the safe abolition of government are, I believe, most of us disposed at present, and for some time to come, properly to maintain and uphold it.

History indisputably shows that the peoples of the world inevitably in the course of things tend to fall under the sway of or tend to be pushed to the wall and be snuffed out of existence by, the most prolific and best organized nations. And society in general, I believe, is willing to maintain and uphold a stable judicious government in its midst in order at least partially to secure a numerous and prosperous social order and a discipline and efficient military force which will enable it to hold its own in the world-wide national struggle for existence, self-expression, and supremacy.

It cannot be denied that in order to provide for and preserve a numerous and prosperous social order and a disciplined and efficient military force within their jurisdictions, all governments have been and still are at times inclined to be more or less flagrantly and viciously unjust. Unquestionably even our own modern Republican-Democratic, and approximately Anarchistic

form of government has time and again been open to the reproach of granting privileges and monopolies to particular parties so unfairly, and has interfered in matters of private and personal interest so short-sightedly, as really in the long run often to have injured more than benefited the people for whom and by whom it is generally maintained and upheld. Such granting of favors and discriminations, and such invading of rights and liberties on the part of those whom we allow to be elected over us should of course be checked; and the vigilance of all of us at all times is of course needed to see to it that such viciousness is checked. But I am quite assured that government would long ago have been abolished from society by the people under its rule, had the *rational philosophique* of its existence been, as Wat Tyler would have us believe, purely and simply to enable an advantaged minority class, with the reigns of government in its hands, to exploit a majority disadvantaged class.

Wat Tyler launches forth on his decidedly pungent and exhilarating article with a rather humorous flourish. He writes:—

With unexpected celerity the Chinese government has agreed to the extortionate indemnity demanded by the allies. So anxious is it to get rid of rival authority and once more wield the sceptre of power that it makes no scruple at swallowing the onerous terms imposed upon the Celestial Empire.

But I should like to inquire whether the Celestial Empire is not compelled to acquiesce to the extortionate demands of European (and other) nations whether it will or not, and also why it is that the Celestial Empire (rulers and ruled alike) is thus compelled so unjustly and ignominiously to acquiesce?

In the Philippines, in Cuba, and even in the Transvaal, dramas (or rather tragedies) are being enacted on the stage of life quite similar to that being enacted so deplorably in China. The people with the inferior government organization and the inferior military power are everywhere at all times being plundered and trodden upon by the people with the superior government organization and the superior military power. And this is the ultimate outcome, according to the records of history, of all like cases of conflict among all nations from time immemorial.

Under such conditions of national life, then, are we justified in denouncing so sweepingly with the epithet "curse" a strong well-organized government, with its accompanying efficient military force? In the present epoch of cosmic evolution may not such a government really be an absolutely necessary agency in securing us from such humiliating and expensive experiences as our unfortunate and improvident fellow-mortals with weak ill-organized governments and inefficient military forces are now, in various parts of this as yet might-makes-right world, compelled by destiny to be undergoing?

The argument may be brought forward with considerable weight, however, that just so long as government organizations with military forces are maintained and upheld in view of possible war, just so long will the savage-like instincts in all of us be kept alive and fostered. But to entertain



this opinion without due reservation is to overlook important facts. It is to be noticed that whenever there is organization of party against party, of class against class, and of nation against nation for conflict, there is developed among the numbers comprising such organizations a sense of community of interest and genuine fraternity that has the effect of softening and deepening men's thoughts and feeling for one another. And so organizations for concrete hateful conflict indirectly helps to accelerate the course of social evolution on toward a state of universal brotherhood. All that is to be desired and sought along these lines seems to be the gradual extension of the spirit of organization for the right sort of conflict over a wider and wider area.

But organized government, to be sure, often oppresses and causes pain among those whom it should shield and benefit. No one acquainted with the history of government would be disposed to dispute this. Indeed, the analogy between governments and shoes seems to me to be quite apt. Both government and shoes, it cannot be doubted, enable us at times to get over rough places smoothly. Both governments and shoes also have, in a sense, a civilizing tendency, and enable us now and then to shunt off certain mad nations and dogs (amuck for undue self-expression and expansion) quite felicitously. Both government and shoes, moreover, have a tendency, in the course of social evolution and human progress, to wear out and fail to serve satisfactorily; and when this period of obsolescence and ill-service comes around it devolves upon us forthwith to discard them both for newer and more suitable agencies of protection and benefit.

In conclusion I would say that, in consideration of our present epoch of imperfect individual and belligerent national evolution, it does not seem altogether appropriate to denounce as a "curse" an at least partially civilizing and protecting government, and that brother Wat Tyler, provided he had given the matter a little more reflection, would have at least prefixed to his pungent exhilarating article, instead of "The Curse of Government," a little more optimistic title.

WALTER LEIGHTON.

#### Cause of Government.

There is no question but that the greatest good that could happen to this or any other civilized country would be the abrogation or repeal of every written law now found on its statute books. It is a serious mistake to suppose that man must be governed by written formulas or precepts, or that they are so governed now. Men are governed in their action by the feelings and opinions of the people among whom they live. Public opinion makes law; it also unmakes law. A law against the feelings of the larger portion of a community cannot be enforced. This is the reason why so many laws are enacted and so few enforced. No, men can be and should be allowed to govern themselves without restraint from any source. We do not even need the laws laid down in the Bible. Already we have nullified to a greater or less extent nearly all of those ordinances.

How did government by men ever grow

up into a practice or custom? It was not always so; it is not necessarily so today. The only government that men need, or that they can make use of, is self-government. We have government because some men want to live at the expense of others; they want to cast their burdens upon the shoulders of weaker people. Thus it has always been. The desire of some men to rule others is the cause, but fear on the part of the weak is the instrument through which success in this direction is rendered possible. Men surrender to others for protection; they feel feeble and timid and they are willing to put themselves wholly into the power of a new party in order to escape the danger of falling into the hands of another party which they dread more. But in nine cases out of ten they do not better their condition. Men originally congregated in towns and cities solely because they were afraid; and in cities may be found the chief cause of the fall of man as a free citizen. Through cities the world has been enslaved. If we had had no cities, we should have no nations and no government as we have today. In cities the power of the nation is concentrated. It is well known that Paris is France, London is England, Berlin is Germany and St. Petersburg is Russia. Without Rome, the city of Rome, the Roman empire could never have existed.—Newark Courier.

#### Why the Cause Suffers.

Our cause is held back to an extent which few appreciate by the over-sensitiveness of many otherwise true and valuable comrades. The personalities which drive them out of active work are often of a surprisingly trivial nature. They seem to be looking for slights, and naturally find what they are looking for. If the local group offends them in some one respect, they refuse to work with it, entirely forgetting the main trend of the work, of which they can heartily approve. Such sulkers in the tent play beautifully into the hands of the common enemy. The same may be said even more emphatically of the chronic grumblers, who make their personal quarrels with individual comrades a pretext for withdrawing from the movement. A pretty sort of Anarchists truly, who prefer to see themselves and their fellow men eternally subjected to capitalist and governmental tyranny, rather than subordinate their petty grudge to the grandest movement the world has ever known! The Anarchist press is the especial victim of this extreme susceptibility to offense. The names of some of our ablest writers are never seen in *Discontent*; others boycott *FREE SOCIETY*, and others *Lucifer*, while some few are out of sorts with them all. The readers and the movement suffer; and nothing is gained, except the satisfaction of petty spite and aggrieved vanity. Others, who are well able to help in a financial way, withhold their support, the moment the paper is not run exactly to their liking. If only we cared enough for the movement to relegate personal pique to a back seat, the Anarchist propaganda would today be in a most flourishing condition. Never was the need so

great; never was the futility of other pretended social remedies so palpably evident; never were the opportunities so large; never were prejudices so rapidly disappearing; never were there so many interested and sympathetic inquirers; never were the services of every worker in the cause of freedom so imperatively demanded. Shall we rise to the occasion, or allow the cause of liberty to be seriously damaged by our petty vanity and childish feuds? Each must answer for himself; and by his deeds, which constitute his real answer, it may be determined whether he is a genuine Anarchist, or a mere sorehead.—James F. Morton, Jr., in *Discontent*.

#### Here and There.

Monday, July 8, the United Workmen's Singing Societies of St. Louis visited the grave of our comrades in Waldheim. Comrade Carl Nold addressed the assembly. Afterwards three songs were given, and a wreath placed on the monument. It was a short but impressive memorial.

At Telluride, Colo., two striking union men were killed by non-union men.

Because the preachers have lately been busy in "seducing" other men's wives, the Lord has deemed it wise, as a matter of warning, to strike several churches down by lightning.

Ex U. S. Attorney-General Wayne McVeagh, has made the "startling" discovery that a revolution is in the air in this country, and he advises a more just distribution of wealth.

A novel experiment in the protective powers of vaccination has been proposed in a challenge issued by Dr. Matthew Hay of Aberdeen, Scotland, to his anti-vaccination opponents. He wants ten unvaccinated people who have the courage of their opinions and who will consent to live and sleep for a week or a fortnight in a smallpox ward. Dr. Hay is to find ten vaccinated people who will live under similar conditions. A Mr. McKenzie of Stonehaven has already accepted Dr. Hay's challenge. Mr. McKenzie and his wife are willing to go to the hospital if Dr. and Mrs. Hay will accompany them.—Chicago Daily News.

In Germany and Austria our comrades are continually arrested, without any charges, and otherwise molested. Landlords and employers are informed by the police that their tenants or employees are Anarchists, consequently "dangerous characters." Thus are "desperate assassins" systematically bred.

The Anarchists of Montevideo, Uruguay, are now publishing a daily newspaper, *El Trabajo (Labor)*.

Owing to a corrupt financial administration, riots occurred last week in Buenos Ayres, Argentine, and the government quickly conceded to the demands of the discontented, who objected to being fleeced without their consent.

# FREE SOCIETY.

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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.

As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of force, of exclusiveness, it will be mocked by delusions. Our riches will leave us sick; there will be bitterness in our laughter; and our wine will burn our mouth. Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open, and which serves all men.—Emerson.

## Notes.

In the rush last week, owing to the Fourth of July celebration, some very bad typographical errors appeared in FREE SOCIETY. In the "Here and There" column read "Norway" for "Norwaw," and "radical ministry" for "radical university."

Although knowing that Wat Tyler is able to take care of himself regarding his article "The Curse of Government," we invite a general discussion on the question raised by Walter Leighton; and also on Wat Tyler's "An Era of Transition."

Comrades desiring to visit the Pan American Exposition, will find accomodation with Comrade Emma C. Bergman, 2 Pearl Place, Buffalo, N. Y.

## Note and Comment.

As long as the American workers kill each other for the mere privilege of earning a livelihood, the employers have little to fear, and can safely continue their game of robbery.

To effect a more successful resistance, a formidable stronghold against the encroachments of the trusts and other corporations, the British labor leader, Richard Bell, M. P., advises the American workmen to form one great federation, comprising all wage-earners of the land. If this advice be heeded all over the so-called civilized world, organized labor would be invincible.

Herbert N. Casson is rather hard on the mystics, although we are inclined to coincide with his opinion. "The mystic is now the menace—the enemy to the permanent," he says. "Its advocates are as much out of place in our century as a herd of buffalos on Broadway."

After telling his readers that "capitalistic and Anarchistic law and order is the same," the editor of the *Social Democrat* (Haverhill,

Mass.) urges men and women to think. This is assuredly praiseworthy advice, but Mr. Eldin should not fail to take his own medicine first; for his utterance regarding "law and order" clearly shows that he himself is badly in need of brain exercise.

By way of depreciation we are often told by Socialists that "Anarchists differ on fundamental principles." Now comes J. B. McDonald, a Socialist writer, and points out that we have fellow-sufferers. "There are almost as many conceptions of Socialism as there are Socialists," he says.

In the *Social Democratic Herald* of this city another Socialist "science" was exploded last week. The writer coincides with Wat Tyler in this issue that "economic determinism does not cover the entire field of human investigation," and "that life is influenced by currents of thought and feeling, not originating in economic relations." Such recognitions of Anarchist theories inspires one with hope that at least the intelligent Socialists will also soon realize the futility and folly of political action.

Pessimists who fear that we will never have Socialism in our day should look at France.—*Worker's Call*.

As we are among the pessimists, the editor can confer a great favor upon us by pointing out the events which indicate the realization of Socialism in the near future. Indeed, the shooting down of the strikers, the arbitration law, the delay of the introduction of the eight-hour workday, the decoration of Millerand by kings and emperors, and many other scandalous occurrences, were not of such nature as to inspire us with hope and optimism regarding the Socialist movement.

Comrade Van Ornum, in an article entitled "Revolution or Evolution," in *Discontent*, attempts to depreciate the idea of a revolution, i. e. resisting the encroachments of constituted authority by violent means. While we have very little faith in uprisings caused by misery and despair, and which do not aim to abolish the causes of suffering, yet it has always been due to the rebel that tyrannical institutions were demolished; and it is the height of folly to make the people believe that they can free themselves from social and economic tyranny without coming in conflict with organized robbery and oppression. "If the military and naval power in the country in which the rising took place should prove inadequate," he says, "any or all the powers would turn in and help to a sufficient extent to accomplish the purpose." But he forgets that the "military and naval power" is composed of the same people who have been driven to desperation, and we all know that "constituted authority" cannot rely upon its troops on such occasions. The Brazilian troops made common cause with the revolutionists, about eleven years ago, when the republic was inaugurated. As to foreign interference—well, the "allies" will have their hands full at home.

The Russian government is considered one of the strongest powers in Europe, and yet the few isolated uprisings of late have induced the government to make all sorts of concessions and compromises, thereby dig-

ging its own grave. Military officers, in time of riots, visit the meetings of workmen, endeavoring to pacify the discontented. One of them went so far as to tell the workers that the government would protect them against capitalist exploitation, if they would show confidence in the government and not listen to the agitators.

And Comrade Van Ornum does not seem to know at all, that a little band of Boers for almost two years bid defiance to over 250,000 British troops.

The chief of police in this city finds it difficult to "purify" the city from gamblers and prostitutes. As soon as one district is "purified," the citizens from another district come in with a complaint that the "undesirable element" has settled in their neighborhood. Thus it ever will be as long as the gamblers and prostitutes in high places are not checked in their game of robbing the wealth-producers. Nothing but the removal of poverty and a more rational sex relationship will "purify" this or any other city.

## Socialist Doctrines Analyzed.

A Socialist, Gustav Edward Lind, has submitted the following propositions, to which I have been asked to reply.

### 1. Society is an organism.

The word "organism" is a physiological term, and when applied outside the domain of physiology it becomes as illusive as, for instance, the word soul. The organs of the body are so intimately related, so interdependent, each performing its own particular function and depending for its welfare upon the proper fulfilment of their functions by all the other organs that the refusal or inability of any one of them to act its part produces, if not death itself, very serious injury to the whole structure of the organism affected. It is the inability of one organ to live without the others and the absolute dependency of all the other upon the one, that makes the bodily structure an organism and gives the word "organism" its meaning. But how is it in society?

In the "social organism" there is no such intimate relation, no such interdependence, as we find in the bodily organism. For illustration, let us take a small or large society in which all the trades and professions are represented. This we will call a "social organism." Now, suppose the "organ" that supplies the hats for this society were to die, could it not be quickly replaced by another one, and would not the society go on living as though nothing had happened? But, let the organ of, say, digestion in the bodily organism be destroyed, and what happens?

In society each individual is a complete entity in himself and has no special function to perform as his part of the machinery. Let the whole social organism go to smash, let every "organ" except myself be destroyed, and I will live on and suffer no inconvenience excepting the sorrow of losing a few friends.

The "social organism" is a myth, has no existence aside from metaphysics. Go look for the "social organism" and what do you find? You find men and women loosely



aggregated, some pulling together, but most of them pulling the other way, with no ties binding them together except those they choose to assume. You won't find anything that can be likened to the bodily organism, yet our Socialist friends make the mistake of theoretically reducing the individual to a miserable dependent, an ever-becoming-more-dependent organ of the great big nothing called "society" that is responsible for the institutionalism of the Socialist propaganda. The "social organism" has been conjured up into a big god who is ready to subdue and subject every individual organism to his tyrannical will. This won't do, brothers; we must see things as they are, or we had better leave them as they are.

2. Industrial methods are evolutionary.

All "methods" and all else without method are evolutionary.

3. We have now a system of social production that conflicts with existing individual appropriation of social labor.

I will assume that Comrade Lind means the product of "social labor." Under the system that he would inaugurate production, it is claimed, would be much more "social" than it is today, yet "individual appropriation of social labor" would still continue, for all he wants to socialize is "the means of production and distribution," while the product itself is to be parcelled out at so much per hour of "social labor" performed. In other words, the Socialist will maintain the wage system they now so justly condemn in another form. Space does not allow going into the subject here, but I would ask Comrade Lind to read a pamphlet, "The Wage System," by Kropotkin, which will throw some side-lights on the question for him.

4. There is a class struggle.

Yes; there is a "class struggle" between those whose conscience have been awakened to the iniquities of the present social and economic conditions, and those whose prejudice and environment prevent the development of their higher humanitarian instincts. The first class is not necessarily all poor, nor is the second class of necessity all rich. Practically, however, the struggle is between the "haves" and the "have nots."

5. The economic question must be solved before society can be set free.

To the Anarchist freedom is the first and chief requisite to the settlement of any and all questions. Man must be free before he can settle anything. Prometheus bound to a rock is powerless to prevent the torment of having an eagle consume his liver daily. It took Herakles, the free, to kill the eagle. Man is bound by the chains of prejudice and superstition to the rock of institutionalism, while the many-mouthed monster monopoly is gnawing at his vitals. Arouse him; charge him with hope; show him the weak links in the chains that bind him, and he will do the rest. Slaves cannot settle the economic question; only free men can do that.

6. The gigantic concentration of industries by gradually crushing out the middle class, thus rendering capitalists superfluous, leaves but one successor to the political power, viz., the working class.

In the first place it is an error to say that the growth of trusts is displacing the "mid-

dle class." That is one of Marx's theories which won't square with present-day facts. Many Socialists have abandoned the theory; notable among those who are battling against this error is F. G. R. Gordon, who has challenged his comrades to prove their contention by facts, not theory. See Gordon's articles in *The Challenge*, and "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," by Kropotkin, Public Library.

Why the working class should want political power and how they could emancipate themselves with it, I am unable to see. Karl Marx, I think, would differ somewhat from many of his present-day followers, for his definition of political power would not bear quoting by them. "Political power," said he, "is merely the organized power of one class to oppress another." Does the working class, then, want to change places with the capitalist class and become itself an oppressor? I hope not. Of course we will be told that the working class would use that power only for good. That has always been the claim of the fellow who wanted power; but honest or not, he has always been an oppressor because he could not be otherwise and use his power. Power is the bitter enemy of freedom; that is why Anarchists oppose it. Power intoxicates the best of men and makes tyrants of them. Power in itself is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of freedom and brotherhood. This is why Anarchists oppose centralization and criticize Socialists when they urge concentration, and endeavor to capture the seats of power now held by the enemies of the people. Instead of the workers becoming successors to political power, better let political power dissolve with the dethronement of those who have wielded it to the debasement of mankind.

7. Only by gaining political power can a lower class emancipate itself from its subjection.

The lessons of history do not substantiate this claim. What progress we have made toward emancipation has been due to other causes, and not a whit of it is the result of political power. Political power has ever been the Chinese wall that stood in the path of progress. The improved methods for producing food, clothes, and shelter, coupled with a wider human sympathy and kinship, and a deeper knowledge of right relations between man and man, have been the prime causes of progress toward human liberty.

If we mean by emancipation the privilege of ruling and subjection, then I will grant that political power is what is wanted. But, if it means what I understand it to mean—freedom for all mankind, and slavery and subjection to none—why, then we must look elsewhere than in the cesspool of politics for it.

8. The present social misery is not caused by the State, but by the class that control the State.

Quite right, friend; for the "State" is a myth. But you will understand that this myth is a very real thing for most people, and while the belief in it, and the necessity for it maintains, a class will continue to ride in the State carriage over the gaunt bodies of the people. The working class once clothed with the ermine of State, will be no better governors than the idle class who rule today. Anarchists decry the government of

man by man to be wrong, whether the man governs in the name of God, as in Russia, or in the name of the "people," as under Socialism.

Anarchists aim to destroy government and the State by removing the idea of the necessity for these twin superstitions; and they will fight them as hard when advocated by Socialists as by any other party. It is not that we oppose Socialism in itself, but the capitalistic methods of applying it that Socialists propose to employ.

9. Socialism is inevitable, and Anarchism is an idealistic side issue.

This is so proud a boast that I need not waste any space in replying to it, except to say that Socialism will never be realized in its pure "scientific" sense unless Anarchism is realized side by side with it.

There are two kinds of Socialism: Anarchist Socialism and State Socialism. All Socialists who believe in government are State Socialists, and all Socialists who do not believe in government are Anarchists. Lind's "inevitable" Socialism must be State Socialism, since he makes Anarchism a "side issue." As to which of them is the "inevitable side issue," let the reader decide for himself.

10. Socialism will be victorious because it rests on a solid scientific basis.

If the propositions that we have passed in review form the "scientific basis" of Socialism, then the reader is again asked to decide the question of its solidity.

JAY FOX.

Chicago, 425 Carroll Ave.

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A friend writes: "I commend to the careful consideration of the new 'scientific' priesthood, now reaching out eagerly for the reins of authority, the terse sentences of Bakunin, quoted on the 8th page of your issue of June 23. He has shown in a very few words how and why such a form of government would be a curse to mankind. That would be a real 'Movement in Favor of Ignorance.'"

Tolstoy's new book "Who is Right?" will not be published in Russia until it has made its appearance in England and America. Several type-written copies of the work are, however, in the hands of the count's Russian friends, and extracts have been read in public. The Countess Tolstoy herself not long since read a chapter from the novel to an audience in Moscow for the benefit of some charity.—Ex.

Richard Le Gallienne's new romance, "The Love Letters of the King," abounds with epigrams and aphorisms. "Broadly speaking," he says, for instance, "there are in England only two recognized occupations for a gentleman. He can either kill his fellow men or govern them."—Ex.

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### Literature.

The July number of the *New Dispensation* contains August Spies' speech in court. Price five cents. The address is 325 South St., Springfield, Mo.

"Institutional Marriage," by M. Harman, is the title of No. 11 of the *Light Bearer Library*. Address 500 Fulton St., Chicago.

## History of the French Revolution.

## XIV

Placards laconically announced: "Whoever applauds the king will be whipped. Whoever insults him will be hanged." It was impossible, however, wholly to suppress expressions of feeling—for the most part very bitter. Pétion, an honest but vulgar radical, had behaved rudely on the journey. Barnave appears to have been quite captivated by Marie Antoinette, and he succeeded in imparting more ideas to her than she ever learned from any other man. The one revolutionary sentiment she could understand was ambition; and this gentlemanly Barnave made her see that a plebeian might not unnaturally wish to rise. "If power should ever fall into our hands again," she said, "the pardon of Barnave is already written in our hearts." This was one of those speeches which gush out of the soul's abundance. Orleans, Bailly, Lafayette, Marat, Coupe Tete, were all lumped together in her mind as traitors, of whom the least guilty might think himself lucky to be pardoned. Having become fascinated with such a queen, the best Barnave could do was die for her—as he eventually did. But at present she appeared to be guided by him. He assisted Louis to answer the Assembly's demand for an explanation of intentions—pending which he remained disqualified. The substance of the reply has been already stated. The Assembly, under lead of Barnave, resolved that his majesty had a right to visit Montmedy, a place within his dominions; that there was no proof he meant to leave France; and therefore that his suspension from his functions ought to cease. The absurdity of this white washing was made evident by condemnation of his accomplices, Bouillé and the three ignorant Body Guards. Bringing back the king, it must be admitted, was a mistake of the mob's. Individual conservatives, like Lafayette, and radicals like Robespierre, alike opposed it all they dared. But since he had been brought back, decided measures should have been taken to make him harmless. An English parliament could have managed this without disrespectful forms. The state of his "health" would have warranted a regency. His ministers might have been made personally responsible for abuse of the veto and other royal prerogatives. Anyway, the main thing to do was plain; and the mob made no such mistake as overlooking it. The Assembly, ever masters in the art of botching, declared the king unaccountable to law (July 15); and, having almost caused another revolution by doing so, conceded to the mob that in certain circumstances he should be held to have abdicated nevertheless! Inconsistency, one would think, could go no further. But the Assembly's talent for mismanagement was great.

On July 1, Thomas Paine had placarded Paris with demands for a republic. Billaud Varennes made similar proposals in the Jacobin Club on the same evening. He was overruled—properly enough, since the Assembly had still to take action; but surely this shows the Club was not inclined to go further than necessary. The Cordeliers did declare for a republic; and from the salon of the famous Madame Roland a movement in that direction began to permeate the bour-

geoisie. After the decree of the fifteenth, Danton and Laclès (the duke of Orleans' man) drew up a petition, not for a republic, but deposition of Louis XVI. The Club was now deserted by almost all members who were in the Assembly—Duport, for example, the Lameths, Barnave, La Rochefoucauld, Sieyes, Bailly, and Lafayette. From their secession sprang the Feuillant organization above referred to. About the same time, some three hundred royalists, under Maury, ceased to attend the Assembly.

On Sunday, July 17, the petition for Louis' removal, somewhat modified, was to be signed in the Champ de Mars. The law required that such meetings should be announced to the municipal authorities four and twenty hours in advance. This had been done, and a regular permit issued. Early in the morning, two men with some tools were found under the altar on which the petition was displayed. They were arrested, as having no business there. A report flew about that the altar had been mined and was to have been blown up. An excited mob questioned the prisoners, at a considerable distance from the spot. They confessed an indecent purpose; and were lynched. About one in the afternoon, Bailly and Lafayette, with the National Guard, marched to the Champ de Mars, carrying the red flag (a proclamation of martial law). A mob followed and stoned them. They fired, not into this crowd, but the dense throng assembled in the Champ de Mars—a throng of men, women, and children, who beyond doubt were generally unarmed, and according to the petitioner Sergent had given no provocation at all. The dead were thrown into the Seine; so that their number has never been reliably stated. This terrible act was done while commissioners sent by the municipality to see whether the proclamation could be justified were en route. Two of them recorded their protest. Camille Desmoulins and Madame Roland immediately left the neighborhood. Danton fled for a while to England. Marat hid himself in the sewers! Robespierre remained in privacy for some time. Sergent says a personal warning from Lameth had already driven out of Paris Desmoulins, Danton, Freron, and some others belonging to their set. The radical journals were suspended. Pétion was fain to save the Jacobin Club from suppression by a humble address. The Assembly voted thanks to Bailly and Lafayette. Such, in very meager outline, is the story of the "massacre at the Champ de Mars." I have stated nothing which has been disputed, as a multitude of details have. The theory of the radicals was that it sprang, like a great many similar tragedies, from a conspiracy by those in authority, to put down the opposition under pretense of a riot. This derives confirmation from the flight of the radical leaders; because they cannot without gross absurdity be held responsible for the lynching, at another place than that where they planned the demonstration, of two fellows who, by their own story, had given offense well adapted to cause their fate; or for the throwing of a few stones which needs nothing to explain it but the threatening appearance of the troops. Bailly, on his trial, also said that at the time he knew nothing about a reactionary plot; but he

had seen reason to believe it since. Allowing the existence of such a design, suspicion points more directly to Barnave than anyone else. But of course the tendency represented lay deeper than his personality. He had denounced the radicals as intending war upon "all property whatever"—a stock charge which the bad conscience of Property inspired then, as it always does. At an earlier period, Mirabeau made it a complaint against the Constitution that the cities, by their mobs, exacted too much power. Still earlier, Louis warned the Assembly against that coercion by "the mob" which had since become a fact. Thus the crisis between "the mob" and the Assembly was now forming. The reason the Assembly's victory proved a Pyrrhic one, is that the mob had more practical intelligence than the Assembly. That fifty thousand Parisians from St. Antoine should coerce the representatives of twenty-five million Frenchmen was very wrong, no doubt. Yes, and if the representatives had represented, it would have been impossible. But ever since the Revolution began, this Assembly had dreamed and dawdled, and let the mob do what was necessary should be done. While this Assembly was in a deadlock, that mob found places of meeting, organs, and a purpose. While this Assembly sat waiting to be dispersed with bayonets, that mob took the Bastille. When King Louis was about slipping away from this Assembly to Metz, that mob brought him, Assembly and all, to Paris. Now he has abdicated, that mob says so! This Assembly still cannot make up its august mind. A few months will show again that the mob is right, as usual. Then the blood of those women and children who have been slain that he might have another opportunity to betray his country, will cry for vengeance on poor old bookworm Bailly and Grandison playing at Cromwell. If the yells of that mob which howls indeed, and curses, but at least can think and act, disturb those quibbling logicians called an Assembly, why not take their king and go to some safe sleepy Rouen, as Mirabeau had suggested? Because they know well enough they cannot think and act, but only drift; so this red flag business, which might pass for "surgery" from a ruler, is parricide when their rickety hands perform it upon Mob who has made them all they are or can be!

Six days before the massacre, the Assembly had shown what it really could do. If it could not think and act, it could always exhibit. On July 11 Voltaire's bones, or that casket supposed to contain them, were removed to the Pantheon with paraphernalia borrowed from a Roman triumph; and deposited between the graves of Des Cartes and Mirabeau. The casket was afterwards found to be empty. So the ghouls had done according to their kind—in secret. I regret to state that their example continued to bear fruit; but the dust of Mirabeau was removed to an unknown grave among those of convicts, when his court intrigues became better known; and Marat's, which took his place, remained only till the reaction of Thermidor. We live, it may be hoped, in better days. For us, a great man's monument is the result of his acts—a fraud's a memento of his shame which malice itself may spare. More exhibitions were soon in order. On



September 3 the Constitution complete was presented to Louis, who signed it without a murmur on the 14th. Its incubation had lasted two years and four months. It lived eleven months and one week! A general amnesty was immediately voted for all acts done in connection with the Revolution. On the last day of this month the Constituent Assembly, having fulfilled its oath, dissolved.

"Nothing in its life,  
Became it like the leaving—"

That there might be no suspicion, all legislative members were rendered ineligible to the coming Assembly. The act is a noble contrast to that Self Denying Ordinance which made its author a Cæsar; that constitution which aimed at making "the Rump" a Council of Ten. It is the fashion to say the French Assembly betrayed its trust into incompetent hands. But I think we may very fairly doubt whether hands less competent than its own could have been found. It saved its honor—the only title to esteem it ever had. I expect to show that nothing could have saved France and monarchy too—except the woman whose heroism in wrong made this impossible.

Louis appears to have recovered by this time as much popularity as he ever enjoyed. Abortive as his flight was, it had for a short time, appeared likely to be followed by a general war. Bouillé, immediately on reaching Germany, put forth an insolent manifesto in which he declared his intention of leading the foreign enemy and laying Paris in ruins if a hair of the king's head were hurt.\* On August 27, the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia declared the regeneration of France an "open revolt" and a "scandalous usurpation." The French king's apparent reconciliation with his people disarmed, for a time, these confederated powers. On November 18, the Constitution was sworn to by a mass meeting in the Champ de Mars, amidst tremendous shouts of "Vive la Nation! Vive le Roi!" An immense multitude assembled before the Tuileries. It repeatedly called for both the king and the queen. As often as these august persons showed themselves, they were greeted with shouts of love and joy. At night, every town in France was illuminated. Paris fairly blazed. The Champs Elysées were all garlands, stars, and pyramids of fire. Their trees were hung with toys and tapers, as at Christmas. Constitutions rained out of balloons! Lafayette rode through Paris escorting the royal family. His crime had not been forgiven; though theirs, attributed to stupidity, had. He attracted no applause. They were everywhere hailed with shouts of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive le Dauphin!" Had Louis, at this eleventh hour, allowed himself to be pushed along the right path, it is clear he might have won the laurels of a hero sovereign, the civic crown of him who saves his countrymen. A great war, to be raised by traitors as truly his personal and political enemies as Marat or Robespierre, was inevitable. Had he been as much as loyal to his own independence, scarcely a captious critic would have denied him the glory of beating united Europe. But Marie Antoinette, who governed him, re-

\* He was in fact held blameable by the emigrants, and denied a command under the allied sovereigns. He died in London during the year 1800.

membering her very different reception a few weeks before, laid that change she could not help seeing to every cause but the right. Her upper-class ethics had taught her much about divine institutions, the majesty which hedges kings, the fickleness of the multitude, inevitable reactions, the rallying of property and virtue, etc., etc.—nothing about the magnanimity of a victorious nation, willing to forgive an offense which it must consider unprecedented. We have but to contrast her conduct and Louis' with their people's, at this very time, if we would know which was answerable for all that followed.

The new (Legislative) Assembly had been elected before the Constituent dissolved, and so took possession next day, October 1, 1791. A change in the composition was apparent without words. "The white heads had disappeared." Among the new Solons, 750 in number, sixty were under twenty-six years of age. Almost all belonged to the bourgeoisie. A new parliamentary phraseology had come in. The two chief parties were called from their usual places, Left and Right. Both were subdivisible, and there was between them a Centre. The benches at the Extreme Left were elevated; hence the most radical party, as yet small, is called the Mountain. "Jacobin" soon came to be synonymous in political language with "Montagnard," though as yet many members of the Jacobin Club were not extreme; and some, who joined the "Mountain" subsequently, could not get into the Club. Next to the Mountain, sat those legislators whose caucus was called Gironde, from the district whence some of them came—occasionally Brissotins, though Brissot, their godfather, was not a native of the Gironde but of Normandy. He was a journalist and practical politician, of very advanced views. It would be difficult to prove that at this time the Girondins were less radical than the Jacobins. They far surpassed the latter in education, eloquence, technical parliamentary knowledge, numbers. Within a few months, the fame of their orations filled Europe. Experience was required to show that they were inferior to the Jacobins in organization, purpose, promptitude. For some time they usually proposed measures, which the Jacobins supported. The Center, vacillating and irresolute, also followed the Girondins more frequently than it did the Right; because the latter, though consisting not of old-fashioned royalists but strict constitutionalists, supplied the king with those ministers whom he had power to choose—thus, in the eyes of trimmers, it was "the administration party," which needed "checking." The Gironde, accordingly, led the Assembly as a rule.

Louis immediately began to snub all these representatives of Young France. Their youthful bumptiousness boiled up. They retaliated by such wise measures as omitting his titles, "Sire" and "Majesty," from their addresses, as if boorishnesses like these were not the best excuse for the royal perfidy. To their surprise, the popular demonstrations were all in his favor; and the Assembly, warned betimes, backed down. The court was not so judicious. Instead of improving this signal victory, it set about encouraging demagogues to push forwards! Madame Campan attests that, while those royalists who possessed only common sense

regarded the advance of radicalism with alarm, the initiated took pleasure in promoting excesses which they vainly held would discredit the Revolution as a whole. Lafayette, whose loyalty went to the last point consistent with his constitutional oath, was insulted by the queen's ladies when he visited her. Being now free from legislative cares, he resigned command of the National Guard—it is significant that, though there were tears and embraces, he was not asked to resume it this time!—but patriotism soon called him to new fields of labor: Bailly, catching the fever of self-abnegation, was no longer the mayor of Paris; and Lafayette consented to seek that office. His opponent was Pétion, the Girondin, who had insulted the king while returning from Varennes. To every one's amazement, Marie Antoinette personally instructed royalists to vote for Pétion. She gave her reasons in this sparkling epigram: "M. de Lafayette would be mayor of Paris, that he may be mayor of the Palace."† This was decisive: Lafayette was no longer popular in the city; and Pétion triumphed easily. He watched his royal prisoners jealously—a duty Lafayette had neglected—and encouraged "the mob," which Lafayette had intimidated, to gather force enough for their effectual suppression at the proper time. It seems as if the people forthwith believed that Marie Antoinette had really seen the error of her ways. She received an ovation at the opera (October 7);‡ and was now allowed to visit St. Cloud "without let or hindrance."

In the old papal city of Avignon, there had been tumults and bloodshed excited by the priests. The Assembly stopped this for a time by establishing purely national authority. Now there was alleged to be a new conspiracy. A national officer was murdered by a mob of "clericals." The ferocious Jourdan (Coupe Tete) was the local military commander. He arrested more than sixty ultramontanes, and put them to death after a hasty trial. Almost all historians, echoing the royalist and priestly outcry, pronounce this a barbarous massacre. I will not go so far as to say it was not; but the following facts are significant.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

\* This was by no means her only very unfortunate joke. If we except a few ebullitions of pride and of temper, which, moreover, may be apocryphal, Marie Antoinette always appears a model of politeness. But she had a turn for railery, and did not reflect how far it might be heard; nor yet that what is harmless among friends is dangerous with such questionable acquaintance as the duke of Orleans.

† This illustrates the difficulties with which historians who would be accurate must struggle. Marie Antoinette attended the same opera, February 20, 1792; her last night in a theatre. On one of these occasions, she received an ovation; on the other the Jacobins were out; they answered a royalist air with republican cries; and a fight ensued, in which they were worsted. Madame Campan says this was in autumn; Madame Elizabeth's letters make it in February. The various writers who have tried to reconcile such very good accounts, get into hopeless confusion. I give up the attempt to harmonize; am sure one is simply mistaken, and prefer Madame Elizabeth, because she wrote at the time, while Campan might have forgotten her dates. Elizabeth's story is also the more probable. It is worthy of note that during February the tone of Marie Antoinette's letters changes. She is no longer afraid to encourage foreign invasion, but urges it with constantly increasing zeal; convinced, at last, that there is no hope of counter-revolution from within France.

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Wu Ting Fang, Chinese minister to the United States, says the Christian admonition, "Love thine enemies," is too high for frail humanity. He admits that Christianity is a religion and that Confucianism is not; that the one regards man as an immortal soul, the other holds him merely as a social institution, and according to his mind the Chinese are not in need of immortal souls, or "moral personalities."—Ex.

The *Christian Herald*, of New York, is raising a fund to relieve the starving in China. As the conditions it seeks to alleviate are the results of looting and massacres of the "Christian" powers, assisted by the missionaries, the *Christian Herald* should know where to send its appeals.—*The Star*, San Francisco.

Until the thing which now usurps the name of education has been dethroned by a true education, having for its end to teach men the nature of the world they live in, new political illusions will grow up as fast as ones are extinguished.—Herbert Spencer.

## The Letter-Box.

A *Social Democrat*.—We will be glad if you can furnish us "historical data that government originated to protect the weak against the strong." Modern sociologists claim that governments, as we know them today, were formed for the protection of property. Not the

property which individuals accumulated through their own labor, but that which had been produced by the slaves. Governments have essentially no other purpose today. But you are correct when you say "that slaves existed before a national government was known." They were held in subjection by religious superstition, and each slave-holder was an absolute despot—a governor in his own domain. Why not give your objection in a form of an article?

M. C., Washington, D. C.—"Ancient Lowly," or "A History of the Ancient Working People," by C. Osborne Ward, contains excellent historical facts regarding the ups and downs of the working people. But his own philosophical applications are almost valueless. He contends, for instance, that the belief in immortality tends to make man better, while those that deny the immortality of the soul resort to cunning, brute force, etc., in order to enslave their fellow men. But facts will not bear him out in this assumption; for most of the agitators against all kinds of slavery and wrongs in society did not and do not believe in a future life. Notwithstanding the book should be read by every workingman.

F. E. L., Riley, Okla.—Sample copies have been sent to the parties whose addresses you gave us. Thanks.

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