

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. 328.

The Prisoners.

I know not whether Laws be right,
Or whether laws be wrong;
All that we know who lie in gaol
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long.
But this I know, that every Law
That men have made for Man,
Since first Man took his brother's life,
And the sad world began,
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff
With a most evil fan.
This too I know—and wise it were
If each could know the same—
That every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars lest Christ should see
How men their brothers maim.
With bars they blur the gracious moon,
And blind the goodly sun:
And they do well to hide their Hell,
For in it things are done
That Son of God nor son of Man
Ever should look upon!

The vilest deeds like poison weeds
Bloom well in prison air:
It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there:
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
And the Warder is Despair.
For they starve the little frightened child
Till it weeps both night and day:
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool,
And gibe the old and gray,
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
And none a word may say.
Each narrow cell in which we dwell
Is a foul and dark latrine,
And the fetid breath of living Death
Chokes up each grated screen,
And all, but Lust, is turned to dust
In Humanity's machine.
The brackish water that we drink
Creeps with a loathsome slime,
And the bitter bread they weigh in scales
Is full of chalk and lime,
And Sleep will not lie down, but walks
Wild-eyed, and cries to Time.

—From the "Ballad of Reading Gaol," by Oscar Wilde.

Police "Protection" of Vice.

In New York, George Bissert, a patrolman, acting as a detective, has been on trial for bribery and convicted of taking \$550 (with \$50 a month to follow) from a woman who kept a "disorderly house," in exchange for which the woman was to be "protected" from having her resort raided.

The evidence on this trial disclosed nothing new in methods or details; nothing came out of the examinations but details that everybody ought to be familiar with as to what happens wherever "authority" exists (which is everywhere). But the strange thing about a case of this kind is that people do not wake up to the fact that all this bribery and corruption is related to "authority" just as cause and effect are related. Put people in "authority" and you have created

licensed opportunity; blackmail inevitably results where the opportunity to levy it exists. Policeman Bissert is not so much to blame as is the system of which he is a part. And not only is the system to blame, but it is itself so compounded of subsidiary systems of a corrupting nature that the corrupting causes operate from so many sides. In the end every country that has ever allowed itself to fall into the hands of authoritative officialism has inevitably fallen to pieces, and its population been driven to start again, always to be again ruined when authority became entrenched.

There is not only no necessary connection between the idea of authority and the ideas of reason and justice, but quite to the contrary. Authority has always been the outcome of force. Logically it has always protected itself and its privileges by force, and in practice never appealed to reason and justice except as a blind. It is not interested in suppressing the evils for which it is pretended to be established to suppress. On the contrary, it plays with them, encourages and fosters them,—if it did not perpetuate them its occupation would be gone.

Authority arises out of the dog-in-the-manger idea that human beings can protect themselves from want, invasion, and the various miseries that mankind fears, by getting into such a position as to make it possible to ride rough-shod over everyone else. Get hold of all the means of subsistence possible, keep them to yourself, fence everyone else off from them, and you are not only provided for, but you can also make yourself safer by doling out the necessities of life to others in consideration of some payment for the use of your appropriations. In such primitive ignorance arises the idea of property and the various forms of taxation derived from it. The idea of defense of this "property" gives rise to the idea of defensive "authority." Hence arise governments, with their box of tricks in the shape of laws, courts, armies, police, and a multitude of non-producing officials—a whole invasive system of "protection" based on force and on only one thing else. That other one thing is the mental consent that mankind still gives to all these ideas of primitive ignorance on which the system is founded. Without this belief that the ideas themselves are true and defensible even force could not keep authority in its place, because the force would then be against it.

Authority being thus entrenched to "protect," it obviously has it in its power to give that "protection" where it will do most good to itself. Opportunity to plunder, under pretense of protection, has been created. Opportunity bribes men to take bribes. To get this opportunity, under our system, men will pay big prices. Hence all such opportunities are bought in some shape or other. Hence you have "politics." It is said that

a patrolman like Bissert has to begin by paying \$300 to \$500, "where it will do the most good," or else he cannot pass the "necessary examination." Others, such as wish, say, to become judges, make a contribution of so many thousands to the "campaign fund." The market price of a senatorship is a million dollars. All this is notorious. When the goods are delivered of course the office holder proceeds to "get his money's worth."

Several centuries ago the great Lord Bacon, as judge, took bribes in the court over which he presided, and then decided cases against those he was to "protect." Today Bissert takes \$550 (with \$50 a month to follow) to "protect" a disorderly house. The only unusual thing about both of them is that they happen to have been found out. A great philosopher and a common policeman both corrupted—by what? By the opportunity which authority, backed by force, put in their way.

The New *Herald*, commenting on the Bissert case, says:

The infamy of police collusion with vice—sharing its earnings and protecting and fostering it—however, can be abolished only by the radical, drastic process of cleansing the fountainhead whence all the corruption flows.

The *Herald* does not say what the "fountainhead" is. The "fountainhead whence all this corruption flows" is the primitive ignorance of mankind, which continues to give mental support to the idea of property, with the ideas derived from it in the shape of "values," "exchange values," "mediums of exchange," etc., and the consequent conception of authority backed by force to protect said property.

In modern times the whole thing takes the shape of grabbing for money, because this is nowadays the "medium of exchange" by which property can be got at. When people refuse any longer to believe in the justice of the idea of property, and come to see the justice, the social economy, the all-around advantages of Kropotkin's philosophy of the heap, then the fountainhead of all this corruption will indeed be cleansed, as it will have run dry. When the race unites to produce, in perfect freedom, the mass or heap of things which are needed to fill human wants, each drawing from it what he needs, and leaving the balance to supply the needs of others as wanted—all without money or price, then these human scandals will cease, not before. In such a society a policeman would be useless, no one would have any incentive to keep a "disorderly house," nor could it find inmates.

Don't blame the Bisserts and Lord Bacons. Blame the collective primitive ignorance.

CHAS. B. COOPER

The "consent of the governed" and soldiers in conjunction therewith, is a hypocritical phantasmagoria. K.J.

An Era of Transition.

VII

CONCERNING ANARCHIST ECONOMICS.

To those who hope for a radical improvement in the economic status of the wage workers there are two methods open for consideration. The change may come as a gradual process of development, a peaceful transition growing out of causes now in operation; or it may possibly be accomplished through a sudden and violent revolution entailing the overthrow of a number of long established institutions. The first method harmonizes with the laws of social growth and, where no insuperable barrier intervenes, would be the natural path of progress. The second would be a conscious effort by certain elements in society to emancipate themselves from conditions that have become intolerable, in which effort they come into violent conflict with opposing interests that are no less determined to resist the change being forced upon them.

On this occasion we shall discuss the evolutionary method, leaving the revolutionary for another time. Having shown in the preceding paper that the chief economic source of exploitation is interest, our next duty is to explain its origin. It could be shown further that interest is paid not for the use of capital as such but for the use of money. Though capital may be the ultimate object for which money is borrowed, the fact is indubitable that the borrowers must first procure money in order to gain possession of concrete capital. (I am using the term capital in the economic sense of material results of past labor used productively.) It is therefore for money and not for capital that interest is paid. Moreover, the rate of interest is determined by the conditions of supply and demand. When the supply of money is artificially, that is to say legally restricted, while the demand is practically unlimited, a premium can be exacted for the use of money, which premium, being the scarcity or monopoly price, is termed interest. In the absence of political regulation limiting the money supply the medium of exchange would follow the same economic laws which regulate the price of other commodities.

Under free conditions the tendency of price is to fall to the cost of production. It is a universal truism that all articles which can be indefinitely reproduced and which have not become objects of monopoly fall to a price level determined by the average cost. In other words, industrial freedom tends to realize the principle of *cost as the limit of price*.

Now interest is the price paid for the use of money. Therefore if economic freedom prevailed, interest would represent the cost of money as a social instrument. The rate of interest would cover the cost of maintaining, securing, and operating the medium of exchange. Under the present banking system the cost is about one half of one per cent. The excess beyond this moiety of one per cent is simply the tribute of monopoly, the rent exacted by the financial class for the use of their legally created privileges.

If it is held to be impracticable to abolish at a single stroke the government and the laws which uphold this system, we are impelled to seek a means that will undermine

monopoly and enable labor to obtain the full reward of its efforts.

Proudhon about the middle of the last century undertook to solve this problem with his bold and gigantic scheme, the Bank of the People. But his attempt at economic revolution, like every other fundamental departure in favor of the workers, so soon as it displayed vitality enough to endanger the prestige of the moneyed classes, was summarily suppressed by the government.

Josiah Warren, earlier than Proudhon, endeavored in this country to accomplish the same, and by means of labor notes and a method of mutual exchange of services and products based on the Cost principle. His aim was to enable the producer to secure the full value of his labor by eliminating interest and profit. So admirably has Warren's exponent Stephen Pearl Andrews set forth his master's teachings in his work "The Science of Society" that no exposition is called for in this place.

Following Proudhon and Warren, Col. William B. Greene proposed a plan of mutual banking, or free trade in money, designed to abolish every form of interest by making the supply of money at all times adequate to the demand. Two English economic writers, A. Egmont Hake and O. E. Wesslau, in a work on "Free Trade in Capital" propound similar views. The gist of their argument is this: An abundant and always available medium of exchange would so stimulate industry that the demand for labor would exceed the supply, the result of which would be a steady rise in the rate of wages, enabling the worker to command the full fruits of his labor.

These various views of the labor problem agree in assuming the essential object of economic reform to be that the producer should secure an equivalent of all the wealth he creates, while demanding that every industrial opportunity should always be open to him. It is outside the scope of these articles to deal at length with the question of economic reform through changes in the monetary system, or to discuss the relative merits of the proposals I have just outlined. I believe, however, that any method claiming to undermine the props that support the tribute which labor pays to privilege in the guise of interest merits at least candid and serious consideration. Yet there are certain points which need to be cleared up before this phase of the inquiry can with profit be pursued.

Anarchism is primarily a political ideal. Not all Anarchists realize the necessity for an economics of Anarchy, nor have they yet reached an agreement on the fundamentals. Take for example the key-line subheading of this paper. The first clause says, "Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty," a proposition that all Anarchists will probably endorse. But the next clause "that in the absence of monopoly competition cannot exist," is an assumption from which many Anarchists would strongly dissent. And the final clause "that Communism is an inevitable consequence" of the foregoing propositions is a conclusion that is neither logically warranted nor sociologically capable of proof.

I am reminded of an oracular utterance of a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. As the reader knows the society was founded

in Newton's time to promote original scientific research. It was customary for the members to impart their discoveries in formal papers to their associates. The scientist of whom I speak, whose name has long been forgotten, appeared before the learned body and boldly entered upon his weighty disquisition with this initial proposition: "Now everybody knows that hell is in the center of the earth." Doubtless he knew what he was talking about.

Well, we admit that even exact science had to creep and stumble before it could stand firmly on its legs.

The belief in Communism ought no more to be objected to than the belief in heaven. Both are equally speculations about the future, the one concerning the hereafter of the hypothetical soul of man, the other a guess about his future social relations in the present world. I submit that the belief in Communism is not a fundamental part of Anarchist doctrine. As well demand an acceptance of the dogma of immortality. Neither belief is essential to the present well being of man nor to the happiness of the coming race.

Nevertheless the Communistic view is detrimental to the economics of Anarchism, because it inevitably entails the negation of any systematic economic science as a part of Anarchist philosophy. Within a comparatively recent period Communists who advocate Anarchism have begun to discard Socialist economics, notably some Marxian doctrines. This is a healthy sign for Anarchism, and indicates progression of ideas. But the fact remains that no alternative system of economics is forthcoming from Communistic sources. It may be well here to remember that the Chicago Anarchists in defending Anarchism adopted Marxian views as the economic basis of their philosophy. Not only in the speeches of Spies and Parsons is this evident, but in his book on "Anarchism," Albert R. Parsons sets forth at great length the economics of Marxian Socialism. When Dyer D. Lum, after the judicial murder of November 11, 1887, revived Parsons' paper *The Alarm* he attempted to grapple with this question in "Economics of Anarchy." Lum had come to recognize the economic weakness of Communist Anarchism, ceasing to make Communism an article of Anarchist belief.

Proudhon was not only one of the most original social philosophers of the nineteenth century, but he was preeminently the founder of Anarchism as a system of social philosophy. Bakunin was indeed the apostle of Anarchy, but the great Frenchman was its originator. The student of today cannot fail to profit by a study of P. J. Proudhon. No other thinker has displayed the masterly grasp of social and economic science which Proudhon possessed. And this profound Anarchist clearly perceived the impossibility of reconciling Communism with a true economic science, which he believed to be attainable. In truth his life's work was one prolonged effort to demonstrate the existence of such a science. No modern Anarchist can afford lightly to turn his back on the labors of Proudhon. Nor can any man fully comprehend his teachings and still hold that Communism is the next step in economic evolution. That some men

in a future and freer state of society will voluntarily adopt Communism as a personal experiment I neither wish to deny nor to deprecate. But that is a totally different matter from Communism as an inevitable universal condition.

The man who can see no important uplifting of the laboring classes unless it come through the downfall of the wage system, competition, and private property has set himself an insuperable task. The question is not whether his ideal is the acme of perfection, but whether it is practicable and capable of realization as a consequence of pre-existing conditions. If it be possible to obtain the essentials of our aims without undertaking the destruction of every deep-rooted institution that has grown up as it were with civilization itself, then wisdom and prudence both prompt us to find such a course. Let us as reformers endeavor to follow the line of least resistance. Society in its upward progress is pursuing that course anyway, though to the ardent enthusiast it seems often devious slow and painfully discouraging. The philosophic view it must be conceded affords a more subdued picture of the immediate future. But if we can agree upon ultimate ends we can perhaps unite as to present action. Man has never yet achieved anything worth while except at the cost of much travail, through sweat and tears.

WAT TYLER.

Matrimonial.

For some time I have wanted to enter a wedge of protest against the marriage institution, and the evils resulting from its "sacredness." While it is not the gravest mistake possible to make, it is unquestionably a very serious one; and not only to the contracting parties, but to the whole propaganda movement; for we claim to have outgrown the superstitious taints of the musty past. There exists already too numerous a class of time-servers and timid souls, without Anarchists resorting to such legal "respectability," and thereby strengthening the chains we are trying to break.

In combating ancient dogmas, customs, and tyrannies, it illy becomes us to cast aside the dry bones of the skeleton, and parade our march of intellect in their robes. We should at least have the courage of our convictions sufficiently rooted to stand firm against such rank invasion from the enemy's camp. We should rise against such a tyranny and regulation of our own private affairs. By adopting these regulations, imposed by law and authority, we abandon ourselves to the severe and just criticism of our opponents.

We claim to have evolved out of reach of their god, discarded their religion; but cling with almost superhuman tenacity to special favors (absurdities), of which our legal lights keep on hand a goodly supply, granting them to any one in need of a wife or husband for the modest sum of from five dollars up to any amount the contracting parties consider the object of their choice and affections worth, and this gives them the sole right, title and interest to said property, with the added right to protect her—because woman needs protection and shielding from the temptations and vanities which

otherwise would assail her. For this protection, which she managed very well to get along without as an individual, she must swear to love, honor, and obey. Love made attainable *only* by and through privileges can be borrowed from the same source. Not quite the same degree of subordination can be said of man, for he retains his name, his individuality, and his place in the field of activities.

The spook gods come and go under all sorts of nom de plumes, but this one retains the position with as much vigor as during "the man in the dug-out period." It has been found possible to dodge the wrath of Jehovah by proper manipulations; but the marriage bugaboo grows more feverishly intense as the prospects for the emancipation of women from these chains become more certain as her mental horizon widens.

In married life women loose their spontaneity, their wills are merged into their husband's, and theirs' in turn are controlled by the men who assume the responsibility to superintend the resources of the universe. Our inheritance has been eclipsed by cunning and theft on the one side, by our blind stupidity the other. It is time we who understand the schemes to which these masters resort to rob us of our right to live cease patronizing their bamboozling committee. In the world's broad field of activities there is room for every sail. To preach freedom and justice, and then to succumb to the enemy's demands, is a very poor showing for us.

Nothing short of absolute adherence to our principles counts for much in the struggle before us. Compromise with error never should be our motto. Nothing short of the whole truth should be nailed to our mast. Our lives have been cursed from our very birth with all sorts of legal suppression and regulations, until we have become mere automatons. Let us rouse from our lethargy and assert ourselves.

GERTIE VOSE.

A Contrast.

"All truth, freedom, and justice are catastrophes," says Zola in his new great novel "Labor." Briefly and strikingly the most prominent of the living prose writers sets forth, that all conquests of mankind have been achieved through force, and must further be gained through force. Peaceful evolutionists do not wish to admit this. Depending upon the often ambiguous books of their great and small prophets, they contend that in the course of time everything necessary must evolve itself peacefully. An unprejudiced study of the history of the earth and its inhabitants should teach them better. Catastrophes have transformed the face of the earth; catastrophes have altered the history of peoples outwardly and inwardly. So it has been since the earliest beginning in nature, so it was with its animated, reasoning beings. So it will remain in the future, all great and small humane reformers notwithstanding.

What is to be done, asks Tolstoy, to do away with the starvation, submission and privations of the masses, and he answers his own question by advocating passive resistance as the only remedy. The poor

and distressed shall refuse to do wrong, at at the bidding of the powerful, refuse to become soldiers and bear arms against their brothers in other countries.

What is to be done, asks Zola, in order to bring warmth and sunshine to the countless miserable and starving, and he answers the question by advocating active resistance. The oppressed slaves of capital should unite for common action. Against the power of money they should place their united physical and mental strength. They should found their own shops and share in common the results of their toil.

Tolstoy's proposition is the teaching of the renouncing mystic, to whom suffering is the greatest virtue; Zola's teaching is the teaching of the desiring man of the world, who gives to the deed the first prize. Tolstoy's followers and admirers, through their repugnance to all forceful means entirely unarmed, will always remain slaves of despots; Zola's followers through their valor and unity, by their standing together against the enemy, become free men with independent thoughts, and elevate themselves through tasteful dwellings and a useful life.—Martin Drescher, in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

An Admonition.

Students of social science ought to be well posted on the customs, etc., of savage tribes. Look at Leighton saying that we have just about enough government, while the Polyynesians and Central Africans have too little! He isn't excusable for not knowing that these savages have stricter governments (at least in many cases, probably in most) than ours. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

A striking illustration of the calibre of emigration officers at New York was demonstrated two weeks ago when Antonia Paratora, a homeless emigrant in a New York hospital, who had recently arrived, was ordered deported on the steamer Liguria. The steamship physician protested vigorously, stating that she was not able to stand the journey. "Never you mind about that," declared the officers, and threatened to tie up the steamer unless the helpless emigrant was taken along.

Would anyone dare to say that after having established the laws of property, justice and liberty, there was nothing yet to be done for the most numerous class of citizens? What do your laws of property, they might say, concern us? We own nothing. Your laws of justice? We have nothing to defend. Your laws of liberty? If we do not labor tomorrow we shall die.—Necker.

The land is a common heritage. When have we ever yielded our rights in this paternal inheritance? Who can show us the contract by which we have given it up? Never listen to those men who prove to you out of the gospel that you are free, and end by exhorting you to bow your heads in slavery. Curses on the false priests who have never understood the essence of Christianity!—Thomas Muenzer (leader of the Peasant's Revolt in Germany.)

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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.

Art was once the common possession of the whole people; it was the rule in the Middle Ages that the produce of handicraft was beautiful. Doubtless there were eyesores in the palmy days of medieval art, but these were caused by destruction of wares, not as now by the making of them. It was the act of war and devastation that grieved the eye of the artist then; the sacked town, the burned village, the deserted fields. Ruin bore on its face the tokens of its essential hideousness; today it is prosperity that is ugly.—William Morris.

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Note and Comment.

Aside from the fact that "Anarchist economics" cannot be very well included in an "era of transition," many readers will no doubt be surprised at the attitude taken by Comrade Wat Tyler in his article this week. Not contenting himself with presenting the "economics of Anarchy" as advocated by his school, he assumes an attitude of arrogant superiority toward the Communists, without bringing a single argument against them, that does not harmonize with his previous analytic mind. However much we may honor the pioneers of progress, it is not necessary to go to the dead in order to find flaws in a system of economics, there being able and progressive men who advance these theories among the living. While it may be true that the Individualists have not advanced one iota since Warren and Proudhon, I am proud to say that no such stagnation has manifested itself among the Communists. In his attempt to be wittily sarcastic regarding Communism, he only makes himself ridiculous. Where is Proudhon's Bank of the People? It may be in heaven, but it is certainly not on earth. Communism, on the other hand, is not a theory but a fact, which enters more or less into the lives of us all. Future issues of FREE SOCIETY will contain a complete reply to Wat Tyler from a Communist standpoint.

* * *

The present labor troubles in San Francisco contain some peculiar features. Several years ago the president of the Employers' Association, in an annual address made the following remarks: "There is a growing tendency upon the part of Trade Unionists to step outside the law in enforcing their demands. . . . Their leaders are beginning to recognize that so long as the union keeps within the law, it can never long enforce arbitrary demands, and arbitrary demands

are the lifeblood of all radical Trade Unions." Thus it appears the employers themselves are aware of and openly proclaim that they are invulnerable within the law, while many workers still hug the delusion that the law is equal to all alike. As the Newark *Courier* says of the steel strike, no matter "whether the labor side is right or wrong in their claims, they labor under this great disadvantage: the law and government must be against them, and this is a factor, it would seem, that must settle the matter in favor of the trust in the end. The strikers can only stop the mills by using force, and the moment they endeavor to do that, the police or the military will be called out and then the mob, as it will be named, will be suppressed. That is the turn that serious labor strikes always take." This has been amply demonstrated in San Francisco, where the police have shown themselves zealous partisans on the side of the employers. Trade Unions are to be highly commended for their manly fight for decent conditions for the workingman, but they have yet to learn who their friends are.

* * *

It was not very fair for our friend Walter Leighton to quote Brooks Adams, as he did, to uphold government as a military necessity, without explaining in what connection that opinion was given. Brooks Adams expressly states that the military weakness of the United States is due to the fact that it would be necessary in case of war to send large armies to the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico. As this military contingency is especially created by governmental jingoism, it is strange logic to cite this fact as creating a necessity for government. Every nation must make up its mind to pay for imperialism, as Brooks Adams plainly and frankly says.

* * *

The amusing Blue Grass Moore, of Lexington, Ky., has added another shining brass button to his coat. In the last issue of the *Blade* he proposes that the Liberals found a political party. To those who have watched the cause of Liberalism during the last few months, it would seem that the Freethinkers have had sufficient experience to warn them against a corruption breeding organized power. But now comes a proposition to still further soil the cause by dragging it into the political mire. If this proposition did not come from Moore, it might be a serious danger to the future cause of Free thought; but it is characteristic of Moore to be prominent where blundering is to be done. The *Blue Grass Blade* should put a little more coherence into the remarks it makes concerning Anarchists, so that it would be possible to know what he is driving at.

ABE ISAAC JR.

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Carnegie Scored.

In view of the fact that from press, pulpit, and the public in general, a round of applause is echoing high above our heads and vibrating far across the sea to the highlands of Scotland, enveloping the august person of his highness, King Carnegie, who is spending his ill-gotten gains in an effort to purchase immortality, the following dispatch

has a very healthful ring. If the public forget the unionists remember and are not slow to forcefully remind the public that Carnegie's immortality as a scoundrel was wrought long ago at Homestead, and that all his millions will not save him from the unqualified contempt of the workers in the present and future. The memory of Homestead is indeed a fitting monument to Carnegie and his class.

Wheeling, W. Va., Aug. 12.—The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, made up of the representatives of 30,000 men in all labor organizations in this city and vicinity, yesterday afternoon took steps that will defeat the proposed bond issue to provide a site for a library offered Wheeling by Andrew Carnegie, at the same time adopting resolutions scoring him mercilessly. The assembly made the following announcement:

"In view of Mr. Carnegie's attitude toward labor, it is the duty of the assembly of organized labor to adopt stringent measures to defeat the erection of this disgraceful monument to the memory of the murdered heroes of Homestead. Doubtless in the minds of many this seems a very beneficent action on the part of Carnegie, but is it beneficence that prompts the robber to restore a part of his ill-gotten gains to the man he has victimized?

"Was it Mr. Carnegie's anxiousness for the spread of education that caused his heart to become like steel to the cries of distress that went up at Homestead on that memorable month of July in 1892? Was it his desire to spread education that stifled the finer instincts of his nature so that the wailing of widows and weeping of fatherless children was as sweet as music in his ear when he could have displayed peace, happiness and prosperity in their homes? Is this any better than the inheritance of slaves?

"During Mr. Carnegie's active business career why did he compel his employees to work seven days a week, twelve hours a day? Where under God's heaven have they time to educate themselves? Why did he, in 1892, if he was so deeply interested in educating the oppressed, reduce the men's wages?

"The name of Carnegie is drenched in the blood of his fellow men; it is furrowed in the hearts of the fatherless children, and when mentioned at Homestead, causes terror to arise in the hearts of widows who lost their husbands while fighting against shackles of slavery that Mr. Carnegie forced on them."

The trade and labor assembly of Detroit has passed similar resolutions since the appearance of this dispatch. J. F.

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By the Wayside.

The inactivity of the Anarchists is a regrettable fact, and it is high time that they awakened from their indolence. By little effort from each of us, a healthy and intelligent agitation could be carried on among the strikers all over the country. With speakers in the field, and pamphlets explaining our position on the economic question, the movement would secure a great impetus at present. Success depends upon prompt action at critical times; and Anarchists should not fail to utilize such splendid opportunities.

* * *

The almost universal feeling of solidarity among the striking steel workers is an encouraging feature in Trades Unionism; but their anxiety to be looked upon as peaceable and "law-abiding" citizens, shows clearly how little they know about the history of Trades Unions and the labor problem. Labor organizations came into existence in defiance of "law and order," and no social ills of any importance have ever been remedied by complying with prevailing laws. It is the law-breaker that is recorded in the history of revolutions and reformatations, and not the

"law-obedient" citizen. When labor will exhibit the self-consciousness and independent spirit of a Pierpont Morgan, and give their exploiters the ultimatum, "We have nothing to arbitrate—the factories belong to us who created them," then the problem can be solved. But if the workers continue to observe their present attitude they will gain only continuous war and bloodshed.

Edgar D. Brinkerhoff should read up on Anarchist Communism for his own consolation; for he will find that the Anarchists have offered a solution of the sex problem. In a society without the priest and judge to interfere in our love relations, and in a condition where everyone is free to satisfy his wants according to desire—production and consumption being free—the sex question is solved, at least as far the question of support is concerned, which seems to vex the so-called Individualists greatly. How the woman will get along during the period of transition must be solved by herself. The man is no more apt to give her freedom and independence than the capitalist will give it to the worker. Freedom is not given, but must be taken by those in bondage.

Walter Leighton is somewhat belated regarding the efficacy of government. All the benevolent institutions he mentions in favor of government, were called into life by individuals in spite of government; and after the government took hold of them they were crippled and demoralized, instead of being ameliorated. The Red Cross societies sing governments no hymns in any country; and in England the government has not yet succeeded in taking hold of the life-saving stations, because the men have no confidence in "the efficacy of government," and would not submit to governmental interference.

H. M. Hyndman, the leader of the Social Democratic Federation, has withdrawn from the party for the following reasons:

The working class are not sufficiently penetrated with class-consciousness and class antagonism to make an effective revolutionary propaganda possible.

Having done his best to subdue the revolutionary spirit among the workers, in order to be elected as an M. P., he has peaceably settled the labor problem for himself, and can afford to sneer at the torpidity of the workers; and the latter will elect another "representative" to be duped again, until they learn that "representative government" is a failure.

INTERLOPER.

Parsons on Labor.

The San Francisco Labor Council held a mass meeting on August 8 in Metropolitan Temple, at which the speakers were the "Rev. P. C. Yorke, A. Furuseth, chairman of the executive committee of the City Front Federation, and a leading Protestant divine." The following letter, addressed to the chairman and secretary of the Labor Council, was delivered to the chairman as he entered the hall.

To W. H. Goff and Ed. Rosenberg.

Dear Sirs,—It surprises me that you should continue to toady to reverends and doctors of divinity, and sit at their feet to learn anything of heaven or economics. It is their special business to befool the two questions,

so that they may still live as parasites on the body politic, of which Labor is the only necessary element for maintaining life.

The Reverend P. C. Yorke and the other "a leading Protestant divine," whoever he may be, are both worse than useless. They are mischievous on account of their fanaticism and dogmatism, and by the threats, hopes, and promises, which they preach, so as to keep the minds of their deluded followers in bondage, by fear through ignorance.

Labor must sever all intercourse with, and recognition of, Churches. J. A. KINGHORN-JONES.
August 8, 1901. 36 Geary St.

A Few Books.

An Anarchist will find it worth while (if he gets the chance) to read Josiah Flynt's new books, "Powers that Prey" and "The World of Graft." These, particularly the latter, have a good deal of valuable information from unpublished sources about the faults of the police.

I told my uncle (a doctor) that I was looking for light on the subject of vaccination, but could get access to the evidence on only one side; anti-vaccination literature was thick enough, but the orthodox didn't seem to try to circulate their arguments. My uncle lay low two or three years, looking for a pro-vaccination book that contained real evidence, and then gave me McVail's "Vaccination Vindicated." I can recommend the book to those who do not wish to make up their minds from reading only one side. It convicts Wallace of gross errors in his statements of fact.

The *Review of Reviews* deserves attention just now. The July number has an unusually valuable article on Tolstoy. The reporter is great at misunderstanding the theoretical relation between Tolstoy's Anarchistic principles and practical life, and always goes wrong in explaining what bearing these principles ought logically to have on Tolstoy's actions; but he nevertheless reports with unusual clearness and pertinence the actual way that Tolstoy takes his principles into his life. The article gives one the means of correcting some current misconceptions, propagated by people who had this reporter's incapacity for theory without his clear eye for genuine facts.

In the August number of the same magazine, read by all means four pages, from p. 139 to p. 143. These pages contain a complete refutation, by a professional military man of the highest reputation, of Walter Leighton's argument that we need a government to defend us against foreign invasion. They also contain reasons showing, from the same standpoint, that empires in the twentieth century will have to pay much more attention to the local wishes of their various provinces than they did in the nineteenth.

The American Revised Version of the Bible will be out this month. It is known to be a much more correct version, especially in the Old Testament, than the English Revised Version which has hitherto been the best. But I have no hope that most of the people who argue for or against the Bible will take the trouble to get and quote a correct copy.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Here and There.

During Franz Joseph's recent visit to Prague, Bohemia, a number of Anarchists were arrested.

Last year in England 631 railway employees were killed and 15,698 were injured. For the year ending June 20, 1900, there were 7,865 persons killed and 50,320 injured in railroad accidents in this country.

The Associated Press recently has sent out a report to the effect that the Paterson comrades were going to produce a play called "The Assassination of King Humbert," revealing the plot. There is no truth in the report, as the Paterson comrades had nothing to do with it.

At the last convention of the International Typographical Union held in Birmingham, Ala., a resolution to prevent members from belonging to the militia was tabled by a large majority.

The San Francisco Labor Council has asked the mayor to remove one of the police commissioners from office, because he advocated an increase in the police force during the strike. In a letter to the mayor, the Council says that there has been no violence, and that it is not due to the police, but the workingmen. It is in order for the Labor Council to recognize that everybody is as well able to keep the peace as union workers, and invite the police to abdicate, or else use the bay as a convenience to get rid of these leechers.

The machinists and moulders are still on strike in considerable numbers in Chicago. The employers are offering extra inducements for men in order to break the strike. They have succeeded in getting some men to stay with them, who live like prisoners inside the shops guarded by the police. The moulders went on strike against the advice of their national union, and are not entitled to any assistance.

A new method to crush labor strikes has been added to the numerous ways and means which have hitherto been in vogue in America. The cigarmakers in Tampa, Fla., have for some time been on strike, and have held out until the employers lost patience, and declared that they would close their mills and move. A circular signed "the people of Tampa" warned the "Anarchists and professional labor agitators" that their time in Tampa was at an end. A mass meeting was announced, to which strikers were invited. The leading strikers were forcibly arrested and taken to the jail, from whence they disappeared. It was learned subsequently that they had been kidnapped. Juan Gonzales appeared after five day's absence, with the news that the strikers were taken aboard a vessel, from which he escaped by leaping overboard, when five miles out, getting ashore with the aid of drift. The police, as usual, have taken sides in the strike. The workingmen are taken to the factories and asked if they will work, and upon their refusal are declared vagabonds. The strike benefit which they receive from the unions are designated "alms." The strikers declare that they will return to work for no price until their officers are returned. New officers are ready to take the places of the kidnapped men.

History of the French Revolution.

XX

Marat, a little ugly, untidy fellow, with a voice like a frog, and an air of solemnity which sat most comically, never failed to excite laughter when he spoke, till his calm earnestness put the laughs down. It was so this night, and so next day at the Convention, where he talked in the same manner; save only that the Girondins, instead of becoming grave, assailed him, when they could no longer laugh, with unparliamentary personal abuse. Their trick of ignoring him is seen in delay about his Roland charges. For some days after this when he entered the hall, those deputies sitting near him moved away, in imitation of the courtesy shown Catiline at his last debate. On the 26th Marat rose "to state a fact which concerned the public safety"—some of his usual suspicions. Barbaroux now brought against him the charge of trying to seduce the Marseillais. Instantly a storm broke forth. Cries of "traitor!" and "assassin!" were hurled at Marat. One deputy declared that Marat had been heard to say there would be no peace till two hundred and sixty thousand heads had been cut off! "It was I who heard him say so," remarked another. All eyes were fixed on Marat. "Very well," replied the Irrepressible, "I did say so, and I think so." After enjoying the pause of astonishment, he resumed, "I repeat it. That is my opinion; and you will not pretend that men are to be punished for their opinions." He seems to have shut them up. It was not the first time. On the 10th the charge against Robespierre had been renewed. The old accusers of September 25, and October 3, the Girondins, Barbaroux and Rebecqui, now specifically declared that Panis, a Jacobin and Septemberer, had sounded them on the proposal to make Robespierre dictator. The Jacobins were confounded, till Marat rose amidst general clamor. "It seems," he croaked, that some here are my personal enemies." "All! All!" roared the Girondins. Resisting their attempts to howl him down, he declared, what seems quite true, that the only advocate of a dictatorship was himself! Nevertheless on October 29, November 3-5, most determined attempts to impeach Robespierre were made by Roland, Vergniaud, and Louvet, who had been a Jacobin. Danton's powerful lungs and nerve again preserved the weak pedant who afterwards murdered him. The Girondins had taken another step toward the guillotine; for their impeachment of Robespierre was virtually also of Marat and of Paris.† How-

* This is the foundation of the famous story which likens Marat to Caligula. I think some lying was evidently done in the Convention; and acceptance of the charge by such a rhetorician as Marat proves nothing. Marat, like many earnest men, was addicted to adopting with exaggeration any caricature of his real sentiments.

† Carlyle's dramatic narrative would confound in the mind of a reader who went by it, the scenes of October 29 and November 3—of September 25 and October 10. We do not, certainly, get the best effect by following the chronological order of a newspaper; because it jumbles personal with party quarrels; but this order, valuable to clear understanding of cause and effect, is thus. September 25. Repeal of Buzot's decree agitated. Marat, Danton, and Robespierre attacked; Barbaroux and Rebecqui say Robespierre wants to be dictator. October 3. Attack renewed in Convention. Danton speaks for his friends. October

ever, the storm blew over for that time—Barrere appearing in his favorite role of peacemaker. The military glory of regenerated France was enough to animate with common enthusiasm her sons of every party. Dumouriez, intent on wiping out his humiliation at Paris, pushed across the Belgian frontier, and beat up the Austrian winter quarters at Jemappes, November 4-6. A bloody battle ended in a great victory—to the prean of the Marseillais. Brussels was taken on the 14th. During September General (Marquis) Montesquiou had annexed Savoy. His successor, Anselm, did the same for Nice. On the 23d of that famous month, Custine entered Spire, and next day Worms. On October 10 he was welcomed at Mainz. His flying columns reached Cassel. The popular enthusiasm for revolution in Belgium, Germany, and Italy, caused the Convention to declare (November 18, decree published 19th)—that France was fighting for all peoples against kings. There was a fresh outburst of loving kindness, in which the Girondins gushed like Moses' rock! They readily accepted the Commune's rule that all people should be called citizens, should "thee and thou" each other "like the free nations of antiquity." A last terrible sacrament of union was at hand—the king's fate remained to be decided.

It is usually said the Jacobins demanded the death of the king; the Girondins tried, though in a weak and injudicious manner, to save him; while all more or less disguised royalists and Feuillantists were on his side of course. These statements require a good deal of qualification. Brissot led a portion of the Girondins to favor Louis' execution on the very characteristic grounds that it would render peace with Europe impossible; that the generals Dumouriez, Custine, Montesquiou, and Bournonville, were Girondins; and that to make them powerful was necessary in order to suppress the Commune. Valazé (Girondin) reported, as committee man, for trial, November 6. Manuel (Jacobin) was throughout strongly opposed to the execution. (He had been a Septemberer.) Paine (Girondin) was also against the king's death. Orleans, a candidate for the crown, Séziz, and Ducos, men of the Plain with a royalist leaning, were for it. Lameth (Theodore) asserted that he tried to buy votes for Louis, that Danton, who managed that department, was willing to distribute the money, though not to risk his own popularity by a vote on the weak side; and that

10. Barbaroux and Rebecqui make their specifications. Marat's reply, "all are his enemies." October 16. Talma's ball. October 17. Marat attacks Dumouriez at the Club. October 18. Marat attacks Dumouriez in Convention. October 26. Marat denounced by Barbaroux in Convention, "260,000 heads" episode. October 29. Robespierre attacked again. Obtains a week to prepare defense. November 3. Louvet's and Roland's attack on Robespierre: letter recommending him for dictator produced: threats of arrest: Danton defends him. November 5. Robespierre makes his reply: matter dropped on Barrere's motion. Several affiliated clubs denounce Marat about this time. November 9. The Club expels Louvet, Barbaroux, and Rebecqui. December 7. Marat's charges against Roland, long pending, attested by the spy Viard. Madame Roland appears to explain: charges dismissed. The Jacobins throughout acted with much moderation. Marat was beaten by Westermann, threatened by Barbaroux's soldiers, and forced to hide. November 9. It was a capital crime to assault a deputy. Paine saved the life of a foolish Englishman who did this to him.

all applications to the royalists abroad were unsuccessful. Gouverneur Morris, on December 21, at the most critical time, wrote to Jefferson that all parties, as such, were for the execution,—Jacobins because Paris wanted it, Girondins on grounds explained above; royalists because Louis was a cheap victim whose death would do them more good than his life. While the proposition to try him was being considered, however, the Rolands and most other Girondins had contended that there was no law under which he could be tried. Marat, the extremist of Jacobins, upheld to the last the principle that "Capet" was responsible only for acts done after he accepted the Constitution. This would have greatly embarrassed prosecution; for Madame Campan had destroyed the worst evidences of his subsequent guilt, which she afterwards published from memory. No attention was paid to Marat's argument. The active prosecutors at an early stage were Robespierre and St. Just. They took the ground that what justified deposing the king justified his execution. A lover of dialectics might argue with some force that the Constitution provided for his majesty's constructive abdication in cases which had actually occurred, and that such abdication clearly took away his constitutional inviolability. But these men scorned to chop logic. Deposition and death were alike required by the *salus populi*, the highest law! St. Just also made a sensation in charging Louis with the blood of August 10. He brought to the Convention the maimed survivors, with the widows and orphans of those who had fallen on that dreadful day. Before judgment could be reached however, August 10 had been allowed to drop. The only charge voted on was the damning one of conspiracy with foreigners and exiles. On November 10, the day after the love-feast of Jacobins and Girondins, Gamain, the king's instructor in locksmithing, showed Roland a secret iron safe at the Tuileries. It proved to be full of incriminating papers. Roland, blundering like a Girondin, carried them off without making an inventory or letting others see them. He was at once accused of garbling the evidence. The royalist Doctor Bozé betrayed the correspondence of Vergniaud with Louis during July. These were the events which frightened all the Girondins into accepting a trial whose result as regards conviction could not be doubted. Louis Capet, formerly king Louis XVI, it was agreed should be arraigned before the Convention on December 11. The Commune was still maintaining its distinguished prisoners in regal luxury. An itemized account shows that the enormous cost of their kitchen was not wasted or embezzled, but went to supply costly delicacies. The jailors however, were less considerate. A wretch named Rocher took delight in airing his authority, smoking a pipe, and rattling his keys, while in attendance on the royal family. Others scrawled on the walls pictures of a guillotine and a gallows, accompanied by blood-curdling threats against Louis, Marie, and their innocent children. In addition to these private brutalities, the restraints deemed needful by the Commune were severe. When the danger to Paris became greatest, the queen, her children, and

Madame Elizabeth, were never allowed out of the turnkeys' sight till they retired. Then their doors were guarded as well as locked. The king was watched night and day. They were denied writing material lest they should communicate with conspirators, and knives lest they should attempt some harm to themselves or others. In this dreary captivity, their lives were really edifying. Louis rose early, passed an hour in prayer, breakfasted with his family at nine, and gave lessons to his son till one. At this hour they walked in the garden, which, though neglected, was spacious. The house tops were crowded; and there was no interference with signalling to the prisoners. After dinner, which was at two, the king took a nap, and then read aloud. His wife and sister occupied themselves with needle work. The dauphin played games with Clery. Upon their life of innocent domesticity, which in spite of danger and humiliation, must have had pleasures unknown to Versailles, came the awful, though not unexpected intelligence that the fallen prince would be tried the next day, and separated from his family till the result was known. What seems to Saxons the meanest part of the proceeding, is usual in French "justice." The unfortunate culprit, without warning or counsel, even faint and hungry, for he had been interrupted at breakfast, was suddenly brought before a terrible tribunal, and required to answer, clause by clause, a formidable indictment. It may be imagined such a man as Louis did not bear this ordeal well. He neither refused to plead, like Charles I, nor avowed his hostility to the revolution, which need not have injured him with all his judges, and certainly would have been dignified. He might with advantage have urged that he yielded everything, till it became clear there was no end. But he did not say this. He blamed his ministers for some of his acts. Others he denied, among them the iron safe business. He knew enough to ask for counsel. After a hot debate, next day, the Convention agreed that he should have it. He was also allowed two weeks for preparation. This last point, however, was not settled till near the fatal morning. Two lawyers, the venerable Malesherbes, and the rising Tronchet, had accepted the responsible office of defense. A third, Target, declined: which has brought on him a reproach for cowardice. A young but famous barrister, De Seze, took the place. Malesherbes and Louis arranged the answers to matters of fact. Tronchet and De Seze prepared the speech, which was delivered by the latter. He insisted on the king's inviolability, and argued that the Convention, being accusers, should not be judges. The former plea was totally disregarded; the latter saved a few votes, as we shall see. De Seze also refuted as well as he could some particular charges, especially that of defending the Tuileries, which Louis solemnly, and, as I think, correctly, denied. At this point he was successful. But the prosecution produced a bunch of keys taken from the ex-king's valet Thierry, one of which fitted the safe. Louis made the ruinous admission that he gave his keys to Thierry on August 10. This much was effected during December 26. An acrimonious and most irregular debate

ensued. The streets and galleries were filled with a bloodthirsty mob. The king's defenders among the deputies were hooted. Every disputed point was fought over and over till it became clear that without some sort of cloture there would be no vote. Manuel was expelled from the Jacobin Club for moving an adjournment of three days. Pétion afterwards narrowly escaped a similar indignity for opposing the motion to end before adjourning again.

On January 7 air-beating was cut short by the following resolutions. The case should lie over to Monday the 14th. Deputies who wanted to discuss the whole matter, must write their speeches, and lay them on the table to be read by those who chose. A *viva* vote it was agreed during the 14th, should be taken on those questions in order, *videlicet* (1) Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiracy? (2) Shall there be an appeal to the people? (3) What is to be the penalty? There was still room for talk over these definite issues, since each member introduced his opinion with remarks; also for dilatory motions, as to require three-fourths majority on the penalty. In such ways the voting on the two first questions was prolonged till seven or eight p. m. Wednesday 16.* The mob became very impatient. It is said some outsiders who talked against execution, or the whole proceeding, were killed in the streets. The session was now declared permanent, so it continued night two full days. All present had voted guilty except ten, who declined on the ground that they were prosecutors, as De Seze previously said. Two hundred and eighty-three had voted for appeal, 424 against.† Thus began the great contest. That Louis could be acquitted, otherwise than on a technical quirk, was impossible. The plebiscitum was a weak and foolish proposal. But execution of a king remained a matter grave enough to call forth much eloquence yet. Anyone could originate a penalty, and give his reasons. Paine proposed imprisonment till the end of the war, followed by exile. He said the United States would give the banished king an asylum. As he had little command of French, his speech was delivered by an interpreter. Marat would not believe it was translated correctly, till Paine assured him that it was. Then he remarked that Citizen Paine was a Quaker who did not believe in shedding blood under any circumstances. Had the Girondins all voted according to their convictions, there could hardly have been a majority for death. But they tried parliamentary strategy, in which they had no skill. It was arranged they should vote for death with a proviso that the sentence be referred to the people, though the ver-

* Scarcely a date in the French Revolution is given alike to a day by all original authorities; a fact which will surprise no one who has tried making a first book on a historical subject with newspapers for data; but should operate to warn him who would verify still earlier chronology how difficult accuracy is to arrive at. Carlyle says the voting was originally set for Tuesday 15th; but this appears to be wrong.

† Some say 281 and 423. I prefer the larger number, because the vote on the penalty is stated with fair agreement at 721. This means that besides the ten who declined to vote the first time some (according to Carlyle 18) did not. Those absentees or excusers who came up at last, must, judging from the final division, have mostly voted against death, a bold step, which such men would naturally have preferred to shirk by a reference to the people.

dict, it was already settled, should not. To clear them of royalism, a few voted for death without this salvo. Dramatic and stormy were the closing scenes. The populace shouted "Death to the tyrant! Him or us!" The galleries greeted every vote which was not for death with yells and taunts. Some members were undignified enough to retort their abuse. When Vergniaud, for whom his party mostly waited, uttered the word "Death," Marat exclaimed "The fool!" Danton said to Brissot, "Don't talk to me of doing anything with such men." Barere (Girondin), under a cloud for having been a royalist, voted death. Pétion spoke against death—and voted for it. Siéyes voted "Death, without talk." Barbaroux and Buzot (Madame Roland's lover), voted for the extreme penalty, though she was known to be much against its infliction. Carnot (Jacobin) voted for death, with strong expressions of regret. Manuel, at risk of his own life, tried to falsify the count. Three hundred and eighty-seven had voted for death; but twenty-six introduced the referendum. Three hundred and thirty-four were for some other sentence.* So for death without appeal, there was only the bare majority of one. An instinct of legend made Orleans *the one*, as if his vote were worth Vergniaud's! The party opposed had done their best this time. A sick man, Duchatel, was brought in his chair, wrapped up with blankets, to vote for mercy, very late. Immediately on the announcement, the king's lawyers moved a stay of proceedings (*sursis*), which was it agreed should be considered; and the weary Convention adjourned, about midnight 17-18th. Next day, the Girondins insisted on a recount; by which, and by other methods, doing anything was prevented all Friday. On Saturday evening, the Jacobin deputy Lepelletier, who had voted for death, after opposing capital punishment generally, was fatally stabbed in a café by a life guards man, who escaped. This foolish deed reduced the votes for suspension to 310;—for immediate death there were 380. The result was announced at 3 a. m. Sunday Louis requested a respite of three days, which was refused; and assistance of a priest chosen by himself, which was granted. M. Edgeworth, a non-juror of Irish descent, attended him. The execution took place, amidst a vast concourse, in a sheety rain, on the afternoon of Monday, the 21st. C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

* Of course there is a conflict of authorities. Lamar-tine says 46 voted for death, with a saving clause, 334 for something else; and thus makes the plurality for immediate death seven. But at this, there would have been 19 lacking to a majority of all votes cast. Some one would have been sure to challenge such a result in so momentous a case. The recount tried by the king's well-wishers is explicable in no other way than by truth of the often-refuted statement that there was a majority for death, but that for immediate death it was so small as to be doubtful—in short only one. I have done my best to reconcile accounts, which is but fair if we play no trick with obvious meaning.

— O —

Wealth is acquired by over-reaching our neighbor, and is spent in insulting them.—Godwin.

The land belongs to no one person but to all; all that an individual acquires beyond the means of subsistence is a social theft.—Rousseau.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions to FREE SOCIETY.

ALLEGHENY, Pa.—H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden Ave.
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Literature.

Die Gottespest. By John Most. W. MacQueen, 10 Baldwin Place, Harrogate, Leeds, England. Price 5 cents.

A reprint (in German) of Most's well known essay on the "religious pest." The story of creation and other Bible yarns are unmercifully ridiculed; while the priests and rulers of earth come under the lash. The writer becomes enthusiastic on the subject of "freeing mankind," and repeats the Jesuitical precept of "the end justifies the means," a rule of doubtful value. Only in so far as our means harmonize with our ends are they of any value at all, either ethically or practically.

A. I. JR.

The Letter-Box.

W. S., West Hoboken, N. J.—The whole edition of FREE SOCIETY is mailed at one time. If you do not receive the paper as soon as your friend, ask the local post-office to explain.

G. W. M., Houston, Tex.—Since Alice Wolverton Eyre went to California, we have not heard about her colony. Whenever news is conveyed to us, it will be made known. I do not anticipate a "revolution" from the present labor troubles; but pressure long continued is bound to produce a reaction. Labor unions should be encouraged rather than crushed; they are at least a healthy protest, and help to develop the spirit of manhood.

J. D. M., Cincinnati, O.—Your drastic thunderbolts and stereotyped assertions, making a patent medicine, neatly done up in packages and warranted to cure all ills that human flesh is heir to, to hand. We assure you that it is not due to the "fear of losing our subscribers" that we fail to print it; but simply our desire to be merciful. Please have matter intelligently written, bringing some plausible

arguments to sustain the assertions, and we will gladly and willingly discuss with you. How much liberty is "the greatest amount of liberty compatible with equal liberty"? Who is going to deal out "liberty" in "equal" sizes and lengths? Articles should be written on one side of the sheet only.

F. M., City.—That the Social Democratic Party platform does not demand the abolishment of the wage system is plainly stated. Paragraph 2 says: "The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor." I think this is a clear enough proof that wages and capitalism are not to be abolished.

J. McM., Fitchburg, Mass.—Your copy was marked by mistake. Hope you will excuse us. It is impossible that some mistakes should not occur while marking several hundred copies.

G. E. L., City.—If Wight has "disposed of Fox," in your opinion, why do you not give him a rest? Next time, please, while manufacturing bombs to pitch into the Anarchist camp, do not use such said and paper as "society is an organism," so that we can enjoy at least a little excitement. We have not time to rewrite your articles for publication.

New Cause for Lightning.

An old colored preacher in the rural district accounted, for lightning in this way:

"Ever' time satan looks down en sees de Lawd's work gwine on, fire flashes f'um his eyes. Dat's de lightning. En w'en he fail ter hit a church wid it, he lays back en hollers. Dat's de thunder."

"But, passon," said an old deacon, "whar is satan in de winter time? We don't have no lightnin' den?"

The preacher studied a minute and then said:

"Well, hit may be, Br'er Williams, dat hell's froze over den!"
—Atlanta Constitution.

All for ourselves and nothing for other people seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind.—Adam Smith.

RECEIPTS.

Saylin, \$3. Vizgard, \$1.50. Poppers, Poa, Peukert, Breidau, Rotter, Blum, Knoefel, Ettlinger, Stastny, Matashkovitz, Soltwedel, each \$1. Young, Ufer, Koening, Rice, each 50c. Auth, Levin, each 25c.

DONATIONS.—Gordon, \$1.50. Sachatoff, Meitlen, Breidau, each \$1. Chey, Ufer, each 50c.

When government and the people quarrel, government is generally in the wrong.—Burke.

MEETINGS.

PHILADELPHIA—The Social Science Club holds open-air meetings (weather permitting) at the North Plaza, City Hall Sq., every Sunday evening, 8 p. m.

SAN FRANCISCO—Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday 2 p. m., at 909 Market St. Free Discussion,

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

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