

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.

VOL. VII. NO. 32.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 330.

A Sonnet of Revolt.

Les modes ont fait plus de mal
que les révolutions.—Hugo.
Les révolutions sont les idées
d'une époque.—Lamartine.

Life—what is Life? To do, without avail,
The decent ordered tasks of every day;
Talk with the sober: join the solemn play;
Tell for the hundredth time the self-same tale
Told by our grandsires in the self-same vale
Where the sun sets with even, level ray,
And nights, eternally the same, make way
For hueless dawns intolerably pale.
And this is Life? Nay, I would rather see
The man who sells his soul in some wild cause:
The fool who spurns, for momentary bliss,
All that he was and all that he thought to be:
The rebel stark against his country's laws:
God's own mad lover, dying on a kiss.
—W. L. C., in *London Fortnightly Review*.

An Era of Transition.

VIII.

ANARCHISM AND REVOLUTION.

The economic struggle for existence is no longer waged merely between individuals or even between the classes constituting any single community. It has already attained world wide dimensions, and is carried on by rival nations or groups of nations in a fierce, implacable conflict for commercial supremacy. As one far-seeing observer puts it, "Competition has entered a period of greater stress, and competition in its acutest form is war." The international character of the struggle has been pointed out in earlier papers. Vast interests, embracing nearly every phase of human activity, are at stake. The industrial warfare between the capitalist class and the wage workers is only one aspect of the strife.

In view of the national and racial animosities that continue to divide mankind, and which are too often fostered by the ruling classes for their own ends, it is by no means certain that the form of the struggle we usually generalize as the labor problem, will in the near future assume the dominant place. For myself I believe that it depends largely upon the growth of intelligence and organization among the workers, backed up by persistent determination to make this question overwhelmingly predominant. In the effort to accomplish its own emancipation, labor is handicapped by the fact that the most energetic, intelligent, and resourceful members of the class are constantly emerging from it into the ranks of the master class. This drain upon the effectiveness of the workers in striving to achieve a more advantageous economic status is, however, in accordance with natural law; though its primary aspect has changed, the survival of the fittest is a principle operating with an intensity as relentless as ever. And this sifting process ceaselessly goes on notwithstanding the belief that "class-consciousness" is increasing, and the gulf between rich and poor ever growing wider. In

fact the "class-conscious proletariat" of a certain school of Socialists is mainly a mythical character. It is a demonstrable feature of modern life that the well-to-do are steadily increasing in proportion to the whole.

Another thing that diminishes the chances of a speedy and effective change on behalf of the workers, is the principle known to military science as "diversion." So many other interests are striving to gain their ends, so many ways in which the laboring classes can be diverted from what ought to be the one paramount aim, to better their economic condition. This question however, assumes more and more importance, nor is it one affecting the laboring class only. Men of all ranks are interested in its solution. The future, perhaps the very existence of civilization, is intimately bound up in the outcome. No feature of the time is more notable than the earnest and spreading desire to improve, in a rational and permanent fashion, the condition of the less fortunate portion of society. Nor is it so much a manifestation of the altruistic spirit as it is due to the fact that men cannot now shut their eyes nor blunt their sympathies to the visible suffering of their fellow men; to further their own happiness they are impelled to cry out against the remediable evils that surround them. It is needless to point out the various agencies at work today, that were never dreamt of by our forefathers, for the social and economic upraising of mankind. The solidarity of the race is a conviction steadily gaining ground, nor is it confined to the avowed Socialists.

Nevertheless the primal struggle for existence is not disappearing, it is only changing its form. Side by side with the extending humanist movement we see the unsocial instincts, strong and selfish, pressing forward to seize every advantage in sight. In the event of a social revolution these instincts are more likely to gain ground than to lose it. Should the upheaval arise from causes other than those relied upon by the revolutionist, the emancipation of labor might be deferred and a new despotism grow up, against which the battle would have to begin anew. Let me put this in a way that will be easily understood. American industry has recently expanded to such a degree that the domestic demand for its productions no longer suffices, and it depends upon access to European and Oriental markets for the disposal of the present and prospective output. If the mooted coalition of continental Europe against what they view as the ruinous competition of the United States should assume an aggressive shape and forcibly close their markets to American products, or attempt to shut this country out of China, a contingency by no means remote, the result would be a collapse of the present industrial organization. A shrinkage of profits would follow, with

consequent cutting of wages, decrease of employment, and widespread suffering due to the effort to adapt the system to the new conditions. The aggregations of capital which now practically control industry would under the circumstances indicated either disintegrate or merge into some form of paternal and despotic Socialism.

To further illustrate this view take the present predicament of England. As the student of contemporary thought knows, her leading writers and most competent observers agree that the economic decline of Great Britain has reached an acute stage. In the industrial race she has lagged, has been outdistanced by younger and more vigorous competitors, and at last has come to realize that her once mighty commercial system has grown obsolete. Her economic lapse has its counterpart in her government, the personnel of which was fitly described by a recent leading writer in an English review, as composed, with one or two exceptions, of gentlemen of leisure, aged, feeble and incapable who, outside the cabinet which their rank and titles so nobly adorned, would be unable to earn a living at any useful occupation. Such are England's rulers today, too busy wasting their country's treasure in the ignoble task of exterminating the undaunted Boers to grapple with the industrial decay that has overtaken the nation. In the grip of such foes at home as landlordism, railroad, shipping and other monopolies, the English people are confronted abroad by enemies who hail with ill-concealed joy her commercial downfall as the precursor of political disintegration. The ensuing discontent among the masses tends more and more to take the form of a demand for increased paternalism. State and municipal Socialism has already got a good start and conditions favor its rapid extensions. That a revolutionary change is possible no close observer will deny. But what are the indications as to its probable character? Collective industrialism, a bureaucratic despotism tempered by majority rule, is the likeliest outcome of such a movement.

I am not now discussing a matter of personal belief or of what is theoretically desirable. Viewing the facts impartially, I am endeavoring to forecast certain probabilities. The needs of industrial competition, which in its acutest stage means war, demand the most effective organization; politically and economically, the cheapest methods both of administration and of production, and collectivism is the logical consequence. Yet I am far from believing it an end devoutly to be wished, or that it is to be the final result of industrial development. On the contrary, all my sympathies lie in the opposite direction; but apart from personal bias, my impression of the movement now taking place on a vast scale throughout the world compels the conclu-

sions here set forth. This view is well exemplified in the case of Russia, which is at once the most powerful governmental organism in the world, and the most extensive in the scope of its paternalistic commercial activities. The very features which in Russian national organization the libertarian most abhors are precisely those which add to its stability and offer small hope for true freedom in the near future.

In closing these papers a few words upon the relation between Anarchism and revolution may not be out of place. Revolution is a question of method, it is not itself the principle underlying the change. In declaring myself a revolutionist, I affirm that no method short of physical force will attain the end toward which I aim. What I really stand for is the ideal of complete individual freedom, political, social, economic. But it has yet to be proved that this ideal can be attained only through violent revolution, especially one that aims for the complete overthrow of all forms of government. It is a fact that, notwithstanding the spread of voluntary organization and activity, the State today is a greater power than ever before; its authority extends over new fields in which it formerly had no control. Besides the masses have still to acquire the conception of getting along without a governing authority.

The final test of the soundness of the revolutionary method is its feasibility. As already said it is not the end but only the means to an end, and the burden of proof lies with the advocates of revolution to establish its practicability. Nor can it be denied that professed revolutionists are neither numerous nor strong, and that if the revolution were dependent on them for its advent it is still a long way off. Is it the part of wisdom to cumber an ideal so radical and subversive of existing institutions as Anarchism with a method that neither appeals to the people nor is supremely adapted to the work in hand? Because it is well to bear in mind that whatever may be the ideas which will fundamentally influence man to action they must conform to his mental horizon.

One thing capitalism has done: it has certainly adapted man to the industrial stage of development. He is therefore less in sympathy with a violent method, and less easily aroused to action, than he would have been in an earlier and more unsettled stage of society. The heroic age has passed away. While his desire is to work and enjoy the fruits of his efforts the modern man will put up with a good deal rather than fight to secure the full recognition of his rights as a producer. For these reasons, therefore, it is inexpedient to rely upon revolution to fulfil our hopes. First, the difficulties to be surmounted in effecting a forcible revolt, which would change the economic basis of society, are greater than in any previous stage of civilization. Secondly, the danger is imminent that such a revolt, if possible, would lead not to a free society but to a collectivist economic despotism, than which the present is a tolerable condition. Moreover if, as some believe, revolution is inevitable, it needs not the efforts of the apostle to hasten it.

In regard to the Anarchistic solution of

the land question through the occupancy and use, and the elimination of interest, with all its widely spread nets for exploiting labor, their application depends on the non-interference of the State, on its practical extinction as the support of monopoly. I feel, therefore, that it will suffice for the present if we agree upon the primary object of undermining the belief in political authority. In the hasty survey and analysis of present tendencies which I have attempted let none suppose I am pessimistic as to the outlook. On the contrary, I am filled with a large and growing if subdued hope for the future. Large masses necessarily move slowly. Beyond the mere economic problem lie the problems of the race, the ultimate goal of humanity, the end of progress.

Finally, let me quote as my closing thought the words of Buckle: "If the reader has met with opinions adverse to his own he should remember that his views are perchance the same as I too once held and which I have abandoned because after a wider range of study I found them unsupported by solid proof, subversive of the interests of man, and fatal to the progress of his knowledge." I anticipate criticism and await it in the spirit of truth seeking and fraternity.

WAT TYLER.

A Suggestion.

In No. 327 of FREE SOCIETY E. D. Brinkerhoff states that no solution of the economic side of sexual problems has been offered. He is in error. Solutions have been offered applicable not only to the present economic chaos, but also to that ideal state in which the problem of material support will be one which a child can solve with ease. The solution for that ideal state is simply the absolute economic independence of the individual.

For the present day the solution through economic independence is not complete, because many women and not a few men are unable to be self-supporting. Men support women and women support men in various ways and for various reasons. Sometimes love is one of those reasons. It is only when the supported one is fully able to be self-supporting, and neglects the plain duty, that injustice is done. In such instances the injustice exists irrespective of the matter of love. There is a further solution of the difficulty, and it is this: Let every two persons who enter upon love relations, whether monogamic or otherwise, lay out in advance the course of action that they will pursue in all of the usual difficulties concerning children, support, change of affection, etc., that are likely to occur, and let them so live from day to day that when these difficulties arise they will be prepared to meet them in the manner agreed upon. Aside from the unhappiness arising from jealousy and lost love, which is largely emotional, most of the trouble in love relations results from unexpected events to which no thought had been given. Let it be understood beforehand what each thinks it right to do in a given emergency, and whatever injustice arises will be no more than what may occur to anybody in any undertaking whatever, so long as men must depend upon other men for the right to feed, clothe and shelter themselves.

ALEX E. WIGHT.

Why the Miners Freed the Convicts.

A most remarkable conflict between miners and employers occurred in 1891 in the quiet little town of Knoxville, Tenn., which is the principal outlet to the Coal Creek coal mining district.

A law had been passed by the State legislature giving the coal miners the right to elect, from among their number, a check weighman to check after the company's weighman and see that the coal mined by each man was correctly weighed and recorded.

This was a necessary piece of legislation, as heretofore the miners had been systematically cheated out of their earnings by company weighmen.

The mining corporations ignored the new law. The miners tried to have it put in operation, but without success. Finally they went on strike on account of its non-enforcement.

The employers then planned a coup by which they hoped to forever rid themselves of free labor.

Early one morning the citizens of Knoxville awoke to find four car loads of men in stripes standing on the side track waiting to be sent out to Coal Creek. *Convicts had been leased to work the mines.*

Employers knew that this class could be driven to and from work at the muzzle of a gun, and no State law would be invoked to protect them, no matter how oppressive the toil.

The convicts were hastily shipped to Coal Creek. But on the following morning the citizens of Knoxville, much to their surprise, found the four coal cars again occupying the side track loaded with the same convicts who had been sent to the mines the day before.

The coal miners and merchants of Coal Creek, on seeing the men in stripes and realizing that convict labor meant ruin to the thousands of honest miners and many merchants who made up the hitherto fairly prosperous mining town, had shipped the convicts back to Knoxville.

The mine owners at once wired Governor Buchanan for the State militia, but as everything was serene at Coal Creek there was no legal excuse for ordering the militia to the scene.

Sheriffs were, however, instructed to raise an armed force of men and proceed to install the convicts at Coal Creek. Major Carpenter of Knoxville, a large stockholder in the mines, took command of this impromptu army.

When the first section of the train bearing Major Carpenter's army and the convicts arrived within ten miles of Coal Creek, they found the railroad lined with armed miners. Fearing to be shot through the car windows, these amateur soldiers crouched beneath the seats and in the aisles.

The first sight of the armed miners convinced the major that decampment there meant immediate death to his army. The engineer was ordered to "back up," and after retreating several miles, the armed force decamped and sought to make its way through the hills to Coal Creek, thereby evading the miners.

But the new soldiers had not gone far when they again found themselves in the

midst of armed miners. An engagement took place in the hills which resulted in the complete routing of Major Carpenter's force after a number of his men had been killed and wounded.

The major retreated with his soldiers by train to Knoxville. Next day the governor arrived with several car loads of soldiers as a body guard, but when he learned how completely Major Carpenter's army had been routed, he was loath to proceed further.

Arrangements were finally made, whereby the governor addressed a mass meeting of the striking miners at Coal Creek.

The governor said, in substance, that owing to existing laws the mine owners had a legal right to lease the convicts to work in the mines and that he, as governor, was powerless to prevent it.

But if the miners would permit the convicts to be returned to Coal Creek, he would convene the legislature within ninety days' time and guarantee them that the laws would be so amended as to make the further employment of convicts in striking miners' places impossible.

"The miners agreed to this and kept faith with the governor, waiting patiently for ninety days with scarcely anything to subsist upon, while the convicts worked unmolested in their places in the mines.

The governor did convene the legislature; but, alas! not for the purpose of keeping faith with the patient toilers who were waiting at Coal Creek for him to make good his promise.

Instead a law was passed giving the governor of Tennessee the right to call out the State troops, as well as every citizen of the State, to suppress strikes and prevent interference with the employment of convicts in mines.

Half starved and betrayed by the treacherous governor and legislature, the men became desperate. Before Governor Buchanan had had time to exercise the new power given him by the legislature, the miners of Coal Creek arose en masse, surrounded the stockade, marched the convicts out by twos, handed them each a suit of citizen's clothes and set them free.

The stockades were fired, and, in the language of Charles Alleman, who, as a member of the Tennessee legislature, had championed the cause of the miners first, last and all the time, "everything above ground went up in the air."

Infuriated over the turn matters had taken, Governor Buchanan determined to exercise his new found functions to punish the miners.

A large force of troops was sent to Coal Creek. Gatling guns were mounted upon the hill tops overlooking the mines, men were arrested by the hundreds, abused and subjected to the most cruel treatment, tried before special judges, and many an innocent man was sent to the penitentiary.

For the time being the mine owners had gained their point, but that very incident marked the passing of Governor Buchanan. From that time on he was scorned, not only by the poor miners whose confidence he had betrayed, but by every liberty-loving citizen of the State.

Even the mine owners, whose pliant tool he had been, could not do anything to prevent him from sinking disgraced into polit-

ical and social oblivion. Thus ended this incident, but its far-reaching effects are another story.

Of all the industrial conflicts precipitated by the use of convict labor, it was one of the most flagrant instances. Public opinion does not now approve the letting of convict labor by contract to work within prison walls, and it is likely that few outside the citizens of Tennessee know this incident which I have given here. To free the convicts may seem a drastic measure, but the provocation came from the governor and legislature which authorized their use to replace the miners. The latter were law-abiding citizens, yet the commonwealth was turning them out to starve, while it fed and clothed convicts and allowed them to labor for the private gain of the mining companies. —J. A. Cable, in the *American Federationist*.

Sex Economics.

It is a good point that Interloper scores when he calls attention to the fact that Anarchist Communism provides for the support of the women and children, while Individualist Anarchism does not. Certain philosophical Anarchists may know what they consider to be a solution of the question of support of women, but it has never appeared in print.

But there is something for Interloper to learn in this connection. Study on his part may reveal the fact that the support offered by a Communistic society would be less ample than that obtainable in the commercial world.

In the course of development, then, women will bolt the commercial arrangement only to find that while commercial society affords her better support, it is still unsatisfactory. They yet have no fair, independent way of living on so high a scale as the men.

Let Individualists introduce in entire accord with Anarchist doctrines a new principle enabling woman to throw off the last superstition, to break her own bonds, to secure the best of maintenance without loss of independence. Then Communists can no longer go them one better on the woman question.

EDGAR D. BRINKERHOFF.

COMMENT.

Since the above offers no proof of the assertion that the support offered by "Communistic society would be less ample than that obtainable in the commercial world," I still contend that in a condition where men, women, and children are free to consume whatever society produces, without offering an "equivalent," woman is then economically free. And until "certain philosophical Anarchists" condescend to give us a solution, I will continue to enjoy the admission that Communists go the Individualists "one better on the woman question."

INTERLOPER.

Jim's Defense.

Chancing to drop into the county court room of a Texas city, I arrived just in time to hear the judge say:

"The court has considered the motion for a new trial, and the same is hereby granted. The prisoner is released upon his own recognizance. Mr. Sheriff, adjourn court. Jim"—to an old darky who was the prisoner—"you come up to the house with me."

To me, a Northerner and a stranger, who had been raised to believe that the color line was closely drawn in the South, all this seemed very strange, and I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw the judge and the old darky walk off together.

Inquiry elicited no satisfactory informa-

tion about this extraordinary case, but the next morning, on opening my newspaper, I was much surprised and not a little pleased to find it reported in full, as follows:

The prosecuting attorney sat down, and as he mopped his brow he gazed triumphantly at the judge, and at the young lawyer who represented the prisoner. The latter was an old darky, whose face was as black as the ace of spades.

During the trial his eyes had never once left the judge. "Fo' de Lawd, ef dat ain't Mars' Jim!" he had exclaimed when brought into the court room by a stalwart deputy; and two rows of white teeth had been revealed by his pleased smile. The testimony of witnesses had been of no interest to him, and he laughed scornfully when the young lawyer, who had been appointed by the court to represent him, poured forth college rhetoric. "My ol Mars' Jim gwine ter fix hit," he whispered to himself.

The judge straightened himself and wiped his glasses solemnly. "The prisoner is found guilty as charged," he said. "Has the prisoner at the bar anything to say to show cause why he should not be sentenced?"

The stern look of the court caused the old darky's face to fall. When he stood up his eyes were sparkling with indignation. "Yes, sah," he said; "I has somepen ter say, an' I's gwine ter say hit. Now looky heah, Mars' Jim, you knows me jes' as well as I knows you. I's known you eber sence you was knee higher a duck, an' you ain't nebber done nothin' right mean till jest now.

"Dey brought me in heah an' tole me I stole a shoat. But I didn't t'ink nothin' ob dat; an' you nebber did befoah till jest now. I come heah aftah justice. I thought I was gwine ter git hit 'case you was jedged.

"Mars' Jim, doan' you 'member dat I was yo' body sarvint durin' de wah? Didn't I use ter russle fer grub fer you an' yo' chum when de rations got sho't? And didn't you use ter smack yo' lips ober my cookin', an' say, 'Jim's er powerful good forager'? Why, I stole chickens an' turkeys an' shoats fer you clean from Chattanooga ter Atlanta. You didn't say nothin' agin hit then, no, sah, an' I wants ter know, if hit was foragin' then, hucoome hit stealin' now?

"An' doan' you 'membah, Mars' Jim, dat one day you come ter me an' say, 'Jim, termorrer's Christmas, an' we's got ter have a fine spread'? An' didn't I get out an' steal er turkey an' ham an' er bottle of dew-drop whisky? An' didn't yo' invite yo' brudder officers in nex' day an' order things jest scan'lous, an' make 'em open dey eyes? Ef hit was foragin' durin' de wah, hucoome hit stealin' now?

"Yes, en doan' you 'membah' Mars' Jim, when you was shot, an' de Yanks took you pris'nar at Petersburg? Didn't you gib me yo' gray uniform en' er lock ob yo' hah en' yo' sword, en' didn't you say, kinder hoarse-like, 'Take 'em ter her'? En' didn't I take 'em? I toted dem t'ing t'ru' de bresh a hundred miles, an' when I come to de front gate dah stood Miss Em'ly! En' when she saw me, didn't she hug dat little bald headed baby dat you was so proud of up close an' cry, 'He's daid, he's daid!' En' when I ups an' says: 'No, he ain't daid, Miss Em'ly. De Yanks jest got him an' he'll be home himely,' didn't de tears ob joy come pourin' down an' wash de tears ob grief erway?

"Now, looky heah, Mars' Jim; my ole woman an' three pickaninnies is ober heah in er log cabin in de woods near Jim Wilson's pasture. Dey hain't got nothin' ter eat, en' when I comes by Sam Johnsing's hog pen, de yuther day, en' sees dat skinny little shoat dat, honest ter Gawd, was so poah dat you had ter tie er knot in his tail ter keep him from slippin' 'tween de palin's, I jest began foragin' ag'in. You cain't call it stealin', nohow, 'case I's gwine pay Mars' Johnsing back jes' es soon es my ole sow has pigs. You ain't gwine ter send yo' old body sarvint to de pen fo' dat, is you, Mars' Jim?"

There was silence in the court room for a moment. The old lawyers, who had at first laughed at what the old darky said, were now very quiet. The stern features of the old judge had relaxed. There was something moist in his eyes, and he wiped them furtively. Finally he said: "The court has considered the motion for a new trial, and the same is hereby granted. The prisoner is released upon his own recognizance. Mr. Sheriff, adjourn court. Jim, you come up to the house with me."

And these were the words which I entered the court room in time to hear.—Clay Branch, in *Munsey's Magazine*, January, 1900.

FREE SOCIETY.

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Asso.

A. ISAAC.....PUBLISHER

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 515 CARROLL AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at Chicago as second class matter, Apr. 5, '01.

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.

Under no form of government is it so dangerous to erect a political idol as in a democratic republic; for once erected, it is a political sin against the holy ghost to lay hands upon it.—Von Holst.

Note and Comment.

Our friend and neighbor *Lucifer* has just celebrated its twenty-first anniversary by a double number. The issue contains a short sketch of its career by the editor, and a number of articles from various contributors. Our hearty good wishes go to Comrade Harman; and we hope that he will be able for many years to come to carry on the battle in which he has been engaged for twenty-one years.

The Chicago *Tribune* of September 1, devotes a page to the lynching problem. For sixteen years this paper has gathered statistics of the number of people lynched. From 1885 to the present time 2,516 lynchings have taken place. Of these 2,080 took place in the South, with 436 in the North. There were 1,678 Negroes lynched. Although the greater number, of the victims were lynched for alleged murder and rape, it is evident that the real cause of the lynchings were the outcome of race hatred. Some of the victims were charged with trifling offenses; and ten are given with no cause whatever. Self-defense, throwing stones, jilting a girl, asking a white woman to marry, protecting a Negro, slapping a child, unpopularity, and mistaken identity are given as causes for lynchings. The manner in which these lynchings take place is continually becoming more brutal. "It was not until 1894," says the *Tribune*, "that even the most bloodthirsty mob demanded more than a man's life by the rope. Now they are not satisfied unless they burn their victim at the stake or treat him to the most inhuman tortures. It will not be surprising if the mobs next take to drawing and quartering their helpless victims. That seems to be about the only device of savagery so far overlooked." While race hatred is quite common in many places, the wholesale lynching problem seems to be a peculiar feature of the southern portion of the United States. It is a question for the psychologist; the moralist cannot solve it.

The incident recited by J. A. Cable, in the *American Federationist*, quoted in another place this week, gives a forceful illustration of the effectiveness of a little determined action. As long as the workers place their

faith in legislation and officials, they are doomed to remain slaves. But as soon as the laborers take the matter into their own hands, not only are they able to change the situation very quickly, but they gain the respect of all independent spirits. Contrast this spirited action of the miners in Tennessee with the railroad strikers in St. Louis in 1877. In the same paper a private soldier who was at the scene recites his experience. He declares that nearly all the soldiers were in sympathy with the strikers, and declared that they would not fire on them, if ordered to do so: The officers were aware of this sentiment, and the troops were not called upon to shoot. But "the mere presence of the *regulars*, with no other demonstration than a march in full force through the main thoroughfare of the city caused the strike to collapse in St. Louis, and prevented its further spread westward." Now, however pleasant it may be to talk about "evolution," the actual facts show that "evolution," like God, has a decided leaning toward the man with a will, and a gun or something cheaper to back it up with.

A word to the local comrades at this time may not be out of place. Owing to the efforts of a few individuals, a club has been formed for the purpose of holding public meetings. The initial meeting was a success;—but it will depend upon each comrade if the course is to continue to be well attended. If each one takes it upon himself to encourage the effort by his presence, and makes an effort to have our meetings known among his acquaintances, success will be sure; otherwise the effort will have to lapse, and the former inactivity prevail.

ABE ISAAC JR.

By the Wayside.

"By Jove, nobody shall call the president of the United States a liar in my presence," exclaimed a "staunch" freethinker on a street corner, when McKinley was assailed. "Look here!" he was interrupted while rolling up his sleeves. "Were you very much grieved when those two Victorias went to heaven cross the water?" "By gosh, no! But I was sorry when Oom Paul's wife died," the freethinker sobbed. "Very well. Yet McKinley told the two monarchs that all Americans were struck with grief when those women died, but said nothing when the president's wife slipped into eternity." "Well," murmured the freethinker, rolling down his sleeves, "McKinley is a liar anyhow. I wasn't a bit sorry." Peace was thus restored.

The German Socialists manifest some signs of an encouraging revival. They propose to instruct their delegates of the next convention, that in future only workmen shall be nominated as representatives to the "monkey show," as Comrade Most designates the Reichstag. Evidently the "constituents" have lost confidence in the kid-glove representatives; which is a symptom of a more radical movement; but I apprehend "party discipline" will quickly whip these kickers into obedience.

It appears that Judge A. Harney, of Mon-

tana, has refused a bribe of \$250,000, and rendered a decision against the copper trust, which, if sustained, means a loss of about ten million dollars to the trust. For such "stupidity" the daily press designated him as a *scoundrel*. It serves him right, for honesty is an unknown quality among government officials and other parasites. Had he accepted the bribe, as all "honest" judges would have done, he would now have the honor to be "the most learned man on the bench," to say nothing of the eternal security of a fat governmental sinecure.

The House of Commons, encouraged by King Edward VII, is busily engaged in raising a "gift" to Gen. Roberts of \$100,000 for his butcheries in South Africa, while Tommy Atkins, who did the dirty work, is walking the streets of London, vainly clamoring for his pay. Another evidence that governments are necessary to protect the weak against the strong.

Comrade James' "Monster-Slayer" has created quite a commotion among my acquaintances. Aside from sleepless nights, they were kept busy looking up Encyclopedias even on Labor Day in order to comprehend Comrade James' inferences. It suggests that a more popular language and style of writing would be a gain both to Comrade James and the readers of FREE SOCIETY.

Bearing in mind the inexhaustible vocabulary of the so-called Individualists, and their capability of saying so very little in a series of articles, it is with reluctance that I ask Wat Tyler a question. If his scheme will secure the worker the "full fruits of his labor," what incentive will induce the manufacturer to engage in such business? For it is the "incentive" that the Individualists apprehend will be absent in a condition of free production and consumption.

INTERLOPER.

Emancipation

Far more insurmountable than the tyranny of the powerful, is the spirit of servility, the habitual indolent thoughtlessness of the oppressed. In this so easily enslaved human mass, the inherited slavery of thousands of years enters the very flesh and blood, and becomes a tradition. Here the human blood-suckers find no determined resistance; if only in part the bare necessities of a narrow egoism are satisfied, one submits humbly to the lash of slavery. Such disposition to servitude is the surest and strongest basis for the ruling despotism.

The fight against this spirit must be the first effort of all associations, agitators, and papers who take part in the battle for emancipation. It is not sufficient to form an association; an association is of value only when its members know what they want, only when they are not held together by a mere formal bond, or small purpose, but when they show intelligence, solidarity, and brotherhood.

Why is it that many organizations, which apparently have a large formal following, have no mark of initiative or energy when it comes to the field of action? Because only

an external bond holds them together; because the members put before themselves as an aim only a small end; for which reason only a small business-like spirit rules the organization, which stifles all refreshing initiative, and allows no broad spirit of solidarity to develop. Numbers will not do it; it is also here where the lively spirit counts.—Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung.

— o — "An Era of Transition."

In Comrade Wat Tyler's transition from an "Individualist" journal to Communist FREE SOCIETY, he has evidently counted upon "an era" of indulgence. If my memory serves me right, he was choked off in his "Problems of Anarchism." However, I hope and believe he will find that FREE SOCIETY has no chief to say to its contributors, "thus far shalt thou go and no farther." He will find, I think, that our "school" has no master to draw the line and make the students toe the mark.

"Political economy," says a writer in *Social Science*, "is literally full of sophism abstractions, perplexing suppositions, contradictions and errors of every kind, clothed in high-flown language, arranged in a sort of order, and imagined to be very scientific."

And now Comrade Tyler floods us with "Anarchist economics." He says, "Not all Anarchists realize the necessity for an economics of Anarchy." I should hope not; for one feels like exclaiming "a plague on both your houses." A "science of economics" is about as lucid as "Christian science."

If the producer has to wait for "economic reform" to "secure an equivalent of all the wealth he creates," he will wait a long time, I reckon. Our comrade says, "Anarchism is primarily a political ideal." Had he left the *i* off the last word, it might have represented his ideal. FREE SOCIETY has no need of "political ideas."

Wat Tyler starts in to criticise the motto of FREE SOCIETY. The first proposition he endorses, or thinks Anarchists generally would. But the second "that in the absence of monopoly price and competition cannot exist," he very strongly dissents. He evidently thinks that any argument is unnecessary: his superior assumption is quite enough to settle the case. He drops the word "price" from the clause. Of course there could be no competition without price. And it is just possible that without monopoly there would be no price. A good many foolish "Communists" claim that monopoly constitutes price. It may not be "sociologically capable of proof," and in my dense ignorance I could not go about it if it was. But the last clause "that Communism is an inevitable consequence," "is a conclusion," he asserts, "that is neither logically warranted nor sociologically capable of proof." I know nothing about sociological capabilities, but that it is logically warranted I dare assert, even if Comrade Tyler does call it an "oracular utterance," and classes me with that "Fellow of the Royal Society of London." "The belief in" philosophical Anarchism "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 guess about his future so-

cial relations in the present world. I submit that "the belief in" mutual banking and Anarchist organization "is not a fundamental part of the Anarchist doctrine."

Our comrade may be right in asserting that "the Communistic view is detrimental to the economics of Anarchism." But we are not concerned with economics, but with Anarchism itself. And that our view of Communism is not detrimental to Anarchism, I think I shall have no trouble in showing. Let me quote from comrades of his school:

If they be Anarchists first and then Communists, they are good Anarchists: whether the outcome will be Communism or vegetarianism or Dianism is a matter for speculation. . . . Voluntary Communism can exist, and if successful, flourish under Anarchy.—A. Simpson. Nevertheless community of goods as a spontaneous and variable phenomenon, will continually manifest itself in free society, just as it manifests itself today in governmental society, only to a vastly greater extent. . . . And Communism—love, sympathy, co-operation, society—is an end, to which Anarchism—liberty, *laissez faire*, the letting alone of every man in his right—is the means.—J. Wm. Lloyd.

Perhaps there exists no more logical reasoner than Wordsworth Donisthorpe. In answering Auberon Herbert in the *New Review*, he says:—

The so-called Communist Anarchist is quite as staunch an upholder of property as any member of the Liberty and Property Defense League. The only difference between them is that the Anarchist knows that true and just proprietary rights will be respected and can be enforced without the assistance of State laws and State police.

And I may add, the difference between the Communist and Individualist Anarchist, so called, is that the latter wants to have laws and police of his own. Wm. Bailie writing in *Liberty*, says: "Communist Anarchists ignore the necessity for any machinery to adjust economic activities to their ends." Here is our great offense. "Anarchist economics," like political economics, require forceful authority to properly adjust them. Again says Bailie: "Any theory of society that denies competition as one of its cornerstones is bound to replace it by an artificial coercive power." And he farther says: "It cannot be replaced by any natural uncoercive force." This seems to be the popular idea of Comrade Tyler and his school. By a skilful manipulation of "Anarchist economics," they prove (?) that Anarchist Communism is authoritarian. As a matter of fact, the Communism of FREE SOCIETY has a firmer basis in liberty than Comrade Tyler's Anarchism.

I have asked myself why these Anarchists of Tyler's school are so strenuous in attacking Communism as advocated by FREE SOCIETY. Does it arise in their hope of taking advantage of the wage system, competition and commercialism generally to mount the ladder of wealth? Do they regard us as enemies who would thwart them in business? It would seem that something of a personal matter must move them to the abuse, misrepresentation, and vilification they indulge in. I would suggest that our comrade study Anarchist Communism. He will find it a very different thing from the "Communism" Proudhon thundered against. He will find it an idea to secure the most perfect satisfaction of individual wants, wholly devoid of any authoritative head and "leaves men to associate themselves together in

obedience to the immutable laws of the universe, and the dictates of their natural social instincts." They hold that true economy lies in liberty.

A. L. BALLOU.

Wellesley Hills, Mass.

— o — Rent.

The statements concerning rent made by Wat Tyler in FREE SOCIETY of August 17 will not stand analysis. He says:

In economic science that only is rent which is paid on account of the differences in the productive capacity of different soils. . . . The larger portion of rent, so-called, is in reality interest on capital. Ground rent in cities comprise what I have called a monopoly tribute or interest, or a return on financial investments.

This ignores entirely the element of location, which enters largely into the productive capacity of even agricultural land. A farm which produces fifty bushels of wheat to the acre may rent for less than one which produces forty bushels, but is so much nearer the market that the saving in transportation more than compensates for the lesser fertility.

Nor is rent ever determined by interest on capital. The selling price of land is fixed by its annual rent; its productivity as compared with other land. This is as true of city land as of agricultural land, for city land is, under any system of production which involves exchange, capable of producing wealth for the user because of its location. Land may be bought very cheaply, and in a few years bring its owner an enormous price, for poorly located land will not enable the owner to get an enormous rent for it.

Doubtless the larger part of rent today is a monopoly rent far in excess of normal rent; but this is due to the private ownership of land and resulting monopoly; and the excess of rent would be the same if the land were still owned by the direct heir of men who bought it from the Indians for a few beads.

A. C. PLEYDELL.

— o — At the Club.

The initial meeting of the Chicago Anarchist Club was well attended, the hall being filled to its capacity with strangers, sympathizers and friends; and the comrades who predicted "empty chairs," if the above name be chosen for the club, were no doubt agreeably surprised.

W. F. Barnard was the first speaker. He has a quiet and thoughtful manner, and must have disappointed all lovers of sensationalism. This probably accounts for the meagre reports of the daily press. He made a strong plea for liberty, and the courage to defy and resist the encroachments of governments and other institutions that enslave humanity. During the course of the address he administered a well-deserved scoring to the priests and religion. Religion he declared as a disease of mankind; and the main factor which keeps mankind in bondage and slavery. Religion must be discarded before a well developed manhood could be hoped for.

A discussion followed the lecture; but the opponents were rather slow in making their appearance.

History of the French Revolution.

XXII

The Girondins, however, soon began to kick against the Committee's disregard for the rights of private property; at the same time that, with characteristic want of aim, they alienated even the rich in Paris, by continued attacks upon that city. They tried to destroy its section meetings, through fixing a bad hour. Some food-riots which expressions in Marat's paper are thought to have encouraged (February 25), were now made an excuse for bringing things to a bend. This violent deputy was arrested, April 15, on charge of murder (in causing the September massacres), of intimidating the Convention, and "establishing a tyranny." He proposed "to declare" his accusers "insane"! Danton in vain warned them against "mutilating the Convention." They had indeed made a worse blunder by trying to anticipate the judicial murder of an editor as accessory to the acts of his party's mobs. Of course, Marat's acquittal was easy (24th). His friends brought him back to to the Hall in triumph. The Girondins decamped again, alleging fear of their lives. Their seats were occupied for the time by *sans culottes*, amidst laughter and sanguinary talk. The prosecutors should have thought themselves lucky to escape with ridicule and those threats which are proverbially ominous of longevity. They proceeded, instead to prove that their thirst for Jacobin blood was unquenchable. Some street fighting had been going on. Theroigne, though a prostitute, was zealous for the Girondist ("gigmanical") standard of respectability. The chaste Furies of the Jacobin faction stripped and flogged her. The result was insanity for the rest of her life; which continued twenty-four years longer. Paris meanwhile had grown dreadfully tired of Girondist sermons; which neither "killed Prussians" nor even advanced the new Constitution. Pache (he was mayor) came, accordingly, in the name of thirty-five sections to demand that twenty-four leading Girondins should be expelled. It now appeared that Federalism was more than a name. Guadet proposed that the Commune of Paris should be abolished; that the city should be governed by presidents of Sections; and that the Convention should remove to Bourges! Lyons, Bordeaux, and other Girondist constituencies, announced that they would stand by their representatives with the sword. On Barere's motion, was appointed another committee of twelve, to direct the higher police. Rabaut St. Etienne was president. It immediately began to prosecute conspicuous members of the Commune, and judiciously selected Hébert, a mere scribbler. When will governments learn that the pen is harmless till the sword crosses it; but at that electric touch becomes irresistible? One secret of the Roman Empire's extraordinary security is that it generally did leave the barking dogs alone.

On the 27th of May, the Convention was surrounded by a mob which demanded the release of Hébert and other prisoners. Isnard had the amazing folly to boast that if the Convention were attacked "it should soon be a matter of doubt on which side the Seine Paris had stood!" After this flourish his party backed down! The Conven-

tion abolished the Committee of twelve, appointed a new one (the Committee of Public Security), and defined its terrific powers. Emigrants were banished on pain of death. The whole privileged class were to be disarmed. It was made capital to attend a royalist meeting. (The Septemberers "did not punish men for opinions.") Every citizen was required to inscribe his name on his door. All houses were thrown open to this new Inquisition; which was also authorized to create similar committees in every town! Barere was on the new board as well as the old. His literary talent pleased the Jacobins, who had not much of their own, his supposed opinions the Girondins; and on this slender plank he crossed that whirlpool in which his late friends were to be engulfed. Next day, the Girondins, still commanding a majority in the Convention, restored the old committee! On the 31st Paris was up again. A warrant was at last issued for Roland, who had resigned soon after signing the order for Louis' execution. He escaped by flight. His wife, who vainly endeavored to get into the Convention and try the effect of her beauty as on the former like occasion, was arrested that night. In the besieged Hall, Robespierre proposed the arrest of those members named by the petition of Paris. Barere, again acting as mediator, moved to disband his own original committee, and with this, observe! Paris was satisfied. Barere, however, appeared ashamed of his timidity. Many accused Girondins now fled to raise their constituents. "During June 1," says a very recent writer, "the excitement of the people was fanned and fed by all sorts of lies." That appears rather superfluous! I should have thought the truth would be enough. Girondin mismanagement had arrayed almost every state west of Turkey against France. Girondin treason had facilitated actual invasion. Girondin vagillation had raised the whole Celtic region—on the very day Girondin trouble began at Paris, March 10. The ignorant barbarians, led by bloodthirsty priests and ruthless aristocrats, had beaten the generals of the Convention, and committed atrocities beside which the September massacres pale. No quarter was given. Women known to favor the republic were shot off as promptly as men.* At Caen and Orleans every day was expected to bring these half pagan Bretons, these smugglers, poachers, highwaymen, these fierce charging killers, jabbering an unknown tongue, and making war like their compeers in the Grampians. Over 300,000 foreigners were about to cross the frontiers. And in the midst of all this, because the deliverers of France would not tolerate an organization designed to shed their blood, seventy-two out of eighty-three departments, among which stood the great Girondin cities of Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon, Marseilles, and Caen, were simultaneously plunged into rebellion by leaders who had threatened that they would make the site of Paris

* Allison, very uncandidly, omits this. His Vendéan priests are "excellent village pastors"; and comparison of butchery on the two sides begins at Thouars, where the Vendéans, having entered France, naturally tried to conciliate by clemency, which the republicans, considering them brigands, did not show at first. As in all civil wars, mercy, for the most part, kept pace with belligerency.

doubtful! Whether any lies were added to such appalling facts or no, the people certainly were a little uneasy. Hébert, like Marat, was acquitted and crowned with laurel. At midnight, Marat rang the bell of the Hotel de Ville. All over the city it was answered by tongues of iron. On June 2, the Convention was besieged for the lucky third time. No more nonsense! But there was no blood. Henriot,* who commanded the militia, adopted a Girondin program. He succeeded where Barbaroux had failed. Such was the universal worship of "la loi" that the president, Herault de Séchelles, though a Jacobin, and the dearest personal friend of Danton, led forth the Convention, and tried to dissuade the soldiers. Exhorted by Marat, they stood firm. The Convention must remain blockaded, under the guns of the National Guard, till it indicted (in order to disqualify) twenty-two Girondin leaders. It yielded, and also ordered the arrest of eleven who, however were admitted to bail. There was, as yet, no intention of prosecuting any who submitted. Barbaroux, Rebecqui, and several others, fled to raise new standards of revolt. Vergniaud and Gensonné remained in Paris. On May 31, the former had moved a vote of thanks to the mob. The other, quite a politician, doubtless, expected to conciliate them. Thus fell the Girondins from that height of power in which they had proved so thoroughly incompetent.† But new and

* He was a rich manufacturer. So much for Alison's insinuation that after the raid on grocer's shops, only proletaires were Jacobins. Indeed, assertions of this sort are characteristic of the aristocratic writers, but generally very easy to refute. Macaulay, ("William Pitt" in Encyclopedia Britannica) says that between 1789 and 1792 "the (English) court, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the manufacturers, the merchants, in short nineteen twentieths of those who had good roofs over their heads and good clothes on their backs, became eager and intolerant Anti-Jacobins." Elsewhere he quotes Burke to effect that among the Jacobins, who scarcely existed before 1792, might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth." The truth, as I have elsewhere tried to show, is that anti-revolutionary zeal in England did not become general till after the peace of Amiens was broken by Napoleon.

† Here, again, there occurs in most histories an amount of confusion which, though such details are petty beside the great facts of national life, is mischievous; inasmuch as important conclusions may be founded on a misunderstanding. On March 12 Section Mauconseil (facetiously called after August 10 Bonconseil) demanded arrest of twenty-two Girondins—the notable ones being Vergniaud, Brissot, and Guadet. The demand was repeated after Marat's acquittal. Then began a fight in section-meetings, one demanding, another protesting, sometimes one changing its own attitude, often variations in names and number of persons denounced. Hence the attempt of the Conventions to close meetings early, before the proletaires could attend. Pache's first petition, answered by appointment of the Committee of Twelve, was, as stated, to expel twenty-four. The final vote of June 2 indicted twenty-two, and arrested eleven—two ex-ministers Clavière and Lebrun, and nine committeemen (Barere and two more having "saved their bacon" in time). Of these eleven, one (Brissot) was also among the obnoxious twenty-two—total indictments and arrests thirty-two. The ones actually arrested and not previously named, were Barbaroux, Buzot, the author Louvet, Lanjainais, Lasoune (the accuser of Danton), Rabaut, Gorsas, and Gensonné. Many were apprehended on later warrants for actual rebellion. Eleven fled disguised as National Guards during insurrection, which they left Paris to raise. Their names were Pé-tion, Barbaroux, Cassy, Buzot, Guadet, Lanjainais, Gorsas, and Meillau. Rabaut got into hiding. The twenty-two guillotined in October were made up from

fearful provocation was needed to draw down upon them actual punishment.

That impersonal omniscience usually described as "everybody," has been asserting with characteristic dogmatism for many centuries that the worst government is better than none. It is also an opinion, made especially popular in our own time by the eloquence of Carlyle, that the capital virtue of a government is to be strong. Now we have seen that from the spring of 1790 to autumn 1791, France was as near as any great nation ever has been to having no government at all. Nor was it very different between September 1792 and March 1793. There was, indeed, a king, who exercised some power from September 1791 until August 1792, and a legislature. But these coordinate branches blocked each others' wheels so effectually that Anarchy, on the whole, continued. That cant which describes later events as its "progress" is bosh. In the organization of the Committees, between March and June 1793, France acquired a government whose qualities are belittled by calling it a strong one. It was the strongest government that ever existed among men. Every form of government has its own kind of vigor, to which it owes its capacity for existence. But the government of the Committees possessed them all. Monarchy has the advantages of unity and splendor. But it is not more united than a small bureau; and no king since Alexander could boast such dazzling glory as the deliverers of France who conquered Europe. Aristocracy, in its palmy days, consists of the best fighters—like Carnot—and the ablest managers, like Barere. Democracy persuades the people that they "govern themselves," and wields the whole strength of their passions. This is the salient characteristic of the Jacobin administration. Bureaucracy (oligarchy) is vigilant, suspicious, prompt, severe, secret, and peculiarly blameless. That of the Committees did not "blapheme its breed." The rule of an overgrown metropolis, like Paris, is invigorated by the keenest sense of a common interest. The excesses of a temporary dictatorship may be borne by the most free spirited nation, on the ground that they are necessary for the occasion and that they cannot last. Never was a crisis more urgent or more peculiar than what which created the Committees. Thus combining the prestige of Cæsar, the ability of a Roman Senate, the spontaneity of a mob, the intolerance of a Spanish Inquisition, the centralized power of Sparta, the repute of Cincinnatus, and the *carte blanche* of Sylla, the government by Committee certainly had a giant's strength. If this were excellent that government should have been one of the best in history. Without meaning to deny some redeeming qualities, I have little to say against a pre-

among these; persons arrested later than June 2; and indicted ones who stood trial voluntarily, as Vergniaud. Among fugitives at this time, earlier or later, who escaped altogether and at last resumed their seats, were Louvet and Isnard (he found Paris in its old place). These particulars are exceptionally hard to verify; for about proceedings of so tumultuous a character as those on June 2, the *Moniteur* is unintelligible; and we must fall back on *Memoirs* (Louvet, Meilhan, Buzot, etc.). These, however, give extracts (*Pieces Justificatives*): from lost archives; see also, *Debats de la Convention* (1823), *Documents Compleentaires in Histoire Parliametaire*; and the *Moniteur*.

vailing opinion that it was among the worst. But if the worst government be better than none, there should have nevertheless been a great improvement, beginning about June, 1793. We have seen already that the period from spring in 1790 to August, 1792 was the revolution's halcyon days, when, despite constant provocation and boundless opportunity, there was scarcely more crime than in the best governed countries during quietest times. The period of strong government will be remembered by our latest posterity as the "Reign of Terror." And here we may discern the fallacy of another stock assertion. That between the fall of government and the rise of another there may intervene an Anarchy; but that it is not likely to last; has been observed as long ago as Aristotle. Improving on the Stagyrte, bourgeois philosophers say that when Anarchy comes, tyranny is soon welcomed as a refuge from its horrors. The September massacres are naturally held up for a specimen of these horrors, though they were not caused by Anarchy but royalist conspiracy; and the Revolutionary Tribunal might very fairly be cited to illustrate whatever truth there is in this explanation of Anarchy's short duration. But surely, to justify the inference, it should be shown that the Tribunal was more just, merciful, and quick to suspend severity, than the Septemberists. I can by no means admit that excuse which republicans sometimes make for its excesses—the public danger. Were this well founded, cruelty should have ceased with danger. In fact, it steadily increased till the dissolution of the Committees themselves, at the end of July, 1794. And in this respect the Committees were not unlike other governments. In England under Thomas Cromwell and under Oliver Cromwell, in the Southern States during our civil war, in South Africa at present, really disgraceful vandalism appeared when really formidable resistance ceased.

But about June, 1793, the danger was indeed frightful. It was actually far greater than in the previous September, and similarly it was exaggerated by panic. Those who whether with hope or fear expected the Vendéens at Caen did not know the Celtic people. They had risen to defend their local autonomy, and would no more follow French nobles than French upstarts far from the shrine of their local patriotism. Barere, thoroughly frightened, proposed that certain deputies, of whom he undoubtedly hoped to be one, should be sent the Girondin insurgents as hostages for the Convention. But the fearless Jacobins wisely reasoned that it was they who had needed and taken hostages. They refused to parley with fugitives who amidst invasion of their country's sacred bounds, raised rebellion against that popular government which Paris had indeed sharply admonished but not changed. These unhappy men were destined to bring about their doom by a new series of criminal follies. Lyons guillotined the Jacobin mayor, for proposing (in February) to "Septembrise" the prisons. Toulon admitted an English fleet. Reprobation for the awful punishments which shortly followed, should not prevent our seeing that this was one of the most unjustifiable treasons in history. Mason and Slidell were

sent by our southern confederacy to seek aid from foreigners who, it was well known, would act upon the accepted maxim that to recognize the independence of rebels not proved able to maintain it, is neither politic, philanthropic, nor according to international law. Barbaroux' southern confederacy began by accepting aid from foreigners who would have reduced the French federalists to provincials. I am at loss, therefore, to see on what ground French federalism can be pronounced patriotic by those who think American disunion anything else. The energy of Danton quickly changed the scene. Commissioners were sent at once to the rebellious departments, offering peace but ready to accept war. Within three days (about mid-July) and revolt lingered in formidable shape only at Marseilles, Lyons, Toulon, and among the Vendéens. The French speaking provinces repudiated their self-appointed leaders, and accepted Parisian hegemony. Meanwhile the Committee of Public Safety, henceforth known as the Great Committee, was reorganized. This was at least the third time. For a while, as we saw, it had been half Girondist—too much "Miss Mary Ann" about it for an executive board. Camille Desmoulins first procured a change. Then Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, by the sharp method of criticism, got themselves put on. For remaining Girondin members were now substituted the Jacobins, St. Just, and Conthon, a lawyer hitherto esteemed for humanity and probity, who, since 1788, had been paralyzed in both legs. Jean Bon d'Andre, a Protestant clergyman, had charge of the navy, and created a power which appeared ample until the greater genius of Nelson was turned against it. Although there was a minister of war, not on the committee, this supremely important department was managed chiefly by Carnot, with assistance of another member, Prieur, from the Côté d'Or. Both were old military men. Carnot was among the few revolutionary leaders whose personal qualities may be called great. As a physical philosopher, improver of the steam engine, and partial discoverer of the dynamical nature of heat, he deserves a place among the world's real benefactors. As an administrator, he merits the title given him by his admirers, "the organizer of victory," hardly that conceded by his enemies, "the least guilty among Terrorists." He signed the death-warrants of the bloody period with a soldier's mechanical remorselessness, leaving their justice for his colleagues to investigate. Robespierre and Herault were members. Barere retained his place, to everyone's surprise; but this was only on account of his former Girondism; for he made an excellent mouth-piece. Marat's last editorial was written to proclaim so unstable a man improperly trusted. Little could Marat imagine yet that this mild weakling's celebrity would rest principally on use of his all-work pen and tongue to glorify the worst atrocities of his employers. The other members when there were twelve were Lindet and Prieur of the Marne. Had either Marat, Danton, or Camille, possessed that destructive ambition which has been the explanation of their acts, he would certainly have got in. But no one wanted Marat; Desmoulins did not apply; and Danton declined a position after the first few weeks. To the two last, their oversight was fatal. If the other had lived, he might have spared their fate.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

330

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 for FREE SOCIETY.

ALLEGHENY, Pa.—H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
B. Morwitz, 2018 Baltic Ave.
BALTIMORE—M. Kahn, 1139 Granby St.
BOSTON—Brigham's Restaurant, 642 Washington St.
K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins St., Roxbury.
BUFFALO—Hattie Lang, 56 Wasmuth St.
CHICAGO—H. Havel, 515 Carroll Ave.
C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 4 Elwell St.
COLUMBUS, OHIO.—M. M. Lyndall, 416 E. Mound St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.
MONTREAL, Canada.—Norman Murray, 21 Beaver Hall Hill.
NEW YORK—M. Maisel, 170 Henry St.
PHILADELPHIA—Natasha Notkin, 242 N. Second St.
SAN FRANCISCO—R. Rieger, 322 Larkin St.
ST. LOUIS—C. Norman, 1351 S. 13th St.

Vivisection.

I have just found on my desk the FREE SOCIETY for June 9, 1901. I will just notice Mr. James so far as to ask him to name one single advance in science for which we are indebted to vivisection.

I assert positively that he cannot prove a single one.

LEVERSON, M. D.

REPLY

Listerism.

C. L. JAMES.

FOR CHICAGO

The Chicago Anarchist Club meets every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at 26 Van Buren St.

On September 8, Herman Kuehn will speak on "State Socialism."

Discussion by the audience follows the address.

FOR NEW YORK.

On Sunday, September 15, at Mrs. Bresci's place, Cor. Oakwood and Prospect Aves., Hudson Heights, N. J., an international picnic will be held. There will be games according to the tastes of the parties; also some prizes for the lucky ones. All are cordially invited, and a great crowd is expected. The place is surrounded by enchanting and shady woods, and with fresh breezes from the Hudson River, will certainly make the people as comfortable as they could imagine. Refreshments can be purchased at

Mrs. Bresci's place. Come all and early, and make the 15th a day of enjoyment and international fraternization. The proceeds are for the benefit of Mrs. Bresci and children.

Direction.—Take Summit Ave. car at Cristopher St. ferry, Hoboken, and ride to terminal of trolley. Oakwood and Prospects Ave., is a few blocks to the right of track.

Literature.

The Republic of Plato. Book I. Translated by Alexander Kerr. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Pages 60. Price 15 cents.

It is intended to popularize the "Republic," by getting it out in a cheap edition. The translator has added notes to explain references otherwise understood only by scholars. A. I. JR.

NOT CHARITY, BUT FREEDOM.

"I do a great deal to make you contented and happy," said a lord to his vassals. "True, true!" said all, with one voice, "and we have much to thank you for." One peasant only did not speak. At last he said, "My Lord, will you allow me to ask you a question?" "Why not?" said the Lord. Peasant: "I have two fields of wheat. One has been richly manured but badly cultivated. It is full of weeds. The other has been scantily manured but well tilled. It is as it should be. Which of the two will produce more?" Lord: "The second, certainly, for you have given the corn the opportunity of developing freely." Peasant: "Well, my Lord, if instead of loading us with gifts, you would leave us free to manage our own affairs, I think we should prosper better!"—Pestalozzi.

RECEIPTS.

Edelstadt, \$2.50. Ralston, \$1.50. Carlin, Adams, Williams, Fuchs, Sperling, Schuman, Shilling, Desmond, Schoolman, Douglas, Pschirer, each \$1. Weiss, Quinn, Lallis, Palivec, Lewis, Floquet, Schacherman, Ingerson, Jackson, each 50c. Errand, 25c. Kuoth, 10c.

MEETINGS.

CHICAGO—The Anarchist Club meets every Sunday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, at 26 Van Buren St. Lectures of different schools of thought. Strangers are cordially invited to take part in the discussions following the lecture.

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.

BY

PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting autobiography of the well known Anarchist and scientist, is one of the most important books of the Anarchist movement, as well as one of general interest. "He is more anxious to give the psychology of his contemporaries than of himself," says the noted European critic Georg Brandes. "One finds in his book the psychology of official Russia and of the masses underneath, of Russia struggling forward and of Russia stagnant. And he strives to give the history of his contemporaries rather than his own history. The record of his life contains, consequently, the history of Russia during his lifetime, as well as the history of the labor movement in Europe during the last half-century."

The book contains two portraits of the author, and one of his mother. It is excellently printed and well bound; 519 pp.

Price \$2.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE 1871.

Translated from the French of

P. O. LISSAGARAY

By ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

The above book is the most reliable history of the Commune of 1871, and should be in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. Arrangements which we have made with the publishers enable us to mail the book postpaid for

75 CENTS.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

THE FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT ANARCHISTS IN COURT

AND
ALTGELD'S REASONS FOR PARDONING
FELDEN, NEEBE AND SCHWAB.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages.

Price 25 cents.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

MORIBUND SOCIETY
AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTARINE DE CLEYRE.

CONTENTS:

The Anarchistic Idea and its Development.—Individualism and Solidarity.—Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.—The Family.—Authority.—The Magistracy.—The Right to Punish and the Savants.—The Influence of Environment.—"The Country."—The Patriotism of the Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colonization.—There are no Inferior Races.—Why We are Revolutionist.—As to what Means follow from the Principles.—Revolution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Reforms.—The Experimental Method.—What Then?—Anarchism and its Practicability.—The Unvarnished Truth.

The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

Price, paper cover, 25c; bound 60c. Five copies \$1.

Send orders to FREE SOCIETY.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS
RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem.....	05
.....H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism.....	Grant Allen
Plain Words on the Woman	05
Question.....	05
Prejudice?.....	M. Bachman
God and the State.....	Bakunin
The Same. (London edition.).....	10
The Proletarian Revolt, a History	
of the Paris Commune of 1871....	
.....G. B. Benham	25
Prodigal Daughter; or, The Price	
of Virtue.....	Rachel Campbell
The Worm Turns.....	V. de Cleyre
The Evolution of the Family.....	
.....J. M. Crane	05
Evolution of Modesty.....	05
The Emancipation of Society from	
Government.....	Dallan Doyle
Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1.....	
.....Rosa Graul	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy.	
Cloth 60c.....	Jean Grave
A Physician in the House.....	
.....Dr. J. H. Greer	2.75
The Education of the Feminine	
Will.....	Harlor
Marriage and Morality.....	
.....Lillian Harman	05
Regeneration of Society.....	05
Love in Freedom.....	Moses Harman
Motherhood in Freedom.....	05
Government Analyzed.....	Kelso
How to Dispose of Surplus Prod-	
ucts and Employ Surplus Labor.	
.....Kinghorn-Jones	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and	
Ideal.....	Peter Kropotkin
Anarchist Morality.....	05
Law and Authority.....	05
Memoirs of a Revolutionist.....	2.00
Paris Commune.....	05
The State: Its Historic Role.....	10
The Wage System. Revolution-	
ary Government.....	05
History of the Commune. Cloth...	
.....Lissagaray	75
The Economics of Anarchy.....	
.....Dyer D. Lum	25
Anarchy.....	Enrico Malatesta
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?)	
James F. Morton, Jr.).....	10
A Chambermaid's Diary.....	
.....Gustav Mirbeau	50
Commune of Paris.....	Wm. Morris
Monopoly.....	05
Responsibility and Solidarity in the	
Labor Struggle.....	M. Nettlau
God and Government: The Siamese	
Twins of Superstition.....	W. Nevill
A Cityless and Countryless World.	
Cloth.....	Hernan Olerich
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.	
.....Leo Tolstoy	75
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....	
.....W. H. Van Ornum	05
Judgment.....	Wm. Platt
Evolution and Revolution.....	Reclus
Direct Action vs. Direct Legislation	
.....J. Blair Smith	05
Helen Harlow's Vow.....	
.....Lois Waitsbrooker	25
Perfect Motherhood. Cloth.....	1.00
The Temperance Folly.....	10
Wherefore Investigating Co.....	25
Our Worship of Primitive Social	
Guesses.....	E. C. Walker
Revival of Puritanism.....	10
What the Young Need to Know	
The Ballad of Reading Gaol.....	
.....Oscar Wilde	10
Life Without a Master. 336 pp.	
Cloth \$1.50.....	J. Wilson
The New Dispensation. Cloth.	
The Coming Woman.....	Lillie White
The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous	
Speeches of the Eight Anarch-	
ists in Judge Gary's Court; and	
Altgeld's Reason's for Pardoning	
Felden, Neebe and Schwab.....	25