

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. 38.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 336.

What Do They Fear?

They will not listen, dear; what do they fear
That they shut fast their senses ere they hear?
They will not reason with us, nor will show
A better way in which our feet could go.

They will not talk with us; are they afraid
That we might smash the idols they have made?
Have they worn fetters now so many years
That Liberty to them means pain and fears?

They will not have the Light, for they have been
So long in twilight that the Sun, when seen,
Looks black, and blinds them more than that
faint gloom

In which they move about their prison room.

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

The Day We Celebrate.

There is one thing I have long disliked to hear said about the Chicago martyrs; and which I hope will this day be discontinued. I do not like to hear it said that they are unavenged. According to figures given by an opponent, which I have mentioned elsewhere, the deaths of rulers by the people, all more or less connected with the Anarchist movement, average one a year, while previous to the eighties there was hardly one such deed in ten years—none of them, Anarchistic. Five crowned heads, or statesmen with powers similar to those of kings, is pretty stiff revenge for five proletaires, if only the connection of cause and effect can be established. But the bourgeois writers on Anarchism and its alleged perils, since Czolgosz startled them into fresh activity, exhibit, at least from the subsidence of their first megalomaniacs, a singularly unanimous view upon certain points of the first importance in this connection; which is the more interesting because what they have come to see is exactly what Anarchists have long been telling them. The "philosophic" and "revolutionary" Anarchists; they have, it seems, for the most part found, are not conflicting schools but products of unlike environment. All Anarchists understand their work must be mainly educational, and that violent actions by Anarchists interfere with the moral effect of preaching, which is the chief element in the propaganda. On the other hand, few Anarchists, because few human creatures, can be trusted to abstain from the "propaganda by deed" when they meet pupils who behave like Bonfield's policemen in the Haymarket, Martin's specials in Pennsylvania, the Pinkerton thugs at Homestead, the czar's Cossacks, quite lately, Humbert's soldiers at Milan, Canovas' torturers at Montjuich, or Carnot's judges in the case of Vaillant. The difference between the Anarchist with a bomb and the Anarchist with a book, is merely the difference between the Anarchist persecuted and not persecuted so much. The blood of the Haymarket and of Buffalo, the blood of Carnot, and Humbert, and Elizabeth, and Canovas, is on the hands of judges like Gary, officers like Bonfield, and statesmen like Canovas

himself. Thus the connection of cause and effect is established; and the mortality in the king-business since 1887 illustrates the natural law that "whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

The sequence of cause and effect is established, I say, upon the sound inductive principle of comparing more with less. The only countries in which Anarchists enjoy almost absolute toleration are England and Switzerland. England never had an Anarchistic outrage, though it is the Anarchist city of refuge. No Anarchist ever raised his hand against a magistrate or a native citizen of the Swiss republic. The bourgeois writers used to say there was no excuse for such actions in free America. But since it became evident that free America produced them in at least a fair proportion to her neighbors, they have been chary about inviting odious comparisons. And they do not like to admit that she has provoked these actions. So they now avoid the subject. The truth is that Anarchists, as such, have nowhere been so consistently persecuted into resistance as in America. The institutions of Russia may be worse than ours in some respects. But a country in which Tolstoy is too popular to be molested, even if the government feel disposed to molest him, is not one in which the philosophic Anarchist has any peculiar temptation to become violent. The United States divides, I believe, with Germany the exclusive honor of attempting to suppress Tolstoy's writings. It is the only country which has a law and a Wamamaker by whose means the author of "Kreutzer Sonata" would probably have been imprisoned, had he dwelt there.

It by no means escapes the penetration of the bourgeois that the Anarchist with a book is a far more dangerous fellow than the Anarchist with a bomb. The whole pith of Gary's famous or infamous rulings in that case, which he declared to be without precedent, turns upon this, that Anarchistic agitation causes Anarchistic murders. Of course Judge Gary knows that other kinds of agitation cause other kinds of political murders—that the assassination of Goebel was fostered by Republican denunciation, that of Lincoln by Democratic, that of McKinley by a great deal which was not Anarchistic. Equally, of course, he knows that such agitation, when it does not definitely recommend unlawful action, is within the rights of the press and platform; but when it does, it constitutes the simple misdemeanor of sedition. He knows that, during the trial of the Chicago martyrs, there was a riot at Mitchellstown, Ireland, in which seven persons were killed—just the same as at the Haymarket—that a patriot editor named O'Brien, was convicted of causing that riot by seditious publication; and that, for an edifying contrast between

enslaved Ireland and "free America," O'Brien was sentenced to three month's imprisonment. The point is clearly, therefore, that it is much worse for Anarchist agitation to result in bloodshed than for some other kind of political agitation. "The case," says Judge Gary, "is without precedent. THERE IS NO EXAMPLE IN THE LAW BOOKS OF A CASE OF THIS SORT. NO SUCH OCCURRENCE HAS EVER HAPPENED BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD!" But it has happened a million times in the history of the world, and at least once during the trial of the Chicago martyrs, that somebody was tried for sedition which contributed to cause bloodshed. What Judge Gary must mean, therefore, is but that no one—not even Scroggs or Jeffries, who had plentiful opportunities, and loved short methods,—ever thought of calling such sedition murder as accessory, before. He might safely have added that, unless the offender were an Anarchist, no one has called it so since. And even when the offender was an Anarchist, no judge ever called it so but himself. The judges of the Supreme Court of Illinois, in 1887, did not call it so. They dodged the point. Though alone with his glory as the sole inventor and applier of this method to suppress the Anarchist with a book, Judge Gary is, however, by no means alone in perceiving him to be more dangerous than the Anarchist with a bomb. The latter has commonly been dealt with by ordinary methods, the former always by extraordinary. The Chicago martyrs were the first persons ever hanged in America, who were not allowed to address those present. In France, after the assassination of Carnot, it was enacted that Anarchists convicted of crime should not be permitted to address the Court. "No such occurrence had ever happened before in the history of the world!" It was also made penal to advocate Anarchism in a personal letter or in private conversation. No such law against any other opinion had been known in Europe north of the Alps, since the Edict of Nantes. In America a rigorous boycott, not only against any discussion of Anarchism but against any information about it, has been maintained by the bourgeois press quite generally, except when some event like that of last September made the public demand for such information irresistible.

The sudden unpopularity into which attempts at suppressing the Anarchist with a book have fallen, depends upon two causes. First, the bourgeois have observed that, though the Anarchist with a bomb is not as dangerous to institutions as his comrade with a book, he is capable of being more personally disagreeable. In the gradual decay of institutions, all their beneficiaries must share the inconvenience; but when the bomb is substituted for the book, there is

altogether too much probability that the very individuals who shoot strikers, order the torture of agitators, the massacre of Chinese, Boers, Filipinos; or do other acts of benevolent assimilation; may find "judgment here." The other reason why the bourgeois press no longer approves suppressing book-Anarchists is that, while bomb-Anarchists are in a measure substituted, the other kind do not prove suppressible after all. Nothing excites curiosity about Anarchism like its appearance in the form of bombs. Every outbreak of the bomb-Anarchist is immediately followed by a general resurgence of the book-Anarchist. Before the Haymarket affair, Anarchism, though older in this country than any other except England, and though systematically agitated here for several previous years, was scarcely known by name to the average newspaper reader. Immediately afterwards, its name was in every mispronouncing mouth; and its literature actually began to sell. Since the rash act of Czolgosz, the periodicals, as caterers to a public demand, have been unable to avoid giving their patrons facts about Anarchism; as well as declamation. It is impossible even to think of carrying suppression further than it was carried in France only seven years ago. The notorious effect of that, has been to make France, so far as her new literature is concerned, an Anarchist country. Nowhere, we have seen, has Anarchism been more effectually denied the normal vent of agitation than in America during the last fifteen years. Nowhere, certainly, has it made such rapid progress. The howl which the bourgeois raised for blood, during last September, was met, as I personally observed, and as they could not help seeing, by unequivocal signs that the masses, on whose excitability they had relied, were not in sympathy with the call.

These experiences induced a laughably complete and sudden change in the tone of our friends, the enemy, within a week after the late president's death. Judge Gary's law had never been intended for any one but Anarchists. If he did not know, as may charitably be hoped, that even for them it was only good enough to use once, every one else knew that. The infamous Merritt statute, passed by the Illinois legislature during 1886, to give it "in an irregular manner that sanction which in a regular manner could not be given," was immediately repealed. An attempt to make a precedent of it in the Cronin case, was contemptuously rejected by the criminal courts. It was held up to public reprobation by Chicago bourgeois journals, by prominent members of the Illinois bar, like Trumbull; by an United States senator of high repute in the legal profession, and at last by the governor of the State. Such things could hardly fail to make Judge Gary feel bad; and we know from his own mouth that they did. But it is far more gratifying to the sense of justice to learn that they annoyed him less than the eulogies of a majority among bourgeois writers during the same period. "Mixed," he says, "with all the approval of my own part in the conviction of the Anarchists, that has come to my eyes and ears—the amount of which is beyond my summing up—there has been an undertone, like a minor strain in music, that if I had a little

strained the law, I was to be commended for my courage in doing so." I can imagine that that minor strain is troublesome. "The lyreless lay of the Furies is withering to mankind." But, after all, there was no telling what the great republican remedy of "more laws" might do, at least if we resolve to "jump the world to come!" Now, however, there can no longer be a doubt. The organs of capitalism generally have given no uncertain sound. They will have no more laws to impair their own liberties; and know that there can be none to substitute Anarchistic bomb-throwers for Anarchist editors which will not. Neither will they have any more laws made by judges "for this case only." Of the prosecutions threatened against so many Anarchists, ostensibly as such, only a few weeks ago, every one was turned down at once, except that of Most; and the result of his appeal was hailed by the bourgeois press as it might have been by the Anarchistic. "He had been convicted on general principles; and that sort of thing is played out." Such a frame of mind on the part of the Philistine public instructors, can hardly fail, especially if an attempt at anti-Anarchistic legislation should actually be made in Congress, to change the resolution of "abiding by the extant laws" into sharp criticism of such flexible laws themselves! Is not this revenge? The minor strain has become the angry roar of a hurricane! The name of the man who raised it has (so far) been spared by the bourgeois. But is there no significance in the fact that, though perhaps the oldest among the guilty ones of 1887, he is about the only one who has lived to hear the lyreless lay of the Furies, answered here by a judgment-trumpet?

The revenge the martyrs would have desired is the overthrow of the abuses they combated, and the victory of the principles for which they died. Every return of this anniversary has made it far more obvious than before that that was coming fast. From among the host who, as in every season of innovation, gave themselves up to win for novel truth the right of full and free expression, mankind have long since selected as standard-bearers, the martyrs of November, 1887. Parsons, returning voluntarily to share the fate of his comrades; Spies, accepting death rather than happiness after a short imprisonment, with the condition of stultifying his record; Engel, absolutely innocent, even of that shadowy connection with the fate of Bonfield's followers which was charged against his comrades, but choosing, like the rest of them, death before the suspicion of apostasy; Fischer, to whom martyrdom for this cause had always appeared the most glorious of fates; and who found the happiest moment of his life in meeting it; Lingg, who knew what law was here too well to make it any answer but defiance; these were the stuff of which success is made; for to such spirit failure is, in the nature of things, impossible.

C. L. JAMES.

Free Speech and Free Press.

This was the title of an address delivered Sunday, November 10, by Clarence Darrow in Vorwärts Turner Hall, which the daily press reported as a meeting arranged in

commemoration of the execution of fourteen years ago. As a matter of fact it was arranged by those who believe in preserving the liberties supposed to be guaranteed by the Constitution, against the proposed anti-Anarchist legislation which may be expected to come up in some form as soon as the national legislative machine gets in motion. The speech, throughout, was calculated from that standpoint, and was probably as strong a plea as could be made starting from the premises of equal liberty under the law.

Beginning his remarks with a statement of the facts of the late assassination, or rather with what the press reported as a fact, viz: that the president had been shot on September 6 by an Anarchist (which he later qualified to "by a man who said he was an Anarchist" and which he might further have qualified to "by a man whom the daily liars say said he was an Anarchist"), Mr. Darrow drew a comparison with the assassinations of former presidents, saying that all three had one cause, the hatred and bitterness arising from the discussion of the great questions agitating the popular mind at the time of their commission. While deploping this hatred and bitterness, these, also must be referred to an antecedent cause, the oppression and misery which begot them. The speaker stated his own position concerning murder of any sort, whether committed by the State or individual as the greatest of crimes; a crime compared with which treason was a light offense.

At this point all the reporters took to their pencils; nevertheless it does not appear in the reports of the speech.

At no time did the speaker refer with bitterness to the assassin, but spoke of him as "the unfortunate person who committed this deplorable act,"—a mildness strongly to be recommended to the ministers of the gospel of "Love ye your enemies," who in the language of Mr. Darrow "put far less trust in the doctrines of love than in the policeman's club."

Having alluded to the ferocious outburst of savagery following the assassination, as a thing regrettable in itself but after all transitory, the address proceeded with the discussion of repressive legislation. For what is it to be enacted? To protect human life? By what possible new enactment could that be made more secure? There are laws enough now in every State to punish with death or imprisonment those who kill or counsel to kill. The fact is that those who have determined to kill are not going about proclaiming their intentions to the general public. Suppose a law deporting Anarchists had been in existence before this; the result would have been that thousands of innocent persons would have been expelled, while Czolgosz who was almost unknown would have been here just the same, would have walked between the lines of soldiery appointed to guard the president just the same, and fired his shot just the same.

From this one might conclude, what the speaker did not say, that it is not Anarchism, nor the free discussion of the burning topic of the hour, that makes Czolgoszes, but the regime of governmental force which shoots down workmen, which makes a

naturally inoffensive person like McKinley sponsor for thousands and thousands of murders, and which cannot fail to draw from this mass of desperate ones it makes, some answering reprisal.

A repressive law, therefore, the speaker concluded, could render no man's life more secure; it could only open the door for the persecution of innocent persons. An anti-Anarchist law once on the statute-books, all those in power need do to get rid of any unpopular person would be to denounce him as an Anarchist, and the trick is played.

"Who," he inquired, "wants the legislation? Two classes: the knaves and the fools,—the first to accomplish their own purposes, that they may steal and lie and oppress at ease, the last because they understand nothing, and do not know that the weapon they help to forge against the Anarchists today will be turned against themselves tomorrow."

Quoting the virile sentence of the Declaration that men have a right to alter or abolish government whenever they see fit, it was pointed out how far from it the modern American legislator has strayed, since he proposes to make it a crime to discuss the principle of no government. Such a law could not be enacted without open renunciations of all that the American revolutionists stood for.

Passing to the proposed broadening of the crime of treason to include attacks upon the life of officials, the speaker gave the constitutional definition of treason, that of "levying war against the United States or giving aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war," and declared that this had been a closing of the door of civilization against the infamous persecutions of the past which had consigned to the most horrible tortures and ignominious death persons who, through one cause or another, had become obnoxious to the ruling powers and needed to be got rid of. Illustrating the vagaries of definition which this crime of treason has undergone, he instanced the reign of Henry VIII, in which it was made treason to believe that Elizabeth was illegitimate or Mary legitimate; later it was treason to believe that Mary was illegitimate or Elizabeth legitimate; later it was treason to believe either of them to be legitimate; later it was treason to believe either to be illegitimate! And to be guilty of treason meant to be drawn to the gallows on a hurdle, hanged, cut down while yet alive and disemboweled, quartered and sent to the different corners of the kingdom in pieces, or buried at the cross-roads with a stake through the body; in the case of a woman to be burned alive.

All these horrible punishments were supposed to be forever relegated to the past by the Revolution; if we open the door of the past and let them in again, good-bye to human liberty and all that was gained by it.

The speech concluded with a strong appeal for the freedom of the press which in spite of its many abuses is the greatest safeguard of the right to criticise rulers, of the right to hold any opinion on government whatever, even to the utter abolition of government.

Welcome, "Comrade"!

Walter Crane's famous "sower" cartoon has been adapted for the striking cover of a new monthly, launched in New York, this last October, to "mirror Socialist thought as it finds expression in Art and Literature."

Walt Whitman, the poet of comradeship, presides at the christening. Edwin Markham, Geo. D. Herron, and Ernest Crosby contribute poems to this initial number, which palpitates with cheery hope. Then there is a glimpse of Russian Nihilism, also an historical sketch of German Socialism, as represented by Liebknecht; some details of early English Trades Unionism; and a little light on the black picture of American "freedom" in Puerto Rico. The magazine is a folio, and is finely illustrated. Art and Literature, joined in enthusiastic service of Social Advance—that is a good augury! So, welcome, *Comrade*, even though you are a trifle narrow just at present, spell Anarchy with a little *a*, and make invidious discriminations! Perhaps you will know better some day.

What though our respective systems of economics are as opposite as the poles, your Marxian has no monopoly of Socialism. Anarchism, no less than Marxianism, is a social force, and it is pretty high up on the trunk of that tree of social endeavor, whose root is Love, that we branch out, the one toward a Cooperative Commonwealth, the other toward a voluntary State. Side by side we tower, mingling our leafage and our blossoms, springing in common from Desire for Righteousness, and nourished by the same sap of comrade enthusiasm. What of the future? Which will survive? Or, mayhaps, shall we blend and shoot up as one? How vain is prophesy! Only this we know, that, working out through the long, weary centuries, is the Individuality of the race. Muffled, dim, inscrutable, groping, irresistible—who yet has fathomed this Being, this spirit of Humanity? Yet, streaming from her slow-opening eyes, is the radiance of Fellowship—and that shall interpret and reveal her!

HELEN TUFTS.

Chicago Report.

Chicago radicals always celebrate the 11th of November in no uncertain manner. No one misses the memorial meeting here, and all the old and new friends are to be found on hand on memorial day. Last Monday, November 11, the commemoration took place as usual. Brand's Hall was filled to its capacity, many being unable to find seats. Although the weather was ugly, and rumors of police interference were afloat, the attendance was not affected, and fully 1,200 people gathered.

Chairman Oliver opened the meeting with a short statement of its purpose and significance. Prof. Meinken's band then rendered the "Trauermarsch" (Funeral March) of Beethoven, and the allied German singing societies sang "Am Grabe unserer Freunde" (At the Grave of Our Friends).

Otto Herrmann delivered the German oration. He declared that the memorial commemorations throughout the land were held neither to worship nor to lament, but to protest against the judicial murder of the comrades and to agitate their views. It

was unnecessary to go into the details of the infamous "trial," but sufficient to state that their incorruptible and uncompromising attitude in the labor movement earned for them the hate of the wage slave drivers. It was hoped to stifle the propaganda of Anarchism by hanging its fearless apostles; but today the ideal is advocated by numbers who had not heard of it before the outrage was consummated. The speaker stated the ideal of Anarchism, and the aims of its expounders. He gave also a short account of the events prior to the Haymarket bomb, and the part played therein by the Chicago martyrs.

Music followed, and then Voltairine de Cleyre, of Philadelphia, delivered a splendid address in English. As it will appear shortly in *FREE SOCIETY*, it is unnecessary to report it here. The meeting dispersed among more music and singing, to the general satisfaction of the participants.

JR.

Forbidden Fruit.

(From the Russian.)

Bitter is the bread that is made by slaves.
In the fair, white loaf I can taste their sweat and tears.

My clothes strangle and oppress me; they burn into my flesh, for I have not justly earned them, and how are they that made them clad?

My tapestried walls and inlaid floors chill me and hem me in like the damp stones of a prison-house; and I ask why the builders and weavers of them are not living here in my stead.

Alas, I am eating the fruit of the forbidden tree, the tree of others' labor!

I crave it with unhealthy craving and it poisons the very source of my life.

—Ernest Crosby.

Comrade Quintavalle, who has been in the hands of the Italian authorities as an accomplice of Bresci, has been acquitted of that charge; but he got six months in the penitentiary for "rebellion" to an officer.

There are now twenty Anarchist papers in Spain.

In Coruna, Spain, several workers have been sentenced to ten and twenty years imprisonment. This has raised such a storm of indignation that even the governor of the district has joined in the effort to obtain their pardon.

The article on the assassination of President McKinley, for which *Neues Leben* was confiscated and its editor imprisoned for four months, has been reprinted in whole or in part by several dailies in Germany. Needless to say the editors of the dailies were not arrested.

Philadelphia comrades have issued a neat, eight-page "Catechism of Anarchy," which they are spreading broadcast.

Comrade Kinghorn-Jones, of San Francisco, has shown the most commendable activity during the recent crazy spell. Finding no newspaper fair enough to give both sides of the Anarchist case, he issued several circulars on his own hook.

FREE SOCIETY.

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Assn.

A. ISAAK.....PUBLISHER

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

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

Entered October 29, 1901, as second-class matter. Post Office at Chicago, Illinois. Act of Congress, March 3, 1879.

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.

I am inclined to believe that our prisons make more criminals than they reform; that places like the Reformatory at Elmira plant and cultivate the seeds of crime.—Ingersoll.

— o —
Notes.

Some time ago the Associated Press sent out an alleged interview with Peter Kropotkin, wherein the statement is attributed to him that Czolgosz was a common murderer, and should be treated as such. We have been asked to deny the fabrication for Comrade Kropotkin. He says that the alleged interview did not take place, and he did not express the opinion.

There are on hand quite a lot of recent back numbers of FREE SOCIETY, which will be mailed for distribution on request.

Readers of FREE SOCIETY in San Francisco are asked to call on R. Rieger, 322 Larkin St., for the first three numbers of their paper, which were sent by express.

— o —
To the Readers.

Just at present the public is greatly interested in the subject of Anarchism. The newspapers and magazines are devoting much space to it, mostly of a sensational and misrepresenting character. Whilesome fair accounts concerning the Anarchists and their ideas have gotten into print, they are not numerous enough to counteract the articles of a hostile character. Consequently the prejudice against Anarchists is particularly acute momentarily; but at the same time many intelligent individuals have not been affected by the popular clamor, and are desirous of learning the truth about Anarchism.

Every advantage should be taken of the opportunity to carry on a most strenuous propaganda. It will depend upon the activity of the Anarchists themselves, whether a correct idea of Anarchism is to be disseminated. A little actual work in time of reaction is of more value than lots of talk in time of calm and security.

The time is especially opportune for the comrades to enlarge the circulation of FREE SOCIETY, and to spread Anarchist literature. By procuring a few extra copies of the paper and some pamphlets, and distributing them to those interested, a vast amount of propaganda work could be done in the aggregate.

Quite a large number of subscribers are in arrears, and we most urgently call upon them to send in their remittances at this time.

The number of this paper is 336, and if the number on your wrapper is below this, your subscription has expired. Do not DELAY IN RENEWING IT, or notify us of your inability to do so just now. If you do not care to receive the paper, drop us a postal stating the fact, and it will be discontinued. We do not care to send the paper where it is not desired; nor can we carry on our lists a large number of dead-heads.

— o —
Splinters.

Since President McKinley's assassination, he has become the angel Gabriel. It is rather too bad that he had to die, for so many people to find it out. The very ones who heaped the foulest calumny upon him during his life, have been the loudest to lament and praise him since his death. But in endeavoring to "speak good of the dead," is it not well to remember that which is true?

The period of mourning for President McKinley was officially declared off last week in Washington. It is hoped that those who have been so acutely afflicted as to have their reasoning powers affected, including some comrades, will now return to their former sagacity.

Next to the craze for "stamping out," the "repudiation craze" comes a close second. All the respectable "reformers," spook chasers, and others, hasten to assure the public that they are not "Anarchists," that they never did believe in Anarchy, and always opposed it. So, don't blame them, the dear little things!

A suggestion to the press would not be amiss: Let them stop their howling and ranting about Anarchists, and discuss the subject with reason and intelligence. Lies do not serve the purpose here. The past policy of the press has been to raise a hue and cry concerning "Anarchy and conspiracy," after an assassination; and then to declare that "Anarchy is dead." An impartial investigation will be necessary, since neither repression, misrepresentation, nor a conspiracy of silence will "kill Anarchy."

King Edward has ordered that no distinction be made in the treatment of presidents, emperors, or kings at his coronation. He perceives what many people have not grasped yet, namely, that there is no difference between rulers, no matter what their titles may be.

A report has been circulated in the Chicago newspapers, and copied elsewhere, that "A. Isaak, after having denounced the police and the government, had a watch stolen from him, and applied to the police for its recovery." It is then asked, with crushing logic, what right an Anarchist has to police protection? The fact is, that when the police made the arrests in Chicago, they "seized" a number of articles,

papers, letters, etc., on Isaak's table. Among other things on the table was a silver watch, which was not returned. This was inquired after, of course with the result that none of the officers knew anything about it. The press is welcome to as much satisfaction as it can get out of these facts.

I hope that those comrades who have wasted energy in mourning for McKinley, or in denouncing Czolgosz in various ways, will read the article from the pen of Blasco Ibanez, translated in this issue; and observe the attitude of Clarence Darrow toward Czolgosz, as reported in a speech this week. The attitude of the Spanish republican deputy is more just, and that of the lawyer more kindly than their own.

ABE ISAAC JR.

— o —
Barbarity.

[The following scathing arraignment of the recent outburst of cant and hypocrisy which swept over this country, thence spreading throughout the world in which governmental authority still tremblingly reigns, appeared in No. 260 of the *Daily Deluge* of Barcelona, Spain. The author is a republican deputy. W. T.]

McKinley is dead. An act of justice has been performed. It was inconceivable that, in the country where the noble Lincoln fell by an assassin's hand, the ambitious and rapacious McKinley should escape. Between these two American presidents, made equally famous by the terrible wars which broke out in their administrations, the contrast was most striking.

Both were the victims of assassins; but Lincoln, the martyr of a holy cause, was enshrined in the sorrowful memory of mankind, while the death of McKinley called forth only cold and interested protestations of official grief and the maledictions of thousands of innocent victims—especially Spanish—who prefer to see the hand of Providence in the mad act of an Anarchist rather than in the bloody defeats at Santiago and Cavite.

I adore Lincoln, the personification of American democratic traditions. The austere face of that self-made man, who rose by his own tenacity of purpose from a humble rail-splitter to the highest intellectual culture and the chief magistracy of his country, inspires me with profound admiration. To abolish slavery and free the oppressed, he hurled the North against the South, braving the danger of his country's dissolution with the calm confidence of one who defends right, humanity and justice, and offering up his life as a sacrifice on the altar of liberty and progress. Basely assassinated in a theatre-box, he murmured through the gurgling of blood which flowed from the severed veins in his throat, "I die content. They have killed me for giving freedom to a million and a half of my fellow men."

McKinley I detest, but not with the prejudiced hatred of race or nationality, nor because of the lands he has wrested from Spain. On such grounds we should be compelled to hate too many—all the South American republics, that were ours, England that seized Gibraltar, France that has our Franche Comté and Roussillon, Belgium and Holland that now occupy ancient Span-

ish possessions. It is the natural course of human affairs: in former times we despoiled the lands of other peoples, now, in just reciprocity, it is their turn to plunder us. I abhor McKinley as a representative of the imperialistic reaction, a fomenter of militarism in a country of formerly peaceful and democratic customs, where even the triumphant Washington chose to be only a plain citizen. I detest McKinley not only as a despoiler of peoples, but as one who has dishonored a great republic by introducing into it the rancorous methods of the most tyrannical governments of Europe.

I do not hate him for taking from us the Antilles and the Philippines—well taken if it had been to guide them to liberty, independence, and emancipation from the rapacity of governors and fanaticism of priests. What could be more noble in a great republic than to extend a fraternal hand to lesser peoples struggling for freedom? In this event even Spaniards—the free, the democratic, the progressive,—would have done homage to McKinley the conqueror, a citizen as great as the Lincoln who abolished slavery. But this base representative of a powerful republic has robbed as vulgarly as any king, for the love of conquest, to own and tyrannize over the vanquished. Today the Antilles and the Philippines, under American domination, look back with regret to the period of Spanish rule. The Spanish functionaries took pennies. The Yankees count their rapine in dollars. And in the Asiatic archipelago that republic which boasts the greatest liberty of conscience, at the suggestion of McKinley maintains and protects religious corruption, and entrusts to the priests the degradation of the people, to facilitate the American conquest.

I do not count myself among that great company of hypocrites who weep crocodile tears upon the tombs of rulers. When a king or president is slain I feel the grief that the death of a fellow man produces in every sympathetic heart; but if we must weep over all who die our tears would never cease. To weep when a monarch falls, while celebrating as glorious the massacres which he has organized upon the battlefield—this is the most servile and criminal of hypocrisies. As if mankind could be divided into two classes, and the life of the first held sacred, the second—that of the multitude—worthless! Human life is always and everywhere sacred; and before those who stand in high places begin to claim special consideration, let them set a good example by doing their utmost to suppress wars, the oppression of the masses, and the social inequality which yearly condemns to death, through dangerous and unhealthy forms of labor, a vast army of wretched beings.

When a ruler dies we are stunned by a chorus of shrieks and from all the imbeciles of earth—how many are there, alas! It is high fashion to sorrow for the useless, with every manifestation of hypocritical grief. But it is only one man that is dead; and while the whole world protests against the crime, prophesying the ruin of society, the sultan of Turkey piles up, periodically, mountains of Armenian corpses; Edward VII, of England, systematically exterminates the Boers, even though they are as white and Christian as his countrymen; Le-

opold, of Belgium, mows down the Congo Negroes with rapid-fire guns, to build up trade in ivory and gums; William, of Germany, orders his troops to give no quarter in the Orient; Nicholas, of Russia, hangs students, shoots workmen, and rewards his generals returning from the extermination of the Chinese; in other countries the methods of the inquisition are revived in State prisons and human flesh is torn in pieces by instruments of torture; and in the Philippines the troops of that very nation which now weeps so ostentatiously over the death of its president, are shooting down in cold blood a brave people who fight merely for that freedom which America pretends to cherish.

Destruction and barbarity surround us on every hand. Attila was long since reborn, Attila grown civil and adorned, and with the superstitious smile of the uniformed villain, he has seated himself upon all the thrones of the world. Governments and capitalists share amicably the glory and benefits gained by crimes against human life; and the barbarity of the few who kill a man ornamented with gold lace and decorations is but a pale imitation of the barbarity which marches at the head of the State and drags humanity to the sacrifice.—Blasco Ibanez.

— o —

Helena Born's Book.

Subscriptions to "Whitman's Ideal Democracy" now reach 100. The editor hopes that the 50 subscriptions still necessary will come in time to insure the publication of the volume in the spring. Subscriptions may be sent to FREE SOCIETY from whose office circulars may be obtained upon request.

Data which is promised by English comrades will enable the editor to give a full account, in the biographical introduction, of Helena Born's work in Bristol during the strikes of 1889-90. It was with Miriam Daniell, her nearest co-laborer in that work, that Helena Born came to America, in 1890.

— o —

Defense Fund.

A number of comrades were arrested on various pretext during the popular clamor. Of these the Home comrades, Larkin, Govan, and Adams, G. Ciancabilla, editor of *L'Aurora*, and John Most, editor of *Freiheit*, are still in the hands of the authorities. A vigorous defense is being carried on in each case; but funds are needed for this purpose. An appeal is therefore sent out. It is hoped the comrades everywhere will contribute to the extent of their ability.

O. A. Verity is secretary of the defense committee at Home, Wash., and he will receipt for all contributions sent there. The trial of the Home comrades will take place some time in February.

Contributions for Comrade Ciancabilla's defense should be sent to *L'Aurora*, Box 203, Spring Valley, Ill.

The Workingmen's Defense Association has charge of John Most's appeal. The secretary is Ed. Brady, 182 E. 82nd St., New York, N. Y.

Various Thoughts.

He loves his country best who strives to make it best.—Ingersoll.

The throne and altar are twins, vultures from the same egg.—Ingersoll.

Skepticism is the highest duty and blind faith is the one unpardonable sin.—Huxley.

A friend is a person with whom I may be sincere. Before him I may think aloud.—Emerson.

Instead of trusting what their minds tell them, men have a weakness for trusting others who pretend to have supernatural sources of knowledge.—Schopenhauer.

Customs die hard: they continue long after their meaning and origin have been lost, and long after the descendants of their original performers have passed away from their class or caste.—Gomme.

Irrational superstition has done incalculable injury to credulous humanity. . . . It is a great mistake to suppose that the religious notions of modern civilized peoples are on a much higher level than the crude spirit-faith of primitive savages.—Häckel.

In the Middle Ages the ambition of every scholar was to form around his mind an atmosphere of thought that bore no relation to the world that was about him; knowledge was made the bond-slave of credulity and those whose intellects were most shackled by prejudice were regarded as the wisest of mankind.—Lecky.

Originally laborers who produced a surplus by their labor became slaves, and the master who owned the laborers as well as their product gave slaves only just as much of it as was needful for them to carry on their work; the remainder of the surplus he took to himself. Landed property and capitalist property exercise similar compulsion on free laborers. Contract is only *nominal* and not really free, and hunger fully makes up for the lash. What then was called sustenance is now called wages.—Rodbertus.

Every Englishman may claim a right to abide in his own country so long as he pleases, and not to be driven from it except by sentence of the law. But if one landlord has a right to drive all the people from his estate, every other landlord has the same right; and as every piece of the land in the island is held by one landlord or other, and as all would have the same right as the first driver, all the people, except the landlords, might be driven into the sea.—Blackstone.

WHY WE ARE PERSONAL.

Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. When you have launched your spear into the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Brenton, every Whig and Democrat feels it. It is on this principle that every great reform must take its text from the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons.—Wendell Phillips.

History of the French Revolution.

XXVI

The regulation method of dealing with a French Revolutionist is just that which Gary lived to obtain an infamous notoriety by introducing into judicial practice. It consists in calling the great popular movement by some abusive term equivalent to "conspiracy," and then holding each actor personally responsible for the acts of all. That by parity of reasoning St. Francis d'Assisi committed the murder of Coligny, and Horace Greeley the assassination of Garfield, surely proves the method to be as false history as it is false law. Until October, 1793, however, Chaumette and Hébert were employed, not much to their credit, by the Commune, as public prosecutors, dividing responsibility with the national attorney Tinville. In this character they appeared against the Girondins, and, a few days before, against Marie Antoinette. The Commune saw no reason why Louis' family should still be kept in royal luxury by a hungry people. Though opposed at this point by Robespierre,* it was able to carry the Committee. On August 1, Mouthpiece Barere proposed, accordingly, that the provision for the prisoners should be reduced to the usual standard, and that the Austrian woman should be removed to the Conciergerie for speedy trial. This accordingly was done, but the Commune's hard way of looking at such things had not yet left much to do. About the beginning of July a woman named Tisson, who acted as servant and spy at the Temple, became insane; since which time the princesses were left to do their own work—with difficulty, as they had to learn how. The dauphin was taken from his mother and given to the care of a cobbler named Simon. She was able to see him occasionally, but observed with fresh distress that he wore the red cap, and was being made a sansculotte. At the Conciergerie she was very strictly guarded, since her escape was well known to be plotted. Her treatment, so far as routine could regulate it, was in all respects that of the commonest felon; but the jailor and his wife were kind people, who made friends with all the prisoners, and they acted accordingly to her. She was indicted on October 13. Varennes had urged immediate prosecution on the 3rd, but the State's attorney, Tinville, raised difficulties. In her faded black gown; with a white *fichu* crossed on her breast, her snowy hair, parted in front and slightly powdered, beneath her widow's cap; she still presented a graceful and dignified appearance. The hall was crowded with exulting women, on some of whom she made a softening impression. Honorable lawyers acted as her counsel, and prolonged the ordeal for more than seventy hours. The long indictment was narrowed to the main charge of conspiracy. There can, however, be no doubt that she was morally and legally guilty of treason; and the Constitution, which, according to common law, made the king irresponsible, had purposely omitted to include the queen consort, who is not exempt at common law. Unlike Louis, his widow attempted no defense except by cross-examining a few witnesses.

Hébert committed the characteristic atrocity of charging her with having corrupted her son in order to govern through another imbecile king. This monstrous statement—obtained, it is said, by addressing leading questions to the dauphin, and making him drunk—she would not answer at all. Her doom was pronounced at 4 a. m.—to be executed at eleven. She wrote a long and feeling letter to her sister-in-law, which was never delivered, but, preserved in a public office, reached her daughter after many years. For some time it was read in churches, which was a pity; for the good parts are merely personal. She spoke kindly of her son, the pain he had ignorantly caused her,* and the grief it would be to him. She refused to receive a constitutional priest, used no expressions of repentance, and denied indiscriminately all the charges against her. The discordant feelings excited by so unusual an event were manifested on all sides. When the gendarmes came with the death-warrant, they took off their hats, which was not usual. She resisted having her hands bound; and the brutal executioner performed his office cruelly. She was also surprised and mortified at having to ride in the common tumbril. The windows she passed were mostly closed. The streets were full of people. Some uttered insulting cries; but the majority uncovered their heads in respectful silence. The morning was foggy; but the sun came out before the closing scene. Some witnesses say the victim was fainting; and had to be carried from the cart, half dead; others that she looked with curiosity at the many new sights, mounted the steps firmly, apologized for treading on the executioner's foot, and prayed a few minutes in silence.† Though even royalists can scarcely question the substantial justice of her sentence, all radicals will now probably agree that its execution at such a time, was most unnecessary and impolitic. Her character has been much talked of but little discussed. Her biography, like that of Mary Queen of Scots, has been written almost altogether by worshippers, who will believe no ill of her, whatever the evidence, and see no good in her enemies, whatever provoked them to be such. At the time, the opinion that she was "a Messalina" was by no means confined to one country or one party. It may be unjust; but her fidelity to the cause of her husband as to that of monarchy, does not at all disprove it. In fact her chastity is the least interesting point. Historians, as distinguished from biographers, usually make her out a merely frivolous woman; but I apprehend that view is untenable. She was, of course, young and green at one time; but, even then, her own letters show that she had wit, judgment, will, confirmed habits, practical convictions. She failed only because her problem of rule without a party, was impossible. Her mother's correspondence

also proves that, as people suspected, she was trained to be an Austrian spy in high position. Since this, she had been more than twenty years among the very worst and sharpest of bad men and bad women. She had suffered by their arts. If she had not also learned, she would have been a fool; and she was not a fool. Few of her sex have surpassed her in courage, none in positive uncompromising self will. She despised the ritual of etiquette, which limited her own freedom; but royalty was that invisible omnipresence, without mystical enjoyment of which she had no life. She was kind, generous, affectionate, playful, affable, courteous, capable of self control; as far as possible from a devotee of pomp or vulgar luxury. But the ruling passion, which circumstances brought out in strong relief, was that absolute power which not death itself could teach her to be as unattainable as the absolute always is.

On the evening of Marie Antoinette's death, Robespierre dined with Barere and some Jacobins, rather to the surprise of St. Just, who remarked that he had never known Robespierre to forgive before. In that account of the conversation which is given by a guest and is too characteristic to be spurious, it seems the new made friends were far from seeing things under the same light. They talked about the queen's fate. Barere said the guillotine had cut a diplomatic knot which could not easily have been untied. Robespierre spoke of Hébert's slanders on the unfortunate Widow Capet, and flew into a perfect paroxysm, imitatively mingling honest indignation with Tacitean twaddle "The d—d fool!" he exclaimed, "was it not enough to make her out *Messalina* without saying *Agrippina* too?" and at these words he struck the table so forcibly as to break a plate. See Vilate—"full of lies, with particles of truth and undiscoverable otherwise" (Carlyle). The meaning of all this, appears to be that Robespierre wanted to get rid of Hébert and was using Barere for the purpose. On March 11, Fouquier Tinville had been originally nominated *procureur* to the guillotine. It is universally admitted that Barere recommended him, as national attorney, to the Revolutionary Tribunal; and that he gradually quite displaced the communal agents Chaumette and Hébert, who had none of his qualifications. Chaumette was too good natured a man to shine as prosecutor before that bloody court. Hébert was essentially nothing else than "a fool—a jester." Indeed, he knew that himself. He told Robespierre, who at one time tried to coalesce with him, that he was fit only for "the Aristophanes" of the rabble. But Fouquier Tinville is probably the most execrated character in revolutionary history. The vulgar notion of him I take to be that he was a mercenary assassin under forms of law. If however, he had been that, he would have taken care to exact pay for his services. The truth is he carried self-abnegation too far for a man of family, which he was. When he went to the guillotine, the furniture of his squalid tenement sold for less than a hundred dollars; and his wife is said to have starved. He was an honest though sanguinary bigot. If what is stated be insufficient (because murderers of a low grade

* Napoleon, in O'Meara's "Voice from St. Helena," II. 170.

* Her letter to Madam de Tourzel, July 24, 1789, gives an interesting account of this poor child's character, and sheds some light upon her own. "He is most trustworthy when he has promised anything," she says, "but he is very indiscreet, he repeats readily anything he has heard, and often, without meaning to lie, he adds what his imagination has made him see. This is his greatest fault."

† Cf. accounts in "Deux Amis," and appendix to "Memoirs of Mallet Du Pan."

come cheap) he often demurred to acting as the committee wished. He would not, on such occasions, proceed, even against enemies whom he considered public, beyond bare professional "duty." Thus, in the case of Marie Antoinette, he insisted on having legal evidence to go by. Yet he was the committee's man, attached to its peculiar interest. It was *con amore* that he pleaded against Danton and Hébert, when they had become the committee's enemies. But when the committee itself divided, and the weaker faction went to the guillotine, Tinvillie was unwilling to prosecute, and probably might have refused altogether had not the Convention, by declaring them outlaws, reduced his business to mere motion that they be identified. Without being at all a great lawyer or speaker, the "rat-eyed" attorney became known as a very formidable prosecutor—because he always believed he ought to have a judgment. If Barere served Robespierre in this business, he had his reward. Robespierre's influence in the Jacobin Club is known to have preserved Barere from attacks for his previous royalism and Girondism. Like all Barere's defenders, Robespierre acknowledged this good citizen to be somewhat fickle; but spoke highly of his industry and capacity. Events came thick. The Committee and the Commune, both living fast, approached a crisis. About the beginning of November, a constitutional priest made a sensation by refusing to receive any longer a salary for preaching what he did not believe. His honest example was immediately followed by hundreds. Gobel, bishop of Paris, who, it is said, gave in but unwillingly, came, at any rate, with a great following, all in red caps, to propose abolition of the religious establishment. The Convention was naturally glad to be rid of two dead churches—the older Gallican system had perished in 1791, the new, constitutional, was born dead; for all France scarcely contained a family which either heresy or orthodoxy did not forbid to receive its sacraments. Accordingly, a decree was passed at once that the Nation recognized no cult but that of liberty and reason. Nobody objected, because this was not at all a proclamation of atheism—only of secularism like what is embodied in the American Constitution; and, as such, it was very suitable to the time. The Hébertists, exercising so much influence at Paris, interpreted it, however, in their own way. The property of the deserted churches—a great majority, including almost all the best,—was nationalized. What could be used for secular purposes, was. Bells were melted into cannon. Vestments were cut up for soldier's clothing. Candlesticks and shrines were reduced to bullion. Sacred objects of no profane value were made a public jest. The holy oil which a dove brought St. Remi from heaven* to anoint the successors of Clovis, was spilled—the miraculous ampula which held it, broken. A very sacred image of the Virgin was shown in a museum as an obsolete idol. The shirt of St. Louis was burned. A multitude, (Rousin & Company, see below) came dressed in copes and surplices, dancing the Carmagnole to the

bar of the Convention. A ballet girl was introduced to the august Assembly by Chaumette as the Goddess Reason, November 10. Where the winding Seine returns towards Paris, the ancient sepulchres of the kings at St. Denis were rifled by a ghoulis mob.* At Notre Dame, St. Eustache, and some other churches, great fetes were held in honor of the new born religion. The Goddess of Reason *pro tem.* always wore the cap of liberty, a blue mantle, and a veil.† Her choir consisted of nymphs attired, in tricolor, or else like Diana's, in white robes. The wife of Citizen Momoro was pronounced the best personator of the celestial queen; though her teeth are said to have been defective. The people were disgusted; for most of them, even in Paris, were Catholics. Robespierre, Danton, and St. Just showed their abhorrence of the scene at the Convention. Barere participated in the sacrilege at St. Denis. But it seems he was always a Christian; so he turned away from rites professedly atheistic. Billaud Varrennes, an ex-Jesuit, like Fouché, smiled, however, on the Hébertists; who felt quite secure with such a friend in the Committee. Several cemeteries were now ornamented with a recumbent figure, under which were inscribed the words "Death is an eternal sleep." Some rural places joined in repudiation of public worship. (*Analyse du Moniteur.*) Meanwhile the committees were constantly improving in use of popular passions for no purpose more public than self-perpetuation. To secure harmony, the Great Committee nominated all. Since Louis was dethroned, a new crime had been gradually attracting whatever odium political virtue could at that period inflict. It went by the singular name of Moderation, and deserves particular attention because it is so common now. A Moderate was understood to mean a pseudo-philanthropist, who had deluded himself into thinking that he pitied the sufferings of criminals, as sufferers, more than those of their victims. Of course he was not quite sincere. His compassion for the criminals was founded on a sneaking sympathy with the crimes. To this spirit the evils of the time were attributed, not without much justice. Moderation gave Louis that fatal veto which made a second revolution necessary. Moderation prosecuted patriots till a third revolution became the only hope of France. Moderation appended from the people to the Convention, from the Convention to the guillotine, from the guillotine to the sword, and from the sword to the stiletto.

* The story is that Montgaillard a tannery of human skins was established at Meudon, in traceable to no good authority. Men's skins, say the mythologists, were found to make good leather, but women's were too thin. A new edition of Rousseau's works is stated (falsely) to have been bound in this Benthamian material.

† The fabulists nowadays describe the goddess as "a naked harlot"; but the naked part of it (which got into spurious versions of Alison) is a very recently invented fib. The original Alison, Carlyle, Lamartine, Taine, the painter Mueller, and I, all follow a single contemporary witness, Mercier, who himself was in prison at the time, as concerns this great subject of clothes. The first attempt to read anything indecent into his account of them is in Lamartine's insinuations. How much truth is in Mercier's story anyway? From the *Moniteur*, November 7, 10, 26, we learn there is a little.

Moderation raised a fourth revolution at the very moment when no Frenchman should have known an enemy who was not foreign. Moderation betrayed Toulon to the English. Moderation made Lyons ready to receive the Sardinian banditti, and Caen the Vendéean cutthroats. A Moderate was worse than an emigrant. The latter was only an enemy; the former was a spy. We cannot be much surprised that every magistrate was above all things solicitous to purge himself from any suspicion of Moderation. It must be admitted that all did well. In Paris and other large cities, the guillotine now had daily work. The prisons were filled by the noted Law, (17th September, 1803) or rather the Laws of Suspects; for the reader must perceive there were many such statutes; and that those passed in Girondin times left little room for improvement, though, as usual, the responsibility has been laid on Jacobin shoulders. It has been asserted that there were 200,000 prisoners;—there were once 5,000 in Paris—aristocrats, *ci-devants*, i. e. aristocrats who speciously professed republicanism; Vendéens; Girondins; returned emigrants; non-jurors; Moderates; and felons. The terrible police were so sharp in pursuit of the latter that life and property are stated to have been remarkably safe from common assailants. The jails, of course, were too small. Great private houses, the college of Duplessis, and the palace of the Luxembourg, were used to supply the deficiency. The unfortunates were crowded and ill-treated, often robbed, allowed in all cases only prison fare, except what they bought at scandalous prices. As there was to be no more Moderation, all *uncivic* conduct was now capitally punished. The list of uncivic actions was lengthy. Condemning the maximum, or any measure designed to keep up the assignats, *taking no side* (one of the crimes in Solon's code), spreading bad war news unnecessarily, associating with priests, mourning for traitors, were uncivic. It was uncivic to censure the Terror in general. About half the National Debt had been repudiated. Disapproving this was uncivic. The whole train of petty revenue frauds were highly uncivic. Many new penal laws were also retrospective, Lafayette's partisans especially being proscribed. The Revolutionary committees, established generally in the dreadful days of the Girondist rebellion, received, as above stated, denunciations of individuals. These odious laws, called forth by panic, engendered a new swarm of Oateses, Dangerfields, Bedloes, and petty imitators, who in turn lived by keeping panic up. The prisons, particularly, swarmed with hateful detectives (*monitors*). These gentry contributed to the good work of emptying them as fast as the laws of suspects could fill. Direct responsibility for this last atrocity rests on the Committee of General Security. Barere was its man of all work; but its bloody fanatics, its Billaud and St. Just—were Ruhl (the ampula breaker), Amar, and Vadier. It revised Fouquier Tinvillie's docket, thus deciding who should go to trial first.

C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

— o —
Ignorance is the pyramid of tyranny.

* Ruhl, a member of the Committee of general security did this. He was an ex-Protestant clergyman, from Strasburg.

336

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.
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.
A. Schneider, 516 Carro, J Ave.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 4 Elwell St.
COLUMBUS, OHIO.—H. M. Lyndall, 416 E. Mound St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Oszul-ton St., N. W.
MONTREAL, Canada.—Norman Murray, 21 Beaver Hall Hill.
NEW YORK—M. Maisel, 170 Henry St.
PHILADELPHIA—Natalia Notkin, 242 N. Second St.
SAN FRANCISCO—R. Rieger, 322 Larkin St.

FOR BOSTON.

Comrade Geo. Brown, of Philadelphia, will lecture here on November 24, in Phoenix Hall, 724 Washington St., at 8 p. m. Subject: "Anarchism and Violence."

As the police has been using its influence to induce hall keepers to refuse their halls to us, the comrades and sympathizers should all attend this meeting as a protest against such tactics.

For Chicago.

On December 5, a debate on "Socialism vs. Anarchism," between A. M. Simons and A. Isaak, will take place in Mueller's Hall, Sedgwick St., and North Ave. Admission 15 cents a person in advance. At the door 25 cents. Tickets are for sale at this office, C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave. and A. Edelstadt, 372 State St.

FREE DISCUSSIONS IN CHICAGO.

Pertinent questions are discussed in the following meetings, of which the comrades can avail themselves to disseminate our ideas.

Chicago Commons, Cor. Morgan St. and Grand Ave., every Tuesday evening. Subject for next Tuesday: "Law, and can we do without it."

Daughters of Revolution, 203 Michigan Ave., every second Friday night. Subject for Nov. 22: "A Talk to the People." Speaker: S. M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo.

Freisinnige Gemeinde, (Ger-

man), Schoenhofers Hall, Cor. Ashland and Milwaukee Aves., every second Saturday night. Subject for Nov. 23: "Kapitalismus und Kultur."

Debattir Club No. 1, (German), every second Wednesday night, at Freyman's Hall, Halsted, Cor. North Ave. The first meeting will be held Nov. 20, 8. p. m.

HOW TO CHECK ANARCHISM.

"No one who believes in the principles of Anarchy, or who sympathizes with Anarchists in any way, can become a citizen of the United States through this court."

Judge Lindsey of the county court made the above declaration from the bench this morning during the examination of several men who had made application to the court for naturalization papers.

After putting the usual questions Judge Lindsey asked: "Are you an Anarchist?" The answer came hesitatingly. "No, sir."

"Do you believe in the principles taught by Anarchists?"

"No, sir."

"Do you sympathize with their cause?"

For a moment the man being examined refused to answer. The judge asked his question again, and not receiving an immediate reply announced the above policy of the court. After this the fellow spoke up and said he did not sympathize with the cause.—Denver Post, Oct. 14.

The extra sessions for passing laws to fit new occasions are too slow for this judge. He makes them as he goes along, all out of his own head.

Whether the "fellow" knew what an Anarchist was does not appear, but he was not a fool. He took his cue from the judge, and saw that the safest plan was to say "no." Thus is manufactured evidence for government. W.

RECEIPTS.

Gesnit, \$2. Mint, Mollack, Gaertner, Peterson, Legleitner, Sattler, Orange, Schultz, Gordon, Cohn, Lengberg, Young, Coletti, each \$1. Bland, Unthank, Hees, Campbell, Hoffman, Hoope, Conzelman, Hughes, Nigh, Sinz, Young, Grossman, Metzow, Telson, Leikin, Voelkel, Goodman, Basili, each 50c. Meitlin, Marcus, Brieson, Cohn, each 25c. Berry, 20c. Sales, 95c.

DONATIONS.—Boal, \$5. S. S. Club, Philadelphia, \$4. Picnic, Lock No. 3, Pa. \$2. Cohn \$2. Hughes, Massoli, friend, Coletti, Zen, each 50c. Breidau, 25c.

FIELD, FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.
BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

This interesting work has now been published in a popular edition. No student of social and economical affairs can do without it.

The book contains the following chapters: The Decentralization of Industries.—The Possibilities of Agriculture.—Small Industrial Villages.—Brain Work and Manual Work.—Conclusion.—Appendix. Price, paper cover, 40 cents, postpaid, 45 cents.

Order from FREE SOCIETY.

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 COURTAND
ALTGELD'S REASONS FOR PARDONING
FIELDEN, 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 VOLTAIRINE 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 Revolutionists.—As to what Means follow from the Principles.—Revolution and Anarchy.—The Efficiency 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.....	
.....H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism.....	Grant Allen 05
Plain Words on the Woman	
Question.....	" 05
Prejudice?.....	M. Bachman 50
God and the State.....	Bakunin 05
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 25
The Worm Turns.....	V. de Cleyre 10
The Evolution of the Family.....	
.....J. M. Crane	05
Evolution of Modesty.....	" 05
The Emancipation of Society from	
Government.....	Dallan Doyle 05
Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1.....	
.....Rosa Graul	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy.	
Cloth 60c.....	Jean Grave 25
A Physician in the House.....	
.....Dr J. H. Greer	2.75
The Education of the Feminine	
Will.....	Harlor 05
Marriage and Morality.....	
.....Lillian Harman	05
Regeneration of Society.....	" 05
Love in Freedom.....	Moses Harman 05
Motherhood in Freedom.....	" 05
Government Analyzed.....	Kelso 1.00
How to Dispose of Surplus Prod-	
ucts and Employ Surplus Labor.	
.....Kinghorn-Jones	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and	
Ideal.....	Peter Kropotkin 05
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 05
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?)	
James F. Morton, Jr.).....	" 10
A Chambermaid's Diary.....	
.....Gustav Mirbeau	50
Commune of Paris.....	Wm. Morris 05
Monopoly.....	" 05
Responsibility and Solidarity in the	
Labor Struggle.....	M. Netlau 05
God and Government: The Siamese	
Twins of Superstition.....	W. Nevill 05
A Cityless and Countryless World.	
Cloth.....	Herman Olerich 1.00
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.....	
.....Leo Tolstoy	75
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....	
.....W. H. Van Ornum	05
Judgment.....	Wm. Platt 05
Evolution and Revolution.....	Reclus 05
Direct Action vs Direct Legislation	
.....J. Blair Smith	05
Helen Harlow's Vow.....	
.....Lois Waisbrooker	25
Perfect Motherhood. Cloth.....	" 1.00
The Temperance Folly.....	" 10
Wherefore Investigating Co.....	" 25
Our Worship of Primitive Social	
Guesses.....	E. C. Walker 15
Revival of Puritanism.....	" 10
What the Young Need to Know.....	" 15
The Ballad of Reading Gaol.....	
.....Oscar Wilde	10
Life Without a Master. 336 pp.	
Cloth \$1.50.....	J. Wilson 1.00
The New Dispensation. Cloth.....	" 1.50
The Coming Woman.....	Lillie White 05
The Chicago Martyrs: The Fam-	
ous Speeches of the Eight Anarch-	
ists in Judge Gary's Court; and	
Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning	
Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.....	25