

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. 42.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 340.

In Robes of Anarchy.

Truth came to me full oft in varying dress,
And still she stooped revealed in loveliness;
To her alone I bowed; we two were wed;
I vowed to love her living, aye, or dead.

Ah, great pure Soul! O Sun to which I turn,
With hair of dazzling gold and eyes that burn!
I knew you ever in each fresh disguise;
Betrayed you were by splendor of those eyes.

At last, not trim-clad as your wont, I see
You in wind-driven robes of Anarchy.
Men sneer and scorn, "Is this your spouse?" but I
Am proud to be your mate, though all deny.

Shame with her paint-pots white and red may take
The cheeks of those for canvas who unmake
Their vows; not mine on this score. Lead on;
I follow fast, yea, if it be alone.

No blue-leaved laurels round a man's vain head
You bind truth, if his fleet win with speed;
O'er taken, you reward with cold embrace;
Death crowns the Racer who outruns the Race.

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

An Anarchist to Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt,—It is perhaps unnecessary to state why this is addressed to you. Your remarks in the message to congress will be taken as sufficient grounds for an Anarchist to address you. I will say, however, that it is not on account of any reasonableness or the intrinsic value of what you say which prompts me to pay attention to it; but because your asinine remarks, delivered as they were in your official capacity, are very likely to guide legislation on the subject of Anarchy in the immediate future, and lay down the attitude of the government toward us.

A few words on the message itself will not be out of place. While you indulge in such profuse abuse of the Anarchists, you have in this same document practically admitted one of our fundamental contentions. In the paragraph following the subject of Anarchy you say:

During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the nation is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws.

What is this, if it is not an admission that while the influence of government for good is almost nil, it is a potent factor for harm? The most ardent upholder of government will readily admit that laws are very often "mischievous." The Anarchist could take this statement for a text; and I think you will hardly contend that he should be pronounced a criminal for endorsing one of your own remarks. To be logical, you should consider yourself as one of the first fit subjects to emigrate to the island.

Again you say:

No man will ever be restrained from becoming president by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the president's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder.

The logical deduction from this passage is, that if "men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder" are desirable, and your attitude leaves us to infer that they are, the best way to place them in office is to assassinate the president as often as possible, in order to bring about this result. In the whole literature of the Anarchist propaganda, you will not find anything like this to "incite weak-minded men to assassination." And then your illogical reasoning leads you to assume that while the assassination of a president is a very foolish act even from the standpoint of an Anarchist, the wholesale imprisonment or execution of Anarchists by the government will lead to a different result. The Anarchist does not claim that assassination will abolish government; but so long as murder is indulged in from the top, and misery is rampant in society, it is inevitable that such methods will be resorted to occasionally from the bottom.

You, on the other hand, advocate a wholesale proscription of Anarchists, as a measure of "stamping out." It is but necessary to go to recent history to show the folly of such a policy. The tremendous power of the Russian government was exerted to the utmost during the '70's, with the result that such persecutions lead to the most natural retaliation. Less than ten years ago the French government attempted stamping out Anarchy by the most drastic legislation. The result is that today the modern thought of France is entirely Anarchistic. And Spain attempted stamping out not only with exile and imprisonment, but the most barbarous tortures applied to Anarchists, Socialists, and Freethinkers alike. Today the Anarchist propaganda in Spain is in the most flourishing condition, and the instigator of the torture policy is but a memory. Does the history of persecution ever show that it effected its purpose? To an intelligent man the question is its own answer.

The most fatal feature of the stamp-out policy is, that it tends to its own defeat by outreaching itself. Just now it is the Anarchist who suffers under the reaction; tomorrow the Single Taxer and Socialist will come under the ban; and in a short time "Anarchy" will mean whatever does not suit the ruling power. Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, has ably shown that if such measures as are now pending are adopted, they will naturally lead to such abuse of power, as has been done once before in the history of this country, as to bring their instigators into unutterable contempt.

If Anarchism is the crying evil that you have attempted to picture it, intelligence and reason will be required to "deal" with it. Neither you nor congress have shown either. The physician cannot cure a disease the nature of which he is entirely ignorant. A little

investigation of the principles and tactics of the Anarchists would not be amiss. Anarchism is an ideal, for which much can be said. Many of the most able men of science, literature, and art in the past and present have been practical or avowed Anarchists.

This open letter is written not with expectation of staying your policy, nor to defy you. It is too much to expect that intelligence will appeal to you; and there is no satisfaction in defying blind prejudice. But understand that neither your prisons nor penal colonies will stop the onward march of our ideas. We would welcome a refuge from all the governments of earth, which could be made a real asylum for the outcast and oppressed. But even if you should deport to the most barren rocks the adherents of Anarchism, do not think that the dial of progress can be turned back. Persecution will drive from our ranks some few who are unable to stand in the storm—it is not a fact which will be regretted by us. But it will also bring to our ranks those resolute lovers of truth, who in all ages have with their own blood fed the lamp of liberty and reason.

The Paris Commune was drowned in the blood of thirty thousand human beings; but even today the intelligent proletaire looks back to that grand uprising with inspiration and hope. Siberia is dotted with the living and dead martyrs of liberty; but it will be from their martyrdom that the tree of liberty for the Russian people will draw its nourishment. European prisons and the islands of the sea with their fever and disease are utilized to dampen the ardor of an enthusiastic and aspiring youth; but these victims will not be forgotten, and their names will be the battle-cry on the future barricade. The stifled cry from the torture chamber of Montjuich reached the heart of one man, and his hand did not fail in the blow which electrified the whole world. From the gallows of Chicago the ideal of Anarchism was proclaimed; and since that day it has had a permanent abiding place in the hearts of men and women of this land.

So send us to your prisons and to your penal colonies. Other heralds will step into the places of those who fall. In the words of August Spies, "We are the birds of the coming storm!" You will not delay the revolution of thought from the old to the new by slaying the storm-birds, but the attention of the world will thereby be attracted to their mission. To speak with John Hay:

For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee.

ABE ISAAK JR.

ERRATUM.—In No. 338, page 6, column 2, line 27 from top, read "jury" for "young." In No. 339, page 7, column 3, line 34 from top, read "courage" for "carnage."

The Futility of Anarchism.

When I get drawn into a discussion with a zealous Anarchist concerning the efficacy of government I am usually considerably disconcerted by the utter intangibility of my disputant's position.

My Anarchistic controversialist assures me that whenever power is placed in the hands of individuals it is abused, that the majority should have no right to dominate over the minority, and that each member of society should have the liberty to think and act as he pleases so long as he does not invade the equal rights of other members of society to think and act as they please.

Assuredly I sympathise heartily with the spirit and purport of these observations. I believe every intelligent member of civilized society today sympathises with the spirit and purport of them also. By simply asserting and sympathising with principles of liberty, which most of us at the start instinctively agree upon, we do not accomplish much. Questions arising from conflict of welfare and interest between individuals are continually thrusting themselves before us for settlement; and if they are not discussed and settled the peace, health, and safety of the community is disturbed. Anarchism does not provide for the peaceable settlement of those cases of conflict of welfare and interest. Our halls of legislature and courts of justice do. And our halls of legislature and courts of justice, with executive power behind them, constitute the government.

Now the crucial question in regard to this business of government seems to me to be, not whether we shall abolish it; but rather, whether it is now properly protecting members of the community from having their rights invaded.

The issue as to whether it is desirable to have a police force in our midst to prevent aggression upon our rights as individuals, or to have a military force in our midst to prevent aggressions upon our rights as a nation I would waive. The need of these organizations among us at present to help protect life, liberty, and property is, in my estimation, so obvious as to make me reluctant to use time talking about the matter. And the question as to whether or not we shall be able to get along without government at some time in the future seems to me too speculative to merit anything more than hopeful consideration now and then.

Such issues, however, as whether a garbage plant shall be erected in the midst of a thickly populated community, whether a sky-scraper shall be allowed to go up and mar the beauty of a public park, whether excavation shall be permitted at all times by everybody in the streets so as to endanger the lives of passers and obstruct traffic, whether a person shall receive recompense from another for injury received, whether trains shall run through a State on Sunday, etc., etc., are, it seems to me, of vital concern to all of us. In each case, moreover, intense conflict of welfare and interest is likely to blaze up over the matter. And in order that such conflicts may be settled otherwise than by fights with cudgels in highways we have instituted a government of discussion by means of which they may be settled peaceably by ballot.

The question of Anarchism, therefore, seems to me to be as futile and iridescent as the question of future life. Most of us I doubt not would enjoy living in a millennial Anarchistic state of society, and would not be averse to having a happy life after death. But zealous discussion of such possible future states helps us little if at all, beyond giving us an ideal to work toward, to settle fairly and properly burning questions of current interest pertaining to the peace, health, and safety of society.

WALTER LEIGHTON.

Mr. Leighton's personal experience with Anarchists has not been fortunate. A good deal of what calls itself Anarchism now, is mere old-fashioned Individualism, and this is evidently all he has heard and understood. That the Individualists have taken to calling themselves Anarchists, is not a thing we need particularly regret. It adds to our numerical force; and, as they act with us in all practical matters, they are sure to learn. But Individualism, alone, will never amount to anything, because as Mr. Leighton says "questions arising from conflict of welfare and interest between individuals are continually coming up"; and to these questions the Individualist must answer or not answer. His maxim, that everyone should have a right to do as he pleases, "so long as he does not invade the equal rights of others to do as they please," conveys no information, unless we are told whether "a garbage plant in the midst of a thickly populated community," "a sky-scraper in a public park," "excavations in the streets," running trains on Sunday, exacting reparation for injuries, etc., constitute such "invasion," or do not. But if some one does tell us which of them, in his judgment, are "invasive" and which not, he proposes a code of laws, to be ratified, and enforced, by some "higher power"; and so, he is no Anarchist.

Anarchism is not metaphysical, but positive. It does not use the conditional mood, but the indicative. An Anarchist has little use for the auxiliaries "should," "would," "could," "might"; and not very much for the particles "but," "if," and "and." He affirms, not the Rights so much as the Rights of Man. He says every man can do as he pleases—at his own risk and cost. Furthermore, it always comes around to this at last, that every one does do as he pleases—at his own risk and cost. The whole machinery of law, courts, jails, peelers, gallows, army, navy, etc., is a humbugging scheme—a regular Keeley motor—by which those who run the faro bank persuade its patrons that they somehow get more out of it than they put in. This imposture, the Anarchist has seen through. He can be induced to invest no more time, money, or energy, in trying to rig the Wheel of Fortune so that it will yield a surplus—for anyone except the croupier. It is evident these observations apply, not only to civil government but to other kinds. Anarchism, accordingly, is without end progressive. Individualism is a sterile mongrel. Anarchism is a new species. Individualism is an artificial canal, which requires continual banking and dredging. Anarchism is a fountain with a hundred heads, which,

though only opened yesterday, has already fertilized a hundred intellectual deserts.

It is also evident that Anarchism does not, like Individualism, involve what I call the Metaphysical Blunder of expecting an infinite result from a finite cause—but convicts Individualism of this blunder, in so convicting all theories of government by that transcendental abstraction, the Community. The Anarchist has been led to see that the garbage, sky-scraper, and other questions, are between individuals—that leaving them unsettled, till they reach this stage, promotes peace; while affecting to settle them prematurely promotes fighting, with worse things than cudgels—through an induction, which comprises universal history; and is therefore to be briefly stated, or dismissed. As to waiving discussion, and pronouncing the necessity for government "obvious," Mr. Leighton probably knows what is meant by a *petitio principii*.

C. L. JAMES.

From Our Friend the Enemy.

[The following is an extract of those portions of Roosevelt's "message" relating directly to the subject of Anarchism. They are here given for the reason that they comprise practically all the abuse which has been hurled at the Anarchists since September '6. That the government should take a position even a little more vicious than the worst of the newspaper scribes (who in many cases do not believe the lies they are writing) is not surprising, since it is in the nature of government to take the most backward and reactionary attitude possible.]

... President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot. ... The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged. ...

This criminal was a professed Anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed Anarchists and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who on the stump and in the public press appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism and to the crude and foolish visionary who for whatever reason apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent. ...

The blow was aimed not at this president, but at all presidents, at every symbol of government. ... On no conceivable theory could the murder of the president be accepted as due to protest against "inequalities in the social order" save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent"

than picking pockets or wife beating.

The Anarchist, and especially the Anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates Anarchy directly or indirectly in any shape or fashion or the man who apologizes for Anarchists and their deeds makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The Anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity, for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The Anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever Anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

For the Anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a "product of social conditions" save as a highwayman is "produced" by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching Anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

I earnestly recommend to the congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of Anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country, and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came, and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the congress. . . .

This great country will not fall into Anarchy, and if Anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame. . . .

First we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in Anarchistic principles or members of Anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. . . . The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all Anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class, but it would do what is also in point—that is tend to decrease the sum of ignorance so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion and hatred of order out of which Anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. . . . This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of pestilential social conditions in our great cities where Anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

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Seeking A Hall in Philadelphia.

I wrote last week that we had secured a hall; then later on I learned that the owner had begged off, alleging that the police would send a gang of boys to smash things, if he rented the hall to us. I then thought of another hall and went to inquire about it. I knew the rent would be too high for the club, but thought it would be interesting to know how far the taboo went. The janitor was pleased at the prospect of renting the hall; but when I mentioned Anarchists his face fell; and he told me I would have to see the owner; whose address he was about giving me when that individual himself came up the steps. After hearing both the janitor and myself, he shook his head. "Can't do it," he said.

"Why?" I asked.

"On account of the Anarchists."

"Are you afraid of them?"

"Oh, no!" he answered. "I would rent the hall willingly, but have been warned not to."

"By the police?"

"Yes."

"But have they any legal right to do that?"

"No; I don't think they have;—in fact, I have been assured by pretty good authority that they have not."

"Then why do you let them bulldoze you; you want to rent the hall, don't you?"

"Well, it would cost more than the hall rent to have trouble with them."

"You think they could arrest you?"

"No—not that—" He seemed to hesitate.

"Well, what is it you fear?" I asked, explaining that we were anxious to find out just what the apparent terror of hall owners was due to.

"Well," he said, "while legally they may not be able to hurt us, they would hunt up a crowd of drunken toughs and send them to smash things up."

"Really you don't mean the police would do that?" I said. "Why, their business is to prevent such happenings."

"You don't know the police in Philadel-

phia," he replied. "They would do anything."

Here the janitor, who had so far listened without speaking, broke in. "Why, they warned the hall keepers up town not to rent to the Union Party before election, and when they protested, told 'em if they did they would have no halls to let after election."

"Oh, that's incredible; they would not do anything so foolish as that; besides, the papers stated the other party had rented the halls."

"Yes," he answered, "when the other gag didn't go. I tell you I got that straight from the janitor of C— Hall; they had been to him."

Then I told the owner that the hall was too high in price for us; that our club was only a small affair; and explained its nature too him. He said he did not think we would have any trouble in renting a small hall; as they aimed at the large halls, to prevent a mass meeting or demonstration of any sort—"for that matter," he added, "you could rent a house."

"And open a speak-easy?" I asked.

He laughed, and said that wouldn't be a bad idea, as we would soon make money enough to build a hall; and the police didn't bother speak-easies.

And really this is not a bad idea, since if we were to give it the name of a prominent politician, The Quay or Hanna Club, then contrive to have a few murders committed in the neighborhood, (preferably in our own yard,) and a fight or two each Sunday; we might easily make them believe we were with them; and thereby escape the odious name of Anarchist.

M. H.

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Philadelphia Memorial.

Philadelphia, our city of "brotherly love," has changed much since the modern Brutus has struck the death blow to the imperialistic Caesar. Meetings are prohibited and no hall can be gotten; hall-keepers are warned by city authorities not to rent their halls to people who might use it for the purpose of spreading the gospel of discontent. It reminds me of a Russian province. Everything is to be done with the permission of the police and our city fathers. During the month of November the "bluecoated gentlemen" were searching for Emma Goldman, as there had been a rumor that she would address a meeting in Philadelphia.

Comrades of Philadelphia have made every effort to get a hall the whole month of November; but as this was impossible, we determined to adopt ourselves to circumstances, and on December 2 a number of comrades gathered in the house of N. Notkin. We were forced to have a meeting like our comrades in Russia. At the meeting my mind was occupied with Stepniak's "Underground Russia"; and the comparison is not exaggerated. The meeting was held behind closed doors; and yet never was there a 11th of November celebrated as this one. Everybody present felt his noble mission in this world; and everybody's heart was beating the death-knell to the brutal capitalistic system. In the stillness of the dark December night, I could hear the voice of our beloved comrade and poet D. Edelstadt proclaiming:

Cruel tyrants, you may slay us,
Time will but new champions breed,
And the struggle will go onward
Till the universe is freed.

L. RABOTNICK.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

Error of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.—Jefferson.

To the Comrades.

From present indications everything points to the fact that the Anarchists will soon be subjected to numerous legal persecutions on account of repressive legislation. Nearly every day brings news from Washington of a new bill advocated against Anarchists. At any time an ukase may go forth which will deprive Anarchist papers of the use of second-class mails, if they are not excluded entirely therefrom.

It is therefore of the greatest importance to the movement that every possible effort be made to carry on an unceasing activity. The threatened legislation has had the effect of arousing great interest in Anarchism, and the time is therefore auspicious for educational work of immense value. There are a large number of intelligent people whose reason has not been carried away by the silly talk of the president and members of congress, and are not afraid of truth, even though it brings down upon them the wrath of organized power. If Anarchist principles are presented to them in a correct light, favorable results can be expected.

Although each comrade must decide for himself the amount and sphere of his activity, a few suggestions may not be out of place.

Above all, it is important that everything possible should be done for those comrades who are in the hands of the authorities. For this purpose funds are needed, as legal proceedings are expensive. In another column an appeal in behalf of those comrades will be found.

Wherever possible, public meetings are bound to attract wide attention; and a great number of people can be reached by this means. Where police persecution makes it difficult or impossible to hold meetings, strategy can be resorted to. The harassing methods of the police in the cities is having the effect of inaugurating a semi-secret propaganda. In Philadelphia, where the police have terrorized hall-keepers, the comrades have held their memorial meeting secretly. If these meetings are small in attendance, their numbers and the circumstances under which they are held, are bound to render them doubly effective. In Chicago, where the mayor has prohibited meetings, the comrades have visited other "free platform" meetings, and presented their views to a large number of people.

Those comrades who are able to write, could do a great deal to improve the literary appearance of the paper, by putting forth a little special effort. Brief articles, direct and to the point, always add to the interest and attractiveness of the paper.

The circulation of literature among investigators and sympathizers is calculated to arouse interest and study. By ordering pamphlets and extra copies of the paper, and placing them in the hands of liberal-minded persons, our principles could be disseminated and the circulation of our papers increased. A large number of books and pamphlets are on hand, and it is to be desired that they should be on propaganda mission among the people. At the present time it would be easy to get your friends interested in them. A discount is allowed on all book sales when ordered in quantities. Should an attempt be made to exclude Anarchist papers from openly circulating in the mails, other means will be found. Circulars and pamphlets are of great value in such an emergency; and they will be the more appreciated on account of the difficulties of obtaining them. But each trench should be held to the last, before abandoning it for other means.

Names and addresses for sending sample copies are desired from all quarters. Readers who have radical friends are asked to send us their names, that we may send them sample copies.

A large number of subscribers have allowed their subscriptions to fall in arrears. These are most urgently requested to send in their remittances immediately. Anyone who does not wish to continue receiving the paper, can have it stopped by dropping us a postal or notifying the mail carrier.

By the Wayside.

"Congress is going to make it hot for the Anarchists," says one of the dailies. Too late; I have already bought my coal supply for this winter.

I see our "intelligent" congress is going to set up a strawman and make lays against him. "All who spread the doctrine of assassination shall face death." This does not strike the Anarchist, but might be justly applied to those who practice wholesale assassination in South Africa and the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Simons, in a debate with Comrade Isaak, asserted that the Anarchist philosophy necessarily led to assassination, proving it by telling the audience that Czolgosz was a Republican. He also accused the Anarchist of upholding the free-will theory, thus making the individual (McKinley) responsible for the ills in society. "McKinley was a product of society," but "Czolgosz was either a criminal or a fool." I hope Mr. Simons will take a course in logic, before he attends his wife's School of Sociology.

Hand in hand with opportunism, Mr. Simons has also a new interpretation of the German language. When Comrade Isaak quoted from Marx's "Capital," "Violence is the midwife of every old society about to give birth to a new. Violence is an economic

factor," Mr. Simons interrupted by stating that Marx meant the State when he used the term violence (Gewalt).

I wonder if Mr. Simons, who accuses the Anarchists of advocating violence, and has so much faith in a Socialistic government, has ever read the following from Marx:

"The State is powerless to abolish pauperism. So far as States have concerned themselves with pauperism, they have confined themselves to police regulations, charity, etc. The State can do nothing more. For really to abolish poverty the State must abolish itself, for the source of the evil lies in the very existence of the State, and not, as many radicals and revolutionists believe, in a definite ideal State. That they propose to replace the existing State. The existence of the State and the existence of slavery are inseparable. The State and ancient slavery were not more intimately bound together than are the State and modern capitalist society.

W. H. Redmond, one of the Irish envoys now in this country, urges an uprising to free Ireland; and strange to say, he is not even denounced by the Socialists for his proposal to upset the plans of evolution, as laid down by the concentration theory.

INTERLOPER.

What is the Difference?

1. What is the difference between "the administration of things" and "voluntary association"?
2. What is the difference between national ownership and group ownership?
3. If you had many small groups, would there not be a difference of opinion among the members, and the opinion of the majority prevail in directing social activity, and thus be as binding as governmental laws?
4. Does the combination of railroads need to be split up, so as to leave the individuals to be buffooned between?

PETER JOHNSON.

Murray, Utah, P. O. Box 175.

REPLY.

1. By "the administration of things," as used by the different Socialist political parties, is meant that all things will be owned by the government—beg pardon, "by the people," and the administrators will direct production and distribution. This implies slavery of the grossest kind imaginable. If the people "own all things," all who would not agree with the administration could be easily whipped into submission by starvation. Neither would the worker have any choice of time or occupation. Even Karl Kautsky admits this. In his work "Basis of Social Democracy," chapter X, on "Socialism and Liberty," he says:

"Socialist production is not compatible with liberty of work, that is to say, with the worker's freedom to work when or how he likes. . . . It is true, under the rule of capitalism a worker still enjoys liberty to a certain degree. If he does not quite like a factory, he can find work elsewhere. In a Socialist (Social Democratic) society, all the means of production will be concentrated by the State and the latter will be the only employer; there will be no choice. The workman of today enjoys more liberty than he will possess in a Socialist (Social Democratic) society.

"It is not Social Democracy that eliminates the right of choosing work and time, but the development of production itself." There is another god, "the development of production," to whom the worker must bow in silent reverence. But the Anarchist has no gods. He says "things for men, not

men for things," and repudiates all authority in society in order to realize freedom.

"Voluntary association" means that the workers will only cooperate when they find the work and associates congenial; and thus each will be eager to do his best, which cannot be effected by force.

2. There is no essential difference between national and group ownership. The vital point is that there shall be neither national nor community property. If private ownership is monopoly, or robbery, as Proudhon says, it is as wrong for the community as for the individual to monopolize the natural resources. What is the difference whether I am enslaved by one individual or by many? Do you think that the "administrators of things" would let us use the national printing shops for publishing Anarchist literature? Or would you be willing to support those who are engaged in building churches or missionary work? But when there is no ownership, neither in natural resources, machinery, nor the products thereof,—then all have the opportunity to freely suit their whims and notions.

3. Yes, there would be a divergence of opinions; and I hope there always will be. Uniformity means death. But whether majority or minority rule, it is always force—violence—oppressing those that are forced to yield. The citizens of the so-called ancient Free Cities did not resort to voting when it concerned municipal affairs, nor do the members of a Russian Mir till this day. They are still too much imbued with the spirit of true democracy to resort to such tricks of tyranny. They discuss the matter until an agreement is reached, thus avoiding strife and hatred. That the opinions of the most intelligent and experienced prevail is natural. Even in countries where the majority is supposed to rule, "social activity" is fortunately not directed by the majority. If it were, we would not have even so much as a sewing machine in the house. Innovations and changes in social institutions are achieved long before the majority of the people even dream of their utility.

4. When the railroads are declared free for use, there is nothing to "split." The International Postal Union, international traffic, etc., work harmoniously even today, yet there are no binding laws, no penalties attached to the agreement. If a country fails to comply with the agreement it excludes itself from the postal union. The rule applies to the different railroad and steamship companies. The Red Cross Societies are voluntary associations and were originally entirely independent of government—and are so till this day in England and Russia, yet their efficacy has astonished the world. The life saving stations are also mostly voluntary associations, and in some countries, in England, for instance, they object to government interference. A. I.

The Perennial Profession.

An electrician, a lawyer, a clergyman, and a physician who were schoolmates together when they were boys met by chance one day and sat down to celebrate the occasion by "chumming it" a while at the champagne table.

They talked of their childhood days which they had enjoyed together. Then each told

the others about his individual career in life. And now the conversation turned on the merits and characteristics of their respective occupation.

"Did it ever occur to you, old pals," exclaimed the attorney, "that mine is probably the oldest of all human professions in the world? Yes, the first law defining and punishing for a crime was made by God himself, yet in the garden of Eden, when he told Adam not to taste of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, and evicted him from Paradise for disobedience of that command."

"Well," ejaculated the doctor of medicine, "if you are going to take the Bible as a basis for your historical judgment you will get left; for you will find there that my profession antedates yours in time of origin. When the Lord took one of Adam's ribs to create Eve therefrom—that, surely, was the first surgical operation made in the world!"

"No, hold on!" interposed the electrician jovially, "my calling is older than either one of yours, if there is any accuracy in that Bible account; for it says that [the] Light was made on the second day of creation, clearly (positively?) the first instance on record of applied electricity!"

"Now I know," quietly observed the divine, "that my trade is the oldest in existence [indeed, as old as Jehovah]; for Darkness had filled the world ere yet there was any Light. . . ."—Selected.

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Attention.

A number of comrades were arrested on various pretexts during the popular clamor. Of these the Home comrades, Larkin, Goyan, 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 defence 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 Edward Brady, 182 E. 82d St., New York, N. Y.

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Simons-Isaak Debate.

On Thursday, December 5, a debate on Socialism vs. Anarchism took place in this city between A. M. Simons and A. Isaak. Simons opened for the Socialist side with thirty minutes. He quoted numerous passages from Anarchist writers, and claimed that their position of abstaining from political action was what the capitalists wanted. He wanted to know whether the Anarchist position led to assassination. Isaak in his first argument briefly outlined the origin of authority, and stated the Anarchist position. He then quoted early Socialist writers and claimed that politics had led the Socialists to compromise and to abandon their

early revolutionary position. Simons in his reply stated that the Socialists had not compromised, but that they had got their eyes open and seen the utility of political action. He charged the Anarchists with dodging the question of assassination; that they sent out emissaries to kill rulers (whereupon someone called out for him not to appeal to the gallery); and claimed that assassination was the logical conclusion of the Anarchist philosophy. He reiterated several times that it was a pipe-dream; that the Anarchists did nothing; and had no means of bringing about their ideal society. Isaak asked what the Socialists had done with all their votes? He said the Anarchist method was advancement by education and intelligence.

It is impossible to note all the points in this brief report; but the remark which has been so widely spread and garbled, and which created such excitement in Washington, was as follows, made by Isaak concerning Czolgosz: "He was a better man than I. I see and pass misery all around me; go home and write a note about it, and think I am doing much. But Czolgosz could not endure to see this misery, without striking at the personification of what he thought was the cause of it. Whether his judgment was right or wrong is another question."

There were about a thousand people present. Simons is an experienced debator, and quick to catch fine points. Isaak is more blunt, but grapples with the main body. Owing to his being excited somewhat at first, the argument lacked entire cohesion, but he got over this, and held his own very well. The Anarchists were generally well satisfied with the debate. JR.

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Report.

Thos. J. Morgan spoke at the Chicago Philosophical Society, Sunday evening, December 8, on "Socialism and Trade Unionism." He said in part, there are two fundamental thoughts pertaining to the relation of man to man—one was Socialism the other Anarchy. The first definite declaration of Socialism was made by Christ in his creed of brotherhood. The first declaration of political independence was made by the parliament of England in 1645, which led to the beheading of Charles I. Next came our Declaration of Independence, 1776. A study of our political agitation about 1830 will show that at that time it was whispered that legal and political equality had not been acquired—that slavery was a repudiation of the basis of this government. Anti-slavery agitation was rife.

Three democratic Conventions from 1840 to 1852 passed resolutions declaring anti-slavery agitation pernicious and a menace to our institutions. Slavery was the only cause of unrest and the only issue between 1776 and 1861.

In 1848 there was another significant whisper heard and in that year the "Iron Moulders Union of North America" in Convention gave expression to this statement, viz.: "Labor has no protection; the weak are devoured by the strong; all wealth is centered in a few, and we are their slaves and bondmen." Since that declaration in '59 this has been the only issue before the people in the United States.

The first strike occurred in 1877—this gave rise to the motto of Trade Unionism "An injury to one is the concern of all." The discharge of one man on the Gould system, brought tens of thousands of men to battle for a common cause—the concern of all.

History of the French Revolution.

XXX

While these scenes were in progress, St. Just arrived in Paris. Failing to find Robespierre in his lodgings, he went to the committee rooms. An angry discussion ensued about a report he was to make next day. Having refused to explain its nature, he asked what was going on at the Jacobins? D'Herbois, who supposed him to know very well, collared him, swearing savagely, as he had collared Robespierre a few weeks before. Other members interfered, and they parted in ostensible peace, St. Just promising the rest an interview next morning. When morning came, they were unable to find him, till he entered the Convention accompanied by Robespierre, who was elegantly dressed, as at the fete of the Supreme Being. The galleries had been crowded since five. D'Herbois was in the chair, and some routine business was going on. As soon as it concluded, St. Just began to read his report. The other committee men knew it would be against them, and apparently had joined with the conspirators at the last moment. Tallien sprang up and interrupted St. Just. Varennes assisted him, and began a speech from the floor. Lebas, St. Just's coadjutor at Strasburg, ran to support him again. But D'Herbois declared him out of order. Loud shouts from their faction followed, and Lebas was driven out of the tribune. Then Robespierre mounted it. His enemies had learned something last night. D'Herbois, a professional actor with stentorian lungs, had been gagged in the Club. It was easy to proceed similarly in the Convention against the short-breathed, nervous Robespierre. "Down with the tyrant!" roared Tallien. Others repeated the cry. D'Herbois came to join in it, yielding the chair to Thuriot, the Bastille hero, with whom he must have had an understanding. Robespierre held his place, and waited for the noise to slacken. Tallien drew a dagger and advanced against him. Robespierre seemed alarmed; but he did not get out of the tribune. Then Thuriot called him to order. At this gross abuse of power, the Convention appeared to waver. Barere, the weathercock, was asked for. He rose and made a very guarded speech. When he had done, Robespierre tried to be heard again. His voice was drowned in the clamor of the president's bell, and the frantic yells of his enemies. Yet two or three times there was very nearly a break which might have saved him. The Right, the Left, the Plain—he tried them all. As his voice, exhausted by prolonged conflict, died away, a member named Garnier cried, "The blood of Danton chokes him!" "Ah, you regret Danton!" screamed Robespierre. "Cowards! why did you not defend him? President of murderers, for the last time, I demand the right to speak!" Unable to obtain it, he took his seat, and sat twirling a penknife with eye fixed on the tribune. His enemies were afraid that, unable to deliver a long discourse, as usual, he would come out with some awkward revelation and set them by the ears together. Accordingly they poured forth a series of invectives, laying everything unpopular in the administration on Robespierre's shoulders. They nearly played the devil with their own coalition. "When

I first moved the arrest of Danton," said Varennes, "did not Robespierre resist it, and defend that traitor?" The Dantonists listened in horror. But others hastened to smooth over Varennes' blunder. Vadier, Freron, Tallien, D'Herbois, all took part, committing absurdities at every step, but monopolizing attention. "He wants to mount the throne!" yelled Freron, pointing to Couthon. "I look like mounting thrones!" retorted Couthon, with a glance at his palsied legs. "I move the arrest of Robespierre," said a deputy named Louchet, who never opened his mouth but this once. Carried by acclamation. The officers rather unwillingly obeyed the Convention. Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, also Lebas and Augustin Robespierre, who declined to be distinguished from their friends, were removed to the Mairie—the police court-house, not to be confounded with the Hotel de Ville, where the mayor and other Robespierreans already sat as the Communal government, prepared for that crisis which they foresaw. At Robespierre's arrest, Varennes exclaimed, "Liberty triumphs." Robespierre prophetically answered, "The republic is dead; and scoundrels triumph." D'Herbois charged him with assembling troops to attack the Convention. He replied, "That's a contemptible lie." It was now half-past five. In the Hotel de Ville were Henriot, Coffinhal, vice president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and most of the aldermen. They had known what was going on since four. They sent orders to the prisons that Robespierre should not be received. Henriot rode about the streets, especially in St. Antoine, trying to rouse the people. But they were not very enthusiastic.* The blood of Chaumette as well as Danton's cried for vengeance. Henriot was arrested and taken into the Tuileries. The "Thermidoreans," on their side, were circulating lies. Barere got up a story which imposed on Alison, that Robespierre meant to make young Capet king, and to marry Madame Royale!† Learning of Henriot's arrest, Coffinhal, with about 200 gunners, marched to the Tuileries and liberated him. Varennes and the rest of the Committee men fled to the hall of the Convention. They called together again that august body, which had adjourned. Coffinhal proposed to march on it and break it up immediately. But with all that procrastination which

* It must have been before this that Carlyle's "last cart" went to the guillotine. His description, which furnished matter for a famous painting, is purely mythical. The carts were by no means the last; there was no attempt at rescue; Robespierre's arrest, if it had occurred, cannot have been known in the Faubourg St. Antoine; and Henriot, instead of dispersing a merciful mob, was at the Hotel de Ville plotting insurrection for a tardy convert to mercy.

† Macaulay says justly, "A man who has not been within the tropics does not know what a thunder-storm means; a man who has never looked on Niagara has but a faint idea of a cataract; and he who has not read Barere may be said not to know what it is to lie." He proceeds to give some glaring instances of the revolutionary secretary's mendacity. On this particular occasion Barere himself seems to admit that he lied, and to justify it as a political dodge. His Memoirs were published in 1843, four years after the first volumes of Alison, who followed his Carmagnole on Robespierre's death. The more modern story of Robespierre's having privately amassed a large fortune in assignments, is no doubt equally absurd.

made this tragedy a perfect donkey-race, Henriot preferred to liberate the Robespierreans, who removed to the Hotel de Ville; after which the common council adjourned. Not much later, Amar came in a fright to tell the Convention that Paris was marching against them. "We'll die at our posts," said the bold D'Herbois, who was again chairman. The Convention outlawed Robespierre, Henriot, and their friends. Twelve deputies, in regalia, went on horseback to proclaim the decree through Paris. Barras was appointed to defend the Convention; and some of the boldest deputies were enrolled as soldiers. Henriot soon came up with artillery, as on May 31 and June 22 the previous year. But the game was now old. In revolutions much depends on originality. The armed members sallied out, denounced Henriot, who was visibly drunk; and appealed to the soldier's love of *la loi*. The galleries sustained them. Henriot ordered the gunners to fire, but they hesitated to obey this extreme command from a drunken outlaw. He lost heart, and led them back to the Hotel de Ville. Robespierre still would not sanction rebellion; but, as usual, he made long speeches, of which his very partisans grew tired. Rain began to damp their enthusiasm. About 2 a. m. Barras, Bourdon, Méda, and other military leaders of the "Thermidoreans" came with some 2,500 troops whom they had collected. Henriot's remaining gunners went over. Henriot himself staggered into the hall moaning, "All is lost." "Wretched drunkard," said Coffinhal, "your cowardice was the cause!" He pitched Henriot out of window, and sprang after, followed by Augustin Robespierre. Lebas shot himself. Bourdon and Méda entered; and the latter shot Robespierre, breaking his jaw. It is said he was at last signing a call to arms. Barras entered a few moments later, and arrested St. Just, who was ministering to his friend. The prisoners were taken to a room near that of the Committee. Augustin Robespierre and Henriot had been picked up almost dead. Coffinhal escaped for that time, but was afterwards taken and executed. One Robespierrean, Lerebours, who I suppose jumped out of window too, escaped altogether and reappeared under the Directory. Couthon had made an attempt at suicide with a knife; and those who carried him off in his paralytic's chair also let him drop by the way. Thus miserably battered, the doomed men were brought to the Revolutionary Tribunal during the afternoon, identified, and hurried to the guillotine about five. Simon, now a member of the council, was among them. Robespierre died last. He had suffered most, being taunted by those who yesterday trembled at his frown, during several hours agony. He bore all with the stoicism often opposed to inevitable ills by those not actively brave, but at the last moment he uttered a shriek, when the brutal executioner wrenched the bandage from his jaw. St. Just said nothing, except "Farewell" as he mounted the scaffold. He was but twenty-six years old. Barras denies that there were any popular demonstrations against the victims. A few fine ladies, doubtless royalists, waved their handkerchiefs, but the mob appeared to sympathize with

Robespierre rather than his slayers; and it was deemed necessary to hurry the reluctant Fouquier. Robespierre had completed his thirty-fifth year. His crimes have been stated without extenuation here. But hypocrite, coward, blunderer, traitor, though he proved, it is impossible to deny that he possessed some redeeming qualities. The stock charges of envy, ferocity, and selfish ambition, are abundantly disproved, indeed about obsolete. He was peculiarly honest; his private life was correct; he refused to save himself, though he was timid, by violating *la loi*. Neither his honesty nor his continence can be attributed to a frigid bigot's monomania; for it is abundantly evident he was naturally humane, amorous, and foppish. His good and evil alike were rooted in a hard, narrow, theorizing nature, callous to individual claims, sensitive only to impracticable ideals of public virtue. His peering view of the world through a knot-hole gave point to his slow lucubrations, and made them at least once successful against far abler men than himself. Nor is there the slightest reason to doubt that if he had succeeded again, his last acts would have redeemed his reputation with all believers in authority. So able a man as Napoleon always spoke of him with much respect; and pronounced him, very justly "the scapegoat" of the Terror.* With his death ends the main action of my story. A revolution is a movement of an united people, who, disgusted with their "agents," take power again into their own hands. When Robespierre fell, it was evident that the people had ceased to be united, and would be ruled, as before, by those who could use their divisions. But a revolution always sweeps away, and buries beyond resurrection, the one main abuse which caused it. As we began by tracing the growth of that system which made the French Revolution necessary, so we may properly conclude by concisely summing up that Revolution's lessons for posterity, and its consequences till the present time.

The horrors of the Great Committee's administration, different authors, according to their own prepossessions, have laid on everything, from the nature of republics to the nature of Frenchmen. It seems clear to me

* The only good life of Robespierre, by Ernest Hamel, was published in 1865-7. The alleged Memoirs of Robespierre are forgeries, and those of his sister Charlotte little better. The materials sifted by Mr. Hamel consist of correspondence, official documents, contemporary journals, etc., which were known also to Paris (*Jeunesse de Robespierre*), Alison, Lamartine, Carlyle, Lewes (G.), and other previous writers; but never properly digested before. Though a great many fictions have been corrected, I do not see that recent researches have gravely affected the aspect of important facts. What is more interesting about them is that they enable us to identify the dandy of Arras with the Dictator. It is difficult to imagine anything more incongruous than Robespierre as a poet! But Robespierre wrote verses, to whose recitation his voice was well adapted; for though not powerful, it was singularly melodious—on which point Carlyle was misinformed. The following response, at a literary society of Arras, strikes me as rather neat:

"Je vois l'épine avec la rose
Dans les bouquets que vous m'offrez;
Et lorsque vous me célébrez,
Vos vers découragent ma prose.
Tout ce qu'on me dit de charmant
Messieurs, a droit de me confondre—
La rose est votre compliment,
L'épine est la loi d'y répondre!"

that they should be laid on the nature of the situation. The Terror was undoubtedly colored by the character both of the institutions and the people; but in any country and under any system, something very similar must have caused by the encounter of equally violent passions, which in turn must have accompanied an equally acute crisis of natural affairs. To see this, we have but to compare the events of 1793 and 1794 with the Huguenot wars of the same country, with the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, in England, with the period of the Forty Tyrants at Athens; or with the Protestant Reformation among the phlegmatic Dutch. That the Reign of Terror should come to an end about the time it did, was, accordingly, inevitable. Danton perceived it to be inevitable, as early as December, 1793. Robespierre, supported by the Jacobin Club and the Commune, perceived the time to be ripe in July, 1794. The last to see were the Thermidorians themselves. On the day of Robespierre's death, there were twenty-two executions in Paris. The next day witnessed seventy; the two following forty-four—over twenty per cent higher than at any previous time. Nor were the rascals who had united with the bigots to overthrow Robespierre, much more merciful than their new associates. Tallien, who at Bordeaux, had almost equalled the atrocities of D'Herbois at Lyons, surpassed himself next year in Vendée, where he shot more than a thousand returned emigrants after surrender. But the revulsion of public sentiment was uncontrollable. Within twenty-four hours after Robespierre's death the sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal were suspended; and though Varennes succeeded in getting this decree repealed (he happened to be absent when it passed) the regular detail of slaughter ceased within a week. The methods, the garb, the cant, of "Virtue and Terror" were now as generally odious as Puritanism in England after the Restoration. Barere, attempting to address the Convention in his old style, was called down. Carnot, who imitated it, in reporting a victory, was interrupted with cries of "No more Carmagnoles!" Robespierre's proposal to punish those who had disgraced liberty by their excesses, was carried out as if he still lived. In December, Carrier was tried and executed for murder. The prisoners generally were released. The gloom and austerity of the fanatical period gave way to an outburst of dissoluteness which recalls the state of London under Charles II. As in one case, so in the other, there was a fresh reaction soon; but, as the whole eighteenth century remains in history and literature the palmy age of English vice, so the nineteenth, in France, up to 1870, preserves the imprint from "the scoundrel's" victory, and furnishes boundless material to the morbid psychology of Balzac and Zola. If the gloom of French self-mortification never reached the same point as that of Saxon, the plunge into gambling and profligacy which followed was neither so headlong nor so piquant. Gone were the days when one man could spend \$200,000,000 upon a park sixty miles in circumference, where 36,000 laborers were employed daily, while the dead were hauled off by cartloads every night; and a noble lady, admitting this lat-

ter circumstance to be "an inconvenience" added "it does not seem worthy of attention in that happy state of tranquility we now enjoy." Gone with them were the fetes at which, to illustrate, a Vendéan noble entertained the Count du Nord, who was rowed to the Island of Love by "the young and charming Duchess of Bourbon, attired as a voluptuous naiad," i.e. *in puris naturalibus*. With them too had departed the culture which made "society a form of poetry" and compelled Miss Barney, the friend of Johnson, Burke, and Wyndham, to acknowledge that she never knew what conservation was till she met with the French emigrés. The age of the new rich did its best to be profligate, extravagant, and graceful, like that of the old regime; but it succeeded only in being vulgar. During the days of Virtue and Terror, the truly devout, or those who wished to pass as such, wore rags; but no one tried to dispense with clothes. Under the Directory, Madame Tallien appeared on the streets, attired in pink silk tights, with bediamonded garters, under robes of transparent muslin. She was mobbed by sansculottes, who took the tights for "the costume of a voluptuous naiad." But the reign of Virtue and Terror was over. Tights and gauze became, and long remained, the fashion.*

The Committees having been the strongest government ever known, the Convention makes amends by being the weakest. Having a suspicion that the mob dislikes it, it organizes another mob! Encouraged by Tallien and Freron, the young royalists and anti-Jacobins of Paris formed an association known as the *Jennessé Dorée*—"a Gilt Youthhood, in plaited hair-tresses," armed with loaded clubs, singing the "Chase of the Jacobins," and "Call to the People"; not a political Club, like the Jacobins, for it proposed no legislation or other political measures; but just simply a "rowdy" club, like the English Mohawks.† The night of Robespierre's fall, Legendre had closed the Jacobin's—for sustaining Robespierre in a program which had to be carried out after his death. It was allowed to be opened again; but the affiliated societies, weaker, and further from the storm-center, were soon suppressed. Legendre ventured about this time to attack Varennes in the Convention, but was outvoted. Facing both ways, the Convention throws a mighty sop to Cerberus. The body of Marat was borne with pomp from the Cordelier's Church to the Pantheon—Mirabeau's being cast out. This was in September. Next month, Varennes boasted in the Convention that "the lion was not dead but sleeping." Legendre renewed the attack on him, which this time proved successful. The *Jennessé Dorée* marched on the Jacobin Club, dispersed the men they met there, and beat the women. So, at last, in November, the Club was dissolved. C. L. JAMES.

(Continued next week.)

* Macaulay gives this a delightful turn, which I quote to show how differently the same thing may be made to look by a judicious use of phrases. "The gay spirit of France, recently subdued by oppression, and now elated by the joy of a great deliverance, wanted in a thousand forms. Art, taste, luxury revived. Female beauty regained its empire. . . . Refined manners, chivalrous sentiments, followed in the train of love." Compare his accounts of the English Restoration!

† This accounts for its short duration, and imperceptible disappearance.

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FREE DISCUSSIONS IN CHICAGO.

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

Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at 26 E. Van Buren St., Hall 202. Lectures on all questions now agitating the public mind will be delivered. Subject for December 15: "Initiative and Referendum and Its Application to Government." Speaker, Daniel Cruice.

Free speech without an exception clause. All welcome.

Chicago Commons, Cor. Morgan St. and Grand Ave., every Tuesday evening. Subject for next Tuesday: "Trades Unionism." Speaker, Ben Tillett, leader of the dock laborers in England.

Daughters of Revolution, 203 Michigan Ave., every second Friday night. December 27: "John Ruskin, Prophet." Speaker, W. Vrooman.

Freisinnige Gemeinde, (German), Schoenhofers Hall, Cor. Ashland and Milwaukee Aves., every second Saturday night.

Debattir Club No. 1, (German), every second Wednesday night, at Freyman's Hall, Halsted, Cor. North Ave. Subject for Dec. 18: "Socialismus als Weltmacht." Sprecher: Prof. Untermann.

Free Lectures given every Sunday at 3 p. m., Handel Hall, 40 Randolph St., by Dr. O. Hanish.

FOR NEW YORK.

Comrade H. Grossmann speaks every Sunday evening in Brooklyn, Watkins St., cor. Belmont Ave. Subjects:

Dec. 15: Sozialismus und Anarchismus.

Dec. 22: Der Mensch und sein Streben.

Dec. 29: Die moderne Dreieinigkeit (Kraft, Stoff und Geist).

1902:
January 5: Der Kapitalistische Staat.

Jan. 12: Reform oder Revolution.

Jan. 19: Die Theorie der Entwicklung.

If we compare the present with the past, if we trace events at all epochs to their causes, if we examine the elements of human growth, we find that nature has raised us to what we are, not by provisional expedients, and that the principle which in one age effected the advancement of a nation, in the next age retarded the mental movement or even destroyed it altogether.—Reade.

RECEIPTS.

Maisel, (Sale) \$5. Weiss, \$3. Celler, Robinson, each \$2. Banker, \$1.50. Erni, Doering, Santi, Nelson, Green, Marron, Gillberg, Carey, LaFetra, Weber, Rice, Hanitch, Klaiber, Morwitz, Aschenbrenner, Heime, Ahrens, Morgan, Greenblatt, Waldman, Ginsburg, Raissman, Gladstone, Lazar, Schenk, Williams, Roberts, Sorensen, Mathisen, Steak, Bender, Nahl, Schwelin, Goin, Winguist, Smith, Gurey, each \$1. Griesheimer, Fingold, Boyer, Decarpes, Weiss, Ribakoff, Abrams, Malmel, Frank, Goldstein, Coffin, Kiedel, Glickman, Gorfin, Stransky, Jeany Hill, Kardish, Porter, each 50c. Nichols, Smith, Goldenberg, Merae, each 25c.

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MEETINGS.

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