

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. 44.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 342.

Awake!

See! Sons of Freedom, you have slain
Your Mother to your hurt and pain;
No more your life from her great breasts you drain.
Base Sons of Freedom! Slaves! this taunt
I hurl at you, your empty vaunt
Avails not now your enemies to daunt.
You slaves of slaves! In olden days
Brutes loved at cruel sport to gaze,
But men rejoice to tread more human ways.
Vile slaves of Dollars! You revive
The torture of the past and live
Dishonored, and no priest your souls may shrive.
One man in face of many spake
His thought; the thumb-screw and the stake
Must crush him lest a nobler freedom wake
And man as man asserts his right
To speak on earth by day or night
His verdict, unafraid of Craft and Might.
You hang a man up by his thumbs.
Good God! In Freedom's name what comes!
What savagery with blood and masks and drums!
A Nation hiring men to slay
Each other, so that it may play
The thief's part, learned of peoples now grown gray.
Slaves! You are fooled; the rich make wars
And blind you with the tinsel stars
That you may not perceive your prison bars.
They cry for armies, and they pay
Them with your money; you essay
To have your own, and straight hired bayonets sway.
You dream, although long since the night
Was beaten back by floods of Light.
Awake! Awake! Lead as you led the Right.
Wash your stained hands in the pure Sea
Whose waves call loud incessantly,
O States, to you to rise in Liberty.

—MIRIAM DANIELL.

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A Rejected Communication.

Editor *Public Ledger*.

"Plans to Suppress Anarchists; All Sorts of Projects Presented in Congress"—these are the headings under which your Washington correspondent writes in this morning's *Ledger*. Just as was expected! After the brutal and pitiable exhibitions that we have been witnessing ever since McKinley's assassination, the discerning ones fully expected to hear what your correspondent reports. They knew that as soon as congress meets, our considerate senators would be head over heels in their mad rush to outdo one another in suggestions of cruel, cowardly, and idiotic measures for dealing with the Anarchists. They knew history, and anticipated with pleasure the ludicrous display these misguided senators (I am extremely charitable to them, I admit) are sure to make when they attempt to treat a subject much above them. I say the Anarchists looked forward "with pleasure," because they appreciate and enjoy as heartily as any mortal set the goody humor in which the present situation bounds. They expected the thing, and are not a whit disappointed.

Congress has hardly assembled, but they already having no end of fun. Already

bills by the score, couched in the most incendiary terms, all aiming at "the suppression of Anarchy," have been drawn up and offered in congress. It's nothing but bills, bills, bills. We have bills to exclude, bills to deport, bills to colonize; bills to hang, to fine, and to imprison (which will come first, I wonder?). And we are to have all sorts of special commissions: immigration commissions, investigation commissions, examining commissions, certifying commissions, and what not. Of all these, by the way, that most likely to be quickly organized is the one which calls for twelve agents salaried at \$2,500 a year.

But, dear editor, don't you think these wise senators should pay some regard to Mrs. Harris' instructive recipe? And how do they propose to capture the Anarchists? Who are they, please? Can the average senator tell an Anarchist from—say, a spring shower? We have all seen the ridiculous spectacle these men make when they attempt merely to define the word "Anarchism." Few among them understand it; fewer still have the manhood to face it and study it; and none, I believe, have the moral disposition and intellectual capacity to treat it philosophically. In consequence, the wildest confusion prevails in their ranks concerning Anarchistic teachings.

Think, now, of the bill which proposes to make our secretary of the treasury final judge of one's political creed, to decide whether or not it is of the approved brand, —whether, that is, it be not tainted with Anarchism. What such questions as these have to do with the United States treasury, and what scholastic or other qualifications our secretary has for his prospective task, passes my humble understanding. Then, again, think of that other bill which calls for genealogical investigations to discover if, perchance, in the intellectual make-up of one's ancestry—way back to the third, fourth, and fifth generations (not going, however, back of Adam and Eve)—there was not somewhere a dissenter, an individualist, an Anarchist. Think of all this, Mr. Editor, and then tell me whether you ever heard anything so grossly absurd.

Notice, too, that most of these senseless bills are directed, not so much at Anarchism —not so much at Anarchism proper—not so much at Anarchism as a social and political theory—as at that phase of its methods which is commonly known as terrorism and with which it is not necessarily connected. For, the Anarchist as such is not a terrorist. And besides, there are and have been terrorists in all parties and all epochs. There is some of this terrorism in every man. And there is much of it, I am sure, in those who now so passionately advocate the various drastic measures above referred to.

So true is this, that if our rabid senators were consistent to the point of practicing

what they now so recklessly preach, they would be deporting one another. Guided by this excellent senatorial counsel, we should have deported quite recently and at one stroke one-half the voting population of these United States; for was it not charged openly and repeatedly by the very senators whose bills for the suppression of incendiarism are now before congress, that the men who in the last presidential campaign refused to support Wm. McKinley—all the anti-Imperialists, the Populists, the Silver Democrats and Republicans who followed the lead of Bryan—were "fostering strife" among the classes, "threatened the peace and prosperity of this country," and "endangered the existence of its free, republican institutions"? Was not this a very serious charge? Nothing graver was ever charged to any group of Anarchists. And every charge made against Bryan's followers constitutes, according to the construction of the bills now pending, a high crime punishable by imprisonment and deportation. Here, there is a fine army to be deported. Similar charges of treason were made against the Republicans and the smaller parties. These, too, must be deported. A considerable army can also be made up of those who fall under the all-inclusive censorship clause. Should they all be deported, what a spectacle it would make! How many would be contracting "writer's cramp" signing deportation papers!

Were this inquisitorial policy actually carried out, none would like it better than the Anarchists themselves, who would then, at once, find themselves deserted—left to themselves—and thus have their dream realized in a day. But, unfortunately, it is all foam and fuss; these promulgators of incendiary doctrine will never go the full logical length of their reactionary propositions. This is the only sad feature in the whole congressional show. But when one turns back and observes our senators' terrible ignorance of history; their failure even to suspect that what they are now saying and contemplating is as old as—well, as old as majority rule; when one turns to that, the vein of humor again runs smooth.

On the whole, therefore, one is highly pleased with the congressional exhibit. Some say: "Congress has met; God save the country!" I should say, rather: "The grand show is on; go and make merry." And they are the greatest shows on earth, these congressional sessions. They outbailey Bailey and his clownish crowd. Abolish congress? Never! Without these annual sessions of congress life would be entirely too dull.

Philadelphia, Pa. DAVID A. MODELLE.

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"We should know ourselves that we may save ourselves."

"Go to the past for experience, but never for authority."

A Disgraceful Agitation.

Legislation to suppress Anarchism is now being urged in the senate. Those conspicuous in the disgraceful agitation are Senators Vest, Burrows, and McComas.

The president, in his message, has appealed to congress to take up the question without delay. "Anarchy," declares the American ruler, "is a crime against the human race; all mankind should band against it." "No man or body of men preaching Anarchist doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. The Anarchist, in the United States especially, is merely one type of criminals more dangerous than any other." "Anarchy is no more an expression of social discontent than picking pockets or wife beating." This is the opinion of a man, a very small man indeed if measured by his intellectual ability, but if measured by his political influence and consequent capacity for evil, large enough to be a menace to liberty and human life.

To show the ignorant ideas possessed by our law makers in regard to Anarchists, I cite the proposed law, giving officials the right to search the persons of supposed Anarchists, in order to discover if they bear marks on their bodies proving them to be connected with Anarchist organizations. Now all this would be very amusing, if such ignorance had not the power to shape laws that if enforced would mean as black a persecution as government was ever guilty of.

Some few moons ago a worthy freethought woman wrote me as follows: "We must have a government to protect us from the ignorant." This remark is on a par with the orthodox idea of the necessity of hell as a protective measure against the evil propensities of our fellow men.

Corruption follows power; and it matters not whether the so-called intellectuals or the ignorant hold the reins of government, for the authority and privileges delegated to a ruling class are a standing menace to human welfare and a bar to progress. The child is taught from infancy that loyalty to one's government is the highest virtue; treason the greatest crime. His idea of right is early contaminated by always confounding what is legal as unquestionably a righteous act.

When human minds are completely saturated by these false ideas, when they are content to abide by them, where is progress possible? And this blind faith in the law and loyalty to the rulers, does it not pave the way for any act on the part of the ruling class? This accounts for the fact that governments grow only in corruption. In view of the fatal results of a pernicious education, namely the institution of government, which still has such a grasp on the human mind, how much better it would have been with the race today, had they been taught that loyalty to authority is the greatest crime, treason the greatest virtue! Men shrink from the term treason, yet every liberty we enjoy today is the effect of treasonable efforts on the part of an intelligent and bold minority in past ages. How pitiable is the mental condition of a people who cannot reason from the plainest facts in history.

As for these precious law makers who

propose to legislate certain ideas out of existence, they have yet to learn that the life of an idea is measured not by legislation, but by its relation to human advancement; that if an idea is essential to progress it will live in spite of every law that can be enacted! Men, when not entirely subdued by a stupefying education, are innately progressive, and impelled by the all-powerful law of a liberty-loving nature that must have room to expand. This is why governments of the past, as well as present, always had a social problem on hand; why that class who have settled everything just right, and incidentally to their own advantage, must have their comfortable theories upset by a band of destructionists intent on tearing down the prized and sacred edifices that bar their way to liberty and happiness.

Were it possible to exterminate the discontented of today, there would be a new crop tomorrow. But probably our legislators do not hope for extermination; but only aim to keep these obnoxious ideas locked up in the minds that give them birth, by imposing severe penalties for their advocacy. Now while it is true that much suffering would follow the enactment and attempted enforcement of these idiotic laws, we must bear in mind that no new idea is ever born into the world without the pangs attendant upon birth; but the final results of these evasive laws we need not fear. The world-wide agitation that always follows repression, will arouse thought and multiply the enemies of government.

Political fossils like Vest, who have been in politics for thirty years or more, are naturally expected to show signs of brain-softening. But what shall we say of Theodore Roosevelt, who in his position as president expresses the sentiment of the Middle Ages, and paves the way for the passage of infamous laws? At last have we a president who has the cunning of a Thiers, the brutality of a Gallifet. Hear this tyrant: "Should Anarchists ever become a serious menace to our institutions, they would not only be stamped out, but would involve in their ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrine." What can be more terrible, more cowardly than the threat conveyed in these words? And yet men of that type dare accuse Anarchists as advocating murder! dare to continue to outrage human nature and not expect reprisals. The innocent shall suffer with the guilty! Verily, we know what to expect. KATE AUGIN.

Attitude of the Church.

Orthodox Christianity today is a waning power. Its influence upon the intellectual world is rapidly approaching zero. As a world force, the Church is a moral and mental bankrupt. Its vitality is gone. The thunder of its pulpit, once so potent, has lost its power. Its crumbling creeds no longer appeal to the world's heart and brain. The Church is no longer a progressive force—it is simply a drag attached to the rear of the car of progress. It still has a certain fashion—its wealth and magnificence, gilded trappings and ostentatious display gives it a certain prestige; but as a real influence upon the world's intellect it is nil. In a little while what is called orthodox Christianity

will take its place in that vast cemetery where sleep the dead and forgotten religions of the past.

As the power and influence of the Church decline, the dawning light of Reason shines forth with increasing splendor; banishing the dark shadows which through the long and dreary night of supernaturalism, have so long obscured the path of human progress. The face of humanity is turned toward the purpling east; and the prophets from the signal towers of progress are proclaiming the glad tidings of a new day. The human mind is breaking the chains with which priestcraft sought to bind and enslave; and a new conscience is mounting the throne of the world's brain. The night of superstition and supernaturalism, of ghastly rule and priestly authority, is fading, and the day of human freedom is dawning. The religion of ghosts and gods is dying; the new religion of humanity is taking its seat, and has grasped the fallen scepter.

No king ever relinquished his crown without a struggle; and today the Church, realizing its declining influence, and finding itself powerless to stay the resistless tide of advancing thought, seeks to bulwark its crumbling prestige with the power of wealth and fashion; and is stretching out its hand to grasp the gilded scepter of worldly power. Thus we see everywhere the Church allied with wealth and political power; first clasping hands with the politician; and both bowing at the gilded throne of Mammon.

ROSS WINN.

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Jefferson as an Anarchist.

To the Editor of *The Bulletin*.—The president of the United States has just informed us that "the Anarchist in the United States is merely one type of criminal. . . . The man who advocates Anarchy, directly or indirectly, in any shape, or the man who apologizes for the Anarchist or his deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. . . . His crime should be made an offence against the laws of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as slave-trade." "Anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than picking pockets or wife beating." I desire to compare these sentiments with those of Mr. Roosevelt's predecessor in the presidential chair, one Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence, a document commonly attributed to Mr. Jefferson, after enumerating the purposes for which government "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," are ostensibly instituted among men, asserts that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Apropos to the so-called Shay's Rebellion, Jefferson wrote to Madison, December 20, 1787, as follows: "Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen States in the course of eleven years is but one for each State in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one." On the same subject to Colonel Smith, November 13: "Where does this Anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Massachusetts? And can history produce an instance of a rebellion so honorable conducted? I say nothing of its motives. . . ."

God forbid we shall ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. The people cannot be all and always well informed; the part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts which they misconceive. . . . Let them take arms." To James Madison, January 30, same year, still on the Shay Rebellion: "Societies exist under three forms, sufficiently distinguishable: First. Without government. (The other two are, in short, under constitutional and absolute governments.) To have an idea of the curse of existence under these, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep. It is a problem not clear in my mind that the first condition is not the best." Mr. Jefferson, your spirit has a crow to pluck with your successor. You were an Anarchist in the United States; therefore he says you were one type of a criminal. He adds the worst. You advocated Anarchy by name, directly and indirectly. Therefore he pronounces you morally an accessory to murder before the fact (sic). You pronounced despotism the worst of evils. He classes President McKinley with King Humbert. He says also that no man preaching Anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large. You preached them, and are no longer at large. But if you can find a convenient "medium," you should call again at the White House and make a sensation.—C. L. James, in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

The "Lying" and the Lamb.

So capital and labor have lain down together, and henceforth their separate woes will not exist. The famous leaders of each element have met and are resolving. As yet we are not favored with the conclusions; but I feel quite easy that such men as Hanna, Schwab et al., representing capital; and Carroll D. Wright, Samuel Gompers, et al., representing labor; and Grover Cleveland, et al., representing the people, will each individually and severally hurry up and remove the barrier from the friendship and interests of capital and labor. For does not trades unionism say "the interests of the employer and employee are one"? And does not Sam Gompers declare unionism is a howling success?

Anarchists, Socialists, and the patch-work reformers must now seek new pastures to be cultivated.

When one contemplates calmly the meeting of the heads of various class interests, and has to calmly listen to the prattle of Hannaites and Gompersites and Clevelandites, that now we will solve and remove the difficulties—well, you'll have to show me! More pap for the overworked and underfed slave of today.

Can the interests of capital and labor ever be at one? No; a thousand times no! Antithetical they have always been, and always will be.

There is to the wage slave an ominous pleasure in being told he and capital are friends only he don't know it. Capital always has known it.

I presume Hanna will increase wages and reduce hours at once; for is not labor his friend? And at once will Carroll D. Wright be honest and give statistics as they are; and Gompers will be heralded as a God—and

have his salary increased; and Cleveland will deliver bilious lectures and heavy articles will spring from his sluggish pen, to tell the people how they have always been wrong; but now all resurrected and right in their opinions and his judgment.

Capitalism seeking to pacify the vulture of righteous discontent, works more dire harm in the life of laboring people than aught else. Merely a licentious libertine toying with the emotions of a hysterical and overwrought, overworked, underfed element in the social chaos which today prevails.

Lay on Hanna, Cleveland, Gompers. Lay on, and damned be the laborer who shall first cry, "Hold! enough!" Poor old labor, abused, scoffed at, diseased, humiliated, your trials are ended, your great deliverance is here; for has not the God of Gold—Hanna—said so, and his puppets Wright, Gompers, and Cleveland said, "Yea, 'tis so"?

B. F. BRUCK.

Suppression of Free Speech in Cleveland.

Liberty Association is the free platform of this city; and it was the only place where any sociological question could be presented. As its name implies, it is no one idea institution. It involves discussion, criticism, and investigation; something which no other organization here tolerates. It is open to all alike, non-partizan and non-sectarian; in short a place where the pew could answer the pulpit. It surpasses in principle the pulpit and the press, both of which largely suppress the freedom of speech and the freedom of conscience. The government has largely prostituted the press of our country. Economic conditions, manufactured by the State, have corrupted public sentiment to such an extent that the press, which should be a fearless champion of the people's rights, bows in humble submission to the powers that be. In this city the press is run for revenue only. The religious and political press of any country are hostile to the principle of liberty. Authority and liberty are the two opposing forces in society. Ignorance invites authority; intelligence defies it.

The assassination of the late President McKinley has indirectly tabooed our association, for it was claimed that Emma Goldman's lecture delivered before our society inflamed Leon Czolgosz in the commission of that crime. There is one fact which the public should never forget, namely, that Anarchy and government are combative forces, force against force. For one murder that can be charged against Anarchy, millions can be charged to government. Government has no more right to take human life than has an individual. Murder is murder the world over. The only justifiable means of taking human life is in self defense.

The fatal and destructive principle of all government is the idea of private ownership. Upon that pernicious principle hinge the curse of money, with interest, profit, and rent; wages, competition, and price. Robbery and exploitation are only possible under it, and it takes armies and instruments of murder to keep it intact. The only hope which I can see for humanity in the future

is to totally ignore all authority, and stand for free and voluntary cooperation. Why should I suffer for the crimes of our present civilization? I have courage to stand responsible for my own acts measured by the law of equal liberty, but no more.

No one knows today whether Czolgosz was an Anarchist. We do know that he was a member of a Socialistic group in this city, and hence a governmentalist. No reporter was ever allowed to interview Czolgosz, nor was he given the right of making a public statement before electrocution. Czolgosz is a total stranger to all frequenters of Liberty Association, and no one has yet been found who saw him at the lecture delivered by Miss Goldman. I was chairman of that meeting.

Our meetings were suppressed by the proprietor of Arch hall in connivance with the police of this city. Our legal meeting was suppressed while an illegal saloon was run in full blast in the same building upon the same Sunday. This however the police failed to interfere with. This is a good illustration of how government ignores justice and upholds injustice, in the common acceptance of that term. Sumptuary legislation is the worst form of law, because it is measured by religious superstition. Well balanced minds cannot distinguish a moral difference between the days of the week. Good is good at all times, bad is bad Saturday or Sunday.

W. C. BEHLEN,
Pres. Liberty Association.

The Capitalist's Prayer.

Our God who art in Wall Street, Gold is Thy name. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in America as it is everywhere else this side of Heaven's pearly gate. Give us this day our daily rents, interests, and profits. Lead us not into the temptations of the free silver craze, but save us from Anarchism, Socialism, and Billy Bryan's democracy. Forgive us our debts and help us to get square with our debtors. Help us to fool the dear people a little while longer, and give us a few more politicians like Bros. Mark Hanna and our Teddy, to engineer our budding schemes of imperialism to success. For Thine is the power and the glory forever. Amen.

ROSS WINN.

The *Boston Globe* of December 15 contained a biographical sketch of Josiah Warren. It is very fairly written. Accompanying the three-column sketch is a picture of Warren from a cast.

Santiago Iglesias, organizer of the Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, has been sentenced to three years, four months and eight days' imprisonment under an old Spanish law which the American authorities have carefully preserved in force. His offence is organizing trades unions, and the charge states he "entered a conspiracy to raise the price of labor." Several others received short sentences at the same time.

Erratum.—In No. 340, page 2, column 3, line 12 from top, read "are between individuals, and can be settled (at last) only by individuals—that leaving them unsettled," etc. Same, line 18, for "and is therefore," etc., read "and is not therefore," etc.

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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.

A Forced Sale.

Fraud found a trade for centuries
In making props for man,
Who knew not Statecraft's mysteries,
And sighing, signed the plan.
But, now man finds he might be free,
His crutches enervate,
Fraud opens fire from land to sea,
And makes him buy the State.
—MIRIAM DANIELL.

James' History.

With this week Comrade C. L. James' able and interesting history of the French Revolution closes. Those readers who have not been able to follow the main portion of the history, would do well to at least read his conclusion. They will find there a fundamental basis for the philosophy of Anarchism, not from an interested agitator, but from the impartial historian and profound thinker.

Students of history will find his bibliographical epitome indispensable. It has been decided not to print in FREE SOCIETY; but it will be embodied in a volume of the history, which it is hoped we will soon be able to bring out in book form.

It is not necessary in this place to pay a tribute to its merit and ability. Those who have read the history will be able to judge for themselves. But as a widespread desire to see it in book form has been expressed, the work will be undertaken if sufficient funds can be raised by advance subscription to defray the expense of printing. For ascertaining whether this can be done, all interested are asked to write us stating the number of copies they will subscribe for in advance. Subscription will be \$1 for cloth bound copies, and 50 cents for paper cover.

ABE ISAAK JR.

By the Wayside.

"Peace on earth and good will to men" will at last be realized in this country. Hanna, Schwab, Gompers, and some other fakirs have harmonized capital and labor forever, which puts the Anarchists and State Socialists out of their jobs.

Even in Italy the millennium is coming. In several cities the Socialists have now a majority in the municipalities, and it is said the term "corruption" has been taken out of the dictionary forever. Yet some "idiots" claim the ballot has no virtues!

It is said that our servants in the senate are going to raise their wages from five

thousand to ten thousand dollars a year. Will the "bosses"—the people—retaliate and let 'em go on a strike? Unfortunately the dear people have nothing to say about it.

A farmer, Ole Hansen, has been appointed minister of agriculture in Denmark. Hansen and his sons continue to work on the farm as before. It is said that Ole Hansen is imbued with Socialist ideas, and has been several times sentenced for offending the king. Strange things happen. Think of a common farmer, having repeatedly offended Teddy, being appointed minister of agriculture in this country of democracy!

One week brought us the news of two comrades who were murdered by the police, for no other reason than being Anarchists. No one is startled; no indignation is expressed; no notice is taken of it by our vigilant dailies; yet when an Anarchist becomes an assassin—then all cowards shiver, fools and knaves run mad; and the stamping-out craze holds its feast. INTERLOPER.

Postal Censorship.

The last few mails have brought us inquiries from all parts as to why *Discontent* did not reach the subscribers. An investigation found the last six issues of the paper held up at the Tacoma postoffice. The postmaster at Tacoma does not know why they have been held, nor how long they will be held. He received his order from J. D. King, inspector in charge at Spokane, Wash. Those who pay for their paper have to wait until the postal censors get ready to deliver it; while we as publishers have issued the paper each week, paid the required postage, complied with all the postal laws, only to find that one man can set aside all laws and order mail held up. We have written the inspector asking for an explanation. If one is accorded us we will write you the full particulars. OLIVER A. VERITY.

Home, Wash., December 17, 1901.

As Others See Us.

Senator Hoar's proposal to deport all Anarchists to some lonely island should receive the serious consideration of congress, not only as a method of punishment, but in order that an interesting and important sociological experiment may be tried. The island should be something more than a place of detention. It should have resources, conveniences that will give the Anarchists full swing in the practice of their pet theories.

The Anarchists should welcome such a plan with delight. They are forever declaiming against the reign of law, and against the conventionalities peculiar to modern civilization. They would like to see, so they maintain, every man free to do exactly as he chooses, and placed on the dead level of equality. Power and authority they abhor; against it they direct their vituperation and their bombs.

Let them have the island. If they have not a sufficiency of the world's goods to make them comfortable, provide them with the basis of an honest living to be gained by honest labor. In brief, give the Anarchists

a full and fair opportunity to put in practice the theories they now attempt to emphasize and enforce by assassination. Turn them loose with no one to interfere. . . .

Invitation might be mingled with compulsion. . . .

The Anarchist colony—it would be hard to find a proper name for the collection—would soon realize that their theories have no substantial basis in practice. The perfect reign of the individual free will is not a feasible institution. The Anarchists would soon be at each other's throats. Possibly they would solve the problem by extermination. By all means, let Senator Hoar's plan be tried.—Los Angeles Herald.

(By all means, give us the island—and we will take care of our throats. But governments must keep their hands off, or else there will be trouble again.)

History of the French Revolution.

XXXII

Yet such is the magic of genius and of authority, that sane men continue to lay upon that Anarchy which made France stand forth as Liberty enlightening the world, a reaction which did not become general till after France was again under a despotism. They lavish their rhetoric of denunciation on the tranquil France of 1791. They reserve their praises, according to their prejudices, for the France of 1793, or the France of 1806—for "the republic, a guillotine in the twilight" or for "the empire, a salve in the night." This inversion of an impressive contrast is the more absurd because the men who led France sober to liberty, education, science, morality, temperance, victory, substantial enduring wealth, were not at all great men; and because he who led France intoxicated with the absinthe of glory to exhaustion, defeat, slavery, reaction, priestcraft, debauchery, was eminently a great man. As a general, Napoleon hardly attains the faultlessness of Alexander, hardly, perhaps, the audacious originality of Caesar. But in military science, capacity, resources, invention, he stands only below these deified sons of slaughter. As a statesman, a financier, an administrator, a builder for the future, he is entitled to stand above either of them. I have not a particle of sympathy with the envious mediocrity which belittles him. I believe, like one of Carlyle's disciples, that a man of genius voids men of talent in all directions—that if you add up all the marshals said to have made Napoleon among them, the sum will be—a *Napoleonetto*. The fault which no genius could remedy, is that genius was misdirected against the spirit of the age; and so is that philosophy which sees in history only the "biography of a few stout and earnest individuals," declining to see that the masses, unlike the classes, learn—and never forget. It was not the tactics of Wellington, nor the snows of Scythia, nor the flames of Moscow, nor the unconquerable obstinacy of Spain, which subdued this Typhon. It was not even the sum of all these put together. It was that spirit which, never at loss for organs, urges Mankind along the pathway of infinite progression, and in the least of creatures can find means to defeat the self-deification

of the greatest. If Napoleon had succeeded where Alexander and Gengis failed—if he had united the Arctic ocean to the Antarctic, and the Bay of Biscay to the Sea of Japan, there was enough of the Revolution in his own army to have dethroned him after that! The inevitable end came. For the first time since Timor, the whole Eastern Continent shook to the tread of a single Man on Horseback.

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum. The world turned against such an Anachronism, overcame it; and France, at last actually exhausted, submitted again to the Bourbons. The Bourbons, of course, had learned and forgotten nothing. But if they had not learned that the old regime was dead, she had got that lesson very thoroughly. The returned emigrants attempted to call this Lazarus from putrescence, and there came forth—the Hundred Days. Louis XVIII, actually the most sensible of his breed, though, after Napoleon, he could win from even hatred no titles more respectful than “fool” and “hog,” never tried that experiment again. His incorrigible brother did. He was driven into exile after a revolution of three days' duration. The Orleans abortion was set up for eighteen years, and then vanished in an hour. The fidelity of the multitude to a tradition is the most striking of popular traits—for it witnesses our kinship with our grandsire Ape. It was matter of tradition in England that Pitt alone could cope with revolutionary France. There have in fact been many worse men than Pitt, but there never was a worse war minister. Nevertheless, tradition prevailed, and when the Peace of Amiens was broken Pitt resumed power, to die of the Austerlitz distemper. It was also still matter of tradition for France in 1848 that there was no alternative between a Bonaparte and the Bourbons.* So, after a brief Anarchy, she got her new Bonaparte. What ultimately dispels such traditions is experience. “In revolutions,” said Danton, on his way to the guillotine, “I perceive that success falls to the most depraved.” He should have said, in governments. After Pitt, comes Castlereagh. After Agnes Sorel, Pompadour reigns; and after Pompadour, Dubarry. So, after Napoleon the Great, Napoleon the Little—with twenty years of bourgeois prosperity, ending in the five milliards and Sedan. Clearly Alison was premature when he put the end of the French Revolution at Water-loo. In a very mighty sense it has no end! Bonapartism follows the Old Regime into the limbo of Anachronisms. Lo, these thirty years France has been a republic! All the rest of Europe, except the “Cossack” part, has passed under constitutional monarchies not worth distinguishing from bourgeois republics. In France, therefore, as during 1793, but now everywhere else to boot, Anarchy confronts bourgeoisie—with no Bourbonism, or Bonapartism in reserve. The old struggle is renewed; but not under the old auspices. Anarchy has been before; but short-lived, because undesignedly, started out of being, like a premature birth, by

the portentous surprise of its own existence. Anarchy is now an infant Hercules, well aware that he can live, and will. To strangle the serpents, he has acquired a mighty lever, namely Science. Let us conclude then by inquiring into the genesis and prospects of this new Anarchy, the latest child of Time.

Man, we have learned, is close kin both physically and morally, to the “anthropoid apes.” Like all simia, he is gregarious, unable usually even to exist without his troop, and naturally very much attached to it. Like all simia, he is also a great imitator. These two propensities, when working together, constitute the conservative instinct. Unable to live without his troop, man, the individual, dreads nothing so much as excommunication. A born imitator, collective man is the Philistine, King Mob, exacting, as well as practicing, “what others do,” under this penalty of excommunication, which means death. But the imitative and gregarious instincts do not *always* work together. It is possible to imitate other things than man. An “original” individual observes that mice cross rivers upon rafts; and navigation begins. Another sees that Nature provides a shelter for her children in caves. He conceives the idea of making artificial caves; and, lo, man becomes a builder! Thus radicalism and conservatism, genius (with its abortive phases), and Philistinism, have a common root. One imitates simple Nature, the other of that much artificialized portion of Nature called our collective fellow-men. It is the former which has exalted man from an animal inferior in power to almost every other into the Talker, the Writer, “the rational animal,” the inductive philosopher and scientist, the “clothed animal,” the tool-maker, the constructor of weapons, machinery, dwellings, the builder of cities, the tunceler of mountains, the master of the sea, the “lord of creation.” Reason being man's peculiar prerogative and instrument of progress; and reason being, as John Stuart Mill showed, always fundamentally induction, that is observation and experiment, or, as I have put it, imitation of nature, not of men; my own law of social progress follows.—“The dispositions to demand and to yield obedience vary directly as each other, and inversely as culture.” They are stronger among savages than civilized men, stronger among backward nations than advanced; and, notwithstanding obvious interest, they are stronger among the poor than the rich, because the poor are generally less informed than the rich. Democracy is fertile in fool laws. Successful revolutions begin, like that of France, among the “upper classes.”

But though imitation of nature is the method of human progress; it has its perils, which they who value progress must dare. All reasoning being fundamentally inductive, it is clear that induction may lead to error as well as truth. It leads a Pasteur to the conclusion that contagious diseases are caused by bacteria, and a granny goose to the conclusion that Friday is an unlucky day. If man's imitation of man chained him to following, like the ants and bees, those practices which “natural selection” has imposed on his race, all this would be comparatively innocent. But it chains him to following the “traditions of the elders,” which are for the most part the inductions of men

superior in their day, though very ignorant from the modern standpoint. These are the *superstitions*, which form the great obstacles to social progress. It is not, however, judicious to condemn them as unsparingly as was fashionable among the French reformers. Modern antiquarianism teaches us to see that their genesis was always a step in advance. They become reactionary only when tradition makes them collective instead of personal—whole instead of very partial truths. Thus Language, the greatest of human inventions, is constantly perverted into a fetter rather than an instrument of human thought.

Among these superstitions, one of the most fundamental is Hero-worship. Great indeed is the hero; the Able Man, the king by his right of can-ing, no doubt. Great is genius! It gives us those “useful” arts, those “practical” inventions, which have made “the empire of mind over matter.” It gives us the beautiful arts, which are the real sources of moral elevation. It overthrows (though it originally laid a foundation for) those superstitions which pervert them into sacraments of moral degradation. Even the (characteristic) aberrations and wickednesses of genius have their use. It was well Napoleon, not Robespierre, carried Gallic fanaticism over Europe. For the inevitable reaction, which would have attributed Robespierre's failure to his littleness, could attribute Napoleon's only to the impracticability of his aim. Like Hannibal, with whom he has so often been compared, he was pulled down by much less men than himself—because no man is so great as all men. Let us agree therefore that Philistinism, the enemy of genius, is the Devil. But that in any genius “dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily” is an idea revivable in our time only as a foil to Philistine democracy. The Philistine has his use in Evolution, as the devil has in theology. He takes care of Tasso when Tasso becomes insane—unless Tasso happens to be a king by birth as well as merit, or without the merit.

Reason is not the only instrument of human advance, though it is peculiar to that kind. The factors of all progress are, as Darwin showed competition, which eliminates the unfit, and cooperation, which as Kropotkin added, contributes, throughout the entire scale of life, to make the unfit fit. In the physical, as distinguished from the moral and intellectual sphere, the first is natural, the other sexual, selection. Reason, whose embodiment is genius, contributes powerfully to the former. The tribe which first learns to make slings, arrows, armor, ships, repeating rifles, quickly extirpates others, unless they learn too—for man, like his nearest ape-congeners, though not like all the simia, is eminently carnivorous and ferocious—a fighter, whose upward steps have been marked with blood. But that process by which man has developed into the physically higher varieties—by which the little Negritto, once diffused over the whole eastern continent, engendered the stronger Negro, the fairer Turanian, and at last that “beautiful blond beast” the pristine Aryan, was almost altogether sexual selection; which accordingly is the root of aristocracy. Let us no longer rail at aristocracy, any more than at hero-worship,

* I do not infer this from the result of the plebiscite but from parallel cases. Since Pitt effected the union of Britain and Ireland, it has been an open secret (bad for democratic theories) that an established government can pole any majority it desires.

but study it. We owe it much. It is innocent of much which Democracy, the pet superstition of Philistines, has laid to its charge. To the accusation of making "the man with the hoe," aristocrats, it has been well said, can prove an *alibi*. The caves of Neanderthal are witness that he existed—without his hoe—before themselves. What aristocrats may justly enough be accused of, is only *perpetuating* the man with the hoe. Aristocrats are primordially the strongest men and fairest women. As such, they are worthy to be admired, and, in reason, imitated, for they did not become the strongest and fairest without developing habits which others would do well to imitate—for example that breeding which makes "society a form of poetry." They have, however, other habits, not so worthy to be imitated—some of them, indeed, not imitable, because they are suicidal. Every aristocracy runs out, like a double flower. That of Greece was obsolete before the Roman conquest, that of Rome by Augustus' time. New made senators of Rome, Gothic Annals, Carolingians' Paladins, where were their descendants under the Bourbons? Nothing if not warlike, aristocracy sheds its refined blood-like water. Originally associated with the poetry of the affections, it degenerates by mercenary and incestuous marriages till "we may safely presume that every man who has access to court and looks like a monkey is a grandee of the highest rank." Originally strong, it is enervated by idleness and the vices idleness engenders. Like monarchy, aristocracy evidently becomes vicious at the exact point where it becomes a thing of *status* instead of personal qualities. It fares best where it takes least pains to preserve itself. An aristocracy like that of England, continually recruited from the commonalty, and continually sending younger branches down into the commonalty, is more enduring, as well as more popular, than any other. But the vice of *status*, "order," institutionalism, ultimately produces its normal effect even there.

Man being an improved monkey, the plebeian, of course, imitates the noble as much as he can, and to a great extent he imitates those manners of the nobility which suit his other habits least. The noble draws a line between his own order and others; but, at least within the magic circle, he is less disposed both to yield and exact obedience than the plebeian. There is, it is well known, far more sexual freedom among the upper classes than the middle. The aristocrat does not care whether Louis XIV were the son of Louis XIII—it is enough that he was the technically legitimate son of Louis' wife. The bourgeois naively imitating the noble, and the man with the hoe the bourgeois; they are concerned about their "honor." Thus, while each new aristocracy runs out from causes above described, the man with the hoe is perpetuated and not improved. The slavery of woman insures the supply of "scabs" and soldiers; and man is punished for enslaving woman by remaining a slave himself.

The superstition of democracy is quite as old as that of hero-worship or of aristocracy. That genius which imposed royalty on the masses was never able to defy their prejudices. Pure despotism has no party. The common law remains. The king who

tries to "reign without it" causes a revolution. In a revolution, a mass of comparatively modern but already antiquated *status* is always swept away. But that part of primordial barbarism alone survives which the masses have not yet outgrown. Among the most fundamental of their instincts is their own essential sovereignty. After a revolution they commonly try to "govern themselves." The history of democracies teaches, however, that the masses are not sufficiently agreed to govern themselves except in seasons of revolution. The people here, in America, do really govern themselves, for a short time, when they rise in a sort of insurrection—a San Francisco Vigilance Committee, or a New York "fight with Tammany." For the rest, they are governed, like other people, by "smart men," organized in some sort of a ring, though not called an aristocracy. It is needless to say that if this be true of so democratic a government as ours, it is more conspicuously true of a mixed one, like the English. The trick by which astucious men always manage to govern the people is playing on some superstition which deludes the strongest part of them. In Napoleonic France, it was "glory." In the Middle Ages it was orthodoxy. Among the most general of these superstitions, by shrewd use of which the people can be divided and the distracted majority subjected to an united minority, is the faith in an established government, no matter what its form. What but the Able Man; the Kinglets of an aristocratic community; or our ancestor's wisdom preserved in the traditions and expressed in the elections of a democratic one; prevents us all from being robbed and murdered? Ever since Burke published his "Vindication of Natural Society," the answer has been tolerably easy. It is familiar enough to those who really read and think that governments give the individual no protection at all, as compensation for their enormous cost. And this conclusion every step in inductive social science has placed on a more broad and solid basis. That punishment does not prevent crime, but increases it; that military establishments do not protect against foreign attacks, but invite them; that official public service is bad, dear, and keeps out better; that, in short, all which government can be said to do for the people's benefit turns out on inquiry to be a minus quantity, leaving its admitted injuries to them a clear balance of ill—these are truths so fully proved and so easily established that not knowing them deserves to be considered the mark of not being up to date. The case of government vs. Anarchy, has no argument, and does not usually attempt any. It reasons only with bad language and violent actions. That these may take effect, or even fail to operate in the wrong direction, it is necessary to address, not the people's judgment but their prejudice. There was, as the philosophy of Evolution teaches, a time when political and religious idols were not "differentiated." The first kings were gods. True, there was behind them a less personal deity—the commonwealth, the Totem,—and behind that the awful figure, always dreaded in proportion as beheld less clearly, of Universal Pan. But the instinct of superstition is to put between oneself and That, as many mediators as

possible—king, priest, prophet, ancestor, impersonal Law. "Speak ye to us—let not God speak to us lest we die!" How this spirit operates to excite fear of Anarchy we have seen. It is so easy to run in a rut, so comfortable to be thought and acted for by some one else, that when Anarchy comes, as to those foolish Auvergenois during 1789, and forces us to act for ourselves, we see a brigand in every bush. Alas, poor Monkey! that needs must have something to imitate; who shall deliver thee from this thine own shadow? Thou must die some day; and then at all events must shift solely for thyself! If only to put that off, is it not worth while to consider how thou canst learn to help thyself, instead of trusting those who (like thee) love themselves far best of all? The Improved Monkey does see this; and hence it is that from age to age the Practical Arts have slowly been improved, till certain philosophers, as Des Cartes and Bacon, arose—of course during a time of revolution—to point out that these arts are peculiar in that respect. Their method (the experimental) being the only one by which we learn how to do anything, is the only progressive method. And to its capacities there is no apparent end. Since this was properly stated, the inductive or experimental method has drawn to itself the best intellect of the world, formerly expended in very different ways; and the progress of positive knowledge has become accordingly rather geometrical than arithmetical. It would be much more rapid, however, if there were no personal and vested interests opposed to the general advance of humanity. All human effort, says Aristotle, springs from only three volitions—to Act, to Persuade, and to Know. Evolutionary philosophy perceives that this must be so, because they are connected respectively with three fundamental necessities of animal life. Man must act to eat; persuade to propagate; and seek knowledge, or its semblance, not to die of fear. Moreover, the same philosophy shows that the first is fundamental, long antedating that specializing of organ and function which the others require. They are therefore subject to the same law as it. So far as the fine arts and rhetoric are progressive, they are inductive. Induction, and induction only, gratifies in some measure the volition to Know, by carrying up science to approximate solutions of those very enigmas over which doctors in Metaphysics have, from *a priori* assumptions, disputed for so many centuries in vain. But the acts of persuasion, at any rate, may be applied to hinder, not to advance, the march of human intellect. Both the motive for so applying them and the means are obvious. It does not suit the king, the noble, the landlord, the male, that the subject, the plebeian, the proletaire, or the woman, should be too well informed. For the purpose of persuading them to be content with ignorance, the great instrument is fear. We fear because we are weak, and wonder because we are ignorant. To attach ourselves to the Wonderful, that is to know God, we imagine would be the remedy for fear. But to know God, as we know those objective particulars on which we can experiment, is impossible. In the beautiful arts—in sculpture, painting, poetry, music—we attain, indeed, the emotion of the sub

time; we embody views of the Infinite. These views, however, being those of a finite percipient are not ultimate. To make them appear so is the pseudo-science of the theologian and metaphysician. To receive them from his hands as such, is the "compound ignorance" of the religionist; who, unable to know God, takes refuge in knowing not that he knows not. Such vast and awful shapes as primitive poetry invests the Unknowable withal—devouring Moloch, thundering Jove, are imposed upon more civilized posterity by fear; and with them are imposed the barbarous ethics and ritual of the age whose faith conceived these monsters. Thus it is that those interests opposed to human progress retard it. The king reigns by the grace of God. It is the decree of God that the woman shall be subject to her husband. The laws of our country are founded on the laws of God and nature. If we break these sacred bonds we shall plunge into the horrors of Anarchy; we shall meet Pan in all his terror; we shall absolutely be forced to think and act for ourselves! This explains, and this makes tragedy of what would else be such roaring comedy—viz., that the king, the politician, the male, above all the priest, the beneficiaries of these superstitions, believe them very little, while the victims believe them very much.

Again, who is to deliver us? Not the metaphysical sceptic. He has had his trial and his failure. We fear because we are weak. There is nothing in mere negations to make us stronger. We marvel because we are ignorant. There is nothing in *a priori* speculation to make us wiser. The kings and priests of former ages used to burn the presumptuous heretics and witches who set up for their rivals in the charlatan business. But they know better now. The modern Movement in Favor of Ignorance, engineered by the kings and priests of course, sets out with this great principle that all charlatans are natural allies against science. Transcendentalism, Spiritualism, Materialism, no matter what, so that it be quackery of some sort, and will draw people away from application of induction to social matters, shall be welcome aid in this great work!

The prophet, whose originality conceives a new "view" of the Infinite, has in his season done much. Moses, by destroying polytheism and idolatry among a people; Jeons by destroying the Mosaic deification of personal consciousness from those ritualisms which had limited it to one people; Luther by asserting the subjective character of this ideal against the immoral and irrational casuistry of the Schools, became precursors of Anarchism, without whom it never could have existed. The prophet, as the breaker of routine, is always on the worst of terms with the priest, who is the manipulator of routine. The misfortune is that out of the prophets' example, the priest has always found it possible to make a new routine. And as the message of prophets has always, according to their degree of inspiration, been reversion to the Inner Light; prophesy has its last word. When it formally announced, which was now some time ago, that the Inner Light is the divine guide, and all others spurious; it had said all it had to say. Henceforth its former utterances are "literature" not "dogma." That this saying

produced so little effect—that the Quakers, though they achieved the honor of being the best hated and persecuted among all sects, did not upset the world, like the Anarchists, is evidently because "views" are undemonstrable, except as they happen to coincide with (inductive) experimental results of the volition to Act. Quakerism could not become Anarchism till science had shown that government by virtue of its nature has the practical result of doing harm not good.

But now this has been shown—now the volitions to Act and Know, have united on their several proofs that absolute individual liberty is man's normal state—how great a change the conclusion makes in the poise of those few who as yet have been able to realize it! Man, collectively, like individual man in childhood, has been content hitherto to go by precepts and examples. He has observed rules in his going out and coming in, his uprising and sitting down. His predecessors, who ought to be his inferiors, he has regarded as supernatural beings. He has feared each time the sun set, that it might not rise again. It is in our day only, and among the elect of our day, man realizes that he has but just emerged from infancy into adolescence; that he is entitled to expect a long life; that it is in his privilege, duty, and powers, to surpass his teachers as they surpass those savage ancestors whose absurd superstitions and brutal customs they still regard with at least some affectation of reverence.

That this emancipation of a few is as yet confined to them, need in no way affect our entire persuasion that it will soon be in general practice. As the depths of stupidity are bottomless; so all superstitions I find to be immortal. Believers in witchcraft, worshippers of Moloch, worshippers of Fortune, are among us—nay they are not by any means very few. But history also teaches me quite as much, that superstitions cease to be capable of hindering social progress when educated people cease to believe in them. The government-superstition, like the witchcraft-superstition, will be reduced to a phantom as soon as the whole cultivated class perceive that it is equally opposed to both the logic of practical science and the instincts of a wholesome faith. And, judging from the rapidity with which other superstitions collapsed when once impugned, that time is very near. Already the systematizer of knowledge who would be listened to, must begin with the individual. Nay, the mere individualist, who would apologize for this or that institution as necessary to prevent invasion of personal freedom, has lost his oracular tripod—the very *profanum vulgus* interrupt him with this cry, "Institutions do not prevent what you call 'invasion'; but are the very thing itself."

A system which the reverence of the many and the reason of the few begin to agree about condemning is evidently "in parlous case." Yet the history of revolutions shows that vested interests may continue to exist for mere want of pushing over until something unites the opposition. Never were institutions more destitute of a moral or logical leg to stand upon than those of France during the long reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Yet they stood, or at least did not fall, for fifteen years even under Louis

XVI. Since Buckle published his "History of Civilization," thinkers have been familiar with the sociological law that collective man does not act, as individuals often do, from considerations of philanthropy, religion, or even far-seeing prudence; but only, under whatever disguise, from those carnal instincts and immediate personal needs which affect the lowest spirits equally with the highest. Ignorance of this truth is what vitiates the reasoning of State Socialists and others who dream that it may be possible to organize a government which shall be beneficent not tyrannical. The hope of enlightened reformers is that when next revolution comes the physical occasion of its advent will bring home to the common sense and selfishness of common men the necessity for discarding institutions.

That such another revolution impends will be doubted by no one who has studied history in the light of Evolution, which unfortunately perhaps few have. Such an exposition of universal history has been the purpose of my life. But as, when the rain falls and the sun shines, any drop may, according to the observer's standpoint serve for keystone of the celestial arch, so any event in human progress will do for a text out of which the entire action may be spun. It is thus, dear reader, that you and I have been trying to "improve" this French Revolution. You perceive that when we contemplate it from the proper angle it expands into a *Franciad*, the Epic of a nation's growth and work for the great end of all. We have seen how the primitive Aryan genius developed into Gallic and Teutonic stems; how the high priesthood Rome, whose own evolution has been traced, officiated at their union; how from thence sprang that city of Paris, which, attracting and absorbing matter upon every side, fused tribes, *municipia*, and cantons into that modern France whose freedom and unity she preserved when she stood alone "with a few departments" against the confederated forces of internal discord and the banded might of kings. In the modern nation, thus grown from the ancient city, we found, as in that, the conflict of two principles, liberty forever progressive, and restraint in its own nature ephemeral. That France should conquer Europe was necessary she alone in Europe should be free. That the Commune should triumph over the individual as during the Terror the nation over it as in 1870, the Church and the empire over the nation, as in 1815; is always that sort of victory which proves more fatal than defeat. In working out this saga, the historian must not give reign to his imagination—still less must he be influenced by that of predecessors. It is the least agreeable and the most laborious, but by no means the least necessary part of his duty to get at facts through a vast superincumbent mass of sophistry and misrepresentation. This task, to the best of my ability, I have discharged with such means as I possessed. The reader who looks only for results has not been afflicted with many references. He who would share and appreciate the work in sitting, may learn somewhat the following bibliographical epitome.

C. L. J.

FINIS.

* See note on page four.

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