

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY THE FIREBRAND.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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WHOLE NO. 304.

The Hurricane.

(We are the birds of the coming storm.—August Spies.)

The tide is out, the wind blows off the shore;
Bare burn the white sands in the scorching sun;
The sea complains, but its great voice is low.

Bitter thy woes, O People,
And the burden
Hardly to be borne!
Wearily grows, O People,
All the aching
Of thy pierced heart, bruised and torn!
But yet thy time is not,
And low thy moaning.
Desert thy sands!
Not yet is thy breath hot,
Vengefully blowing;
It waits o'er lifted hands.

The tide has turned; the vane veers slowly round;
Slow clouds are sweeping o'er the blinding light;
White crests curl on the sea,—its voice grows deep.

Angry thy heart, O People,
And its bleeding
Fire-tipped with rising hate!
Thy clasped hands part, O People,
For thy praying
Warmed not the desolate!
God did not hear thy moan:
Now it is swelling
To a great drowning cry;
A dark wind cloud, a groan,
Now backward rearing
From that deaf sky!

The tide flows in, the wind roars from the depths,
The whirled-white sand heaps with the foam-white
waves;

Thundering the sea rolls o'er its shell-crunched wall!

Strong is thy rage, O People,
In its fury
Hurling thy tyrants down!
Thou metest wage, O People,
Verv swiftly,
Now that thy hate is grown:
Thy time at last is come;
Thou heapest anguish,
Where thou thyself wert bare!
No longer to thy dumb
God clasped and kneeling,
Thou answerest thine own prayer.

—Voltairine de Cleyre.

How Shall We Escape?

A boy is born in the country. Laboring always with his father, his grandfather, his mother, he sees each year the finest crops from the fields he and his father have ploughed, harrowed and sowed—the fields that his mother and sister have mowed and reaped, binding the corn into the sheaves which he himself has helped to stack—he sees always that his father carries the best of these crops, not to his own house, but to the squire's barn beyond the manor gardens.

As they pass the manor house with the creaking cart he and his father have piled up, the boy sees on the veranda a richly dressed lady seated at a table spread with a silver kettle, fine china, cakes and sweets; on the other side of the carriage drive he sees the squire's two sons in shining shoes and embroidered shirts playing ball on the smooth lawn.

The ball is knocked over the cart. "Pick it up, boy," cries one of the young gentlemen.

"Pick it up, Johnny!" shouts the father to his son, taking off his cap and walking by the side of the cart holding the reins.

"What does it mean?" thinks the boy. "I am tired with work while they are playing; yet I must fetch the ball for them."

But he fetches the ball, and the young gentleman takes it from the coarse sunburnt peasant-boy's hand with fine white fingers, and returns to the game without noticing him.

The boy's father has gone on with the cart. The boy runs along the road to catch up, kicking up the dust with his clumsy worn-out boots, and together they reach the barn crowded with carts and sheaves. The bustling overseer, his canvas jacket wet with sweat at the back, and a stick in his hand, greets the boy's father with an oath for driving up to the wrong place. The father apologizes, turns back wearily, lugging at the reins of the exhausted horse, and stops at the further side.

The boy approaches his father, and asks: "Father, why do we bring our corn to him? Haven't we grown it?"

"Because the land is theirs," answers his father, angrily.

"Who gave them the land, then?"

"Go and ask the overseer there. He'll explain it to you. Do you see his stick?"

"But what will they do with this corn?"

"Thrash it and grind it, and then sell it."

"And what will they do with the money?"

"They'll buy those cakes with it that you saw on the table when we passed."

The boy becomes quiet and thoughtful. But he has little time for thought. The men shout to his father to bring his cart nearer. He pulls the horse up to the stacks, climbs to the top of his load, unties the rope, and wearily hands the sheaves up one by one, straining his hernia* with each effort; while the boy holds the old mare, whom he has driven for the last two years, brushing away the flies as his father tells him, and wondering, for he cannot understand, why the land does not belong to those who work it, but to those young gentlemen who play about in fancy shirts and drink tea and eat cakes.

The boy thinks about this continually; when waking, when going to sleep, when attending the horses, but finds no answer. Every one says it is as it should be—and lives accordingly.

So he grows up. He marries. Children are born to him, and they ask the same question, and also wonder; and he answers them as his father answered him.

And they, too, living in poverty and subjection, labor for idle strangers.

* Owing to often having overstrained themselves, a great number of Russian peasants suffer from chronic hernia.—TRANS.

So he lives, and so live all around him.

Wherever he goes it is the same; and according to stories of the passing pilgrims, it is the same everywhere. Everywhere laborers overwork themselves for idle rich landlords. Suffer from rupture, asthma, consumption; drink in despair; and die before their time. Women overstrain themselves, cooking, washing, mending, tending the cattle; wither and grow prematurely old from overpowering and incessant labor.

And everywhere those for whom they work indulge in horses and carriages and pet dogs, conservatories and games, from one year to another; each day from morning till evening, dressing as if for a holiday, playing, eating and drinking, as not one of those who work for them could do, even on a holiday.

II.

Why is this?

The first answer that presents itself to the rural laborer is that it is owing to the land having been taken from him and given to those who do not work it. So that the working peasant either has no land, or so little that he cannot support himself and his family on it, and must therefore either starve or rent the land adjoining his own, but possessed by those who do not work it; to rent it consenting of necessity to whatever terms are demanded.

So it appears at first sight, but on second thoughts, there are peasants who have land sufficient to support them, and yet they too, all, or part of them, yield themselves to the same slavery.

Again, why is this?

It is because the peasant needs money to buy ploughs, scythes, horseshoes and building materials, oil, tea, sugar, wine, rope, salt, matches, tobacco, and clothes; whereas the money he earns by selling his produce is continually being extorted from him in the shape of taxes direct and indirect, and by increasing the prices of the things he purchases, so that the majority of the peasants cannot procure the money they need otherwise than by selling themselves as wage slaves to those who have money.

And this is what the peasants, their wives and children, do. Some sell themselves in their own neighborhood, others sell themselves far away in the town as servants, coachmen, wet nurses, maids, attendants, waiters, and especially as factory-workers, whole families thus removing to the towns. Having sold themselves in the towns in these capacities country folk lose their habits of agricultural work and simplicity of life; they grow accustomed to town food, clothing and drink, and by these new habits yet further confirm their bondage.

Thus it is not merely want of land which causes the laborer to become enslaved to the rich; the causes are to be found also in the taxes and the high prices charged for the

necessaries of life and luxurious town habits to which country laborers become accustomed when they abandon their villages. The present slavery originated in the land being taken away from the laborers, but it is maintained and increased by taxes, and is confirmed and strengthened by the circumstance that men lose the habit of agricultural labor, and become accustomed to town luxury, which can be satisfied only by selling themselves as slaves to those who have money. And this slavery is continually spreading, and affirming and establishing itself more and more.

In villages men live half famished, in increasing toil and privations—slaves of the landowners.

In towns and factories workingmen live generation after generation physically and morally depraved by dull, monotonous, unhealthy and unnatural labor—slaves of capitalists.

Every year the condition of both classes becomes steadily worse. In the villages peasants are growing more and more destitute as greater numbers leave the country for the factories. In the towns, although the workmen do not get poorer, but, on the contrary, seem to become better off, yet they are growing more and more intemperate, more and more incapable of any other kind of labor than the one they are accustomed to, and are therefore falling more and more into the powers of the factory owners.

Thus the power of the landowners and factory owners and of the wealthy classes generally is becoming stronger and stronger, while the condition of the workingmen is becoming worse and worse. How can we escape from these conditions, and is any escape possible?

III.

It would seem that deliverance from land slavery could be easily effected. The only thing required would be the recognition of a self-evident truth which men would never have doubted if they were not deceived—namely, that every man that is born has the same right to support himself from the land as he has to the air or the sun-light; and that therefore no man has the right to regard any land he does not cultivate as his own, or to prevent others from cultivating it.

But no government will ever sanction this freedom, for most of the individuals who form governments are landowners; and on the possession of this property is based their existence. They know this, and hold tight to their privilege and defend it.

About thirty years ago Henry George suggested not only a reasonable, but a perfectly practicable scheme of emancipating the land from private ownership. But neither in America nor in England (in France it is not even spoken of) has this scheme been accepted. Various refutations of it have been attempted, but as they failed the idea was simply boycotted.

If this scheme was not accepted either in England or in America, there is even less hope of its being accepted in autocratic States such as Germany, Austria and Russia.

In Russia we have vast expanses of land usurped by private individuals, by the czar and the imperial family, and there is no hope of these people—who without their right to landed property would feel as helpless as

fledglings fallen from their nest, relinquishing or permitting any infringement on their right without struggling to their utmost to maintain it.

Therefore, as long as power remains in the hands of governments composed of landowners, there will be no emancipation of the land.

Deliverance from taxation is as impossible, and even more so. The whole government, from its head, the sovereign, down to the last official, lives by taxation. Therefore the suppression of taxes by governments themselves is as impossible as the destruction of a man's only means of existence by the man himself.

It is true that some governments are apparently attempting to relieve the people from the burden of general taxation by means of income taxes drawn from the wealthy classes, increasing such taxes as the income grows. But this transference from one class of taxation to another cannot alleviate the condition of the people, because the moneyed classes—i. e., merchants, landowners and capitalists, proportionately with the increase of taxation will augment the prices of rents, land and all necessities of life, and will lower wages, so that the whole weight of taxation will still be borne by the working classes.

Numbers of measures have been suggested by contemporary scientists for liberating the working classes from the slavery caused by the capitalistic appropriation of the instruments of production; in consequence of which measures it is believed that the workmen's wages must continually increase, their working hours continually decrease, and ultimately all instruments of production must pass from the hands of the masters to those of the workers. The workers, thus becoming possessed of all factories and workshops, will no longer be obliged to surrender a part of their labor to the capitalists, but will receive full exchange for their toil and all articles of consumption necessary to their life. This plan has been promulgated in England, America and Germany for the last 30 years, but until now its realization has not been attained, nor is there the slightest approach to its fulfilment. Trades unions and strikes have been organized, by means of which the working classes sometimes succeed in obtaining higher wages and a reduction of working hours; but as the governments, bound by the capitalists, do not, and never will, permit the instruments of production to be taken from their present owners, the position remains practically unchanged. And as the men who receive higher pay for less hours increase their requirements they thus remain in the same slavery.

So it is evident that the slavery of the working classes will never be abolished while governments continue: First, to maintain landed property in the hands of non-laboring landowners; second, to collect direct and indirect taxes; and third, to defend and uphold capitalistic property.

IV.

"The slavery of the workingmen is caused by the existence of governments! If this bondage is the result of governments, then, for the necessary emancipation, it is indispensable that the existing governments should be overthrown, and such new ones

established as would grant free use of land, the suppression of taxes and the transference of capital and factories into the hands and management of the workers."

There are some who claim the possibility of such a solution, and prepare for it. But, fortunately (for such action, always connected with violence and murder, is immoral and detrimental to the end in view, as repeatedly demonstrated in history), such an undertaking is impossible at the present time.

The days are long past when governments naively believed they were ordained for the welfare of the people and took no measure to insure themselves against revolutions (moreover, they had none of the modern means of communication, telegraphs, telephones, railways), and consequently were easily overthrown, as in England in 1640, in France during the Great Revolution and after, and in Germany in '48. Since then there has been only one revolution, in 1871, and that under peculiar circumstances.

At the present day revolutions and the upsetting of governments are simply impossible. Impossible because governments, being now aware of their uselessness and perniciousness, and of the fact that no one any longer believes in their sanctity, are guided only by the instinct of self-preservation, and, using all the means they possess, are continually on their guard against anything which might not only overthrow, but even shake their authority.

Every government at the present time has an army of officials united by railways, telegraphs and telephones; it has fortresses and prisons, with all the newest improvements of photography and anthropometrical measurements; explosive mines, artillery and rifles, and all the most perfected instruments of coercion in existence. And as soon as any new appliance appears it is immediately adopted by governments for their purpose of self-preservation.

They maintain organizations of spies, of bribed clergy, bribed scientists and artists and a corrupted press. And, above all, every government has at its disposal a mass of officers perverted by patriotism, money and hypnotism, and millions of physically strong and morally undeveloped twenty-one-year-old children called soldiers; or a conglomeration of hirelings stupefied by discipline and ready for any crime their commanders may direct them to commit.

Therefore it is impossible at the present time to abolish by force a government which possesses such resources and is continually on its guard. No government will ever permit it. And as long as governments exist they will maintain taxation and private ownership of land and capital, because great landowners and capitalists and officials paid from the taxes form the governments.

Every attempt of the workingman to take possession of the land belonging to private owners will certainly end as it has always ended, by soldiers coming and punishing and dispersing those who are endeavoring to get the land. Every attempt to avoid paying taxes will also end in the same way—soldiers will come, will seize what is required to meet the taxes and severely chastise those who refuse what is demanded. This will also happen to those who will attempt—I do not

say to seize the instruments of production and the factories—but even to merely sustain a strike or prevent other workmen from lowering the price of labor; soldiers will come and disperse the offenders, as is always occurring in Europe and Russia.

While soldiers are in the hands of governments which exist by taxation, and are bound by the owners of land and capital, no revolution is possible. Therefore so long as governments have the armies at their command the system of society will always be in accordance with the wishes of those who have that command.

V.

The question therefore naturally presents itself—who are these soldiers? They are the very men who have been robbed of their land, and from whom taxes are extorted, and who are wage slaves to the capitalists.

Why, then, do these soldiers go against themselves? They cannot do otherwise, because by a long course of training, so-called "religious" education and hypnotism, they have been reduced to a state in which they can no longer reason, but only obey.

The governments, having in their hands the money extorted from the people, bribe with this money various kinds of officials to enlist soldiers, and then hire military commanders to train them—i. e., to deprive these men of their human consciousness—but above all, they bribe with this money schoolmasters and clergy, who in various ways instil into children and adults the idea that soldiering—i. e., preparation for murder—is not only an occupation useful to mankind, but a righteous and godly one. And year after year, although these men see that they and their like contribute to the enslaving of the people by the wealthy and governing classes, they submissively continue to become soldiers; and, having done so, uncomplainingly fulfil all that is demanded of them, be it not only the evident ill-treatment of their fellows, but even the murder of their parents.

Bribed officials, military teachers and the clergy prepare soldiers by stupefying them. Soldiers, at the command of their superiors, and with threats of imprisonment and death, despoil the land of its wealth by means of taxes and appropriate the profits of factories and commerce in the interests of the ruling classes. In their turn these ruling classes spend part of this money in bribing the officials, military teachers and clergy—and so the circle is complete, and no escape is possible.

VI.

The solution proposed by revolutionists, to meet force by force, is manifestly impossible. Governments who already possess a disciplined force will never permit the formation of a similarly disciplined opposing force. All such attempts during the last century show how futile they are.

Nor can the solution be found in the suggestion of certain Socialists: to organize a great economical power which would be able to overcome the united forces of capitalism. The trades unions will never, with their few millions of money, be able to compete with the economic power of multi-millionaires, always upheld by military force.

Equally impracticable is the proposal of other Socialists: that of gaining the major-

ity in parliaments. No majority in parliament will be able to carry anything inimical to the government so long as the government has the troops at its command. If at any moment the decisions of a parliament were to threaten the interests of the ruling classes the government would dissolve and disperse such a parliament, as always has been and ever will be the case while the army is in the hands of the government.

The dissemination of Socialistic ideas among the troops will not effect anything. The hypnotism of the army is so cleverly devised that the most freethinking and intelligent man, while he remains in the army, will always fulfil what is demanded of him.

Escape, therefore, is to be found neither in revolutions nor through Socialism.

If there be a way of escape it is one hitherto unrecognized, which nevertheless can alone undoubtedly abolish the whole complex ingenious and ancient governmental machinery for the enslavement of the people.

It consists in refusing to enter the military service while one has not yet become subjected to the stupefying and depraving influence of discipline. This solution is the only one, and at the same time it is the undeniable obligation of every individual. It is the only possible way out, because the existing violence is based on these three actions of governments: on the spoliation of the people, on the distribution of the stolen money to those who organize the robbery, and on the recruiting of the people into the army.

No private individual can hinder the government from robbing the people by means of recruited troops; nor can he hinder it from distributing the money collected from the people among those whose help is required for recruiting soldiers and stupefying them; but he can prevent people from becoming soldiers by refusing to be one himself, and by making clear to others the substance of the fraud by which they are persuaded to enter military service.

Not only can every separate individual do this, he is bound to do it, because enlistment into military service is the renunciation of all religion whichsoever a man may have professed (all religions forbid murder), it is the renunciation of human dignity and the voluntary submission to a slavery for the one purpose of murder. In this lies the only possible, absolutely necessary and inevitable escape from the slavery in which the ruling classes hold the working people.

The way of escape is neither in destroying force by force, nor in taking possession of the instruments of production, nor in parliamentary opposition to governments, but in every man himself, personally, becoming conscious of the truth, professing it and acting in accordance with it. As to the truth that a man must not kill his fellow man, this is so well recognized that every one is aware of it.

If only men would apply their energies, not to external results, but to that which causes these results, to their own life, then the power of violence and evil which at present holds and afflicts humanity would melt like wax before a fire.—Leo Tolstoy in *The Independent*.

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Liberty is our aim and our method.

A Free Press for the People.

And now *Discontent* takes its turn at the hand of the Anti-Free Press Society, and it costs the editor \$100 for being liberal-minded enough to permit honest people to express their opinions. The honest toilers who publish this fearless little paper have done more to make this country a cleaner place to live in than all the anti-vivisection societies put together. While the antis have been busy turning people into the streets homeless and helpless, to die, or creep into some other den as vile as that they have lost, and arresting honest men for expressing their opinions as to the best ways of living in this world, taking their hard-earned money, or worse still shutting them up where they cannot attend to their work, and the support of their families, the Home people who publish *Discontent* are showing working people by both precept and example how to live cleanly lives in comfortable homes.

A society that cannot or does not discern between honest people whose endeavor is to aid their struggling fellow men, and inhuman vampires, will never make this world a better place for human beings to live in. Truth-lovers and humanitarians do not all have good manners or good taste, and they harm their cause by expressing their convictions in the most disagreeable way, stirring up the disapproval of those afraid of new thought. Also they practice aggression in the form of repeated statements of evil conditions, and the people that cause them, stirring up opposition and resentment, instead of holding forth to the people the better way, and keeping it continually in the minds of the people until they are filled with the new thought instead of the old. But a man should not be strangled nor exiled for expressing his ideas in a poor way. All people do not have the same taste; if the readers of a paper do not like some of the contributors' styles of writing, they can let it be known. If the readers are satisfied, and prefer this to papers that have better written articles, it is hardly just to deprive them of the paper, or to punish the editor for permitting free expression of opinion in his paper.

Where is the Perseus who will deliver the people from the Anti-Medusa who has a love of tyranny so strong as to attempt to petrify every move that is made for individual freedom?

The people are Perseus, and by rising as one man, they may be a power that will be heard and granted their right to exercise individual freedom. A voice here and there may be silenced behind prison bars, or its vehicle of expression—the paper—suppressed; but when all the people who desire individual freedom speak their minds and speak insistently, they will make a large majority, and they will be heeded. Let us all speak then, distinctly and persistently, until every man in this fair country has an equal right to speak his mind, and to decide for himself what is best for him in his own private life.

The press is the greatest educational power in the country, and the honest convictions of honest people are the best education the press can give us.

MABEL GIFFORD.

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Here and There.

The government of Switzerland has degraded itself to the level of doing police service for the Italian government. But this is not a new course. The Communards of France, the Russian Nihilists, the German Anarchists and Socialists, can all testify to the "hospitality" of this free republic. Even its own citizens are persecuted and annoyed, in all possible ways. Papers and pamphlets are confiscated. Foreigners who believe in freedom are deported without ceremony; they are not even allowed to cross the border where they choose, as was formerly the practice. Comrade Taffei, an Italian, was arrested for alleged Anarchistic propaganda, and it was decided to deport him to Italy. While he was being taken to the border by the police, the Italian government demanded his extradition for alleged complicity in a plot to assassinate King Humbert. He is now being held in prison for further proof. He denies, absolutely, the absurd charge; but his fate is no doubt sealed, as Italian officials are experts in concocting crime when Anarchists are concerned,

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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.

Certain Comments.

Isador Ladoff, in a recent issue of the *Social Democratic Herald*, endeavors to annihilate the Anarchist philosophy, at one fell swoop. To accomplish his end, he employs the pseudo-scientific methods, which readily commend themselves to untrained minds. From the accepted commonplaces of modern science, such as the conservation of energy, the indestructibility of matter, and the law of self-preservation, he deduces (by the very suicide of logic) the complete disappearance of the individual in the race, and the necessity for the triumph of Social Democracy. It is the customary Socialist non-sequitur, without even an original form of statement to recommend it.

Mr. Ladoff confounds Anarchism with the "back to nature" fallacies of Rousseau and his contemporaries—men who were immeasurably ahead of their time, but whose conclusions were vitiated through the imperfect state of the science of that age. The Anarchist of today is an evolutionist, in the fullest sense of the term. He does not dream of a return to a mythical Golden Age, but sets his face toward the future. Even the best equipped minds among the Socialists recognize this fact. Enrico Ferri, in his recent work "Socialism and Modern Science," places the goal of Anarchist Communism as a splendid possibility, in advance of the ideal of Social Democracy, merely contending that the latter is the next and inevitable stage in social evolution.

The so-called "materialist conception of history," better known as economic determinism, so much vaunted by Socialists, is no doubt excellent as a partial statement of the law of social progress. It is objectionable, however, on account of its incompleteness, giving rise to many dangerous fallacies. The predominance of economic causes among the numerous social factors is made an excuse for ignoring all else. This leads to the gratuitous assumption that liberty, harmony, and progress are absolutely certain in a society which provides for the material wants of all its people, and which is governed by majority rule. It would require an entire treatise to point out all the weaknesses of the foregoing proposition, repugnant alike to history and to psychology. Suffice it to say that if superstition, ambition, the love of power for its own sake, jealousy, impatience of free speech against pet institutions, desire to force a uniform code of morals, and numerous other incitements to the curtailment of individual freedom, can be traced to ultimate economic causes, which is by no means altogether conceded, the process has been gradually accomplished through a per-

iod of millions of years. In the human nature with which we have to deal today, these causes, albeit secondary in origin, are too potent to be ignored. Government in any form, whether autocratic or democratic, capitalistic or Socialistic, supplies food to these unfortunate characteristics, and perpetuates their existence. The abolition of rule, or Anarchism, and that alone, can give them their death-blow.

To link Anarchism with the capitalistic regime of today, is the very acme of Socialist misrepresentation. Capitalism is the child of special privilege, nurtured by organized force. Anarchy has nothing in common with the "individualism" of the tiger; nor does it deny the principle of racial solidarity. On the contrary, its affirmation is unweakened by any fear that the path of self-interest will fail to be that of the common weal. It is because we recognize the conclusions of the advanced psychology of the age, that we stand unwaveringly for a "free society," in which the measure of social growth will be that of individual growth. Nothing less than this can combine stability with flexibility, and secure practical results, while leaving full scope to ideal aspirations. The philosophy of Anarchism is founded on human nature, and developed in accordance with the inexorable laws of logic. Such assaults as that of Mr. Ladoff are welcome, if they tend to promote investigation; since the only result of due investigation must be to establish the superiority of Anarchism over all contending theories.

A still more ridiculous diatribe is that of Dr. Stanton Coit, who deems that "the peaceful Anarchist" is a snake in the grass, who "panders to all narrow, merely local interests." He evidently mistakes Anarchists for jingo patriots. The Anarchist objects to majority rule, because of its illogical nature, and despotic effect. He demands liberty for all, which is incompatible with the suppression of a single unit. He asks that new ideas be given a hearing, despite the lazy or superstitious conservatism of the uncomprehending mass. He stands for progress all along the line. This is "dangerous" only to vicious institutions and obsolete traditions.

Even the ostrich-stomached daily press is beginning to be affected with nausea at the methods of "applied Christianity" in China. Its confessions are tardy, but worth noting. Read the following from the *San Francisco Call*, a hide-bound Republican organ:

The same Christendom that held up its hands in horror at heathen head-hunting is now in China piously struggling to open the way for Christianity to walk in to the affections of the people. We have recently published the testimony of Americans to the fiendish methods pursued by the Christian troops in China. The unspeakable crimes they have committed are all the more horrible, because their vile and beastly conduct stands in contrast with the courage, enterprise and self-restraint of the heathen Japanese soldiers. These latter are admitted to have been the best soldiers on the march and in siege and battle; and not a stolen tael nor an inhuman outrage is charged against them. Next after them in good qualities, our American soldiers are placed by common consent. But, untouched by any sentiment of mercy and unmoved by any good example, the Christian forces of Europe have charged up against them a record blacker than was ever made before by any troops civilized or savage.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

The Eighteenth of March.

The 18th of March, 1871, had been chosen by the wicked gnome Thiers, his accomplices, and his dupes to arouse Paris, after having disarmed it, in order to justify a massacre preparatory to some dynastic restoration. The treacherous plan being organized, the traitors and the incapables were caught in their own trap. To them any master seemed preferable to a revolution. But it was no longer the spies of the empire crying "on to Berlin!" when no one wanted war,—if was a people wishing to be free. They had the revolution. Jules Favre recounts as follows the provocation which they prepared: "Vinoy would have liked to engage the party by suppressing the pay of the National Guard; we thought this plan more dangerous than direct action." Direct action was attempted. It was the seizure by those in power of the cannon which the National Guard had bought with their own funds for the defense of Paris neglected by the inertia of the government. The power in the hands of the government of *La Defense Nationale* had no energy but that directed against the people. The proclamation made the day before was similar to those of the empire, on some 2d of December. An attempt hazarded two nights before to take the cannon from the Place des Vosges had given warning.

They knew by the 31st of October, by the 22d of January, by the refusals of defense and all the attempts to surrender of what the bourgeois are capable when they dream of the red scepter of the Revolution. It was imprudent this time for those in power to pit the soldiers against Paris, which did not want to be disarmed. It was too near all the battles lost by the incapacity of the old generals of the empire, too near, above all, to the opposition of Paris to all the attempts to surrender that had been made until now, to imagine that the army would not make common cause with Paris, which would rather die than surrender. The soldiers who invaded the faubourgs found Montmartre and Belleville standing ready. They were surrounded by the National Guard. Everywhere the soldiers fraternized with the crowd.

It was not only the popular will to guard the cannon, but to have a republic which would not be a continuation of the empire. A post of the National Guard had passed the night at a house in the rue des Rosiers at the summit of the *buttes*. Suddenly the post was surprised,—the soldier on guard fell mortally wounded. The blank charge which ought to have been fired in case of surprise was not made, but the alarm was given just the same.

Montmartre assembled like a swarm of bees. At dawn when the alarm bell sounded the tambours beat the general call to arms. We all charged up the hill, knowing that at the top of the hill under the orders of General Lecomte were ten thousand men in battle array; we thought to die for liberty or rather thinking no more, we would have scaled the sky itself. We never noticed the steep and rocky ascent, excited as we were by the tocsin and the hurried rhythm of the charge. There was

a clear atmosphere, a splendid dawn like an aurora of deliverance. We knew well though we died, Paris would rise. It was not death that awaited us on the heights of Montmartre, where, however, they were dragging away the cannon to join them to the others at the Batignolles, already taken. It was the surprise of a popular victory.

Between us and the army, the women of Montmartre threw themselves in front of the cannon. The soldiers retreated; three times General Lecomte ordered them to fire on the crowd; a subaltern stepped out of the ranks, placed himself in front of his company and gave the order: "Ground arms!" It was he whom they obeyed (Verdaguerre, who several weeks later was shot at Versailles). The revolution was a fact.

Lecomte had been arrested at the moment when for the third time he was ordering his soldiers to fire; he was conducted to the rue des Rosiers where very soon he was rejoined by General Clement Thomas, discovered in civilian's dress, while taking the plan of the Montmartre barricades.

Their destiny accomplished itself. Both had been condemned to death long since by the survivors of June, 1848. Lecomte, who had been continually insulting, the National Guard again remembered the old griefs. Clement Thomas had just been taken in the act of spying. This time popular justice was in accord with the law of war. In addition to this Clement Thomas and Lecomte had some accounts to regulate with their own soldiers. It was the revolution that executed them. In the bloody days of May a crowd of victims who had never taken any part in their death, were shot in revenge for the execution of these two men, who had so often cut into the flesh of multitudes.

The people's victory would have been complete had they gone to Versailles the evening of the 18th of March to overthrow the reactionary government. Many might have fallen on the way, but the slaughter of May would have been avoided.

It was *legality* that carried the day. The Commune was elected by vote, and too much time was lost to have made it yet possible to smother the past in its lair. The Commune, conquered, carried off with it the weaknesses and the hesitations of its profound honesty. The veritable duty would have been to sacrifice every human sentiment to the necessity of holding the people's victory.

But if *la Commune* feared to make victims, she never feared for her own existence. She sleeps in the red shroud of her wedding with Death.

The day to celebrate *la Commune* should have been the 28th of May, when life-blood was taken, the avenging flames of the conflagration extinguished by streams of blood.— Louise Michel in *The Rebel*.

Roving at Random.

It is nonsense to call a society a peaceful one if it must, as a whole or in part, be bullied, deceived, clubbed, imprisoned, and shot at to make it hang together! What in-

telligence necessarily prevails in this harmonious state! What a "happy family," and how attractive the perspective of this society!

* * *

A more wishy-washy literary production than the "Lord's Prayer" it would be difficult to find, yet it is called "a classic."

Addressed, as it is, to an acknowledged "almighty" personage, creator and ruler of the universe, the situation is extremely ludicrous when the petitioner, an atom of the earth, presumes to claim near kinship, as of a child to a parent. "Like father, like son!" Is the human atom anticipating a development of its powers so it may rival its progenitor in achievement? If not, what assumption to claim such connection with a creature so vastly superior in every way that there is not the least likelihood of ever getting in sight of him in attainments.

The earthy or dusty atom begs from this "supreme being," as a personal favor, its "daily bread," although it has been proven again and again that the "Lord helps those who help themselves!"

It also asks to be forgiven, if it ignore any of the almighty one's ordinances on the same conditions as it forbears to resent the trespasses its fellow atoms make upon its personal prerogatives. If the Lord should do as requested and copy his offspring's (?) conduct in this respect, the comedy would certainly be immense; for his progeny continually neglect to observe an important usurpation, like the forcing of payment of tribute (i. e. "proving up" fees, market price, tax or rent) for the privilege of living upon and tilling land, while misrepresentations of personal conduct in trivial matters such as to wrongfully accuse another of lying, theft, cruelty or "immorality" is considered unforgivable by the injured person, as is the calling of "bad names," and redress is sought by inflicting bodily chastisement.

The children further implore this peculiar father, "lead us not into temptation." For an organism or "spirit" postulating universal intelligence and "mercy" to be guilty of tempting dwarfed images of himself to act in a manner injurious to them, is too silly a proceeding to be characterized as comical.

One paragraph is a patronizing acclamation of "thine be the power and glory forever!" Do the prayerful pygmies entertain the idea that it is possible or probable that these magnificent (?) properties will be seized upon and monopolized by some of the lesser lights, the human representatives of the "all-powerful"?

But the quintessence of shallowness in the petition is garishly set forth when the petitioners express the wish that the Lord's "will be done, on earth as it is in heaven!" That is to say, the earthly atoms are strong enough and malicious enough to defy the intelligent will of the "almighty"! Although he is *all* the strength and wisdom there is, he can conduct his affairs properly only in heaven (wherever that may be!) in the immediate vicinity of his "throne"! It is a supposable case that he may, if he offers desirable inducements, coax the many worldly-wise wills to coincide with his own!

It seems inexplicable that human kind, with cultured mental energies, have repeated

century after century the disgusting twaddle of the "Lord's Prayer." What woful power to cultivate imbecility unscrupulous, autocratic minds possess! What greater wonder is there in the world than this calamitous repression of the discriminating judgment and thinking faculty, which one class of mankind—the religious teachers—have exercised over another class,—the common people?

* * *

"A Letter to the Sunday Schools of the Church" lies before me. By its wording it would seem there is only one Church. In reality the statement is not far from the truth. Although there are numerous sects, they are engaged in *one* humbugging scheme, all "worship" one god, but with varying details in ceremonies.

This letter is a begging leaflet, asking the children for self-denial in spending their money so they may make an Easter "offering" (not a "burnt" offering—that is out of date!) for missionary purposes. The lord, as usual, is out of funds, and it is his desire, the letter states, that the redemption of the world (from what?) may be proclaimed to his multitudes of subjects who are yet ignorant of his designs.

This god is usually called "king" or "master" in the leaflet. Thus by training the children year in and year out to submissive feelings by *making a show* of kneeling to a master, adults are bereft of even a semblance of independence. In hymns and prayers (part of the *show*), the mixture of flattery and begging perpetually sung and repeated would tend to weaken or entirely wipe out anyone's self-reliance, provided the "worship" be more than mere "lip-service." Even if the "praises" be seemingly superficially given, the deadening of the individual into a worshipping automaton is in a measure effected. See what crowds of people there are who pretend to believe in "majority rule," and who profess to despise kings, yet who rapturously sing:

"All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall!
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown him Lord of all."

Glance over the Church literature—the admiration for royalty and mastership and the subservency to them are detestable. People who will hash up such subjective rot, if only for pastime, can have no clear conception of freedom.

* * *

Appropriate adjuncts to religious drilling in servility, is "advice" of "money kings" to young men. The counsel Russell Sage is accredited with giving will serve as a sample: 1st, get a position; 2d, keep your mouth shut; 3d, be observing; 4th, be faithful; 5th, make your employer think you would be in a fog without him; 6th, be polite!

Now, young man, being a nobody, you must seek a master. Finding him, you must obliterate all of yourself except those brain cells and muscles which will be of use to *him*. Keep your mouth shut; have no ideas outside of those required for your drudging, or, if you should chance to possess one, stifle it! Do not express it, or secretly cultivate it, or breed more! If you succeed in dispensing with all of yourself except those parts which

are of benefit to your master, "be faithful" in giving them the fullest activity. Flatter the "boss." You will not find this hard to do when you have effaced all of your own individuality and live for his sake only. The advice to be "polite" is certainly superfluous. When you have disciplined yourself in faithfulness to your master's service, the accomplishment of outward politeness is included as a matter of course.

Now, young man, you are on the highway to "success"! When you have made your "pile," and "the chances are that sooner or later you will" (!), your faculties for getting the greatest possible good out of life will be so grandly developed (?) that you may well feel proud of your "career." Then you may open your mouth and try your skill at advising—the failures! For failures, you know, there must be in an industrial system composed of masters and slaves. If all the young men should strictly follow Russell Sage's "advice," all would succeed to mastery! there would be no failures or slaves!

VIRGIL DANIELS.

Los Angeles, Cal., 2908 E. Fourth St.

After "Order" Was Restored.

The following paragraphs, taken from the "History of the Commune of 1871" by Lissagaray, show to what an extent the ferocity of the bourgeois will go to crush any movement which has for its object the attainment of freedom. While they look complacently upon the efforts of those who propose to change masters, or even the form of government, the attempt to abolish all privileges calls forth their vengeance to such a degree that it is hardly within human nature to grasp how such brutality is possible. No better illustration of this is given than the Paris Commune. Lissagaray is very impartial in his history, and more conservative in his statements than the facts will justify. The lowest estimate of the number killed in the name of "law and order" is 20,000, while some have claimed that they were as high as 40,000, and even more. It is safe to say, however, that there were at least 30,000 Communards slaughtered after they had been disarmed. It must also be borne in mind that of the 300 hostages, held by the Commune, but 63 were shot, and that only after the government had already begun its reign of carnage.

"Order reigned in Paris. Everywhere ruins, death, sinister crepitations. The officers walked provokingly about clashing their sabres; the non-commissioned officers imitated their arrogance. The soldiers bivouacked in all the large roads. Some, stupefied by fatigue and carnage, slept on the pavement; others prepared their soup by the side of the corpses, singing the songs of their native homes.

"The tricolor flag hung from all the windows in order to prevent house-searches. Guns, cartridge-boxes, uniforms, were piled up in the gutters of the popular quarters. Before the doors sat women leaning their heads upon their hands, looking fixedly before them, waiting for a son or a husband who was never to return. . . .

"Paris delivered" was parcelled into four commands under the orders of General Vi-

noy, Ladmirault, Cissey, Douay, and once more placed under the regime of the state of siege raised by the Commune. There was no longer any government at Paris than the army which massacred Paris. The passers-by were constrained to demolish the barricades, and any sign of impatience brought with it an arrest, any imprecation death. It was placarded that any one in the possession of arms would immediately be sent before a court-martial; that any house from which shots were fired would be given over to summary execution. All public places were closed at eleven o'clock. Henceforth officers in uniform alone could circulate freely. Mounted patrols thronged the streets. Entrance into the town became difficult, to leave impossible. The trades-people not being allowed to go backwards and forwards, victuals were on the point of failing.

"The struggle over," the army transformed itself into a platoon of executioners. On the Sunday more than 5,000 prisoners taken in the neighborhood of the Pere La Chaise were led to the prison of La Roquette. A chief of a battalion, standing at the entrance, surveyed the prisoners and said, 'To the right,' or 'To the left.' Those to the left were to be shot. Their pockets emptied, they were drawn up along the wall and then slaughtered. Opposite the wall two or three priests, bending over their breviaries, mumbled the prayers for the dying.

"From the Sunday to the Monday morning in La Roquette alone more than 1,900 persons were thus murdered. Blood flowed in large pools in the gutters of the prison. The same slaughter took place at the Ecole Militaire and the Park Monceaux.

"These were the butcheries without phrases. At other places the prisoners were conducted before the prevotal courts, with which Paris swarmed since the Monday. These had not sprung up at hazard, and, as has been believed, in the midst of the fury of the struggle. It was proven before the courts-martial that the number and seats of these prevotal courts, with their respective jurisdictions, had been appointed at Versailles before the entry of the troops. One of the most celebrated was that of the Chatelet Theatre, where Colonel Vabre officiated. Thousands of prisoners who were led there were first of all penned in upon the stage and in the auditorium, under the guns of the soldiers placed in the boxes; then, little by little, like sheep driven to the door of the slaughter-house, from wing to wing they were pushed to the saloon, where, round a large table, officers of the army and the honest National Guard were seated, their sabre between their legs, a cigar in their mouth. The examination lasted a quarter of a minute. 'Did you take arms? Did you serve the Commune? Show your hands.' If the resolute attitude of a prisoner betrayed a combatant, if his face was unpleasant, without asking for his name, his profession, without entering any note upon any register, he was classed. 'You?' was said to the next one, and so on to the end of the file, without excepting the women, children, and old men. When by a caprice a prisoner was spared, he was said to be ordinary, and reserved for Versailles. No one was liberated.

"The classed ones were at once delivered to the executioners, who led them into the

nearest garden or court. From the Chatelet, for instance, they were taken to the Lebau Barracks. There the doors were no sooner closed than the gendarmes fired, without even grouping their victims before a platoon. Some only wounded, ran along by the walls, the gendarmes chasing and shooting at them till they fell dead. . . .

"The massacre was thus carried on, methodically organized, at the Caserne Duplex, the Lycee Bonaparte, the Northern and Eastern Railway stations, the Jardin des Plantes, in many mairies and barracks, at the same time as in the abattoirs. Large open vans came to fetch the corpses, and went to empty them in the square or any open space in the neighborhood.

"The victims died simply, without fanfare. Many crossed their arms before the muskets and themselves commanded the fire. Women and children followed their husbands and their fathers, crying to the soldiers, 'Shoot us with them!' And they were shot. Women, till then strangers to the struggle, were seen to come down into the streets, exasperated by these butcheries, strike the officers, and then throw themselves against a wall waiting for death. . . .

"The army, having neither police nor precise information, killed at random. Any passer-by calling a man by a revolutionary name caused him to be shot by soldiers eager to get the premium. . . .

"How to justify this savagery? The official reports only mention very few deaths among the Versaillese—877 during the whole time of the operations, from the 3d April up to the 28th May. The Versaillese fury had then no excuse for these reprisals. When a handful of exasperated men, to avenge thousands of their brothers, shoot sixty-three of their most inveterate enemies out of nearly 300 whom they had in their hands, the hypocritical reaction veils its face and protests in the name of justice. What, then, will this justice say when those shall be judged who methodically, without any anxiety as to the issue of the combat, and, above all, the battle over, shot 20,000 persons, of whom three-fourths had not taken part in the fight? Still some flashes of humanity were shown by the soldiers, and some were seen coming back from the executions their heads bowed down; but the officers never slackened for a second in their ferocity. . . .

"At last the smell of the carnage began to choke even the most frantic. The pest, if not pity, was coming. Myriads of flesh-flies flew up from the putrefied corpses. The streets were full of dead birds. The *Avenir Liberal*, singing the praises of MacMahon's proclamations, applied the words of Flechier: 'He hides himself, but his glory finds him out.' . . . In certain streets the corpses encumbered the pathway, looking at the passers-by from out of their dead eyes. In the Foubourg St. Antoine they were to be seen everywhere in heaps, half white with chloride of lime. At the Polytechnic School they occupied a space of 100 yards long and three deep. At Passy . . . there were 1,100 near the Trocadero. These, covered over by a thin shroud of earth, also showed their ghastly profiles. . . . And those that had instigated the massacre cried 'Enough!'

"The wholesale massacres lasted up to the first days of June, and the summary execu-

tions up to the middle of that month. For a long time mysterious dramas were enacted in the Bois de Boulogne. Never will the exact number of the Bloody Week be known. The chief of military justice admitted 17,000 shot; the municipal council of Paris paid the expenses of burial of 17,000 corpses; but a great number were killed out of Paris or burnt. There is no exaggeration in saying 20,000 at least."

Among the Unions.

The American Federation of Labor, at its last convention, passed a measure that is liable to injure rather than benefit the labor movement. It gave the large unions power to control and absorb the smaller crafts allied to them. The miners can take in topmen, blacksmiths, etc., working at mines. In like manner the brewery workers may force engineers, firemen, teamsters, etc., working in breweries, to join their union. This may not only cause dissatisfaction among the members of these allied crafts, by depriving them of the right to join the unions of their respective trades, but also weaken these unions, which really require to be strengthened more than larger ones.

The purpose of the Federation in passing this legislation is to prevent the strife that often arises between these allied crafts, and partly in answer to appeals that have been made to it for many years past by the big unions, which seem to think because of their size they ought to rule.

In principle this idea is wrong. The rights of the strong are no longer regarded by advanced minds as being paramount to the rights of the weak. Great force has no superior ethics; large numbers possess no superior wisdom. The right of one man to his independence is paramount to the right of a thousand men to control him; his wisdom may be superior to theirs, and nothing but the effete idea of the divine right of numbers, which has succeeded the divine right of the king, will cause men to interfere with his freedom of action.

The autonomy of the trades must be recognized or the whole system of trades unions will collapse; the history of the Knights of Labor points to this fact directly and conclusively.

The subordination of the smaller crafts to the larger ones, and the concentration of the ruling power of the whole in the hands of a few, was the direct cause of the downfall of the Knights of Labor. Now the A. F. L. is following in its footsteps.

I was pleased to see the emphatic opposition to this unwise move made by the Chicago Federation of Labor. We will watch results and join in the warning cry against the growth of authority in the ranks of organized labor.

It was not so pleasing to read the resolutions passed by the Chicago Federation of Labor passed last Sunday.

Resolved, By the Chicago Federation of Labor, a body representing more than 100,000 toilers of this city, That we unqualifiedly condemn and emphatically protest against the assumption put forth by one W. T.

Sampson, at present in the naval service of the United States, that restrictions should be put upon the honorable aspirations of Gunner Charles Morgan, who sought at the hands of said Sampson favorable endorsement of his application for promotion, to a commission, and received instead a cruel and outrageous insult, and through said refusal, the institutions of free government, based on absolute equality, has received a stab from one who disgraces the traditions and history of the uniform he wears.

But one voice was raised against the passage of the resolution. A Socialist delegate said that the workers had no interest in the quarrels of these hired assassins of a class government that had proven a failure. This statement is quite true, but not very consistent, for the "comrade" is himself a candidate for a position in this class government, and hoped at some future time to set up a class government of his own. I will not chastise him too strongly for his error, but would like to point out to him how much stronger and more effective would be his well merited protest did he have more logic and consistency behind it.

Morgan was a trade-unionist before he joined the navy, and that is why the unions were so anxious to defend him. But they should have reflected that when he joined the navy he deserted the labor ranks, and became an enemy of labor and a traitor to his union principles. He hired himself out as a tool, an assassin, of the government, and pledged himself to do its dirty work wherever sent at the word of command, whether to shoot Spaniards first and then Filipinos in Manila bay, or his own former comrades—trades unionists—at home.

He did not even reserve the right to refuse to do work which might be repulsive to him, or his right to strike, and these rights no man who voted for the resolution would ever dream of abdicating. No, he sold himself completely as an abject slave to a government which sent Federal troops to this city in '94 at the bidding of the General Railroad Managers' Association, and in violation of the United States constitution, to shoot down trades unionists for refusing to submit quietly to the chains of slavery with which they were shackled by these same railroad managers.

The president, whom they appeal to as having been "raised from the ranks to be commander in chief of the army and navy," is the same president who ordered your fellow unionists shot and "penned" in the State of Idaho, and forced those whom he graciously permitted to be at large to renounce their union before allowing them to go to work.

Shame on you, my fellows, that you should stultify your principles by appealing to such a pronounced enemy of labor.

Always remember that the fact of a man raising from your ranks makes him your enemy. Your friends always stay down below with yourselves.

JAY FOX.

Here and There.

The persecutions of our comrades in Italy vehemently continues. All efforts of a peaceable propaganda are made impossible. If the comrades simply meet or take a walk together, they are arrested and indicted for conspiracy. Lately ten of our comrades were arrested in Ancona; and the office of

their paper, *L'Agitazione*, was ransacked by the police, and the files, letters, mailing lists, etc., stolen by them. What wonder that the Italian comrades sometimes resort to violence?

Francois Merlino, once a prominent Anarchist in Italy, has been completely conquered by his desire to become a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He is now working with the Socialists, after hesitating between the Right and the Left for several years. He may protest that he is still an Anarchist, but his political affiliations make him worthless to our movement.

A few words of explanation may be in order. When the greater number of our active comrades in Italy were imprisoned for fifteen or twenty years, Merlino declared that the only means of propaganda left to the comrades was political action. He thought that the imprisoned comrades could be elected as deputies and thus be released from prison. It was the same question which had divided the parliamentary and anti-parliamentary factions of the revolutionay movement in the various countries. Merlino and his followers declared that their participation in the affairs of government was simply to protest against all governmental measures. But the Socialists of Germany, France and other countries went to parliament with the same intention; and what are they today? Merlino proposed Comrade Malatesta as the first candidate, but the latter protested vigorously against such corrupting methods, and most of the Italian Anarchists stayed with Malatesta.

Bread riots continue in various parts of Europe. In the Apulia district of Italy, two thousand peasants without shelter or bread, attacked the authorities with stones and other missiles. Troops were called out to restore "order." In the Calabria district the peasants suffer the direst want. They have demanded the division of the feudal lands so that they may be able to cultivate them. The unemployed threaten to help themselves. In Vienna, while the Germans and Czechs were quarreling with each other in the parliament, thousands of unemployed laborers made a demonstration against both sections, and shouted "Down with the parliament!"

In England the military program is costing so much money that the government officials are finding difficulty in the levying of more taxes. Taxes are being increased in every direction, but are not sufficient to meet the demand. Nearly \$300,000,000 are demanded for the Boer war, while the Chinese expenditures for the following year will be \$10,000,000 more. As a result trade is decreasing, and hard times are ahead for the British people. Ultimately all peoples come to poverty and ruin, who indulge in jingoism and conquest. The Spanish people have already learned this by experience. The English are rapidly reaching the end of their resources, and America is following the same route. The other nations will follow each in their turn.

While the inauguration show was going on in Washington, and McKinley was speaking eloquently about free Cuba, warships were being prepared for an immediate swoop down on Havanna, should the Cubans manifest any decided desire for independence. Thus the conditions are going from bad to worse. Had any one predicted four years ago the condition in which the American government is today, he would have been considered a madman. Few thought it possible that the government could usurp so much power without causing a revolution. And the end has not yet been reached. Where will it end?

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AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

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

ALLEGHENY, Pa.—H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
B. Morwitz, 2018 Baltic Ave.
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BOSTON—Brigham's Restaurant, 642 Washington St.
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SAN FRANCISCO—R. Rieger, 1705 Market St.
ST. LOUIS—C. Norman, 1351 S. 13th St.

For BOSTON.

Farewell to Comrade Peter Kropotkin. Social and entertainment, songs and recitations, to be held on Saturday, March 23, at 8 p. m. in Fenix Hall, 724 Washington St. Tea, cakes and fruits will be served free, and other refreshments will be obtainable. Tickets 25 cents.

Comrades who take particular interest in this social and willing to assist in making up the program, or arranging some details, are invited to call on Comrade D. Mikol, 20 Isabella St.

For CHICAGO.

The FREE SOCIETY SUSTAINING CLUB meets every Wednesday evening at 515 Carroll Ave.

On March 13 Comrade Isaak will speak on "Methods of Propaganda."

Take the Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Ave. or Paulina street, which is one block east of Ashland Ave.

For PITTSBURG and VICINITY.

The Commune Celebration, arranged by the comrades of McKeesport, Monesen, etc., takes place at Lock No. 3, in Jacob Meyer's Hall. The last train from Pittsburg leaves 6:20 p. m. from Lake Erie Depot, South Side. Everybody invited.

War.

War is always brutality and bestiality combined. From its

very nature and its objects, the result could not be otherwise. The sole object, the avowed design of war is to kill a great many people—and kill them in the most horrible and hideous manner possible! Think of cannon balls and grape, with their well-known results, and then think of dynamite and lyddite, now so popular in war, with their effects! Close of the boasted nineteenth century, and where are we? Are we any further removed from a true state of barbarism now than the people were who lived two thousand years ago? We do not so read the record. For evidence of our advancement in this direction, let us call to mind the conduct of the powers recently reported in China—the conduct of Prussia especially. Speaking of this matter in the German Parliament, Herr Bebel, one of the members said that the war in China was "the meanest and most shameful which Prussians waged in two hundred years." He said it was "almost incredible that such bestiality, lower than among beasts, can survive in Christian Germany."—Newark Courier.

The Letter-Box.

J. M., Montreal, Ark.—Thanks for new subscribers. Never mind the "imposition"; we never refuse to send FREE SOCIETY without pay to those in poverty, if we are only aware that the paper is desired.

H. B., Philadelphia.—Address has been changed to "Earp" St., or is it "Carp"?

A. B. L., San Francisco, Cal.—The word "Nihilist" is not confined to Russian revolutionists, as you suppose. It was first used by the Russian writer Turgeneff in his "Fathers and Sons," and he thus defines a Nihilist: "A man who looks at everything from a critical point of view; a man who bows before no authority, who accepts no principle without examination, no matter what credit the principle has."

M. R., New York City.—Address has been changed. You can always see when your subscription expires by comparing the number on the wrapper with the number in the current issue. The number on your wrapper, for instance, is 295, and the number of the present issue is 304, consequently you are nine weeks in arrears. Greetings.

RECEIPTS.

Sale, \$1.75. Coffin, Sheedy, each \$1. Dreher, 75c. Vischnis, Gochel, Swartz, France, Buchanan, Moody, Mohr, Gehr, William, Wardrobe, Storres, Dempsey, Orent, Barnes, Mitchell, Clarkson, Auth, Harris, each 50c. Fromm, Baron, Seize, Siegenthaler, Barron, Field, Lewis, Bortman, each 25c.

DONATIONS.—Thorson, \$5. Raznik, \$1. Roberts (O.), Roberts (Kans.), each 50c.

As for adopting the ways which the State has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways. They take too much time and a man's life will be gone. I have other affairs to attend

to. I came into this world, not chiefly to make this a good place to live in, but to live in it, be it good or bad. A man has not everything to do, but something; and because he cannot do everything it is not necessary that he should do some thing wrong.—Thoreau.

MEETINGS.

NEW YORK.—The Social Science Club meets every Thursday 8 p. m., 250 W. 23rd Street.

PHILADELPHIA.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday evening at Industrial Hall, Corner Broad and Wood Streets. Lectures, questions and discussions concerning the topics of the hour.

PITTSBURG.—The Debating Club meets every Sunday afternoon 2 p. m. at 155 Crawford St. Take any Fifth Ave. car Pride St.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAINRE DE CLEYRE.

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