

# 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. 305.

## In the Fair Future.

"Fair the crown the Cause hath for you, well to die or well to live.  
Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give."  
Ah, it may be! Oft meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be,  
When no slave of gold abideth 'twixt the breadth of sea to sea,  
Oft, when men and maids are merry, ere the sunlight leaves the earth,  
And they bless the day beloved, all too short for all their mirth,  
Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,  
Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold;  
Then 'twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise;  
We who once were fools and dreamers, then shall be the brave and wise.

—William Morris.

## The Event We Commemorate.

Whatever may be said by moralists and peace-at-any-price people in favor of non-resistance, there is something sublime in the spectacle of a long suffering, oppressed people rising in revolt to throw off the yoke of their thralldom. There is nothing inspiring or ennobling in the attitude of a people prating of freedom yet meekly bowing their necks to abuses and tamely submitting year after year to wrongs which might be redressed by courage and determination. Every person who realizes the foulness of capitalist mis-rule should protest, in some way, against the iniquity, and no man should be satisfied to sit still and passively wait for others, or to view with indifference the wrongs of an outraged people. To do so is to assume an attitude of cowardice and of heartlessness. It is better to revolt and fail than to remain supine, servilely bending the knee to arrogant power. Besides, there are the ideals: a wiser, juster and more humane administration of social affairs, better economic conditions, a fuller realization of liberty. Is not the possibility of a better race of people resulting from improved environment worth the price which its realization may cost in human lives and worldly treasure?

Some such thoughts as these, it seems to me, must have stimulated to action those devoted and valiant men to whom the world owes in large part the efforts of our French comrades to throw off their economic and social bonds and to realize high ideals thirty years ago. An infinite number of causes placed in their hands the opportunity, and nobly they rose to the great occasion. Personal greed, petty ambition, the desire for power and pelf, were all subordinated to the one idea of the common good. Read the parting address of the committee which for the time being had assumed charge of public affairs, and note the willingness, nay, the anxiety of the members to yield their tem-

porary power to regularly elected representatives of the people. Note the spirit of absolute fairness which animated the elections. Every official act of the Commune, from its inauguration in March, 1871, to its final sitting in the Hotel de Ville, in May following, was characterized by the same spirit of fairness, of toleration, of broad humanity. It is true mistakes were made, very serious mistakes, but they were errors of judgment; they could not be attributed to malice or meanness. Indeed, in my opinion, some of the gravest mistakes were those arising from mistaken ideas of kindness and humanity. The logic of events and a stern realization of actual conditions should have prompted measures more severe (and in this case more

just) in dealing with a foe who by their own conduct showed themselves utterly devoid of the commonest instincts of humanity. No measure should have been neglected by the Commune which promised to aid in the fulfilment of the end sought for.

It is to be hoped that comrades everywhere, on this recurring period of the anniversary of the Paris Commune, will emphasize the fact that this was not, as has been so often stated, a mere struggle for local government, but that it was truly an economic revolt, a heroic effort to supplant the present capitalistic regime by a system of justice and liberty. One only needs to read the histories of Lissagary and Visinier (and particularly the latter, which contains many official documents of the Commune), to be convinced of this important fact. Radicals would scarcely care to keep alive the memory of the great uprising by annual commemorations if it had been anything less.

There has been a tendency in some quarters also to attempt to belittle the Communal uprising by casting reproachful reflections upon the leaders, and by uttering vain regrets regarding the failure of the attempt. Some have said that it was a mistake to plunge a portion of a torn and distressed country into civil strife on the very eve of the terribly destructive war with Germany; others that common sense might have dictated that the people were not then ready for such sweeping changes as were contemplated and actually put into operation; others again bemoan the revolt because of the terrible loss of life which ensued. These regrets and fault-findings only serve to show the shallowness of the minds which conceived them. The Paris Commune was a logical and necessary outcome of the events which preceded it. It was a historical necessity, and could not have been avoided unless it had been possible to re-cast history for several years prior to the outbreak. It was also an economic necessity. The minds of thousands, elsewhere as well as in France, were already surcharged by the electric teachings of the International, and the opportunity was

seized to give effect to those teachings. The Paris Commune was a glance into the future. What mattered it if the attempt to realize glorious possibilities was for the time being drowned in blood? A high resolve had been kindled in men's hearts, never to be quenched as long as its purpose remained unrealized. To those who bemoan the "failure" of the Paris Commune I commend the words of Victor Hugo when he referred to the great French Revolution: "Call it a success or a failure, as you lean toward the future or the past."

It is meet that we should gather annually and tell to one another and to strangers who may listen the story of the greatest uprising the world has ever known. There have been many revolts in the past; slave revolts in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome; artisans' revolts in Italy before the time of Christ; peasant revolts in Germany, France and England; revolts of the common people against ecclesiastical and kingly tyrants in all ages and in nearly all countries, but never in the history of the world, so far as I can learn, has there been such a revolt as this; for it was something more than a revolt; as I have stated above, it was an attempt to overthrow tyranny and oppression in every form; an attempt to realize universal economic and social justice. WM. HOLMES.

## Rockefeller, Morgan and the Others.

The financial and industrial affairs of the world are taking a logical course. The thing about it chiefly remarkable is that they are taking it with striking rapidity. The world looks on with interest, but upon the whole with equanimity. For, whatever alarmists may say, we are tolerably satisfied that the majority of the citizens of civilization will not submit to become the slaves and pensioners of a fantastic minority. The latter are taking advantage of certain existing laws, passed at a time when the present developments were not foreseen, which appear to safeguard their operations.

But these laws, being human fabrications, are essentially impermanent. Nothing can prevent the public, when it feels so disposed, from disregarding them. And the moment that the public realizes that these laws are contrary to the public weal the laws will cease to be operative. All that is needed to secure that result is that the situation shall become acute enough. For there is an old law, not on the Revised Statutes, which declares self-preservation to be the first law of life. No man will consent to be a galley slave, or to be starved with food within reach, provided he has the physical power to prevent these things. And there is no doubt that among the seventy-five millions in this country, there are men enough to disregard the efforts to harness them on the part of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co.

Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. are, when you come down to hard-pan, a handful of persons who lay claim to great possessions. Their sole strength and importance consist in the willingness of the rest of the American nation to admit the validity of this claim. But this claim has no basis in natural right. The gentlemen in question never have done, and, it is needless to add, must forever be incapable of doing anything to entitle them, in equity, to the possession of the valuables they ascribe to themselves. And their tenure of the property rests solely on their demonstrating that they can and will administer them in such a manner as to ensure the greatest good to the greatest number. As soon as they cease to demonstrate this, or as soon as any one else demonstrates that their tenure is hostile to the common interests, they will be stripped of their holdings, and the latter will be administered in such manner as the commonality may deem most expedient.

It would be irrational, meanwhile, to feel any animosity against Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. Separated from the natural resources with which they deal and the natural process of industrial and social evolution which they illustrate, their own, private, personal equation, and you will surprise yourself in seeing how almost nothing the latter appears.

The earth bears iron, coal and oil; science discovers methods for getting out these materials and manufacturing them and transporting them to market; civilization creates an orderly social organism whereby, in return for observing certain formalities, a man is said to own material property—and it is only after these conditions have been enumerated that the share in the matter of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. begins! Obviously, nothing could be more insignificant. It is hardly more than automatism; they are helpless creatures of circumstance and environment. In their place, most men would have done like them. Neither they nor any millionaires have been persons of more than average intelligence.

But even supposing them to have been giants of ability, still their excess of fortune would be out of all proportion with their deserts. An individual is valuable to the community in so far as he can perform some use which no one else can do so well. Judged by this standard, Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. would be dear at say, a thousand dollars per annum. Here they are, however, and we have no grounds for assuming that they are not doing the very best they know how. It would require a man of more than Napoleonic genius, indeed, to do anything else—to use their wealth for vicious ends. The utmost that they can expend selfishly is a mere drop in the bucket in comparison with what they have. They must expend the remainder in the conduct and creation of more industrial enterprises.

It is plainly to their interests to do this work in a manner not to antagonize the community. They may be trusted to study their interests in this as in other things, and their only weak point is that they may lack the ability to move the big machine wisely. That is a very weak point, to be sure; but, as we said just now, it would be irrational and unjust to blame them for what they

cannot help, owing to their human limitations.

But though we need not blame them, we may nevertheless see fit to relieve them of their functions. This whole phenomenon of allowing vast industries to fall into the hands of individuals, is an accident of civilized evolution, and it is practically certain that it will turn out to be injudicious. We permit the experiment to be tried, but we are already doubting its expediency, and it is dollars to doughnuts that we shall ere long decide against it.

The objectionable elements are not so much on the industrial side as on the human side. The coal is mined, the oil is refined, the iron is manufactured; but tens of thousands of men are placed on the pay-rolls of certain individuals, who, so long as the present laws are enforced, have power of life and death over them. This situation does not favor the development of independent and self-respecting manhood. The owners may not, probably will not, starve their workmen; but that they have the power to do so is distasteful.

And again, there can be no guarantee of social stability in a community where industrial wars are liable at any moment to take place. If a hundred thousand or a million workmen strike, and the public, perceiving that their cause is just, support them, an economic loss must ensue, greater or less, according to circumstances. Hitherto, the owners have always yielded when public opinion was against them; but in the possible case of their holding out, to the continued inconvenience of the public, something would be certain to occur which would be detrimental to all concerned, but to the owners would be simply annihilation. Such a possibility, we say, should be eliminated, and the only way to eliminate it is to abolish private ownership of great industries. Now, this may be done by legislation, but the difficulty there is that legislators are apt to be needy, or at least greedy men, and they are therefore apt to be bribed to betray their trust.

Certainly if money to any amount will serve to persuade judges or juries or senators or presidents that a given law had better not pass, that money will surely be forthcoming before legislation will put an end to private ownership. And the moment the public is convinced that the courts and the Supreme Court of the United States with the rest, can be or has been bought by capitalists, at that moment all law of human making will be in deadly peril, and the people will return to natural law and repossess themselves of their own.

This peril may be more imminent than might be supposed, because men with unlimited powers of bribery at their command, and with ends in view which do not harmonize with public convenience, are strongly tempted to control legislation and governmental procedure in matters of even trifling (comparative) import.

The more plainly this tendency of capital is recognized the nearer is the doom of capitalists. And it strangely happens that great combinations of capital, like this of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co., though they seem at first sight to favor the powers of the latter, in reality lay them open to easy destruction.

For we remember that Burke said that an indictment could not be brought against a whole people. In the same way we perceive the obstacles in the way of holding to account a large and largely unnamed and unknown group of capitalists. But if this group is reduced to two or three the obstacles vanish.

Socialism, which is closely watching the trend of affairs, would see here its best opportunity. It is safe to say that nothing could better have pleased Socialists than the transaction which has just been consummated between the great capitalists controlling the coal, iron and oil industries of this country. When they are ready to strike they will know exactly where to aim their blow. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller have only one neck apiece, and there are millions of lamp-posts at hand. Of course, it may not come to hanging; probably not; it is to be devoutly hoped not; but it may. And if it does, then Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. will be found to have themselves constructed their own gallows.

There would be chaos for awhile; but when society reorganizes itself it would be found that private ownership of great industries would have received a final discouragement. That will be the upshot, whether it be reached by violence or by peaceable common agreement. All visible signs point in that direction. In the latter case, the transient reign of chaos would be avoided.

Meanwhile, as we began by remarking, the rapid evolution of the drama is full of interest. Mr. Carnegie has, whether from wise foresight or for some less sagacious reason, withdrawn his name from the cast, and has thereby only rendered the imminent catastrophe more poignant. Mr. Morgan is stubborn, bold, and by far the ablest actor in the scene. Let us see what he will do next!—Julian Hawthorne, in the *San Francisco Bulletin*.

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#### Anarchy.

To most ignorant people Anarchy is an evil-sounding word; but another name for wickedness, perversity, and chaos. Anarchists are looked upon as a herd of uncombed, unwashed and vile ruffians, bent on killing the rich and dividing their capital. Anarchy, however, to its followers actually signifies "a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all government of man by man"; in short, it means perfect individual liberty. The meaning of Anarchy has so far been interpreted as a state of the greatest disorder; but this is because people have been taught that their affairs are regulated, that they are ruled wisely, and that authority is a necessity.

In by-gone centuries any person who asserted that mankind could get along without the aid of worldly and spiritual authority was considered a madman, and was either placed in a lunatic asylum or burned at the stake; whereas today hundreds of thousands of men and women are infidels, who scorn the idea of a supernatural being. The Freethinkers of today, however, still believe in the necessity of the State, which protects society; they do not desire to know the history of our

barbarian institutions. They do not understand that government did not and cannot exist without oppression; that every government has been in this order: despotism, monarchy, oligarchy, plutocracy; but it has always been a tyranny. It cannot be denied that there are a large number of wise and well-meaning people, who are anxious to better the present conditions, but they have not sufficiently emancipated themselves from the prejudices and superstitions of the dark ages, to understand the true inwardness of the institution called government.

"How can we get along without government?" ask these people. "If our government is bad let us try to have a good one; but we must have government by all means." The trouble is that there is no such thing *per se* as good government, because its very existence is based upon the submission of one class to the other.

"But men must be governed," some remark; "they must be guided by laws." Well, if men are children who must be led, who then is so perfect, so wise, so faultless as to be able to govern and guide his fellows?

We assert that men can and should govern themselves individually. If men are still immature, rulers are the same. Should one man, or a small number of men, lead all the blind millions who compose a nation?

"But we must have some order, at least," says the conservative man. Certainly we must, and we have it, too; it is the inevitable power of natural laws, which manifest themselves in the physical and social world. We may or may not understand these laws, but we must follow them, as they are a part of our existence; we are subject to these laws; but in nature there is no humiliation.

Slavery, as it exists today, means an external master, a lawmaker outside of those he controls; while natural laws are not outside of us—they are in us; we live, we breathe, we think, we move; they are therefore not our enemies, but our benefactors.

Are the laws made by man, the laws on our statute books, in conformity with the laws of nature? No one, we think, can have temerity to assert that they are. It is because the laws prescribed to us by men are not in conformity with the laws of nature that mankind suffers from so much evil. It is absurd to talk of human happiness so long as men are not free.

We do not wonder that some people are so bitterly opposed to Anarchy and its exponents, because it demands changes so radical to existing notions, that the latter offend rather than conciliate by the zealotry of their propaganda.

Patience and resignation are preached to the poor, promising them a reward in heaven. What matters it to the wretched outcast who has no place to call his own, who is craving for a piece of bread, whether the doors of heaven are wider open for him than for the rich? In the face of the great misery of the masses such promises seem bitter irony.

We consider it absolutely necessary that the great mass of the people should never for

a moment forget the gigantic contest that must come before their ideas can be realized; and therefore they must use every means at their disposal—speech, press and deed—to hasten the revolutionary development.

Tremble, ye tyrants of the world! Before your short-sighted vision will soon dawn the red light of retribution.

The proletarians of all countries must unite. We have nothing to lose but our chains, and a world to gain.

If the world of today cannot be unhinged, it will go to pieces.—*Ohne Staat*. Translated by H. G. for FREE SOCIETY.

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#### Education by Events.

The sentence which Holmes quotes from Lum, "There is more education in a single event than in years of agitation by press and speech," is worth hanging up in a gilt frame on the practical agitator's wall. It is only half the truth, to be sure. A prolonged practical exemplification of a social ideal or an approach to it,—for instance, Cecilia, Home, the Firebrand group,—is as good as an event. But the principle is the same, that ordinary heads learn better from deeds than from words.

It is a pity that Anarchists and quasi-Anarchists have so seldom planned any event for propaganda purposes, except events of violence. A bomb or pistol-shot is an effective way of calling public attention to Anarchism, more's the pity. But it has its defects. First, if the thing is done for the sake of calling attention, it is mere murder. Second, even if it is done on an occasion where theoretical justice approves it, it is still the direct opposite of what Anarchism aims at; so it inevitably tends to give people a false notion of the Anarchist ideal, if they learn all their Anarchism through such channels. The Chicago bomb of 1886 was thrown in a just cause, resisting wrongful and illegal violence; it demonstrably caused the enlightenment of many who are now good Anarchist workers; but it powerfully confirmed the popular prejudice that Anarchism consists mainly of bombs. Considering what a curse that prejudice is, it is hard to say that the bomb did more good than harm. Third, the disgusting nature of violence itself gives a fine opportunity to those who wish to rouse blind prejudice against Anarchism, if it never forces itself on the public eye except in such manifestations.

Can we not contrive a plan for doing something thoroughly Anarchistic (or at least something such as ought to characterize a society better than the present) and for doing it so as to constitute an "event" that shall compel public attention? Suppose, in some year of hard times when plenty of comrades have to choose between the jail and the street-corner, we start a wagon carrying and delivering letters along some good route like Broadway for a cent each. (We should make a thumping profit if the police let us alone a month.) Let enough determined cooperation be assured to make certain that as soon as one driver or manager was arrested for infringing on Uncle Sam's monopoly, another should take his place next day, and so on till at least a dozen

or twenty had been consecutively arrested. The cooperators need not all be Anarchists; other malcontents could be utilized to some extent, possibly even the thoughtless unemployed.

What would be the result if twenty men were thus arrested, one after the other, for insisting on doing a forbidden business of unquestioned honesty? Public attention would be drawn as effectively as by a bomb. Now when a bomb is thrown, the first impulse of normal human nature is sympathy for the victim of the bomb, and repugnance for the thrower. In the case of those who oppose capital punishment (who are in general one of the best fields for Anarchist propaganda) we may expect that the disposition to condemn the bomb-thrower will usually be unconquerable. But if men are jailed for carrying letters the normal first impulse is sympathy for the arrested. As soon as the arrests become conspicuous, the government will find itself morally on the defensive, and under fire from all quarters. Probably a single such demonstration might force the repeal of that law within a few years. At worst, it would involve the sacrifice of no lives, only moderate terms of imprisonment for a few comrades; and for this we should get as much attention as for a bomb, with vastly more sympathy, and should give the public a right impression of the Anarchist purpose instead of a false one.

I don't mean to set this forth as an exclusive plan, or as representing an exclusive type of plan, but as one possible sample of what I mean by planning a propaganda "event" other than violence.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

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#### Popular Government.

When the people are recognized as the source of power, the government is perpetual because the people endure forever. . . . If it has evils those evils are endured because the people recognize that they themselves are to blame and that it is within their power to apply any needed remedy.—*The Commoner*.

In the United States the people have been recognized as the source of power for the past century and a quarter. They have never yet discovered that they are to blame for the evils of the government, nor would any politician who expected to stay in the business tell them such was the case. He would assure them they were the fount of virtue and abyss of wisdom. Much less have they ever applied a remedy. All evils, they know, are blamable upon the political party to which they do not belong; and the remedy is to elect the candidate of the party they train with.

He [Bryan] says also:

A government resting on force is, on the other hand, ever unstable.

Then all governments are unstable, for they all rest upon force. The same classes—the wealthy, the influential, and the shrewd—govern in all countries, whether republics or empires. The people are a factor in electing the individual ruler, but not in directing the policy of government. Who hasn't seen the man on a wagon give the slack of the lines to a kid on the seat beside him and permit the youngster to play he was driving? The classes that govern let the voter fool himself in that way; and they are satisfied as long as he doesn't find out the truth and ask to put his hands in front.—Geo. E. MacDonald, in the *Truth Seeker*.



# FREE SOCIETY.

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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.

### Notes.

In order to promote the spirit of solidarity and fraternal cooperation among the comrades, we begin to publish in this issue the names and addresses of comrades engaged in various business occupations. This will not only serve to help those comrades benefitted by this patronage, but will also bring the comrades into closer relation to each other, and thus stimulate efforts of propaganda. We all desire to get as far away from the system of capitalistic robbery as possible, but as long as we are compelled to deal in commercialism, the spirit of solidarity should prompt us to deal with our own comrades wherever possible. Besides, it will also help FREE SOCIETY. All capitalistic sheets are supported to a great extent by advertisements, and why should not Anarchists support their own journals, if they at the same time thereby benefit themselves? All desiring to have their names in the directory will please communicate with us.

All arrearages in subscriptions will be figured at the 50-cent rate up to No. 302, when the raise in the subscription price was made. We would again urge those who wish to continue to receive the paper to send us their subscriptions. We cannot keep "dead-heads" on our list permanently, if they cannot even notify us that they desire to read the paper.

### Note and Comment.

The "White Rats," the vaudeville performers, are on a strike for living wages. Formerly it were only the workingmen who found it necessary to combine for the purpose of resisting capitalistic exploitation; but legalized robbery—so-called commercialism—knows no limit and devours everything within its reach—literature, science, art.

There is certainly great force in Tolstoy's argument that governments will fall when individuals refuse to do military service; and it is undoubtedly one of the best means of propaganda—a means which governments fear the most. Who will deny that it would have shaken the entire foundation of the European governments, if the mass of Socialists had refused to bear arms instead of wasting their time and energy in fooling with the ballot-box? But Tolstoy and his followers forget that once the people are far enough advanced to resist militarism, they are then also ready to repudiate all other institutions of force and robbery.

The readers should note the article on "Morgan, Rockefeller and the Others" by Julian Hawthorne, taken from the San Francisco Bulletin. On every hand the present society is constantly developing problems which it is unable to solve. This is occasionally admitted even by the most conservative with astonishing frankness. The plainly revolutionary character of this article, being printed in a capitalist paper, shows clearly that they are fully aware of the fact that the concentration of enormous wealth and power into the hands of a few men involves an imminent danger to the present society. But no remedy is suggested which does not bear on its face a manifest absurdity. When criminals, taking the words in its usual sense, lose all hope they speak out the truth. Concealment is no longer of use to them, so they find a certain satisfaction in telling the truth. So it is with our present society. Some at least have come to a realization of the fact that its ultimate fate is sealed, and hence their frankness.

It is strange, however, that such articles as the above mentioned are reprinted only in a mutilated form in the Socialist press. This seems to have become a general practice among the Socialist papers. All of Professor Herron's speeches which appear in the Socialist papers are "trimmed" to suit their theories, leaving out all he says against government and law as such, or when he emphatically points out that Socialism is not the goal, but only the road to a free society; or when he points out that the Socialism which is advocated today is in the greatest danger of being swallowed by capitalism. The article on "Rockefeller, Morgan, and the Others," was reprinted in the San Francisco Advance with the second paragraph omitted. The Challenge of Los Angeles, and the Worker's Call, of this city, reprinted Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young," both being careful to leave out parts which are too radical for them. This was done without indicating that anything was omitted. The conservative voter reverences the State, and fears the word "revolution." Therefore all thoughts which may frighten the voter must not be allowed to appear. With the suppression of thought begins the decadence of principles; and nothing shows more clearly how far the Socialists have degraded themselves in their scramble for power than this censorship on radical ideas.

We reprint in this issue a letter written by the Italian comrades of Barre, Vt., to the Times of that place, concerning a spy who was caught among them. This is but one instance of what has been going on among the Italians since the assassination of King Humbert. The Italian consul in New York was severely reprimanded by his government for his failure to discover the "plot" to assassinate the king. The consul is now making up for his former negligence; and our comrades find themselves constantly annoyed by these despicable curs.

Comrade Byington's utterances regarding violence may leave the impression that Anarchists are deliberately "planning" deeds of

violence, which is a wrong notion, however. Anarchists who have committed violent deeds, have done so after constant persecutions and mental tortures, and as individuals were justified in striking at those on the side of their persecutors. And "normal human nature" is a very peculiar thing, Comrade Byington. My "normal first impulse" was always sympathy for the man who committed the violent deed; for I immediately realized the great mental and physical suffering he had endured before he became desperate. "Human nature" is consequently entirely actuated by the views we hold on the matter.

### Origin of Government.

Let us draw, in rough outline, a history of the Social Contract, more truthful than Rousseau's; let us reproduce in broad lines the establishment of political and civil administration.

A roistering blade, a fellow with a clean and heavy hand, espies a rock commanding a defile between two fertile valleys; there he takes up his position and fortifies it. This man in possession falls upon the passers-by, assassinates some, pillages and despoils the greater number. Having the power, he has the right. The travelers who object to being maltreated remain at home, or go round another way. Being left to himself, the brigand reflects that unless he can make some arrangement, he must die of hunger. Let the pedestrians recognize his rights upon the highway, and they shall pass the dangerous spot on payment of a toll. The pact is concluded, and the lord grows rich.

But, lo and behold, another hero, finding the trade a goodly one, takes up his station on the rock opposite. He too slays and plunders, and establishes his rights. He thus curtails the perquisites of his colleague, who scowls and grumbles in his donjon, but remembers that the new-comer has a sturdy fist. Corsair against corsair is not business. He resigns himself to what he cannot prevent, and enters into negotiations; the first was paid, something must be paid to the second; everyone must live.

Thereupon another rogue turns up, and installs himself at another turn in the road; and he too announces, from the height of his watch-tower, that he shall levy his share. His pretensions clash with those of his seniors, who very plainly perceive that if three-pence are to be demanded of a traveler who has only two to give, he will stay at home rather than imperil his person and baggage. Our economists fall. Dick Turpin fashion, upon the intruder, drag him forth, abuse him, force him to take himself off. Then they claim two half farthings in addition, as a just reward for the trouble they have taken in chasing away the spoiler, a legitimate recompense for the pains they are taking to prevent his return. Henceforth these two gentlemen become richer and more powerful than ever, and entitle themselves "Masters of the Defiles," "Overseers of the National Highways," "Defenders of Industry," "Sponsors of Agriculture," all appellations repeated with delight by the simple people; for it pleases them to be imposed upon under the mask of protection, and to pay large tribute to well-bred highwaymen.



It is thus—how admirable is human ingenuity!—it is thus that brigandage becomes orderly, extends, develops, is transformed into the mechanism of public order. The institution of robbery, which is not at all what a vain folk have imagined, gives birth to property and the police.

Political authority, which was quite recently given out to be an emanation of divine right, and a good gift of Providence, was constructed little by little by the care of licensed highwaymen, by the systematic efforts of brigands who were men of influence. The police were formed and educated by ruffians who prowled about the outskirts of the forest, armed with a knotted cudgel, and shouted to the trader, "Your money or your life!" Taxes were the subscription, the premium paid by the robbed to the robbers. Joyous and grateful, the plundered placed themselves behind the knights of the highway, and proclaimed them the supporters of order, of religion, of the family, of property, of morals; consecrated them a legitimate government.—From "Primitive Folk," by Elie Reclus.

#### Are Americans Born Free?

In her "Open Letter" (February 17) Comrade Goldman says,—"the European worker is the product of centuries of despotic rule; he is a born slave—he had no choice in the matter. The American worker is born a 'free man,' with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Is the American worker born a "free man"? What does it signify that something over a century ago a few American men wrote their names on a piece of paper wherein it was stated that "all men are created equal, etc?" Did not the later conduct of these men prove they did not mean what they said? The Declaration of Independence was a bait to catch "suckers." Men were wanted to do some fighting. In what way could they be more easily secured than by offering a prize to every one as an inducement,—that prize FREEDOM? The fighting men, and those who supported them, who were ensnared by these fine-spun phrases, although ardently desiring to be free, what conception had they of freedom?

The freedom the monied men, who issued the Declaration, wished for was simply relief from the exactions of the tribute gatherer "across the water." Rid of this annoyance, they could eat, undisturbed, from the "crib" which the workers were always (?) sure to fill.

The "American workers" at that time, and since that time also, were the progeny of European workers. Of course the Africans, the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese, etc., have done a great deal of work in America, but on account of the advantages accruing to the "crib" feeders if race prejudices can be fostered among the toilers, these "savage" and "heathen" people are not classed as "American laborers"—the Americans egotistically assuming superiority in "manly qualities" over all "foreigners." The "American workers," then, are victims of the same conquests, the same "despotic rule," religious, political and industrial as the European workers, and are therefore subject to similar prejudices, thoughts and

customs; entertain like ideals. The Church, the State, morals, money, interest, rent, profit—all the important ornamentations of force, and hocus-pocus appendages of material benefit to the idler class of the "old country" to bleed the laboring class, has been shipped, intact, to the new field of exploitation—"the land of the free"! The minor matter of a king "we" glide along without, but upon the elected president is graciously bestowed kingly power! Our "codfish aristocracy" supplants "nobility" very well. Wealthy people can collect profits with as unscrupulous coolness as if they were endowed with fixed and hereditary titles, and can play the role of the "great" with passable ease with nothing but Mr., Judge, Hon., or Col. hitched to their names for handles.

The spirit of conquest abiding with the American "common people,"—for the "wilderness" had to be "subdued" and "developed,"—may give their bearing an air of independence a trifle different from their European "cousins," but it is not the demeanor of free people.

I am an American, and have associated with Americans almost exclusively, the greater part of my life. As I see him, the American is BORN A SLAVE. Copied from the common law of England, the country's statutes make a wife the "dependent" of her husband; the children the property of their father; the wealthy class the overseer and patron of the poor. The non-producer supervises the culture or non-culture of the mental and physical faculties of the producer. Enslaving religious and patriotic teachings predominate. Among my earliest recollections are those of Bible reading and singing patriotic songs in school. The former did not interest me, and even the continuous repetitions in church and Sunday school made little impression; but the patriotic trash—ah! that permeated every fibre of my make-up! and custom—how abjectly I worshiped at its shrine! When I discarded as far as possible the whole enslaving humbuggery, religious, political, commercial and moral, what heartaches my former slave associates suffered on my account!

Americans not "born slaves"? I think that is a mistake. Surely, surely, they are born of slave parents who have been thoroughly drilled in submissiveness.

Freedom among them is simply the shouting of the word—it is devoid of meaning.

VIROQUA DANIELS.

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

#### A Spy in Barre, Vt.

Salvatore Gerardelli, an Italian spy who has been in Barre for two months or more, left the city Sunday evening because his usefulness here was past. Although here two months, he was unable to find anything of a dangerous nature among the local Italians; and the fact that his purpose here had become known destroyed his usefulness.

About two months ago there arrived in Barre a short, thick-set, well-dressed Italian, wearing glasses. He sought out one of the Italians, as all new comers generally do, and told him he had been obliged to leave New York because of a row he had with another man over a woman, and he wanted work. The stranger, who gave his name as

Sabatore Gerardelli, was asked for references, but he had none. He was assisted to get work. Gerardelli at once began to cultivate the acquaintance of the Italians composing the Guippa di Studii Sociale, and to attend their meetings, which are open to all. He professed to be a much more active Anarchist than any member of the club, which attracted undue attention to him, and which soon developed into a suspicion that he was not what he professed to be.

Last Sunday morning a letter addressed to the society was left on the steps leading to their hall over Scampini's, and a watch set. When Gerardelli came along to attend the Sunday morning meeting he picked it up and pocketed it, leaving the meeting soon after entering. But he soon returned, and a member of the society then discovered he had lost a letter. Gerardelli was declared to have it. He protested his innocence, but to no purpose, as he had been seen to pick it up, and he was denounced as a spy. He weakened, and admitted he was, that the Italian consul at New York had engaged him to come here, and that he was receiving \$30 a month.

"Don't hurt me," he begged, "and I will go away and work at honest labor. I will give up all my letters."

He was taken at his word, and went to his room, where he delivered up some twelve or fifteen letters from the consul and signed a confession that he had been a paid spy of the Italian government.

He departed that afternoon.

His confession, translated, is:

I, the undersigned, of my own free will declare that on the first of this year I was taken into the service of political espionage of the Italian consul of New York, Bianchi, at a salary of \$30 a month, and was sent by the same to Barre to watch the Anarchists of that place, and to report all of their doings to the said consul.

For the truth I must declare that the Barre Anarchists are all a good honest set of workmen, and in all their meetings they have held nothing but a discussion of social science.

I want also to declare that the Anarchists of Barre are not by any means the sanguinary set the Italian government likes to picture them. And in fact today, after they had me in the trap, and I had admitted my crime, they mercifully spared my life, and I did not suffer the least injury from them.

Ashamed of myself and of the low and mean work I was doing, I have decided to break up all my relations with the Italian consulate, whose correspondence I willingly turn over to the Anarchists, and from today I propose to earn for myself the honest bread of the worker, not that of the ruffian.

GERARDELLI SALVATORE.

Editor Times:—The above letter will probably satisfy all whose curiosity has been aroused by the piece in the *Telegram* of yesterday. This is the whole truth, notwithstanding the insinuations of the *Telegram* that there was a gash in the fellow's throat when he left Barre.

But this is not and probably will not be the last time that the *Telegram* hopes there might be some chance for it to run down the Italians of Barre colony. We have sometimes thought it was due to the fact that they do not take to "Range" contests.

CIRCOLO STUDI SOCIALI.

The tyrants of the earth are united in one close brotherhood, and though they sometimes fall out among themselves, they are solidly united when it comes to crushing the liberties of the people. But remember it is the slave that makes the tyrant.

### Among the Unions.

Henceforth if an employe of the Great Western Railroad takes a drink of beer or other intoxicating liquor, or enters a saloon when either on or off duty, he is immediately discharged. This is a big step backwards toward feudalism. It is not good that trainmen should be under the influence of liquor while on duty when the lives, not only of themselves but of hundreds of others are in their hands, yet it is a scandalous invasion of the freedom of the individual and serves no purpose, other than that of acquainting the individual with the abjectness of his slavery, to prevent an engineer or fireman or any other employe, for that matter, but of these especially because of the hard work they perform and the heat and gases they must endure and inhale. I say it's an absolute wrong to say to these men, tired, and with throats parching with drouth, "Thou shalt not quench thy thirst with a glass of beer or wine."

Men are being uniformed, ordered to shave their beards and mustaches, and compelled to sign ironclad agreements deeding away the possible inventions of their brains, and many other humiliating things before they are given a chance to use the tools made by themselves, or the land, the common inheritance of all; but this telling of men particularly and specifically what they shall not do during the time when they are supposed to be beyond the jurisdiction of their masters, is the greatest blow of all, and one that does not at all surprise the student of events.

The question is how much more of this degradation will the American working class submit to? What will the railway unions say to this?

\* \* \*

Anarchists have ever maintained that labor, to emancipate itself, must strike the blow with its own right hand, and not depend upon or expect others to free it. No law will do it unless labor itself stands behind the law to compel its enforcement. But when labor is intelligent enough to know how to free itself, and determines to do it, then all law will become superfluous, and to dally with it will be looked upon as the height of foolishness.

\* \* \*

The politician in order to gull the union man into boosting him into the public crib where he can feed well and become fat on the taxes the union man and non-union man produced by the sweat of their brows, will promise laws for their benefit, and will sometimes even pass them, and inscribe them on the statute books; as, for instance, the passage of a law sometime ago by the Albany (N. Y.) city council, providing for a minimum scale of wages for city work.

The workers thought themselves blest. "We need bandy no longer with contractors," said they, "it took but a small effort to get this law passed, and now we are safe from a starvation wage forevermore. How much easier than the old order method, the strike? What fools we were not to have discovered this long ago." Alas! Poor deluded slaves, yours was but the dream of a waking moment. Now you are awake, the beautiful scene has vanished and a terrible relapse is upon you.

After the statute was enacted establishing a scale of wages in Albany, the contractors obeyed it for awhile. They soon tired of it, however, and seeing the workers without any force of their own behind them, they having innocently depended upon the law to keep their wages up, refused to pay the "lawful" price. Mr. Politician, to make his bluff good, refused to pay Mr. Contractor for the work his men did for the city, on the grounds of his not paying the established wage.

Now a politician and a city contractor are always dear friends, or brothers, or perhaps one and the same fellow under another name, or how would they work together, one giving the other the jobs? The worker is blind to this, as he is to many other things, so the refusal of the politician to pay the contractor as an excellent grand stand play looked well to him. But Mr. Contractor went to the court, the other partner in the deal, and Mr. Judge declared the law unconstitutional and ordered the politician to pay the contractor.

That is how it works, my fellow slave. Everything was all right, only for that "damned" constitution. But the three partners knew it all the while, and now they are having a wine supper over the joke. You may eat grass.

\* \* \*

Unionists, there is no royal road to freedom. Freedom is above, not below. You cannot reach it on a taboggan slide nor astride a ballot-box; you must climb the crazy mountain of your own prejudices and credulities. Turn your back upon the sleek-tongued place-hunter. Scowl at him and start to climb.

JAY FOX.

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### Here and There.

Comrade Salvatore Pallavicini, who for some time edited our contemporary *La Question Sociale*, at Paterson, N. J., died in Paris on January 20.

Some time ago the dailies of Rumania spread a sensational report that two Bohemian Anarchists were in Bukarest with the intention to assassinate the Rumanian and Servian kings. At the same time our Bohemian comrades of this country received communications from Brucka and Nabelek, two comrades who were exiled from Austria, and had been living in Bukarest for several years, that they had succeeded in spreading our ideas in the shoemaker unions, gaining their sympathy and endorsement. Two days after advice was received that three Anarchists, among whom were Brucka and Nabelek, were arrested, being accused of plotting against the precious lives of the kings. Such are the means of governments to combat progressive ideas.

The law intended to exterminate the Anarchists has been withdrawn by the Italian government. Perhaps it dawned upon the brain of the governors that a sword has two edges.

The Italian and Spanish comrades of New York and Brooklyn have issued a manifesto exposing the recent police outrage in prohibiting the play "A Man Without a Country." The circular informs us that the

arrangements for the play were made by the groups, G. Bresci and Parsons. The proceeds were for the benefit of the papers *La Question Sociale* and *El Despertar*, and not for the family of Bresci, as was first stated in these columns. It appears further that this play has several times been produced in Italy without hindrance, while in America it is suppressed! Everywhere in Europe the workers are striving for more freedom and resist the authorities, and here in America the people are indifferent and even applaud those who steal their liberties. It is taking this people a long time to learn that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Our French comrades who were deported to New Caledonia, not long ago published in the Paris *Temps Nouveaux* an account of horrible tortures perpetrated upon Comrade Gallo, who has been imprisoned on the island Nou for six years. In reply to his complaint about maltreatment and insufficient food he was put in an insane asylum, notwithstanding the fact that the physicians knew he was sane. One went so far as to frankly tell him he was convinced of his sanity, but being an Anarchist his place was in an asylum. When he was finally released from the asylum he resembled a corpse rather than a living being. Shortly thereafter Gallo received thirty days in a dark cell because he had exposed the physician. He again complained about the poor furnished linen. The examining physician insulted him outrageously, forbade him all medicine, and recommended for him another month of dark imprisonment. As Gallo protests energetically against such treatment, he is constantly kept in a dark cell, and is there murdered by inches. The letter is dated November 18, 1900, and concludes with a strong appeal to the French comrades to stir public opinion on behalf of this tortured man.

Strikes continue all over France. The Paris dressmakers are still on strike. At Ontecan, Chalons, Sainteloy, and several other places the miners, metal workers and lacemakers have been restrained by large military forces. The Marseilles dockhands have succeeded in completely paralyzing shipping. Steamers are going to load and unload elsewhere. It is believed that syndicated labor at every Mediterranean port will soon strike in sympathy. Already the Genoese coal heavers have assured the Marseilles strikers that they will neither load nor unload vessels arriving from Marseilles. The strike threatens to assume an international character.

Judge Charles L. Benedict is dead. He is the judge who made the rulings in the Bennett case, which has served as a precedent for the Comstock gang in all its nefarious work. There are occasions upon which the strongest freethinker finds it hard to discard the belief of an eternal hell.

President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University predicts an emperor of the United States, a prediction that the writer of these lines made a year ago. The Boston *Times* quotes the professor as saying:

We shall have an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years unless we can create a public sentiment which, regardless of legislation, will regulate the

trusts. President Hadley uttered this at the Old South church last night, the report says, before a congregation largely made up of the richest church society in New England. In the course of his address he said:

"Trusts have got to be regulated by public sentiment, and that public sentiment is not merely the opinion of any particular part of the whole people, but is a readiness to accept, in behalf of the community, restrictions, independent of the question of whether you or I shall be personally harmed by those restrictions. You say that the community will not be governed by this principle. We must expect that the community will, however, for the alternative is an emperor in Washington within twenty-five years. Public affairs can no longer be played as a game, but must be directed by an intelligent and active public conscience. Individual effort is helpless and hopeless."

Comrade W. S. Allen, who was recently imprisoned for a year for distributing a leaflet, informs us that he has been released through habeas corpus proceedings.

At the last meeting of the Edinburgh Trades Council attention was called to the fact that it was proposed to arm the mounted police of the city with swords, and the delegates discussed at some length the causes which could have led to this innovation, among the ideas being one that it was intended to arm the police in this way so that they might be ready to put down any labor troubles in future, while another was that this was the first outward and visible sign of the growth of militarism in our midst. As the Council could see no use for the swords and did not regard them as ornaments, it was decided to offer opposition to the proposal.—*Advance*.

The trades unions of this country would not bother their heads with such trifles; the workingmen of this country are accustomed to being clubbed and shot by the police and militia, and do not mind a few scars and bruises as long as they are dealt out in the name of "law and order."

#### Comrade Kropotkin at Boston.

They were all there; all the Anarchists, Russian radicals, Nihilists, Hebrew and other Socialists, and also many leading social reformers of this city. It was the reception given in Paine Memorial Hall last evening to Prince Peter A. Kropotkin, by the Anarchist group of Boston.

It was a most cosmopolitan, picturesque and enthusiastic gathering. The audience taxed the size of the big hall.

There were many women present, nearly as many as men, numbers of them being warm adherents of "the cause," and they were all quite demonstrative of their admiration for the "grand old man," as Kropotkin is affectionately referred to by the faithful.

He was vociferously applauded again and again, and his fervid, long, yet interesting address on "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal," was listened to with the greatest attention by all present.

The meeting was opened by Mr. A. H. Simpson with a few fitting remarks, and then Mr. Edwin D. Mead was introduced as the chairman of the evening. Mr. Mead was highly eulogistic in the tribute he paid to Prince Kropotkin, to whom he referred as "the most valiant, courageous and noble

champion of freedom in our time," and as one who has done and suffered more for a great cause than any other man living.

The Lowell Institute, he said, did itself honor by inviting Prince Kropotkin to its platform, and the *Atlantic Monthly* did itself honor by inviting Kropotkin's autobiography to its pages.

He did not agree with Kropotkin in many things, the chairman said, but there was in his teachings the spirit of fraternity and cooperation that he admired greatly.

Mr. Kropotkin began by saying that he was delighted to address such an audience in Boston on a subject that was so near and dear to his heart; that the comrades in London will be glad to learn that such a meeting was held in Boston, where utterance was given to the ideas that were so dear to them.

Ten years ago such a meeting would not have been possible, he said; the mere word Anarchism would have been enough to drive people away from the doors of the hall. All new ideas, he pointed out, and all new presentations of old ideas, are at first bitterly opposed by those who do not work for opinions, but who inherit them.

Then the speaker went into a learned yet lucid and impressive enunciation of Anarchism, its literature, its philosophy and ideal, laying particular stress on the difference between State Socialism and Anarchism or Communism. He talked in a strikingly characteristic and fervid manner.

Here was no longer Kropotkin, the lecturer on Russian literature before the Lowell Institute, where he does quite well, but is not at home—for literature is not his forte; here was Kropotkin, the enthused and enthusing agitator; the stirring, inspiring champion of his cause, the idolized leader of his movement, who feels and lives every word he utters.

Among other things he severely criticized State Socialism, which means concentration, and would lead to a huge slavery, and, in contrast to this, pleaded for Communism or the free, spontaneous voluntary commune, which would have absolute home rule and the highest individual freedom. Towards the close he made an eloquent defense of the Anarchists who have used violence against the powers that be, describing the countless cruelties and brutalities of kings, rulers and all governments, practised upon the poor, oppressed, starving, defenseless people.

He spoke of the various persecutions of governments that he had himself experienced, of how the Spanish tortured the Anarchists, and then said: "It is we who have a right to speak of violence, not they." Governments and rulers, he stated, have caused and are still causing destruction of hundreds and thousands of human beings.—*Boston Post*.

#### A FINANCE COMMITTEE.

"Chris, there's too many of you shoemakers."

"How do you make that out, Pat?"

"Why, there's too many shoes; and it's you that makes them. Look at those boxes of them; they can't be sold."

"I think," says Chris, "it's you hatmakers there's

too many of. Look at the stock of hats in every shop, going out of fashion before they are used."

"Well," says Pat, "what are you grumbling about? You're wearing a shabby enough hat—"

"It's no worse than your boots," says Chris.

Pat scratched his head. "No," he said, "but there is overproduction of boots. I heard that in Mr. Rockefeller's 'School of Social Economics.'"

"I think," says Chris, "it's a lack of circulating medium. I read that in 'Coin's Financial School.'"

"Stuff!" says Pat. "I'll trade you a hat for a pair of boots; that is, when I get some fur to make it out of and find time to make it. I have to work twelve hours a day now."

"Well, I'd like to trade; but, you see, I have to sell every pair of these shoes at the best price I can get for them, to get some clothes for the children. I made the grocer take out his bill in shoes last week, because I haven't any money; but I can't spare any more. The rent is due this week."

"Gad," says Pat, "I'll try that on my landlord. I'll make him take hats. I don't believe he'll do it, though; for he gets his rent in advance. Guess he'll put me out first. Then how will I sell hats, or trade them, either, with no place to live at all, at all?"

"Mine would put me out for sure," says Chris.

"Sure, I thought you owned this shanty?" says Pat.

"So I do own the shanty, but I pay ground rent; that is, I put up the shanty myself. The landlord claims that he owns it now."

"Why don't you move over to the field opposite, and—"

"Why, the owner there would charge me all I could make, just the same as this one."

"Well, if you get him to take a pair of shoes or so, what will he give you for them?"

"Oh, if he takes the shoes, he won't put me out."

"I'll take the shoes; and I won't put you out, either," says Pat.

"Don't talk nonsense. You don't own the land. He does."

"How did he get it?"

"Bought it, same as you will have to buy my shoes?"

"From the one that made it, same as you made the shoes?"

"Well, no," says Chris. "I suppose he bought it from some one that got it from the Indians. 'Crows' they called them. I hear tell they were Chinese originally."

"Sure the Indians didn't make it, nor even fence it in. I don't believe the Indians owned it anyhow, any more than the crows that flew over it."

"Well, anyway, he has it now, and the lots opposite, too. The people here wanted to dig the sand out of them, but he wouldn't let them at any price. If he had, the people around here would be doing well. It's hardly taxed at all, either; and I have to pay a lot on this bit of a shed. Don't the landlord! He does nothing but collect the rent. Here he is now. Mr. Onus, I ain't got the rent yet."

"Ain't got the rent? If you ain't got the rent, Chris, you'll get the sack. Why don't you go out and peddle your shoes? I never saw so many people around here with bad shoes."

"Well, you see, sir, it's their rent day, too; and no one seems to have any money for bread, let alone shoes."

"Well, now, I'll tell you what it is, my man," says the land owner, "I'll wait till Monday, and not a day longer. I've heard all about you. You spend your time thinking and stirring up your neighbors, instead of working hard, as every man ought to. You're a kind of Anarchist."

"Say, Pat," says Chris, "do you know what I think? There's an overproduction of land owners. Why don't we vote to tax those fellows out of their boots?"

"Faith, I would," says Pat, as he showed his toes. "It's long enough they've taxed us out of ours."—From "Things As They Are," by Bolton Hall.

#### Literature.

*The State and Socialism. Socialism and Internationalism. Two Lectures by Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives La Monte. International Library Co., New York. Price 10 cents.*

These are forcible statements of Socialism, as understood by the iron-clad Marxists of today. They are well-expressed, but unduly dogmatic.

J. F. M.



## 305

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## For BOSTON.

Farewall 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 20, A. H. Verrall will speak on "The Essential Condition to Freedom."

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 PHILADELPHIA.

International Commemoration of the Paris Commune, under the auspices of the Social Science Club, Industrial Hall, Broad and Wood Sts., Sunday, March 24, 1901, 8 p. m. Music, songs, recitations and speeches in English, German, French, Italian, and Jewish. Speakers: George F. Stephens, Ed. Kuppinger, Geo. Ulrich, Geo. Brown, V. de Cleyre, J. Kayser, Dr. M. Barbour, J. Menta, L. Dujardin, J. Myers, J.

Lubasky, J. Kirschner, H. Parker. Music under the direction of H. Bergman. Admission free. All welcome.

## The Letter-Box.

H. S., New York.—You desire to know what we intend to put in the place of government? Nothing, absolutely nothing; if a patient is sick we do not ask what shall replace the disease we are attempting to cure; government has been the scourge of mankind for ages, and its removal will allow us to live a free and natural life.

W. J. McC., Dallas Tex.—The misspelling of your name was certainly a mistake. As to the rest of your letter, it came too late. Your complaint has been sent to M.

N., San Francisco, Cal.—Your "stuff" received and pigeon-holed. There are many good thoughts in the article, and would have been pleased to publish the same if it had been more cohesive.

W. W. G., Scituate, Mass.—The design of a new heading for FREE SOCIETY was lost here in a fire. We would beglad if you should design another one. Perhaps this note will induce other artists among our readers to sent in designs for a new heading,—and the fittest shall survive.

W. S., New York City.—Your idea of forming a group for the purpose of spreading Anarchist literature is good, and if you could find other comrades to assist you, we may say here that the members of the Free Reading Room, 1459 Third Ave., have offered their apartments where the English speaking comrades can meet without paying rent.

I. K., City.—Never mind, comrade. When our readers are out of employment or otherwise in straitened circumstances, they are always excused, and may pay when they are able to do so. We would be glad to make your acquaintance.

J. T., Alburas, Cal.—Whether wise or unwise, the move has been made and we shall not shrink from the truth because we are near the lion's den, nor shall we fear persecution.

H. Z., San Francisco, Cal.—We are glad to hear from you and appreciate your encouraging words. Greetings both to you and L.

## RECEIPTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Gaustad, Margolius, Maisel, Horvich, Schmitt, Southworth, Kaplan, Landa, Zickendorf, Pope, Nahl, Boehm, Mayer, Frank, each \$1. Ballou, Rosenblum, Robinson, Goldberg, Liatti, Velasco, Frenchmen, McConnell, Cooper, Trentini, Guidici, Hicks, Siegmeister, Van Ornum, Clarkson, Hendrie, Targum, Sale, each 50 cents. Truitt, Pauly, Tuch, Greenwald, Shooib, Michaels, each 25c.

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## MEETINGS.

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

PITTSBURGH.—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

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