



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 408.

I Welcome Disorder.

(From *The Valley Magazine*.)

When confined to the need of defense
I welcome disorder in the field of work!
Why cry "Peace, peace!" when there is no peace?
When the very air gluts with the clash of interests?
Until my opportunities for making goods shall equal
thine,
Until you cease shading the sunlight of joy from my
life,
Until you stop siphoning the flow of my efforts into
your corrupting coffers,
Until you release your grip upon my throat and let me
breathe the air of freedom—
The freedom to live, laugh, love and be happy in my
own way,
So long as my way does not obstruct your way—
I shall raise the hue and cry,
I shall startle the dreamless slumbers of the despoilers
of toil!

Until now, industrial peace means humiliation, slavery,
death!
It means the gelatinous bones of our babes shall be
molded into money for marauders;
That the mothers and daughters of toil shall be driven
to shame as the price of subsistence;
That mud from the wheels of the wealthy shall gleefully
splash in our faces
And blind our eyes to the splendor of our own work
which they enjoy,
And the squalor of our own environs,
And the meanness of our own estate.
It means that I may work only when you let me,
And you let me only when you may take more than
you give.
It means that I cannot look into your eyes with the
frankness of friendship,
For how can the flowers of friendship grow in the
gloom of dependence?
How can love linger in the lap of luxury and share its
joy with bitterness and woe?

So long as idleness and privilege revel in unearned ease
I shall raise the hue and cry,
I shall shriek into your unwilling ears,
I shall chant with a frantic's voice until your deadened
conscience shall be aroused to sensibility.
I shall clank my industrial chains until you are driven
to remorse and retribution;
And then I shall take you in my arms as a lost brother
returned to the home of righteousness,
Where you may know the joy of owning only what
you earn.
Where you may feel the lofty dignity of a workman
with no spurred loafer goading him beyond his
strength and reaping no gain for its expense,
Where you shall give measure for measure,
Where you shall be no man's master or no man's
menial.
I shall work with you in making the Kingdom of
Heaven on earth,
Where the art of free fingers may equal the dreams of
Aladdin,
Where even the meanest who wills may make material
comforts in plenty, without let or hindrance.
Where the plague of money madness will not deaden
the conscience or sear the soul.

The sunshine of peace can gladden our hearts only
when the leaden clouds of injustice roll away.

Pleasing Progress ordains that the fashioners of the
world's wealth shall not bow in meek assent to
the power of privilege;
And Nature says the under dog in the fight may bark,
bite, bruise, damage, hurt, tear, growl, injure,
lacerate, aye, even kill if necessary.
The end indeed justifies the means, and the cause of the
workers is defensible indeed.
Therefore, for those who toil and toil,
Who work and labor and produce,
Who are denied the fullness of their efforts
I have no protesting frown when they strike, vote,
fight, appeal, struggle, contest, agitate
For the right to life, liberty, property, happiness,
Be it by mobs, by individuals, by unions, by brigades,
by armies:
Or strive with rumpus or passivity or embattled war-
fare,
With winning words or moral suasion or abuse or
satire or argument or lies or truth,
With fists or clubs or bullets or ballots or cannon or
dynamite
To throw off the deadly load of industrial spoliation.
Think not that we dare not when we do not.
It is war, and war is hell, and hell is disorder,
And disorder is the boiling of the industrial caldron
that purifies.
It is death to those who falter, to those who hesitate,
to those who are weakest
And the world's history says the workers are weakest,
Because less bloodthirsty,
The robbed are never so desperate as the robbers.

Ah, brothers, are we eternally to have a clash of
arms, a clash of classes, a clash of interests?
How I pray and plead for the milder means;
How I appeal to the man in men, to leave off the bar-
barities of the beasts;
How I urge that ravaging storms of violence may
purify the air, but they leave ruin and desolation
behind;
How I press that reason and patience and persistence,
like growing plants that move boulders, may
displace the rudest wrongs;
How I strive to show that as warmth from the sun
produces flowers brilliant with beauty out of
the most repellant soilure,
So may the glow of love and kindness and gentility,
From even the bitterest enmity, the most unyielding
grudge, the greatest animosity force
A sense of justice as tough as oak,
A sympathy as balmy as a summer breeze,
A fellowship as strong as the ebbing tide,
A friendship as tender as a mother's love.
But—
When the milder means cannot avail,
When stubborn opulence persists in ignoring the right-
ful need of toil,
The blame for turmoil must rest,
At the fall of the angels, upon the powers of darkness;
And then, when within the realms of defense,
With open arms I welcome disorder in the field of work.
—Joseph A. Labadie.

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A woman cannot be stolen from a man,
for the very good reason that a man cannot
own a woman. No one but a cur would
accept money for the "alienation" of affec-
tions.—*Ironicus*.

The Nature of the State.

Everywhere it seems to have been taken
for granted that force and violence are neces-
sary to man's welfare upon the earth. End-
less volumes have been written, and count-
less lives been sacrificed in an effort to prove
that one form of government is better than
another; but few seem seriously to have con-
sidered the proposition that all government
rests on violence and force, is sustained by
soldiers, policemen and courts, and is con-
trary to the ideal peace and order which
make for the happiness and progress of the
human race. Now and then it is even ad-
mitted that in the far distant ages yet to
come men may so far develop toward the
angelic that political governments will have
no need to be. This admission, like the
common concept, presumes that governments
are good; that their duties undertaken and
performed consist in repressing the evil and
the lawless, and protecting and caring for
the helpless and the weak.

If the history of the State proved that gov-
erning bodies were formed for this purpose
or filled this function, there might be some
basis for the assumption that government is
necessary to preserve order and to defend the
weak. But the origin and evolution of the
political State show quite another thing—it
shows that the State was born in aggression,
and that in all the various stages thru which
it has passed its essential characteristics have
been preserved.

The beginnings of the State can be traced
back to the early history of the human race
when the strongest savage seized the largest
club and with this weapon enforced his rule
upon the other members of the tribe. By
means of strength and cunning he became
the chief and exercised this power, not to
protect the weak but to take the good things
of the earth for himself and his. One man
by his unaided strength could not long keep
the tribe in subjection to his will, so he chose
lieutenants and aids, and these too were taken
for their strength and prowess, and were
given a goodly portion of the fruits of power
for the loyalty and help they lent their chief.
No plans for the general good ever formed a
portion of the scheme of government evolved
by these barbarous chiefs. The great mass
were slaves, and their lives and liberty held
at the absolute disposal of the strong.
Ages of evolution have only modified the

rigors of the first rude States. The divine right to rule, the absolute character of official power, is practically the same today in most of the nations of the world as with the early chiefs who executed their mandates with a club. The ancient knight who, with battle-axe and coat of mail, enforced his rule upon the weak, was only the forerunner of the tax-gatherer and tax-devourer of today. Even in democratic countries, where the people are supposed to choose their rulers, the nature of government is the same. Growing from the old ideas of absolute power, these democracies have assumed that some sort of government was indispensable to the mass, and no sooner had they thrown off one form of bondage than another yoke was placed upon their necks, only to prove in time that this new burden was no less galling than the old. Neither do the people govern in democracies more than in any other lands. They do not even choose their rulers. These rulers choose themselves and by force and cunning and intrigue arrive at the same results that their primitive ancestors reached with the aid of a club.

And who are these rulers without whose aid the evil and corrupt would destroy and subvert the defenseless and the weak? From the earliest time these self-appointed rulers have been conspicuous for all those vices that they so persistently charge to the common people, whose rapacity, cruelty and lawlessness they so bravely curb. The history of the past and the present alike proves beyond a doubt that if there is, or ever was any large class, from whom society needed to be saved, it is those same rulers who have been placed in absolute charge of the lives and destinies of their fellow men. From the early kings who, with blood-red hands, forbade their subjects to kill their fellowmen, to the modern legislator, who, with the bribe money in his pocket, still makes bribery a crime, these rulers have ever made laws not to govern themselves but to force obedience on their serfs.

The purpose of this autocratic power has ever been the same. In the early tribe the chief took the land and the fruits of the earth, and parceled them amongst his retainers who helped preserve his strength. Every government since then has used its power to divide the earth amongst the favored few and by force and violence to keep the toiling, patient, suffering millions from any portion of the common bounties of the world.

In many of the nations of the earth the real governing power has stood behind the throne, has suffered its creatures and their puppets to be the nominal rulers of nations and States, but in every case the real rulers are the strong, and the state is used by them to perpetuate their power and serve their avarice and greed.—*Clarence S. Darroiv, in "Resist Not Evil."*

Clean your mind first; get out of it every thought that reflects unfavorably upon sex. Then you can talk to your child.—*Ironicus.*

He who hates the flesh will have a starved soul.—*Ironicus, in Lucifer.*

Present Conditions.

There is a saying that, "The necessities of the people are their opportunities, and the greater their extremities the more inflexible are they in their demands."

The laboring men and women are confronted with a stupendous problem—a problem which they alone can solve. It may be stated this way: shall we continue to uphold the system of government—a system that takes from the toiler not only the wages for his toil but even the opportunities to work a system that makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, or shall we declare ourselves for justice?

Never in the world's history has there existed just such conditions. A nation whose broad domains contain every necessity for human life; vast forests, undeveloped mines, thousands of acres of fertile soil as yet untouched by the plow; a nation capable of supporting in comfort many times our present population.

In looking over the history of our country we can imagine with what universal joy our forefathers welcomed the dawn of the republic. They saw the throne, the scepter, and the crown roll away into the darkness of the past, and hailed the advent of liberty, equality and fraternity. They believed that with a free field and no favor, peace and prosperity would reign forever. Men's minds and hands were suddenly released to an activity never known before.

Invention followed invention, labor-saving machinery multiplied, wares of every sort were produced with incredible swiftness and cheapness. Money seemed to flow from the ground, and vast fortunes "rose like an exhalation," as Milton says. With them, came the love of money for its own sake, and along with the love of money comes the hate of men. They learned to place such low estimate on human life, that no thought was taken of the thousands who in the depths of steamships fed the fires with their lives.

No thought of those who died to free light and air, toiling in the mines to bring forth the treasures of wealth. No thought of the myriads of men, women and children, who were swept into the whirlpools of poverty and vice because of this same labor saving machinery wrongfully used.

Wealth became king. It called itself capital and demanded the right to do its will wherever and however it would, without question from the people, who are the final law. And this is where we find ourselves today. Capitalized wealth ruling the people—rewarding its own, with gains from twenty to one thousand per cent, and a race of helpless humans furnishing the labor that operates its machines.

All over our land are found great cities where the rich flaunt their splendor in palaces, while the poor swarm in squalid tenements. The country is drained of its life and force to feed the centers of commerce and industry. All seems tending toward monopoly.

What a strange condition of things! Ragged men starving in the streets, while store houses are piled full of rotting harvests the farmer toiled from dawn till dusk to grow. Warehouses feeding the moth with stuffs that the operators have woven

their lives into at the loom. Instead of the people owning and controlling their own products, the people are owned and controlled by the giant, monopoly.

Workingmen with the instinct of self-preservation endeavor to bind themselves together for protection, but as yet they are unable to free themselves from this giant's chains. Monopoly will soon have control of all our resources: own the land, the mines under it and the shops over it; the seas and the ships that sail the seas; will control both transportation and distribution.

Justice itself has become a misnomer. Courts and legislators are bought and sold. The press is no less corrupted and hard to control. Silently and surely the scheme goes on—the people struggling in their ignorance toward a higher civilization, but helpless seemingly as the child who strikes at the advancing wave of the incoming tide. But a change is coming. Education will bring the people to a realization of their power, is fast elevating them to that point where they perceive and understand the great problem of proper association. It may not come soon; we may be obliged to pass thru a darker period in our history than has ever yet marked the steps of human progress. But I cannot think that with the brilliant intellects of thousands of our people we will allow the lamp of progress to be completely darkened. All over the world are those who are pointing out the dangers that menace us, and showing us the way to relief. Will we heed the call? Shall we march with stupid indifference to the polls and vote for a continuation of monopolistic rule, or shall we assert our individuality as a free people? Time will tell.

Women awake! No true woman will ever willingly fasten the chains of slavery on her children: with prophetic eyes she sees the coming of the storm, and lest she too be engulfed in its fury, teach her to protect herself and posterity. She shares the peril of the hour. May she enjoy the triumph of the future!

MYRA PEPPER.

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Thomas Hardy's "Tess of the D'Urbervilles."

Once in many years does the reader of English fiction come upon a book like Hardy's "Tess of the D'Urbervilles." It is a novel which, in my opinion, ranks easily with the English masterpieces. It is a remarkably strong work; poetic, philosophic, and artistic—for Hardy is poet and philosopher as well as literary artist. Of course "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" is a novel with a purpose, and this fact detracts from its artistic merits in the opinion of critics with whom "art for art's sake" is the supreme test of literary achievement. Personally, I care little for these narrow, conventional standards. This is not the time and place, however, to discuss the point. I may say, in passing, that for me the phrase "art for art's sake" expresses, at best, only a half-truth. "Art for life's sake" seems a truer phrase and appeals to me much more forcibly. I fail to see, therefore, why "art and the purpose" necessarily exclude each other. The two, I believe, may be combined to form a better whole. And this very thing Hardy has done in "Tess of the D'Urbervilles."

Before proceeding, let me remind those who have read the book of the main course

of the story, so that they may be better able to follow my discussion of its purpose.

You will readily recall the story of poor Tess: her innocent fall; the death of her child, Sorrow, the Undesired; her love for Angel Clare; their marriage and mutual confessions, followed immediately by Clare's rejection of Tess. You will recall, too, how strongly Tess was devoted to her husband; his long absence and tardy return, repentant of his desertion; the meeting between him and Tess; her murder of Alec, her seducer; her reunion with Clare; her capture at Stonehenge; her execution for murder at Winchester.

This is the tragedy of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles." And what is the purpose of the story? The book, according to my interpretation, is an adverse and very forcible criticism of conventional society,—its social laws, its moral codes and ethical standards.

To begin with, take Tess's guiltless seduction. After marriage, Clare confesses to the same vice. Both he and Tess, then, have sinned in the same respect. Yet, in the eyes of society, she is a sinner, he is not. Why? Whence comes this double standard in sexual ethics? Apart from consequences, why should the sin not be so great in men as in women? I see no reason why—apart from consequences again—unmarried motherhood is more immoral than unmarried fatherhood. I am aware, of course, that conventional morality rules most people in this respect. So much so that Angel Clare, who is a man of intellectual strength, rational on every other subject, is completely overpowered by this one-sided morality. Had it been otherwise—had Clare retained the full use of his reasoning faculties—he would have realized that Tess, his wife, was in every respect as pure and moral as he, her husband.

How can Tess's unconscious acquiescence be considered immoral? Only when the act is judged by conventional morality. But according to rational ethics, unintentional acts, however bad or good in themselves, can never be either moral or immoral. To say that, in her sad fall, Tess really sinned is to ignore the most fundamental ethical standard—is to repudiate the best ethical principles.

Next to Alec—the thoughtless rascal who takes his "fill of pleasure on earth" by making the lives of innocent creatures like Tess "bitter and black with sorrow"—is the person, Mrs. Durbyfield, Tess's mother, and not Tess, who must be considered as having been directly responsible. Mrs. Durbyfield was the one woman who could and should have averted her daughter's sad experience. But she, like most mothers, allowed her daughter to grow up in complete ignorance of truths vitally important. "I say in all earnestness," said Alec, after he had been reformed and converted, "that it is a sinful shame for parents to bring up their girls in such dangerous ignorance of the gins and nets that the wicked may set for them, whether their motive be a good one or the result of simple indifference." What wonder, then, that Tess erred? The information withheld from her had to be gathered in actual life at the cost of experience. "Almost at a leap," says Hardy, "Tess changed from simple girl to complex woman. Symbols of reflectiveness passed into her face,

and a note of tragedy at times into her voice. Her eyes grew larger and more eloquent. She became what would have been called a fine creature; her aspect was fair and arresting; her soul that of a woman whom the turbulent experiences of the last year or two had quite failed to demoralize. But for the world's opinion those experiences would have been simply a liberal education."

The great source of Tess's misery, however, was her weakness—not of character, but of mind. Had Tess been strong enough intellectually, most, if not indeed all, of her misery would have disappeared as night vanishes with the approach of day. Society said she had sinned, and she believed it. Had she known herself as she really was, apart from any conventional social opinion, she could have held her head high and bold. But she did not know her situation except as others saw it; and here, as I say, was the great source of her misery. Hardy writes two paragraphs on this subject, and I cannot refrain from quoting him. He says:

But this encouragement of her own characterization, based on shreds of convention, peopled by shadows and voices antipathetic to her, was a sorry and mistaken creation of Tess's fancy, a crowd of moral hobgoblins by which she was terrified without reason. It was they who were out of harmony with the actual world, not she. Walking among the sleeping birds in the hedges, watching the skipping rabbits on a moonlit warren, or standing under a pheasant-laden bough, she looked upon herself as a figure of Quiet intruding into the haunts of Innocence. But all the while she was making a distinction when there was no difference; feeling herself in antagonism when she was quite in accord. She had been made to break a necessary social law, but no law known to the environment in which she fancied herself an anomaly.

Alone in a desert island would she have been wretched at what had happened to her? Not greatly. . . . Most of the misery had been generated by her conventional aspect, and not by her innate sensations.

Tess is, of course, a very weak character, so weak that she may be bent by almost any and every outside influence. Hardy makes her weak intentionally. He, it seems, does not believe in the "free-will" theory. Accordingly, hereditary tendencies and environment are made to play a very great part in the development of the story. These forces Hardy, in my opinion, exaggerates unnecessarily in his endeavor to make a strong point in favor of his fatalistic philosophy.

And this brings me to my general criticism of Hardy's methods. "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" is full of commentary. Does not this betray Hardy's lack of faith in his own art? Surely good art needs no commentary. Perhaps Hardy is anxious that we all divine from his story the same moral—that which he means to convey. In either case the commentary is objectionable, and hinders rather than helps the reader who likes to comment at leisure and in his own way.

As to Hardy's style, nothing need be said. We are all, I presume, acquainted with his pure English, his pleasing, carefully constructed sentences. Hardy, more than any other English novelist I can recall, uses words exactly. This and the other qualities mentioned combine to render Hardy's style one of the most readable.

I had intended to mention a few minor faults in Hardy's working out of his plot, but must refrain for the present, else I shall

have to write another half dozen pages. I have written enough I think in support of my assertion that "Tess of D'Urbervilles" is a remarkably strong work. I have certainly shown its strong "purpose." It is on this "purpose," especially, that I feel as if I could write a small book. So suggestive and inspiring do I find Hardy's "Tess of the D'Urbervilles."

DAVID A. MODELL.

A Letter from France.

Here the workers have chiefly been fighting against militarism. The *Bourse du Travail* of Paris has published an interesting anti-military pamphlet, "New Soldiers Handbook," of which 60,000 copies are in circulation. The government has decided to proceed against this pamphlet thru the courts. We think, however, the matter will be dropped for fear of creating too much noise.

The propaganda against militarism has been very successful in France. Upon the occasion of conscription, in numerous cities, the recruits unfurled the red banner, singing such revolutionary songs as the "Internationale," "Carmagnole," and "Guerre a la Guerre." These manifestations exasperated the government and patriots considerably.

During February and March strikes were not numerous. The dock laborers in Havre quit work March 13. Our so-called radical government despatched two companies of infantry and gendarmes to the scene. The strike continues. The wood-cutters were on strike for four months and came out victorious; obtaining the increase of wages they demanded.

An old Socialist, J. B. Clement, died lately. He was a member of the Commune of Paris in 1871. He was renowned as a songwriter and honest man.

Next week I shall send you a report of the thirty-second anniversary of the Commune in Paris.

PAUL CARRILLON.

How Roosevelt Lashes the Trusts.

A writer in the Pekin (Ill.) *Courier* tells the following amusing story to illustrate how President Roosevelt proposes to "lash the trusts":

"When I read of the curbing of the trusts by President Roosevelt I am reminded of the conduct of my dear old father. When I was a boy I was fond of dog fights. My mother abhorred these brutal exhibitions and punished me whenever she learned of my being present at one. My father secretly sympathized with me, tho, good man, he did not see fit for my mother to know it. Coming home one evening my mother presented proof of my presence at a canine scrap and suggested immediate punishment. My father, pretending great wrath, accepted the suggestion, and taking me into a bedroom proceeded with a great stick to lash the furniture, saying, 'Howl you rascal, howl.' Of course I howled, and my mother hearing me, was sorry and called to my father to whip me lighter. When I see that the President is lashing the trusts I imagine that his blows are falling on the furniture, and that he is saying, softly, 'Howl, you rascals, howl.'—*The Star, San Francisco.*

Faith in the State is a transformation of the religious idea.—Yves Guyot.

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407

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

The comrades who are interested in the Philosophical Society are invited to attend a meeting Friday evening, April 3, at 407 Park Ave.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

Outpost Echoes.

The State is a conspiracy.
Freedom makes us strong.
Rights grow up out of needs.
We put a premium upon invasion.
Wisdom is individual, not collective.
Religion frowns independence down.
Chains are chains, tho made of gold.
Things as they are, are "impossible."
Every great thought echoes of liberty.
A great robber is not therefore a great man.

May Morgan and Gates fight to their finish!

Unsocial man makes keen the struggle for property.

What you can aspire to you can be worthy to possess.

The post office corruption proves that the State steals.

Marriage will be the last bulwark of defeated authority.

He who cannot trust himself should not expect others to believe in him.

Chicago's next mayor needs understand but one thing; that is "graft."

A State legislature recently listened to a bill fixing the rules of card playing.

The "publicity" given to the operations of trusts will not save us from their results.

The work of the State is to create enough disorder so that there will be a demand for authority.

Samuel M. Jones will seek election again as mayor of Toledo. His golden rule bids fair to become iron.

Ireland is reported to be jubilant over its opportunity to buy back the land; Ireland bows to thieves then.

Reduced to simplicity, our affairs would not call for a State to administer them. Complexity is superfluity.

When the wealth of a country is owned by a few in that country it is time to talk about the poverty of that country.

When we talk of an ideal state of life, the hard-headed (wooden-headed) practical man responds, "that's all rot." Life is to him a dog fight.

American Negroes have appealed to the monarchs of Europe to intervene here in their behalf. Cannot a "free people" indulge in a man roast?

Woman, in the irony of evolution, has come to be the strongest influence opposing her own enlightenment and liberty. May her social sins increase ever.

White washing goes on apace in the Philippines, and new reputations flash in the sun every morning. Generals, colonels, captains, and the rest declare the process cheap.

An eastern clergyman declares vociferously that "we have to much liberty." In order to make a start, how much less liberty than he now has would this agent of Heaven be willing to accept?

Theodore is the right kind of a man to be president; some of his predecessors labored under the delusion that the people were superior to the executive, but Theodore has rid himself of that folly.

One ship was recently loaded with the bodies of five hundred American soldiers in the Philippines. The cargo of death is melancholy comment on the glory of war and the grandeur of patriotism. Civilization!

Five Catholic archbishops are to meet in Washington to discuss Socialism and its dangers. You are late, gentlemen; poverty has taught the people enough so that you with your united efforts can only learn your powerlessness.

Anarchism is the response of the mind to the experiences of the heart in a world where slavery is in the order of things, and where a full dinner pail alone is promised in answer to the cry of the entire man for freedom and opportunity.

Wisconsin has an anti-cigarette law, which leaves the smokers of cigars and pipes unhampered. Now, the boys whom it was sought to control, will take to cigars and pipes. The fool legislators will learn nothing, however, from it, when their folly becomes plain.

There is war in Chicago's city hall over the recounting of some ballots, two opposing county judges being involved along with hundreds of policemen, the rival candidates, special officers, and others. The dignity of law and government is thus uncovered to our gaze and we see what we were well prepared for—force, invasion, crime; the State in its nudity.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

Thanks to the vigorous and unceasing Republican and Anarchist agitation Spain is in a turmoil. Strikes extend all over Catalonia; in Valencia the troops are restoring "order". But bayonets and bullets are poor means to quiet the pangs of hunger and misery with, and as the women are urging the men to fight to the bitter end, the government is much annoyed over the situation.

While it is ostentatiously announced that the Russian czar has granted his subjects religious freedom, the government shamelessly murders the workers who are struggling to escape starvation. Last week twenty-eight toilers were killed and fifty wounded in the Statoust, and no comments were made upon these events in the press. But had a down-trodden laborer killed one of the vampires who suck his life-blood, indignation and wrath would have filled columns and pages in the dailies.

During the past year the teamster's union of this city promised to imbue the labor movement with a new and independent spirit—that of individual initiative and solidarity. Whenever a teamster found his fellow toiler in trouble with an exploiter, he would immediately refuse handling any material for the employer, no matter whether the teamsters' union had endorsed the strike or not. But the leaders—ever in fear of having their positions jeopardized—had a resolution passed to the effect that no member should stand by other organizations unless the union had endorsed the strike. Thus the "leader" is the curse of the labor movement.

Much ado is made by the capitalist press over the "victory" of the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania. But, as was predicted, the victory would not be worth the trouble, if it had not been for the experience and prestige the miners gained before the commission of arbitration was appointed. The decision that further difficulties must be submitted to arbitration will prove disastrous in the extreme, if the unions determine to abide by it. The truck store, by which the miners are bare-facedly robbed, remains as a means of oppression with the mine owners, and thus the increase in wages will prove of little value. But the miner's interest in the economic problem has been aroused, and it is for the Anarchists to avail themselves of their awakening in circulating literature among the down-trodden toilers.

All over the country the injunction craze becomes epidemic, and some judges fear that the effrontery of the courts may open the eyes of the people as to their degrading condition. Judge Tuley, of Chicago, speaking of the Wabash injunction, said:

I regret it very much because I believe that the issuing of such writs of injunction brings the administration of justice into contempt. It breeds discontent and we will reap a whirlwind some day from the seeds so sown.

The day may come in the not distant future when the working-classes will have political control and will appoint judges who will also issue writs of injunction—in their favor. I see no reason why a writ of injun

tion should not as well issue against a railroad enjoining it from discharging any employees or from failing to pay such employees a certain fixed rate of wages. It would be no greater departure from the true principles that ought to govern when using such writs.

We judges are getting to be the whole thing in government. We are approaching a condition that will be without precedent in the history of the world, in which the governing power will be exercised by the judges, with the executives and legislators as mere figureheads in carrying on the government. It is time to call a halt.

But it seems to me that the Judge is a sentimentalist, while the hirelings of capitalism are perfectly logical in their attitude towards the workers. If private property in the means of production and wage slavery are recognized by the workers as representing a legitimate condition of things, then the exploiters are perfectly correct in forbidding their employers "to interfere with their business." But if property and the wage system are arbitrary institutions, founded on and upheld by violence, than the laborers must learn that any compromise with their employers only prolongs their agony, and the remedy lies in the abolition of wage slavery, and not in the shortening of hours or increase of wages. When this shall dawn upon the workers, injunctions will have little or no effect in the battle for economic freedom.

INTERLOPER.

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At the Chicago Philosophical Society.

Sunday, March 29, Charles Brown was introduced as the speaker of the evening, his subject being "The Origin of Law."

Mr Brown first told what law was: excluding from consideration those statements of orderly succession commonly termed laws of nature; laws of gravitation; laws of optics, etc., and confined his remarks to those rules of conduct set forth and enforced by punishments on the part of government.

He endeavored to show that the rules of conduct adopted by societies, meetings, etc., differed from laws—municipal, national, and international, only in the fact that punishment and disobedience is presented by the government with reference to its laws, while banishment from a society or meeting is only "force" which can be employed.

Mr. Brown also stated that "authority" was a legitimate growth of the coercive means usually adopted on the part of parents towards their children, to enforce the rules and precepts presented by them to the child; and that a disposition to accept the teachings of religion is induced by the cultivation of a habit of accepting authority from any source—Church or State. That the sentiment of religion is not inherent in humanity, but is the result of teaching—or manner of teaching. Mr. Brown suggested that law existed before private property—it being first simply a rule of conduct enforced only by the commendation of the parent—then the head man—and later a system of punishments.

A number of critics presented views more or less in accord with the views of the principal speaker. It was said that no suggestion of the views of the speaker concerning the necessity of laws and government or concerning God, had been given and he was requested to state his position. Also would law exist if private property was abolished. One speaker urged there were two kinds of

law—righteous and diabolical. That God had given one and Satan the other—and called on the speaker to refute that proposition, if he could.

In closing Mr. Brown stated that whether there was or was not a God was immaterial in searching for the origin of law; as it was the belief in a God and in authority which built up government. That if such belief was destroyed the foundation for authority was destroyed. That there were certain laws which, with "punishment" taken away from them were resolved into rules of conduct approved of by all. Such laws would probably remain when the power to enforce them by force was taken from government. That whether there was a God or not and whether there were righteous and diabolical laws was immaterial, as all communication purporting to come from a God came via man; as well as all laws—righteous or unrighteous. And hence all decrees came direct from man. Therefore they may be considered as man-made; however inspired.

The subject for next Sunday evening (April 5) is "Is Government a Necessity." Prof. Raby will be the lecturer. REPORTER.

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In Explanation.

The number of my critics continues to increase, as I expected it would after *Lucifer's* invitation to them to pour in, and assurance that they would not be answered. I thought at first I would reply, if you gave me space, to just one of them, from Home, because the question whether people socialistically inclined should be encouraged to repeat all the disastrous experience of their predecessors in the forties is of real humanitarian interest. But after reading what Comrade Addiss says, I see no need to make any reply but this, that, in my opinion, more freedom to speak, act, and think, can be found in large cities than in Whitecapping country districts; as well as a better living. Digging gold is the hardest way on earth to get it, and similarly with potatoes, whatever Tolstoy thinks. Having stated in a previous letter that the editor of *Lucifer* had at last formally shut me off on the matters I had in debate, I should now mention that he has been inviting me to write about everything else, but I hardly think I shall. Strange as it may seem to my critics, I do not write to gratify personal vanity, but either to impart truth or get money, neither of which can now be done there.

In spite of A. E. Wight's wrath, I can shut off debate till I have had my say, by refusing to debate till then. C. L. JAMES.

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Clippings.

From the standpoint of our rulers, the republican form of government is preferable to that of a monarchy, because all sorts of crimes and extortions can be committed in the "name of the country and the people." Instead of in the name of a divine potentate all subjugation and warping of justice is perpetrated in the name of the people. This protects the rulers from responsibility. Shrugging their shoulders, they say: If the people want to be their own club and hangman, so be it; we will not be the losers.

It is an old experience that the more the

rotten institutions are in contradiction to actual life, the more violently are they defended by those in power as sacred and unimpeachable institutions. Before revolutionary upheavals despotism shamelessly endeavors to subdue the spirit which rebels against it, and all means are employed to extort obedience. This design of a spasmodic extortion to submissiveness can also be found in the outcry—especially aimed against the economical struggle of the workers—that the law shall not be infringed under any condition, for that is the "highest principle," and its recognition and observance must be enforced by all means. Such litany is vehemently dinned into our ears every day, in spite of the fact that the makers of the law and its interpreters are bluntly molding the law, the "highest principle," to suit the requirements of those in power and using it as a club only against the lower strata of society, and are consequently themselves doing their best in aiding to destroy the superstitious belief in the justice of law.—Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

* * *

The "good" middle-class people of Camden Road, Holloway, have had their feelings shocked by the horrible details of capital punishment being brought under their noses, and they are protesting, not in the name of humanity, of course, but in the name of their own outraged feelings, and the menace to their valuable property!

Since these sensitive people have surrounded themselves with laws for their own protection, and have never raised their voices before in denunciation of the barbarous custom of capital punishment, we have no pity for them. On the contrary, it would perhaps be a good thing if all those "legal" murderers who uphold the death penalty could have a closer acquaintance with the horror of it all. Let them have brought under their view the mental suffering, the agonised suspense of their fellow-creatures waiting for death. Let them meet the hangman face to face—the man they pay to take in cold blood, in the most cowardly fashion, the life of a fellow-being doomed by the law they uphold. Let them see these things, and then if they can give their support to this inhuman treatment, they are morally below the level of the victim whose legal murder they applaud.—*Freedom, London*.

* * *

The editor will try to moderate his statements to suit the prejudice of the mob, and when he finds himself unable to enact the role of the subtle, cruel, hypocritical and lying politician—such as the mass of workmen delight to honor—he will come out plainly, announce that fact and, quit the editorial sanctum. He has experimented with the policy of telling the truth for something like six months now, and has finally been convinced that wage slaves will not tolerate it any more than their masters. Not what they ought to have, but what they want, is the thing they demand. The workmen love to be bled and humbugged, and will accept and assimilate only that which is false and foolish.—*The Union Leader*.

* * *

Proof leaves fools unconvinced. W. B.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

V (concluded.)

Peter Kropotkin states that Eastern Siberia is full of convicted murderers, and it is quite startling to learn, as you probably will there, that your coachman is an assassin and your cook a poisoner. Yet there is no country in which it is safer to live. The place to get robbed, with a chance of being murdered, is Western Siberia, where they send only offenders against property.

This observation connects our two grades. As criminals up to Habitual are below reformation, so those over Occasional are rather above it. The Impulsive Criminal commits, under the influence of anger, jealousy, fanaticism, or something similar, one crime, which is usually a murder, not two or three crimes of lesser grade, like most Occasionals. He never does the same thing again; but he never repents of his crime, and as a rule does not try to conceal it. The same passion which prompted it, makes him regard it as a virtuous action; but only under the peculiar circumstances of the one particular case. Up to Habituals, criminals show pronounced physical stigmata of degeneracy, which become, however, milder as we ascend the scale. But the Occasional Criminal has little of this, and the Impulsive can be distinguished from a normal person, if at all, only by a certain nervous instability—perhaps an epileptiform tendency. A last grade of Crime—the Collective, specially treated in a volume by one of Lombroso's followers, comprises those crimes which one person cannot commit alone, such as riot and conspiracy. In its usual blundering fashion the law partly recognizes the formidable character of these offenses by making them very severely punishable. But of course they imply no personal degeneracy. In a mob of ten thousand individuals not one may be anything else than an average citizen; tho the mob, as a whole, is a wild beast. Collective crime is transcendently interesting, because we are all liable to commit it. It includes all crimes of factions, classes, parties, nations—all such sins as wicked institutions, bad laws, unjust wars. It is eminently the sin of governments. It brings us by a new road to the old result, that men not only are but must be better than the laws they live under, inasmuch as the laws represent not their individual but their corporate morality; and the morals of a corporation, like the days' work of a slave-gang, cannot go beyond the powers of the least capable. Hence the now rational conclusion, that *laws must impede, and can by no possibility assist, the improvement of morality in any commonwealth.** Another reason why collective crime is interesting is that it teaches the profound distinction between *heinous* and *intorrigible* wickedness. Pirates, on account of the harm they do, the terrible nature of their assault on society, and their frequent cruelty, have usually been considered the worst of felons. But their crime is Collective. Accordingly, they are not necessarily degenerate at all: and have proved among the most reformable of evil-doers as often as any mercy was shown them—e. g., by Pompey, or, out of jealousy

against Spain, by the English government to Buccaneers. In this point of view alone, Collective Crime belongs to the present branch of our subject. It might be said that locking up our 85,000 prisoners annually, at least keeps them out of mischief for a time. But in collecting them together it provides the very influence which makes bad even the good. All rivers run to the sea, evaporate, and return in clouds. The one stream which renews itself at its fountain in prison is the law-made Acheron of crime!

When I first adopted Anarchism, about seventeen years ago, I remember discussing these matters with a lady, who had for a sort of formula in reply to any suggestion of enlarging personal liberty: "Men and women need restraint." I replied as follows: "I admit they do—sometimes. Let us take the typical examples, and see what follows. A child needs restraint to prevent his walking into the water or the fire. An insane person needs it that he may not kill himself or others. A criminal needs it" (I should limit this now to a dangerous Born Criminal) "not that we may be protected from his malice; for the government derives all its power to restrain him from ourselves; but that he may not be lynched. Now in all these cases the necessity for restraint is physical, and admits of no reasoning. In every one of them, the moral effect of the restraint is injurious. The more the lunatic is restrained, the more furious he becomes. All who know anything about prisons bear witness that they are schools of crime. The moral injury done children by restraining them, should be tolerably evident to whoever has seen so familiar a spectacle as a baby in a rage. But the mind is of more general importance than the body, whose interests depend chiefly on cultivation of the mind. It follows that in those extreme cases where the probable injury to the body is so great as to justify restraint notwithstanding its injurious effect upon the mind, it should still be reduced to a minimum,—also that the danger which justifies it at all must be of the most urgent and immediate character. In all the cases mentioned this has been tried, and the results have always been happy. The whining schoolboy, creeping like snail unwillingly to school' belongs to a past era. The cure of lunatics has become possible under a system which restrains them no more than actually necessary, and employs every device to prevent their knowing that they are restrained. If modern treatment of criminals does not succeed quite so well, the confessed reason is that it too much resembles ancient. Knowledge, the measure of civilization, is what is teaching us to dispense with restraint whenever we can. But its demoralizing effects are so obvious that we may well doubt whether moral motives ever made it popular. Anger, self-will, haste, laziness; the reflection that knocking an obnoxious person down and dragging him to quod was a short and simple receipt for getting rid of the immediate trouble which he made—these were the conditions which brought government into favor. The *pons asinorum* of Anarchism is that the people do not take the trouble to govern from benevolence. As knowledge grows till it becomes irresistible,

we learn at last that the institutions thus sprung from very uncommendable propensities of our own are like our grand fathers' sword and pistols,—a source of danger, not of safety." At this time penology had not attained its present vogue; and criminalology hardly existed. It is progress of these studies which has brought us to the point of acknowledging that the crime of any community is a fixed quantity changeable only by other changes far more radical than any penologists contemplate. The incarceration for life of dangerous Born Criminals does indeed shut off the crime they would otherwise commit. But then there is no question they must and will be either taken care of or killed. They know it themselves. Jesse Pomeroy, on being asked what he thought should be done with him? said he should "be put where he could not do such things anymore." And as every one else acknowledges the necessity to get rid of such characters as Jesse Pomeroy, no government is needed for their restraint. Moreover they are too few to sensibly increase the population of the insane asylums. If the punishment of other criminals increases crime, as penologists practically admit,* then no doubt the abolition of punishment would diminish it. But this would be one of the radical changes. It would be the abolition of the whole gigantic prison system. It would be Anarchy. Its incompatibility with those first principles from which penologists, until criminalology arose, were wont to reason, must be very evident. Criminology is to penology what Newton's laws were to previous astronomy; what Adam Smith's doctrine was to former political economy. Penology is an empirical study, which has resulted in the discovery

* Ellis would exempt even dangerous Criminaloids. Marie Schneider, twelve years old, murdered a child three and a half years old, by pushing her out of a window. The motive was to escape detection in having stolen a pair of earrings, belonging to the younger girl. The murder had been planned before the robbery was committed. Marie confessed it all to the judge, in the style of a child saying a lesson, without fear or compunction, and without impudence, tho she seemed pleased at being able to answer searching questions, e. g.; "I staid in the third class from idleness . . . I know the sixth commandment. It is 'Thou shalt not kill'. . . I know that Conrad murdered his wife and children, and that his head was cut off. . . Any one who kills is a murderer, and I am a murderer. Murder is punished with death; the murderer is executed; his head is cut off. My head will not be cut off, because I am not old enough. . . From the yard I saw that the second floor window was half open. I went with Grete up the stairs to the second floor to take her earrings, and then to throw her out of the window. I wanted to kill her, because I was afraid that she would betray me. She could not talk very well, but she could point to me. . . I opened the window (wide) and put the child on the ledge, with her feet hanging out, and her face turned away from me. I did that because I did not want to look in her face, and because I could push her easier. . . I did not reflect that little Grete's parents would be sorry. I was not sorry. . . all the time I was in prison: I am not sorry now." This was at Berlin, in 1886. Not well knowing what to do with such a child, the court fell back on routine methods, and sent her to prison for eight years. "What will she be fit for," inquires Ellis, "when she comes out at the age of twenty? She may come out a human tigress, or merely the crushed and helpless product of prison routine. In either case what intelligent principle guided?" And this man's receipt for professional crime is indeterminate sentences! He adds several parallel instances. In some the juries would not convict. In all the judgment of intelligent observers was that the punishment would probably do harm, certainly no good.

* One exception, of course, must be made. Laws to rectify laws are always harmless, and normally beneficial.

and registration of many valuable facts. Criminology is a rational science, whose conclusions destroy the hypothesis previously assumed by the penologists. That penologists should be loath to accept it is inevitable. That they do accept it in so large a measure is very creditable to their candor. And if it pronounces their problem insoluble, they may console themselves by reflecting that their labors furnished the data for that important, tho negative result.

"Nor deem the irrevocable past
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
If rising on its wrecks at last,
To something nobler we attain."*

Proper reference to experience teaches the same lessons in regard to foreign violence as domestic. Government was instituted by barbarians to facilitate aggressive war—a purpose no one would now dare acknowledge for his object in supporting government. We think government necessary for defensive war, because, like semi-barbarians as we are, we still are dolts and cowards. If we but pluck up courage enough to consider the feasibility of doing without it, we shall soon find intelligence enough to perceive that we should be safer than with. The following great historic examples, I have selected as typical. In the First Punic War, the fleet which finally defeated the Carthaginian and secured the victory of Rome, was built by *private subscription of Roman citizens* after the Senate had become discouraged. In the Second Punic War, the same conservative body feared to send an army into Africa while Hannibal remained in Italy. Scipio raised an army of *volunteers for which the government did nothing but grudgingly abstain from interference, because public feeling would not have tolerated that*. At the head of this army, he invaded Africa, compelled Hannibal to evacuate Italy, and won the decisive battle of Zama. (Mommson, Vol. II., Chs. II and VI.) Our Revolutionary War was considered a desperate undertaking, on account of the overwhelming power of England. That we won, has been commonly attributed by American writers in no small measure to the anarchical condition of the country at that time. It is well worth while to remark that the decisive victories of Bennington, Saratoga, and that series of actions which exhausted Cornwallis, were effected by local militia on whom the imbecile Continental Congress could not lay its claws. At the very moment when Greene began checking Cornwallis, our regular army of the south had just been annihilated at Camden; Arnold had gone over to the British *because he believed in no alternative but the French* (see his life by Dr. Isaac Arnold); *our main Continental army was actually dispersed by*

governmental mismanagement, and Washington himself in despair. These facts may be found in any good history of the United States. In Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic" and his "United Netherlands" is told the marvelous story how the smallest among European nations grew to the measure of the greatest naval and military power, pulling that down meanwhile, as a vigorous parasite destroys an aged tree. Everything seemed to be against the Dutch. Fortresses have been called the fetters of nations. The Netherlands bristle with them. Intemperance is refuted to sap manhood. The Dutch were the drunkenest people in Europe. Priestly government is demoralizing. Half the Netherlands were ruled by prelates. What did they have on their side? They had *Anarchy*. Their confused mesh of authorities,—bishops, abbots, cities, States Generals, etc., always tied each others' hands to that extent the people's were left free. The people raised their wonderful country from the bottom of an icy sea and found spirit to protect it against the greatest fleet and the ablest generals of the age, because they had virtually no government to depress their energy. So, when France and England combined to subdue the same heroic nation, its ablest statesman, DeWitt had almost ruined it; but when a mob murdered him, and complete Anarchy ensued, the army of Louis and the avenging navy of Charles found themselves confronted with something unconquerable. I will add but two more examples, tho no doubt many easily could be found. In any history of the French Revolution, observe how the armies which conquered Europe sprang out of the soil of a country supposed lost, just when it had got rid of the traitor king and the pedantic Girondist administration, just when Lyons, Caen, Bordeaux, Vendée proclaimed the state of anarchy complete! And then turn to the fifteenth chapter in Malleon's "Refounding of the German Empire," to compare what the French of 1870 did for themselves *thru their Napoleonic government and what they did without a government, after its destruction!* Thus true is the ancient moral in Herodotus—by such examples we may see how great a thing liberty is; for before the Pisistratidae were expelled from Athens, the Ionians were thought inferior to other Greeks; but then they took the lead of all.

It would undoubtedly have been a convenient arrangement to give some part of this inquiry particularly to the effects of civil (as distinguished from criminal law.) But that is not in the original program of my Reading Course; and perhaps it is not necessary, since in this place and that we have so many proofs that civil institutions—slavery; serfdom; landlordism; legal regulation of sexual relations; religious establishments by the State; sanitary police; State education; courts of law and equity; charters of monopoly to corporations; tariffs, usury laws, forestalling and regrating laws, and other restraints on trade; laws for the collection of debts; special exemptions, preferences, public charities, etc., etc., however, recommended on supposed grounds of necessity, morality, piety, health, intelligence, justice, economic progress, or protection of the weak and poor, are

in fact all mischievous alike. At any rate such discussion would be out of place here. Violence is the subject of this chapter. Fear of violence is the chief recommendation of government. The argument, quite seriously stated in many places by Macaulay and others amounts to this, that the worst king is better than Anarchy, because he will tolerate no oppressor except himself. But when we find that the protection afforded by government against violence is less than nothing; how absurd, what abject cowardice, it must appear to seek shelter from petty malefactors behind the great Collective Criminal under whose feet so many nations have been crushed!

C. L. JAMES.

— o — Literature.

THEORIE DE LA VALEUR. By Christian Cornelissen. Schleicher Frères & Co., 15 Rue de Saints-Peres, Paris, France. Pp. 413. Price,

"The Theory of Values" forms the first volume of a new historical and sociological library in the French language. Cornelissen analyses in this work the question of the material well-being of man, and in particular the value of wealth. Starting from this point he investigates the laws which govern wages, capital, and public debt in present society. The author recognizes that the material aspect of social life cannot be well and thoroly studied in part, separated from the moral, intellectual, and physical aspects. In consequence, the work of M. Cornelissen specially treats on the theory of values, and refutes the theories of Rodbertus, of Marx, of Stanley Jevons, and of Bohm-Bawerk, and constitutes a total of researches upon a subdomain of general sociology. It is from this point of view that the student of sociology should appreciate and judge this important contribution to political and social economy. We do not hesitate to say that the book of this learned author will soon be in the hands of all those who are occupied with social science. It is a strong argument against the "theories which seem to be built up expressly to serve for modern university education, in order to defend the basis of our present social and political life, and to conceal, under many words, the social iniquities of our day."

B.

The Demonstrator has replaced Discontent, which, the editor says, is now only "a memory"—a rather poor estimate of his former work. For sample copies write: The Demonstrator, Home, Wash.

Comrade Lois Waisbrooker, the old veteran of woman's emancipation, now publishes *Foundation Principles*, a monthly magazine. Price, \$1 a year. Address: Home, Wash.

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Jefferson said that government was best which governed least. The Socialists, however, believe in handing everything over to the government. The people have the right now to elect honest men to office, but they don't. Office-holding breeds corruption; the more office-holders the more corruption. Under Socialism there would be political machines just as there are to-day; and there would be less liberty.—*Southern Mercury*.

* The effects of criminology on legislation have already been highly important, chiefly in connection with Kraft Ebing's work, and very Anarchistic in tendency. The recent (Zanardelli) code of Italy, tho it leaves much to be desired, is based on Gavofalo's aphorism that "not the nature of the crime but the dangerousness of the criminal" should determine the social reaction; which, says Ellis, "is now generally accepted as the legitimate outcome of scientific study of the criminal." Accordingly it totally abolishes punishment for sexual perversions not involving assault, with the result that a most important class of criminals may now be studied under the best auspices, at liberty, in a quarter of their own. Similar changes have been made in France and Austria.

AGENTS FOR FREE SOCIETY.

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

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S. S. Club, Philadelphia, \$4. Roberts, \$3.
A. Task, \$2. Sachatoff, \$1.50. Santer, Lehman, Sullivan, Haas, Meyers, Elmer, Greenberg, (ehrs, Mowitz, Thompson, Loveridge, each \$1. Romm, 75c. Cornfield, Jaffe, Shatz, each 50c.

Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind, and when the same thought occurs to another man, it is the key to that era.—Emerson.

FOR NEW YORK.

A picnic, vaudeville, and ball will take place on Saturday, May 23, in Glendale Schuetzen Park, Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn, arranged by the Radical Reading Room. All friends of freedom are cordially invited.

MEETINGS.

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday, 5 p. m., at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free Forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale.

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Free discussion.

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m.—sharp. Free admission. All strangers are invited to take part in the discussions. April 5, Prof. Raby speaks on "Is Government a Necessity?" April 12, Geo. Schilling will speak on "The Next Step in Social Progress."

CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday at 2:30 p. m., in Forester's Hall, 223 Champlain St. Free discussion.

NEW YORK.—The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and free discussions.

SEATTLE, WASH.—The Progressive Club meets on Saturday evening, 8 o'clock, at the Theosophist Hall, 1118 Third Ave. Lectures on all pertinent social questions. Free discussion. March 28, Prof. J. Allen speaks on "Government." April 4, a member of the "Woman's Economic League" will speak before the club.

The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Alford's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neefe, and Schwab.....

BOOK LIST.

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