



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK, AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 398.

The Roistering Knights.

"The ancient knights were not paragons of propriety."

We've won the castle, Knights At Arms;
They who were here have fled:
And fate, that keepeth us from harms,
Hath made it ours instead.
But hie not to tell Court and King,
Who dream our battle's clang;
Let us rejoice and feast and sing,
And King and Court may hang,
May hang;
And King and Court may hang!

Now bring wine flagons to the board,
And serve good meat around.
Each weary Knight unbelt his sword
And cast it on the ground.
You, young Esquire, roar out a song;
And let the sweet lute twang;
We'll rest ourselves, or right or wrong;
And King and Court may hang,
May hang;
And King and Court may hang!

Much have we done for Court and King,
What give they in return?
Our lives these deem a little thing,
While they new pleasures learn.
Oft did they dance and sing and quaff
When far our battle rang;
Let us win pleasure now, and laugh;
And King and Court may hang,
May hang;
And King and Court may hang!

I think betimes we are but slaves—
(And how is it with you?)
I feel anon that we are knaves.
Another's will to do.
I doubt we need a King, or Court;—
Ah, sharp is memory's fang!
Our sorrows die while we're at sport,
And King and Court may hang,
May hang;
And King and Court may hang!

Who always would his armor wear,
Who always hold a lance?
This day a truce to fight we swear;
Our foes are far as France.
Up with the cup, my Comrades all!
Each heart forget its pang.
We'll pledge to joy whate'er befall,
And King and Court may hang,
May hang;
And King and Court may hang!

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

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Strikes and Arbitration.*

The late coal strike with its unsettled and for all concerned parties unsatisfactory development, has had certain distinct phases, and has given birth to some methods and phenomena which, to my mind, have not thus far

* I would have much rather preferred to deal with another subject, but as I take a somewhat different view of the coal strike and its results, from the one which most of the writers of *FREE SOCIETY* have voiced, this article has been written by request of the editor. G.

appealed to the understanding of the American people, and are in fact generally misunderstood. Newspaperdom, with all its interested, thoroly corrupted influences, is slowly but surely achieving its desired end, viz., to inculcate in the minds of the working people certain prejudices, delusions, and misrepresentations of faith; for a newspaper of today does not exist for the purpose of enlightening the public, but on the contrary, to influence so-called public opinion in the interest of that newspaper.

Especially during the strike of the coal miners did we have opportunity to witness this. From the beginning to the end of the struggle, the laborer was told to keep quiet—withstanding the fact that keeping quiet had miserably failed during the time he had not been on strike; notwithstanding that the result of keeping quiet had been the miserable condition of the miners and had necessitated a strike; notwithstanding that it is well known to the hirelings of government, pulpit and press that the capitalist always uses violence—withstanding a tremendous amount of fostering, prevailing, important circumstances, of which all the worthy gentlemen who spoke of "keeping quiet" were and are very well aware, they proceeded to warn the workers to use no force.

The bulk of the struggling millions today is not a mass of humanity permeated with clearly set and developed ideals; men do not understand the trend of society; do not understand the underlying causes of which they are the direct result; do not grasp the meaning of their deeds. The marvelous strength which lies in the working class—if we for argument's sake confine the strength of onward moving humanity to this class alone—is usually exerted as the spirit of instinctive rebellion. And such a crude, undeveloped, and in its essence weak spirit of revolution—because it lacked the force of clear understanding—not conceiving its far-reaching power if intelligently used—was easily misled. The coal barons, aided by the public instruments of our exploiting community and government, succeeded in switching the real issues off. The poor strikers demanded arbitration from the first, for the purpose of attaining better economic conditions. For a period of six long, weary months the struggle lasted. Great mistakes had been made during this time by the workingmen. In-

stead of going out on strike—one inclusive strike—the leaders were allowed to bicker. When at last they found themselves on strike, the vast majority still drudged and toiled. It does not matter that the leaders asserted that the bituminous coal miners had nothing to do with the strike. The truth in the matter is, that in a branch of industry so closely monopolized as the mine-industry, only a general strike can achieve victory. And by not ordering out all the men toiling for the interests of their masters, Mitchell precipitated—I shall not say wilfully—a prolongation of the struggle. Finally, when the coal baron crawls on the floor, pressed down by two forces, the one the public which keenly feels the need of coal and sees already the dawning of a cessation in industry and great subsequent misery among the workers, the other the ever-increasing army of strikers, which becoming desperate threaten to rise like one man—at last the capitalists grant—what? The demand? Not at all! Simply the concession that the coal barons will submit to an arbitration committee, and this only thru the intervention of Theodoros. And the workers, having suffered so long, unfortunately again follow the voice of their leaders; and, instead of profiting from the situation they have at last brought about, succumb again to the impertinency of the capitalists. Presently we witness the grand spectacle, a unique comedy, were it not for the tragedy, that the proceedings of the esteemed commission last longer, and produce less effects, than the strike. The workers even did worse; they went back to work, thereby allowing the only means which would tend to accelerate the proceedings of the commission, to slip out of their hands. The commission as such has thus far not brought anything remarkable to light that was not known already and had been tested innumerable times. Still we hear a great noise made about the workings of the commission; the newspapers praise the same, and herald the victory of the workers. In fact, nothing has taken place. Not in the least has the condition of the suffering miners improved. They alienated themselves from the only means they could successfully wield against their masters: the necessity for these to submit.

Ever and anon such sarcastic bits of history will repeat themselves, until the workers will be conscious of their immense power,

now used for the benefit of their masters, and withdraw the same from them, utilizing it in the interest of their own noble cause. I do not hesitate to state that the miners will not gain anything thru the proceedings of the arbitration commission. Of course, the concessions which the barons will make are in my estimation no more or less than delusive ones. At present the government or its adherents aid the capitalists in befuddling the minds of the public, especially the working people, by instituting lawsuits against the mine owners for "conspiring illegally to injure public trade."

Every sane person, who has individually an opportunity to look into the technicalities of that huge swindle called law, knows that by means of this very same law the prosecution will—as it knew very well beforehand—fail miserably; that the charges brought against the trust magnates are of such an undecisive nature, and that any skilled lawyer—and what lawyer is not skilled?—can play havoc with them. But why should the agents of authority not proceed in their way thru the mire? It is again a means whereby to mislead the workers, and as such it is ever welcome and desired. The sad feature is only the fact that workingmen continually believe in the lies and tricks set before them.

The power of the laboring masses rests in material, economical sources, as far as their economical struggle is concerned. The power of the ruling, exploiting class rests in the private ownership of the means of distribution and production. Production is carried on today on a large scale, it is carried on in a collective manner, while the ownership of the means of production is of a private nature. Hence the incessant struggle between the propertied and the propertyless; the poor and the rich; the hungry and satiated; the worker and idler. Conflicting economic ideals, conflicting interests constitute the struggle that is going on, like an immense conflagration on the prairie. There is no possibility of compromising it; it is the result of economic forces, that will exist as long as capitalism and government exist; it is the fruit of that which will go on, perpetuate itself, annihilate those who attempt to crush it, as long as free play is left to those causes which as a consequence become materially fertile. The struggle can never cease until it has overcome those powers it battles against. Never can any philanthropic act, any humanitarian notion, any concocted trickery—like arbitration—put a stop to its working. It is more powerful than all of these, because it draws its very strength from the impotency of action displayed by the former. And any intervention is void, imbecile, because we must not forget that the struggle is a natural one, based upon natural laws; the latter are the offsprings of human intellect, but still once in existence adopt themselves to natural forces, that continually work on, until they are superceded by new forces, new actions, offering a new basis. Therefore arbitration must fail. Its attempts to abate the natural struggle of the toilers will prove to be futile.

Injustice, which necessarily must lie in the proceedings, just as in any other judicial farce, will open the eyes of those who think that it can eliminate the necessity for a strike; it will in this way open the eyes of those who are honest. Because the strike is not merely a struggle for more bread and shorter hours. It is more than this: it is the pioneer step of the down-trodden upon the path of the social revolution, which leads to the emancipation of the individual,—brotherhood among human beings.

RUDOLPH GROSSMANN.

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The Tramp Question.

A woman in Denver is starting a crusade against the cheap lodging houses. They are cheap enough, dirty enough and uncomfortable enough to be abolished, and we all wish nobody had to sleep in such places. But to remove them would be like tearing down rows of miserable, reeking tenement houses without reference to the inmates. The detestable buildings may be abolished, but is the need any less?

This woman says that "no man should be able to find lodging for ten cents. If they could not they would go to work for the railroads and their competition would enable railroads to be built cheaper."

Whoever cares more to have railroads built cheaper than to have homeless men sheltered on a cold night, may be interested in her proposition; the rest of us will try to remove the causes which compel men to seek dirty ten-cent lodging houses for shelter. "But these men might all find work, of some kind, and would do so if they could not hire a night's shelter for ten cents and food and drink for a nickel at the nearest groggery." It is a question whether they could all find work even of the meanest description, at the lowest of wages; but aside from that, what incentive have they?

The railroads, the coal operators, ditch digging enterprises, have taught men to put up with dirty, uncomfortable places, poorly cooked and coarse food; they get the worst that can be had. To answer these purposes and work like slaves at the same time. They cannot fare much worse to "tramp" and do no work at all. To dig, shovel, or wield a pickax all day long with a big ugly "boss" standing over and swearing and bullying one, to get barely a little more than one's miserable bed and wretched "grub" is worse than tramping and depending on the generosity of the conservative inhabitants of the country one passes thru for one's food and shelter; in the latter case, one can go leisurely along pleasant byways, study nature and "learn of the gods"; recline on a sunny bank now and then and save one's own use; and one is free! For this, many a man will willingly be that disreputable, disrespected, cringing, begging creature—a tramp—for at times, he is perfectly free!

On the railroad above us where the D. & R. G. winds picturesquely among the jagged rocks and stony hills, and over the mighty canons, there are to be seen along the track rows of little openings or holes in the ground that remind one of the burrowings of some large sort of animal. One who does not know will wonder how they came there; and he will find out presently that

they were the homes of the graders who did the actual work on the marvelous piece of civil engineering called the railroad track over the La Veta Pass. The men were packed into these holes like rats at night, without any bedclothes beside the blankets the men carried there on their backs. They eat their meals in the "cook's car" and when not on the grade at work or in their cave-like holes trying to sleep, they had no place to stay in; they literally had no right to exist anywhere. What wonder that men who endured such a life are glad to resort to a ten cent lodging house, a free lunch counter, and be exempt from the hard labor and harsh treatment of a common laborer? What can be much lower in the social scale than a "common laborer" any way?

If labor is ever paid what it earns, it will be respected. Only then will labor be truly "noble and holy" and it will be honorable to labor. Then it will be found that the toiler will be as fastidious about his living accommodations as the millionaire of today. Human beings are quick to learn how to appreciate the best and demand it—they will not accept cheap, dirty lodging places and bar-room food and idleness when the alternative is not such a terrible, slavish, degrading one, as it is now. LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

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"The Heathen in his Blindness."

Jay Fox wants to know whether "the savages were so far behind us of today, especially in the matter of disease devils, since modern science has actually discovered the devils and named them anew, giving them the title of disease germs?" At first thought, I should say that was decidedly an advance. The savage, it appears, dreamed about devils. When he was sick, he attributed his illness to the devils, whom he knew only from dreams. Then, reasoning, as before, from his inner consciousness, he judged the devils might be bribed to let him alone. Unfortunately, however, he did not know how to get at the devils. So he gave the bribe to a person who claimed to be acquainted with them—the way of becoming acquainted remaining a trade secret with this erudite individual, who was henceforth called a priest. Now if the priest had "actually discovered the devils," and invented an apparatus with which plain people could see them, and exhorted the plain people to use this apparatus, and corrected the idea that the devils could be bribed, and gone about teaching (at the sacrifice of his trade secret) how they could be destroyed, I should have said he was truly a "bully boy with a glass eye." I should have thought him altogether too good for a priest. He would not have been a priest any more, but a doctor. Naturally, the priests would have hated him, slandered him, and persecuted him. They would have said, like Mrs. Eddy, that he was an infidel; like Dowie, that he was a sorcerer; and sometimes they would have stolen a little of his knowledge and hawked it about on purpose to discredit the rest—just like our "progressive hygienists" and our physical culturists.

And, indeed, I think if Jay Fox believes the doctors to have "actually discovered the devils," he can hardly deny they have got a good way ahead of those savages who only

dreamed about the devils. What he says of naming "the disease devils anew as disease germs" intimates that he does not believe it. Now I blame no man for scepticism. He is right not to believe what he neither sees nor can see. But is scepticism the right word for refusing to believe what you may see if you choose? Suppose I were to state that I have frequently seen the "devils," thru a somewhat familiar instrument called a microscope; and that I absolutely do know the *diplococcus* of gonorrhoea from the *bacillus* of typhoid fever, at sight, just as well as I know a dog from a cat—would Mr. Fox call me a liar? I am aware that is what quacks say of doctors. But if I, who am absolutely without pecuniary interest in the matter, were thus insulted by one who, if he chooses, can learn the use of a microscope just as well as I, what principle of courtesy should prevent my retorting that he was an obstinate fool?

The true answer to Mr. Fox's question appears to be that some of us are very much ahead of the savages, and other rather behind them. The savages seem to have used such light as they possessed—excepting, of course, their priests, who profited by its scarcity. Those among us who continue to run after priests, quacks, Dowies, Biddies, physical culturists, progressive hygienists, mind-curists, natural healers, *hoc genus omne*, notwithstanding the invention of the microscope and some other things, will not use such light as they possess. It must be admitted that there are none so blind as those who won't see. C. L. JAMES.

A Problem in Psychology.

Why is it that bodies of men never do wise things? Why is it that a man while a member of any organized body of men never knows half as much as he does while acting entirely on his own individual responsibility? This is an interesting problem in psychology. A man who is a member of a group will do foolish things that he would be ashamed to do as an ordinary citizen. One of the reasons for this seems to be that the responsibility is divided, or at least negated in some way. Each man hides behind his colleagues, and like the ostrich that sticks its head in the sand, he imagines that nobody can see him! The blame, when there is blame, is thrown upon the whole body, and so it does not affect anyone individually. That is one of the secrets of this mysterious business.

But above and beyond this, a man who is simply a member of a body loses his individuality, and to a large extent his customary intelligence. In other words, for some reason, he really knows less than he did before. Hence bodies of all kinds—towns, cities, States, legislatures, companies and corporations of all degrees—are the prey of some designing and unscrupulous individual who is always playing some trick upon their lethargic and unsuspecting members and taking them at a disadvantage. The only single case where a man is a man at all times and under all circumstances, is where he stands and acts entirely upon his only responsibility. The idea that ten men know more than one man, is a fatal delusion. Where intellect is required, there is no in-

stance where one man would not do better than ten men. One man would go and do it, while ten men would hesitate and consult. What would become of an army with ten heads? J. WILSON.

A Probable Case.

In No. 395 of FREE SOCIETY C. L. James has a splendid article on "Who Killed McKinley?" In it he adduces evidence [?—A. I.] that Czolgosz committed the deed as a Catholic. Of course it is impossible to ever establish this claim as a fact, but there is plenty of evidence to substantiate it as a probability.

This idea is somewhat widespread, and seems to spring from the knowledge of the methods of the Catholic Church, coupled with the fact that Czolgosz was a Catholic. I first heard it proposed on the streets of Baudon, a far-away, isolated little town in this State, almost a year ago.

When the "boys" began to return from the Philippine Islands, the *Evening Telegram* of this city had many soul-harrowing tales to tell, brought to the ears of its reporters by dissatisfied ex-soldiers, amongst them being an interview with a returned United States teamster, who was quite bitter and denunciatory of the policy of McKinley. I had a talk with that teamster a few days afterward, and found him a Catholic, and his chief complaint was the manner in which Church property was treated by the United States soldiery, and the attitude of the administration toward the Catholic orders of the islands.

Now then, Czolgosz's mother told the reporters that Leon was not an Anarchist and had never read Anarchist literature, but instead that he was a great admirer of his brother, who had served in the Philippine Islands, and with whom Leon had spent weeks after his return. Is it not altogether probable that the returned soldier brother of Leon had the same antipathy to the administration, on account of religious reasons, as the teamster referred to? The teamster being an Irishman must needs talk, but the Pole as a rule is a quiet fellow—except when on the war path,—and Poland has given us many examples of intrigue and assassination for the glory of the mother Church.

How easy, then, would it be for Czolgosz, moody and discontented, discouraged with this life, and probably wishing a safe and speedy journey to eternal glory, after hearing his brother recite the wrongs of the Church done by authority of McKinley, to fix it with one of God's mediators so that he would "remove" an obnoxious ruler and be given a thru passage on a special train in reward for the deed, provided he discretely keep mum if captured?

These facts taken in connection with the facts stated by Comrade James, are sufficient, it seems to me, to place the responsibility of McKinley's assassination at the door of the Catholic Church rather than on any speech by Emma Goldman.

Portland, Ore.

W. H. ADDIS.

Government is the great blackmailer. No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of revolution.—Sir Thomas Henry Buckle.

Meetings.

Mr. M. Kaplan earnestly beseeched us in the meeting of the Philosophical Society, last Sunday evening not to call members of the Socialist Party State Socialists. But his attempt to rescue the Socialist parties from the stigma was a complete failure. He very cleverly designated the State as a tool of the possessing classes, and then argued that the State would disappear with the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution. In order to head off criticism he admitted that the majority had no right to rule the minority, and that truth prevailed in the long run in spite of the majority; but in the next breath he endeavored to show that majority rule was necessary to administer the commonwealth. The uncompromising attitude of the Socialists in Illinois should be taken as a criterion by the critics, and not the Socialist movement of other States and countries, for the Socialist movement was not a world movement. In electing their men to office, they did not expect them to participate in the introduction of semi-Socialist measures, but their attitude should be simply one of negation. Their officials would merely be the servants of the people. "Bismarck," he concluded, "was a State Socialist, but not the Social Democrat of today."

The critics scored many good points, but unfortunately the speaker ignored them and confined himself to generalizations in his closing remarks. He did not answer, for instance, how a Socialist sheriff could avoid arresting and hanging people, after he had sworn to uphold the laws; or what guarantee people would have that the Socialist representatives would not parley and compromise with the enemy, when the Socialist members of the German Reichstag, who also had entered that body as a matter of protest, pledging themselves not to participate in the discussion of any measures proposed by the enemy, were now parleying and bargaining with their opponents right along. Neither did he explain why Roosevelt and other bigots were protesting against a Mormon entering the Senate, if the rulers were actuated by property considerations alone to tyrannize over their fellow men. Views on morality had something to do with the desire to regulate men's conduct. Nor did he succeed in refuting the arguments that, as long as power can be given to officials, such power will be abused, for power is in itself an abuse; and that majority rule implied law, officials vested with power, consequently a State—government. In theory officials were the servants of the people to-day, but in practise it was quite the contrary. Bismarck, he was reminded, was a State Capitalist and not a State Socialist.

Next Sunday evening Mr. A. M. Simons will speak on State Socialism.

The German Freethinkers of the Southwest side held a meeting for the purpose of establishing a Sunday school, Comrade Grossman being the principal speaker. His elucidatory remarks on the education of children caused a lively discussion, especially regarding the punishment of children, which he had shown to be demoralizing instead of ameliorating the character of the child. Thirty-two members joined the association.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1903.

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

Notes.

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.

BOSTON.—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 5 p. m. at 724 Washington St., room 9. Free forum for all sociological topics. Anarchist literature for sale. Subject for Feb. 1, "Law and Authority."

BROOKLYN.—The Social Science Club meets every Friday evening at Central Hall, 410 Stone Ave. Discussion free to all.

CHICAGO.—The Progressive Club will hold a meeting every Friday evening at 331 Walnut St.

The Chicago Philosophical Society meets every Sunday evening at 72 Adams St., 8 p. m. sharp. Free discussion. Sunday, Jan. 25, Mr. A. M. Simons will speak on "State Socialism."

The Chicago Anthropological Society meets every Sunday 3:30 p. m., in Masonic Temple, Hall 913. Free discussion.

The Russian Revolutionary Club meets on Sunday evenings at 278 Blue Island Ave.

The Workmen's Educational Club meets Saturday, 8 p. m., at 278 Blue Island Ave.

CLEVELAND.—Liberty Association meets every Sunday, excepting the first Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m., in Foster's Hall, 236 Champlain St. Free discussion.

NEW YORK.—The Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. Meeting every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and free discussion. Every Thursday evening L. Rosenzweig gives lessons in "Physics."

PHILADELPHIA.—Social Science Club holds weekly meetings Friday evenings in Bricklayers' Hall, 707 N. Broad St.

The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally of mankind.—Thomas Paine.

It is easy to defend her name, but it is hard to defend Freedom herself.—Ironics.

FREE SOCIETY

Outpost Echoes.

Nature is lawless.

"Right" is often wrong.

The State is another trust.

The lewd blush at the nude.

"God is love"; love of himself.

A "winner" loses more than he wins.

The love of money is the root of Rockefeller.

The life of authority consists in conquest alone.

The Chicago American cultivates purity and prize fights.

Emperor William is modifying his religion to suit his practise.

The new Americanism: Give me liberty or give me a good, paying job.

Prosperity exists, or does not exist, according to your political views.

If whatever is is right, then when liberty is, liberty will be right too.

All the great money kings fear that panic is at hand. They ought to know; they make it.

They have a new police commissioner in New York. All are wondering what his price will be.

Hoar is anti-Anarchist and anti-trust. The senator's attitude in these matters shows that he is not anti-fool.

Preparations are being made to place Spain on a gold (brick) basis. The Spanish have a little wealth left.

William is patronizing Theodore, and Theodore likes it. Theodore should curve that lip stubble upward.

The outburst of "Anarchy" at Arcola should deceive no one; the "Anarchists" have already reformed and apologized.

The trouble with the economy of the Socialists is that it tends to economize liberty and make the citizen a mere automaton.

The trouble with the Single Taxer is that he taxes our patience by forgetting that even with land "free," money would still rule.

Dr. Bascom says, "it is not anti-trust laws that we need nearly so much as it is anti-trust temper." Hurrah! Anarchy will out.

The Methodists' twentieth century fund has reached twenty million dollars. It makes one wonder how many million fools are Methodists.

The defenders of exploitation are afraid that the non union man will be coerced; the union man—well, he was made for coercion, you know.

The false friends of freedom, and not her open enemies, are the ones which we have to fear. Even their truth is a lie, and must be doubted.

If the photographs of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. look like him he must be one who has become a cynic thru associating with himself.

Liberty is not desired by those who have grown fat in slavery; but think of listening to a slave's mouthings about the foolishness of desiring liberty!

C. L. James is publishing so strong a vin

dication of Anarchism that he may make himself popular with the "scholars," which would be a great calamity.

The Prohibitionists of Vermont are battling to save the cause of prohibition; if they only knew the underlying causes of intemperance in drinking they might find the real remedy.

Perhaps Voltairine De Cleyre thinks that she could afford to be shot a few times, so much has the cause which she loves profited thru her human and illuminating attitude.

Matson, "God's will be done," is dead, after having sunk from one political pull to a lower one in a succession of sinking. To be food for worms tho is nobler than to be a hangman.

The crusade against the nude in art carried on by the Social Impurity League gives certain women opportunity to discover what dirty minds they have. No wonder they are afraid for others.

Thomas Jefferson was in doubt about the need for government. Were he alive now what chance would he have in competition with great statesmen like Mark Hanna? He could not even "stand pat."

That woman who threw off her royal robes and would not go back to her splendid misery even for the sake of her children, thinks that one's duty to one's self is the first of duties. She was right.

The struggle toward liberty will be fraught, as it has been, with suffering and wrong doing, but so is the way to slavery fraught with suffering and wrong-doing. Let us never doubt liberty; her ends are peace, and love.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

The readers of the Chicago dailies were not a bit startled to hear that three policemen had taken "hush money"; but it would have been quite a surprise if they had been told that there were three policemen in the United States who could not be bribed.

While he farcical but expensive comedy of crowning a vampire, called Edward IV, was taking place among the famine-stricken Hindoos, the unemployed workers in London were terrifying the satiated, "well-to-do citizens" by marching thru the streets and asking for work or bread. And still these same workers weep on the streets when this crowned parasite is "threatened to suffocate in his own fat," as a Londoner informs us.

The editor of *Machinists' Journal* sheds bitter tears over the stubbornness of the workers who do not believe in the sincerity of Mark Hanna, altho he has "called upon God to witness that he speaks the truth." According to the editor, the cartoons of Mr. Davenport have had a greater influence upon the workers than the prayers of Mark Hanna, and "He is not believed." Why not make a suggestion to "Comrade Hanna," Mr. Wilson? Let him get off the backs of the people and the cartoons will instantly pass into oblivion—without a call on "God."

The futile and weary speculations whether

Czolgosz was a Catholic or an Anarchist are, to my mind, wasting space and energy; and when the unfortunate victim of Society is turned into ridicule, as Comrade Addis indelicately does, the thing becomes disgusting. And it is as puerile to make him an Anarchist on account of his deed, as it is to make him a Catholic. Czolgosz was not an Anarchist if his own statement is sufficient proof, for he frankly told the writer that he knew nothing of Anarchist teachings, but had been a Socialist for eight years. Yet what does it matter what his political views were? His dignified behavior during the farcical trial and his imprisonment called out even the admiration of his enemies, and challenges those who are so eager to stigmatize him as a lunatic or religious fanatic. And our task is to understand and explain such deeds, which will occur so long as there is tyranny and slavery, regardless of our approval or condemnation. And why this anxiety to renounce Czolgosz? Is it not catering to respectability, which is now so fashionable among Social Democratic vote catchers? An idle endeavor, comrades! Monster Slayers there will be so long as there are monsters, and the injustice of capitalism and government is most keenly felt by those who understand the effects of governmental violence and, it is most likely that the greater numbers of the "assassins" will come from the Anarchists.

Whether we approve or disapprove of violent resistance is of no moment in this discussion. The fact is that violence, produces violence, and so long as government uses force in subduing its subject, violent deeds by the individual are as much natural phenomena as cyclones.

"Communism plus group and individual secession is not the Communism favored by the Most-Kropotkin school," asserts R. S. in Tucker's *Liberty*. Until R. S. comes with a more tangible argument I will simply venture to say that he does not know what he is talking about. For when the "Most-Kropotkin school" declares itself against all authority—even against the authority which parades under the veil of "voluntary police"—and repudiates all ownership, private and collective, in order that not a single individual may be hampered in his actions by the lack of necessities of life; when this school says that each individual shall be free to work and live as he chooses—it should be clear even to a perfrigid Individualist, so-called, that it is a school which offers the greatest scope of freedom for the individual, and not the one which hedges itself in with all sorts of provisos.

INTERLOPER.

"Free Love" Again.

In his answer to my query as to what "free" love is, Americus fails to give me the definition I asked for. He need not bother about a scientific one, as I well know that love would be lost in the shuffle. A common sense one will do.

It seems to me that love is necessarily free, otherwise it is not that "fervent fire."

My interest in "free" love has been caused by some recent observations of mine. A professing "free" love woman whom I know,

(who can love two or a dozen, as the case may be), is entirely indiscriminate and indelicate. Now such conduct, to my mind, does not indicate love either "free" or otherwise, but quite the reverse.

I would very much like your opinion, and it seems to me that in speaking of love you can drop the "free."

JACK OLIVER.

REPLY.

Jack Oliver is very much like that other Oliver, he of the Twist, and still wants more.

Strictly, "free love" is a tautological term, which has come into use in distinguishing love unrestricted by authority or law from love whose expression is determined to any degree by the power of authority and law. If Jack Oliver will read this aright, he (shall I say she?) will have found a definition of free love.

I do not pretend to know whether a given person's actions are love or not; it seems to me that only that person can know that; what I do know is that free love, whether it be the love of one or of several (and it may be either), is love which recognizes no other law but the natural law of its own existence.

AMERICUS.

Here and There.

Herman Helcher frankly admitted in court to be the assailant of Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre. At the request of his lawyer the case has been postponed.

The slave is the best slave-driver, and the emigration official, Sargent, coming from the ranks of the workmen, is the most impertinent and servile officer Roosevelt could have appointed. Hundreds of old people and women, whose children and husbands had supplied them with the means to join them in the country, are brutally deported simply because they had not "visible means" to present at their arrival. The latest outrage was perpetrated upon Comrade McQueen's wife and children, who were deported because of being the family of an Anarchist.

The Union Teacher's Association, in session at Springfield, on Dec. 30, voted to adopt in its official documents the following changes in spelling: Altho, catalog, decalog, demagog, pedagog, prolog, program, thoro, thorofare, thru and thruout.

Literature.

LOVE'S COMING OF AGE. By Edward Carpenter. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Cloth, \$1.

While the literature of sex is ample enough, there being hundreds of books in English professing to deal with it, only a few are of sufficient importance to warrant a second reading. This is perhaps partly due to the difficulties which surround the subject, difficulties which ignorance, shame, public prejudice, and legal penalties, etc., all help to create, and which would inevitably tend to handicap a writer in attempting to deal openly, fully, and wisely with the matter. One of the very few volumes in which a free, sane, and very able survey of this important subject is to be found, called *Love's Coming of Age*, one of several books written by Edward Carpenter, the English Libertarian.

In eight brief chapters, occupying less

than two hundred pages, our author deals in a masterful and luminous way with sex passion, man and woman as they are and as they will be sexually, discusses marriage, sex in free society, and the general problems involved in the association of the sexes, and does it so simply and so well withal, that, whether the reader finds himself convinced at the end of the reading or not, he will feel that the time spent upon the book was time saved and not wasted. Science and sentiment go hand in hand, and delicacy in the treatment of the ideas gives the lie to the impure thoughts of those who would have it that sex itself is impure.

The book is revolutionary, of course, and proposes a right about toward the ideas, superstition, and customs which are prevalent and which so completely hedge the matter round; a change in which outworn and limiting things will be abolished. The author tells us that man is not yet sexually developed, that is normally; that the physical aspect of sex has attained a disproportionate importance thru a variety of influences, and will take a humbler place in the economy of life, when the mystery, inaccessibility and so-called impurity of it will have disappeared thru the advance of liberty.

Woman is retold the old truth that she is a slave sexually, and that nothing short of rebellion on her part can win recognition of her rightful status in the world, and that the ideas which she clings to so fondly, ideas respecting morality, with its double standards, the education of the young, and her dependence upon the male human being, are things which she must cast off in her long travail toward completion.

Marriage is upheld, and condemned; that is, the author holds that a life-long union will probably be the form of sex association of the future, but that it will be a free union in fact as in name, no other influence holding the participants together save that of their mutual interest in and need of each other. He argues too, that the human being may at one and the same time carry on sex relations with more than one person; suggesting that the needs of a developed life will occasion this. The thought along this line is worked in the chapter called "Free Society."

One of the striking, and to me satisfying thoughts of the book, is that the supreme object of sex association is not procreation, but fulness of life, unity with the vital processes of nature. On this matter it has been heresy this long time to suggest that the association of the sexes was not "intended" by nature for procreative purposes, and the heretics have Mr. Carpenter to thank among others for a strong and satisfying stand on the side of man as against the side of an enslaving natural "purpose."

The book has a plentiful amount of notes, and should be among the possessions of every man and woman.

W. F. B.

LETTER-BOX.

E. H., Brooklyn.—We are aware of scathing ridicule of governmental red tape in "Little Dorrit," and several months ago printed an extract therefrom. It can hardly be said, however, that Dickens was an Anarchist.

J. S., New York.—The price of last year's volume of *FREE SOCIETY* is \$1. It will be cheaper to have the binding done in New York, as we have not the means to have old volumes bound wholesale.

A Vindication of Anarchism.

II (concluded.)

That the restraints of religion and superstition are softened by culture is among those propositions which have prepared the way for Anarchism, and which, unlike some others answering that description, may be thought not to require much proof. Its force can, however, be fully appreciated only by those who have learned from books of travel or from ethnological works, like the "Origin of Civilization," how absolutely either religion or superstition tyrannize over the habits of barbarians. By religion I mean here dogmatical teachings founded on alleged revelation to prophets and sages; by superstition, notions growing out of irrational practises. The difference is worth dwelling on, for the such transcendental speculations as the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, etc., relate to incomprehensible subjects, and thus, like metaphysics in general, are pervaded by the fundamental superstition that our irrational fear of the unknown can be safeguarded thru some act of propitiation, still the method of seeking by logic to attain a rational faith, at least exercises the thinking faculty, and thus rather promotes than hinders culture until better ways of using one's brains come into use; but the creeds of a yet lower intellectual stage, in which monstrous rites are made the basis of still more monstrous stories, and the Supreme Being, for example, is represented under the names of Moloch and Kronos as an ogre devouring his own children, because the abject fear of the nomad made him offer his first born, for the most precious sacrifice possible to the object feared, can have had no other effect than to retard the development of mind. Now the superstitious practises of savages make it impossible for them to move without danger of breaking some taboo. "The Mongols think it a fault to touch the fire, or take flesh out of the pot with a knife, or to cleave wood with a hatchet near the hearth, imagining that it takes away the fire's power. It is no less faulty to lean on a whip, or touch arrows with it; to kill young birds; or pour liquor on the ground; to strike a horse with a bridle; or break one bone against another." (Astley's "Collection of Voyages," ap. Lubbock.)

Very similar prohibitions have been observed in other countries. The Pharisees were proverbial for their slavery to pious punctilios; but those on record—e.g. an egg laid on a festival day may be eaten according to one school, while another thinks it should not—come nowhere near this. Such absurdities decline with the progress of knowledge, just like those of manners and fashion—in fact, I am persuaded that all ceremonies were originally religious, etiquette being a relic of man-worship, which is general in a rude social state,—and similarly, less inconvenient forms which represent them, are everywhere extremely persistent. Thus, the most horrid rite of paganism—human sacrifice—gives place to animal sacrifice, in many countries, to sacrifice of images in Egypt where a figure representing a girl is still thrown into the Nile.

For modern examples of how culture sweeps away superstitions, Lecky's "History of Rationalism" is probably the best

book to consult. To take a very typical example, he shows that belief in witchcraft, the most dreadful superstition of any which survived and increased under Christian auspices,* was not destroyed by some great man's polemic against it; but indirectly by increase of knowledge about other things. There was very little controversy; in what there was, the defenders of the superstition, as Bodin, Glanville, Cotton Mather, John Wesley, were far abler than their opponents, and had altogether the best of the argument; if we take the trouble to read the obsolete literature of the subject we shall still hardly be able to refrain from agreeing with them that the evidence for existence of witchcraft was overwhelming. But when the people learned that the evils attributed to Satan, as hail, destructive wind and lightning, murrains and epidemics, were natural phenomena, the fear of Satan ceased; with it ceased disposition to fear his agents and as soon as they were not feared, they ceased to be found mischievous. It is worthy of remark that this superstition, like others, went out of date in a very short time—between 1660 and 1712 according to the highest estimate, but mostly by 1688.† Also that the popularity of such absurdities as "Christian Science," healing mediumship, Dowieism, and the like, gives proof of another great principle already stated. Every superstition is immortal; those we consider most absurd and noxious may still be found a very, very little way below the surface of society—but they lose power to do much harm when the educated class ceases to believe in them,—an intellectual revolution which is usually very sudden. Next to witchcraft, no superstition perpetuated into modern times is so frantic as belief in the duty of persecuting; and it has shed even more blood than the other. Since its open profession ceased to be popular among the clergy, some of them have attempted, with no small ability, to prove that the beneficent doctrines of Christianity are the cure for it. (See Archbishop Whatley's notes to Bacon's essay on "Superstition.") But surely history teaches us a very different lesson. Religious persecution attained its

* The witchcraft superstition is at its height among the fetish-worshipping tribes of Africa. But in Europe, as Lecky shows, it scarcely existed until Christianity introduced the thoroly fetishistic ideas of Satan and his arts. Nor did it become very mischievous till the Black Death prodigiously stimulated fear of the Devil by proving the Church's impotence against calamities attributed to him. In England and Scotland it was immensely increased by the Reformation, which cultivated a habit of reading, with implicit faith, the Old and New Testament legends of diabolic agency.

† The years 1660 and 1688 are respectively those of the Restoration and Revolution in England. The rapid progress of science under Charles II has been already noticed. Now, in 1664, Sir Matthew Hale, the most intelligent and virtuous of judges, hanged prisoners for witchcraft, the principal witness being Sir Thomas Browne, also a man of eminent character. After this, there are but few and doubtful instances of executions for witchcraft in England, where before they were common. In more fanatical Massachusetts, the great and last outbreak took place during 1694. In Scotland, executions were regular up to 1712; and there is said to have been one in 1722. But in England, Hutcheson, a clergyman, was able to describe witchcraft as an obsolete superstition in a history of it published during 1718; without rebuke from his order, which is always the last sanctuary of superstition. The delusion lingered in France a little longer than in England; and still later in Spain, the least enlightened of Christian monarchies, except, perhaps, Abyssinia.

height at the very age and in the very countries where Christianity was most thoroly and unanimously believed. What almost killed it, early in the seventeenth century, was the terrible object lesson of experience in its evils and futility: and if we refer to those controversial publications which aided to complete this good work, such as Locke's book on "Toleration," we shall find their arguments almost entirely secular, and of such a nature as could be addressed only to the understandings of an age in which the inductive philosophy had become popular. For a general view of this whole subject, that is how knowledge emancipates from superstition, dogma, and their pernicious consequences, no book probably is equal to the great posthumous work of the Anarchist Girondin, Condorcet, on the "Progress of the Human Mind."

More easily demonstrated by facts known to most readers is the connection between advance of civilization and decline of tyranny in economic matters. Except perhaps the Negrittoes,* of whom it may actually be doubtful whether they have got as far, all the larger divisions of mankind—Polynesians, Malays, Indians, Negroes, Mongolians, Semites, and Aryans—appear at one time to have been cannibals. This is evidently the economic stage corresponding to lowest intelligence, also to greatest ferocity and rudeness. In our own time, slavery has been substituted for it thruout a large part of Africa. Positive evidence to existence of slavery as a step occurring during progress, is scarcely to be found in some few countries. But in India, which is typical, the caste system evidently represents a milder tyranny, as it also does a higher intellectual state than that in which slavery began.

Very analogous to caste is serfdom; an institution always widely diffused among nations perhaps a little more advanced than the chief slave holders. Its substitution for slavery during the Middle Ages is among the most important, interesting, and misrepresented events in history. The rise of this serfdom began under the declining Roman Empire. Its progress from that status recognized by the code of Constantine to that defined by Justinian, is traced with lurid power in Michelet's "History of France," and Hodgkin's "Italy and Her Invaders." The serfs were not slaves partially emancipated, but citizens partially enslaved by the Roman government; consequently the familiar assertion that Christianity or indeed anything else "softened slavery into serf-

* This weakest of races appears to feed mostly on roots, berries, and small animals. The Polynesians generally, and some backward Malays were not long since notorious cannibals. So, in the sixteenth century, were many Indian tribes, among them the Caribs and the Aztecs. Cannibalism prevails extensively in Darkest Africa, and is not quite extinct in the wars of so civilized a country as China. It does not seem credible that a people as much addicted to human sacrifices as the early Semites did not once eat men. Aryan cannibalism is indicated as having formerly existed, partly by lingering examples reported in Scotland, among the Franks, and elsewhere, during the so-called barbarian invasion also by Hindoo legends, which shows thru what steps it gave way to the eating of various animals, ending with those still in use for food when the Vedas were partially composed. See the articles "Slavery" and "Caste" in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and Monier Williams' "Hinduism," for the early institutions treated in this paragraph. Hallam's "Middle Ages" and Guizot's "History of Civilization" may also be consulted on European serfdom.

dom" is absurdly incorrect. Moreover slavery continued to exist side by side with serfdom, in various parts of Europe even to the time of its great revival in America. But immediately after the dissolution of the Empire, the older system of labor fell into great decay, partly because the disunited barbarian governments had no provision for extradition; and partly because their first act was usually a great emancipation of slaves, whom they regarded as captive fellow countrymen. Serfdom, on the contrary, increased with increasing barbarism and ignorance, till about the very time when a sensible revival of civilization began; that is, as nearly as we can date changes so gradual and involved in such obscurity, about the beginning of the eleventh century. Henceforth, it was always the policy of the central governments and the cities, the principal nuclei of secular intellect, to discourage serfdom. Much to the honor of the clergy, this powerful body, which inherited all that was left of ancient knowledge, had constantly, if rather mildly, opposed both slavery and serfdom all along; but the former more particularly than the latter. In the latter half of the Middle Ages, the cities, municipalities whose charters were either derived from Roman authority or founded upon Roman models,* practised, indeed, the system of wage labor, but encumbered its freedom with a portentous mechanism of monopolies and guilds. For the history of these institutions, see Brentano's special work. It will not be disputed that the substitution of "free" wage labor was a trait of economic and that of scientific progress; but on details consult Toynbee "Industrial Revolution"; Ingraham, "History of Political Economy"; and Marx on "Capital."

A critical reader will not fail to observe that I have made certain statements apparently at expense of my general theory. I attribute softening of authority to culture; but the substitution of wage labor for serfdom in rural districts to an accident (the Black Death) and the fall of slavery into insignificance thruout Europe to another accident, which certainly did not promote culture (the partition of the Roman Empire by barbarians). But as these were the two greatest forward steps ever taken in favor of the proletariat, must not the general law be seriously modified?† I reply, I have never made culture an absolute inverse measure of

* The municipal system, under which cities derive their autonomy from charters granted by the general government, originated with Sulla (see Mommsen's "History of Rome.") Of Roman *urbes* and *municipia*, there is only Marseilles, whose archives are known to be uninterrupted from ancient times to modern. But the more I can learn about the Dark Ages the more convinced I am that most cities previously organized and still existing carried their local institutions thru this vortex. Those of new ones—Venice, for example,—were, during the chaotic period, entirely of the ancient type.

† Malthus attributed improvement in the condition of the proletariat to two principal causes—a series of accidents, among which the Black Death is typical, each causing a great temporary rise in real wages; and a certain tenacity with which the proletarians themselves resist any tendency to lower their standard of comfort again. See any edition of his "Essay" later than the first (1798); or Bonar's summary. Both these causes are undoubtedly very influential; but we cannot overlook such movements among the dominant class as Abolitionism, which witness the effect of culture in lessening the desire to oppress. Nor is that tenacity with which the proletariat keep every advan-

authority; but only of the dispositions both to exercise and endure authority, which in practice must be governed also by opportunities. Again, I do not attribute the two great changes mentioned wholly, but only partially, to accidents. Before the Black Death, a person who had observed the progress of the cities might have predicted the fall of serfdom, tho but for the Black Death this would have been delayed longer. Similarly, tho the slave system of the Empire and the Empire itself were involved in common ruin, there is, I think plentiful evidence that the slave system had long been declining. To this, various causes contributed. One everybody admits was the influence of Christianity, and Christianity at its worst was a far more rational religion than Roman paganism at its best—the dogmas of Athanasius appear quite scientific beside the superstitions of Julian. Another was that the emperors, from Octavius downwards, discouraged slaveholding—obviously because they were on the average more intelligent than their subjects. And to conclude, the accidents mentioned would not have proved such blessings in disguise as they did had they not been made such by the previous culture of those visited. It is altogether probable the barbarians would have adopted slave trading on an extensive scale, had they still been worshippers of War and Thunder instead of the Cross and the Dove. I: is certain that the Black Death passed over Asia without making any such changes as in Europe. Considering that opportunity as well as inclination is necessary to any form of tyranny; that the two momentous accidents only cut off institutions already dying; and that among deeper causes for the death of these institutions we find, both times, intelligence; I think the phenomena prove softening of authority to follow intelligence as much as there is any need they should.

"The natural authority of parents over children" has a hundred times been represented as the basis of all other. It is therefore very interesting to observe what a total revolution in our ideas of this authority has been wrought by intellectual progress. Among savages, infanticide is not only the commonest of crimes, but is not considered criminal, parents being assumed to have unlimited "natural authority" over their offspring. Kane observes that this was lately the case among the Eskimos of Etah. That it had partially, but only partially, ceased to be so illustrates two interesting truths—that the intelligence and therefore the morals of savages do improve, which has been disputed; and that the improvement, at a low stage, is slow enough to explain the possibility of thinking otherwise. For at Etah, as among barbarians generally, the father might still condemn his children to death for very slight causes. Taking away these extremities of the *patri potestas* was, in

tag once gained, to be considered mere blind conservatism—it proves that they have learned something. This last, Malthus did not overlook. He said of the Irish (before the famine, which he predicted) that the things they needed to improve their condition were civil and religious liberty, and education—of course in sound economy, not in the foolish ethics of their priests. It was like him to put the liberty first; for he perfectly understood that his own recipe of continence, or indeed any economic gospel, must be preached in vain to people who entertain no hopes.

Europe, among the beneficent effects of Christianity; but till a very recent period the treatment of children by those who professed peculiar ability to instruct was still inconceivably brutal. Thus Luther mentions having been whipped fifteen times in one day while at school; and still later an acquaintance of the notorious Busby found it necessary to protest (without much effect) against boys' being whipped with forty, fifty, or even sixty lashes, for such offenses as not knowing their lessons well enough. It is only in very recent times, under the brilliant light of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that such reformers as Rousseau, "Emile," Richter, "Levana," and Froebel, "Education of Man," have popularized modern notions on these subjects. Nay, tho the cruelty of old time parents and teachers has come to be in a measure scandalous and unusual even among the less enlightened class, I do not doubt that many, even of the more enlightened, may be startled by a full statement of the modern idea. For that idea does not stop short of this, that instead of the child's owing an unlimited duty to the father the father owes an unlimited duty to those he has taken the tremendous responsibility of bringing into existence. It also involves this, that human intelligence undergoes a progress, dependent on human originality; that the rising generation is normally superior to the outgoing; that the teacher's duty is, therefore, to study the pupil, with a view to *educing* his latent powers, instead of compelling the pupil to study him, in the form of that merely memorial exercise by which a former generation was instructed, but by which a later one is only cramped (see Herbert Spencer's "Essay on Education.")

In the treatment of criminals and of the insane, a similar change is almost too visible to need exposition. Restraint, which our ignorant ancestors regarded as the beginning of all improvement, is needed, if anywhere, in the cases of children, criminals, and lunatics. Yet just here it is the progress of knowledge has brought all who share in it to see that the *moral* effects of external restraint are injurious; whence it immediately follows that this can be justified only by the most urgent immediate *physical* necessity. And with recognition of this truth there inevitably arises a suspicion that the immoral and demoralizing tyranny once practised by parents, teachers, keepers, jailors, and legislators, never sprang from moral motives; but only from those passions which opposition excites in any man and which wisdom, as it increases, teaches him to control; so that violence, the savage's first instinct, becomes the civilized man's last very rare resort. We are only half-civilized yet. The promising circumstance about our civilization, such as it is, consists in our having begun to realize that truth. The Anarchist's view of how crime and other conditions proving congenital inferiority to average contemporaries should be dealt with, is far indeed from being generally appreciated yet, as I hope to show. But, in the European countries, now, as in the days of Negro slavery, ahead of ours, a great step towards it has recently followed the scientific labors of Lombroso, Kraft-Ebing, and their school. For concise views of the atrocities required by the old penal system, and the extent to which authority, in this peculiarly appropriate sphere, has already been softened by culture, see Beccaria's "Crimes and Punishments," which began the change; Wines' "Punishment and Reformation"; and a paper of Herbert Spencer on the subject, in his "Essays."

C. L. JAMES.

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