



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 437.

In the Battle.

A song for the heart is the song that will start from the
lips of the strenuous sea,
As against the shore it flings with a roar, glad in the
strife to be.
From near and far where its sources are it gathers a
million times,
Its waves in throng singing one loud song with wild
recurrent rhymes;
A song whose sound is of one unbound; of infinite
strength and mirth;
Of one whose goal is from pole to pole, and on to the
ends of the earth.
Yes, issuing forth from the south and the north, it
seeks for the land in the west,
To fall from a height with a crushing might on the
barrier's stony breast.
Tho the iron rock makes light of the shock, and un-
moved meets the tide,
Still it comes and goes with the song it knows and its
strength while the years abide.
It strives, nor fails; it weds with the gales, and tosses
its scornful foam
With a tireless will as a challenge still o'er the highest
headland's dome.

Whose soul is strong, his lips have a song of life that
goes unchained,
In sign of a hand that laughs at command and will
not be restrained;
In sign of a heart which knows its part, and yields
not; day by day,
Thru foul and thru fair, thru joy and care, keeping its
chosen way.
Fronting their might, down he will smite all of man's
bonds and bars;
Appealing from these to the wide, free, seas under the
shining stars.
Whoso is a man; who will, and can; who dares to live
his life—
From the first to the last his way is cast in the troubled
fields of strife;
But he never retreats, nor knows defeats; living, he
faces his foes;
And with all who essay to bar his way he strives till
he overthrows.
He strives to the last; he stands there fast; and into
the teeth of the world
His scorn to yield on the long-fought field in a daunt-
less challenge is hurled.

Who would be free, he lives as the sea; and lit by the
light of truth,
In freedom's name he smites each shame with never a
thought of ruth.
Strong of hand, he takes his stand on life's wide battle
ground,
One of the brave whom none shall enslave, and who
never a brother have bound.
Hoping no meed but each fruitful deed, he parries the
blows of the wrong;
Joy in his eyes while his spirit cries with his lips in a
triumph song.
Tho e'en he should loose he could not choose to turn
from the arduous fray;
He finds delight in the glorious fight and the song, till
his hair grows grey.
By dark and dawn his blade is drawn; he fears not,
neither quails;
To him to be free is victory: he conquers tho even he
fails.

Defiant there, with his forehead bare, he answers blow
with blow;
A warrior leal, with unbroken steel, and fearless face to
the foe.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

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The Uselessness of Law.

The millions of laws which exist for the
regulation of humanity appear upon inves-
tigation to be divided into three principal
categories—protection of property, protec-
tion of government, protection of persons.
And by analyzing each of these three cate-
gories, we arrive at the same logical and
necessary conclusion: the uselessness and
hurtfulness of law.

Socialists know what is meant by protec-
tion of property. Laws on property are
not made to guarantee either to the individ-
ual or to society the enjoyment of the pro-
duce of their own labor. On the contrary,
they are made to rob the producer of a part
of what he has created, and to secure to cer-
tain other people that portion of the produce
which they have stolen either from the pro-
ducer or society as a whole. When, for ex-
ample, the law establishes Mr. So-and-So's
right to a house, it is not establishing his
right to a cottage he has built for himself,
or to a house he has erected with the help
of some of his friends. In that case no one
would have disputed his right. On the con-
trary, the law is establishing his right to a
house which is not the product of his labor;
first of all, because he had it built for him
by others, to whom he has not paid the full
value of their work; and next, because that
house represents a social value which he
could not have produced for himself. The
law is establishing his right to what belongs
to everybody in general and nobody in par-
ticular. The same house built in the midst
of Siberia, would not have the value it pos-
sesses in a large town, and, as we know,
that value arises from the labor of some-
thing like fifty generations of men who have
built the town, beautified it, supplied it with
water and gas, fine promenades, colleges,
theaters, shops, railways, and roads leading
in all directions. Thus, by recognizing the
right of Mr. So-and-So to a particular house
in Paris, London or Boston, the law is un-
justly appropriating to him a certain por-
tion of the produce of the labor of mankind
in general. And it is precisely because this
appropriation and all other forms of prop-
erty bearing the same character are a crying
injustice, that a whole arsenal of laws, and
a whole army of soldiers, policemen, and

judges are needed to maintain it against the
good sense and just feeling inherent in hu-
manity.

Well, half our laws, the civil code in each
country, serve no other purpose than to
maintain this appropriation, this monopoly
for the benefit of certain individuals against
the whole of mankind. Three-fourths of the
causes decided by the tribunals are nothing
but quarrels between monopolists—two
robbers disputing over their booty. And a
great many of our criminal laws have the
same object in view, their end being to keep
the workman in a subordinate position to-
ward his employer, and thus afford security
to exploitation.

As for guaranteeing the product of his la-
bor to the producer, there are no laws which
even attempt such a thing. It is so simple
and natural, so much a part of the manners
and customs of mankind, that law has not
given it so much as a thought. Open brig-
andage, sword in hand, is no feature of our
age. Neither does one workman ever come
and dispute the produce of his labor with
another. If they have a misunderstanding,
they settle it by calling in a third person,
without having recourse to law. The only
person who exacts from another what that
other has produced is the proprietor, who
comes in and deducts the lion's share. As
for humanity in general, it everywhere re-
spects the right of each to what he has cre-
ated, without the interposition of any spe-
cial laws.

As all the laws about property, which
make up thick volumes of codes, and are the
delight of our lawyers, have no other object
than to protect the unjust appropriation of
human labor by certain monopolists, there
is no reason for their existence, and, on the
day of the revolution, social revolutionists
are thoroly determined to put an end to
them. Indeed, a bonfire might be made with
perfect justice of all laws bearing upon the
so-called "rights of property," all title-deeds,
all registers, in a word, of all that is in any
way connected with an institution which
will soon be looked upon as a blot on the
history of humanity, as humiliating as the
slavery and serfdom of past ages.

The remarks just made upon laws con-
cerning property are quite as applicable to
the second category of laws; those for the
maintenance of government, i. e., constitu-
tional law.

It again is a complete arsenal of laws, de-
crees, ordinances, orders in council, and
what not, all serving to protect the diverse

forms of representative government, delegated or usurped, beneath which humanity is writhing. We know very well—Anarchists have often enough pointed out in their perpetual criticism of the various forms of government—that the mission of all governments, monarchical, constitutional, or republican, is to protect and maintain by force the privileges of the classes in possession, the aristocracy, clergy, and traders. A good third of our laws—and each country possesses some tens of thousands of them—the fundamental laws on taxes, excise duties, the organization of ministerial departments and their offices, of the army, the police, the Church, etc., have no other end than to maintain, patch up, and develop the administrative machine. And this machine in its turn serves almost entirely to protect the privileges of the possessing classes. Analyze all these laws, observe them in action day by day, and you will discover that not one is worth preserving.

About such laws there can be no two opinions. Not only Anarchists, but more or less revolutionary radicals also, are agreed that the only use to be made of laws concerning the organization, government is to fling them into the fire.

The third category of law still remains to be considered, that relating to the protection of the person and the detection and prevention of "crime." This is the most important, because most prejudices attach to it; because, if law enjoys a certain amount of consideration, it is in consequence of the belief that this species of law is absolutely indispensable to the maintenance of security in our societies. These are laws developed from the nucleus of customs useful to human communities, which have been turned to account by rulers to sanctify their own domination. The authority of the chiefs of tribes, of rich families in towns, and of the king, depended upon their judicial functions, and even down to the present day, whenever the necessity of government is spoken of, its function as supreme judge is the thing implied. "Without a government men would tear one another to pieces," argues the village orator. "The ultimate end of all government is to secure twelve honest jurymen to every accused person," said Burke.

Well, in spite of all the prejudices existing on this subject, it is quite time that Anarchists should boldly declare this category of law as useless and injurious as the preceding ones.

First of all, as to so-called "crimes"—assaults upon persons—it is well known that two-thirds, and often as many as three-fourths, of such "crimes" are instigated by the desire to obtain possession of someone's wealth. This immense class of so-called "crimes and misdemeanors" will disappear on the day on which private property ceases to exist. "But," it will be said, "there will always be brutes who will attempt the lives of their fellow-citizens, who will lay their hands to a knife in every quarrel, and revenge the slightest offense by murder, if there are no laws to restrain and punishments to withhold them." This refrain is repeated every time the right of society to punish is called in question.

Yet there is one fact upon this head which

at the present time is thoroly established; the severity of punishment does not diminish the amount of crime. Hang, and if you like, quarter murderers, and the number of murders will not decrease by one. On the other hand, abolish the penalty of death, and there will not be one murder more; there will be fewer. Statistics prove it. But if the harvest is good and bread cheap, and the weather fine, the number of murders immediately decreases. This again is proved by statistics. The amount of crime always augments and diminishes in proportion to the price of provisions and the state of the weather. Not that all murders are actuated by hunger. That is not the case. But when the harvest is good, and provisions are at obtainable prices, and when the sun shines, men, lighter hearted and less miserable than usual, do not give way to gloomy passions, do not from trivial motives, plunge a knife into the bosom of a fellow creature.

Moreover, it is also a well-known fact that the fear of punishment has never stopped a single murderer. He who kills his neighbor from revenge or misery does not reason much about consequences; and there have been few murderers who were not firmly convinced that they would escape prosecution.

Without speaking of a society in which a man will receive a better education, in which the development of all his faculties, and the possibility of exercising them, will procure him so many enjoyments that he will not seek to poison them by remorse—without speaking of the society of the future—even in our society, even with those sad products of misery, whom we see today in the public-houses of great cities—on the day when no punishment is inflicted upon murderers, the number of murders will not augment by a single case; and it is extremely probable that it will be, on the contrary, diminished by all those cases which are due at present to habitual criminals, who have been brutalized in prisons.

We are continually being told of the benefits conferred by law, and the beneficial effect of penalties, but have the speakers ever attempted to strike a balance between the benefits attributed to laws and penalties and the degrading effect of those penalties upon humanity? Only calculate all the evil passions awakened in mankind by the atrocious punishments formerly inflicted in our streets! Man is the cruellest animal upon earth; and who has pampered and developed the cruel instincts unknown even among the monkeys, if it is not the king, the judge, and the priest, armed with law, who caused flesh to be torn off in strips, boiling pitch to be poured into wounds, limbs to be dislocated, bones to be crushed, men to be sawn asunder, to maintain their authority? Only estimate the torrent of depravity let loose in human society by the "informing," which is countenanced by judges, and paid for in hard cash by governments, under pretext of assisting in the discovery of "crime." Only go into the jails and study what man becomes when he is deprived of freedom and shut up with other depraved beings, steeped in the vice and corruption which oozes from the very walls of our existing prisons. Only remember that

the more these prisons are reformed the more detestable they become; our model modern penitentiaries are a hundred fold more abominable than the dungeons of the Middle Ages. Finally, consider what corruption, what depravity of mind, is kept up among men by the idea of obedience, the very essence of law; of chastisement; of authority having the right to punish, to judge irrespective of our conscience and the esteem of our friends; of the necessity for executioners, jailers and informers—in a word, by all the attributes of law and authority. Consider all this, and you will assuredly agree with us in saying that a law inflicting penalties is an abomination which should cease to exist.

Peoples without political organization, and therefore less depraved than ourselves, have perfectly understood that the man who is called "criminal" is simply unfortunate; that the remedy is not to flog him, to chain him up, or to kill him on the scaffold or in prison, but to relieve him by the most brotherly care, by treatment based on equality, by the usages of life among honest men. In the next revolution we hope this cry will go forth:

"Burn the guillotines; demolish the prisons; drive away the judges, policemen, and informers—the impurest race upon the face of the earth; treat as a brother the man who has been led by passion to do ill to his fellow; above all, take from the ignoble products of the middle-class idleness the possibility of displaying their vices in attractive colors; and be sure that but few crimes will mar our society."

The main supports of crime are idleness, law and authority; laws about property, laws about government, laws about penalties and misdemeanors; and authority, which takes upon itself to manufacture these laws and to apply them.

No more laws! No more judges! Liberty, equality and practical human sympathy are the only effectual barriers we can oppose to the anti-social instincts of certain among us.—From "Law and Authority," by Peter Kropotkin.

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Biographical Notes of John Turner.

John Turner is just under forty years of age, and has been identified with various radical and revolutionary movements for twenty-two years. Coming to London when about seventeen, he joined the National Secular Society before he was eighteen. At that time Charles Bradlaugh was at the height of his popularity, and was fighting to take a seat in the House of Commons. Mr. Turner threw himself into the radical republican and free-thought movement with all the enthusiasm born of youth. Two or three years later, when the Socialist League was formed as a revolutionary organization, with William Morris as its most active and militant personality, Turner joined it; and in 1886 he was a member of the executive board and financial secretary of the organization. From 1884 to 1892 was probably the most energetic and propagandist period in the revolutionary Socialist movement in England, and during that time no one was more active or energetic than Turner.

The Chicago affair of 1886-87 made him an Anarchist; and since then no one has been more convinced of the justice of the cause or the ultimate triumph of Anarchistic principles than John Turner. He took an active part in the agitation for the pardon of the Chicago men in 1887, speaking at as many as eighteen meetings in a week.

In 1889 he was a delegate to the International Socialist Workers' Congress held in Paris, when the now famous resolution calling on the workers of the world to throw down their tools on the first day of May and demonstrate their solidarity with one another was brought forth by a delegate from the Knights of Labor and adopted. During that year he set to work to organize into a trade union the shop assistants (retail clerks) of London. Several attempts had been made previously by others; for, as is generally known in the labor world, the shop assistants are so steeped in middle class prejudices that they are the most difficult of all people to organize. However, several of his colleagues having requested him to make the attempt, he decided to do so, and issued a call just before the historic "dock strike." The result of the call was the formation of the United Shop Assistants' Union, with himself as president, a post he held for nine years, until 1898, when an amalgamation took place with the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, of which he is now chief organizer. All of this was a labor of love, and the hundreds of meetings he addressed and the many years spent in what many thought a hopeless task showed an optimism unbounded and a depth of principle and faith in human nature that few possess.

As organizer for the National Union his success has been phenomenal. The union in 1898 had an income of \$6,500 a year; today it is nearly \$100,000 a year. It has over three hundred branches all over the United Kingdom, and has a membership of nearly 15,000, as against barely 5,000 in 1898. Other causes have been at work to account for this remarkable growth, but it is admitted on all sides that by far the most important factor has been John Turner's personality. During the first two years of his organizership he brought into the union nearly 4,000 members.

He was connected with the *Commonweal*, the organ of the Socialist League; and when its editors were arrested and imprisoned, in the early nineties, Turner immediately stepped in and wrote the leading articles for the next issue of the paper, which had been confiscated together with all the matter set up for that week. The paper was brought out only a day late, notwithstanding the police had the office under observation all the time and another raid was hourly expected.

Turner participated in the riots at Trafalgar Square on "Bloody Sunday," and was an active participant in the great dock strike. His connection with *Freedom* has been of many years' standing; and he is regarded as one of the ablest of English Anarchists, and one of the best informed labor men of Great Britain.

In 1896 he made his first visit to America, and undertook a lecturing tour under the auspices of the Anarchists. His tour lasted

seven months, and notwithstanding the intense interest in the Bryan-McKinley campaign, was a great success. His tour embraced such cities as New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Denver, and a score of smaller places. He delivered more than a hundred lectures, the majority of which were before trade unions, Single Tax, and Freethought societies. He was cordially received by the great majority of labor men he came in contact with, and addressed most of the central labor unions in the cities mentioned above. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor took the chair at his meeting in Indianapolis, and gave him a letter of introduction to the trade unionists of the country.

Of late years his duties as organizer of the Shop Assistants have taken him somewhat from the Anarchist movement; but in spite of his many duties he can always be relied upon to speak or write for the cause whenever he can get a moment's time.

When George Bedborough, the editor of the *Adult*, was prosecuted in London in 1898, Turner was on the defense committee and took an active part in raising funds for the defense. He was recently selected by his union to represent it at the International Congress of Shop Assistants, which was held in Brussels in September.

He represented the United Shop Assistants on the London Trade Council for several years, and was on the executive committee of that body. In fact, there has hardly been an advanced movement for the past twenty years in England that he has not been identified with. A keen student of social science, in addition to being a man of action, he is sure to impress his personality upon friend and opponent alike.

Crime and Environment.

Granted that, "given favorable conditions, we are far less liable to commit crime,"—still Van Dyke Brown, in the first article of *FREE SOCIETY*, No. 433, gives us no help as to the means of attaining these "favorable conditions."

To what purpose this continual reiteration of self-evident facts? What do I gain by knowing that circumstances make me a criminal if I do not also know some means of mastering untoward circumstances?

It appears to me that the individual's ability to master circumstances is the key to our social betterment.

However, to be master of one's circumstances one must first be master of one's self, and the first essential of self-mastery is a perfect body or at least perfect bodily health. I shall not attempt to give a rule of living or prescribe a health course; we have systems and health rules to suit every conceivable emergency. The question is the truth or fallacy of my proposition—perfect health gives perfect mastery over self—perfect mastery over self gives one Aladdin's lamp. Circumstance is the master of the weak, but the slave of the strong.

Mental health being in a great degree dependent on bodily health, having bodily and mental health we become strong, and being strong we master unfavorable circumstances; which in Comrade Brown's article

is used synonymously with crime, or at least as the chief cause of crime. Does not the development of strong men, then, mean the death of crime?

Heartily believing in the strong man, and in the possibility of every man, thru self-mastery, attaining the "mark of his high calling," I say with the poet Swinburne:

"All glory to man in the highest, for man is the master of things."

MARK LEUMAS.

[The above is a proposition to lift oneself by one's bootstraps, if I understand Comrade Leumas correctly. While it is true that man must master conditions, nevertheless it cannot be denied that environment is quite unmountable by the lonely individuals aspiring for freedom and plenty for all mankind. We are born into a condition of strife and servitude, poverty and luxury; and even the strongest must finally succumb when the police club and ignorance are against him. The means to attain "favorable conditions" is to arouse the slaves against their oppressors, and to point out the remedy.

A. I.]

"The Life of Albert R. Parsons."

In answer to the many inquiries as to when the "Life of A. R. Parsons" will be ready, I will state that I am now revising and compiling the book, and will have it ready for delivery by December. This second edition will contain much more of Mr. Parsons' own writings—editorials from the *Alarm* showing his position on the labor question and the recurring events of the struggle of labor with capital, etc., than the former edition. It will be a book of about three hundred pages, beautifully illustrated, and nicely bound in cloth and gilt. Comrades who are intending to order the work, will please send in their subscriptions as soon as possible. It will require a large sum of cash to get the book out; the price has been put so cheap that any one can purchase it.

Price \$1, and 10c. for postage. Address: Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago, Illinois.

For Boston.

The memorial meeting for the Chicago martyrs will be held on Sunday, Nov. 15, 8 p. m., in Paine's Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St. Speakers: Geo. Brown, of Philadelphia, and A. H. Simpson, of Boston.

Comrade K. Snellenberg, 127 Center St., Roxbury, Mass., has kindly offered to visit all the delinquent subscribers in Boston and Roxbury; and we hope all those in arrears will aid him by leaving the money ready at their homes, or seeing him at his address, after 6 p. m., which would save him carfare and time.

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.

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ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 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.

About the Linotype.

Those who are interested in the plan of having a linotype in operation for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY and the general propaganda, may see from the figures published below how the project is developing. The response to our request has on the whole been encouraging, and doubtless each succeeding week will see something added to the fund, especially when the subscription sheets, which are now being circulated, begin to come in.

It should be understood that those who are disposed to make loans will be amply secured in the value of the machine, and that as far as gifts are concerned, small as well as large sums help to swell the grand total. No comrade who would like to help in the strengthening of FREE SOCIETY need hesitate to add his mite because it is only a mite.

Subscription sheets will be sent on application.

Up to the time of this report, Monday, October 19, the following persons have subscribed to the fund:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....	\$ 85.00
Myra Peppers, Kansas City, Mo...	1.00
S. Milner, Baltimore.....	5.00
Mark Leumas, Chicago.....	10.00
Axel Kleinschmidt, Chicago.....	5.00

Total,	\$106.00
Less cash paid and transferred.....	5.00

Balance, \$101.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$ 55.00
*P. Finkler, Chicago.....	5.00
Dr. C. S. Wood, Chicago.....	5.00
Total,	\$ 65.00

* Those marked with an asterisk have paid on pledges, and are transferred to the cash fund.

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Free Society Ball.

FREE SOCIETY Ball takes place on December 5, in Aurora Hall, cor. Milwaukee Ave. & Huron St. All wishing an enjoyable time should not fail to be there.

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Liberty never qualifies.

Patriotism is anti-social.

Mutual aid is widened friendship.

Regard for others is regard for self.

A full trough insures a swinish peace.

Clasped hearts will follow clasped hands.

Republics and monarchies are own cousins.

Trusts belie their names; they are betrayals.

The seeds of the future are planted by the present.

The "will of the people" is the whim of authority.

It is easy to make the ignorant think that they are wise.

Sexual love cannot profit thru tyranny, however disguised.

Cooperation makes a laughing stock of "mine" and "thine."

The wisdom of fools: does it make wise provision thru votes?

The burglar in soft slippers is a real prototype of the diplomat.

There are loan sharks in the Chicago's city hall eating the other sharks there.

Grover Cleveland came to Chicago, but Chicago did not go to Grover Cleveland.

Morgan, the stock wrecker, has apparently caught, bound, and gagged the law.

The reading of books full of falsehood does not make a man wise nor give him the truth.

Elections are for the purpose of settling contests between men who are anxious to rule each other.

If there was "money in it" Anarchism would have as great a following today as any "grafting" political machine.

The Rev. John Watson predicts a great religious revival. The Rev. John Watsons need something of this sort for their pockets' sake.

Dresser, a millionaire witness, declares that Schwab and his friends deliberately wrecked the ship trust. "Justice" seems to be deaf, as well as blind.

Part of our "great national wealth" con-

sists of land held out of use, and consequently away from the people, by monopolists. Such "wealth" would be more properly classed as poverty.

Mark Hanna professes great admiration for the "conservative element in labor organizations." Mark Hanna has a very fat and open purse; perhaps his admiration is er—shall I say at least reciprocated?

The easiest reply for capitalism to make to Anarchists is that they would be exploiters themselves if they had the opportunity; and the easiest rejoinder for Anarchists is that they wish to make this opportunity impossible.

The Social Democratic party of Germany has its bitter moments, when, for example, it finds the disposition to compromise, the bane of every political party, fearfully developing within itself. Bernstein, Volmar, and the rest are signs of decay.

The countess of Warwick has hurt the pride of the British aristocracy of late by uncovering for the public gaze the origin of the Warwick blood and estates. The countess admits that one of her ancestors was a pirate, while another was a wealthy patent medicine faker. What is the countess?

The veteran journalist, Murat Halsted, has been engaged to furnish Hearst with a halo and wings to enable that false friend of labor to make an effective appeal to the people as a presidential nominee; but let the eloquent Halsted write what panegyrics he will, the cloven hoof and devil's tail which Hearst wears cannot be hidden.

Labor organizations move good, kind, generous capitalism almost to tears as it observes their course, and predicts that they will ruin all industry and take the bread out of the mouths of men, women, and children everywhere; but its sympathy does not keep capitalism from taking the same bread away: which is another matter.

The Russian government, having failed to evacuate Manchuria, as it had pledged itself to, has grieved the government of Japan, and perhaps the governments of other countries, very greatly. But as the promises of government are usually made, not to be kept, but in order to save time, the affected governments should admit the real source of their grief, viz. envy; and then proceed to "noble and glorious war."

Everywhere the legal assaults upon trade unionism, assaults upon its funds, upon picketing, upon the boycott, upon strikes, etc., are increasing; and it is becoming plain to unionists that appeals to the law are more and more impossible to them. It is becoming plain, in short, that law is with wealth and for wealth alone. What are unionists to do then? The general strike is now the logical goal of their efforts.

The editor of the Louisville Courier Jour-

nal, Henry Watterson, declares that the Panama canal scheme is based upon an expected windfall for those interested directly; \$40,000,000, which promise to be paid for the canal as it stands, being the fruit which will fall into the hands of thieves if the matter is settled and the canal bought from the French company. But Watterson should not become agitated; neither he nor his friends can keep government from being the natural agent of thieves.

Recent revelations in the sphere of stock speculations make very clear the methods whereby men like Morgan, Rockefeller, and Carnegie take their billions out of the pockets of the world. Issuing stock on the probable endurance of ignorant and exploited labor, (watered stock) they sell it to the greedy little capitalists; who, once accepting it, have no redress against their giant "friends" when strikes or panics open the floodgates and let the water out. Money is both law and government, and he who has the most, rules.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

People in Chicago were somewhat surprised by the news as given in the papers, that "the most desperate robbers in our cities are ex-policemen." But aside from the fact that nothing else can be expected from men who have been trained into the belief that clubs and revolvers are essential means of Christian civilization, I think the newspapers are mistaken. The most desperate highwaymen have their abode in Washington, D. C., those who steal—beg pardon!—seize whole islands, and "appropriate" the best houses on them, in broad daylight.

A Philadelphia citizen expresses surprise and indignation in the *North American*, because the chief of police intends to restore two policemen to office, who, from sheer brutality, had clubbed a man into insensibility, and after both had served terms of imprisonment. What naivety! Is it not alone the brute who makes an "efficient" policeman in a society which is founded on brute force and exploitation? A policeman with humane sentiments, like Chas. B. Baker, of Philadelphia, who resigned his position, "burst into tears and sobbed like a child" in the coronor's office, because he had killed a burglar while on duty (altho he had been "exonerated from blame"), is not a fit human being to be a guardian of "law and order."

Attorney General Knox has decided that "the constitution did not follow the flag to Guam," and that "the naval governor is supreme there and may seize such property as he thinks necessary under the nation's right of eminent domain." An American pirate, called the naval governor, had seized the best house of the island "because it was needed as an executive mansion," for which the owner "demanded pecuniary damages." The ruling means in plain English that outright robbery is always justifiable if the robber happens to have the biggest guns. When a poor woman steals a loaf of bread, "because it was needed" she goes promptly

to jail "in disgrace," but the government of "a rich nation" is justified in stealing any kind of property. Such are the ethics of the State!

While the lickspittles at the head of the "popular" government in France are spending hundreds of thousands of francs of the people's money in order to exhibit their servility before the monarchical couple of Italy, the weavers of Armentiers are on strike to escape starvation. Martial law has been declared, and some of the strikers have been killed. In this country we have a similar spectacle: debauchery among our money kings, while the soldiery at Cripple Creek act like barbarians toward the striking miners. "Here, as well as there, the same drama," says a contemporary. "On this side of the water as well as on the other, steaming plates full of the most select viands for persons of princely blood and other idlers in high places, and "cold lead" for the toiling masses if they attempt to maintain the rights of humanity."

The *Daily News* of this city is rather irritated over the audacity of some desperados who "demand tribute" from the Northern Pacific railway "without a claim against the company or even a grievance." Says the editor, among other things:

Their enterprise is brigandage pure and simple. They want money and they propose to get it without subjecting themselves to the danger and inconvenience of holding up express trains.

But why deplore such "recrudescence of brigandage" any more than the bare-faced pillaging of the trusts and railway barons, incessantly perpetrated both upon the toilers and the public in general? The ancient predatory knights were at least subjecting themselves to the danger and inconvenience of holding up their victims on the highways; while our modern knights fleece their victims by virtue of the law without even being subjected to the discomfort of staying away from the seashore or European gambling resorts. Money and government are doing the dirty business for them. Worse still. The railway magnates have at least the right of self-defense, and are assured of the support of government as against the demands of the illegal brigands; but when the toilers—with just claims and grievances—attempt to defend themselves against the exorbitant extortions of the legalized brigands, called in modern language capitalists, they find the government ever on the side of the brigands; and it never hesitates to club, imprison or shoot the rebellious toilers into submission.

INTERLOPER.

Justice and Law.

An eminent lawyer stepped into a hansom, and directed the cabman to drive him to the Royal Court of Justice. "The Royal Court of Justice?" the cabman said. "I do not know them." "What!" the great man exclaimed. "You don't know the Royal Court of Justice?" "No." "What! not the Law Courts?" "Oh, the Law Courts! I know the Law Courts."—*Daily News*, London, England.

Remember the ball on December 5!

Notes.

All delinquent subscribers to FREE SOCIETY are earnestly requested to renew their subscriptions immediately if they care to have the paper. Our contemporary, *Lucifer*, has been ordered by the postal authorities to take all delinquent subscribers from its lists, and if such arbitrary ruling is to be applied to all radical papers, our readers should hasten to pay their subscriptions in advance in order to frustrate the scheme of the postal authorities—to hamper the propaganda.

Comrade John Turner, of whom a biographical sketch appears in another column, has arrived in New York, where he will give a series of lectures before trades unions. After that he will lecture in the different eastern States, and then come westward if meetings can be arranged for him. The comrades in the different cities should not miss this opportunity to induce trades unions to arrange meeting for Comrade Turner, and hear trades unionism elucidated from a radical standpoint.

Contributions to defray the expenses of Comrade Turner's tour, which are still badly needed, should be sent to Dr. J. A. Maryson, 25 E. B'way, New York, N. Y.

For New York.

John Turner, chief organizer of the National Shop Assistants' (retail clerks) Union, of England, and member of the executive committee of the London Trades Council, will speak on the following dates and places:

Sunday, Nov. 1, 3 p. m., at the Brooklyn Philosophical Association, in the Long Island Business College, South Eight St.

Sunday, Nov. 8, 8 p. m., at the Woman's Henry George Club. Subject: "The Labor Struggle."

Monday, Nov. 9, 8 p. m., at Bronx Casino. Subject: "The Legal Murder of 1887."

Friday, Nov. 13, 8 p. m., at the Manhattan Liberal Club, 220 E. 15th St. Subject: "The Essentials of Anarchism."

Other lectures will be announced later.

Photographs of Comrade Turner will be sold for the benefit of the FREE SOCIETY Linotype Fund in all meetings, and can also be obtained at M. Maisel's bookstore, 194 E. Broadway, or E. G. Smith, 1804 Madison Ave., New York.

LETTER-BOX.

W. S., *Grand Junction, Colo.*—Thanks for the correction. You will see the matter has been attended to.

B. S. *Washington D. C.*—Thanks for criticism and suggestion. FREE SOCIETY is perhaps no more severely criticized than in the office here; and we are always glad to hear criticisms from friends. Would be glad to have you suggest some selection, so as to give us a better idea of what you propose.

"Freiheit," *New York*.—If you do not distinguish between a priest who seduces little girls and comrades who practice freedom in love relationships, your attitude will be a surprise to most Anarchists. To claim that "both are dirty wretches" would indicate that a little disinterested thought might be of benefit to you. It would also be instructive to know from whom "wives" can be "stolen" like chattels or private property.

In the "Holy Bonds."

"He bate me black and blue," whined Mrs. Mahoney to her German lodger, as the latter came in and found her weeping.

"I'm sorry," said Hans, sympathetically. "Why do you live with a husband who beats you?"

"I have to; he makes me living," she moaned.

"You make your own livin'. Don't you work?"

"Yes; but I don't make no money. Pat makes the money. His work pays, and mine don't."

"Why don't you join the Anarchists?" asked Hans; who talked but little and reached an idea quickly.

"What are them?" she asked, with marked interest.

"They are people who preach liberty, and they have a scheme which makes woman independent. They will get a return for their work, the same as men. They don't have to belong to husbands. They don't have to live with anybody who beats them."

"Where are they?" asked Mrs. Mahoney, wakening with interest.

"There is one up at the corner of A and B Sts., where they publish a paper."

"I'll jine the Anarchists, I will," the woman exclaimed, and rose to handling pots and pans with unusual liveliness. "When Pat comes home agin I'll be an Anarchist, by the Blessed Virgin, I will!"

On that day she sought the Anarchist paper.

"Is this the Anarchist shop?" she asked upon entering.

"Yes, my friend," replied the editor with a twinkling eye. "What can I do for you?" he asked gently.

"Do you make Anarchists here?"

"Yes; we try to."

"Can you make a livin' for the loikes of me, who can't get money? Me husband supports me, and he bates me."

"That's bad. We do not believe in violence, nor in woman's dependence. When we get new conditions, women will find it easy to live. They will own themselves. No man will own them, and they will not have to endure bonds."

"No husbands at all?" Mrs. Mahoney interrupted with a show of alarm.

"Not if they don't want to be ruled."

"But Pat makes a good livin' for me," said the woman apologetically, and with some tenderness.

"But he is cruel to you. He beats you; and he must be a bad man."

"What's it your business?" she broke out wrathfully.

"Oh, none at all. I'm just trying to help you in your trouble."

"You said Pat was a bad man! He may bate me, and its none of your business," she said, and flounced out, banging the door.

Going homeward the woman surveyed her bruised arm and thought tenderly of Pat. "It's nobody's business. He may bate me if he wants to," she kept repeating.

OLGA ARNOLD.

— o —

The Workingmen's Educational Club will meet every Saturday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, in Pordgess Hall, cor. Maxwell & Jefferson.

Critics Criticised.

Having had an intimation that the author of that critique, both on myself and the whole theory of degeneration, which appeared some time ago in *Freedom*, and afterwards in *FREE SOCIETY*, was preparing a fuller exposition of his views, I had intended waiting to see it before I said any more on the subject. After reading the articles of Comrades Van Dyke Brown and Chas. J. Finger, I was even at first inclined to drop the whole thing, and let them have it out without me. But space may be saved—a point of value to radical periodical literature—if I can indicate successfully what seems to me an error common to all my critics upon this and certain more or less allied subjects,—the Malthusian particularly; which error, indeed, if persisted in, will prevent my taking notice of such criticism as theirs' beyond a certain point.

The error consists in not adequately realizing that scientific questions are not scientifically treated by the methods of two cullud gemmem appointed at the Lime Kiln Club to debate, before that intellectual body, this other great issue, "Am de pen mightier dan de soard?" In the Lime Kiln Club, of course, each disputant definitely takes a side; and the hon'able jury decide in favor of the one who has said the most smart and witty things or is ahead in throwing out "objections," still "unanswered," to his "opponent's" view. But scientific men do not profess to know all about a subject. Only quacks do that when the question is a scientific one. The former do not, accordingly, take definite sides. They are all trying to learn. Differences may arise between two of them as to the evidence of a fact, or its significance; and in either case there may be something like a debate. But they agree that the only tests are observation and experiment—if the previous observations do not, after a little talk, seem satisfactory to both, they must make further observations; if the conclusions suggested to one by the observations strike the other as inconsequential, then, again, there is no more to be said—either the believer or the disputer of the conclusions, if he thinks it worth while, will bring them to an experimental tribunal; if neither thinks so, the case is off.

Believing always in this method, I have learned more and more, by controversy, to stick close with it. My friend "Zeno" taught me, long years ago, never to keep up the shuttlecock with a verbal quibbler. Others have since taught me not to prolong scientific discussions with those whose methods are not scientific.

Accordingly I have nothing to say about most of Van Dyke Brown's anti-degeneracy arguments. Such confusions of thought as citing the good behavior of *Anarchists* transferred from Italian prisons to Brazil; such obliterations of this glaringly wrong track as using the word crime "in its ordinary meaning, that is to say, what the law and consensus of opinion calls crime"; such ignorance as it implies to ask from what superior race we have bred back; such silly jokes as advising Lombroso to measure Morgan and Rockefeller, as if a professed anthropologist refrains from "measuring" the whole human race for any other reason than that, outside the jails, there are very few who will

let him do it;—these, indeed, are easily disposed of; but noticing them is Lime Kiln Clubbish, like themselves; and this is to give notice that I will hereafter descend to nothing in connection with the question of degeneracy which is.

Van Dyke Brown (is this his real name?) has much more sensible passages than these; which yet are spoiled by the connection. "To find the causes of the acts of the individuals composing the race . . . we must take the two factors of the individual and the environment into account." This is dreadfully true—and it gives away the whole case for the obsolete method of considering environment alone. Does he mean to say that I do not consider both factors? Or that criminologists generally do not? If so, I refer him to the fifth section of my "Vindication of Anarchism"; where I am sure he will find a great deal taken from standard criminalological and penological works on the effects of a certain environment called jail, and also of some others. When the twelfth section appears, he will find in that a very careful original attempt at estimating the relative effects of heredity and environment in special classes of cases. Above all, he will learn there, if he can, that the data are still very imperfect, and what we need is not more Lime Kiln Club rhetoric, but more statistics, such as Lombroso and his school are laboriously compiling. This putting into a corner an exception which destroys the main contention is an old trick of anti-scientists, or promoters of the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. The anti-Malthusian admits that every father whose children have cause to thank him for their existence, and every managing mamma, has long been aware that marrying without seeing how to support a family is imprudent. All he kicks at is having vice and misery in general traced to legally consecrated lust! The "progressive" hygienic catchpenny literature believes in popularizing information as old as Hippocrates. His scorn is all reserved for acquiring new information of the same sort by the same methods!

There remains just one statement of Van Dyke Brown's which looks scientific. If it be true, as he says, that seventy per cent of all crimes committed are a result of the struggle for money, that is an important datum. But statistics are one thing and random assertions about statistics quite another. I have not yet seen the statistics. If Van Dyke Brown will examine the statistics of some one penitentiary, as Joliet or Waupun, I suspect he will find seventy per cent of the crimes due to other causes, such as (1) sexual passion (2) anger (3) drunkenness (4) reckless extravagance, inducing most of the pecuniary crimes—forgeries, embezzlements, boodlings, bribes, etc. (5) "pure cussedness,"—habitual criminality,—a natural preference for mean crooked ways of living, inducing almost all the other pecuniary crimes, such as swindles, confidence games, counterfeitings, arson for insurance, etc. (6) the law itself—the power it gives the receiver to make a professional thief out of a pilfering boy, the demoralizing effect of jail on one whom a rebuke would have saved (7) the law in another way—the multiplication of *mala prohibita*, not psychological crimes

at all. I suspect he will find that proletarian misery, to which my critic of *Freedom* attributes all crime, very seldom sends its pupils any higher than the calaboose; and that tho' the "haste to be rich" occasionally prompts a murder or a great punishable swindle, this is rare. Here is an experiment for him to try. Trying it will be scientific. Repeating unverified statistical assertions won't.

C. L. JAMES.

Echoes.

There are three classes of mind—the conservative, the radical, and the lickspittle. The latter usually antagonizes the radical; not because it is conservative, but because radicalism offers few prizes and no comforts to its devotees.—*The Public*.

"With your wisdom you cannot allure a dog from the stove," we are told by those of our opponents who think themselves witty. Good heavens! we do not intend that at all. Not dogs, but men we want to frighten away from their nook of idleness—awaken and arouse them. If we succeed in this, then all the four and two-legged dogs may—as far as we are concerned—comfortably sleep on.—Martin Drescher.

Ex-Sheriff Martin, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., has sued the county for \$1,500. It is reported that this suit is brought for the purpose of securing the compensation that is due for the legalized murder of a score of miners at Lattimer, six years ago. Martin wants his blood-money, as he is now a physical wreck, haunted by the memory of the massacre demanded by the corporation conspirators. Martin is now friendless, the object of every man's contempt, and when his foul carcass is mouldering in a dishonored grave, there will be none so poor as to do him reverence. Such is the fate of men with Judas Iscariot souls.—*Miners' Magazine*.

Miss May Golet exchanges \$4,000,000 for a matrimonial alliance with the duke of Roxburghe. This fabulous sum represents some of the surplus that has been stolen by law from the hands of the thousands whose labor made it possible for a Golet to break into the circle of England's titled gentry. When King Edward, the moral leper, heard of his blue-blooded brother landing the American fish, he exclaimed in rapture, "Well done, Roxburghe!" The laboring people of America are earning the purchase price which American heiresses can afford to pay for broken-down roués, which the female element of England's nobility reject, when suffering from financial distress.—*Miners' Magazine*.

Several legislative rascals in the State of New York contemplate introducing a bill, which will make strikes punishable, and aim to establish arbitration boards instead. Why not? The trustocracy is here and makes itself felt more and more, and modern feudalism, and serfdom and slavery as a counterpart should really be looked upon as a matter of course. And the toiling people? Well, they are training themselves by fighting among themselves as a preparation

for the propaganda of solidarity. No wonder, then, that their masters deem their heads good enough for foot-ball sport. In order to enable the bosses to have a better eaves-drop on "their" workers and thus find out who is a pro or a counter black-guard, regular spying institutions have been established, which offer the capitalists their creatures thru circulars, just as if they were merely bulldogs or bloodhounds. The business is supposed to flourish immensely. But that these spying fellows have been accorded a Russian "treatment" by the black-guarded—Paulus does not say anything about. But the people think of elections. What a monkey-show for and by politicians!—*Freiheit*.

The officers of several trade unions have been informed by the railroads that over a hundred thousand workingmen will be discharged in the eastern States if the unions attempt to extort higher wages from their employers.

If one reads these and similar news items, one is always astonished how a petty number of magnates can thus Sultan-like dictate and threaten whole armies of toilers, and that these battalions are thus forever intimidated.

Only recently Thomas Kidd, the vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, boasting and convincingly declared that, if the employers should again sue the unions for damages on account of strikes and boycotts, labor organizations would withdraw about three hundred million dollars from the American banks. The capitalistic dailies ridiculed the audacious speaker, and the timidity of the officers of the American Federation of Labor during great strikes and lockouts fully justifies such derision. For after a few boasting phrases these dignitaries of the union usually crawl backward. And the Gompers, Kidds, and their associates will again deem it more prudent to meet the late effrontery of the railroads with caution rather than bravery, and sound a retreat.

Are the majority of the members of the unions really still waiting for the day when the leaders will graciously allow them to go ahead energetically? Then they can wait till doomsday, and with forbearance continue to work for the higher honor of capital.—*Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

A Letters from a Foreigner.

One of the most impressive things in this glorious and misgoverned country, is the happy condition of the laboring people, who are in constant trouble with their employers. Everywhere the workingman is happy, prosperous and either on strike or getting ready to strike about the 1st of May. I find that almost all of the American laborers own their homes, and are constantly being evicted by greedy landlords, who hold their tenants in practical slavery. Here freedom and equality exist in the fullest measure. The schools are open to all. Every child has an opportunity to secure an education at the expense of the State. The result is that everybody is educated and striving for better, higher things, while the factories are full of little children for whom there is no

hope. I have been looking carefully into industrial conditions and reading up on both sides, the result being that I can truthfully say that the working people of America were never so well off as they are at present, while in the poorer districts of the great cities the state of affairs seems to be about the worst on earth.

The poorest boy in the land still has the knowledge that he may some day be president, but the recent great changes in industrial conditions make it practically impossible for those at the bottom to ever get up hereafter, except thru miracles. Everywhere I find contentment and subdued murmurs of hatred for the ruling classes. The working people go about with happy, smiling faces and an eager longing to throw a few rocks just for luck. It is very interesting and instructive. Every man, however poor he may be, feels that he is a part of the body politic and fully realizes that the machinery of the government is run by a few bosses in the interests of those who have money to pay for such legislation as they want. The result is a united and homogeneous people rapidly drawing toward a bloody revolution.

Trusting that I have been fair to both sides, I beg to remain as ever your obedient servant.—Theophilus Fitzmaurice Gar-moyle, Benson, Iowa.

For Chicago.

Liberty Group, composed of some Chicago comrades, was formed for propaganda purposes, to hold meetings and discussions, and to bring the comrades into closer social relations with each other. The group has opened a room as headquarters at 427 Park Ave., where all will be cordially welcome at all times. Radical papers will be found there, and other literature is to be supplied as soon as possible.

It is the intention of the group to extend its sphere widely as soon as the growth of the membership will justify it. The idea is to get a clubhouse, establish a general Anarchist headquarters, a reading room and library, a place for meetings, and social gatherings; and furnish music, games, and other features. It is believed this will have the effect of bringing the comrades closer together, and by this change from the old monotonous method of activity, bring renewed strength and spirit into the movement.

On Saturday evening, Oct. 25, a general opening will take place, and all comrades and friends are cordially invited to be present.

The commemoration of the judicial murder of 1887, arranged by the Pioneer, Aid and Support Association, will take place Nov. 11, 8 p. m., in Aurora Hall, cor. Milwaukee Ave. and Huron St. John Most and Dr. Juliet Severance will lecture on the occasion. All friends and foes of liberty are cordially invited. Admission 10 cents.

Comrades, do not forget to pay your subscriptions, if you want the paper.

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