



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 44.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 438.

Put Your Ear Close Down.

Does this world move on in silence and ease,
With everyone doing about as they please?
Is there quiet and rest for all who may care
To lay work aside in pleasure to share?
No, no! 'Tis not so! Listen, I pray,
To the voice of hard labor that is calling each day,
'Midst the grind of machinery, and its deafening roar,
For a change of condition of a life all deplore
Put your ear close down, and then you will know
Of the workman's hard lot, and his trouble and woe.

Our traffic and commerce daily go on,
As surely as clock-work in tune with the sun;
But back of it all is the machinery and toil,
The sweat-shops, and factories, where blood is to boil.
Our wearing apparel, the food that we eat,
Are ever produced in sweltering heat;
And the workmen employed should be treated more
fair,
When their worth is considered,—their dealings so
square.

Put your ear close down—to the ground, to the
ground!

And draw not away from the unwelcome sound!

'Tis a beautiful world, and to all it should seem—
Happiness,—honesty,—absence of scheme.
But money controls, and the few get it all,
And these are preventing Equality's call.
Will this grinding and noise and factory din
Ever continue as it always has been?
Crushing the poor man—while making some rich—
And drowning his voice in the racket's high pitch?
O, millionaire, come!—Put your ear close down,
And question how justly you get what you own!

—M. Estelle Rice.

The Anarchist Movement in England.

A line or two respecting the Anarchist and trade union movements in Great Britain may be of interest to the readers of FREE SOCIETY. First as to the Anarchist. It is with regret one has to admit that during the last few years there has been but very little active English propaganda. In London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other cities, where a few years ago regular meetings were held, almost nothing is now attempted. It is true, just recently a slight revival is taking place. There is considerable demand for literature, and a general spirit of inquiry. A few weeks ago, our Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre being in London, several successful meetings were held. The one for her reception brought comrades together as they had not been for a long while. Her lectures at South Place Institute and in the East End were well attended and highly appreciated, while the discussion she opened at the Pharos Club created a great deal of interest.

Paisley, near Glasgow, has all the time kept up a fairly active propaganda, and great credit is due the comrades there for

their activity. While the English movement, after the slump mentioned,—partly the result of the late war fever—is showing slight signs of revival, the Jewish, both in London and the provinces, is again quite active. Recent events in Russia have stirred all those who hope to see something of a revolutionary character accomplished before long in that country of autocracy and lingering political barbarism.

Two things, apart from the late war, may also account for the recent stagnation of popular propaganda. The complete *debacle* of the old Marxian economic fatalism, in which most of the Anarchists of a decade ago had been nurtured; and the spread of the teachings of Tolstoy. The latter, it is at least pleasing to say, have reached a class of people that the earlier opinions never touched. In some respects it is in line with, or rather a continuation of, the early English Quaker and Nonconformist sectarian tenets. It appeals to the earnest mystic tradition of these people, and has—like the earlier Socialist and Anarchist teachings—produced some fanatics. As a result, the coming revival will mean a different outlook, the shedding of many crudities incidental to all new movements, and a clearer conception of the essentials of Anarchism. If previous dogmatic economic ideas have been shaken by the recent investigations and criticisms of our Comrade Tcherkesoff, the trust in broad libertarian principles has been strengthened.

While this, then, is a very imperfect snapshot of the advanced theoretical movement, what of the practical (?) labor movement?

Here one is reminded of Ibsen's scathing criticism of majorities in the "Enemy of the People." "That majority! that compact majority!! that damned majority!!! which never accepts a truth until it has already become a lie."

Just at the moment when trust in parliamentary institutions, as a means to remedy social and economic ills, is being undermined by modern criticism, the powerful and ever growing English trade unions are seriously tackling the question of sending men of their own class to the House of Commons. For many years there have been a few there, mostly, more or less, the proteges of the Liberal political party! But now—largely, one must admit, as a result of Social Democratic teaching—they are definitely organizing a party, paid for and managed by the trade unions themselves. That it is quite independent of the Social Democratic organ-

izations is the most hopeful thing about it. The political Socialists, as such, do not amount to much in England anyway; and while the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society are both affiliated with the Labor Representative Committee—being such insignificant fractions as to membership, in comparison with the trade unions, they are of no account except in so far as they can influence it by their ideas. The whole trade union situation is such, just now that it has stimulated the hopes of parliamentary action. The Taff Vale decision, legally laying their accumulated millions of funds open to attack by the employer in case of strikes, has driven them to hope to reverse it by a show of political action on their part. It is such a complex position that they can use it to promote labor electoral ideas, far easier than face it frankly, and tell the rank and file that in future the capitalists mean to use the law to confiscate their funds, if they dare to injure them at any time by striking. Still, strange as it may seem, this very move will probably do good. If only by exhausting every impossible road can the workers be sent on to the right one, then the sooner this method is shown to be impotent, the better. If, with fifty or sixty labor M. P.'s in the House of Commons, receiving twice as much salary from their trade unions, to enable them to imitate their masters on the benches there, as they would get if doing real sound work outside among the rank and file—the employers still manage to legally rob the funds of the unions and render them helpless, there is little doubt but the reply of the wage earners will be such as will cheer the hearts of those who desire a more revolutionary policy. In the meantime, the few Anarchists who are working among them, who prefer the obscure drudgery of building up the unions and trying to inspire them with some imagination, initiative and audacity—will from their very devotion and activity gain their confidence and good will. When the failure of political action is proved by experience, the necessity of more radical methods is bound to be seen. Certain it is, that mere theoretical outside teaching will not be sufficient. Every convinced Anarchist, who is also a wage earner, must prove by practical personal demonstration that he has a better grasp of the industrial situation than have those politically inclined. At the same time he must be prepared to find his reward in the work itself, and not in using the labor movement as a road to political place and

power, even if the party is a labor one.

So then, the avowed Anarchist ideas seem to make but very slow headway in England, the fact that the nation has been historically and instinctively Anarchistic in its progress makes one confident that these principles will again find expression in the struggle of the work-people to emancipate themselves.

JOHN TURNER.

The Plutocratic View.

We should be uneasy if we thought that a general strike could be brought about. It is because we know that it cannot be done that we experience no concern about it.

On the contrary, not one workman in a thousand but will fight for the privilege of working for us.

We realize quite well what would happen if the toilers were to say to us: "Why should we deliver any part of our product to you?" The question would indicate that our customary replies had lost efficacy.

But the workmen will not ask that question. In effect they themselves answer it, by conceding that we are entitled to our rake-off because we furnish them the capital wherewith to carry on the operations of production.

Our safety lies in this belief on their part. And their belief is based on the hope each one of them (with so rare a percentage of exceptions as to be trivial) entertains, that one day he himself will be a usury-taker.

It is by the interest path that we secure our advantage, and the great leaders of the labor masses all agree that interest is equitable and just.

Our defense does not inhere in our militia, (tho we treasure that institution no little), but in the fact that the labor interests dare not attack our monetary system.

They talk learnedly, some of them, of bi-metalism; others of sound money; some that want the government to lend at three per cent, and others that want all the interest to go to the State. The State Socialist thinks three per cent per annum would be about right; the Single Taxer that supply and demand would fix a just rate if land values were taxed to the exclusion of all else. Gompers would probably tell you that five per cent is about fair; perhaps John Mitchell would stickle for four and a half. The late Mr. Arthur was an ardent six per-center. And so all along the line.

All your vaporings on sociology, and your threats of strikes, and the carrying out of your threats, only serve as inconveniences, and we resent these disturbances accordingly. The thing that would really hurt us—that is compel us to participate in production—is to take away our privilege to extract as interest more than half the fruits of the toil of the country.

The general strike would be most annoying. Many of us would emigrate, and have our bankers remit us our quarterly interest. But what would become of us if the interest income were withheld from us?

So you see there is no danger whatever. The proletariat will never consent to our being robbed in that way, but will ever contend for our having what they deem "a fair share for the use of our capital."

PLUTOCRAT.

Am I an Anarchist?

For my own personal satisfaction I wish to define my position to my Anarchistic friends; and it would interest me to know, how they will answer the above question.

Shall I begin by saying that I am for freedom, for liberty? That would not be saying much. The words "freedom" and "liberty" without further definition have in fact no more meaning than the word "without." That so few of you, if any, ever think of this, is the cause of a great deal of confusion, of misunderstanding, and of useless quibbles.

You may claim, of course, that by liberty we mean, "to be liberated from restraint or compulsion," but that will not make it much clearer. It is generally conceded that complete freedom from compulsion is an absolute impossibility. Even the recluse would soon find that the animals around him would compel him to do very many things contrary to his natural inclination.

It is of utmost importance, therefore, that everyone, before entering upon a discussion of the subject of freedom and liberty, should answer the question: "What particular compulsion or restraint do you wish humanity to be freed or liberated from?"

Here is my answer: There are two things, from which I desire to have human society freed forever:

I. Statute laws, to be upheld by organized physical force (military and police).

II. The belief in physical punishment as a means for bettering and educating adult human beings. (I would include children also, but do not insist on that point.)

This is all I ask for. Many other bad things, as for instance the "mercantile system," would soon disappear as an inevitable result of abolishing I and II.

So far this sounds decidedly Anarchistic. But there are a number of things, from which most Anarchists want to be freed, and which I wish to uphold, viz.: authority, private property, majority rule, bosses and leaders, judges and lawyers, laws, rules, and regulations.

In my ideal society I have excellent use for each and every one of these things or persons. I claim that they are absolutely necessary for the greatest possible happiness of humankind, and that there is no sound reason to object to them, if freed from I and II.

"Down with authority!" is the cry of the Anarchists. At the best this means an extremely careless use of the word, causing all kinds of mischief. There are two or three things, of which I believe I know enough to be an authority myself, but there are a thousand other things, in regard to which I am forced to believe in and to follow the higher knowledge of others. It is not authority, but the organized brute force behind it, that we should object to.

Private possession of things for your own use is decidedly a necessity, and it would be secured by the ethical laws of society far better and more justly than State laws could ever do it. It is *business property* only that we should object to, or, in other words, the protection of the *legal* title to property by statute laws and organized brute force.

In many cases where a number of persons must act in harmony in order to achieve the desired object, they may all follow the rules of one person (an authority), or they may take a vote to come to a conclusion. There is nothing wrong in either way. The harm comes in only, when the one authority, or the majority use brute force (hired or their own) to compel the others to follow their rules,—or, when he or they sit in judgment over the others with the object of punishing them for some wrong-doing.

In my ideal society there will certainly be bosses, leaders and masters to command, and subordinates to obey. And in most cases, and for the great majority of the people it will be far easier, and far more agreeable to obey than to command. Who shall command? The question is easily answered. Those who find people willing to obey without the use of the horsewhip or the dread of starvation. Freed from I and II there is nothing wrong in commanding or obeying.

As to the question, what the ethical rules in reference to private possession of worldly goods will be in a free society, I will say that it can be answered pretty definitely, judging from past experience of humankind in all such property questions as were never decided by statute laws. But, of course, there will be all kinds of quarrels and litigations (certainly enough to make things interesting). In many different ways the disputes may be settled, but in most cases the matter will probably be laid before an *authority*, a judge, or a court of judges, who have made this particular phase of human affairs their special study. Take the police and military backing away from him, free him from the desire to punish, and we will find excellent use for the learned judge.

In many very important occupations harmonious cooperation of human beings is absolutely necessary, and simply impossible, without the strictest organization, with strict laws, rules and regulations. In reference to this subject the careless use of the word "voluntary" is constantly causing great confusion. The fact is—that, in the strict sense of the word, there is nothing voluntary about these things, except as to the question whether you join in one or the other of these cooperations or not. There will be many outside forces to compel the railroad engineer, the postoffice clerk, the miner, the factory hand, etc., (quite often perhaps contrary to their natural inclination,) to follow the laws, rules, and regulations of their respective organizations as strictly and promptly as they ever do today. But these forces will not include the fear of starvation, nor fines, prisons and policemen's clubs. One of the most serious fallacies, under which the great majority of human beings are suffering at present, is the belief, that these latter agencies are necessary to make people work, and to induce them to obey the necessary laws, rules and regulations.

I am well aware that these short explanations contain no convincing arguments, and do not give a clear picture of my ideal human society;—that would require more time and space than I have at my disposal at present. They will suffice, however, to

show my position in reference to the main issues of the Anarchistic theory. What do you say? Am I an Anarchist?

EMIL F. RUEDEBUSCH.

[Since Ruedebusch repudiates all force and organized violence, he can certainly be classified as an Anarchist, altho he is decidedly confused as to terms and the forces operative in society. It was only a few weeks ago that in the article "Truth About Authority" the meaning of the term "authority" was explained at length—implying *coercive power*. As to his belief in laws, rules, bosses, majorities, etc., without any authority to enforce his schemes of compulsory regulations, I think Ruedebusch is misled by his metaphysical leanings. But we should be pleased to hear from others on the subject.

A. I.]

— o — "Political Principles."

I have recourse to the quite interesting editorials of the *American Cooperator*, which I consider very inconsistent in denouncing party politics and advocating political Socialism. Under the above title the editor begins by dividing political allegiance into three forms: allegiance to men, allegiance to party, and allegiance to principle. The first we have outgrown, the second we are now experiencing, and the third is the "higher Socialism," an altitude the masses have not yet attained.

Now, as a matter of fact, his three forms may be resolved into one. There is no such thing as political principles apart from parties, or parties apart from men. He says:

We are growing in our ability to grasp political principles, and to distinguish between the organization and the true civic life which the organization must be made to promote.

We are growing in our ability to recognize that political principles (such as he refers to) are simply policy of political organizations, incapable of promoting "the true civic life." And then he speaks of the men "who place principle above party" as "the political hope of the world," when it is really the political death of the world. Again:

Parties always outlive the day of their allegiance to principles. They prostitute the truth and make themselves a substitute for it. Party rule always violates and denies the individual conscience and falls far short of democracy. Parties should have less loyalty, less power, and shorter lives.

Now while I thoroly agree with this sentiment, it is impossible for me to see how he can do, holding as he does that democracy can be attained by political principles. I should be glad "to distinguish between the organization and the true civic life," but his conception is too near the dictionary definition—"civic pertains to city government or customs." The "civic crown," that garland of oak leaves that decked the brow of the ancient Romans, tho a badge of honor, typified authority and proclaimed the master. He may have been devoid of the graft and greed of our modern politician, but was really more distant from "the democratic life" advocated by our editor. This "felowship"—this "common life"—Whitman's "love of comrades," has no possible connection with "political principles." It is as impossible to separate political principles from party politics as it is to separate mat-

ter from energy. But really our editor has no such intention. He simply wants to reform politics and eliminate its objectionable features. His "democracy" is as much a superstition as was the "honor" of the ancient Romans.

Now let us glance at his "political principles." He begins with universal suffrage. This "is the bedrock of democratic life." He says:

Suffrage is not a privilege or a reward, but a native right. It matters not whether they want it or not. Perhaps they do not want government, but they must have it. To compel people to be self-governing is a true social prerogative.

Here crops out the politician. He knows what is *right*, and the *right* should be enforced. People must vote, must elect others to govern them. This he calls self-government. To be free one must be governed. It isn't one's self that one must govern, but one must submit to the general government, supposed to be composed of the selves of all. Herbert Spencer has beautifully illustrated the idea:

The sovereign people is to appoint representatives, and so to create a government; the government thus created, creates rights; and then having created these rights, it confers them on the sovereign people by which it was itself created.

Mr. Spencer calls this a "marvelous piece of political legerdemain," and asks us to "observe what are the applications. Each man exists in two capacities. In his private capacity he is subject to the government. In his public capacity he is one of the sovereign people who appoint the government. That is to say in his private capacity he is one to whom rights are given; and in his public capacity he is one of those who thru their agency give the rights." And this is the theory of political self-government.

Political principle number two is majority rule. All must vote, and the majority rule. The editor says:

All elections should be by direct vote. The initiative should always rest with the people. The referendum should always be required of representatives. The people must maintain the government. Eternal vigilance is the price—but liberty is worth it.

And so liberty is the result of government. To be free forty-nine must submit to the dictates of fifty-one of the hundred. I know the advocates of the initiative and referendum figure out how the minority have the power to introduce their ideas, but it is simply introduction. The majority decides the rule. And what is in the majority that is not in the minority or individual? Why should majority rule differ from any other rule?

His other "political principles" are the Single Tax, no franchises, government banking, freedom of speech and press, and public ownership; all of which may be resolved into the one term—government. What right has he—an individual—to determine the course of government? That rests always with the majority. If fifty-one out of the hundred decide that these things are desirable, well and good; otherwise it will be something else. Many find that all his "principles" may be summed up in the one word,—rule, majority rule! There is no question here of right, justice, humanity, but simply a count of noses, notwithstanding all his beautiful theories of "the demo-

cratic life," social idealism. So far as political principles are concerned, it all depends upon the will of the majority. A question of might. The fortunes of war, a battle of ballots, must decide.

He inveighs against party politics, party government; but how can anything be decided except some party obtains a majority of the votes? He rightly says, "parties supplant principle." But principle always precedes party. The reason that principle is forgotten in party success, is because a greater principle is created—the principle of power.

Their logic is to apply a principle, and power is essential. They must obtain a majority (I am supposing his first step—majority rule—has obtained). They organize their allegiance to principle, but, to apply that principle, it requires party success—power. In striving for this, the means to the end in view, they are apt to consider any means justifiable, and dwelling upon means to obtain power, their allegiance to principle shifts to party. It must be so, for allegiance to principle tends to divide them. The dominant parties today owe their power and political success to the fact that political principles, which they ignore, are continually multiplying parties and dividing reform forces. It is allegiance to principle that prevents any union of these forces.

And then again it is the irresponsible vote that gives the party power. Certain principles call it into existence, and these principles may induce desertion from the old parties, until some show of success appears; then the flood of irresponsible votes carries it into power. This corrupt element is recognized by candidates as their true constituency. The seeds of corruption are sown in every political success. And party politics are, and must be, the foundation of every government instituted by majority vote. And this government in no wise differs from former governments, in principle, inasmuch as it assumes sovereign authority, the bedrock of all government.

It is nonsense to talk of the people being the government. The people may dissolve it and reorganize it; but as an institution it is above the people, it is their master. The people are the servants of government, talk as we may.

In a later article our editor says:

The Socialism that is coming will be the product of the natural and orderly development of the forces that obtain in the social life that now is. It will not be an importation. It will not be something foreign to the familiar atmosphere of the soul's ideals. It will not be a violation of the laws of life.

Good! I welcome this Socialism; but I see therein no "political principles." These are unnatural and disorderly, an importation "in the social life," absolutely "foreign to the familiar atmosphere of the soul's ideals." Political principles find their application in the rule of man. The soul's ideals are based on liberty. A. LeROY LOUBAL.

— o —
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.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by.....A. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

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, NOVEMBER 1, 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.

Every week sees a little added to our linotype fund. Another comrade has offered a further loan of \$20 in addition to a donation. If enough loans could be made in this way to purchase the linotype for cash, it would be a great advantage in many ways, as well as reduce the expense considerably. So if friends can afford the use of money for only a specified time, it helps as well as donations.

At the time of this report, Monday, Oct. 26, the fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....	\$101.00
Kate Unthank, Lawrence, Kans...	1.00
D. Levinson, New London, Conn.	10.00
A. Edelstadt, Butte, Mont.....	5.00

Total, \$117.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$ 65.00
Max Maisel, New York.....	2.00
John W. Hall, Ft. Barrancas.....	1.00
Edw. Hayes, Brooklyn.....	1.00
H. Kessler, Baltimore.....	2.00
D. Levinson, New London, Conn.	10.00
A Friend, Wis.....	5.00
P. Rosumovsky, Chicago.....	1.00

Total, \$ 87.00

Notes.

As FREE SOCIETY goes to press our comrade, John Turner, is on Ellis Island, N. Y., under arrest for the crime of being an English Anarchist. Perhaps when our subscribers receive the paper he will have been deported from this "free country." Next week's issue will tell all. Courage! The issue will determine our necessary course.

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.

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Liberty accepts no promise.

Is free speech to be deported?

Governors cannot be governed.

Experience makes a good argument.

Authority drugs discontent with pledges.

Guiding hands lead mankind on slippery paths.

John Turner has now tasted American freedom.

Falsehood is exceptionally careful with its toilet.

Struggle wins all that is won; struggle will win liberty.

Cortelyou is playing the tyrant; but then, that is his trade.

Plenty will never understand what poverty understands.

Morgan denies that he is a wrecker. His face is against him.

Truth is so unfamiliar that few recognize her when they meet her.

The franchise is nothing more or less than a means of petty tyranny.

As a step toward complete imperialism capital is buying the newspapers.

State Socialists believe only in one form of violence, that of the ballot battle.

Soldiers are men who act as tho they loved commanders more than country.

The Chicago *Chronicle* says that the Socialists must go. Who is the *Chronicle's* physician?

How snail-like the movements of a "strenuous" administration may be is shown in the postal scandals investigation.

Carnegie says that "steel has a soul." It is a hard saying, but of good account in explaining where Carnegie's soul has gone.

Woman will not take her proper place in the world until sex functions and pleasures find a subordinate position in the affairs of life.

Rockefeller's religion harmonizes with his business schemes, but of late he has been telling of his joy in Jesus. Imagine Jesus arm in arm with John D. Stonyheart!

The people invite men to guide and direct them, and when these do it, the people talk about "tyranny." They forget that gov-

ernment guides and directs for what there is in it.

Twelve hundred men have been laid off (discharged) at the Illinois Steel Works, in Chicago. With our present "great prosperity" to explain this circumstance, we may contentedly wait for the cut in wages which will follow.

The pope has issued his first encyclical, declaring for the marriage tie and calling upon the peoples to submit to their "God-chosen" rulers. The pope is new, but the lies which he utters are the old grey-haired murderous lies.

Anarchism is foolishness from the point of view of those who are so perverted that the social spirit is a stench in their nostrils; but if the worship of wealth had not made them what they are, who knows how they might cherish our grand fraternal ideal!

They are learning things in Porto Rico; lately labor marched there carrying the flag appropriately shrouded in black, side by side with a wholly black banner. Seven labor leaders are in prison for opposing the administration, and truth is on the rack again uttering her agony.

The scientific world has received Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" in comparative silence. The book is of such a nature that, if its arguments and evidences prevail, the world's conceptions of evolution will be wholly transformed. If "the scientists" continue their silence, Anarchists will conclude that here is nothing to be said.

The law of 1903, which provides for the deportation of foreign Anarchists (Did the fool lawmakers assume that there are no American Anarchists?) was appealed to when John Turner was arrested. This blow at free speech is unconstitutional, but little do lawmakers care for the Constitution. It is power which they are after.

A critic in the New York *Truth Seeker* finds fault with FREE SOCIETY's judgment on Remsburg's book "The Truth About the Bible," which our reviewer pronounced a superfluous work. The attitude of most "freethinkers" on social questions in general is an evidence that the truth about the Bible advances a man only a very little way on the road of wisdom.

A statement made in his book by ex-Secretary Long throws white light on the character of the man who now occupies the White House. It appears that, when Roosevelt was assistant secretary of the navy, before war was declared against Spain, he wanted to sink her warships. Roosevelt is the man who wishes to suppress Anarchy; the moralist who abhors crime and rapine!

Dowie has met New York, and New York is not his. This avatar of authority, this fakir of submission, has apparently overstepped himself in attempting to convict New York of sins. But that he represents

the extreme of reaction toward authority, that he desires to rule a world in the name of Jesus, none can doubt. A tyrant in the name of religion is as much to be opposed as any other tyrant. Dowie is a religious confidence man.

AMERICUS.

The New Inquisition.

Of course we all know by this time that Comrade John Turner has been given a welcome reception by the authorities in this "free" land of ours. Undoubtedly few of us expected that a man would be driven from these so-called "hospitable, free shores," because he happens to hold opinions contrary to what this government prescribes and sanctions in her subjects. But until we learn that governments are supreme in their power, we will all have to pay a heavy price.

Comrade J. Turner is not one of those sensational and bombastic reformers who choke their ideas down people's throats whether they like them or not. He is a mild man, and has by his very personality gained the love and admiration of all those who come into contact with him, conservative or radical. He is, however, unwilling to deny the fact that he believes in the necessity of human freedom and self-expression.

For his ideas he may be deported, unless we unite our efforts to fight a law, which was enacted at the moment when the American people, intoxicated by a sensational and vicious press, were hoodwinked into willing and submissive slaves. A law which would make the inaugurators of the American Revolution blush with shame, could they but know what the present lawmakers of this country have made of the institution which they so gladly died for.

Fortunately there are sufficient numbers of men and women left yet in this country who will not tamely permit this law to become a reality; who will not admit that authorities should have the right to deport any man, because of the school of thought to which he belongs or the system of philosophy he holds. And they are willing to begin an energetic and vigorous fight against this unjust and despotic law.

Let the Anarchists make the most of this opportunity for propaganda, and agitate.

E. G.

By the Wayside.

Henry DuBois, the penny-a-liner for Hearst's papers, ridicules Tolstoy's philosophy of passive resistance, which, he asserts, makes the Russians obey the czar. What a profound discovery! It only remains for this scribe to explain why the Catholics obey the pope, or why the "sovereign Americans" obey a host of thieves and "grafters."

"Here is something for FREE SOCIETY: a Socialist alderman slapping his own mother in the face!" a comrade said smilingly to me. "Yes," I retorted, "a rather poor city father of two million inhabitants. But I have also read that two prominent Anarchists in New are now among the scabs, thus helping the exploiters to defeat the struggling wage slaves. Furthermore, in the last *Freiheit*, one of the oldest radical periodicals in this country, Comrade Most openly flirts

with Comstock, declaring that the subject of freedom in sex relationships from now on is to be debarred from his paper, which, he says, is not a 'pig-stye' or an 'institution of Messalinas.' Is this not the language of a Comstock? Now imagine the old veteran of freedom in the camp of the Anti-Vice Society, or securing an injunction to prevent the 'filthy wretches,' as he calls us, from 'stealing wives'! It seems to me there is room for an awakening in both the Anarchist and Socialist camps."

It is only a few months since the Socialist papers shed tears of joy and turned somersaults in their hilarity over the election of a Socialist mayor in Sheboygan, Wis. "Capitalism has ausgespielt (played out) in this Socialist town," wrote one of the credulous dupes. But "history repeats itself" even among Socialist politicians. Under the heading "A Serious Affair," the *Social Democratic Herald* now bitterly laments that the Socialist mayor has not only appointed outspoken enemies of the workers to office ("especially odious to the Socialist movement") but has even "ignored the counsels of the local comrades of the Central Committee in his actions with reference to the granting of a franchise for an electric trolley line." The paper then adds:

His whole course since election seems to have been shaped, not with the purpose of helping the working class in their struggle with capitalism, but with a view to pleasing the capitalist class, and especially the old party politicians.

But the editor seems to be confident that the people can easily be "fooled all the time," for he does not hesitate to tell the disappointed voters the old trite—"try it again, boys." Only "to be more careful in our choosing of those whom it is necessary to put into office," which folly has been drummed into the ears of the deluded toilers ever since the toy called the ballot-box was graciously put into their hands by their masters. Verily: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

INTERLOPER.

From Many Lands.

SWITZERLAND.—In Geneva another strike—of masons this time. This strike is noteworthy in several ways. The strikers have organized a common kitchen, and in this way they and their families obtain good food at small expense. The government has done its worst in the way of expulsions, arrests, prohibitions of meetings, and by prohibiting the strikers from publishing anything about the strike. Yet the strike goes bravely on. The worst feature, as usual, is the interference of the Social Democrats. Certain of their leaders have declared that the strike is rendered illegal by the recently passed Socialist law on "collective conflicts." The lawyers of the federal State, however, declare that the law does not apply in this sense. So the Social Democrats are doubly defeated, both in their attempt to stop the strike, to the detriment of those engaged in it, and also in their attempt of February to make a law which should take from the workers their only weapon of economic warfare.—*Freedom*, London.

SPAIN.—Owing to the fact that the Spanish workers have always kept in mind that liberation from tyranny and wage slavery they can achieve only thru their own efforts, that is in conjointly and persistently resisting the encroachments of government and capitalism, hardly a day passes without a collision occurring between the police and the toiling masses. On October 27 the striking miners at Bilbao destroyed a railroad round-house, and the electric light and telephone plants, in retaliation upon the mine owners, who even refused to consider the demands which the strikers made, and the strike has spread thruout the district. After the failure of the general strike in Barcelona, Socialist politicians predicted the death of the Anarchist movement in Spain, which prophecy has not come to pass, however. During the strike about two hundred and forty workers were imprisoned, all of whom have been released since in consequence of the determined attitude of organized labor. (Has the ballot-box ever accomplished anything like it?) And the Anarchist press is daily growing. There are at present thirty-five Anarchist periodicals, fifteen of which are published in South America, circulating in this country of only 18,000,000 inhabitants, half of the population being illiterate. *Tierra y Libertad* (Bread and Freedom) appears daily and has 18,000 subscribers.

FRANCE.—According to *Bread and Freedom*, a new Russian Anarchist periodical published in Paris, general attention has been called to the strike which occurred at Bretagne in the beginning of August. The demands of the workers were exceedingly moderate: seven cents increase of wages, which amounted to thirty-five cents a day. For a whole month everything was quiet, but the government finally sent troops there to terrorize the strikers. In a collision between the toilers and the soldiery many were wounded and others arrested, who were liberated, however by their comrades on the streets. On another occasion a worker was arrested accidentally after he had been beaten terribly by the gendarmery. On the day of his trial the court house was surrounded by workers, and when it became known that he had been sentenced to two months imprisonment the windows of the court house were demolished and revolutionary songs resounded in the air. The judges and prosecuting attorneys did not leave the building until late at night, when the troops dispersed the crowd, which turned toward the prison to rescue their comrade. Cavalry attacked the crowd again, and many were wounded on both sides. The courts, being terrified, released all those that had been arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Finally the employers conceded all the claims of the workers. The workers are celebrating their victory, and the authorities have heeded the lesson and did not even interfere in a great demonstration, at the funeral of a Russian refugee, where the unions carried red banners.

For San Francisco.

Lectures given every Sunday, 8 p. m., in Fraternal Hall, Odd Fellows Bldg. Seats free.

The Propaganda: a Criticism and Suggestion.

The suggestion to subscribe toward the purchase of a typesetting machine for FREE SOCIETY, brings back to my memory a long cherished idea. Years ago it was suggested that the Anarchist movement in this country should have a printing outfit capable of turning out all the necessary literature of propaganda. The need of such an outfit has increased as time has rolled by, until today nearly all of us are of the opinion that an effort should be made to supply it. The question now occurs as to the manner in which such a movement should be organized and conducted; what sort of voluntary arrangement will best bring about the desired result.

I am not of those who think a hide-bound organization necessary to the proper conduct of any enterprise; but I do maintain that some voluntary arrangement, that may in some respects take on the color of organization is absolutely necessary to carry out any set line of action. While living under the present system we are forced, to a large extent, to use its methods whether we like them or not.

It is left to us, then, to organize a group having for its purpose the inauguration of the matter under consideration. Let this group formulate some plans for raising the necessary funds, publishing a prospectus of the use it intends to make of the funds and the manner in which it proposes to administer its trust. It should be organized in such a way that all the property accumulated would at all times be administered in the interest of the movement and under the immediate jurisdiction of the group. More than that: it should be so arranged that subscribing comrades in distant parts have a voice in the conduct of affairs. Such an arrangement would insure the confidence of all, that their hard earned dollars would be used in perpetuity for the advancement of the cause they hold dear; making each one feel a personal responsibility for the conduct of the propaganda, and casting over the whole the sweet flavor of Anarchist Communism.

I cannot imagine how the necessary funds could be raised and the work suggested carried on otherwise than by a group of trustworthy comrades associated together in the manner outlined above, or on some similar plan. In the event of such a group being formed and some such plan adopted, I feel safe in saying there are few comrades who could afford to but would be willing to subscribe five or more dollars and become a co-partner in the "Free Press Group." But such an enterprise, to arrest the general interest of the comrades, must be conducted upon a basis in harmony with the ideal of Anarchist Communism. We may have the greatest amount of confidence in the honesty and integrity of certain individual comrades; which we certainly have; and they have well earned it; yet not many of us can ever get ourselves to feel it to be consistent with our ideal, or with ordinary common sense, to place it in the absolute power of any one person to oversee, administer, and hold in private ownership the property of the propaganda. We may have a most excellent comrade at the head of a literary bureau, or whatever else

it may be, and such comrade may be giving good satisfaction, yet there will be none the less, a feeling that such comrade should not be absolute in his or her position, but subject to the movement, thru a group holding in trust the machinery of propaganda.

I do not want to be understood as in any way deprecating the very excellent work done by individual comrades in charge of papers, etc., for the propaganda. On the contrary, I hold in the highest esteem those valliant pioneers of Anarchism to whose persistent energy and grit is largely due the advanced state of the propaganda in America today. I am simply giving voice to a tendency which is the natural outgrowth of the propaganda of Anarchist Communism, a tendency without which the propaganda would be a dry bone; a tendency the logic of which is insistent and inevitable.

The propaganda has outgrown its individual stage. Formerly we had only a few strong individuals, strong in their faith in the ideal, strong in their adhesions to the ideal, strong in their devotion to the propaganda, and strong, doubly strong, in their devotion to the dissemination of our ideas. These were the sturdy pioneers who planted the seed of liberty anew in our benighted land. Each went forth alone in the strength of faith and courage unmistakably due to deeply ingrafted convictions, and faced the world of darkness with the spirit of liberty blazing in his heart and flashing thru both tongue and pen. These individual propagandists paved the way for the group propagandists, and the time is now ripe for the groups to take up the cause in earnest and carry it on to final victory.

It will, I think, be pretty generally admitted that the propaganda is weakened considerably because of the lack of cooperation between individuals and groups engaged in the work. If a strong group were formed with the means at its disposal for the establishment of a literary bureau and plant from which a paper, books, and pamphlets could be issued, such a bureau could be used as a sort of clearing house for the movement where regular weekly reports could be received and published relative to the work being done by other groups thruout the country. This would encourage the formation of groups wherever a few comrades are located. By thus combining their efforts they will be in a position to do something for the cause; whereas, divided, each considers him or herself powerless. One could act as secretary, furnishing reports to the publication group of the work being done.

In this manner a federation of the groups would be established thru this system of communication, and each group would be encouraged in its work by reading of the work of others. Thus would we have a truly Anarchist federation conducted thru a system of correspondence and held together by the interest and sympathy one comrade and group has in the work of every other comrade group.

I insist it is time that this matter be given consideration. We cannot longer leave the work of propaganda to a few individuals and lay back in our easy chairs and complain of the little that is being done. The

power of every person is limited by his capacity and the opportunities at his command. If a man has not the means he cannot work. Let the comrades get together, provide the means for spreading our ideas, then select the most capable hands for the task, and supervise their work. Form your groups and give those who can propagate an opportunity to do so. Let us have less of that hero worship we see so common among the Dowieites, for example. If the propaganda is not being satisfactorily conducted, get to work and point out the weaknesses irrespective of individuals, and get in your power to put the movement on a satisfactory basis.

These suggestions have been offered with that end in view. It is now in the hands of those who will take up the matter and establish a method of propaganda that will be consistent with our ideals and place the movement on a permanent foundation.

JAY FOX.

New York, 57 E. 99th St.

[FREE SOCIETY Group invites an expression of opinion from the comrades on the above propositions. But in order that misunderstanding may be avoided at the outset, it should be stated that many of the features Comrade Fox proposes, that the plant shall not be private property, that it shall always be at the disposal of the propaganda, and that it shall not be under the control of "one man," are features already planned and provided for. A plan to give every comrade an imperative voice without causing a deadlock is hardly practicable; but any scheme to place the plant as nearly as possible under the direct control of friends is desirable. The cooperation of groups outside of Chicago, and their opinions and suggestions, as well as of individuals, are very much wished for.]

— o —
Echoes.

The National Civic Federation has played in another solemn farce, and retired behind the wings to doff its costume and wash off the paint.

It is with no desire to fling an epithet that we call this performance a farce. We call it a farce because that is what it is. Any scheme for the harmonizing of "labor" and "capital," such as the Civic Federation represents, is bound to be either a fake or a farce, and in the spirit of charity we prefer the latter characterization.—*The Public*.

"The greediness and insatiableness of the toiling classes"—that is the inexhaustible source of condemnation for the capitalistic press, the employers, the members of the legislative bodies, and the devout clergy. At the same time it is constantly pointed out that as a matter of course no fair-minded capitalist would refuse to consent to the proper and moderate demands of the workers, but that on the other hand the extravagant claims should be energetically rejected.

The number of the "fair-minded" capitalists must be remarkably small, for up till now the workingmen have been compelled to fight fiercely even for the most moderate claims, the most insignificant increase of wages, or the smallest reduction of hours.

Hitherto they have had too much regard for the growth and blossoming of capitalism. Not for their greediness the workers are to be reproached, but, on the contrary, for their reserved timidity and moderate contentment.

But that will alter itself the more organized labor is marching in unison. The claims will be higher and more justified. The abusive language of the hirelings of capitalism regarding "the exorbitant and unbridled" demands of labor will open the eyes of many toilers as to the timidity and modesty in their present claims.—*Martin Drescher.*

Strip possessing class institutions of their vestures of fraud and force and you behold the stolid or cunning parasite. Take the standing armies of the world, with their millions of men taken from productive labor to be supported by the labor of others, and compelled to serve and revere a glorified criminality—for certainly nothing now is so low in the scale of human occupations, so loathsome and really cowardly, as the modern military, with its picnics of loot and murder. Take this military system and look at it and consider whence it comes. What are its guns and navies, its bespangled officers and bedizened ranks? They are the forcibly withheld and parasitically consumed labor of the laborer. That which glitters on the officer's shoulder straps is the unpaid labor of the consumptive girl in the sweatshop, or of the miner in the Virginia coal mines. The annual riot of capitalist lawlessness, the annual orgy and pandemonium of capitalist prostitution, that breaks out at Washington and yet solemnly commands the sacred respect of seventy millions of people—whence and what are its power, its disposal of the affairs of the nation, its billion dollar disbursements? They are all the unpaid and ravished labor of the laborer. It is unpaid labor that towers in the steeples of our churches, that sits in our legislatures, that builds palaces on our avenues, that blossoms in our shameless fashions, that drones in our academies and rituals, that produces our war novels and our insipid poetry, that raises our shameless ideals of "the strenuous life," or sings in Mr. Kipling's brute heroics. Our poisoned thoughts, our petty and servile motives of life, the very air we breathe, are but the color or movement of this unpaid labor. Our civilization and all the civilizations that have been are but institutional unpaid labor, organized and glorified for the purpose of keeping labor unpaid and submissive. As I have said, there are no words red and living enough in human experience to state this fact. There is no power in the human tongue, no dynamic in the human pen, that can portray the awfulness of a world that builds its glories and its gods, its temples of trade and law and religion, its forms of beauty and systems of good, upon an economic might that is but conventionalized robbery of the common labor of mankind. The history of the world is but the struggle between unpaid labor and those who possess its products. And the struggle must go on until the man who is down shall be purified and enlightened to get up; until the man who works

shall have the whole results of his work; until every class but the working class has ceased to be, with every member of that class a creator and a poet, a philosopher and a dreamer, and a soul of endless beauty.—*George D. Herron.*

Chicago's "Progressive" Mayor.

An Anarchist has been said to be one who does not believe in government by means of law. This definition may not be an accurate one, but it is only a step removed from a true conception of the doctrines of liberty and the era of peace and fraternity advocated by a mighty host of comrades the world over. We have had the futility and imbecility of the law with all its attendant persecution and brutality paraded before our eyes until it has seemed in our moments of desperation that open rebellion would burst upon us in all the fury of madness, but the governors who dictate our every action in life have continued until the present in their most fervent protestations of a child-like and abiding faith in the virtue and efficacy of our ancient, barbarous law of dead and gone generations.

Behold, all is changed. Light is beginning to dawn. Our rulers are coming to their senses, and Chicago and its mayor are in the lead! Carter Harrison has frankly avowed that public policy demands that the constitution and the laws be set aside and ignored *because* they stand in the way of "justice." Carter Harrison has not yet developed the manly courage to so declare over his own signature, but he may in time, now that he has commenced to think and has so spoken in a private interview with one of the comrades. This comrade was arrested on Sunday, Oct. 4, for stating in the street in answer to a question that the Haymarket trouble was caused by the murder of working men by the Chicago police. A blue-coated Haymarket "veteran," named John A. Weber, overhearing this statement, flew into a raging frenzy, and after heaping upon the comrade all the foul-mouthed villification and vituperation his limited police vocabulary was capable of, endeavored to have the comrade "locked up for forty-eight hours and leave the charge open." In other words, kidnapped and excommunicated in defiance of law. The lieutenant, however, after the comrade's correspondence had been forcibly taken away and read, and learning that the comrade was a lawyer, directed that he be permitted to give bail. Two days later the mayor was interviewed and presented with a copy of "The Anarchist Constitution,"* with the result as indicated in the following open letter mailed him the next day and published in the *Chicago Chronicle*:

Hon. Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago.

Dear Sir:—In order to avoid the possibility of misquoting you, I desire to ask you for written answers to the following questions which you answered with such astounding frankness during the interview courteously extended me yesterday.

1. Is it known to you that the police department forcibly deprives persons arrested of their property with due process of law?
2. Is it known to you that the police department tell the people arrested that "there is no law here: we're the law?"

* A new book which shortly will be reviewed in *FREE SOCIETY*.

3. Is it known to you that the police department set aside the constitution and laws and forcibly deprive people of the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*?

4. Is it known to you that the police defy the constitutional right of the people to be secure in their papers and effects and that they forcibly take private correspondence and read it without authority of law?

5. Are these things sanctioned by your administration?

6. What is the limit of time that the police are permitted to keep innocent people excommunicated and forcibly deprived of the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, and how is this limit of time determined?

I believe you told me in your frank and genial manner, that these things were all known to you and sanctioned by your administration, which would indicate to the uninitiated like myself that you do not believe in government by means of law; and I believe you told me there was no limit to the time an innocent man could be excommunicated by the police of Chicago in defiance of the constitutional right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, which would indicate an arbitrary despotism never tolerated since, eight centuries ago, the lords and barons compelled King John to sign the famous Magna Carta, requiring that he should not govern according to his will but according to the law.

Assuring you that I shall in no way misquote you if you kindly favor me with your answers to these questions in writing, I am, C. B. Thurber.

Mayor Harrison has not yet replied to the letter, which he must surely have done if he did not desire to be quoted in accordance with it.

C. B. THURBER.

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.

For Chicago.

The commemoration of the martyrdoms 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.

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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