



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 45.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 439.

The Hour of Execution.

1887.

Is this the price we give, O Freedom, Mother,
To see thy face and but to touch thy hand?
Is there no easier way?
Must death another take and yet another;
While tears and lamentations thru the land
Show the great cost we pay?
Yet, if it must be, Freedom, none say nay.
See thou these waiting for the hangman's halter;
Strong-hearted men: must these be given to death?
Freedom, thy price again!
If in the sacrifice we do not falter
Wilt thou repay us for their strangled breath?
Wilt thou come nearer men?
Thou wilt, we hope. With groans we give these, then.
The debt is paid!—Our martyrs lie before us;
Their mute lips speak thy words unto our ears,
And bid us seek thee far.
Freedom, we know thy sun shall yet shine o'er us;
And looking up, exalted, thru our tears,
We say beneath thy star,
Take these. Take us if need be: thine we are!

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

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The Chicago Martyrdom.

On November 11, 1887, one of those judicial murders occurred in Chicago that have disgraced the pages of history since time immemorial, especially those connected with movements for social innovation and political change. Every year since that time, 11th of November commemorations have been held in all parts of the world, in order to spread the truth about the famous case; to agitate; and to remind the perpetrators of the deed that their ends have not been accomplished; that tho these men have died, their ideas and principles live and grow, even as was predicted to the persecutors before the consummation of the frightful deed. So again to aid in this task, I will briefly recall the facts and circumstances of the "Chicago Anarchist case," which are indeed already known to thousands upon thousands, but which many more have still to learn the truth about.

This case is inextricably bound up with the labor movement in this country, and its victims died for the labor cause. The period between 1877 to 1886 was one of awakening and development for the working people of America. They were fast realizing the falsity of the idea that here everyone is free; and feeling more and more acutely the grinding slavery of the wages system. Trade unions were being rapidly organized; they were animated by a radical and revolutionary spirit; and several strikes of gigantic proportions took place. It was a most exciting time for employers and wage slaves

alike. The former became alarmed for the safety of "their property." This gave rise to the odious Pinkerton system, a sort of private army of the capitalists, composed very largely of brutal thugs. The government, ever eager to uphold things as they are, and especially its pet institution of private property (monopoly), placed at the disposal of the employers, the militia and police. Strikes and protests called forth these hosts; and the workers soon found themselves the objects of many acts of the most exasperating brutality. As they were not disposed to bear all things meekly, a very strained labor situation prevailed at this acute stage of development.

The eight-hour workday movement grew out of the great desire on the part of the workers to ameliorate and better their conditions. Chicago was the storm-center of this movement. On the 1st of May, 1886, a general strike to enforce the eight-hour day was declared thruout the city. The immensity and spontaneity of the strike was a surprise to all. Over forty thousand workers ceased to toil, and most of the shops and factories were deserted. The police, as usual, were everywhere in evidence, pursuing their old tactics of brutal repression.

At the McCormick reaper works, on May 3, a disturbance occurred, started by some small boys throwing stones, and soon participated in by several hundred former employees of the works. The windows were broken, but the crowd showed no special signs of doing more harm. About two hundred policemen were quickly rushed to the scene, who began shooting into the excited crowd. What followed was horrible. Seven men were killed outright, and many were wounded; some fatally. Some of the wounded fell into the hands of the police, and were arrested. This account is based on the testimony of an eye-witness, Jay Fox; who related the facts in *FREE SOCIETY*, Nov. 13, 1898.

This action of the police aroused general indignation among the laboring people. A meeting to protest was hastily called for the evening of the 4th, to be held in the Haymarket. This meeting was addressed by August Spies, Albert Parsons, and Samuel Fielden. It was peaceable and orderly thruout. The mayor of the city was present, and a few moments before its close, went to the Desplaines street police station, where a large force of reserves were held, and ordered that they be sent home, as there

was no need of them. But Captain Bonfield, who was in charge, instead of following the instruction of the mayor, immediately after the latter had left began an attack on the peaceable meeting. The gathering was ordered to disperse, and the police fired right and left into the crowd. Then a bomb was thrown by an unknown person, and exploded in the midst of the police. Six policemen were killed and over sixty wounded. How many civilians were wounded or fatally injured will never be known. The next day the feeling even in the police department, as Captain Schaack confesses in his book, was that Bonfield had caused the throwing of the bomb with his needless brutality.

A reign of police terror followed. Hundreds of persons were thrown into prison, threatened, cajoled, and intimidated. Of the many arrested or indicted, eight of the most active agitators were finally selected for trial. Of these Parsons, one of those indicted and wanted for trial, could not be found, but he gave himself up on the day proceedings began. The trial opened on June 19, 1886, and was presided over by Judge Joseph E. Gary.

The newspapers had in the meantime created a public fever by their sensational and outrageous lying and hounding. Prejudices were aroused, and the ignorant multitude inflamed, so that a general spirit of hostility to the prisoners prevailed.

The trial itself was a monstrous farce. The presiding judge was so eager and determined to have a conviction that he compelled the defense to accept jurors who declared that "they thought they could" give a fair trial in spite of having a prejudice against the prisoners. The laws regarding conspiracy were distorted and stretched to suit this particular case; and violent speech which would "probably" cause another to commit a murder was declared to render its author an accessory before the fact, without the necessity of establishing any connecting link! Suffice it to say that after the stage-play had lasted two months, amidst general public madness that robbed men of their reason and sense of justice, the defendants were declared guilty. Seven of them were sentenced to death, and one to fifteen years imprisonment.

In October of 1886 the defendants made their famous speeches before the court. These masterful efforts, some of them defiant, others tinged with a strain of pathos, but all wonderfully courageous, of course had no effect on the judge; but collectively

they composed a last message to the world that shed great light on the character and aims of these men, and scathingly exposed the farce of their trial. Few who have read them unbiased but have changed their opinion of the great case if they had believed the defendants guilty before. The best results of these speeches are yet to come; but they have already carried the light into many minds.

In September, 1887, the Supreme Court of Illinois upheld the judgment of the lower court; and the 11th of November was set for the day of execution. Meantime an appeal was made on several constitutional questions to the Supreme Court of the United States, but it was of no avail. A few days before the 11th the sentences of Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab were commuted to life imprisonment, and these men were sent to the penitentiary with Oscar Neebe. Louis Lingg committed suicide shortly before the execution. Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer were hanged on the 11th of November, 1887.

Triumphantly they ascended the gallows, and triumphant were their last words. "Let the voice of the people be heard!" thundered Parsons. "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today," prophesied Spies; and never was prophecy more true. "Happiest moment of my life!" cried Fischer, for he knew that the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," and he was happy that his blood was sown as seed to the winds.

Even before the execution public opinion had begun to change; and many thousands signed petitions for the commutation of the sentences. After the execution efforts were made to secure the release of the remaining prisoners; and this movement finally became so general that, six years afterward, great numbers of the most prominent citizens had signed petitions for pardon to Governor Altgeld. Great, however, was their astonishment when the governor freed these innocent men, not as an act of clemency, but of justice, vindicating his action and the condemned men in a masterful array of reasons for his conduct, fully exposing the farcical trial. This had all the more force as Altgeld had been himself a judge. For this act of justice he was execrated by the "babbling mob of aristocracy"; and until the day of his death the sensational newspapers misrepresented his every act, so great was their hatred of him.

The sixteen years that have passed since the Chicago martyrdom have been years of enlightenment on the case. Each year sees more people who realize the truth about this affair. The ignorant are no longer proud of it, and do not boast of it; intelligent people who have no sympathy with radical ideas are ashamed of it. In many lands and cities the 11th of November is a day of remembrance and celebration. Many of those who on the day after the throwing of the bomb hissed "Hang them! hang them!" already before the execution had become ardent friends of the prisoners, and studied and embraced their ideas. Numerous of the most energetic and active Anarchist agitators of today can trace the awakening of their interest in the Anarchist

principles to the Chicago martyrdom.

So once again the Revolution finds the greatest triumph in a temporary defeat. Nothing long stays its onward course. Altho blood has run many times in its name, its progress has never been arrested.

ABE ISAAC JR.

This is merely a very brief sketch of the whole case. Those wishing to study it more minutely can find aid in the literature on the subject, such as "The Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs," "Life of Albert R. Parsons," "Autobiography of Spies," and Altgeld's "Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe, and Schwab"; and for the best that can be said on the other side, see Judge Gary's article on "The Chicago Anarchists of 1886," in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1893. Also, in answer to the latter, General Trumbull's "Trial of the Judgment." Omitting Captain Schaack's ponderous book from this list I consider a kindness to the other side.

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The Plutocratic View.

I am not sure that you Anarchists ought to be held responsible for Single Tax logic, but there are numbers of you who agree with the Single Tax dogma that production results from a combination of land, labor, and capital. Our class is quite content with this acknowledgment, for we get two portions to the labor's one. Labor has only labor. We have land and capital. And properly enough, from that point of view, we get about two thirds of the product. And you radical economists justify us.

The Single Taxer comes back at us and says he wants to tax away our rent. He has not yet found a way to tax away our capital. And the gathered taxation will still be capital, which will be administered by a ruling class.

The formula of "land, labor, and capital" strikes me as incomplete. If I tell the radical economist that air is also necessary, he learnedly tells me to read my book and discover, dolt that I am, that air is merely a subdivision of land—that if I had ever read George I would know that all the various forces of nature are comprised in the term—land. This of course affords me some enlightenment. But not enough. For if the major term comprises the lesser, why not have a jump to this formula: production results from freedom to labor. Given freedom to labor implies that you may apply your labor where you will, and so organize your credit that usury will not flow to capital, but remain as a reward for labor. Of course rent could not exist where liberty prevails.

I challenge some radical economist to show an instance to disprove this assertion. Yes, I know all about that bugaboo of "economic rent," but that is a ghost that cannot live by day. It may be discovered now and then reveling in glimpses of the moon.

The radical economist will come back at me on another point, however. He will want to know how human kind can be allowed to apply effort where human intelligence will. There would be disorder, he will argue, and all manner of iniquitous riotings when two fellows happen to want the same piece of land on which to produce.

Happily for our class, the question seems to be a poser. Governments are thus justified, and we are safe. Work any old reforms you like, so that you do not disturb gov-

ernment, and we have nothing to fear.

Yet it is not a difficult problem except for the superficial. For where freedom prevails and no barriers set up between man and the natural elements, there would be so great a desire for neighbors that we would each of us welcome the accessions of comrades. Government privileges make us jealous of encroachment. The "divine institution of the dear love of comrades" can be depended upon to "keep the peace."

Nor would there be any incentive to infringe the social tranquility. Many methods of cooperation would arise, which those accustomed to current ideas of cooperation cannot contemplate for want of mental equipment to project the operation of the mind beyond the present environment.

Even our class would fare well under liberty, by being dissolved in the "institution of the dear love of comrades."

But so long as compulsion obtains at all, I want to remain, as I now am, in the ranks of the compellers rather than with the compellees.

PLUTOCRAT.

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Social Democracy and Fatalism.

Many attacks have been directed by Anarchist writers against the theories of Karl Marx and his followers, but one point in them, perhaps the most vital, seems to have been insufficiently attended to. I refer to the "materialistic theory of history," and the attitude of fatalism to which it logically leads. Readers of *Freedom* will recall Tcherkesoff's treatment of the subject in "Pages of Socialist History"; but it seems to me our comrade has not given this factor the emphasis it deserves, so that his treatment is in one respect incomplete. Perhaps this article may be useful as a supplement to his very effective pamphlet.

Let us define as clearly as possible what is implied in the "materialistic theory of history." We must remember that Marx made his start from Hegel's philosophy; and Hegel sees in history merely the inevitable unfolding of a predetermined sequence. According to this theory, all change, including social change, is automatic, pursuing a course irrevocably fixed; history is reduced to a puppet show, in which we, men and women, are the puppets, and are at the mercy of the unseen wire-pullers,—according to Marx—blind, inexorable "economic forces." These forces tyrannically govern every act of every man; man is powerless to hinder or advance in any degree the movement of society they compel; and the only relief allowed him is this—that if he accepts the enlightenment of the Marxian faith, he may enjoy a Pisgah-sight into the promised land of the Social Democratic State toward which he is borne!

It would be impossible in a short article to give at length any argument on the real forces which determine social progress. But I think we shall agree on the following propositions:

Any change in social organization is necessarily preceded by a change in men's ideas—so that we may call the change in ideas the cause of the change in organization. Now, the new ideas can only arise in the way common to all ideas, namely, as the result of thought in the minds of individuals. Of

course a Social Democrat, with an ounce or so of wit, would retort that these new ideas are in the first instance caused by "economic forces,"—hunger, injustice, defeat. This, in fact, as I make it out, is the position of Marx himself. As a complete account of the matter it is, however, evidently fallacious. It is true that economic theories must have their origin in thinking about economic conditions. The conditions must exist in order to be known, and must be known in order to cause dissatisfaction; and such dissatisfaction alone can give rise to a wish to alter the conditions. In this way the economic conditions may be indicated as at any rate one cause of their ultimate change. Yet I imagine that there are many men with an exhaustive knowledge of modern economic conditions who, unless they had heard of Socialism, would never have dreamt of wishing for change. Something else is needed; and this something else is the power of individual thought and individual will. If Marx had never lived and thought should we have had Marxian Social Democracy? And was Marx's intellect solely the result of economic forces? And if this is to be applied to all great intellects, let it be explained how economic conditions produced a Shakespeare or a Beethoven. The position, upon analysis, turns out to be absurd.

But it is the second factor,—the part played by the individual in social movement—which Anarchism fully recognizes and indeed depends upon. The whole spirit of Marxianism lies in this: that, do what we may, the change from capitalism to collectivism is inevitable, and will be brought about by the forces of capitalism itself. We can at most foresee the change and prepare ourselves for it. Anarchism on the other hand holds no such fatalist doctrine. It declares that the new society cannot come of itself—it must be made. It sees that social evolution is the result of nothing else than the determined efforts of individuals, each working steadfastly towards what he holds to be the best. Its faith is in man and in man's strength, and not in the metaphysical fiction of impersonal non-human forces.

In their demands from human nature and their effects upon it, the two theories stand in strong opposition. Anarchism requires and fosters the active virtues: self-reliance, initiative, courage, and energy. To Social Democracy corresponds rather the virtues of the passive kind such as patience, resignation, and submission. In his book, "German Social Democracy," Mr. Russell speaks of "the daily support, in the midst of the most wretched social conditions, which the more intelligent working men and women derive from their fervent and religious belief in the advent of the Socialist State, and from their conviction that historical development is controlled by irresistible forces, . . . by whose action the diminution and final extinction of the capitalist class is an inevitable decree of fate," and says that "this fatalism more than all else gives to Social Democracy its religious faith and power; this inspires patience and controls the natural inclination to forcible revolution."

The Anarchist holds it a fault in Marxianism that by teaching men to rely on forces outside themselves it saps the energy of the

strong and gives a comfort to the weak that is wholly illusory. His is a nobler faith that urges him not to resignation but to active resistance. The duty that Anarchism holds out to each man is one of ceaseless effort of thought and will, in striving to perfect his grasp of the ideal of liberty, the goal of true human progress, and the ordering of his life in accordance with the ideal. It offers him the bracing assurance that in working for the coming of the new society he must look for the help of no "forces" but his own faithfulness and steadfastness, and the faithfulness and steadfastness and sympathy of his comrades. It will not be deluded with a false assurance of security. It recognizes that the wished for change will need the strenuous effort of many men united by a common determination that it shall come. "What stronger motive," said Maeterlinck, "can men find for moral action than the conviction of the absolute immorality of 'Fate'?"—C. Salagnac, in *Freedom*, London.

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Cannon and Church Bells.

With a brazen mouth the cannon proclaims destruction, blood, and misery. Debris and corpses it piles up high. Terror runs ahead of it, terror follows it. Death and pale hunger fasten themselves to its mouth; cries of rage, lamentations, and tears of widows and orphans are its pitiful companions.

With brazen mouths the church bells pronounce the hour when the "faithful" hurry to the prayer meetings, when the preachers of the lord are supposed to proclaim love and peace to all mankind, to elevate their listeners.

Are they words of peace that we hear resound from the pulpits? No, it is prayer, imploring God to render victory to the murderous weapons employed to destroy a so-called enemy. So-called enemy? Forsooth! Neither the preacher nor his congregation have suffered any wrong from the "enemy," and only the *eternal enemy* has been oppressing the poor of the community. Against him the preacher should thunder,—against exploitation and arrogance, against avarice and tyranny,—then he would tread in the foot steps of the "Savior."

But by praying for war—wholesale murder—he defiles his station as an apostle of love and peace.

And over yonder among the "hostile" people the same comedy is being performed; there the preacher also prays to the same God, to grant victory over the "enemy."

Poor deity! whither shall it turn, to whom award victory, as both peoples claim to be innocent and have not incited the war. Shall it take sides with this or that "enemy"; shall it bless these or the other cannon; shall it descend from "heaven" and, as the gods of the heathens in the battles for Troy, join the ranks of the slaughtering hordes?

That would be unfair. If the Christian God, the God of love, existed, he would gently refuse to participate in any way in the shedding of blood; and if he does not exist,—well, then, the prayers are superfluous to say the least. But this is an idle question. According to the different religions, which are upheld and inculcated into people from their earliest youth by the ruling power, God does exist, and it is from this viewpoint that we can make our observations.

It is strange, however, that religious people expect a God of love to assist them in the shedding of blood, and to help both warring parties. The fire-spitting cannon is to be consecrated by the peaceful peal of bells in the church steeples; war, the murder of men, is universally celebrated here and yonder.

"With God!" or "God be with us!" is the motto of the fighting hordes; the mercenary Christian or the religious Hebrew enters the field of "free competition" with the same motto: The words "With God!" sparkle on the belts of the soldiery.

God is to help them in the destruction of man's life and happiness; God is called upon to help them in their plunder and murder—to help the Rockefellers and Morgans in their fraudulent watered stock operations.

Oh, thou poor God, what is not demanded of thee, what not perpetrated in thy name!

And after the war is over the conqueror offers thanksgivings to the God of love and peace, and the vanquished laments at the feet of the same God that he was not with him in the game of plunder and slaughter.

And to cast bells of peace for the churches the clergy petition to the commanders for a gift of some conquered cannon; for at the outburst of a new bloodshed such chimes will certainly sooner soften the heart of a god who determines both victory and death.

From the brazen mouth of such cannon bells the sounds of calamity, lamentations, and the most dreadful misery into which these "images of God" have sunk through the war, go heavenward. Should not God for once lose forbearance and chase all the instigators of wholesale murder to Hades?

But no,—God's forbearance is for obvious reasons inexhaustible: he neither harkens to the sound of the brazen cannon nor the church bells; for if he really existed, if he could see the doings on earth, in his divine wrath he would destroy the guilty with fire and sulphur.

Therefore go on thundering cheerfully, ye cannon; go on ringing, ye bells; your hearts will not be crushed by the lightning vengeance of heaven; you are at present the masters of the world and can boldly scorn all human power.

All power? Not so; there is a power that will destroy you, which will shut your mouths; that is the power of the true ideal of freedom,—the struggle for the eternal rights of humanity,—the struggle for brotherhood and love.

This victory for the sublime idea once obtained—and it will be obtained—then will the cannon, loaded with blank cartridges, thunder their farewell for the last time from the ramparts; for the last time will the brazen church bells call the people together, to be told that the old idols have been overturned and humanity is resurrected in its eternal beauty and imperishableness.

The thunder of cannon and the peal of bells are silenced by the hymns of victory of a free-breathing humanity.—Translated for FREE SOCIETY from *Neues Leben*.

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For Chicago.

Liberty Group has headquarters at 427 Park Ave. Open every day and evening. Regular meetings and discussions every Thursday. All are welcome.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 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.

Free Society Ball.

A grand ball given by FREE SOCIETY will take place on the evening of December 5, in Aurora Hall, Milwaukee Ave. & Huron St.

This will be one of the happiest affairs that friends and comrades have ever participated in, and all owe it to themselves, as well as to the propaganda, to attend. Come and enjoy an evening with us.

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For Chicago.

Under the auspices of the Sociological League, a newly-formed Chicago society, W. F. Barnard will deliver a course of twelve lectures during the winter. A successor of the Philosophical Society on a somewhat different plan, this organization has taken the commodious Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St., between State & Dearborn Sts., where the lectures will be given on Sunday evenings at 8 p. m., beginning November 15. Tickets for the course will be \$1; single admission 10 cents. Subject for Nov. 15, "The Ideals of Liberty."

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.

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About the Linotype.

At the time of this report, Monday, Nov. 2, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....	\$117.00
A Comrade, Denver.....	5.00
Total,	\$122.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$ 87.00
Jacob Task, Boston.....	2.00
I. Koenig, Chicago.....	5.00
Dr. W. P. Murray, Cincinnati.....	1.00
A. Johannsen, West Chicago.....	2.00
Total,	\$ 97.00

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Dream; then you can hope.

To live is more than to exist.

Time is liberty's opportunity.

The lightest of chains are heavy.

Free speech shall not be throttled.

Liberty does not come thru asking.

Society exists because of the individual.

The spirit of the brave is the hope of freedom.

A tongue bound down is a man bound down.

Liberty's light shines, but the blind cannot see.

It is the present ideal of society that is utopian.

If voters rule officials then slaves direct their masters.

Man cherishes many evils merely because they are like heirlooms.

The Turner case will determine whether the Constitution follows the gag.

Canada would show impatience, but no wisdom in exchanging her government for ours.

Persecution has bound the hands of liberty at times, but her life never. What folly persecution is, then.

The vultures have been fighting anew over the political carrion in New York city. They call it a "mayorality campaign."

Morgan recently doffed his hat at McKinley's grave. He doffs his heart as he contemplates the graves of his victims.

The Chicago Chronicle is still uttering its petty senile diatribes against Hull House and free speech. Is there no asylum for an insane newspaper?

The entire force of the Appeal to Reason went on strike October 23. J. A. Wayland seems to have forgotten that Socialism, like charity, begins at home.

The Citizen's Industrial Alliance has just been formed in Chicago with D. M. Parry at its head. The peculiar form of "industry" in which the Alliance will engage will be that of assisting the exploitation of labor.

A demented man who thought he was being pursued by air ships sought to see Roosevelt Oct. 31. If he thought that the president would protect him by using up all the

air in windy talk, there was indeed reason for an interview.

The statute of limitations has saved Heath as well as Littauer, leading postoffice "grafters." Three years were allowed to pass after Heath's resignation took effect, and he was not prosecuted. "Enlightened government" looks just like its forbears.

The Alaskan boundary decision marks another step in the progress of diplomacy, and shows how easy it is for States to settle their little affairs with one another. A concession on this side, a concession on that; a removal of obstructions to privilege here, and an important canal handed over, there; that is the way the thing is done, while assinine nations of people look on and bray, "How wise statesmen are!"

Speaking of practicability: those who say that in the absence of government men could not trust each other for one moment, may consider this question with profit. Why would a state of society in which it was more advantageous to individual men to be considerate of each other's needs than disadvantageous, the earth's productivity being ample for universal need, why would such a state of society not be a most practical one?

The investigation of police corruption in Chicago proceeds, as the general investigation of official graft did, in a kind of spectacular, brass band style; but one is perfectly safe in anticipating a fiasco when the investigation approaches the danger point, a point where men in high places feel themselves being sought by the net of inquiry. Where all hands are dark with the dirt of corruption almost anyone who knows the game can count on the whitewash brush to save him.

Slowly but surely the commercial pirates of the world are perfecting a plan to crush the trades unions, and are subsidizing or intimidating courts and lawmakers into carrying out their will; meanwhile the trades unions are helplessly and hopelessly floundering about trying to find a way to use the law in their own behalf. Anarchists observe the process of events with interest and hope: when the trades unions learn at last what they must learn, that they will find but little comfort in the law, Anarchism they will see to be their logical goal.

Kipling's latest volume of poems exploits his ideal of bluster, blood, and Britain in a somewhat chastened spirit, tho' all the old unworthy passions are there lifting up their heads after the shame of the Boer war, a little in doubt of themselves. The practical outcome of the Kipling ideal came just in time, and our own experiences in the war with Spain and in the crushing of the Filipinos have taught us anew that war is a form of murder made worse than common murder thru the false sentiment and applause which urge on its bloody deeds.

That the law under the provisions of which the federal authorities are endeavoring

to deport John Turner is unconstitutional few who know the facts will doubt, and already there is a healthy reaction from the panic of the months immediately after McKinley's death, when the proposal to exclude Anarchists from this country was heard on many hands. Americans who remain faithful to the traditions of their forefathers respecting freedom of speech are loud in their protests against the newest form of oppression. They realize that freedom of speech is basic; coming before constitutions, and are fighting the deportation act side by side with Anarchists. Liberty will say the last word in this controversy. AMERICUS.

John Turner's Case.

On Friday, Oct. 23, Comrade John Turner delivered a lecture in Murray Hill Lyceum, New York, on "The General Strike." At the conclusion of the lecture he was arrested "as an Anarchist" by a number of immigration officers, assisted by a platoon of police. He was immediately rushed onto a revenue cutter and taken to Ellis Island. An administrative "commission"—shades of Russia!—here investigated the matter and found that Turner was an Anarchist, and should be deported under the anti-Anarchist clause of the immigration law. This was ordered done by the officials.

He was entirely isolated, and not even an attorney was permitted to see him. Friends immediately began habeas corpus proceedings before Federal Judge Lacombe. The case came up before him on the 28th, and was postponed until the 30th, when the government and the attorney for Turner, Hugh O. Pentecost, each handed the judge a brief, Turner meanwhile being remanded without bail.

The case will come up again on Wednesday, Nov. 4. If the decision is against Turner, an appeal will be taken, and the law tested.

Many well-known men in New York have formed a defense committee, which is also being done in Chicago; besides, the Central Federated Union of New York has resolved that the deportation of Turner be prevented, and has appointed a committee to aid in taking the necessary steps.

This report is written on Tuesday, Nov. 3, and the outcome must be awaited. JR.

From Many Lands.

In Solomonville, Arizona, the leader of the mining strikers has been sentenced to two years imprisonment and \$2,000 fine for "inciting to riot." Two other miners were also sent to prison for two years and fined \$1,000 each. Four more have been imprisoned for two years, and two for one year. Thus America is Russianized more and more.—*Freiheit*.

CHICAGO.—"Prosperity" is subsiding. In this city about 12,000 workers have been "laid off" during the last two weeks.

RUSSIA.—In consequence of the strikes in the southern parts of the country, the prisons are filled with rebellious workers. But the strikers have been victorious to a great extent, and only the railway workers were completely defeated. At Baku the strikers have even succeeded in getting paid for the

time they were out on strike. In Kieff the printers gained a nine-hour workday.

SAN JUAN.—The Porto Rican trade unions have shown signs of discontent, which they intended to manifest while the American officials and the "natives loyal to Americanization" were feasting with American railway magnates. But the legalized American pillagers do not like to be disturbed when enjoying their prey, and "Anarchy has been taken by the throat, and the choking process is now vigorously proceeding," as the *Chicago Chronicle* rejoicingly reports. By wholesale imprisonment and persecution love for American freedom is to be inculcated in the exploited toilers.

SPAIN.—This country is apparently on the verge of a revolution. Serious fighting between the workers and troops is reported every day from Bilbao and vicinity. At Barcelona about 150,000 are out on strike, partly to aid their fellow workers at Bilbao to defeat the employers. The Social Democrats are spreading circulars, urging the strikers not to resist the assaults of the troops, claiming that such resistance will give the employers a chance to crush the workers. (Later.) The revolutionary attitude of the miners and the railway workers influenced the employers to such an extent that they conceded all the demands of the strikers even without any "arbitration."

PARIS.—The workers held a mass meeting in the Bourse de Travail (Workingmen's Exchange), to protest against the establishment of government employment bureaus, by which the "radical" government of Combes, supported by the Socialist deputies, intends to suppress the free labor bureaus and thereby undermine the independence of the trade unions. The attitude of the unions was of course exasperating to Combes, (who has been so eloquently eulogized by the Freethinkers,) and so the workers were brutally assaulted by the police after the peaceable meeting dispersed. The workers resisted the assault, with the result that forty-five policemen and more than a hundred workers were wounded, two hundred of the latter being arrested.

SWITZERLAND.—The strike of the masons and hodcarriers at Geneva, which has been successfully conducted for three months in spite of governmental interference, has embarrassed the Social Democratic press considerably. At the beginning of the strike the Socialist papers boastfully declared that it was a foredoomed failure, "because the strike is conducted by the Anarchists, and success is therefore precluded." Besides they insisted, in conjunction with the government, that the anti-strike law, which was fathered by the Socialists, and provides for compulsory arbitration, be strictly enforced. But the strikers were determined to ignore the anti-strike law; and the government became enraged and deported many foreign workers. But as also many Socialists were among those expelled from the country, the law thus recoiling upon their own party members, the Socialist press changed front and denounced the law as "a monstrous injustice against the workers." The Italian and German building trade unions have now resolved to boycott Geneva

until the "Socialist law" is buried, and most of the masons and hodcarriers have left the city.

The situation of the labor movement in Switzerland can be summarized in a few words: it endeavors to liberate itself from the so-called Socialist party. The Swiss government long ago realized that the Social Democratic party is the best means to prolong the capitalist reign, and consequently does not antagonize the party, whose members hold offices even in the police departments.

In Geneva the government established a labor bureau, with a library and a large meeting hall; but the workers did not accept the gift, realizing full well that they cannot emancipate themselves from exploitation under the protection and supervision of government.

A serious split in the ranks of labor occurred last year at Vevay in the Workingmen's Association. The members did not object to supporting the political campaign, but the majority insisted that two different treasuries be kept: one to aid the unemployed and to assist striking workingmen, and the other for election purposes. The Socialist delegates opposed such division, realizing that but few would contribute to the election fund; and when they were defeated they withdrew from the conference, hoping to disrupt the association. But only the typographical union withdrew. The election fund was subsequently abolished entirely. In other cities the same troubles arise. In Lausanne of the 12,000 francs in the treasury 11,000 were spent for election purposes. In Zurich 15.60 fr. were given last year to unemployed workers, while 10,737.20 were expended in the political campaign. But when appeals were made for funds to assist the families of imprisoned strikers, of the 1,363.60 fr. collected only 44.60 were contributed by fifteen political groups.

In short, political Socialism is becoming obnoxious to the workers. The Socialist leaders have gone so far as even to denounce the initiative and referendum and all other demonstrations outside of parliament. "As the workers have their representatives in parliament," said Wullschläger, "the latter must protest, and such demonstrations are unjustifiable." He refers to strike manifestations which occurred in Berne. This year the federal parliament, intending to appropriate twenty-two million francs for a new equipment of the artillery, repealed the section of a law requiring the referendum of the people in case of such enormous expenditures. The Socialists of the Vaud canton proposed to circulate a petition for the reinstatement of the law, but their representatives declared that it should be left to the good-will of the Socialist representatives of that canton to demand referendum. "No one could ever have made a more frank admission," says an Italian writer, "that parliamentarianism aims to destroy all independent activity of the people. Everything is done by the representatives, and the voters have left only the honor to vote for them."

No Wonder.

A man is condemned to imprisonment.

Why?

What a silly question! Because he has no money, no work, no shelter.

Is it a crime not to have money?

No.

Is it a crime to be unemployed?

No.

Is it a crime to be shelterless?

No.

Well, then?

Well, of all these three things which are inoffensive, society has made a unity which is called vagrancy. And vagrancy is an offense.

So vagrancy is an offense composed of three inoffensive things, and a punishable offense at that. This is the miraculous work of the legislature.

Do you know what they will tell you? They will tell you that a man who has no money, no work, and no shelter, is liable to commit any crime. As you see, society in her prudence punishes crimes which have not been committed yet, crimes which may never be committed. She is preventing. Thru what serum? Her serum she calls prisons. But let us see further.

A man is arrested because he has no money, no work, no shelter. He gets a slight sentence—only eight days imprisonment. During these eight days he is surely unable to provide money, work, and shelter for the time when he will leave prison.

He is free again. There he goes. An officer seeing him, begins to interrogate him. He has no money, no work, no shelter,—he is a vagrant; and above all he has been in prison. He is a very dangerous man.

He appears again before the court of "justice." A recidivist this time, and the court condemns him to three months imprisonment; during which time he is again unable to provide money, work, and shelter for the future.

He again leaves prison, and an approaching officer again finds that he has no money, no work, no shelter; and he takes him back to the police station. A wise and justice-loving judge will ask this miserable wretch, who is astonished at the stupidity and cruelty of society, "Why don't you better yourself?"

This time he gets one year.

It is no wonder when leaving the prison the starving man will think: "Because they punished me tho I committed no crime, why should I not do something? I cannot be worse off than before; I may better my condition if I succeed."—Adapted from the Rumanian by O. Leibovitz.

Echoes.

The first attempt at enforcing the anti-Anarchist act, passed after the assassination of President McKinley, is not only ridiculous, but alarming, to all who hold to American ideals of personal liberty. Last night Secretary Cortelyou's United States marshals broke into a meeting and arrested John Turner as "an avowed Anarchist." Unquestionably the government means to deport him—a logical act under an absurd law. Turner has made no incendiary utterance in this country; he has not, in the

words of the law, "advocated the overthrow by force or violence" of any organized government. When he preaches the gospel of Anarchy among us it would be time to deport him. To proscribe him because he may have written or talked elsewhere against constituted authority may be legal; it certainly is repugnant to American ideals.—*New York Evening Post*.

* * *

When the Anarchists held a reception to John Turner, the labor agitator of England, in this city, at which he made a speech, Cortelyou had him put into jail, and will send him back to England. The most Anarchistic utterance the reporters could impute to him is this: "I predict that within the next ten years there will be a strike of trade unionists that will startle the world." The immigration inspectors and a squad of police took Turner to prison. We suspect, however, that this arrest is the outcome of the labor troubles rather than a raid on Anarchy, which is only the handle to get hold of. Turner's reputation has been made by his connection with and forming of labor unions, not by any Anarchistic efforts. His arrest was an outrage, his deportation will be a denial of the fundamental principles upon which this republic was founded. Free speech in this country is a thing of the past. The mob spirit rules; the lawmakers are the law breakers, and the criminals are the authorities chosen to prevent and punish crimes. America is no longer the home of the free and the land of the blest, but the home of the slave and the land of our officials. The best government on earth is being changed into the worst.—*The Truth Seeker*, New York.

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Anent Jay Fox's Proposition.

At the last meeting of the Liberty Group Jay Fox's article, "The Propaganda: a Criticism and Suggestion," was considered and commended in its leading points.

On one contention the group was unanimous: that the possession of the publishing plant should reside, if practicable, in a General Group. Consequently all the comrades who would like to see a radical publishing plant put into operation are invited to discuss the proposition and make suggestions as to the management of such a plant. The members of Liberty Group were of the opinion that the plant could not be very well established by a group, unless the comrades thruout the country would club together and provide the cash necessary to purchase the linotype and other necessary implements.

The Liberty Group will take no further action until other comrades and the groups of other cities have expressed their opinions.

T. CARLIN, Sec. Liberty Group.

Chicago, 427 Park Ave.

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Note.

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.

A Query.

What a splendid article that was of Voltaireine de Cleyre's, copied from the *Independent* in FREE SOCIETY a couple of weeks ago! I cleared my eyes of the tears and choked down the lump in my throat, when I read it, and tried to shout "glory!" all by myself, that our brave Anarchist sister had got such an article into a conventional newspaper.

I thought of writing this at once, and then was afraid of being accused of fulsome flattery, and didn't. But I still thought and thought; and I wondered why we all of us should keep praise and good words for the dead—and so seldom cheer and encourage the living by words of appreciation. I know that very often, people entertain the highest opinions of another, but never express them, and the worker goes thru what seems a lonely and unregarded life thinking nobody ever cared for him or what he had accomplished. And at the risk of it being thought that I may "have an ax to grind," I will say what I think of this high-minded, true, courageous, and able comrade.

There is a heroism in the mere living thru an eventful, wearying round of duties, quietly and uncomplainingly, that is as great in its way, as that which leads the individual to risk life on a battlefield, or to give it up for an opinion; and this heroism Voltairine has shown all her life. She would be as ready to yield up her life as a martyr as she is to spend it in a quiet way for the good of others, if it were necessary. I realized that when she refused to accuse her assailant. How glad I was when she did that! "It is just what what Voltairine would do, of course," I said, "but it sends a thrill over me to know it!"

And this leads me to my problem. I have thought a great deal lately over the old, old question of "free will and predestination." The more I try to picture a future society, the more I am compelled to have my people brave, honest, sincere, just, and strong. Yet I have all my life been saying that "people are what their surroundings have made them."

My reading, along the line of the "new thought," has led me to believe that people everywhere *might* make more of their lives than they do—if only they could become filled with the *confidence* in themselves that is necessary. But how is one to get this grand self-confidence? Can a man or a woman, born perhaps of tired parents, one who has to plod from the time he could work at all, and who knows only poverty and its accompaniments—can such a person imbibe a lofty and determined spirit, and so centralize his forces as to apparently conquer destiny? It seems that everybody cannot, or does not. Yet, every now and then you see a man or a woman who has done it. When one points out an exemplary character and says, "Imitate that one—be like him!" and the answer is, "I have had no chance to be like him; I have been poor, hard worked, held down by conditions all my life; how could I be anything else but what I am?" you do not know what to say.

One feels insolent in telling a poor drudge who never has had any chance, that "he might determine to live a higher, wiser, bet-

ter life and bring it about by that determination." And yet we know that many a poor drudge has so determined and has made of himself a good, strong, well-poised man; he has risen above his conditions, and he could only have done this by determination and a high purpose springing up within himself. Look at what some poor Jews have done in the way of self-culture and enlightenment! In spite of the worst of conditions, they have educated and elevated themselves until their power wields a great influence in society.

In every effort that has ever been made to build up an ideal society, every practical experiment in establishing some model arrangement, the failure has almost always been due to the treachery, injustice, or greediness of some particular individuals, so that we have been almost compelled to cry: "Oh for the right kind of people! We can't have the right kind of society until we have better people!" And so the sex sociologists have the best of the argument when they say, "We must born better children."

But the economists are unanswerable when they say, "But women cannot be in a condition to have better children while they are economic slaves!"

I think I have been found arguing on both sides of this question, and I confess to being tangled up at present. Can anyone, no matter what his surroundings, make of himself an intellectual, strong, well-balanced, healthy and happy man by determining to become so? Or must we first make an environment that will naturally develop such characters? But as all the people who are living now have come out of bad, unjust conditions, how can they be expected to be able to create the suitable environment?

I will be told that we simply act and react on our environment; that the better born wield an influence, and in the better conditions they help to create some lowlier person has been able to rise, etc. I know the arguments, but I am not satisfied. If any have anything to say that would be helpful on this subject, I would be glad to hear from them.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

For New York.

(As John Turner is under arrest, he may not be able to fulfil engagements announced below. Whether he has been released or not, should be ascertained locally.)

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. 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.

How It Comes, How It Goes.

Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, son of the railroad family, played roulette one night at Mr. Canfield's gambling house in Forty-fourth street, in the city of New York, and lost \$125,000. HE ROSE WITH A SMILE OF GOOD-NATURED INDIFFERENCE.

Thus briefly the news report tells one incident of life in a great city, where the very rich and the very poor dwell together in harmony.

A man with six children and a wife gets up at daybreak—his wife has been up before him to prepare some thin coffee and fat bacon.

He takes his heavy crowbar and starts out for a distant point on the New York Central Railroad track, where he has been ordered to work. With the heavy crowbar and other tools he works all day long, tamping down the stone ballast under the ties.

He goes home at dark, having earned one hundred and twenty-five cents—a dollar and a quarter.

Mr. Reginald Vanderbilt, whose family is made prosperous by the labor of tens of thousands of men, arises at 10 or 11 o'clock, walks on Fifth avenue, lunches at Delmonico's, rides in the park, dines leisurely, goes to the theater and drifts into Canfield's.

He nods to the croupier, who, with his apparatus all ready to swindle, is most affable.

A small ivory ball, spun by nervous fingers, swings around the hollow wheel. It strikes, jumps, rattles, settles down, and one play is over.

For an hour or two it rattles on. Then Mr. Vanderbilt goes away, having spent the day satisfactorily. HE HAS LOST AT GAMBLING \$125,000.

He never EARNED a dollar in his life.

The gambling amusement of one evening represents the labor for one day of 100,000 men.

Is Reginald Vanderbilt a bad, vicious boy? Not at all. He simply takes what our stupid social organization gives him—the labor of other men. He tries to get what pleasure he can out of life and what excitement he can for his nerves.

Not young Mr. Vanderbilt is to blame—nor can you justly blame the swindling vampire who owns the gambling house. Both of them are products of actual conditions. Both are even useful. For the little gambling story which leaks out is a splendid lesson. It impresses on men's minds the horrid injustice of turning over the earnings of a hundred thousand men, the railroad wealth of a great State, to a foolish dissipated boy. It impresses even on the dullest mind the gross stupidity of a system which compels the many to work and suffer that the few may be dissipated, ruining themselves while they deprive others.—Arthur Brisbane.

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.

Meditations.

I doubt whether man has the right to judge man.

Nature with her infinite calm and quiet always gives me back peace of mind.

I like to feel myself alone with the earth and sky, away from the oppressiveness of social conventionality.

I often wish I were a tree. Then I could grow and develop to the full capacity of my being without being hindered and constantly criticized by others.

I can imagine nothing sadder in this life, than to be forced to act contrary to our opinions. Even the best and strongest among us, are to a certain degree influenced by their surroundings and circumstances. We have so long accustomed ourselves to submit for the sake of peace, that submitting has almost become our second nature. Would that a general awakening came over the world, rousing each soul to take a determined stand for individual liberty.—Clara Liebmann, in the *Whim*.

LETTER-BOX.

B. G., Dayton, Ohio.—Do not be disturbed: the "chastity-belt" has been resurrected after a time of five hundred years. German newspapers advertise a mechanical device making marital unfaithfulness impossible, of which the opponents of sexual freedom should take notice.

Freiheit.—"Treasure against friendship and killing of happiness forever" sounds pious enough—too pious, in fact. But this is a question of freedom,—in this case of sexual freedom of woman. If it requires woman's sexual bondage to make man "happy forever," the quicker that "happiness" is "killed" the better. It deserves no more consideration than the happiness of the former slave owner or capitalist of today. As to treason, it is also very commendable, among slaves. But you ought to know that woman does not owe allegiance any more than man,—hence indeed sophistry will not do. Calling names continually, however, hardly rises to the level of sophistry. Consequently you are not right.

"The Life of Albert Parsons."

The second edition of this book will be ready for delivery by December. In consequence of a general request, to add as an appendix to this book a brief history of the other comrades who were executed with Comrade Parsons, Comrade Lucy E. Parsons is now preparing sketches of the other comrades, which will enlarge the book considerably. For this reason the Liberty Group of Chicago concluded to aid Lucy E. Parsons in inducing groups of other cities to gather subscriptions for the book among their friends and remit the cash as soon as possible.

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