



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 46.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 440.

The Old World.

Unnumbered soldiers load their guns
And stack them handy by;
Five hundred million cringing clods
For bare existence cry;
A hundred royal rulers drain
Their peoples' purses dry.

Lo! Greed and Hate march side by side
Beneath the flag of Lust;
The sword of war is burnished bright,
The spade resigned to rust;
While all the nobler arts of man
Lie prostrate in the dust.

Higher the serf shall surely climb,
To work his own release;
Then prayer and song shall celebrate
The monster War's decease,
And glad mankind at last abide
In universal peace.

—Frank A. Putnam.

Free Speech and Anarchism.

Not as an American, tho I am one; not because my American ancestry reaches back two hundred years, but because I am a man, do I protest against the anti-Anarchist law, which in obedience to an inflamed and infatuated minority Congress voted to establish early in this year. The American spirit, so grandly initiated in the pioneer struggles with nature in the early days of this nation of which I am one, and which received its baptism of fire in brave resistance to a government that would enslave, has, unhappily, degenerated under the twin influences of juggling politics and the fight for wealth, till now it seems almost like to die. At any rate little is seen of it in either private or public action; and if a man would protest against anything in the nature of slavery today, he must in sheer self-respect, and in order to give any force to his words, protest in the name of Man.

Not because the law declares John Turner, one whom I esteem and am glad to call friend, an enemy, do I make protest here and now; tho that were enough in itself to justify a protest; but because the anti-Anarchist law strikes at the very roots of the tree of liberty: that is my reason and my justification.

Do his opinions make of a man an enemy? Then who is not an enemy? Who could not be silenced, imprisoned, tortured under the provisions of an act whose sole test of the validity of an opinion is its seeming popularity. A Congress mad and prejudiced enough, could, with this act as a precedent, declare Christians criminals, or could deport atheists, vegetarians, or believers in the

Single Tax; could stop the mouths of all or any of these, and return them to the places whence they came. The anti-Anarchist law is a law against free speech, without which there is no other freedom. It is un-American in the original sense of Americanism; it is more than this: it is unmanly.

"But," it is said, "the class of persons discriminated against are dangerous persons, and may be rightly classed with paupers, the insane, and others dangerous to the well-being of the people. They preach murder instead of reform, and would use the bomb instead of the ballot. Surely it is no infraction of a reasonable degree of liberty to deport such as these." Leaving aside the matter of whether we have a right to deport anyone at all, the truth is that Anarchists, as Anarchists, are not guilty of any of the charges brought against them. They are people who hold the very highest social ideals, and who would substitute freedom and voluntary action as means of insuring the well-being of the individual, in place of the force expressed today in laws, courts, jails, with all their varied forms of punishment, and the hangman's noose. As to murders committed by Anarchists, eight-tenths of the murders committed today are to be laid at the doors of those who nominally at least accept Christianity in some form. If murder is Anarchism it is also Christianity. No, the anti-Anarchist law is aimed first at free speech and then at labor; it is the first manifestation of a power protean in form, which aims at gradual inroads upon our liberties till nothing is left of them but their name.

Is the law constitutional? I do not know. But if it be constitutional, the constitution containing it is an evil thing and should be abolished. The liberty to think what he will, as to be what he will is superior to all constitutions in the mind of a real man. Did not constitutions come thru free speech, and are they not subject to that which made them? That which made them may unmake them, as it has unmade others. Free speech is the supreme freedom. I protest against its abridgment, and will do all that lies in my power as a man to maintain it.

The American people began their lives upon these shores full of belief in the integrity of man and the justice of political action; but under the forms of law which they created themselves, we may see what monstrous things have now developed: the shameless selling of office and privilege, and the gathering into the hands of the few the

major portion of the wealth of the land. The American people made a mistake in accepting political action as the basis of their social organization. Now that these things are becoming clear, and now that privilege fears for its ill-gotten powers and possessions, free speech, the solvent of all difficulties between man and man, is threatened, and those who indulge in it are in danger of being gagged. But it shall be maintained! Without it there is nothing of worth; without it there is no other liberty; without it truth cannot be distinguished from a lie nor good from bad. With those who would strive to maintain it, with those who deem it of equal importance with life itself, with those who would be men, I am one.

AMERICUS.

"Modern Science and Anarchism."

In this little volume* of only ninety-four pages we have the maturest thought of one who, as an Anarchist, is not less distinguished than Proudhon or Bakunin; while, as a man of science, his reputation ranks with that of Agassiz or Tyndall. But for "the conspiracy of silence," it would certainly be the book of the time: no conspiracy can prevent its taking a foremost place in the history of contemporary social and intellectual movement. To review it is a task therefore of no common responsibility. Modesty, courage, and discernment, are alike required by the most ordinary justice.

Two great subjects, Science and Anarchism, which the Philistine does not know are in any way connected, appear quite *homoousian* to this famous writer upon both! The first question, alike for those who would refute him and those who hope he has made out his case, is, Does he understand them? For an able Anarchist agitator is by no means necessarily thoro in Anarchistic philosophy; and a scientist like Newton (on the "Prophecies"); Tyndall on the Irish Church; Alfred Russell Wallace on Spiritualism; may show brilliantly how easy it is to relapse from science into pamphleteering. The form of the treatise, which is mainly historic, tho good for the general reader, adds, at this point, to the reviewer's burden, and may to the reader's prejudice, if he have any. On comparing, however, page with page, our aim being to answer this initial question,

* "Modern Science and Anarchism," by Peter Kropotkin. Published by the Social Science Club, Philadelphia. Price, 25c. Order from N. Notkin, 1331 S. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

we find Kropotkin's conception of the scientific method is as follows:

Science does not, like theology and metaphysics, begin with assumptions, but with observations of facts (pp. 12, 39). Generalization of these facts supplies the hypotheses, from which scientists, like theologians and metaphysicians, very often reason deductively or "dialectically," as Marx's school in Socialism says (ib. pp. 38, 56, 57). But their hypotheses, deductions, and dialectics, are distinguished from those of the theologians by two radical differences—in aim, and in test. Theology and metaphysics aim at constructing a theory of the universe. Science deals with particulars. She aims at something definite (p. 58). Upon this peculiarity of purpose, is founded, as Macaulay has observed in his essay on Bacon, all other peculiarities of the scientific method; but especially the peculiarity of critique. The dialectic method assumes the truth of the premises. It reasons *ex precognitiis et preconensis*. Science assumes the doubtfulness of the premises. While, therefore, the critique of theology and metaphysics, which are nothing if not dialectical, is syllogism; the critique of science, which can only be incidentally dialectical, is experiment. If premises admitted or assumed to be right yield absurd conclusions, there must, says the theologian and metaphysician, be something wrong in the logic:—let us try to find it, by analysis. If generalizations of a few known facts yield conclusions which do not work in practise, there must, says the scientist, be something wrong with the generalization; and by synthesis, (more experiments,) we may expect to find that (pp. 68, 69, 73, 81, 94). Among the generalizations from which science reasons deductively to conclusions inviting experimental tests, the most sweeping is that which Kropotkin, to save discussion, calls the materialistic (pp. 25, 33, 53). But he is so far from allowing metaphysical validity to materialism that he rather dislikes the word, and suggests that "the kinetic hypothesis" would be more accurate. (What an antiquated philosophy called Matter, is more correctly termed the Object; the Object, which alone allows experiment, resolves itself, under analysis, into motions; and they, accordingly, are the ultimate data of science). The common fallacies of those who know enough about science to use its language unscientifically are (1) taking someone's generalizations (as Ricardo's) for bedrock fact, (2) reasoning dialectically from them, with contempt for all reference to contrary phenomena, as if it meant mere ignorance or incapacity to generalize, (3) losing sight of a definite aim, and therefore (4) neglecting experimental tests, (5) finally, getting clear off the track of practical progress into wordy debates about Materialism, Egoism, or some other essentially metaphysical speculation as old as Epicurus. We do not seem likely to catch Kropotkin tripping over any of these.

The connecting link between the scientific principles which he has conceived so clearly and his Anarchism, is in his history of their parallel progress (pp. 11-24). From the last half of the eighteenth century it was evident enough that the scientific tendency, to which Bacon, a hundred and fifty years

earlier, had given a method and a purpose, was destroying the foundations of the established order, alike in religion, government, economics, and the family. As much might have been expected; for one sprang from induction, whose first thoughts are doubt, experiment, innovation, progress; while the other rested upon authority. It was only necessary that the inductive method should be shown applicable to such things as religious belief, political institutions, economic and sexual relations. The demonstration, theoretically complete with Condorcet and other Encyclopedists, took a form so tremendously practical in the French Revolution that reaction was altogether to be looked for. But by the fifties this counter-movement had been exhausted. Authority, restored as far as it could be, by Napoleon and Napoleon's conquerors, had everywhere, again, made itself as odious as it deserved. The theory of both liberty and science had effected much quiet progress. The active revival of both was an organic phenomenon. The same men (Séguin, Thierry, Wallace, Comte, Ricardo, Bentham, George Vogt, Lewes, Mill, Spencer, and others) who brought about the great revival of science, were profoundly influenced by that of radicalism. Since their time, the dictum of Paine that government and society, tho commonly confounded, are widely different, has been tending with no small energy to become the Anarchistic doctrine that government is a parasite noxious to society. At about this point we begin to find differences of view among both scientists and reformers as such; so that the author's firm grasp on the scientific method and test becomes practically important. Pointing out that the spontaneous tendencies of man, as a social being, have been the cause of social improvement, he finds them, as Paine did, antagonized, not promoted, by whatever class, whether kings, nobles, or representatives, have assumed to act for the people (pp. 5, 6, 52, 88). But that suspicion of a State Socialistic tendency which his praise of "the anonymous masses" suggests, is refuted on pp. 29 and 88. He knows well enough the drift of the American joke which consists in writing "the masses" *them asses*. "Single individuals," finding words for the spirit of their time, are the *true* representatives of the masses, and media of the progressive spirit. And as these individuals can never be trusted with power, whose nature is to corrupt, so material for power to work upon is provided at once when Humanity or any other tantamount of the people is exalted, as by Comte, into a higher ideal than the individual genius. Intimately associated with the two heresies which would make a ruler out of either "them asses" or "the hero as king" are respectively those theories of the Moral Sentiment which find it in Sympathy only (the error of the Socialist and other self-styled humanitarians) or in virtue of the more personal and therefore the more aristocratic type, like pride and courage. If Kropotkin seems leaning towards the former on p. 15, he sets himself right on p. 42, where he points out, as a defect of Herbert Spencer's intellect, inability to see anything but brutality in the spirit of an Iliad, a saga, an imprecatory psalm. Harmonious again, respectively with these two radical and op-

posite errors, are those conceptions of religion which identify its precepts with immemorial custom and with existing authority, usually more or less encroaching upon custom. Priestcraft consists in arranging between these two kinds of authority a compromise which enables them to sustain instead of antagonizing each other (pp. 46-48, 55, 56); but the spirit of innovation in religion, springing from the needs of progressive society and finding expression in prophets who like Jesus and the Buddha give its sentiment new forms, is equally opposed to both (p. 50). The orthodoxy of science, which is also that of Anarchism, teaches equally, as the condition of progress, the individual's "right" to self-expression and the multitude's to consist of individuals in no way dependent upon him. In those opposite errors which make king and God out of (a given) individual or "them asses," it finds a common root. Individualism, as distinguished from Anarchism, (the doctrine that laws exist only to maintain the equal rights of all,) may appear the extreme opposite to that so-called Sociology which sees in human progress an evolution from savagery to slavery. But Herbert Spencer manages to make them pull together (pp. 40-42), because he never freed his mind from their common error, which is the idea that free individuals require any regulating power but their mutual friction. In like manner, we have vehement pleas for authority alike from "altruists" and "egoists"—Comte and Hobbes. But the scientist, and therefore the Anarchist, should be neither an altruist nor an egoist. He may see that the social, the gregarious instinct, is the foundation of society, and that this instinct is not love, either in the sexual or the philanthropic sense, but depends on man's feeling of need for man, in which egoism and altruism coalesce (p. 43). So, too, the Tory and the State Socialist have more than once agreed in laying the miseries of bourgeois society on free competition. They forget that competition never has been free (pp. 78-90).

In political economy, attention must first be directed to consumption (a very good starting point of agreement for bourgeois, Anarchist, and State Socialist). But only the Anarchist fully realizes that the mutual needs of men provide for that. They need no regulating; they need letting alone (p. 93). This is our thesis. We may be wrong. But we appeal, in the spirit of science, to the experimental test (pp. 68, 69, 73, 94). In history, and in the mechanism of our own groups, we see the evidence. Of course, authority must be got out of the way. And "when Anarchy comes," etc.—well, we have observed that revolutions fail the first time, but succeed the second (p. 18).

How scientific these reasonings are, should be evident to those who really know what science is. It might be expected that the author, as an eminent scientific exponent of the extent to which mutual aid has been cultivated in societies by natural selection, would have a slight prejudice against those other phases of Darwinism expressed by such terms as the struggle for existence and the principle of heredity. Possibly it crops out in his strictures on Herbert Spencer and others of equal magnitude (pp. 42-45), and on Weissmann (p. 38). But perhaps not.

To the criticism that the struggle for existence between men as individuals and as societies, is the main feature in human history, he might well reply, "As human history has been written." As to Weissmann and his Neo-Darwinism—they cannot be considered here.

The translator is also to a considerable extent the editor; and in this capacity has rendered unquestionable service by his notes and preface. The accuracy of the version can be judged only by one familiar with Russian; but I should take it to be very exact, because, notwithstanding his profession to have aimed at lucidity and correctness, he has retained a few idioms which certainly are not English. C. L. JAMES.

The Plutocratic View.

It is marvelous how readily the police and other functionaries discern what is calculated to please my class. I say it is marvelous, for such persons are not usually discriminating. Perhaps the solution is that pays them to retain our favorable opinion. But fundamentally they have no conception of the real value to us of their faithful, loyal and illegal conduct.

Perhaps they take their cue from the judiciary, which belongs to our order. We can always count upon a judge to construe the law to our advantage. Judges, by reason of their high-class breeding, are more cautious about openly violating the laws in the interest of their class. It is easier and more scholarly to construe than to infringe them. And the average men rather admire the ingenuity with which this is done. Few deem it safe to resent such procedure, lest the same judge may at some time have jurisdiction in a case in which the possible critic is interested.

And the legislatures, composed of a lower, tho aspiring class, are also properly faithful and subservient, but seem to set a high money value on their services. We realize the importance of their help; and we pay.

The judge because of his natural bias in our favor, and the legislator, because in one way or another we are generous in meeting his views as to recognition, are naturally our allies, but the constabulary forces—police, militia, and the like—composed as they are of men of the lower class, and not remarkably well paid for their service, render us the greatest assistance. Any sort of government is pleasing to us. We could not maintain our position as recipients of an unearned part of the product without it. But the stronger the government the better for us. And the little satraps are the conservators of strength in government. Their petty depredations accustom the proletariat to a recognition of the futility of protest. The little police tyrannies are so unimportant, in detail, that no one cares to burden himself with the trouble of correcting them. The common people, easily deprived of lesser liberties, learn to view with patience the inroads that are made on greater ones. Freedom of public assemblage is so easily abridged on the plea that it blocks traffic, and the immunities that traditionally surrounded one accused of crime are invaded on the plea that justice would otherwise be thwarted, so that the unenlightened are

presently stolid to every encroachment on what were once regarded as the "sacred rights" of the individual. Thus it comes that today we can seize upon any mail we suspect of being unwholesome to our class on the pretext that it is fraudulent.

Hence we have little patience with the demand that is occasionally heard for a better quality of recruits for our police force. No man should appear on our police pay rolls who ever heard of Magna Charta, or who knows aught of constitutions. These unintelligent "public servants" may not be as moral or as honest or as learned as crazy civil service reformers demand, but they serve our purposes all the better.

The poorly paid voter aspires to a job on the police force, where he not only gets better remuneration, but has the privilege of wearing a uniform, and the power to make his fellows "move on," hence we have nothing to fear from the lower classes in the way of a vigorous protest against police illegalities. Altogether it is a pleasant world to live in, —for us. PLUTOCRAT.

A Plea for Knowledge.

A. J. Fox pleads for Socialism in last month's *Woodworker*, and his entreaty is an excellent proof that intelligence and not any particular "ism" is the solution of the social problem. When he says that "to promote the welfare of society is the sole object of government," he only makes it clear that Socialists are not to be depended on as saviors of society; for it has never been the object of government to promote the welfare of the people, not even when traced to its primitive origin. Originally it was a means for predatory individuals to secure their booty, and has remained the prop of the exploiting classes up to this day, with the only difference that expediency has taught the rulers to pretend, in theory at least, that their task is to keep the peace and to promote the welfare of the people—"the people," of course, always being those whom God has entrusted with the earth and the products of labor.

Has the world witnessed that people were ever "happy and contented" under any kind of government, from which we could conclude that they were "happily governed"? Contentment with prevailing conditions there is unfortunately too much in all countries, which makes it very hard for trade unions and other schools of reform to combat the foes of labor; but even these indolent and dormant slaves are not happy.

The old contention that "the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer," is also not apt to draw the intelligent workers into the Socialist movement. For it is not true that "the poor are becoming poorer." Our grandparents did not think of having carpets, pianos, and other like comforts in their "parlors"; but it is true, however, that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widening, and that the toiling slaves are getting a smaller share of what they produce. Neither does machinery displace labor to the extent that Socialists would make us believe. If their assertion was true there would be but comparatively few laborers still at work. The fact is, however, that in almost every trade there are today a greater number of

men at work than there were ten or fifteen years ago, for the simple reason that products are cheaper and the demand for different articles constantly increases. Still, proportionately the toilers benefit but little by the steady increase of inventions—the owners sacking the greater share of the profits. The toilers in Spain receive almost half of what they produce, yet Mr. Fox will not dare to say that they enjoy greater comforts than the American laborers, who receive only about one-sixth of their product.

More study and greater unity among the workers is the path to emancipation, as Mr. Fox correctly suggests. But when he contends that the toilers can liberate themselves from wage slavery by entering politics, he is—tho unconsciously—the enemy of labor. Every step that labor has ever made in advance has been gained thru the integrity of the workers in spite of politics. In all countries comparatively a handful of trade unionists have improved conditions greatly by a steadfast resistance to the encroachments of the employers, while the millions of Socialist voters in Germany, and the hundreds of thousands of voters in other countries, have done absolutely nothing in the way of improving conditions thru legislative enactments.

As a means of education Socialists and other reformers have been of great benefit to humanity; but as soon as they enter into politics their principles are submerged in the mire of compromise and corruption. Not that it is their intention to compromise or to create corrupt leaders, but it lies in the nature of things—the desire for success and power. In their inception all political parties have done much educational work, which no intelligent man underestimates; but once they have reached the stage where there is some chance of electing their candidates, education becomes a secondary matter, and everything of a radical nature—anything that is liable to scare the ignorant and prejudiced voter—is debarred from their platforms. True, trade unions are by no means what they should be, but there is hope of improvement so long as they keep away from the stench of politics. Once they realize that knowledge and determination are essential in their struggle for emancipation, the demand for educational meetings, libraries, etc., will soon make itself felt. And if they insist that free speech must prevail and all sides be heard, conditions will hereafter change for the better. INTERLOPER.

"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.

Address all communications to Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago Ill.

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 16, 1903.

440

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. Admission 25 cents.

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.

— o —
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."

Nov. 22—"Society and the Individual."

Nov. 29—"What is Progress?"

Dec. 6—"Government an Evil."

Dec. 13—"The New Conception of Evolution."

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

About the Linotype.

At the time of this report, Monday, Nov. 9, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....	\$122.00
Elizabeth Breese, Talent, Ore.....	5.00
Total,	\$127.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$ 97.00
F. C. Keinath, Lacon, Ill.....	1.00
J. W. Britain, Kalispell, Mont.....	5.00
A. Winkler, Chicago.....	2.00

Total, \$105.00

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Masters make slaves.

* * *

Ideals sustain all progress.

* * *

Free speech beats machine guns.

* * *

To Tom Johnson: spend money!

* * *

Charity is the mother of beggary.

* * *

The franchise is a gambling device.

* * *

Wanted: some "American independence."

* * *

Just governments make their own justice.

* * *

Authority is the exclusive source of "graft."

* * *

Free speech makes and will unmake constitutions.

* * *

Free the social impulses and they will free the world.

* * *

A Socialist State is an impossibility; States are not social.

* * *

"Free institutions" have again put Tammany in power.

* * *

The evolution of experience with government results in Anarchism.

* * *

The liberty created by governments soon discovers the end of its chain.

* * *

Wall Street may fear Roosevelt, but Roosevelt fears Wall Street as much.

* * *

A ballot is what is left of a citizen after he concludes to be a petty tyrant.

* * *

This must be a free government; Morgan is said to be almost satisfied with it.

* * *

Jeffersonian democracy is rotting away in the cesspool of "practical politics."

* * *

Political orators should remember that words, unlike grain, cannot be made into bread.

* * *

In listening to the plutocrat talk one would almost conclude that fraternity was anti-social.

* * *

The sole trouble with the American revolution was that it did not continue down to the present time.

* * *

The lobbies at Washington make the voters of this country look like fools; but surely there should be some less expensive way.

* * *

A formula to secure "the consent of the governed": one part of intimidation, one part of fulsome flattery, and a few big promises. Mix.

* * *

Roosevelt and the administration are very

glad to welcome the Panama republic. But a New York republic would see them up in arms at once. That is another story.

* * *

"The abolition of government," the politician shrieks, "that would destroy law and order, sir!" What he really thinks but does not say, is, "It would take away my privilege."

* * *

Ages have passed since liberty awoke, and she has not said her last word yet. Those for whom things as they are are good enough have been looking for something to drug her with always, but in vain.

* * *

Mark Hanna, the most thoroughly hated man in America a few years ago, has attained such success as a political boss that now he may dictate to presidents. Voters who follow their leaders, please bow to Hanna.

* * *

Men will not unite in fraternal bonds and put away the wild struggle for lucre until the present economics with their cannibalistic incentives are abolished; but that is the fault of the economics; do not blame men.

* * *

John Turner is now in the clutches of a power whose confessed test of right is might. To deport men because of their opinions! O America, that the sons of those with whom you fought for liberty should have to hold the mirror up to you!

* * *

A Single Taxer is one who believes that to tax land values exclusively would do away with the exploitation of labor. Will Single Taxers tell us whether under the Single Tax the wealth paid in taxes would be wealth produced by labor or not, and whether land users, singly or in combination, could exploit labor to pay their taxes?

* * *

Those who are elected as representatives of the people begin gravely to enact laws to meet conditions which they have never studied or observed, confident that the trust imposed in them is a proof of their ability to satisfy it; the blunders which they make, and the modifications with which they endeavor to hide those blunders speak volumes of commentary upon their pretensions.

* * *

It is an old story that Congress wastes the money of the people; but even a "billion dollar Congress" does not suffice to raise more than a mere murmur of disapproval on the part of the public; and the only remedy which we see applied to cure the waste and misappropriation of funds is an occasional "cleaning" out of one set of "rascals" that another set may be installed in their places. We wait for a people which will discharge Congress from service as a pecuniary superfluity.

* * *

The monstrous condition of affairs in Cripple Creek suggests that the name Cripple Creek applies in a very definite way to conditions which prevail there. Liberty is crippled there as she has seldom been crippled in America; army, officials, and representative citizens uniting in holding her down for torture. They mean to break the

spirit of labor in Colorado, and intimidation is their least weapon as killing is their greater one. The scene of battle is far from us, but the roar of similar battles will soon echo close at hand.

Those trembling "grafters" who predicted a revolution if a Socialist alderman was elected in this city, are now agreeably disappointed, while the Social Democratic party members are sourly frowning at their municipal representative for his ultra-radicalism. Alderman Johnson's first "revolutionary" reform measure presented in the city council was nothing less than a demand for "free passes" on all the street railways for the use of hard-working-aldermen!

Congressman Littlefield has in the little field of his mentality developed a bill and presented it in the House as an antidote against Anarchism. Of course *real* Anarchism would not suffer from fifty such bills. But by the way, the thought suggests itself, that it is strange some congressman does not present a bill providing for the punishment of men who kill thousands; men like Morgan and his ilk; but second thought does not find it strange at all. It would require a strong man to do such things.

J. A. Wilson, in this issue of *FREE SOCIETY* informs me that "the more consideration" men "have for beasts the more they have for man." The statement looks very conclusive at first sight, but to my mind it is utterly false. If a man with sensibilities keen enough to feel greatly the woes of animals were by reason of this sensibility especially moved to consider the woes of man, he would come to know things which in their fearfulness would make him forget the woes of cats, dogs, and horses until justice had swept the horror from the earth. Humanitarianism is the weak tea left in the pot of discontent.

AMERICUS.

Free Speech.

The cause of free speech is the cause of man. A gagged mouth is worse than a shackled body. Truth is born of open discussion. The days of the Inquisition were the dark days of the human race. A beneficial censorship is a contradiction in terms. Every censor is, consciously or unconsciously, an enemy of humanity. The paltry excuses for restriction of free discussion sometimes to be heard in pulpits or read in newspaper columns, always have their genesis in corrupt motives or in gross ignorance. No honest man needs to fear the open discussion of any question. When all sides are given a full hearing, there can be no fear of the defeat of the truth. Conscious error likes to creep into dark holes, and shuns the bright light of day. The whine that the opposition should be suppressed comes from cowards who have no real faith in the convincing power of that in which they pretend to believe. The persecutor brands himself in the eyes of the coming age. He may triumph for the moment; but his memory becomes a stench in the nostrils of future generations; and his cause is doomed, unless worthier advocates succeed in purifying it from the stain. Comstock is the greatest enemy of

purity in the United States, as Philip the Second of Spain was in reality the deadliest foe of Christianity, and as those who suppress the utterance of Anarchist opinions are the worst traitors to the government they profess to adore. The crowned madman of Germany has done more to bring monarchy into disrepute than the entire radical press of Europe; and his lese-majesty laws have only succeeded in bringing him into richly deserved contempt.

In all ages, the truest lovers of mankind have toiled to imbue their fellows with the spirit of open-mindedness. The cause of free speech numbers the most glorious martyrs in history. Socrates, whose name we hold in reverence today, was murdered by the Athenian people, for seeking to lead them to think for themselves. Bruno in death and Galileo in imprisonment paid the penalty of loving truth more than public opinion. Roger Bacon upheld the cause of scientific research against unnumbered persecutions. Milton perceived that no error was so fatal as the suppression of thought, and penned his glorious *Areopagitica*, which remains to this day an unanswerable argument to all who, either from moral weakness or from a tyrannous disposition, seek to set bounds to human speculation or expression. Voltaire, Paine and a host of others have followed in demonstrating that free minds and free lips were necessary, in order that men might grow and learn. In our own land, Elijah Lovejoy gave his life for the principle of freedom of the press; and from his martyrdom was born the grand apostleship of Wendell Phillips in the cause of freedom. We stand indeed on holy ground, when we approach the sublime company of those who, thru the ages, have striven to secure, not only for themselves, but for all mankind, the right of unfettered utterance on every theme. Well for us, if we are found worthy to tread in their footsteps, and to bear the most humble part in this great work.

Never was the cause of free speech in greater need of fearless championship. The people of the United States seem drugged or stupefied on this vital issue. For thirty years, Comstockism, trailing its slimy length with the immunity afforded by plausible but damnable false pretenses of concern for public purity, has sunk its venomous fangs deep in the flesh of men and women immeasurably purer than their persecutors. The foul murder of Ida C. Craddock was but an episode in the filthy career of this spawn of utter villainess. More recently, the growing spirit of imperialism has proceeded to almost incredible lengths. Free speech is confessedly strangled in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and restrained even in Cuba, where the United States cannot pretend to have any right to meddle. Sedition laws, the enactment of which utterly destroyed the Federalist party of a hundred years ago, are today complacently received by the degenerate issue of sires to whom liberty was something more than a name. The Declaration of Independence is trodden under foot and spit upon by the present rulers of our land, as containing too strong an affirmation of human rights. Workingmen are denied the privilege of peaceable assembly and the right to reason with their fellow work-

ers. All these are but symptoms of a great and growing disease, the cure of which lies in the development of public intelligence.

This is the cause to which we have pledged ourselves. In our work for freedom of expression, we invite the cooperation of all who believe in according to others the rights they claim for themselves. Human rights are without exceptions. White, black, brown, yellow or red of hue; male or female, young or old, poor or rich, of every class and rank; Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, Jew, Mohammedan, Mormon, Theosophist, Spiritualist, Mental or Christian Scientist, Dowite, Koreshan, Atheist or Agnostic in religion; Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist, Socialist, Single Taxer or Anarchist in political alliance or social philosophy; all these and all others are entitled to the full and free expression of their ideas of truth, and should be protected in it. Not all of them can be right. Perhaps none of them is wholly right. But out of the friction of their contending views is kindled the spark of truth. All true progress must come by the road of freedom of expression. Let us, therefore, build well for the millions who are pressing ahead, that their course be not checked by stumbling blocks unworthy of an enlightened age.

The Anarchist movement, being relatively weak in point of numbers, has served as a suitable object of attack for the enemies of free speech. Not that the propaganda as a whole gives them the least bit of anxiety. Unlike their dupes, whose eyes bulge out with horror as they read the ridiculous scareheads in the daily press, the leaders of the imperialist faction do not apprehend the slightest real danger from Anarchism. Their loud outcries are purely for political effect. Without in the slightest degree comprehending the real Anarchist philosophy, they have learned that the bulk of its adherents are peaceful proponents of a social ideal which the majority are not likely to accept for some time to come. The real animus of the attack on the Anarchists is not so much to overthrow this particular propaganda, as to establish a precedent in favor of the suppression of unpopular social and political views, and to pave the way for the doctrine that all criticism of existing institutions is treasonable. Toward this end, events are rapidly tending. The Anarchists are simply marked as the first victims. If they fall, let the Socialists, the Single Taxers, the anti-imperialists, the Freethinkers beware; for they are assuredly marked for slaughter.

The assassination of McKinley furnished the first opportunity since the Chicago judicial murders of 1887, to attempt the wholesale extermination of those who believe in individual liberty. Hence the terrific clamor, which echoed from one end of the continent to the other. The loudest shouters knew it to be all a sham, but hoped to rouse the dear people to such a pitch of blind fanaticism, that consent would be readily obtained for establishing conditions wholly inimical to freedom of expression on public questions. While a partial failure is to be recorded, enough mischief was done to cause the gravest apprehensions on the part of all who wish to be ranked on the side of progress.

It is not necessary to review in detail the

events of the past two years, which must be fresh in the minds of all. It is now known, too certainly to admit of dispute, that the murderer of McKinley was no more an Anarchist than his victim was, in any correct sense of the word, a martyr. The motives of the assassin have been variously conjectured. . . . Nevertheless, the Anarchist philosophy, which does not inculcate murder in any form, and of which Czolgosz knew practically nothing, was loudly proclaimed to have been the motive behind his deed. Forthwith, the very name of Anarchy was held up to execration; and its most peaceful advocates were denounced as wretches unfit to live. The commonest rights were denied them; and the signal was given that they should be hounded to destruction.

The few months that followed are not pleasant to remember. The wave of madness which swept over the country showed how much barbarism still cleaves to our modern civilization. In the midst of the popular insanity, the shrewd manipulators at the helm of public affairs sought to carry out their long cherished designs. While pretending to "stamp out Anarchy," they were in reality covertly preparing to extinguish the last embers of free speech in this country. The mob outrages and local applications of gag law were purely incidental, tho heartily welcomed by the wily schemers. But their underlying hope was to force thru Congress and the various State legislatures a new series of alien and sedition laws, which would make it easy to silence all "pestilential agitators." To this end, everything was done to create a fictitious public sentiment in support of repressive measures. . . .

Has the storm blown over? The immediate excitement is past; but the grim purpose of the foes of freedom remains. In city after city, the right of free assemblage has been ruthlessly trampled on. The outrageous abolition of the Home postoffice, with no hearing to the community, and no reason that could bear the light of day, is merely a sample of the high-handed autocracy which today prevails in democratic America. The fluke by which the anti-Anarchist bill failed to become a law by no means indicates a cessation of efforts in that direction. The struggle has only begun. On which side are you? Never mind what you think of Anarchy. Can the suppression of free speech work aught else but harm? The imperialist conspiracy proceeds on the assumption that when the people become familiarized with the idea of curtailing free expression, it will be easy to proceed to greater lengths. This view is well warranted. Beware of the initial step towards the Russianization of the United States.—From "Do You Want Free Speech?" by James F. Morton, Jr.

— o —

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.

— o —

Laws have been passed against associations of miscreants. When are they going to be applied?—Viviani.

Deportation of Anarchists.

Briefs submitted in the matter of the detention of John Turner, the Englishman arrested under the new anti-Anarchist law, touch interestingly upon those high points that Matthew Arnold called "new definitions of liberty." Turner had a hearing before a special board of inquiry at the Immigration Bureau; was found by the evidence to be an Anarchist and advocate of Anarchistic principles, and, under section 38 of the law passed last March (to minimize the likelihood of such acts as that of the assassination of President McKinley) was ordered by Secretary Cortelyou to be deported. Thereupon, suit was brought in the United States Circuit Court to test the constitutionality of the act under which this course was taken.

Trade unionism is intending to make efforts on Turner's behalf, because he is a trade unionist; but before it becomes enwrapped in side issues the essential question ought to have a fair study. This question is practically whether the new law does not violate the first amendment to the Constitution, which says that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech." Section 38 of the anti-Anarchist statute prohibits the entrance into the United States of any person who *disbelieves* in all organized government. If it were established that the government has the right, constitutionally, to exclude any person for any disbelief it may choose to proscribe, it is felt that it would be dangerous doctrine.

The group of reformers who are interesting themselves in testing this law hold that it provides for "an administrative process like that of Russia," except that here it is exercised by one man, the secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Says Bolton Hall: "An act to exclude the discontented is ridiculous. When we have discontent, domestic, or imported, the only safeguard is to teach these people to express their discontent in words before expressing it in dynamite."

A. C. Pleydell calls it doctrine "akin to that embodied in the alien bill of 1798, and extremely likely, if tamely accepted, to be followed by a sedition act for the benefit of such native citizens as may, like myself be in active disagreement with imperialism, and who dare to criticize Secretary Root, or his successor. To defend Turner is not at all to defend what he may do in the future or what he believes now; but to stand for the right of every one to free expression of even unpopular opinions and unpopular ideas of future states of society. Tyrants always begin with the most unpopular man, and trust to his unpopularity to get him out of the way and then get rid of the next most unpopular."

Here is the section of the law to be tested:

That no person who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government, or who advocates or teaches the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally of the government of the United States, or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character, shall be permitted to enter the United States, or any Territory or place subject to the jurisdiction thereof. This section shall be enforced by the secretary of the treasury

under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe. That any person who knowingly aids or assists any such person to enter the United States, or any Territory or place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or who connives or conspires with any such persons to allow, procure, or permit any such person to enter therein, except pursuant to such rules and regulations made by the secretary of the treasury, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

It is contended by counsel for the government that the act does not restrict the freedom of speech, "because the parts relating to Anarchists, etc., are but descriptive of a class of excluded aliens"—other classes being polygamists, prostitutes, paupers, insane persons et. al. "This alien is not deported because of his speech," he declares, "but because he was found here in violation of law. His speech is merely evidence of his belief, and by it he is identified as an alien of the excluded classes." The extract from his speech so relied on as evidence that Turner is one of the immigrants the new law sought to keep out of this country was as follows:

All over Europe they are preparing for a general strike, which will spread over the entire industrial world. Everywhere the employers are organizing, and to me, at any rate, as an Anarchist, as one who feels that the people must emancipate themselves, I look forward to this struggle as an opportunity for the workers to assert the power that is really theirs. The trade unions have been growing, and have reached big proportions. The inevitable outcome is a struggle between the two, and the general strike offers to advanced people an opportunity to demonstrate their power, and to us, who belong to the advanced movement, an opportunity to help the workers to gain in audacity and courage, and thus determine as quickly as possible their emancipation.

It is argued that in these remarks Turner indicated a "general strike" as a means to an end—the overthrow of all government. "Even small strikes being usually accompanied by violence, a general strike would certainly involve great social disorder and confusion," submits the government counsel. "A general strike, therefore, cannot be regarded as a peaceful means of establishing Anarchy. This alien's belief and his principles of Anarchy may be inferred also from his actions and associates." That is, he intended to lecture on Nov. 9 on "The Legal Murder of 1887," meaning "the great Chicago tragedy on the 11th of November, 1887," which was the hanging of Anarchists. John Most was to speak from the same platform.

But it is admitted that he is an Anarchist—a philosophical Anarchist. Pentecost & Campbell, attorneys for Turner, only say that if it can be proven that Turner is a person who believes in and advocates the overthrow of government by force, they will abandon their case. They maintain that the United States, in Art. I. of the Bill of Rights, has imposed a limitation on its own powers of exclusion of aliens. "It cannot exclude an alien on account of his religious beliefs, nor can it exclude anyone in a manner that amounts to an abridgment of the freedom of speech or opinion."

"It would be clearly unconstitutional, for example, to substitute the word 'Mormons' for the word 'polygamists' in the Act of March 3, 1903, for altho some Mormons are polygamists, a polygamist is a criminal, while a Mormon, as such, is merely a member of a religious sect. As a Mormon, he could not constitutionally be excluded, altho

as a polygamist he can be. Anarchists are members of a philosophical sect or school, and as such, under the Constitution, have the same right to be in this country as the members of any other sect or school of thought."

All members of this sect or school are thus submitted to prior restraint, "prejudged and condemned for having certain ideas." That is what has induced a committee of persons interested in liberty of speech to support and assist the effort to contest the constitutionality of an immigration law which excludes a person not only for what he "believes and advocates," but also for what he disbelieves. "It goes even farther," declare Turner's attorneys; "it excludes aliens who believe in organized government if they are members of or are affiliated with any organization that teaches disbelief in or opposition to organized government." It appears to them that there is no limit to the words which may be introduced into the law if it be right to exclude an alien on account of his opinions. Socialists, trade unionists, titled foreigners in search of American heiresses, "every class of persons, indeed, not already American citizens, may be shut out."

The new law does not recognize the difference between a Tolstoy, who is a religious Anarchist, operating by reason, and a Czolgosz, who practises violence. Under its terms, Tolstoy could not be permitted to enter the United States, and any citizen who invited him to come would be liable to \$5,000 fine and to imprisonment. "For us to exclude a reformer whom the czar of Russia recognizes as a distinguished citizen would be indeed anomalous," remarks the brief of the relator in the case. Prince Kropotkin is an Anarchist, and under this law would be liable to deportation, tho all the educated world knows that he does not "believe in or advocate the overthrow" of government by force or violence. Reclus, the eminent geographer, is an Anarchist. He has written works of first distinction on "The Earth," "The Ocean," "The Atmosphere," and never has preached violence against government, yet he could not, under this law, come here to lecture on geography. To detain at Ellis Island and then send back to their own countries such men as these because they are Anarchists "would be to render this government ridiculous," and a law which would impose that duty, asserts the brief of Turner's counsel, "is clearly unconstitutional as abridging the right of freedom of speech and opinion."

Counsel for the government, R. A. Paddock, asserts that Congress has the power of deciding what classes of aliens it shall admit, and what it shall reject. It was, he adds, competent for the lawmaking power to decide against "those obnoxious to it on account of opinions as well as those undesirable by reason of their pecuniary, physical, mental, and moral condition and their nationality." He quotes Justice Gray's decision in a Chinese case, that "deportation is the removal of an alien out of the country simply because his presence is deemed inconsistent with the public welfare."

Apparently the government considers that the interpretation of the law by Turner's counsel is correct. The arrest and expulsion

of this alien was under the section which, as so interpreted, authorizes the deportation of aliens on account of religious, sociological, or political beliefs, regardless of whether or not they "believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of government." The question, then, before the court is reduced to whether or not a law that excludes aliens solely on account of what they believe or disbelieve, or solely on account of their affiliation with people who believe or disbelieve something, is constitutional under the limitations set by the nation itself upon its own power by the first amendment.—*New York Evening Post*.

[The above article is reprinted to give all interested an idea of the status of the Turner case and of the law. Since the article was written the United States Circuit Court has decided against Turner, and an appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court. A. I.]

Echoes.

A press report states that the striking miners near Birmingham, Ala., against whom an injunction was issued restraining them from holding public meetings, rented a church near the mines and went there every day, Bibles and hymn books in hand, and held religious services. During the meeting a union official took up a collection for the needy members.—*Typographical Journal*.

How long will the forbearance of the liberty-loving and toiling people be abused with impunity? How long will you look on idly while the alleged inalienable rights are wrenched from your hands one after the other?

Free as the right to air and life should be the right to free speech and free press in this country. Thus determined our forefathers who took up arms in order to free their country from all tyranny.

The inheritance which they bequeathed to their descendants has been abused and befouled by their grandchildren. Barriers are placed upon free expression. Freedom of speech is being persecuted and made punishable.

In the confusion of the minds of the people which followed the violent death of McKinley, a law was passed which prohibits criminals and Anarchists from entering this country of liberty. All unbiased people thought that, after the excitement of Czolgosz's deed would have subsided, this law would quickly pass into well-merited oblivion and become a dead letter.

It turned out differently. A distinguished English trade unionist who intended to lecture on trade unionism in this country, has been arrested in accordance with that obscure and indefinite law, and is to be deported to England.

The right of bail, which is readily granted to criminals, was denied this irreproachable man. John Turner up to this writing languishes in his cell on Ellis Island.

That the anti-Anarchist section of the immigration law, under which he was arrested, not only in its spirit, but also in its wording derides the Constitution, not even a cunning lawyer will deny. Consequently Turner was arrested in violation of the Constitution and is being detained in spite thereof.

No attorney-general of Europe extends his hands toward him. As a man highly esteemed even by his opponents he entered this country. Because he is a champion of freedom, John Turner has been treated like a criminal and is to be driven from this country, which was founded by men of his sort.

In the proceedings against John Turner the people's rights are violated—by no means for the first time, however. How long will the people be silent in view of such abuses? How long will they patiently bear the effrontery of their rulers? How long?—*Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

A Reply to Ruedebusch.

Being a new reader of FREE SOCIETY, I would like to say a few words in reply to friend E. F. Ruedebusch's statement in regard to a free society and the inconsistency of his ideal.

He wants physical force abolished but would retain law and order. It is the force behind the law that makes it effective; without force the law is a dead letter. Could the policeman arrest a thief? The thief, knowing that the policeman had no power to arrest nor a shooting iron in his pocket—would he let the policeman take him? Not much.

There can be no authority without physical force. Would those men who were executed in 1887 have suffered it, if the authorities had not been backed up with force? Not by a long shot, unless they were fools.

How much authority could a parent exercise over its child if the child knew that the parent had no more power than it had? It can be readily seen when the children are full grown how much they fear the parent.

I hope this will convince our friend of his error.

JOHN FAY.

Culver, Kans.

A Humanitarian Protest.

The humanitarians (?) who are troubling over the rights of animals, might with profit consider man, who has no natural rights; then the "rights of animals" might cease to worry them.—*Americus*.

Why do you question the humanitarianism of those who are troubled over the rights of animals, and insinuate that they have no consideration for the rights of man? I hope you are not narrow enough to doubt one's ability to feel for man and beast at the same time. My acquaintance with men and women leads me to believe that the more consideration they have for beasts the more they have for man. When we consider that there are now many men and women who are willing to raise their voices in the defense of mankind, and hardly a handful who will speak a word against cruelty to brutes, it appears to me very unbecoming on the part of an Anarchist to be jealous of every little word of sympathy spoken in behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves.

Chicago, Ill.

J. A. WILSON.

The committee appointed by the Central Federated Union, of New York, to investigate Turner's case, recommended taking a determined stand against his deportation. The delegates of the assembly resolved to bring the affair before the convention of the American Federation of Labor now in session at Boston.

SUBSCRIPTIONS for FREE SOCIETY can be paid at the following addresses:

ALLEGHENY PA.—H. Bauer 73 Spring-garden Ave.
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.
BOSTON—K. A. Snellenberg, 127 Center St., Roxbury.
BROOKLYN.—M. Metzkw, 174 Ralph St.
CHICAGO—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Av.
CLEVELAND—E. Schilling, 34 Elwell St.
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.
NEW YORK—M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way.
PHILADELPHIA.—Nataasha Notkin, 1332 S. Sixth St.

RECEIPTS.

Debating Club, No. 1, Chicago, \$10.
From New York picnic, \$5. Rotter, \$2.
Carpenter, Evans, Fylstra, Tannenbaum, Fancon, Lindall, Keinath, Roser, Engvall, each \$1. Flax, Shatz, Dornbush, each 50c. Kupperman, 25c.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By Peter Kropotkin.

(Translated from the Russian by David A. Modell.)

Considered by some Kropotkin's best work.

Well and tastefully printed on good paper in clear and large type. 94 pages.

CONTENTS:

- I. Two Fundamental Tendencies in Society. The Kinship of Anarchism and the Popular Creative Tendency.
- II. The Intellectual Movement of the Eighteenth Century: Its fundamental traits; the investigation of all phenomena by the scientific method. The Stagnation of Thought at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The Awakening of Socialism: Its Influence upon the Development of Science. The Fifties.
- III. Auguste Comte's Attempt to build up a Synthetic Philosophy. The causes of his failure. The religious explanation of the moral sense in man.
- IV. The Flowering of the exact Sciences in 1856-62. The Development of the Mechanical World—Conception, embracing the Development of Human Ideas and Institutions. A Theory of Evolution.
- V. The Possibility of a New Synthetic Philosophy. Herbert Spencer's Attempt; Why it failed. The Method not sustained. A false conception of "The Struggle for Existence."
- VI. The Causes of this Mistake. The Teaching of the Church: "the World is steeped in Sin." The Government's inculcation of the same view of "Man's Radical Perversity." The Views of Modern Anthropology upon this subject. The Development of forms of Life by the "Masses," and the Law. Its twofold Character.
- VII. The place of Anarchism in Science. Its endeavor to formulate a Synthetic Conception of the World.—Its Object.
- VIII. Its origin. How its Ideal is developed by the Natural-Scientific Method.
- IX. A Brief Summary of the Conclusions Reached by Anarchism: Law. Morality. Economic Ideas. The Government.
- X. Continuation: Methods of Action. The Understanding of Revolutions and their Birth. The Creative Ingenuity of the People. Conclusion.

Price, 25 cents

Send orders to Nataasha Notkin, 1332 S. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

M. N. MAISEL'S BOOKSTORE

194 EAST BROADWAY - - NEW YORK

Guy de Maupassant, The Orphan; The Blind Man..... 03
Guy de Maupassant, Beside Schopenhauer's Corpse; The First Snow... 03
Guy de Maupassant, Who Knows? 03
Guy de Maupassant, The Death-Watch; On an Evening in Spring.. 03
M. Harden, When We Dead Awaken (a criticism on Ibsen's plays)..... 05
J. P. Jacobsen, Just the Place for Roses; Two Worlds..... 03
J. P. Jacobsen, The Plague at Bergams..... 03
B. Lazare, The Social Conception of Judaism and the Jewish People..... 05
A bundle of these excellent booklets, selected and published by Benj. Tucker, sent while they last to any address for 25 cents.

A well selected stock of more than 5,000 volumes on philosophy, history, sociology, free thought, the labor movement, modern literature and drama always on hand.

German and Russian books imported. Good prices paid for collections of radical books and periodicals.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

CONTENTS:

The Anarchistic Idea and Its Development.—Individualism and Solidarity.—Too Abstract.—Is Man Evil?—Property.—The Family.—Authority.—The Magistracy.—The Right to Punish and the Savants.—The Influence of Environment.—"The Country."—The Patriotism of the Governing Classes.—Militarism.—Colonization.—There are no Inferior Races.—Why We are Revolutionist.—As to What Means follow from the Principles.—Revolution and Anarchy.—The Efficacy of Reforms.—The Experimental Method.—What Then?—Anarchism and its Practicability.—The Unvarnished Truth.
The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

Price, paper cover, 25c; bound 60c. Five copies \$1.

BOOK LIST.

ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS

RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.

Essays on the Social Problem..... 05
.....H. Addis 05
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen 05
God and the State.....Bakunin 05
The Same. London edition..... 10
Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings.....Helena Born 1.00
Prodigal Daughter: or, The Price of Virtue.....Rachel Campbell 25
Love's Coming of Age..... 1.00
.....Edward Carpenter 1.00
Evolution of the Family..... 05
.....Jonathan Mayo Crane 05
Conduct and Profession..... 10
.....Clarence S. Darrow 10
Crime and Criminals..... " 10
Realism in Literature and Art. " 05
Resist Not Evil. Cloth..... " 75
Tolstoy..... " 10
Crime and Punishment..... 10
.....Voltaireine de Cleyre 10
The Worm Turns..... " 10
The Emancipation of Society from Government.....Dallan Doyle 05

History of the French Revolution.

— BY —

C. L. JAMES.

An excellent history of the French Revolution, well written by one thoroly familiar with his subject. Special care has been exercised to give the facts as they are, the author not having made himself the champion of any faction.

Justice, Wilmington, Del., says of it:

It is concise; it is accurate; and above all, it deals with essentials: the author has entered into the spirit of the Revolution.

Azariah S. Root, librarian at Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio, says:

I was much interested in looking over the work. It seems to me to indicate careful study of the sources, and to be the work of one profoundly interested in democracy.

It is neatly printed from large type on good book paper, with a substantial binding. There are 343 pages, with an index and bibliographical epitome.

Price, bound in cloth, \$1 postpaid.

Send orders to

Abe ISAAK Jr., 407 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

IT IS THE BEST MEDICAL BOOK FOR THE HOME YET PRODUCED

— BY —

DR. J. H. GREER.

IT HAS 16 COLORED PLATES SHOWING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

This book is up to date in every particular. It will save you doctor bills. It tells you how to cure yourself by simple and harmless home remedies. The book recommends no poisonous or dangerous drugs. It teaches simple common sense methods in accordance with Nature's laws. It does not endorse dangerous experiments with the surgeon's knife. It teaches how to save health and life by safe methods. It is entirely free from technical rubbish. It teaches prevention—that it is better to know how to live and avoid disease than to take any medicine as a cure.

It teaches how typhoid and other fevers can be both prevented and cured. It gives the best known treatment for La Grippe, diptheria, catarrh, consumption, appendicitis and every other disease. This book is not an advertisement and has no medicine to sell. It tells you how to live that you may prolong life. It opposes medical fads of all kinds and makes uncompromising war on vaccination and the use of anti-toxine. It has hundreds of excellent recipes for the cure of the various diseases. The chapter on painless midwifery is worth its weight in gold to women. It has a large number of valuable illustrations. The "Care of Children" is something every mother ought to read. It teaches the value of air, sunshine, and water as medicines. This book cannot fail to please you. If you are looking for health by the safest and easiest means, do not delay getting the book. It is printed in clear type on good book paper, beautifully bound in cloth and gold letters. It has 800 octavo pages.

FORMERLY SOLD FOR \$2.75.

SEND ORDERS TO FREE SOCIETY.

Hilda's Home. Cloth \$1. R. Gaul	50	Life Without a Master. 336 pp.	
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream?		Cloth \$1.50.....J. Wilson	1.00
Jas. F. Morton, Jr.)....Malatesta	10	The New Dispensation. Cloth. " "	1.50
A Talk about Anarchist Commu-		The Chicago Martyrs: The Fam-	
nism between two Workers.... "	05	ous Speeches of the Eight Anarch-	
A Chambermaid's Diary..... "		ists in Judge Gary's Court; and	
.....Octave Mirbeau	50	Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning	
The Deistic Pestilence; John Most	05	Felden, Neebe, and Schwab.....	20
God and Government: The Siamese		The Social Revolution. By Karl	
Twins of Superstition...W. Nevill	05	Kautsky. (An excellent work to	
The Pyramid of Tyranny..... "		disillusion deluded Social Demo-	
.....F. Domela Nieuwehuis	05	crats, who still imagine that So-	
A Cityless and Countryless World:		cialists contemplate a Revolution.)	
An Outline of Practical Coopera-		180 pages.....	50
tive Individualism. Cloth \$1.....		Anarchism and Outrage.....	03
.....Henry Olerich	50	The Economics of Anarchy.....	
Mating or Marrying, Which?.....	Dyer D. Lum	25
.....W. H. Van Ornum	05	Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarch-	
Sine Qua Non, or The Core of Re-		ism.....Jay Fox	03
ligion.....Dr. Geo. Pyburn	10	Moribund Society and Anarchy.	
Evolution and Revolution.....Reclus	05	Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave	25
Pure Economy.....J. H. Rowell	10	Motherhood in Freedom.....Harman	05
Pages of Socialist History.....		Government Analyzed.....Kelso	50
.....W. Tcherkesoff	30		
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth.			
.....Leo Tolstoy	75		
Our Worship of Primitive Social			
Guesses.....E. C. Walker	15		
Revival of Puritanism..... "	10		
Vice: Its Friends and Foes..... "	15		
What the Young Need to Know "	10		

WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM

A book of thirty-six large pages, describing the standard works on socialism in such a way that the student can readily judge what is to be learned from each. An introductory essay by Charles H. Kerr on "The Case for Socialism" adds to the value of the book for new converts or inquirers. Handsomely printed on fine book paper with portraits of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Vandervelde, Carpenter, White, Blatchford, Simons and other writers. Mailed for only ONE CENT a copy; \$1.00 a hundred.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., Publishers, 54 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO.