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WHOLE NO. 442.

### Liberty.

[Michael Nalbandian, a distinguished Armenian patriot, journalist, and poet, was thrown into prison by the Russian government for his political opinions; and he died there of lung disease contracted in the prison. After his death, this poem was found written on the wall of his cell. It is forbidden in Russia to possess a picture of Nalbandian, but portraits of him, with these verses printed around the margin, are circulated privately. Translated from the Armenian of Michael Nalbandian by Alice Stone Blackwell.]

When God, who is forever free,  
Breathed life into my earthly frame—  
From that first day, by his free will  
When I a living soul became—  
A babe upon my mother's breast,  
Ere power of speech was given to me,  
Even then I stretched my feeble arms  
Forth to embrace thee, Liberty!

Wrapped round with many swaddling bands  
All night I did not cease to weep,  
And in the cradle, restless still,  
My cries disturbed my mother's sleep.  
"Oh mother!" in my heart I prayed,  
"Unbind my arms and leave me free!"  
And even from that hour I vowed  
To love thee ever, Liberty!

When first my faltering tongue was freed,  
And when my parents' hearts were stirred  
With thrilling joy, to hear their son  
Utter his first articulate word,  
"Papa, mamma," as children use,  
Were not the names first said by me:  
The first word on my childish lips  
Was thy great name, O Liberty!

"Liberty!" from the courts on high  
Replied the voice of Destiny:  
"Wilt thou enroll thyself henceforth  
A soldier of fair Liberty?  
The path is thorny all the way,  
And many trials wait for thee;  
Too strait and narrow is the world  
For him who loveth Liberty."

"Freedom!" I answered, "on my head  
Let fire descend and thunders burst:  
Let foes against my life conspire;  
Let all who hate thee do their worst:  
I will be true to thee till death;  
Yea, even upon the gallows-tree,  
The last breath of a death of shame  
Shall shout thy name, O Liberty!"

### Love and Progress.

#### SECOND PAPER.

That the progressive love life is a life in which complex love relations prevail would seem to stand no more in need of demonstration than the contention that progress in general is a development from the simple to the complex. But perhaps a few comparisons of development in other respects with development or progress in love relations

would help to make the matter clear. It will be found upon consideration that variety of application or varied use of powers is vital to growth in every sphere of activity that is normal either to the physical or mental man or to the emotional.

Progress in respect to the health and development of the physical body comes about solely thru the various harmonious uses to which that body and its organs are put; applications of the hands to numerous ends, such as grasping, lifting, pushing, pulling, and doing the thousand and one things to which the hands have become adapted, at once securing their health and adequate development. Thus it is with the eyes, which become developed as they are used for all kinds of seeing under all kinds of conditions. Thus it is with the feet and legs, which, when fully adapted to standing, walking, climbing, etc., may be said to be developed. Thus it is with every organ, as it is with the totality of organs which make a complete body. The development of an organism as a whole results from the varied and harmonious use of it under varied circumstances, so that it becomes adapted to a complex activity. In the sphere of mental activity varied uses of the mind are fundamental to its development; counting, remembering, thinking, receiving information either thru ear, eye, or any other sense organ; plugging, weighing evidence, reasoning; these are the things which develop the mind; these represent mental work which can only be done thru the mind operating upon a variety of objects under a variety of conditions. In the sphere of imagination development comes about in the same way. Development of love health and love power is like development in physical health and physical power, imaginative health and imaginative power, or mental health and mental power; it is a development of all the capacities and powers of love thru its application to a variety of persons in similar or varied degrees; the love of one person solely, unfitting the lover for the enjoyment of full expression and development in an important field of emotion, while the love of several, receiving from varied loves the results, emotional, or physical, or both, which run the whole gamut of satisfactions, would be in harmonious and healthful accord with other powers and faculties similarly nourished and expanded.

In every direction variety prevails, both in regard to sources of satisfaction and activities. We eat not one food, but several

foods; and health and strength depend upon the balanced assimilation of these. The pleasures of eating are enhanced by developing a liking for varied flavors and varied food substances. We read not one book, but a variety of books; a knowledge and appreciation of literature being possible only to one who makes himself acquainted with general literature, mental development by implication being absolutely dependent upon the application of the mind to a variety of things. It is normal to man to practise variety in dress, as it is for him to change his habitation; in walking, talking, in pursuit of his pleasures, in all activity, his growth, his development depends first of all upon ample and varied experience. Love is made up of emotions, normally pleasurable in character, which arise and are expressed thru more or less intimate association with other beings, its exquisite effects coming from the giving of pleasure to its objects and the receiving of pleasure from them. The love of more than one multiplies in a developed character or individual the satisfactions of love, and brings about in consciousness not only an appreciation of each varied love but an appreciation of love per se, and gives it its proper place in the great economies of life, not higher and not lower than other normal activities, and cleansed of the abnormalities and excesses which pass current under monogamy for verifications of love intensity and endurance.

We hear it asserted on every hand that plural love is impossible. We are told that there is no pleasure in dividing love between two or more; that love diminishes to the vanishing point in being apportioned out among several individuals. Why is this not asserted in respect to friendship; why are we not told that it is impossible to have two or more friends and at the same time to feel friendly toward each of them in the truest sense? The objections, summed up, consist principally of these and of denials of the comparisons which are made between love and other activities, showing that variety is health and life. The insinuation that varietism stands for excesses in one sphere of love proceeds in part from misunderstanding, but for the rest from abnormal and diseased conceptions of man, conceptions resulting from abnormal and diseased conditions of life. As insinuations, then, not as demonstrations, let them be judged.

Given a progressive life, a life in which all functions and faculties are developed thru free and varied use, and the evils natural to



monogamic love would disappear. The restrictions having been taken off love emotions, jealousy, that terrible disease of love, would be cured; prostitution, which is the bulwark of marriage, would pass away with all its awful results; the ideas of ownership which now disfigure a normally beautiful relation would give way to voluntary attachments; and that physical aspect of love, which now dominates because of economic, social, moral and religious restrictions which have been placed upon it, would be dethroned and take its place with other things equally important.

Suppose an individual to be living in a state of society in which progress had obtained to a very high degree; that individual's faculties and functions having ample opportunity for expression, there being conditions of production and distribution in harmony with universal well-being, and all the normal opportunities for education and culture being available, love would, like other manifestations of personality, have undergone changes bringing it into harmony with the interests and pursuits of a complex being. Being plural in its expressions, thus eliminating ownership, jealousy, and the other diseased manifestations of anti-social or monogamic love, being complex in character, love would become one of the greatest influences working for the refinement and uplifting of man. Being given its proper place in the economies of life and no more exercising a species of absolutism or tyranny over the lover, not being a stumbling block lying in the path of general activity, it would not only leave him free to develop, but would actually be one of the most powerful influences making for development. Completeness of life is attained by giving everything its place in life's scheme; suppose the tyranny of love to have been abolished, and life is seen at once as a dignified and gracious existence, in which the calm stream of expression knows no storms or whirlpools, but moves harmoniously and undisturbed toward its goal: fulness and amplitude. The individual who has thus progressed finds all passions and appetites, all capacities and functions working together in complexity, in whose richness there is completion.

The normal life is a life in which each faculty and function has its proper and equal place with every other one; a varied and free use of faculty and function tending to bring the whole organism into a state of health and balance. Take away restrictions upon thought, feeling, bodily activity; remove the ban upon eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, talking; let varied use of various powers bring them all to ripeness, and the whole of existence would be in harmony with itself and its environment. Starvation and excess are the twin evils resulting from repression of life in any of its phases.

The foregoing, then, may stand as a presentation of the case for varied love relations as essential to progress, the effect upon the individual being under consideration. In a further paper the social effects and results of normal love relations will be dealt with, and in a final one, the process of transition from existing love conditions to progressive ones with what it involves of disturbance and pain, will be dealt with.

W. F. BARNARD.

#### Russian Methods in America.

It is a spacious, high-domed chamber, magnificently wainscoted and furnished. In the center stands a massive, imposing desk, equipped with a marvelous battery of electric buttons. At it sits William Williams, commissioner of immigration for the port of New York. The scene is the commissioner's office in the administration building on Ellis Island.

Presently a visitor is ushered in. He is a lawyer—Hugh O. Pentecost—and he wishes to see his client, John Turner, of England.

Mr. Turner has the distinction of being the first prisoner held under the act of Congress passed on March 3, 1903, which provides for the deportation from this country of "persons who disbelieve in organized government." Mr. Turner was arrested while addressing a meeting in this city on the night of the 23d of last month.

Commissioner Williams touches a button and a guard appears. An order is handed to him and he disappears.

Several minutes pass in silence. Altho it is the 10th day of November, the air is so balmy that every window of the office is half opened. Thru one window can be seen the stars and stripes fluttering from the flagstaff on the bay bulkhead. Across channel, flooded in the perfect sunlight, looms the giant statue of Liberty Enlightening the World.

Then the door opens and a rather short, stockily-built, ruddy-cheeked man of middle age enters. His face gleams with intelligence and is adorned with a thick, sandy beard, trimmed in what is called the Van Dyke fashion. This is John Turner, strenuous organizer of British trade unionism and, as he terms himself, Anarchist. He is closely attended by a guard in the person of Captain Weldon, of the Ellis Island federal police.

Turner and Captain Weldon seat themselves at the desk beside Commissioner Williams and Lawyer Pentecost. Captain Weldon produces a pad of paper and a lead pencil to take notes and Commissioner Williams signals Mr. Pentecost to begin the interview.

This is how Turner, the British subject and United States prisoner, is compelled to hold consultations with the lawyer retained for his defense upon accusations of having violated an act of Congress.

"Now, Turner," observes Lawyer Pentecost, "Judge Lacombe will hand down tomorrow in the United States Circuit Court his order dismissing our habeas corpus proceedings. You will then be deported unless we appeal the matter to a higher court. What is your wish?"

Captain Weldon grips his paper pad and prepares to take copious notes.

"As I do not seem to be wanted in this country," says Turner at once wearily and sarcastically, "I think it might be best to let the authorities ship me back. I am a trifle homesick, anyway."

"But your friends may think it better for you to fight the matter to the last ditch," suggests Lawyer Pentecost.

"My position is just this," says Turner decisively between clenched teeth, "I am a British subject, and as such bow to the mandates of the United States government, under which I have not the rights of a citizen. Personally I prefer to return to England, but if my good

American friends think there is a principle involved in this matter, I will stay and fight it. This is an American question, in which, as a British subject, I am not interested. It is a question involving the constitutionality of an act of the United States Congress, rather than my personal well being."

"You should remember," observes Lawyer Pentecost, "that if an appeal is taken it may take six months to get a decision. This will mean six very sad and gloomy months for you in a cell on Ellis Island."

"I will gladly stay here till I rot," replies Turner, "if by so doing I can assist my American friends in their fight for the vital principle of liberty involved."

This ends the interview of lawyer and client in the presence of federal government witnesses. A curt sign is given that nobody else is to be permitted to speak to Turner, and he is led from the room by Captain Weldon.

The scene is grotesquely reminiscent of a drama of the "shocker" variety, where the conspirator against the czar is hied back to his dungeon after an inquisition before the imperial chief of the Third Section.

While waiting for the boat to leave Ellis Island something more is learned of Turner's treatment by those in a position to know. He is kept confined in a cell, with the exception of the period allowed daily for a brief walk. While walking he is closely guarded by keepers. The general conditions of this imprisonment are worse than any criminal undergoes in a State penal institution. Not a soul is permitted to talk to him except his counsel—and this exception seems to be a matter of courtesy on the part of the commissioner rather than a right defined by the law. Incidentally it may be observed that a prisoner's consultation with his counsel is hardly of much value in his defense when the interview is held in the presence of prosecuting government officials who take fluent notes of all that is said. It is simply a hollow mockery.

All mail, either received or despatched by Turner, is opened and read by the Ellis Island officials before delivery.

On the little steamer, as it plows its way across the sunlit bay to the barge office, Lawyer Pentecost is induced to indulge in a few reflections.

"What appeals to me most," he says, "is the humor of this act of Congress. It is a law which, when some of its aspects are considered, is enough to make an American citizen roll over on his back and laugh uproariously."

"According to the law," goes on Lawyer Pentecost, "that very eminent American novelist, William Dean Howells, would be sentenced to five years imprisonment if he invited Count Tolstoy to visit this country. Tolstoy, like Turner, is a 'disbeliever in organized government.'"

Mr. Pentecost is asked to elucidate.

"The law," says he, "provides heavy punishments for those who aid and abet proscribed persons in reaching our shores. Say, for example, you had a boyhood friend in the old country whom you had only vaguely heard from in twenty years. Say you decided one day to write to him and invite him to come to this country and offered him your home and your friendship when he got here.



"It might so happen that this friend of yours had once printed or publicly expressed a disbelief in organized government or had indulged in violent Anarchistic ravings. You might be entirely ignorant of this and be the most patriotic American who ever drew the breath of life. Yet proof of this utterance, together with your letter of invitation to visit America, forwarded to Secretary Cortelyou of the Department of Commerce and Labor, would be sufficient evidence to make you a federal prisoner and subject you to five years' imprisonment specified in the section of the law. You see, the act has some unique features."

Comment was made upon the copious notes made during the interview with Turner.

"The federal authorities," observed Lawyer Pentecost, "are somewhat candid in admitting that they are extremely anxious to find out who—if anybody—invited Turner to visit this country. There's a nice term of imprisonment awaiting the party if they get him. Then they're mighty anxious to find out what steamship brought Turner to this country. There are heavy penalties for a master, agent or consignee of a vessel who lands a proscribed person on our shores."

In discussing the legal aspects of the case Lawyer Pentecost observed:

"It would fill a few pages of the New York Daily News thoroly to show the absurdities of this law. We have, for example, a religious sect in this country called the Plymouth Brethren. Its members, I believe, are old-time, dyed-in-the-wool Americans. Their theology teaches them to repudiate organized government. To be consistent, the United States government would have to ferret them out and ship them all back to dear old London on the same ship with Turner. The law, you see, doesn't go after a man for what he believes in, but for what he disbelieves in, with the accent on the 'dis.'"

"Another remarkable and somewhat humorous feature of the law is the absolute and despotic power it places in the hands of one man—Secretary Cortelyou. Mr. Cortelyou has the power to stop any steamship entering this port and dump the passengers—first-class as well as steerage—on Ellis Island and subject them to a secret, star chamber inquiry. It doesn't matter if the passenger is a duke or prince—it's the cell for him if Mr. Cortelyou suspects him of disbelief in organized government. Here's another proposition:

"Suppose some peaceful, lovable humanitarian disciple of Tolstoy had settled in the west some three years ago and now owned a prosperous farm. If Cortelyou caught him he could be first imprisoned and then deported back to Russia, altho he had never opened his mouth upon the subject."

Mr. Pentecost seemed to see in the law, above all else, a covert menace to trade unionism in this country which deserved the attention of every thinking man. . . .

"I have merely skimmed over the subject," said Mr. Pentecost, in conclusion. "It's a decidedly nice question, on the whole. In general, I claim that the act is unconstitutional because it, among other things, bars out persons of certain religious beliefs. The law can practically be used against anybody. It will be used against trade unionists as

soon as the people most interested get ready, and, from the attitude of things in the Turner case, it looks as if it won't be long before these people are ready."

Such is the situation today in the now celebrated Turner case.—New York Daily News, Nov. 12, 1903.

#### Literature.

DIE EIGENEN (Self-Owners). By Emil F. Ruedebusch. Published by Johannes Rade, Berlin W. 15, Germany. For sale in America: E. Steiger & Co., New York, N. Y. Price, cloth, \$1.25; paper cover, \$1.

In the first part of the book the author, who is well known to many of our readers from his books published a few years ago in this country, "Freie Menschen in der Liebe und Ehe" (Free People in Love and Marriage) and "The Old and the New Ideal," the latter being excluded from the United States mails, again comes forth with an elaborate treatise, in the form of a novel, on the sex problem. Realizing that his former works have been partly misunderstood even among advanced thinkers, he now concerns himself but little with those who still worship the relic of barbarism—marriage, but "appeals to those who suffer under the old forms of marriage and the forms of compromise (so-called 'free unions') in sexual relationships, and who feel their inadequacy." The second part of the book is an attempt, or rather a formal proposal, to effect a realization of the author's ideal.

"To the advanced student of sex relationships there is nothing essentially new in the book," says a critic with whom I agree more or less. "Man, be it a woman or man, who in his relations to others is not his own and cannot assert his peculiarities, is not free, does not belong to himself, is tributary to others, whether it be tributary in physical, mental, or economical dependence. This the author illustrates thru examples. The 'self-owner,' as construed by him, does not say, if she loves Frank, 'I am entirely yours, sweetheart.' She remains her own even in the impetuous enamored condition, and does not concede to anybody, neither to beloved Frank, the right to hold herself accountable for any other love relations she may entertain. The same freedom, of course, does the male self-owner assert.

"Such self-ownership, the author thinks, is far above of that which is understood by 'free love.' This looks like quibbling. It may be that the specifically American free lovers have given examples of such narrow interpretation and application of free love, as is portrayed in the book in the characterization of the relations between Agnes and Lindner. There Agnes, who rebels against the pattern-like relations of the free lovers, says to Lindner: 'We allow ourselves free choice of possession and imagine ourselves to be free. That is about the same as when slavery was declared abolished simply because the slave was allowed to choose his own master. Free choice! With this I will be fooled no longer. Not to belong to anybody, not wishing to possess anybody, shall in future be my motto.'"

"One who believes in freedom in sexual relationships, and does not want to strip this freedom of all its significance and meaning, will certainly agree with Agnes unpro-

visionally. The demand for exclusive possession of one another in these relations is the principle which leads to enslavement and makes self-ownership impossible."

The gist of the author's argument can be found in an answer given by the chambermaid in Lindner's house. Her employer is an advocate of so-called "free unions." He had been informed that she associated with several men, which, of course, injured his reputation; and he reproachfully called her attention to it.

"Do you really think," she replied, "that you with your ideas on free love have not a bad reputation anyhow? Are you, perhaps, intending to give me a lecture on morality? You are not at all qualified for it. I have not listened here in vain to your beautiful arguments on freedom. I am also a free woman, and I presume I have a right to ask you to respect me as such."

"A free woman!" he exclaimed with a sarcastic smile. "Well, I am curious indeed to hear what you mean by that."

"That I will explain to you with pleasure. It means that neither you nor any other man has a right to demand an answer to questions like yours. It means that I am my own and shall always remain my own. I could excuse my best friend, Carl Bonner, when he was anxious to know of every step I made with others, and got enraged when I was affectionate and kind with others. I was supposed to see only him, take a walk only with him, appreciate only him, love only him. He has finally learned that only insane vanity can expect such things, and he is now thoroly cured. Either I am free, and then it is a matter of course that also other men, who are kind and pleasing, are dear to me, and I associate with them as I please, and I am glad of it; or else I must, if I love Carl, renounce all these beautiful things and coldly ward off all others, and then I am no longer free,—then I am Carl's property, and that is nothing for me; I want to be a free woman! This I told Carl. And to your inquiry I should have replied: It is none of your business,—it is an impudence."

The second part of the book deals more or less with the arrangements of a cooperative establishment in the suburb of a large city, where the "self-owners" are engaged in profitable industry and live in exquisite hotels and private dwellings, working out the author's ideal, which soon spreads all over the country. The arrangements in the community are such that the statute laws defining morality are evaded thru secrecy. This, however, is not in keeping with the means by which progress has been achieved. Obnoxious laws and worn-out customs are only successfully defeated by bold and open defiance.

#### 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.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 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. Admission 25 cents.

Milwaukee Ave., Elston Ave., Division St., and West Chicago Ave. (40th St.) cars run past the door of the hall. Transfers given on all lines.

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.



## 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.

Nov. 29—"What is Progress?"

Dec. 6—"Government an Evil"

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

Dec. 20—"Work or Drudgery?"

## About the Linotype.

At the time of this report, Monday, Nov. 23, the linotype fund stands thus:

PAID CASH.	
Previously reported.....	\$115.00
B. Ginvert, Denver.....	1.00
Geo. Swede, Philadelphia.....	3.00
M. Rice, Philadelphia.....	3.00
Sale of Turner photos.....	3.50
Total,	\$125.50

## FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

The rich are lonely.

Whose master are you?

The light casts no shadow.

Every manly act is a revolt.

Liberty is a great disturber.

Authority lives on suspicion.

Liberty does not want to rule you.

Selling your labor is selling your life.

The general strike is not a ballot fraud.

Pity the slave who thinks that he is free.

Work constitutes the only title to wealth.

A man's needs are the measure of his rights.

Liberty smiles even with a rope around her neck.

Your money is not the measure of your manhood.

Bebel cannot escape from the specter of opportunism.

Laws against free speech encourage what they would repress.

The kaiser's cancer is not nearly as bad as Roosevelt's ambition.

Our army has killed three hundred Moros recently. How we love liberty!

The foolishness of Anarchism consists in the fact that it discourages robbery.

Italy's king has lately met England's king. Each looked at the other and realized his own littleness.

An Alton judge says that it is better to steal than to starve. He is more of a man than a judge.

All the water in the Panama canal will not wash off the stain which the administration is getting on its hands.

Chicago policemen are suspected of being in sympathy with the strikers. What a shame! Let them do their duty.

Another transport has arrived from the Philippines loaded with our dead "heroes" packed like mackerel in tiers of boxes.

Cortelyou seems to be that Lord High Everything Else whose antics, responsibilities, and pretensions amuse us so much in the opera, "The Mikado." Well, the State is

always either devilish, contemptible, or a thing to laugh at.

Those who object to the use of police in guarding moving street cars must logically object to all police authority; but they will not.

Two new anti-Anarchy bills have been presented in Congress. The anti-fool bill is waiting for some congressman who is not a fool to present it.

Morgan is said to cherish an ambition to get to heaven. It is reported that he would like to try conclusions with the monopolist who sits on heaven's throne.

Senator Dietrich, of Nebraska, who has been indicted on the charge of selling post-offices, says that his prosecution is based on politics. It may be; but is not Dietrich himself in politics?

The Chicago City Railway is responsible for the strike upon its lines, but because it is based upon special privileges it can evade the consequences, which must ultimately be borne by the public.

Some men are too ambitious to make good Anarchists, but most humans are too lacking in individuality and self-respect to be attracted by the ideals of liberty. A few libertarians move things now.

Gen. Leonard Wood, Roosevelt's favorite little boy, is accused of killing Filipinos, not in battle, but in tens and twenties nevertheless, for the purpose of making himself popular at home. This is strange advertising; will it pay?

The Hudson Bay Company reports that the Indian trappers to whom it gives supplies to be paid for a year later, can be trusted absolutely. What a pity that courts cannot be established among the Indians to compel payment of debts; there would be salaries in it anyway.

The men of the teamsters' union are showing a commendable independence by proposing to act over the heads of their officials if in their judgment a strike sympathetic with the street car men would help the cause. They are thus demonstrating that officialism is not the object of unionism.

A reviewer in the *Public*, J. H. Dillard, misses the whole spirit of Sudermann's "Joy of Living" in a moralistic diatribe upon Beata, the wife in the play, whom he has the conceit to blame and patronize. He should read again the last words of Beata, who declares that she is the only one of all persons involved who has "lived." Is Sudermann too deep for prejudice to fathom?

It will be interesting now, in following up John Turner's case, to observe the attitude of the authorities toward free speech. That the State will tamely permit the conditions which now obtain to continue, whatever



## FREE SOCIETY

the outcome of the Turner case may be, is too preposterous to be believed. The State will fight free speech, and then Anarchists, in common with all *men*, may show what they are made of in defending it.

AMERICUS.

### By the Wayside.

The New York authorities murdered three young boys in cold blood because they had killed a man in the heat of passion. They were poor, of course. In South Carolina the lieutenant governor, Tillman, killed a man on the street on account of a political quarrel, and he was acquitted. He was a rich man, of course. Thus "justice," or "organized vengeance," as Kropotkin correctly calls it, teaches the citizens that they must first steal at least a million before they are entitled to kill their fellow men with impunity.

\* \* \*

Louis Le Saulnier, Red Bud, Ill., invites correspondence as to the most effective method of abolishing all meddlesome laws. That we must yield some of our rights in order to enjoy greater liberty for all is a superstition used by tyrants to fasten their monopoly power, he correctly says in a little leaflet. But he is still in the woods when he proposes an organization for defense against criminals, otherwise he would realize that restraint does not restrain, and that an organization to restrain the "other fellow" would soon become dangerously meddlesome. Natural friction is the most efficient "governor," which at least is not apt to become "invasive."

INTERLOPER.

### The Lesson of Strikes.

Strikes have taken place all over the country, especially during the last year, without accomplishing much to speak of; nay, even making things worse. Take, for instance, the big coal strike in the east last year, when the capitalists were on the point of being compelled to give in; some power or another brought about arbitration, which resulted in a decision against the strikers, and merely smeared a little honey around their mouths by giving a mild reprimand to Mr. Baer and his ilk.

Here in Chicago a big street car strike is going on at present, which bids fair to run thru the same channels as the coal strike, that is, after the strike has been called the leaders have determined to force the Chicago City Railway Co. to accept arbitration after they had dropped several points in their demands.

If these leaders really believe in arbitration, then they should arbitrate before the strike, but there is no ground to arbitrate upon after. They have declared war. Just think of the idea of the United States, after having beaten Spain, submitting the differences to the arbitration court at The Hague! In the Chicago street car strike the leaders could not complain that the public was not with them. The very fact that after two weeks the people still boycott the railway in spite of cold weather and the long distances which they have to walk in order to reach their respective places of business, proves that the real strikers are the public. The public in general it is which prevents the

cars from running, and not the railway employees.

But in spite of these contradictory actions of the leaders, the members of the different unions see clearly that they have to stand together if they are to gain their point, which is the right to organize; and so they did. All the different unions connected with the Chicago City Railway went out in sympathy with the railway employees in spite of their leaders, as in the case of the teamsters, whose leader, Mr. Shea, has trouble to get his men back. He bases his argument on the ground that an agreement was signed not to go on a sympathetic strike. But does not the Employers' Association, and do not the Associated Teaming Interests sympathize with the Chicago City Railway? Why not the employees? And why should they be enslaved by contracts? The rank and file see that there is something wrong with their leaders, altho they do not speak of it. They see that only the possibility of a sympathetic strike scares the employers, which shows plainly that the sympathetic strike is the only strike; but the leaders are too cowardly to stand the consequences.

The workers see that whenever they try to better their conditions everybody outside of the workers is against them, as there are the municipal, State, and national authorities. They will finally come to understand that in order to enjoy the full product of their labor they must stand together, since the capitalists with their henchmen, the police, judges, lawyers, etc., are all against them. What is a good method of combating them? Why, when there is a strike and the municipal authorities send their bluecoats to fight the workers, let all the trades employed by the municipality declare a strike on the municipality. If the State insists on suppressing the workers, let them declare a strike on the State, and if need be on the United States. You will say that this means civil war, revolution. Well, is this not to be preferred to the present conditions? It is statistically proven that more lives are destroyed by these conditions, physically and mentally, than any revolution ever did destroy.

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

### Jay Fox's Proposition.

Jay Fox's "The Propaganda: a Criticism and Suggestion," and the report from the Liberty Group, Chicago, do not strike me favorably.

FREE SOCIETY Group issued a call for voluntary subscriptions and loans so that it might purchase a linotype. Hampered as the group has been by lack of food, clothing, and machinery, it has "cut quite a swath." If in privation and by overwork it could do so well, will it not probably do better with something beside empty hands?

Suppose those who have been lying back in "easy chairs" had been paying the working comrades the "market price," even, for the hours, time and overtime, they have put in, who doubts that they might buy themselves a linotype and continue the good work in their own way? What supervision does the group need? Is it feared it may run off with the machine if it becomes "private property"? By the holy Moses, (if I may be excused for using strong language,)

hasn't the group earned it with unstinted sweat?

Welcome the time when the "easy chair" comrades get into action. Yes, establish a literary bureau, furnish news, printable matter; lecture, agitate; live a free life or a piece of one, but supervise nobody! Everyone who wishes can express opinions, make suggestions, etc., get hold of the "movement" and push. But when the FREE SOCIETY Group has made an effort toward procuring a linotype that promises to be successful, I cannot see why it should be taken out of the group's control or supervised by any other person or group of persons. Anyone who does not consider the group trustworthy is not going to "put up."

There is no reason that I know of except economic conditions that should prevent the enlargement of FREE SOCIETY Group to any desired extent. It is on the ground and in communication with all persons interested enough to write, so must have a better chance to "feel the pulse" of the movement than any supervising group. Supervision of the character proposed has no place in my ideal of a free society. VIROQUA DANIELS.

Tacoma, Wash., 1927 South E St.

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### "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 in 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.

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### New York, Attention!

The new group of New York, the Radical Club, has arranged a theater performance for the benefit of REEF SOCIETY, which will take place on Thursday, Feb. 4, 1904, 8 p. m., in Thalia theater, 46 Bowery. The well known and attractive play, the Jewish Sappho, will be performed by Mrs. Calsh and the other best actors of the house. Comrade Emma Goldman will speak between the acts on "The English Propaganda."

Tickets can be got from the following: Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. M. Maisel's bookstore, 194 E. Broadway. Herrick Bros., 141 Division St. Parnes & Katz Café, 167 E. Broadway. H. Nack's Barbershop, 79 Clinton St. The Manhattan Café, 90 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

All comrades are cordially invited to aid the club by selling tickets. H. COMAROW.

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### For New York.

December 3 a large meeting to protest against Turner's deportation will take place in Cooper Union, at 8 p. m. J. De Witt Warner, Ernest Crosby and others will speak.



### The Little Chair.

When Paul Dombey asked his father what money was, he came very near the subject of that gentleman's thoughts; and Mr. Dombey would have liked to give an explanation involving the terms circulating medium, currency, depreciation of currency, paper, bullion, rates of exchange, value of precious metals in the market, and so forth; but looking down at the little chair, and seeing what a long way down it was,—"Mr. Dombey was in a difficulty." Mr. Dombey's difficulty is familiar to every "tiresome and arrogant teacher"—like me. Of course he is not a good teacher if he cannot get out of it; but he may confess imperfection and not be ashamed, especially if he has learned all human history. Because that is quite a lot to learn, before adapting to the digestion of the little chair. I felt that Comrade Byington's "important and unlikely statement" of mine was a critique from the little chair; but, since he would not believe without proof, I promised to give him physical evidence, when I should know what the statement was. Thru someone's sending me a copy of *Liberty*, I now know. The statement was that taboo is an invention of the priests. The physical evidence consists in these facts (1) that taboo is not a matter of mere popular superstition, but of law. (2) It is an elaborate system of jurisprudence. (3) This system was certainly not invented by kings, whom it in a great measure subjects to the priests. (4) Except kings, the primitive legislators are priests; and taboo is a primitive institution. (5) Priests will also undergo a good deal of inconvenience in order to get the upper hand of kings. These proofs are not expected to satisfy Byington, tho they may some others. When Byington resents anything's being said against priests, we know what is the matter.

However, he arraigns this whole method of reasoning. He says, as if that settled it, that Sherlock Holmes could think of all possible explanations for the given facts, and if only one of them would fit the further observed facts, then that one was the truth. If Sherlock Holmes said so, he was not only wrong but inconsistent in saying he could think of all possible explanations for the given facts; else why should he not be satisfied with the only one (a very common case) which fitted them all? His reference to further observation shows that this boast, however foolish, was a mere slip of the tongue, on which he did not act. But tho others besides Byington have charged me with this slip, I defy proof that I ever committed it. It is because they are themselves accustomed to nothing but dogmatism that such critics charge me with dogmatizing when I express opinions founded on what comes far short of mathematical demonstration. It is the little chair which speaks again. Pupils in the second grade are expected to know that the inductive reasoner always holds his views subject to correction by "further observed facts."

It is true I often forget historical details. But I remember enough to know that Winthrop's accusing the Anabaptists of Anarchism is about as good evidence as Wakeman's calling Robespierre an Anarchist. Also, that medical men in the middle of the nineteenth

century did not in general deny the existence of "hypnotic phenomena by whatever name called." No one later than Franklin and Mesmer could well do that. What the medical profession did, previous to Braid in 1841, was to regard these phenomena as of little importance, because too obscure and mixed up with fraud for practical utility. And, as professors of a practical art, they were probably, for that very reason, right. And now it's bothered I am with the question, do I believe on too little evidence (origin of marriage) or require too much (consensus of scientists on the Malthusian demonstration that lust must be restrained, needs more to upset it than the inconvenience of Priapus)? My impression is this depends on whether what I believe or doubt suits my critic of the little chair. It cannot depend on whether the doctrine in dispute suits me. For there is scarcely one of my published opinions which I did not arrive at very slowly, in spite of strong early prejudices. Nor did I ever swing round suddenly from believing what my mother told me to swallowing everything which called itself new. Messrs. Angell, S. D., Schellhaus, and others too numerous to shake a stick at, witness that. Comrade Byington, indeed, thinks literary effect has a strong pull on my sympathies. Doubtless. That must be why I believe in the inspiring doctrines of *laissez faire*, in late marriages, in letting Fourieristic experiments severely alone, in the absolute superstitions of God and immortality. A man of less imagination would have waded thru the ponderous study of Statistics to conviction that forty or fifty callow theorists can start a free love community in a Whitecapping agricultural State, convert the world by their success, set up a government which will know every man's business better than himself, double each twenty-five years without overstocking the planet, and produce a professor who will show how unconscious atoms evolve mind by knocking their heads together!

Comrade Byington wants examples of organizations formed for exclusively "non-invasive" defense, which became "invasive." Come now, that's too much even from the little chair! You must be playing dunce. Bad boy! Did you ever hear 'em read the Declaration of Independence? Ever compare it with "benevolent assimilation"? Ever know of a government which did not set up for a terror to evil doers and the praise of them which do well? Is there any other theory of government than that it is instituted to protect men in their equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Notwithstanding a form of disclaimer in the last paragraph, the little chair's critique is evidently framed on the principle of saying everything against my "Vindication of Anarchism" which can be said; and it is, so far, a very satisfactory performance. Perhaps my penological argument for Anarchism is not totally demolished by the possibility that Jesse Pomeroy's words may have had other motives besides his obvious desire to escape the lamp post.

Comrade Byington's criticism on my astronomy is funny. He confounds the earth's center of gravity with that common to the earth and a body so situated as to push the earth.

My soul, it seems, is consumed with novel-esque desire to find a plot in everything. Among these discoveries of Titus Oates, the Movement in Favor of Ignorance is well known for my *bete noire*. If I have not found a mare's nest there, who will believe that I have anywhere? Now, if Comrade Byington will read again my section on the Movement in Favor of Ignorance, he will observe that I have been careful to disclaim regarding it as a conscious conspiracy. If I dilated on the truth that unhallowed sympathies have natural affinities, producing all the mischievous effect of conscious conspiracy, why not say I chose that aspect which "lent itself most readily to sensational treatment" because that was the way to excite feeling against them; a purpose I in no manner denied, and which (after exposing their unreasonableness) was quite legitimate? One phase of this Movement, he knows, I cannot discuss, else I should dispute his facts.

Neither I nor others, it seems, can write about my work without personality. The insinuation falls in happily with the recent statement of a sixty-cent dinner Anarchist, that I am not an honest man. No one has been ridiculous enough to accuse me of being dishonest for sixty-cent or more expensive dinners. Fame must be the idol to which I have sacrificed time, labor, a moderate estate, friendship, neighborhood, health, and truth! Well, I have at any rate reached the point where fame should appear just about as valuable as it really is,—

quella parte  
Di mia eta, dove ciascun dovrebbe  
Calar le velle, e raccogliere le sarte.

Will Comrade Byington take the word of a dying man that my conscience entirely acquits me? Intent on being useful, I have been too indifferent to fame. Not till I began writing the history to which all my publications are *parerga*, did I realize that I must give more attention to style if I wanted readers; and that "the bubble reputation" was worth blowing, because, tho only soap and and water, it does actually catch flies. This is why and the only why I try to write elegantly, and condescend to insist on making it understood that the private study I much prefer has taught me something.

It is a pity, says Comrade Byington, I should have a monopoly of penology among Anarchists. I have none. The Anarchist, Kropotkin, was among my chief acknowledged authorities. But it is a pity, and I ought to dwell on its being a pity, that many radicals, some of whom profess Anarchism, do not go to first-hand first-class sources, for that and many other things, instead of being satisfied with the Cheap Johns of philosophy, who sell them revamped clothes of Epicurus, Hippocrates, and others, great in their day but entirely behind the times. I entreat such readers not to think that an unpopular opinion must necessarily be either right or new. "Truth, whether in or out of fashion, is the only measure of assent"; and Truth is not, as Error, addicted to walking the streets, but must be sought after like hid treasures. "Keep her; let her not go; she is thy life." Since I began writing "extensively," and enlarging upon things like these, I have, indeed, remarked,



which I had not before, that those who wrote about my work were personal. Why should they be so? Has envy anything to do with it, perhaps?

"Let Envy howl; while heaven's whole chorus sings,  
And bark at honor not conferred by kings!"

Comrade Byington is a theologian. Therefore, he knows what envy at another's spiritual good is; and I am unlikely to attract a different kind. The most amiable of Protestant reformers had two consolations in his death—that he would see the Lord, and that he would get rid of the theologians. I hope, in mine, to find those who have carried their crosses to the end. I am sure to get rid of those whom sixty-cent dinners or something else have made so frisky that they must needs lay their burdens about each other's heads. I hope they will not go the other way; but at any rate we shall be done with fighting among ourselves. And for the rest, I have reason to be satisfied. "In the evening there is light." My end has not come suddenly or unexpected. It shows no signs of coming in the gloom of senility. My "Vindication of Anarchism" is my most elaborate work, except, of course, the history, from which it is a highly condensed fluid extract. I never closed an installment of it without being perfectly aware that I might very likely have written my last words; and tho' bound to say all I could—

Ma gia volgeva il mio disiro, e' l velle,  
Si come ruota che ignalmente e' mossa,  
L'amor che muove 'l Sole e l'altre stelle.

C. L. JAMES.

— o —  
**Our Martyrs.**

As the anniversary of the death of the martyrs of 1887 again passes by, I feel I must once more add my testimony to that of the many others who date their alliance with the cause of freedom from that hour.

Could those brave men who were strangled by law on Nov. 11, 1887, look now upon the earth they would see that changes have taken place in the industrial world. On the one hand, the ever-growing unrest, breaking out in strikes, are events of such frequent occurrence, as to make a part of the daily chronicle of the press.

Some of them are ended by mutual concessions, others by some small "sop to Cereberus" thrown with due discrimination, and still others by intimidation on the part of plutocracy thru its hireling militia; each and all showing both the ignorance and fear of the toiling slaves—ignorance of their rights and fear of their masters.

On the other hand, money kings are seeking to increase their power by enacting more stringent laws for the protection of property—laws to increase the army and navy, laws to perpetuate and foster the present injustice and tyranny.

So many and so subtle are the ways of the promoters of politics, that even keen and active minds are lulled into a false sense of security by their actions.

One of the deceptive movements that helps to hold in thrall the unthinking masses is the Church. Much has been said by our radical friends, but it cannot be repeated too often, that the Church is a menace to freedom. Their great organizations, their methods of extorting money, their high-

salariated officials and costly cathedrals are evidences of their power. The Church allies itself with the government, winking at legislative and executive wrongs, and accepting as emolument a rebate of taxes on its rich holdings.

Only a few days ago, at a conclave of bishops and other dignitaries of the Methodist Church held in this city, one of the speakers said, "I thank God that the Methodist Church is a political power," and added that while they did not put politics into their religion, they did put religion into their politics.

In pleading for money for Church extension work one said, "No man was ever converted while he had cold feet," thus emphasizing what radicals assert, that it is in the warm and sensuous atmosphere of the Church, where beauty in sight and sound is used as an opiate upon the brains of deluded people, that they subscribe to worn-out creeds and worship in blindness an imaginary deity.

In spite of the numerous facts that may be cited as operative against the cause of liberty, there is much to encourage the faithful who are striving for better conditions. So rapid is the dissemination of knowledge, that the "powers that be" have taken steps to prevent the circulation of radical literature, and are now repeating the outrages against free speech, as witness the recent arrest of Comrade John Turner. These evidences of governmental tyranny, tho' annoying and insulting, do a great deal towards aiding the work of propaganda.

Fair-minded people read of the assaults and inquire as to causes; and many times this has been the means of first introduction to Anarchist literature.

It would be interesting to learn how many thousands were drawn to investigation by the rank injustice perpetrated by the authorities in the case of the Chicago martyrs.

It is ever thus: tyranny and oppression defeat themselves by awakening their witnesses to a sense of disgust and horror, and leading them to think of their chains and plan for release.

"But slaves that once conceive the glowing thought  
Of freedom, in that hope itself possess  
All that the contest calls for—spirit, strength,  
The scorn of danger, and united hearts,  
The surest presage of the good they seek."

Kansas City, Mo. MYRA PEPPER.

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**For St. Louis.**

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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.

**Letter from South Africa.**

You ask for tidings regarding Cape Colony, and I am glad to be able to say that things look more hopeful for the spread of advanced ideas than they ever have during my twenty-four years acquaintance with the country. This, it is true, is not saying a great deal, for most assuredly this is a backward part of the world in all respects, and more particularly so in the matter of ideas. The late war, however, is responsible for having produced a rough awakening and shaken the very foundations of the old order of things. In the first place it has advertised South Africa, and thereby attracted new blood to the country; and secondly it has forced people to reflect both upon the results of the war and also upon the real causes thereof. These reflections, coupled with a nauseating experience of the arrogance and incapacity so glaringly exhibited by the imperial military administration, which so long had sole charge of us, have in no way contributed to foster "loyalty" or respect for authority.

Hitherto, also, class consciousness and consequently the class war have had no place in the people's minds, owing to its being entirely absorbed in race and color antipathies and jealousies—black against white and English against Dutch; at last however it seems as tho a considerable section of the white workers were beginning to take a wider view of things, and to recognize that, after all, it is our master who is our enemy.

An immense amount of money was expended or rather squandered by the gentry who conducted the war, and this windfall has till now prevented the inhabitants of the towns from suffering so much from the effects of military operations as they would have done; but now the pinch is beginning to be felt; the coin has slipped away; and the goose that laid the golden egg has ceased doing so; strict economy has taken the place of reckless extravagance; hence growing dissatisfaction among all classes. This is as it should be; many persons cannot believe that hunger exists so long as they themselves have dined well, nor that our social system can be based on injustice so long as they individually are not hard pushed.

At the present time there are all the signs of a serious slump impending, and, to make matters worse, all parts of South Africa with the exception of the extreme southern coastline of Cape Colony, are suffering from an almost unprecedented drought. Certain it is that the old-fashioned times of easy-going work, good wages, and but little competition have departed to return no more. Altho Cape Colony is an old settlement in point of time, dating to the latter part of the seventeenth century, yet it has hitherto had more of the character of a new country than the Australian colonies, which are of far more recent date. Its very backwardness has in the past made the conditions of life easier, but the echoes of that past only make the constantly tightening pressure more exasperating to those who look back regretfully. Well will it be for them to realize that an old country can be restored to youthful joy and vigor by nothing short of the social and libertarian revolution.

HENRY GLASSE.

Port Elizabeth, South Africa.



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