



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 443.

Anarchy.

Doth the nature of freedom change because it answers
to another name?
Doth independence become thralldom because its garb
is homespun and out of style?
Doth the red heart of Liberty turn black because we
call it Anarchy?

With brushes long lain in blackened lies
Injustice paints Anarchy satanic as hell.
Rulership taints it fearful, terrible,
To save its malevolent continuance.
But frenzied disorder it is not,
Nor riotous rage and wretched rancor,
Pricked like maddened bulls into blind exasperation
By javelins of fancied wrongs.
Nor wild-eyed, wild-haired, wild-acting,
Running amuck with weapons deadly,
Hands reckless and reeking with human blood

Grim-visaged chaos Anarchy is not,
But with tranquil grace and confident firmness
It walks the paths of the garden of reason.
Restful and radiant as a leisure season.
And the people, simple, unthoughtful, welcome and
love it,
Tho, alas! by that name they know it not.

Nor with air-splitting thunders of war doth it come,
Nor with clashing blades and martial trappings doth
it come.

With menacing mien and hands unclean it comes not,
Nor do harm and hate and havoc herald its approach.
Hence the people undiscerning do not know it.

With scowling face and heavy hands protesting
Authority anathematizes and the people are awed.
But parricide, fratricide, regicide Anarchy is not;
Nor is it thuggery, murder, massacre, assassination.
Like a morning in summer it comes;
Like the filling of the moon it comes—
Out of the darkness it comes, noiseless and calm.

With hardened face, clutching its jingling pockets,
Business blares against it with lungs of brass.
But silent, soft-footed stealing Anarchy is not;
Nor pillaging, plundering, pirating, pecarooning;
Nor robbery wearing the mask of commerce.
With the prodigal aids of freedom,
With the hope and the heart of justice,
With the lighted lamp of knowledge,
The seeds of concord sowing
The needs of kindness knowing,
The needs of mailing showing, it comes.
But over the barricades of the will it comes not;
Nor does it come until the fruit is ripe for plucking.

As tho from out the womb of the East
Came the sun, golden-haired god of the day,
And, feeling the while the warmth of his genial smile,
His breath of beatitude blowing upon you,
Your clammy flesh crawled creepily like a wounded
lizard,

And with tongueless horror ye stared in awe,
Believing the cohorts of hell with its heat were coming,
You and yours to annihilate,
So, with eyes a-filmed with folly, Ignorance stands
aghast,
Gazing upon the fair face of Anarchy.

The Anarch's coming fear ye not,
For what ye grow and glean he comes to safe-guard.
From the claws of beady-eyed usury he releases you;

From your limbs he strikes the shackles of the lords of
the land;
He frees you from the gnawing bonds of torting
business;
He undoes the swaddling of insolent restraint;
From those sickly superstitions that hang about your
neck like dead snakes he emancipate you;
And he loosens from your potency the grip of vacant-
eyed idleness.
He makes you glad,
He makes you rich,
He makes you royal,
And, as a means of sundering his own bonds,
The zenith of his hope is to make you free!

Archy robs you while ye sleep!
From numbing slumbers rouse ye, comrades!

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

Love and Progress.

THIRD PAPER.

As the conditions of human life are normally social conditions, the place of love as a social factor, or a factor affecting social existence, is a matter of the greatest importance; and theories of love and its place in life must finally stand or fall as it is determined whether they are in harmony with the spirit of society or not. We have been considering man as an individual, principally, and have discussed love as a factor in his life without regard to social life; that is, directly. Love is primarily a social fact, and it should be borne in mind that, while the satisfactions of love have been considered in these papers in a category along with other satisfactions, physical, emotional, and intellectual, it and its satisfactions depend upon *mutual feelings existing between individuals of opposite sexes*. This makes love stand in a class of pleasures by itself, in one sense. Let us so consider it then.

When one eats a variety of foods, reads a variety of books, makes a variety of utensils, takes a variety of exercises, or experiences varied emotions, one is developing the faculties suggested by these different things, and the normal result is pleasurable; so it would be if variety prevailed generally in love relations; only, when variety in love relations prevails, a mutual power operates, insuring a development of the individual in respect to all his powers and capacities in a much larger degree than could result from the development of any other faculty, function, or power which the individual possesses. Love is a social emotion when it exists in a normal degree, and therein lies its vast importance and value. It has been made necessary for us to clear away the false conceptions of

it which are so prevalent; it has been made necessary for us to class love with other things, its satisfactions with other satisfactions. The ground cleared, we are then ready to realize its true importance, which is, that in uniting individuals it unites their interests, brings them into sympathetic and harmonious relations, encourages the cultivation of their individualities, makes them sensitive at once to beauty, and wisdom, and thru its harmonizing influence in general tends to give color to and determine the whole course of life. It is the keynote, so to speak, upon which the music of existence is based, a subtle influence drawing the world together in indestructible bonds of fraternity.

In varietistic love, under conditions of progress, men and women would be drawn together by inclinations of all kinds, each lover seeking the varied effects of varied character as they could alone be got thru the establishment of the most intimate relations. One woman would love a variety of men: say a quiet, sympathetic man, a bold and vigorous man, a man whose passion was music, and finally a man who was especially studious. All these men in their turns would love several women who each again would be loved by several men, and so on. There would exist a condition in which, thanks to the refining influence of the very *volume* or quantity of love, jealousy, which is a disease of love, would disappear with all its attendant train of spites, coward fears, and morbid views of life. The varietistic lover would see that love drew its sweetness from the fact that it was *love*, and not at all from the fact that it was monopolized, or rather that attempts on the part of individuals had been made to monopolize it. That which is plentiful, that which increases as it is encouraged, that which in its plentitude and freedom is but the normal expression of a developed life, is the sweeter as it is participated in by one's fellow beings; love is such a thing; normally enjoyed it is expansive, plenteous, and ennobling. Its integrity depends upon its variety; its vitality depends upon the number of things which excite it. To exist in its fulness love must escape the sameness of conditions which makes for commonplaceness, such to be replaced by variety of conditions, and the jaded emotions which now to so large an extent have but one object will be refreshed, invigorated, and endowed with a new and mighty thrill. Varietistic love will eliminate prostitution. When the needs of a normal life, including

sexual needs, may be satisfied outside the processes of buying and selling, the buying and selling of love's poor substitutes will no longer at once prove man's need of varied love and the depths of vileness into which he can sink in his blind search for it. Man is not a monogamic animal, that is certain from his habits; varied love relations under normal conditions are what he requires. Prostitution eliminated, that tendency now so marked, of the physical side of love to dominate, will pass with it, and love relations take on a more general and balanced character, in which physical, intellectual and emotional satisfactions will be equally sought. The whole view of love will enlarge and dignify in the passing away of grossness.

The family, that is isolated groups consisting of one man, one woman, and their offspring, will be eliminated under varietism. Progress having obtained in other respects, and woman no longer being economically dependent, thanks to her rebellion in the sexual sphere as in other spheres, that form of sexual ownership for which the family stands, will go. A man with varied loves, a woman with varied loves, will not seek to monopolize the sources of the love which they enjoy, will not seek to isolate "companions" and guard them against "intruders" like pieces of property. Loved and loving, men and women will experience in various intimacies a charm, a delight which nothing else can give; a charm, a delight which escapes the terrible penalty of being anti-social; a penalty which monogamic love must pay, a penalty which anti-social instincts in general pay, the penalty of encouraging hatred, suspicion, war, and exploitation, the penalty of sustaining the diseased conditions which at present prevail in society.

Varietism stands for a balance in all the interests of life; varietism stands for the adequate development of the individual and of society; varietism stands for extended expression of love as well as of other powers and faculties; varietism stands for the uplifting of the world thru love; varietism stands for the introduction of influences into the world which will draw all men together in a harmony whose life is liberty. Varietism is the only social form of sex relationships.

In a final article the transition from monogamic relations to varietistic ones, with the difficulties which present themselves, will be considered.

W. F. BARNARD.

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Why Not?

Why not have a universal strike, and put an end to this struggle for justice? If all the laboring men and women should strike today, and declare that they would never do another stroke of work except for the full product of their labor, what power could make them continue to work, that others might receive the major part of that product? What could prevent them from obtaining the full product of their past as well as their future labor? In fact, would this not be the best way to secure justice?

I cannot for the life of me understand why so much prejudice against a universal strike exists in the laboring class. I can readily see why the members of the robber class are

bitterly opposed, and doing all in their power to prejudice those whose life-blood they are lapping against any and all moves to put an end to their blood-sucking methods, and compel them to live by the sweat of their own brows, and not by the sweat of some other fellow's brow. There is nothing they will not do, in order to deceive the workers, for the purpose of keeping up this infamous system. Since nothing but fakery can ever for one moment bolster up such an evil system, they are compelled to keep this phantom constantly before the workers, while they throw dust into the eyes of those whose life-blood they have been sapping thru all ages, leaving to their victims (the toilers) all the misery that poverty and ignorance could bring.

The time has come that we in the world of labor should reason together. Clearly beholding the truth, and shaking off the hypnotic influence of the blood-suckers, let us brush away the cobwebs left by ages of fakery, and pause one moment from our senseless toil of supporting these bloodsuckers in their robbery of us. Not only are we giving all of our toil, but with loud cries of applause we have supported and bolstered up this system that would otherwise have fallen ages ago. This we have done with all our powers of mind and body, repeating apeline their empty formulas, in the belief that this was our duty and their right; but at last many of us are beginning to think for ourselves. The time has come when every toiler should awaken from that long sleep that has bound our class in chains and darkest thralldom, and behold in the sunlight of truth the preparations that are being made to fasten forever upon us and our children the blighting curse of want and ignorance. Let us resolve unceasing vigilance in the task of ushering in the age of justice to all mankind. It is simple justice that all should have what they produce, and that no one should take from another one jot or one tittle of the product of his labor. This is the justice for which those who have been robbed must strike, until it is established never to be overthrown. We have never been able to see that if a man is smart enough to get the whole earth, it is his, and nothing can lawfully take it from him, and that the remainder of the human race must toil as his slaves. This would be possible enough under the law; but would it be justice?

Let us consider it for one moment. First, what right has anybody to any of the earth? Did anybody create the earth, or the rain or sunshine, or anything else that gives the earth its value? If not, then tell me by what right any person or class of persons can own the earth or any part of the earth? It is not the earth we toilers want, but the product of our toil. This is ours by every law of justice; and no other has the right to claim it except by our consent. If in ignorance we have parted with that right to others, in wisdom we will take it again from them. The earth has no value save that given to it by labor. Hence the earth value is the product of labor alone; and the claim of the right of one man or a few men to own and control it is false. The wealth of the earth, being the product of labor, belongs to labor alone. Then why should not labor strike and claim its own? No longer should the

children of labor toil that others may reap. When all live by the product of their own labor, hunger will cease; ignorance, the father of crime, will be banished from the land; and all will rest in the shadow of plenty, and be rocked in the cradle of peace.

But you say it cannot be done, and immediately begin to repeat the many false arguments given to us by the fakers of all ages. Let us no longer be enslaved by these sophistries, but hasten to drive them forever from our minds, and rise to the light of the truth that it cannot and shall not be done; that we, the toilers, will no longer shrink into this darkness that is crushing all manhood into a machine to produce wealth for others to enjoy and to squander, while we and ours have naught save fear lest we starve.

I hear you say that every effort of the human race in the past to free itself from thralldom has been a failure. If this be true, why is it so? Is it not because the toilers have not been united? It is not that the toilers are weakest; for if their minds were free and they were united, they could free themselves. It is simply that we have been schooled to believe the old falsehood that others have a right to ride on our backs, because they were smarter than we, or at least have made us believe that they were smarter. In our belief in this fakery, we have crawled in the very dust of humiliation at the feet of the fakers, and bowed in slavery at the throne of Mammon, and submitted in silence to all the fakery imposed on us. Why? Simply because we were taught it was truth that we were created for no other purpose than to worship the powers that made us that others might ride and guide us to death.

It is even said to the toiler: "You are not capable of attending to your affairs, or of using properly the wealth which you have produced. Your children should not be educated or wear good clothes. These things are for us and our children. We are created for the purpose of using in idleness and squandering in luxury that which you produce. God created you to slave, that we might enjoy in idleness the fruits of your labor. Talk of you toilers being able to govern yourselves. How preposterous! Why, you have always had us as your rulers; and you could never rule yourselves. You may choose someone from our ranks to represent you or misrepresent you, but never one of your own number. You are not even capable of knowing the difference between right and wrong. You must support someone to tell you the way to heaven. You are not intelligent enough to understand these things. You must live and die in your ignorance, supporting us to do these things for you, and to squander the wealth you produce, while you shiver on the brink of damnation."

Ah, my fellow toilers, do you not see the trickery of all this? The pity of it is that we have believed and supported these infamous fiends, and in sorrow, pain, and want toiled our lives away to support these falsehoods, in the face of the fact that we have always done everything not only for ourselves, but for all others.

One of the worst humbugs is the army, navy, and militia combine, taken from the very hearthstone of the toiler, supported by the toiler, for no other use on earth but to

shoot the toiler; and this institution, conducted under the blackest cloud of fakery that ever darkened the human mind, is actually considered by many of the toilers as a necessity; and it seems that no amount of reason can awaken them from their hypnotic condition. They will even allow these serpents to come into their homes and schools, to take boys that are mere children into the custody of men called officers, whose lives are so vile that nothing low and degrading ever escapes them; and mothers will actually sign away all claim to their boys, submitting them absolutely to these institutions of every crime of which the human race is capable, believing and repeating the glaring falsehood that it is good discipline for the boys. How long will this serpent continue to sting the hearts of the mothers, causing them to bring forth their sons in sorrow, and surrender them to this machine of crime and murder, in order that these bloodsuckers may continue their hellish system?

Another false alarm is the idea that a universal strike must necessarily bring great suffering and bloodshed. This scarecrow is one of the thinnest and weakest of all the phantoms conjured up by the fakers. Why, already I see a smile on the face of the thoughtful, as they view the situation since the beginning of strikes, and compare the bloodshed caused by strikes to that brought about by war, the tool of the bloodsuckers, which they have never for one moment hesitated to exercise, to excite the laborers to their own destruction, while the parasites always take good care to keep far enough away to avoid all risk of harm to themselves, and to see to it that all the trophies of the fiendish and bloodcurdling contests of labor against labor should come to them, and not to the toilers. Compare this with a universal strike, in which all labor should unite, and declare the army, navy, and militia disbanded, all arms stacked and uniforms put aside, all newspapers used for the circulation of truth and truth only, all bonds, warrants, mortgages, notes, deeds, etc., repudiated, all the wealth of the land appropriated to the wealth of all the people, to be used by them according to their needs, all courts and legislatures annulled and the people left free to decide for themselves what rules and regulations shall direct their actions to one another.

Fellow toilers, why fear the universal strike? Consider our condition today, and the appalling rapidity with which it is growing worse; thousands and hundreds of thousands of our women and children toiling early and late for a mere existence, and thousands of our strong men made tramps and outcasts, wandering up and down the face of the earth with no place to rest their weary feet. Surely we need fear no effort to wipe out of existence the present conditions. Let us be as wise as serpents but as fearless as the lion in the part we must play in ushering in the new society; and remember that in every upward step we have all to gain and nothing to lose, save our chains and miseries. When we all absolutely refuse to work longer for the oppressors, and declare the foregoing conditions the only ones under which we will ever work again, then, and not till then, can we be freed from our present slavery.

All freedom has been gained only by a struggle; and the universal strike will be the most peaceful manner of bringing the present struggle to an end. Then let all toilers, whether of brain or of muscle, unite for the final conflict that shall set us forever free. Listen no longer to the voice of the faker; but arise from thy slumber, O toiler, and awake to the dawn of a new day in which all shall be equals, and all mankind shall go forth in the sunlight of truth to a civilization in which all shall rejoice and be glad. *Why not?* LUCILE A. MINT.

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Are We Consistent?

In regard to Turner's case I wish to say that, in my opinion, those Anarchists who participate in legal proceedings against the anti-Anarchist law are violating the very principle for which they have suffered so long, and in upholding which so many lives have been sacrificed. An Anarchist, as I understand, is one who opposes government and its laws, maintaining that government is violence and law a mere farce. If I am right—and I challenge anyone to prove the contrary—then I ask, on what ground do Anarchists take up a legal fight against the anti-Anarchist law? We all know that government spells injustice, and that it only can maintain itself as it succeeds in deceiving the people, by instilling in their minds the idea that its activities rest on justice; consequently so long as we do not succeed in showing the people that government is violence, it will exist, receiving the moral support of the public; and for us to expect justice from government is absurd.

Admitting even that in Turner's case it will be clearly shown by *clever lawyers* that the constitutional right of free speech has been violated, and that, as a consequence, the anti-Anarchist law is repealed, what will be the result? Shall we then have the right of free speech? Was the constitution never violated before the enactment of the anti-Anarchist law? Those comrades who have been in jail for exercising the right of free speech can answer that question: Or are we suing the government for breach of promise? Where is our consistency; where is the logic of our position? We are cutting the ground from under our feet. Instead of using a shameful act of government as a means of propaganda among the people, who in their ignorance support government, we are busy collecting money to engage lawyers—so-called *good lawyers*—and turn our eyes to the Supreme Court, hoping that good results will follow.

But thereby we are only confusing the minds of the people as to Anarchism and its principles. The government may, at any time, should it feel the necessity of strengthening its position, resort to the same means that it has already employed in order to arouse public sentiment against us. It need simply accuse Anarchists of a crime they never committed; and with the aid of spies and detectives "prove" them guilty in the very courts where the comrades are now soiling their feet; and a number of innocent men will fall victims, as was the case in 1886 at the Haymarket.

No; there is only one method of combating government; and that is to free the minds

of the people from the delusion of government and law. To do this effectively, we must ignore government and fearlessly proclaim the truth regarding its tyranny; expose its hypocrisy, and the corruption of lawyers, judges, and other officials. I know that it is hard to act thus, and that we will suffer; but this method is destructive to government. It takes away the moral support on which government rests; it also takes away the possibility of the governors injuring Anarchists without injuring themselves. The anti-Anarchist law was not enacted because someone spoke the truth, calling government by its right name, but because a man killed McKinley. He was proclaimed an Anarchist, hence the anti-Anarchist law.

Therefore I would suggest that if we cannot do our work outside of the courts, if we are not ready to suffer for the great cause of freedom—and the road to freedom is the road of suffering: it can never be achieved unless lives are sacrificed at its altar—then, for truth's sake, let us deliberate and see where our actions will lead us to. It is better to admit our weakness than to undo what other Anarchists have accomplished at the price of their lives. B. SACHATOFF.

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From Many Lands.

In Louisville, Colo., the coal miners repudiated the agreement made between their leaders and the mine owners, and decided to continue the strike until their demands were conceded. Bravo!

According to the *Daily News*, of Paris, "Tolstoy has been notified by the Russian authorities that he is prohibited from living in Moscow, which was hitherto his winter residence. The Russian papers have been forbidden by the censorship to allude to this order."

PARIS.—The policemen who were wounded in a street fight recently, have been rewarded with gold and silver medals, while many of the workers who resisted the police assault and acted in self-defense have been sent to prison.

SWITZERLAND.—Bourtseff and Krakoff, two Russian Anarchists and editors of the Russian periodical *Bread and Freedom*, have been arrested in Geneva on the order of the confederated government, which, according to the advocates of the initiative and referendum, is "the most democratic government on the globe." But to the unprejudiced observer it is obvious that the "servants" of the Swiss people are doing police service for the European monarchies, thus proving the contention of the Anarchists, that governments are essentially the same, no matter under what name they sail.

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For New York.

The Radial Club holds public meetings every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., in Etris Hall, 198 W. 23rd St. Lectures and free discussion on political and social questions. Dec. 9 A. Pleydell speaks on "Opportunism."

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Aurora Hall, in which FREE SOCIETY ball takes place, is one of the largest on the north side, and has recently been renovated.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 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.



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For Chicago.

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

Dec. 6—"Government an Evil."

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

Dec. 20—"Work or Drudgery?"

Dec. 27—"The Folly of Punishment."

Jan. 3—"Woman in Freedom"

Jan. 10—"Social Palliatives."

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About the Linotype.

At the time of this report, Monday, Nov. 30, the linotype feud stands thus:

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$125.50
I. Aronberg, New York.....	3.00
D. Kaplan, New York.....	3.00
Total,	\$131.50

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Amity is peace.

* * *

Laws are falsehoods.

* * *

The State is crime crowned.

* * *

Liberty never shows humility.

* * *

Voting is one of the bad habits.

* * *

Privilege and justice cannot coexist.

* * *

Religion is a drunkenness of the soul.

* * *

Revision of tariff is revision of stealing.

* * *

Economics is the science of deprivation.

* * *

Municipal ownership is municipal robbery.

* * *

The man at the top stands on the heads of those below.

* * *

"Justice" is at work legally covering up the Kishineff affair.

* * *

Charity gives the makers of the feast the bones which are left.

* * *

Cleveland has refused the presidency. Has he got something better?

* * *

Bryan and Chamberlain have dined together. What comes next!

* * *

Manhood tests progress by the degree of general well-being which it gives.

* * *

Voters have a faith which would move mountains if they could be moved.

* * *

Those who are dazzled by the wealth of others cannot see their own misery.

* * *

Value is a fictitious quantity; it exists only in the unnecessary scarcity of wealth.

* * *

Anarchism would leave room for no policemen. Policemen hate Anarchism therefore.

* * *

Congressman Warner opposes the anti-Anarchist law. How did he break into Congress?

* * *

The political Socialist is trying to turn the poison of government into the food of social well-being.

* * *

The Chicago bandits who are now in custody should not be too proud of their distinction; they haven't stolen millions.

* * *

"Hanna and Roosevelt, or A Scramble for Office," would make a good title for a new book which would certainly not be popular.

* * *

What new sensation will the Chicago police create to divert attention from the charges which have been pressed against

them? Is the Anarchist scare played out?

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The murders committed by a Van Dine and a Marx serve very well to hide the crimes of a coal trust; and newspapers are free to gush over them.

* * *

The Single Tax is a scheme whereby land values would be determined by the amount of "graft" which officialdom could extract in the name of rent.

* * *

A Chicago alderman has been convicted of vote buying. If he wishes to keep out of prison he must take his case up higher and go to the expense of some judge buying.

* * *

The Catholic Church is losing ground in this country. When "God Almighty" is deserted by his slaves it is to be hoped that God State will eventually have a similar experience.

* * *

One hundred Filipino boys are on their way to this country, to be educated by the United States government. Their education will have for its object to make them willing tools of American oppression in their own country.

* * *

"Justice" has taken another step in Cripple Creek, miners on strike and without money being arrested as vagrants by the minions of law and order. How thoroly and consistently authority fulfils the "will of the people."

* * *

The press is circulating a report that governments thruout the world are organizing an international corps of detectives to guard crowned heads in their comings and goings. What evil have rulers done that they should be so afraid?

* * *

The Washington Patriarch objects to my speaking of truth as "her" and declares that all women are liars. "Truth," it says, "is masculine." Has the Patriarch ever heard of "the father of lies," or does it forget that women have fathers?

* * *

Thruout the country the journals are noticing the Turner affair, tho they but guardedly express a doubt of the constitutionality of the procedure. When the Supreme Court decides the matter, they will tumble over each other to get in line, let the decision be what it will.

* * *

The great industrial depression in the east which has resulted in a scaling down of wages, often to a degree of ten per cent., should teach labor a lesson. Speculation, watered stocks, and the cutting of wages go together. The only security for labor is in non-exploiting cooperation.

* * *

The new chief murderer in the Philippines, that erstwhile "governor" of Cuba, General Wood, is being opposed on all hands in respect to possessing the honors which his good friend Theodore would have "thrust upon" him. There is no comfort in the thought, tho; it is only a fight of the jackals to determine which one shall have exclu-

sive possession of the carrion. The charges against the character of Wood could easily be duplicated against his enemies, from Hanna, the buyer of a seat in Congress, to the smallest gold-braided jumping-jack of them all!

The government of Missouri seems to be more like a government than that of any State, if the recent action of the grand jury, sitting in the State capitol proves anything. A hundred and six indictments for "boodling" in the legislature were issued by that body. Again it may be seen that money measures "honor."

Now that the truth about the abominable Panama canal affair has become known, Theodore Roosevelt stands in a less favorable light than ever. It has been proven that before the revolution occurred the president had written a message to Congress inviting that body to steal land enough for the canal. The strenuous life, the strenuous life!

The comparative failure of the Chicago street car men's strike was a surprise to many, no doubt, and led to not a few suspicions of bad faith and hints of treachery. It seems that there was no ground for these, and that the sole lesson which the strike can teach is that there is strength in numbers. Had the north and west side street car men joined those of the south side in a general strike, the power of labor would have been felt to such a degree that the street car companies would have been glad to settle. Out of many failures comes success; out of the failure of minor strikes will come, in the nature of things, the success of a general strike. AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

"If there was any violence it was in the enforcement of the laws," says Schuettler, assistant chief of police, in speaking of the street car strike, thereby proving the contention of the Anarchists that law is the weapon of organized violence.

While famine is almost general in Austria, and the government has confessed its inability to help the starving people, the war department has ordered three thousand new guns, which will cost many millions of dollars. "Evidently the hungry will be fed with guns," sarcastically remarks a German writer.

That the Socialists are perfectly competent to take charge of government affairs they have recently proven in Brockton, Mass. The Socialist mayor, Coulter, was accused by his own comrades of "graft" and "boodle." The campaign committee "investigated" the case, and the whitewashing brush proved to be just as flexible as those used in the war and postal departments.

Had President Hyde of Bowdoin College told the students of Yale University that the growing infidelity is "a menace to the republic," the remark would have been vociferously paraded in our vigilant dailies; but

since the professor declared the tradition of "a being called God" and "his son" to be "a mass of nonsense and an absurdity," only a few dailies perfunctorily reported the lecture. The belief in God is the main prop of government and legalized robbery; and if Professor Hyde continues to talk disparagingly of Rockefeller's chieftain he will soon find himself without a job.

"Has it ever occurred to you that all pernicious federal laws in this country have been passed on March 3?" asked a comrade, who is a close student of American jurisprudence. "No," said I. "What about it?" "Well, it is the last day of Congress, when laws are pushed thru wholesale. The immigration law, under a section of which John Turner was arrested, is 'act of March 3.' The Comstock law was pushed thru at 12 o'clock at night, also on March 3, when the lawmakers were drunk. In fact, there was so much confusion that it was not known what laws had gone thru, and the clerks had quite a lot of trouble to find out by going over the records. Thus we are not entirely ruled 'by the dead,' as some people tell us, but partly also by drunkards."

"Why should we join your union?" the scabs asked the union men during the street railway strike in this city. "You can't protect your membership. We propose to stand by the man who can protect us, and that is our employer." Will the unions heed the lesson given by these men, who cannot see that they are their own enemies by assisting the companies in crushing organized labor? Will the unions learn that an injury done to one of their fellow toilers is the concern of all? Well, then let them propagate the general strike, and the scabs will have no occasion to appeal to the employers for protection. If all the toilers in Chicago had refused to work when the street car men demanded living wages and less hours, the strike would have been settled in favor of the strikers in one or two days.

A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, quotes extensively from Bebel's speech recently made at the Socialist conference in Dresden against Bernstein and other opportunists, in order to impress his readers with the notion that opportunism has been completely buried in Germany. But there are two sides to every question, and the editor is shrewd enough to quote only one side of the debate. Bernstein did not deny being an opportunist, but neither did he fail to prove that his opponents for many years had been in the ridiculous position of opposing opportunism in theory, while never hesitating to apply it in practise, an accusation which neither Bebel nor Kautsky were able to refute. And subsequent local elections have clearly demonstrated that Bernstein was by no means defeated in Germany, altho the conference voted against him. "Opportunism is a very ticklish thing to discuss," said Mr. Valteich, now editor of the New York *Volks-Zeitung* (Socialist), three years ago at the Karl Marx Club in Chicago. "In theory we still oppose Bernstein, but in practise we have been with him for twenty-five years." INTERLOPER.

Letter from John Turner.

I had often wondered what it would feel like to be arrested. More than once, friends of mine had been laid hands on by the law, in the stormy days of the early Socialist movement in England. Out of this, most of the Anarchists came. They were arrested—now ten to twenty years ago—either for asserting the right of public meeting in the open air, taking part in the unemployed agitations, when hunger riots resulted, or for being too frank in their criticisms of legal injustice. But somehow, my half-quaker descent having given me a physically peaceful, if somewhat stubborn temperament, any joy of combativeness on my part has always found expression in hard-fought debate on first principles; the struggle to convert those indifferent to any kind of social ideal; or an ardent endeavor to organize my colleagues engaged in commercial houses, who were, for some unexplained reason, the most apathetic of wage earners.

Besides, in old time England the law does not concern itself with opinions, however unpopular, any more than it does with motives. Acts only come within its purview. Men may mock at the law itself, so long as they conform to it.

Imagine my surprise, then, that the republic of the west,—the hope of all those in Europe struggling to be free, but a decade or two ago,—should afford me this unique experience! The sensation was certainly a strange one; tho like many other things the thought of it much worse than the reality. Why I cannot say, but my feeling at the moment was one of amused contempt. I suppose the proper way was to feel a virtuous indignation, tho I must honestly confess that, except for the beastly vulgarity of one secret service man, the sense of the grotesque completely smothered it. Even now, after a compulsory holiday of a month on Ellis Island, I feel more inclined to laugh at the whole business than anything else. In spite of the outrageous assault upon me in the name of an abstruse and absurd new law, I cannot—apart from the gravity of the principle involved—help chuckling at the ludicrousness of the affair!

Not that I fail for a moment to recognize the seriousness of this insidious attack upon heterodox political opinion, or to see that if it is submitted to without vigorous protest, further encroachment will rapidly follow. Beginning with a law to arrest alien Anarchists, who have neither committed nor incited to any crime, it will extend to every idea not endured by the party in power. The appetite for repression grows by what it feeds on, and from aliens it will spread to citizens. All this is quite clear to me.

But the array of force—twenty odd fully armed, beside a crowd of secret service men—the absolutely incredulous and bitterly disappointed look when I was searched at the police station and the most dangerous weapon found on me was a small penknife—all this tickled my sense of humor, and I fear caused me to give utterance to a little sarcasm and cynicism. It must have been a terrible shock to their hopes and expectations, since it had evidently been intended to be a most dramatic event.

Not only was there all this force—how they do dislike violence to be sure!—but a

special reporter had been brought along with them, who was, of course, to write it all up. Some of the copy had evidently been prepared beforehand. Among other ridiculous things this creature put down by way of introduction, and which appeared in print, was that, while they had had me under observation in New York for weeks (?) (that day three weeks previous I was working in London), they had refrained from arresting me, preparing to "catch me with the goods on" me! This I believe is American slang for having something you ought not.

After a rattling and rumbling ride in a patrol wagon to the riverside—with more attendants outside and in than ever before in my life—and a run down the river in a launch, we arrived about eleven o'clock at Ellis Island.

Here I was taken down to the basement of the immigration station and locked in the center one of three cages, which—don't laugh!—I found had just been erected for any insane immigrants who become violent! These cages are built on the plan of those for wild animals in a zoological garden, with solid one-inch round iron bars, three inches apart, back and front, and sheet-iron partitions between them. They are nine feet by six, and here after the sojourn of a month I am penning these lines, with very human fellows guarding me day and night! At first I had two during the day and one at night. Since the case went to appeal I rather fancy I have become a sort of "old man of the sea" to them, and finding they can't get rid of me, they have reduced my guard to one at all times. By the time I'm thru they'll be wanting to chase me off the island!

Let me in justice say that everyone here has treated me with the utmost courtesy, and after the first few days my cage was made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. Not an unkind word has been spoken, while very many expressions of sympathy have been proffered. Of the very many kind letters and messages I have received—often from those who were not Anarchists—it is impossible for me to more than speak. It was well worth being here to receive them.

You, of course, know the formal "special inquiry" and legal farce that followed, and the result. I am now likely to have to wait till February, before the final decision of the Supreme Court. I hear tho, the authorities are trying to jump the case forward, in which case I may get away sooner. Whatever the decision may be, the government has by this action been forced to show the imbecility of the new immigration law. This is a great deal accomplished. Whatever the inconvenience, or loss to me personally, if ultimately it leads to its abrogation, I shall feel proud to have been the first victim selected to test it, by the United States. What was intended as a public humiliation will become an honor. Anyway, I have experienced a new sensation that is worth something. My respect for lawful violence has not increased, my contempt for some things has!

Ellis Island, N. Y.

JOHN TURNER.

Within the memory of man the trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind.—Thomas Paine.

What Is an Anarchist?

After reading of Comrade Rudefbusch's desire to define his position, and to ask if that position is consistent with the theory of an Anarchist, I am moved to consider the question, "What is an Anarchist?"

He says "there are two things from which I desire to have human society freed forever, (1) statute laws, to be upheld by organized physical force, and (2) the belief in physical punishment as a means in bettering and educating adult human beings." Now, as Comrade Rudefbusch distinctly repudiates "organized physical force," and thinks property rights "would be secured by the ethical laws of society far better and more justly than by State laws," I do not know there is much else the philosophy of an Anarchist could desire.

The government the Anarchist would do without is simply an "organized physical force." Could government exist without this force, there would be no occasion for Anarchism. There can be no doubt that Anarchism sprang from oppression; yet it is not a reacting force that shall live, but a philosophy. And this philosophy is based upon the fact that liberty is the normal condition required for right action. Repression, restriction, is abnormal, hence the Anarchist believes that the only law consistent with true growth is natural. The rule of man is artificial; that is to say, when force is employed. This is my conception of Anarchism. I quite agree with Rudefbusch that "the harm comes in only when the one authority, or the majority, use brute force (hired or their own) to compel the others to follow their rules—or, . . . with the object of punishing them for some wrong-doing."

Our comrade wants "authority, private property, majority rule, bosses and leaders, judges and lawyers, laws, rules, and regulations," and I am willing to grant that these are quite harmless without *coercive power*, and, I may add, entirely useless in an organization. But as disputes will arise, arbitration will no doubt be employed, which necessitates an authority; and laws, rules, and regulations come to be recognized; and this is natural law, natural justice. And so I would call Comrade Rudefbusch, and others who are posing as Socialists Anarchists, because they reject "organized physical force"—"the police and military backing."

Now I am reminded that certain Anarchists do not reject these things. The "government" they would abolish is not physical force; but "the invasion of the non-invasive individual." They believe the machinery of government as an "organized physical force" may be quite right and quite necessary to protect the individual in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." So long as he is non-invasive he is to be protected. To insure this they would organize and employ (hired or their own) physical force.

In last Liberty Mr. Tucker, answering Ernest Crosby, says:

Pinkerton civilization is not my utopia. Pinkerton civilization is one in which there is no State rule, the State having been displaced by voluntary cooperation for defense.

His "real utopia" is "civilization in which there is no rule at all, no invasion either by State or individual." His hope is evidently in "Pinkerton civilization," for he says of

his utopia, "at least more than one millennium will pass before that beatific condition is attained." Now this voluntary organization which should take the place of government and use its forces, is supposed to be an improvement in this, that the individual is to be free to secede from the organization whenever its rule is offensive. My objection to this form of civilization is that it won't work the right way. I believe that history demonstrates that power develops tyranny; that organized force ever tends to become oppressive. And it is a peculiarity of every organization that, to obtain power, it will promise anything. And when all the different ideas are organized, and no general government to interfere, what will happen? Mr. Tucker hopes that a contract will be entered into granting equal liberty to all. But the trouble is an organization is a very different thing from an individual. Those who have worked for an individual and also for a stock company will appreciate the difference. Organizations have no souls; and "equal liberty" for organizations would be equal slavery for the individual.

Again I turn to Liberty. Friend Byington, criticizing James, says "he (James) has been saying up and down that he had historic instances to prove that an organization formed for *exclusively non-invasive defense* was bound to become invasive." (Italics mine.) Now in my reading "up and down" Comrade James, I have never seen this. What I understand James to offer is that organizations for defense will always become invasive. "An organization formed for exclusively non-invasive defense." If any such ever existed it would have been a great point for Comrade Byington to have noted it and shown that it did not become invasive. The fact is Comrade James had no need to specify. Everybody knows that organizations become corrupt the moment they acquire power, and the line between defense and invasion is rather difficult to draw.

Now, while I have the kindest feeling for this school of Anarchists, (I used to attend there myself,) I cannot accept their conclusions, any more than I can those of the Socialists, who would displace government with the "cooperative commonwealth." It is simply a change of name. The object and aim of organization is to govern, and coercive force is the means it always adopts, if successful. It is born of the desire to rule, and the superstition that an institution is necessary to guide and direct humanity.

The Anarchist, then, as the name implies, is without a chief—a ruler. He denies the right of any man to rule, guide, or control him. He believes in liberty as a principle, and trusts it to work out man's true welfare.

The Anarchist doesn't rebel against nature. It is man's rule and restriction he would be free from. Absolute freedom does not imply, as our opponents would try to make out, that two persons can occupy the same space at the same time, or that cold cannot force us to wear an overcoat, or the rain to take an umbrella. What we want is to be free from man's coercive force, and this is only to be dreaded when emanating from an organization.

Friend Rudefbusch refers to the "careless use of the word 'voluntary'" in connection

with organizations. It is a good point, and inequivalent to the expression, "If you don't like this government, get out." You may jump from the frying pan into the fire. There's no compulsion about it.

We want no organization, that is to say, no force over and above the individual. In union there is strength, in cooperation there is great economy, but in organization a governing power is created, the individual is subordinated, and rebellion results.

Yes, Comrade Ruedebusch is an Anarchist, but, as the editor suggests, rather mixed in the meaning of his terms. Like our Socialist friends, he hints at powers and forces that will govern and control our actions, therefore absolute liberty is impossible. We are not concerned with any power except the invasive action of man. Call off the dogs of power. Throw down the fence erected by man's organized interference. Let natural law prevail. A. LEROY LOUBAL.

Light for a Torch.

The *Torch of Reason* bestows on my "History of the French Revolution" two quite lengthy articles in one number. The first is appreciative. It makes a remark which may be found in the "History" (pp. 24-5), that the revolution of France was but the explosive phase of a greater Revolution, beginning late in the eighteenth century, and far from ended. But I will allow no upstart Jonathan to steal the honor of beginning the Anarchistic Revolution from Mother England; tho I admit her claim might be disputed by Sister Ireland (see pp. 25-6). I seem to have achieved the honor of providing the other side with a new cant. Glorification of "the Mob" is, according to this catch-phrase, the Anarchistic method of history. If my critic will read pp. 212-14; 223-26, I doubt his finding reason there to say that I have praised the Mob excessively. I admit saying the Mob alone knew its own mind thoroly; and for this reason it was just fit to govern at a crisis which required government, if any ever did. But then, I don't believe in government. He concludes by wishing I had given, or would give, "a tabular outline of the dates, and of the waves of the Revolution, with their principal actors." I will, with a deal of pleasure.

First Era; 1770-1789. Contest of king and parliaments. Principal actors, Madame du Barry, Louis XV, Maurepas, Turgot, Calonne, Brienne, Marie Antoinette, Mirabeau.

Second Era; May-July, 1789. Contest of king and nobles against Third Estate. Principal actors, Mirabeau, Lafayette, Siéyès, D'Espremenil, Robespierre, Dr. Guillotine, Marie Antoinette, Desmoulins.

Third Era; July, 1789-spring of 1790. General abolition of institutions. Chief actors. "The Mob" facile princes, Marat, Robespierre, Lafayette, Maillard.

Fourth Era; spring of 1790-August, 1791; Anarchy. Principal actors, the former living ones; but little was done. The nation had "no history," and was happy. Bouillé may be added to the list.

Fifth Era; August, 1791-September 20, 1792. Anarchy qualified by a very feeble legislature under the new constitution. Principal actors, Marie Antoinette, Lafa-

yette, the foreigners, principally Burke, Pitt, the king of Prussia, and emperor of Germany, Dumouriez, Barbaroux, Marat, Danton.

Sixth Era; September, 1792-June, 1793. The Girondin regime. Except the generals, no actors till Mob got up again. Talkers too numerous to mention.

Seventh Era; June, 1793-9th Thermidor (in 1794). The Reign of Terror, Principal actors, Marat, Danton, St. Just, Barere, a host of new generals, Hébert, Cloutz, Desmoulins, Robespierre, Tallien. Of course, all cannot be named. With the 9th of Thermidor the main action ends; and we enter on more modern bourgeois history.

The other review in the *Torch* is rot. The writer denies that Paine and Condorcet carried their radical principles beyond regulation bourgeois republicanism, which argues great unfamiliarity with Paine and total ignorance of Condorcet. He also repeatedly and dogmatically asserts that Robespierre and the other Terrorists favored Anarchy. The following is a corpolite: "Robespierre and the other real Anarchists, who insisted that the republic should govern by their whims OF DESPOTISM." Pshaw, pshaw, pshaw! You should leave that sort of thing to Judge Gary and Terrified Ted.

C. L. JAMES.

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To Lizzie M. Holmes.

If you had ever read any of the articles I wrote on the subject "Free Will" you would know that I have always ridiculed the very idea of a free will. The human brain is a thing that does not know itself. Can such a thing have a free will?

The brain of the savage, of the child, knows nothing whatever of itself; it does not even know that it exists. You may tell the child "your will and your mental powers are in your breast"; it will just as readily believe you as when you say, "they are in your head." Still, the savage and the child act just as we do. They say, "I will," tho they do not know who "I" is. Now, do you and I know more of our brain, that is, of ourselves? Not much. If it were not for the science of anatomy we would know just as little of our brains as the savage and the child. By anatomy we know the inside of the human body, and only by a sequence of conclusions do we come to the knowledge of our own brain. But this brain, which contains all our mental powers, is utterly unable to recognize its existence by itself. Now answer the question yourself: Can such a thing have a free will?

Of course the case would be different if you were a supernaturalist, a Spiritualist, or a believer in Hegel's metaphysical philosophy. Well, with mere fancies I have nothing in common.

But now let us take your concrete case. You point out to a poor, low-living tramp an exemplary character and say to him, "Imitate that one," and the answer is, "I have had no chance to be like him," etc.

Let us continue the story. After you despairingly leave the poor tramp, he falls into a deep revery. Your words work on his brains; they have made a much deeper impression than you expected, and he concludes earnestly to try to become a better man. That conclusion is not his free will, it is the necessary sequence of the impression of your words on his brains. Another one, with a different brain, may have laughed at your proposition.

Now the question is, will our tramp succeed in carrying out his intention? That depends on two things: firstly, on the strength of his brain, and, secondly, on accidents, circumstances, and surroundings. He may find people who take an interest in him, are kind to him; he gets within their surroundings, which all the time have a benevolent influence upon him, and by and by, tho he may have a weaker brain than the other tramp, he becomes a man of whom you may be proud, because you were the first cause to bring about this happy end of the story.

This is all I have to say at present; but I am very willing to continue this matter, if you wish, either thru FREE SOCIETY (if permissible) or by private correspondence.

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