



WHOLE NO. 444

Man is not a monogamic animal; observation and experience prove this beyond doubt; progress, then, must eliminate the evils of love which are conspicuous under conditions of monogamic life. Varied love relations, in which the physical aspect of love is removed from the place of first importance to a place along with all the other aspects of the "tender passion," must displace exclusive love relations; and the suffering, error, and wrong incidental to the transition must be endured as part of the price to be paid for liberty and light. But love is a great compensation for the pains of love, and those who are strong enough and hopeful enough to be the pioneers of the movement may encourage themselves with the thought that the old order is breaking up thruout the world whether we will or no; (the whole race now experiencing a chaotic condition in the sphere of love) and with

the thought that they are but living true to ideas promising to man a fruitful and normal existence in the end.

Progress in all directions begins and ends with complexity. I have tried to make it clear that complex love relations are the normal love relations, and that the recognized evils of love association are the results not of freedom, not of progress, but of restrictions, false ideas, and the general round of error which ignorance involves. Love, in its proper place in the economy of life, is a blessing and an inspiration, strengthening us for all good; marred and aborted by evil restrictions and by regulations which are not normal, love is a doubtful good, and often a definite evil. Let love be free and love will be wise.

W. F. BARNARD.

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Three of a Kind.

You often hear it said: "I am a Christian Socialist." Just what is meant I shall not endeavor to define. But one of their distinguishing beliefs seems to be that Socialism is so lofty a state of society that Christ alone can establish it, and that humanity is so degraded that it can never bring about this desirable state of affairs, unless Christ comes again. No one objects to having this desirable condition brought about by the second coming of Christ, provided he does not postpone that coming too long. But many practical minds, in looking over the history of the two thousand years since he first came, and reflecting on some of the things done in his name during this period of history, wonder if it is because he taught: "Blessed are the poor;" "believe and be saved;" "believe not and be damned;" that today there is so much that is wretched and appalling in our system of robbery that there may be poor to be blessed and unbelievers to be damned. But we will leave such questions for the Christian Socialist to explain. They are too obscure for our understanding.

Here comes the political Socialist with banners floating and the constant cry from the four corners of the earth: "Vote! Vote! VOTE!" They offer us the ballot with all the political pollution of hundreds of years, and declare that it is the only way to bring the world liberty and justice. Only vote the Socialist ticket; and all will be peace, love, harmony and good-will. Strange as it may seem, there are some minds still inclined to ask: "How is this? Are you sure these men and women chosen by you to rule over us will be true, noble, and certain to give justice to this struggling, toiling humanity? Can you guarantee that those you have presented to us for our vote will serve us, and not be masters as have those we voted for in the past?"

The clouds are dense, and our reasons dim. We cannot see save dimly thru the veil. "Vote! Vote! Vote!" What will all this clamor and din bring to the toiling millions? Will it give them one hour's rest? Will it give them one straw's weight more of the product of their toil? Will it take one jot of power from those who have robbed them of what they have produced, leaving them the blessings of poverty, to enjoy their blessedness in ignorance? We cannot see, but the clouds may lift, and out of all that "vote! vote!" a gleam of light may dawn.

Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for light.

Hark! I hear a still small voice, like unto a whisper afar, saying: "Reason! Reason! REASON! Thou must free thyself. Shake off these chains. Strike every fetter from thy mind. Be free! Think for thyself. Let no other think for thee." Whence cometh this voice? Hark! It comes again, clearer, stronger, louder. It is the voice of the intellectualist, calling: "Strike the chains from thy mind. Be free. All that is, is thine. Thou hast produced it. Strike off these chains, and claim thine own. O toiler, pause not for old opinions about thy path; they are but phantom forms, so feeble grown that one stroke will sweep them away, and leave thy path a free and happy one. Pause not because these forms stretch out their arms and cry: 'It is mine, mine! My intellect gained it.' It was but their cunning in dark deeds of wrong since time began. Look out into the bright future, and take thine own, that thy strong arms have created. It is thine, and thine only. Leave behind thee the ghastly forms of old ideas. Has it never occurred to thee that all this wealth gained during ages is thine, and that naught but the phantom of dead ideas has kept thee from possessing thine own? Listen to the still small voice of reason. Strike not again for a mere pittance of what is all thine, but for liberty and all there is. It is thine, and thou hast but to take it, and with a firm mind stand true to thyself and all others. Choose no master to rule over thee, but rule thyself. Put forever behind thee the false tradition that another knoweth better than thou what is for thy good. Remember that what a man would have well done he must do himself, and that what is done for him by another may be done poorly and not for his good. Let no man represent thee, but represent thyself, if thou wouldst maintain thy rights. Remember that representatives cannot or will not truly represent thee. Listen to the voice of reason. It and it alone will bring that long-sought rest to the struggling race. Let it be the beacon light to guide the ship of labor into the haven of liberty, justice and truth. Fear not thyself, O toiler; but in thyself have faith. Go forth and take thine own, and having taken it, declare thine own liberty and the liberty of all thy kind."

Thus saith the still small voice of reason, the last and most important of the three of a kind.

LUCILE A. MINT.

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Spain.

Evolution finds its greatest obstruction in its course of destruction and reconstruction when it enters the domain of political and economic institutions,—institutions created and perpetuated by man regardless of their moribund and decadent condition. But the inevitable and inexorable law of progress must have its way. Whether its course is marked by slow and gradual change, or manifests itself in a cataclysm which causes the very cosmos to tremble, depends on the opposition it meets. In man-created institutions both have full sway, but the latter inevitably must apply its drastic and sweeping course. As Victor Hugo says: "Yes, the brutalities of progress are called revolutions,

but when they are over, this fact is recognized: the human race has been chastised, but it has advanced."

The frequent social convulsions in Spain and other Latin countries, are manifestations of an approaching cataclysm called the Social Revolution. And those who watch and regard manifestations of social unrest and change in a universal spirit, not only in sentiment, but in its historical aspect, have much reason for intellectual-rejoicing, and the assurance and consolation that the great sacrifices and labor of the Spanish proletarians were not in vain. Yes; they are assured that those who lingered for twenty years or more in prison as a result of the infamous *Mano Negra* persecutions have not spent their lives in vain; that the tortures perpetrated in Montjuich only a few years ago—ah! the very walls seem to tremble in harmony with the pantings of my heart and the reeling of my form,—where the skulls were crushed and the nails extracted from toes and fingers, the sex organs constricted and the flesh seared, and where frenzied men clung to the throats of their torturers until a bullet pierced the heart,—preferring instantaneous death to the lingering tortures—were not only avenged by Angiolillo when he struck down the modern Torquemada, Canovas, but that the great Nemesis—Revolution—will wreak vengeance upon the cruel, callous, and revengeful plutocracy!

This is but a flashlight thrown on the lingering tragedy now nearing its climax. The events are but the reflex of the constant and persistent struggle between the exploiters and exploited; the martyrdoms are but evidence of the struggle, and where there is struggle there ultimately must be victory; for "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church!"

But let us see why Anarchists find more consolation and assurance in the events transpiring in Spain, a country small in area and population, than in Russia, encompassing so large an area and population; for she, too, is marching, even faster, toward the abyss. I should rather say that while revolution is as essential to Russia as it is to Spain, yet their characteristics and importance are varied. While Russia is lagging behind the other European countries, Spain is ready to enter upon the road of economic and political emancipation; and the importance of revolution in Russia is in a sense more or less circumscribed, while that of Spain is of importance to the whole of Europe. To do this we will have to turn back a few historical pages, as far back as the inception of Socialistic and Anarchistic activity on a larger scale dates.

In the long struggle for political and economic emancipation many and varied were the theories and methods employed by the downtrodden in their conflicts with the exploiters. So serious in their attempts, so true in their devotion, and so indifferent in their philosophic speculations and differences were the rebels of the early part of the 19th century that they frequently erred in their comprehensions,—with detriment to themselves and benefit to their enemies. But after the stormy days of '48, the united proletarians of Europe saw the necessity of a common effort and struggle, of a genera

economic struggle against the oppressions of government and the bourgeoisie. It culminated in the International Workingmen's Association, which was organized in the early 60's.

From that time in the congresses of that association the theories and methods permeating the different camps of reformers and revolutionists today were discussed, clarified, accepted and propagated. It was in those congresses where the theories and methods of the Socialists, as upheld by Marx and Engels, were combated by Bakunin and his followers; and finally culminating in the division of this healthy and hopeful association of workers, brought about by the treachery of Marx and his followers. The identification and line of demarkation was wrought then. Each assumed its course: the Socialists the parliamentary struggle, the Anarchists the economic. And however great the number of the Socialists and small the number of Anarchists, the validity of their methods can only be judged by events. In life quality and not quantity counts. And Spain represents the harvest of the seeds sown by the Anarchists. Compare it to the harvest in Germany.

It was a follower of Bakunin, Fanelli, who introduced the Anarchist philosophy and methods into Spain; and since then the laboring classes have studied, lived, and fought in the light of those ideas. The labor movement, and the general strike as a means to an end, is a characteristically Anarchistic and revolutionary method.

In Spain the workers understand that the weakest point of the bourgeoisie is the economic side, and once having grasped this they have persistently and consistently attacked them on this vulnerable side. Not an uprising occurs but that is followed by a general strike, which compels the quick submission of the bourgeoisie. The strength and efficacy of this method is verified in the uprisings of June and August in 1902, and those of more recent date. And not "passive resistance" (whatever that means in practice!) is the watchword, but resistance by arms and the confiscation of the essentials of life is the spirit characterizing the uprisings.

Yes, Spain is on the verge of a revolution; and its people are ready for it, for they have prepared and hastened it. And it is an open secret that a revolution, once in full sway, cannot be confined within the border of Spain alone, for the same spirit permeating Spain is manifest in the other Latin countries. A healthy and revivifying spirit!

Ah, Spain! You have tasted and enjoyed the alluring strength of empire; you have strutted among the empires with the arrogance of Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome, and like them you have placed the burden on the moiling and toiling children of your domain. You shall perish as they did. Out of your ruins will spring new life,—a life of equality, freedom and opulence. A life which will inspire the downtrodden masses of the world to the struggle for freedom!

San Francisco, Cal.

S. MINTZ.

If soldiers reserve the right to be tried for the offenses by a jury of their fellows, why shouldn't all cutthroats and murderers have the same privilege?—*The Whim.*

The Political Shark.

Man is a social being. He loves company, and is averse to solitude, altho when alone he is free from competition by his fellow. However he seeks companionship, for pleasure, gain, or protection, his sagaciousness is keen to take advantage when an opportunity is afforded to enrich himself.

With this object in view, the idea suggests itself that a few shrewd individuals saw the gain and benefit derived from organized government, and that the common people would offer no opposition to their scheme, because the hard-working people have no time to think, their time being all occupied with toiling and struggling for an existence. And it is to the rich man's interest to keep the poor toiling, and not get them to thinking.

The people acquiesced in the forming of a strong government, thinking themselves secure and giving posterity to uphold it. The government has got astride people's necks, and there seems to be no relief. The office life has grown on the officials; they hate to part with their easy and lucrative jobs—because it is easier to rule than to labor. We, therefore, cannot believe that government is an institution created by the common people, or that it has been sanctioned by them. It is an invention of a few sharps. How much fellowship has the citizen, one of the common people, with the monarch or the high officials of his country? Not any. Can the common people of this country associate with the president, or with their representatives in Congress? Not much! They are good enough to serve them and to help them into office, but not good enough to associate with them.

So long as there is organized government, and offices to hold, the political shark will occupy them. Abolish organized government, and the scramble for office will end—with the political knave's business.

The claim that is set up by those who favor government rule, is this: without government and stringent laws, life and property are in danger. Is this true or is it only imagination? Is the government able, with severe laws, to prevent robbery and murder? No; it only can punish. How can the claim be established that government and laws protect life and property? Are robberies and murders not committed every day? A certain correspondent of FREE SOCIETY, under a nom de plume, says that he is satisfied with conditions prevailing now, and that he would rather stay in the ranks of compellers than to belong to the compellees. Inasmuch as this gentleman loves to stay in the ranks of compellees, surrounded by wealth and power, and laws to protect him, adopts a false name as a precaution for fear someone will do him an injury. If the law protects you, dear friend, why do you use the nom de plume? I pause for a reply.

That life and property are safe and secure under government is a common delusion. The theory that punishment serves to deter the evil-doer from carrying out his design is not true.

There are those who are a law unto themselves; and those who care for no law will seek to evade punishment. They make that a special study, i. e., how to elude the law

and its officers no matter how severe the punishment is. The court docket is proof of it that the criminal list is not diminishing.

But those who favor government and law will ask, what would you do with the criminals? Offer no temptation, and you will have no criminals, I reply. If money was not piled up in one place there could be no robber trying to get it.

Freedom means much to some and nothing to others; it means special privilege to a few and none to the rest. See what freedom Cuba is enjoying today, like the little boys, when their father said to them: Boys, today you can play all day.

Russia is not going to be molested by the great powers for settling herself permanently in Manchuria, for they all have a little schemes of their own. The United States has a little Panama canal revolution scheme to look after. And our lawmakers are looking for a big windfall. This is wise statesmanship.

JOHN FAY.

Culver, Kans.

New York, Attention!

The new group of New York, the Radical Club, has arranged a theater performance for the benefit of FREE 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.

For St. Louis.

The St. Louis Debating Club gives lectures, followed by discussions, every Saturday, 8 p. m., 1008 N. 17th St. The reading room is open every evening and all day on Sundays. This place also serves as an information bureau for new-comers and correspondents. The English language is preferred, altho letters in German, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Bohemian, Rumanian, and Jargon can be read and answered.

Address: DEBATING CLUB, 1008 N. 17th St., St. Louis, Mo.

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. 16 John Mayo Crane speaks on "The Treachery of Truth."

Dec. 23, Jay Fox, business agent of the Woodworkers' Union, will speak on "The Walking Delegate."

Dec. 30, Dr. Kate Maryson, will speak on "Education."

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 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.

Notes.

Friends are requested to give us the names of persons who are likely to be interested in FREE SOCIETY, that we may send them sample copies.

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.

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. 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."

Jan. 17—"Trades Unionism."

Jan. 24—"Art and Life."

The Linotype Fund.

At the time of this report, Monday, Dec. 7, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....\$ 122.00
Less cash paid and transferred..... 5.00

Balance, \$ 117.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....\$ 131.50
H. Meitlin, Pittsburg..... 1.00
E. N. Ling, Rutland, N. Dak..... 2.00
*A Friend, Philadelphia..... 5.00

Total, \$ 139.50

* Those marked with an asterisk have paid on pledges, and are transferred to the cash fund.

FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Love awaits liberty.

Society is not tyranny.

Only the ideal is practical.

Love of power is love of warfare.

Government is organized "graft."

Your "success" is another's failure.

The object of freedom is a fullness of life.

Liberty's bulwarks are the hearts of men.

Pessimism is an agony of mental indigestion.

Sexual bondage cannot be consecrated even by love.

Tramps are the debris of manhood left by exploitation.

The Hague tribunal is again busying itself in accomplishing nothing.

Government is the art of robbing a man while you make him think that you are serving him.

The Chicago City Railway Co. wants its men to hide their union buttons. These are becoming popular.

The prison is a place where men learn to hate mankind; they are only kept alive there to punish them thoroly.

Teller County, Colorado, including the Cripple Creek region, is under martial law. Martial law is undisguised law.

Union workmen are awake to some of the facts of government, and are working without the aid of the law to better themselves. They are on the right track.

If J. P. Morgan could only see himself as others see him he would probably hire a detective at a good salary to guard his self-respect for him.

Delaware has its whipping post, and those who whip "criminals" declare that after they have been whipped their manhood and self-respect disappear. We must have discipline, even if it ruins men.

Those who used to say that "the trusts can sell goods at cheaper prices than the small manufacturer can," have learned of late that the word *can* is not the word *will*.

The president has sent his message to Congress, and now things may go on just as they have gone before. The strenuous life seems to be little other than a continuous noisy inactivity.

Some men who are in doubt as to the integrity of a politician, become perfectly satisfied when they see him in a carriage followed by a brass band playing cheap music.

They are planning to compel men to vote in Spain. Are things political in such a bad way there that men have learned the truth about the ballot and are beginning to refuse to act—on paper?

The farther a man is from having a social nature, the farther away Anarchism will seem to him; but he who has a real appreciation of fellowship will expect liberty to rise with the sun almost any morning.

A Chicago woman declares that boys become criminals thru picking up junk and then selling it in order to buy dime novels. The world will be reformed when the city dumps are done away with! Wonderful, wonderful!

The population of Germany is on the increase, and so the ranks of the army are in no danger of being depleted. The emperor is reported as thanking God for this proof of his favor while he plans to increase the number of his killers.

Many people there are who fear that we would have no parks, no beautiful public edifices, nor any public works if we had no government, and yet, if you ask them if an appreciation of the beautiful is created by statute law, they stare at you in amazement.

John Turner, on Ellis Island, makes a finer figure than Theodore Roosevelt in the White House; the one is imprisoned because he stands uncompromisingly for liberty of thought, speech, and action, while the other, by means of scheming, deceiving, and bullying, got into a position with which there goes the privilege of spitting upon liberty.

Europe is all astir over an assassination by a princess. The details are too well known to need restating, but the madness which goes under the name of monogamic love has met with a new judgment in the event. The sympathy of the world will go out to this woman, whose terrible act will be disguised by all kinds of savage and irrational justifications because the world is jealousy mad.

The governor of Colorado, in a last effort to help the mine owners, whose creature he appears to be, has declared qualified martial law in certain districts of his State. May he press the people of Colorado in this juncture until he and his hired murderers, gold-laced ones and all, are seen by an outraged people as they are, vicious and contemptible stranglers of manhood, who would make slaves of the miners and then forge fetters for other men.

The editor of the New York *Truth Seeker* in a ponderous utterance assumes that in the absence of government wrong-doing would increase in volume. He mistakes the

police powers of government for its *whole* powers. Let our naïve friend realize that government itself is wrong-doing, and that its laws respecting land, labor, exchange, and the matter of its financial support, are the very perfection of wrong-doing, and he will have another opinion of the effects to follow its abolition.

The editor of *Freiheit* continues to beat the air in vain effort to deliver telling blows against varied love relations. There is such a thing as intemperance in language as well as in sex relations, and persistent misrepresentation of a thing is possible even to the arch monogamist of them all—John Most. Scientific discussion would more easily convince a world and more fully demonstrate the possession of high ideals in general, including sexual ideals, than any amount of billingsgate and misrepresentation can.

AMERICUS.

By the Wayside.

Whenever the editor of the New York *Truth Seeker* in his search for the truth turns away from heaven and hell, gods and devils, he only succeeds in demonstrating the fact that he is a back-number. In an article on "Anarchy and the Church" he asserts "that it is the fear of the penalty prescribed by the State" that "deters the criminally inclined from indulging their propensity at every opportunity,"—an assertion which is utterly at variance with the lessons of criminology. He simply repeats the Christian argument,—in a modified form, which is that without the belief in God we would all be rapists and murderers.

Only last week I pointed out the absurdity of the Socialists' claim that opportunism had been buried in Germany simply because the Dresden conference voted against Bernstein. The revisionists, as the followers of Bernstein are called, who proposed that the party should nominate a vice presidency in the Reichstag as a recognition of its strength, were nearly driven out of the party and "buried as a political factor," according to Karl Kautsky. Now, only a few months after that "furious controversy," the news comes that the party nominated "Herr" Singer as candidate for the first vice president in the monkey show called the Reichstag or the house of the people's representatives. Bernsteinism triumphs, and "Comrade" Singer, the "revolutionary" Socialist, had he not been defeated by the opponents of the Social Democratic party, would have had the honor of cheering and congratulating his majesty, Billy, whenever the rules of parliamentary etiquette prescribed it.

If those impatient souls who are clamoring at a safe distance for a revolution, and are at odds with the writers of FREE SOCIETY because "they are too philosophical," cannot learn from recent events that the Anarchists should concern themselves first and foremost with the dissemination of their ideas, rather than indulge in verbose and bombastic phraseology about revolutions and the wickedness of the capitalists and their hirelings—courts and other govern-

mental officials, they are not likely to learn anything. When strikers plead with their leaders not to be too severe with their employers because their businesses may be injured; when organized labor almost without protest submits to reduced wages all over the country, altho the cost of living has remained as high as before; when the Western Federation of Miners appeals to Roosevelt to relieve them from the wanton and barbaric attacks of the soldiery; or, last, but not least, when labor leaders travel a thousand miles or more in order to be wined and dined by Roosevelt, Mark Hanna, and other arch-enemies of organized labor—then it should become clear that all our efforts are in vain unless we can penetrate the ranks of labor and open their eyes as to their condition and its remedy; for people among whom ignorance is rampant and servility looked upon as a virtue, cannot be expected to see the farce of it all. Let us devise ways and means for the distribution of appropriate literature, especially during strikes and lockouts; enable FREE SOCIETY to obtain the union label, and its publishers to devote more time to current events, in order that the paper may be circulated in the unions; and, above all, let every Anarchist join organized labor, if possible, for the purpose of aiding his fellow craftsmen in their struggle against the onslaughts of capitalists and the military, and on every occasion propagate his ideas. Then we may soon see the workers taking a more rational and revolutionary attitude. But so long as even the intelligent ones among them embrace the delusion that there can be harmony between master and slave, and that legislators can establish the desired millennium, organized labor is not likely to take the Anarchist position in its actions against the exploiters and their tool—the government.

INTERLOPER.

A Woman's Suggestion.

Some weeks ago a certain friend, who like myself is a young woman in love with liberty, spoke to me about an association or sisterhood of some kind by means of which women might give each other at least moral support in their efforts to gain freedom and independence. She and I have spoken of it often since, and have thought of broaching the subject to readers of FREE SOCIETY; but our ideas as to what could be done along this line are so vague that we have hesitated to mention it.

Every Anarchist needs all the encouragement and help that a spirit of solidarity among the comrades can give, but women more especially than men need the consciousness of sympathy extended to them from others of their own sex; for the reason that woman has so long been specialized sexually that her whole existence centers around that point. Even her right to lift her clothes above the mud in the street is questioned because of her sex. It is in the matter of sex that woman is most enslaved, and that is the issue she has to face in seeking freedom.

Man is allowed some freedom of belief and expression, but instantly a woman mentions Anarchy in any phase, the question of "what are you going to do about marriage then?" is invariably thrown at her taunt-

ingly as something unanswerable from her position.

This thing of marriage (the conventional and legal marriage and its ideal) is the stronghold of government over woman. Her attitude toward it most vitally affects her "honor." Hence many confessedly liberal-minded women shrink from a consistent declaration of their convictions. And so long as unconventional views are held as "private opinion" and only in a half-hearted way upheld, the conventional moralists have room for their accusation that persons holding such views are ashamed of it and are simply "immoral" and low.

Whatever the opinion we hold as to what are the proper relations of the sexes, to make ourselves and our principles rightly appreciated we must show to others that we believe we are right and are not afraid of the logical consequences of freedom in any direction. Such an attitude would not be so difficult if each woman knew that all over the land were others taking the same stand, and that there were means by which she could communicate with these sympathetic sisters.

I do not wish for any program that would give undesirable publicity or notoriety to women taking part in it, but simply some means by which those who have the courage of their convictions may sustain each other against popular censure, and those who feel helpless to challenge prevailing beliefs alone may be helped to do what they are able to establish their right to independence and a free conscience in all matters.

Kalispell, Mont.

MAUD STARNES.

From Many Lands.

According to some European dailies Spain is on the edge of revolution. Let it come: a thunderstorm purifies the atmosphere.

Dr. Adler, the leader of Social Democracy in Austria, has discovered that universal conscription is an excellent thing and cannot be enforced too strictly, because it is beneficial to the toilers both from an educational and hygienic standpoint. What next?

In France the revolutionary trade unions are now successfully organizing the farm hands in the southern part of the country. Recently several thousand foresters, wine-growers, and others joined the Federation of General Workers.

The executive of the Social Democrats in Germany declares in the party organ, *Vorwärts*, that the general strike is only permissible when universal suffrage is curtailed. Very soon these gentry will have the audacity to issue a program of the course of future general history.—*Freiheit*.

For Chicago.

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

For Cleveland.

"Free Society" meets every Sunday 2:30 p. m., in Foresters' Hall, 223 Champlain St. All friends of liberty are cordially invited.

A Story of the Street.

It was on one of last month's untimely cold days. A piercing cold wind enforced hurry among the people in the streets. I happened to be one of the hurried. The wind was trying to hide itself underneath my clothes. It seemed to me it was telling a tale of endless strife, with the other winds pleading for shelter near my bosom. We were parleying and wrangling, the wind and I; I trying to keep him out, buttoning my coat all the way, and putting my hands, sleeves and all, into my pockets; the wind, more cunning than myself, passing thru my clothes, as a thief thru the window when the door is locked. On the corner of a street, our struggle came to an end. We saw a lot of men collected on the sidewalk; I turned quickly about, and took shelter behind them. My friend, the wind, soon found others, who were unprepared for his arrival, with coats open, or minus coats, and forgot about me.

The attention of the group was attracted by something on the sidewalk. I could see a few policemen's helmets in its midst, and I became as interested as others. Each and every one, from the second row outwards, was straining his neck unusually far out of his collar; and I was wondering whether we could not trace in the crowd the ancestry of that noble bird, the swan. I made my way thru the mass, and soon was among the first in line.

The object of their curiosity was then disclosed to me. It was a man about twenty-five years of age, shivering from cold; his teeth were clattering. He kept his feet far apart, and his knees drawn together, so as to prevent them from striking one another. His legs were covered with a faded pair of blue pants, torn, and pinned on each side with a nail; on his back he had a coat of the same color and age. His coat pockets were filled, one with a piece of bread, probably the leavings of a meal, the other with two small pears, a paper collar, and a small black tie. Bareheaded, he was in a half sitting, half lying position. With his hands thrust deep into his pockets, he expressed the true misery of the homeless. From time to time, he was using a handkerchief, already very dirty. From the shoulders up, his neck had a black band of dirt as high as a collar; further up, his face was of a blackish hue; the hue of the un-nourished. His upper lip was adorned with a thin, curly, sandy mustache. His eyes, once bright, were drawn deep into their sockets, and his head was covered with a thick crop of brown, un-combed hair.

To me he was no curiosity. I did not look upon him as one inferior, as many in that crowd did; and my sympathy towards him was not pity for him alone, but for all those who form lost humanity. We let our fellow men fall low, and keep on asking, "Shall we ever be happy?" We will never be happy so long as we let others suffer. To me the man's condition seemed the effect of today's system of social slaughter.

The freshness of his once comely face was gone. I could read in everybody's face the questions: "Who is he?" "Of what nationality?" "Is he my countryman?"

At length, a newly arrived policeman asked, "Does he speak English?"

"Yes," answered another.

By this time I was close to the man. A policeman bent down to ask some question. I also bent down, to hear the man's reply. He moved his lips, but could utter no sound. The policeman straightened himself, as I did before him.

"Are you interested in this case?" he asked me.

"N—no, not exactly," I answered.

"See that you skip along, then, or you will get a smash on the ear that will remind you of No. 1226* for a long time."

I did not wait to be told twice. I had seen all I wanted to; and while I was edging my way thru the crowd I heard him say to one of his comrades, nodding towards me, "Another amateur in the detecting line."

As I walked away, the crowd, on hearing the policeman's remark, for the moment forgot the object that attracted it, and gazed after me as tho I were another curiosity.

New York.

M. H.

* The policeman's star number.

— o —

New York Protest Meeting.

Protest against the provision of the immigration law which excludes aliens solely for "disbelief" in government was made at Cooper Union last night by speech, by letter and by resolutions, adopted in mass meeting. Every seat in the hall was occupied, and deep, earnest interest in the subject was shown by the audience.

John S. Crosby presided, and in the list of vice-presidents were the names of Felix Adler, Henry George, Carl Schurz, Horace White and other well known citizens not usually classed as Anarchists.

The speakers were John De Witt Warner, Ernest H. Crosby, Rev. Henry Frank, and Congressman Robert Baker. Letters commending the purpose of the meeting were received and read from William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Thomas C. Hall, and Edward M. Shepard.

The special provocation of the protest against the law is the detention at Ellis Island of John Turner, who will be deported because he says he does not believe in government by force, but the personal interests of Mr. Turner were not considered by the speakers. The protest was directed against the spirit of the law. Chairman Crosby denounced the act as "inexcusable, un-American, undemocratic and unjust," and claimed that if the Democratic party had no other issue than the one raised by the passage of such a law, it would have enough to carry it to triumph in a national campaign.

The principal speech was made by John De Witt Warner. Mr. Warner dissected the law and showed the manner in which it was designed to operate.

"In the case of an enactment so infamous," he said, "nothing can brand it so deeply as liberal quotation. One might as well discuss the etiquette of murder as criticise the form of this law."

"It is an attempt to revive the administrative process of justice, to establish the lettre de cachet as an American institution. It not only provides for transportation of foreigners who do not believe certain things, but it makes a felon of any American citizen who may aid them in coming here. If I were

to invite Leo Tolstoy to come to this country, as my guest, I would be liable to a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for five years."

Reading some of the sections, Mr. Warner made it plain that the safeguards of the common law are taken away from men in Turner's position; that the law is enforced by such methods as the secretary of commerce may prescribe for the guidance of "Special Boards of Inquiry," consisting of minor officials appointed by a commission of immigration.

"It is not constitutional," said Mr. Warner; "it does not serve a good cause; it is fatuous; it creates the disorder which those who drew it want to repress. Such legislation as this will make revolutionists of American citizens. Take one American and deport him, as could be done under this law, and that will make more stalwart Yankee-born Anarchists than could be got from Europe if the government invited them to come and paid their way."

"We are here, not as petitioners, but as free American citizens, demanding that our government show such respect for free thought and free speech that Americans can continue to be law-abiding and loyal."

There was no half-heartedness in the applause which burst forth when Mr. Warner made that declaration of independence. The audience was with him to a man.

The Rev. Henry Frank made an impassioned speech, the most striking feature of which was the deduction that if Jesus Christ were on earth today he could not enter the United States. "He would be banished and deported by this infamous act," said he.

Ernest Howard Crosby quoted from the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Thoreau, and Emerson, and demonstrated that all of them were guilty of the same "disbelief" which makes Turner a prisoner on Ellis Island.

Edward M. Shepard's letter was read to the meeting. It was a long but incisive criticism of the law. The action of the secretary of commerce was characterized as "high-handed, tyrannical, and stupid."—*New York Daily News*.

* * *

LETTER OF JOHN TURNER READ AT THE MEETING.

Ellis Island, Dec. 2, 1903.

Dear Mr. Pleydell,—

I shall be grateful to you if you will convey to the Free Speech League, as also to all those who have in any way assisted, my high appreciation of their efforts on my behalf. But while I am quite unable to adequately express how I value their personal feeling of friendship, I am still more concerned that the whole force of public opinion shall be brought to bear, with a view to abrogating this law under which I was arrested and am now detained for deportation.

That is the question of principle to keep steadily in sight, and my personality is only incidental to it. Whether I am deported or not makes very little difference, but the safe and permanent establishment of this measure means the beginning of an era of attempted suppression of opinion, which would soon menace every minority in the United States.

What is there about America that can cause it to fear the ideal of one who in Great Brit-

ain and Ireland, France or Belgium remained unmolested? Is the new democracy more fearful of opinions than the older European countries? I hope for the credit of the United States honest opinion will not be permanently barred out by ill-conceived legislation, and that lovers of liberty will not rest till they have again placed America among those liberal countries which do not use political discrimination against the stranger at their gates. Very sincerely yours,

JOHN TURNER.

LETTER OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Lexington, Mass., Nov. 28, 1903.

Mr. A. C. Pleydell,

New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Pleydell,—

I desire to express my hearty sympathy with the object of your meeting. It is generous of Mr. Turner to suffer persecution voluntarily that citizens of the United States may test the constitutionality of the law against free speech and free thought as well. If the methods of Russia and Turkey are to prevail here, the sooner we know it authoritatively thru the Supreme Court the better. By this self-sacrifice we shall learn definitely whether or no we are to wear shackles extemporized for us by imperialism in a season of national hysteria.

Free expression is a danger to tyrants and stifling individual opinion is the first step from democracy to despotism. Against this manifest tendency let every lover of liberty protest.

"Now, while the padlocks for our lips are forging,
Silence is crime."

Yours for unfettered utterance,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Last Sunday the Chicago Federation of Labor passed a resolution protesting against the arrest of John Turner, which is to be forwarded to President Roosevelt. Besides, a mass meeting arranged by this body is to take place, where further action will result.

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In Error as to Facts.

It always is well to point out the defects of an institution to which we are opposed, but in trying to do this we must first be sure of our facts, else our argument returns upon ourselves. "Interloper" has neglected this precaution in his comments on the Van Wormer case in New York and the Tillman case in South Carolina. He says that this State "murdered three young boys in cold blood because they had killed a man in the heat of passion." I am not here concerned with the merits or demerits of capital punishment as compared or contrasted with murder by individuals. I merely want to set "Interloper" right as to the facts. In the first place, one of these "young boys" was twenty-eight years old, and all were past twenty one. In the second place, they did not kill "a man in the heat of passion." Their deed was as cold-blooded as that of the State. They armed themselves heavily, hired a rig, and drove for miles to the home of their victim, and began shooting the moment their uncle opened the door in response to their summons. The old man literally was riddled with bullets. This was the cul-

mination of years of idleness and thievery. Their victims hitherto had been hard-working farmers and others, and the uncle they deliberately "organized" to murder also was a farmer. We are not to forget that government has its origin in the individual, that the individual who wantonly assaults another is a government, and if he is destroyed by a stronger government we need not waste sympathy on him. The numerically weaker government has gone down before the numerically stronger government; that is all. These four young men (the three Van Wormer's, and their cousin, who escaped by giving evidence for the prosecution) formed themselves into a little government, for the purpose either of robbery or vengeance, and coolly carried their scheme out to the bloody end.

In his comments on the acquittal of Lieutenant-Governor Tillman in South Carolina, "Interloper" is still more inept than in his remarks on the Van Wormer case, if that is possible. He says that "of course" Tillman is a "rich man." I do not know that he is—does "Interloper"? Why the "of course"? My impression is that the Tillman's are far from being rich, in any modern sense. But that is not material—Tillman was acquitted, not because of his wealth, if he has wealth, but because what he had done was approved by the great preponderance of public opinion in his State. In a large part of the south to "pass the lie" is equivalent to writing one's own death sentence, unless the one who says or writes "liar" is quicker on the trigger than is the person accused. For years Gonzales and Tillman had been enemies; both had used most violent language. It was certain long before the climax came that there would be a collision sooner or later. There can be little doubt that had Gonzales killed Tillman, under like conditions, instead of Tillman killing Gonzales, Gonzales would have been acquitted, as Tillman was acquitted. At all events, the authorities prosecuted Tillman; the People (the jury) acquitted him, believing either that Tillman shot because he thought Gonzales was ready to shoot, or that he was justified in shooting because of what Gonzales had written about him. The trial took place in a back county, the jury was drawn from the common people, and the verdict was the verdict of the public opinion of the State, without regard to the wealth or poverty of the killer and the killed.

To write of the Van Wormer electrocution and the Tillman acquittal as tho the two events were illustrative of like conditions is preposterous; as well might one charge the freedom of divorce allowed in South Dakota against the people of South Carolina and the no-divorce laws of South Carolina against the people of South Dakota.

EDWIN C. WALKER.

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Literature.

FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION. THE PARIS COMMUNE AND ITS LESSONS. By George D. Herron. Commune Cooperative Company, 11 Cooper Sq., New York. 24 pp. Price 5 cents.

This little pamphlet is one of the most eloquent and convincing presentations of the cause and perils of labor which the writer has read. Nominally a political Socialist, Geo. D. Herron writes of the Commune of

Paris with the spirit and comprehension of an Anarchist, getting at the essential nature of that event with a depth of insight worthy of a poet. He goes on to warn the workers against the politicians who will join parties with which labor hope to solve the social problem; telling them by implication that votes cannot make a revolution. Then they are shown that middle class effort cannot save the working class. Finally the author calls upon the workers to solve for themselves their problems, thru intelligently comprehending their relation to the world, and then acting in a spirit of solidarity; making it clear that the palliatives which are offered to them from "above" are but means to postpone their emancipation. B.

WHO IS THE ENEMY; ANTHONY COMSTOCK OR YOU? By Edwin C. Walker. Edwin C. Walker, 244 West 143d St., New York. 64 pp. Price 20 cents.

If Anthony Comstock ever reads this pamphlet his intelligence will be put to the test. The presentation of his character and work which E. C. Walker has made in these pages, would, if Comstock could grasp the truth, drive him into "vomiting up his existence." That Comstock's essential task is to create ignorance, superstition, and corruption is proved beyond question, and the whole matter of the conspiracy against knowledge of sex and its relations is made so clear that "he who runs may read." Altogether, this preachment is an eye-opener on the elevating effects of liberty of speech and the curse of censorships. B.

ON THE DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. By Henry David Thoreau. The Simple Life Press 5 Water Lane, London, E. C. 38 pp. Price 3½d.

Thoreau's celebrated essay has been printed by itself for propaganda purposes, and it is a more effective document today than it was when its author wrote it, under the stress of that hatred and persecution which pursued the advocates of the abolition of Negro slavery years ago. The individual is held up as the source of all initiative, and the interference of authority is analyzed with great power and penetration, and condemned. Thoreau does not take quite the uncompromising position of an Anarchist, but logical inferences from his words lead to Anarchism. B.

THE ANARCHIST CONSTITUTION. By D. I. Sturber, Anarchist. Radical Publishing Company, San Francisco. 188 pp. Price 50 cents.

An Anarchist constitution would be like a free slavery or an enforced freedom, yet here we have a constitution, red of cover, over a hundred pages in length, and providing for the most approved machinery of modern government, all in the name of Anarchism. The author is evidently a man in earnest; the very bulk of the book proves it. But a government which does not govern, an authority which is liberty—excuse me: it makes the head ache to try to conceive it. D. I. Sturber (disturber) should read Kropotkin and others, and learn that government cannot be present and absent at one and the same time. An Anarchist who would like to experience a new sensation might, however, profitably look into the pages of this—curiosity of contradiction. B.

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