



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 51.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1903.

WHOLE NO. 445.

### Dreams.

Slaves of the needle, sitting all a-row;  
Their thin hands plying the insensate steel.  
The pendulum above them swinging slow,  
As if to time their never-flagging zeal;  
Upon each face is carved sorrow's seal,  
While in their eyes forevermore will bide  
Dim recollections fate may not conceal—  
The wraiths of hopes which long ago have died.

Haply they dreamed of lovers years ago,  
Hearts that to them had seemed both fond and leal;  
In those pale cheeks was once a girlish glow;  
But poverty, like winter, doth congeal.  
And now alone they take their scanty meal  
Where want and woe, twin mockeries, preside,  
While rise before them, wan, in mute appeal,  
The wraiths of hopes which long ago have died.

Whether in sunlight or in a winnowed snow  
The seasons 'round their pathway wheel,  
The sting of sleet, the driving rain they know,  
The burning sun, the north wind's whistling skreel.  
Joy have they none; their very senses reel,  
Stunned with the roaring of the city's tide;  
While gray as mist, beside them silent, kneel,  
The wraiths of hopes which long ago have died.

—Ernest McGaffey.

### Society in a Mirror.\*

I

The majority of the people live only in the present, and are incapable of realizing any of the conditions of past times. As things are now so they have always been, so it seems to them. They do not know that every institution now existing has had a long history of growth and development; that customs, even the most trivial seeming, had their origin in long forgotten conditions; and while they seem to us meaningless and are perfunctorily performed, yet in that far time they were felt to be vital and essential. These people know nothing of the wondrous story of primitive times; of the making of society; of the making of religions; of the first rude beginnings of arts and crafts; of the development of the means of intercourse by speech and travel; of the making of tribes and races. All of these things are to them as sealed books. They know nothing of ideals, of aspirations after freedom; they are mostly satisfied with things as they are, and are ever ready to hound to death those who tell them of higher and better things. They live, and die much as animals do, for they have been denied access to all the higher aims and pleasures of life; and the greatest excitement they know is the miserable rivalry of the factory and workshop, where each poor worker tries to get ahead of his fellows,

\* Excerpts from a speech delivered at the memorial meeting of the Chicago martyrs, in Boston.

and so secure a surer job or a few more cents in wages.

Thus live and die the great mass of our fellow creatures. Scarcely distinguishable from one another they form the social soil out of which the new order is to come. While they are so little individualized they are the source from which all individuals come. And there is no chapter in sociology more interesting than that which relates the story of the individualization of man, or the freeing of individual man from the bondage or control of the community. When we first discern him thru the mists of tradition, he is in complete subordination, his personal interests are inseparable from the real or fancied interests of the community into which he was born, and altho he enjoyed a good deal of equality and fraternity, he had no liberty. He fought and hunted as the tribe or clan or gens directed, or according to custom. He ate and drank and was married according to the usages of his people; to have done otherwise would have meant death for him. Their god was his god. Their people were his people. Their country was his country. And all these beliefs and sentiments were protected by a thick "crust of custom" difficult to break thru, indeed requiring a good deal of courage to attempt to do so.

With developing personality, however, comes a desire for some measure of personal freedom; and as the appetite for freedom increases with what it feeds on, we have a constant struggle between the individual and organized society; and this struggle becomes more and more intense as it nears the end, which will come with the advent of a free society. This will be Anarchism. Every act of revolt ever done has been a detail of this contest, and is therefore justified by the Anarchist, no matter how blindly the blow may have been struck. Many of the evolutions of history are recorded as failures; but we who know the underlying cause and purpose know that no revolt can ever fail. The fact of revolt is itself the greatest gain that can be made by the human spirit. It is the evidence of life, of growth, of development; and the value of any revolution consists not so much in what is attempted or what is achieved as it does in the presence of the spirit of revolt. It is the strongest evidence of the sanity of any people that they are ready to revolt and often do so. Thos. Jefferson said: "God forbid that this country shall ever be for twenty years without a rebellion."

Walt Whitman said "to these States," "resist much, obey little"; and Thoreau preached the "duty" of civil disobedience. These, and hundreds of other like sentiments which can be found in American literature, come from highly individualized men,—men who care much for personality and little for the States and governments. The most hopeful sign of our times is the rapid growth of this attitude of mind, for when it becomes general our work will be done—the governments of the world will be dead. But it has been a long and painful process; each step has been bitterly contested; and always those who have seemed to profit by the subjection of others have used every means of inflicting suffering and death upon those who threatened their privileges. No words are strong enough, no array of terms is sufficient to tell of the sufferings or of the heroism with which it was borne by those who have made thus much freedom possible. And the end is not yet. The event which we commemorate to-night is vivid evidence of this, and yet it is our cause of hope; for it is our assurance that the old time courage and devotion are still ours. That the new social spirit is ready for the trial, and that no demand can be made it will not make us ready to meet. Out of adversity will come the qualities that carry us thru. The spirit that supported the martyrs who gave themselves to secure religious freedom, who died believing what we now know to be errors, that spirit was with our comrades and is with us in our fight for social, right and justice and freedom. We know that while there have always been a few who felt this spirit, there never was a time when so many were possessed by it as now, and altho still greatly outnumbered by those who know it not, yet they outweigh all the others by reason of their earnestness and power. From them are recruited all agitators, reformers, revolutionists, and all those who strive not for their own good only but for that of the whole crowd.

Now these eager, restless disturbers are endowed with a new and strange power of standing aside, as it were, from the current of social life and seeing from the outside. By abstracting themselves from the affairs of the present they become aware of the flow of things, of the change that is constantly going on in all institutions; they see the small beginnings of things, their growth, development, and decay. They know that social conditions have not always been as



they are now, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, and always capable of improvement; and so they are inspired to work for their betterment. Sometimes they exert themselves to discredit existing institutions by exposing the inequalities and injustices they involve, and by picturing in glowing words the deprivations and sufferings of the victims, and sometimes they seek to attract the masses by painting in alluring colors a new social order from which the evils of the present have disappeared. These are the two methods of propaganda which all must use, sometimes both combined, but the purpose is always the same, that is, to realize ideal conditions for human society. And this ideal state, what is it but that state wherein each individual is fully provided for, or can fully provide for himself materially, and is free to live his life in his own way without let or hindrance from either Church, State, or society? It means "bread and the circus" for all—always giving the widest interpretation to the terms, and always remembering that these are the two prime necessities of life—food and freedom. Now a good deal depends on which of these necessities we think the most important, for this will determine our social philosophy. If we believe that a full dinner pail is the most important thing in life; if we believe it is better to be well fed than well read; if we believe it is better to march shoulder to shoulder or in the lock step than to stroll at one's own choice; if we believe that we must be well fed even tho our every movement is directed by others and our own initiative set at naught, if we believe in economic fatalism, then we shall be State Socialists of one kind or another, and the name we are called by will make little difference. We may be S. L. P. or S. D. F. or Kangaroo or Rattlesnake, it all means that we are to be managed, disciplined, drilled, and damned as part of an industrial army. If, on the other hand, we believe in the sovereignty of the individual; if we believe that there is nothing in the whole universe more important than a free man or woman; if we believe that neither Church nor State nor society has any rights as against these; and if we believe that the only purpose of life is to live, then we shall be Anarchists. We know that if all have freedom to live and work, if all have liberty, then all other good things will be added unto us. These two schools contain all there is of good in reform or revolution; and they are destined to have the whole field to themselves in the future; all those occupying positions intermediate will inevitably be swept aside or ground to powder between them. My own place is with those who stand for liberty, absolute liberty. The two opposing ideas are absolute liberty and absolute government, Anarchism and Socialism. These two schools have existed throught the whole historic period and perhaps longer; but it is only quite recently that the lines have been clearly and sharply drawn, the parting of the ways having been reached at that period in the history of the International when Bakunin and Marx parted company. Previous to that time most men belonged a little to both schools, and many do so still. This is shown very clearly in a long and in-

teresting series of books having for their purpose the forecasting of a future social state that has come to be called utopia from the name used in one of these books. In these books better than anywhere else you will find the rudimentary forms of the two great schools of which I speak, and you will find them very much confused, and according as the writer leaned to this side or the other, so the picture has been colored. Beginning with Plato's "Republic" three thousand years ago, and continuing down to our day and to this city, they have rung the changes from one extreme to the other. We have had Hobbes's "Leviathan," Moore's "Utopia." The pantisocracy of the English poets of the Shelley group, the "Cooperative Commonwealth" of Gronlund, Morris' "News from Nowhere," Howell's "Altruria," and we have had "Hilda's Home," and "A Cityless and Countryless World," and I must not forget the "Monks of Thelema" in Rabelais. All these books and many others like them are interesting attempts to outline a future in accordance with the respective author's sympathies. Perhaps the best contrast of the two philosophies would be found by taking as example Morris' "News from Nowhere" and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." At any rate all of them are of deep interest and have had much to do with the development of the new spirit. For those whose minds are easiest reached by pictures they are invaluable, for many of them were written by men of broad sympathies and high imagination.

GEORGE BROWN.

(To be continued.)

#### The Labor Movement in Spain.

##### IV

It is conceded that the Spanish proletarian movement is of importance and significance on account of its Anarchistic tendencies, and that Anarchism inspires and prompts the action of the laborers, even tho they are not declared Anarchists, so that it is a recognized fact that the labor unions would not exist, or at least would not continue to live, were it not for animating Anarchistic principles, because the lack of a final aim would wreck them on obstacles or would subject them to bourgeois influence—to that of proletarians, for instance.

We find that Anarchism has to struggle against authority, against capital, and against the hinderances which even its own members place in its way. The obstacles to the forward march of the proletarian movement are:

1. Governing authority, that invents illegal proceedings, in which to ensnare with legal pretensions, intelligent workmen; imprison them, torture them; and finally imposes upon them such severe penalties that their families are reduced to misery, and timid ones are terrified.
2. Iniquitous capital that forms syndicates for extermination against the laborers—famine contracts, it is called—refusing them work and aiding the persecutions of those in authority.
3. The irrational and unconscientious egoism of the members, who, unless they see as objective point of the movement the narrow interest of increased wages and shortened hours, are incapable of rising to the

higher ideals; they not only listen to the calumnies thrown out by the enemy against the leading spirits of the movement, but they are also led off easily by political sharpers; thus by their own unscrupulousness do they destroy the painstaking work accomplished by the conscientious members. I could give numberless authentic data to confirm the above assertions.

Since the revision of the Montjuich case was not carried out,—in order not to reveal in place of the alleged Anarchistic transgression, the real governmental crime—public opinion demanded the return of those who had been imprisoned and banished.

These then became enthusiastic and zealous apostles of the faith—attending all meetings fearlessly, holding conferences with labor unions, publishing books and pamphlets, and reviews, finally establishing a daily paper, *Tierra y Libertad*, (Land and Liberty), which is sustained by the aid and intelligence of many, but mostly by the indomitable constancy of its founders. In this paper the doctrines of man and society are published, commented upon wisely, intelligently, feelingly; carrying to all parts the comfort of the ideal, the animating power of force and true worth.

It is, indeed, dangerous to be an Anarchist in Spain, but probably no other civilized country offers such pleasure—the joy of those who held out the way of progress for mankind.

This is due to the fact that the privileged of this country, as well as the others are degenerate; are behind the time, as a consequence of the dominion of the Catholic Church. They are torpid as well as ignorant, and proportionately incapable. Therefore the Anarchist laborer, invigorated by work and by struggle, becomes intelligent by his own studious efforts; animated, enthusiastic, who thinks, and acts—he is the one who will survive the present and make the future. He is the one who must put down the hitherto insurmountable obstacles set up by the privileged ones—the one who must overthrow the legal institutions founded on ruin and unjust individual appropriations of a common birthright.

In my opinion Italy alone is analogous to Spain. In all other countries, on account of the impotency of Anarchism, Socialism has become popular, and the workmen agitate the narrow views set forth by that party. Its captains, prejudiced and dogmatic men, are opportunists in their beliefs. This kills activity, renders all energy useless and prolongs indefinitely the duration of social iniquity in nations such as Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, France, and England, and much the same, I fear, will happen in the United States. In South America and all Latin republics the proletarian movement is a continuation of the Spanish and Italian.

Here I end the task that I undertook for FREE SOCIETY. Much more might be said, but it is impossible for me to give more time to it, and probably it would be too much for publication or to be of interest. Let me say in closing, that I have been inspired in writing these articles by a desire to be of service to my comrades across the sea—and also by my great love for Anarchy.

ANSELMO LORENZO.



**The Plutocratic View.**

There is a great deal more talk about the Turner case than it deserves. There is a law against foreigners coming into our country who disbelieve in organized government. Such people should stay out. If they do not respect our laws, and violate this particular one by coming to our shores there is nothing for it but for our government to return them whence they came.

And it is a perfectly logical law. We cannot afford to have foreigners come over here and seduce our work-people from their staunch and sturdy loyalty to our institutions.

The clamor against the law on the part of a few foreigners will amount to nothing. Our own people have always stood for liberty. Our constitution proclaims it, our administration upholds it, our courts sustain it, and our working people vote for it. We require no instructions from foreigners. Our fight against King George back in 1776 shows where we stand on that subject. We have all the liberty we can use. My class has no fault to find with prevailing conditions. We have not only all the liberty we want, but the work-people are willing to entrust us with theirs. And we are better custodians of their liberties than they themselves are. It is very much the same as with our savings banks. We put in some of our own money, and the work-people put in theirs. They know we can handle their money better than they can. And it is precisely so with their liberties. They know they can trust us. We have shown our fitness to administer affairs.

A few crack-brained disturbers are trying to incite dissatisfaction with our methods of administration, but they make no headway. The work-people are not so easily led astray. They know that we believe in the fullest measure of liberty for ourselves, and so long as a good average is maintained they are perfectly willing to abjure a part of their own. The failure of agitators to foment discord shows that the work-people of our country are respectable, law-abiding folk.

We keep their dinner-pails fairly well-filled and we know best what is good for them in diet as well as legislation. Why should a working-man want the right to more freedom of speech than his master requires? He shows his good sense and his respectability by being well pleased with what we are willing to give him.

This man Turner is held captive under orders of the secretary of commerce and labor. That illustrious officer—the first of a noble line of such secretaries—unfortunately his name escapes me for the moment—is in a rather unpleasant dilemma. Being secretary of commerce, he must beware lest in a conflict he might lean to the side of labor. As he is of our class he would naturally give commerce the benefit of any bias that might be engendered. Being also secretary of labor, it is fair to assume that so conscientious an official knows fairly well what labor wants. Labor is mighty and when it wants anything is very apt to get it—or knows the reason why commerce wants Turner deported. The secretary knows it. Labor has said nothing on the subject—nothing to speak of—and so it may

fairly be presumed that the mare's nest of freedom of speech and freedom of opinion does not concern labor. And indeed why should it? Has not labor got a dinner pail in fairly good condition? What more does labor want? What more, indeed, should labor want?

PLUTOCRAT.

— o —

**Turner's Case and Consistency.**

In reference to "Are We Consistent" in FREE SOCIETY of December 6, I would like to say a few words. The writer maintains that the work of Anarchists should consist in freeing the minds of the people from the government superstition. Why is it not consistent, then, to rescue those who have fallen in to the clutches of government while propagating Anarchism? If by such devices as anti-Anarchist laws government will lay hold upon free speech and assemblage, we may as well bid farewell to our propaganda; for, if it will succeed in deporting Comrade Turner, the government will most certainly not stop there. Following the line of least resistance, it will carry out its designs to their logical conclusions, and then the deportation of Turner will prove to be only one link in the long chain of outrages that will be perpetrated upon the right of free speech and assemblage.

What will become of the fine-spun theory of non-resistance then? Of course, its advocates may refer us to Russia, where in spite of a most rigid censure upon the free expression of thought, we still have there—especially of late—one of the intensest movements along the line of free thought. But would it not be the grossest folly to assume that entire absence of free speech is preferable to a partial presence of it? Would you advise us to humbly fold our hands and wait until the legacy bequeathed to us by our forefathers, for which they have suffered so bitterly, will be wrested from us? How absurd! Is not Russia in its death-throes because of a struggle against a thing which the non-resistants would have us lose, and our heroes there would introduce at any cost even that of their very lives, viz.: free speech and thought?

Now, again, consistency is not anything valuable intrinsically; it is so relatively only, i. e. relative to the object we are to be consistent about. Well, then, if it is true that our most important activity as Anarchists consists in enlightening the masses and in so doing to eliminate their prejudice—that of government included,—is it not consistent to have free scope for the spread of our ideas, and since nothing furthers it so well as the right of free press and speech,—let us cling to it with all our might and main. The non-resistance theory is fine as an abstraction, and as a production of an old man's brain, who has naturally become too feeble in body to respond to the calls of energetic activity,—it is a pearl second to none. But, mark you, all this is by a long way not applicable to people who are capable of vigorous and animated action. Resistance is a law of nature; it is the path trodden by progress which never fails, if long persisted in.

Turner's case is one of a series of calls, which the struggle for freedom makes upon every liberty-loving and seeking man or

woman. If in a case of this kind we will suffer ourselves to dream about theories of non-resistance, our enemies will triumph and bar the way to every further attempt on our part to accomplish anything.

Therefore, comrades, let us unite all our efforts in the struggle against this new outrage which aims at the destruction of every liberty of the people." By our endeavors in this direction we will be recognized, so let us combine and fight with all means at our disposal. Courts and laws will render this service to us: they will furnish the people vivid evidence of the material government is made of. Our "clever lawyers" mentioned derisively by our friend, will have one more chance of showing by force of argument what the laws really are; now, what will that be other than propagating our ideas in a most effective way? Has there ever in the history of our movement work been done that could equal that of our murdered martyrs in Chicago—I mean than their very speeches in court? Let us then not overlook so good an opportunity as the Turner case affords us. Our ideas should not be confined to platforms and press only: they may be heard and heeded from different places, courts included.

BERTHA LEIB.

— o —

**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.

— o —

**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, although 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.

— o —

**For New York.**

The twenty-fifth anniversary of *Freiheit*, the indefatigable champion of freedom, will be celebrated by a grand concert and ball on Jan. 1, 1904, in Bronx Casino, 2994-2998 Third Ave. An excellent program has been arranged, which will begin at 3 p. m. At 8 o'clock the ball begins, and lasts until 3.

# FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1903.

445

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

## Notes.

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.

The delinquent subscribers in New York will do us a great favor by paying their subscriptions to M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way. If the number on your wrapper is less than the whole number as shown in the current issue, you are in arrears. If you have not time to spare to see Comrade Maisel, write him a postal card and he will go and get the money.

## 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. Admission 10 cents.

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. 14, the linotype fund stands thus:

### PLEDGES.

At last report.....	\$ 117.00
Wm. Steak, Los Angeles.....	5.00
S. Levin, New York.....	3.00

Total, \$ 125.00

### PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....	\$ 139.50
Morris Scheibel, Chicago.....	1.00
Sale of Turner photos.....	3.00

Total, \$ 143.50

## FREE SOCIETY

Parry and Thrust.

Government is death.

Mutual aid is true self-help.

Kindness has no market price.

Love is a part of understanding.

Patriotism is hatred of foreigners.

A blind man is not a judge of light.

Conventionalities are well dressed lies.

Interest is the double payment of debt.

Truth is truth, even tho' liars seem to triumph.

Economics is the theory of the waste of resources.

The ballot for a full dinner pail will fill the pail—with paper.

Hanna and Roosevelt are watching each other like tomcats.

Liberty will never be handed down to man on a golden platter.

"A necessary evil" is as hard to conceive as an unnecessary good would be.

Japan and Russia are playing the game of diplomacy, which is a game of cheat.

J. P. Morgan has perjured himself. But find no fault; he can afford to scorn courts.

Fatalism and free-will are the twin dilemmas of philosophy in search of a stopping place.

Anarchism is the general strike against all forms of oppression, including the ballot box oppression.

George Varian's portrait of Rockefeller, strange to say, reminds one of an ancient and wrinkled hog.

A critic of love says that varietism is lust; which is like saying that purity multiplied by one, is impurity.

A Chicago University professor says that capital is entitled to no reward; that all belongs to labor. Observe his future.

The great financial kings, like other kings, regard themselves as Christians almost to a man. How like Christ they are—not!

Dogmas are matters of taste; and judging by the monstrous dogmas held by some people, their taste is badly in need of humanization.

No better evidence of the rottenness of gov-

ernment could be found than the Rooseveltian double dealing in the affairs of the Panama rebellion.

Judge Holdom, of Chicago, has fined a union as a corporate body, which establishes a precedent. Patriots, observe the successive steps of this infamy.

The friends of woman's freedom are most nonplussed when they contemplate woman's attitude on love relations. When woman sees that she was not made to be loved she begins to live.

Both Tolstoy and Ibsen are grown very old, and soon death will take them away. But their giant work will live and inspire strong men yet to be. Ideas, unlike physical entities, know no grave, nor the lifelessness of ashes.

Kaiser Wilhelm lately preached a sermon at the confirmation of his two sons, extolling Christ and his example. If the German people will listen to words of love from the pestilent lips of hate their ruler may count on the army for years to come.

The Chicago Teamster's Union is suspecting its leaders, and in a meeting lately charges were openly made against them. The horizon of labor is brightening when the workers keep close watch upon those who smell the money of the enemy.

Liberty is for those who do not believe in paternalism. The everlasting superintendence of the affairs of the social individual in which the State indulges itself, must come to an end or society will cease to have just cause for existence.

Chicago is stirred over the prevalence of crime; and the citizens are considering all sorts of ways and means to bring the carnival of violence to an end. Of course, if one were to inform them that the universal prevalence of crime on a large scale engenders infinite crime on the small scale, they would set him down as a "madman."

There must be a revolution of the mind before there can be a revolution of life, and more than discontent must come into the mind to make a true revolution there. Impatient it is natural that we should be, as we see the slow and frozen footsteps of progress; but if we would accelerate those footsteps let us unite in attacking the complacent ignorance in which labor sits, waiting for a saviour to come to it.

Herbert Spencer "built better than he knew" when in his "Principles of Sociology" and "Principles of Morality" he laid down foundations which prove to be the bases of Anarchism. That Spencer did not avow this is no reflection upon his courage and honesty; it is a reflection, however, upon the flexibility of "philosophy," which, like any other slave, obeys the philosopher, who in his turn obeys his prejudice largely, even when he thinks.



Occasionally a State Socialist speaker exhibits his unblushing ignorance by asserting that Anarchists are working in the interests of the exploiting classes in opposing the ballot box bunko game, or the flying of the government kite with a Socialist tail. The capitalist is opposed to State Socialism; so are Anarchists; anyone who would argue that there were fraternal bonds between the two because of this fact, should say the same of Christians and Atheists, as they are both opposed to Mormonism.

AMERICUS.

#### By the Wayside.

Mr. Walker laments in last week's FREE SOCIETY that I attacked government unjustly for murdering the Van Wormer boys. But the gist of my arguments, viz.: that governments always murder in cold blood, and that rich men in this country can commit almost any crime with impunity, he fails to touch. The assertion that "an individual who wantonly assaults another is a government" is preposterous, and I deny it.

"To hell with the constitution! We do not follow the constitution!" says Major McClellan of Colorado, in order to justify the infamies perpetrated by the authorities on the striking miners. That's the stuff, major; throw off the mask of hypocrisy, and the dormant workers may sooner or later awake to the fact that constitutions and laws are but devices of tyrants and exploiters; and thus engender hatred toward all man-made laws and their executors.

The indifference and attitude of silence which the American Federation of Labor manifests toward the Western Federation of Miners, obviously simply because the latter is not formally affiliated with the former, is a shame and disgrace, and will sooner or later recoil upon Gompers and his clique. The miners of Colorado are to be admired for their valiant resistance against the tyranny and outrages perpetrated by the military butchers and other unbridled governing idlers; and deserve the sympathy and financial aid of every liberty-loving individual in the land.

In Arguadilla, Porto Rico, over two hundred women and girls went on strike, demanding twenty-five cents a day for as-sorting coffee. They had been getting fifteen cents for twelve and fourteen hours work. But the employers have rejected such ex-or-bitant demands. "One feels like striking at random with fierce indignation," says the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, "if one considers the shameful and miserable wages these industrious women receive from their greedy employers. One would like to stuff these scamps, who think twenty-five cents too much for twelve hours work, full of coffee-beans until they suffocate. What a pity that we rest satisfied with a mere scolding! Such treatment as has been accorded these work-women at Arguadilla justifies every insurrection; all vengeance against the heartless profit-mongers, whose swelled and brazen faces deserve ten, nay, ten-hundredfold of the most painful scourging with

the pangs of hunger which they swing invisibly over their slaves."

There is now an excellent opportunity for those who constantly lament that the articles in FREE SOCIETY are not plain enough to effectively reach the masses, and pretend to withhold their support for this reason, to show their earnestness. Concrete evidence abounds that the authorities of this country are determined in their attempts to throttle freedom of speech and press, brazenly violating their own constitution. John Turner is incarcerated, and is to be deported for his convictions; and in the Colorado mine regions the meetings of strikers are prohibited, the papers sympathizing with the miners are muzzled, and the strike leaders thrown into bull-pens without provocation. Get rid of your accumulated energy and money now, if you are not simply loiterers, and send for James F. Morton's pamphlet, "Do You Want Free Speech?" or, "The Conspiracy Against Free Speech and Free Press," by Dr. Geo. Pyburn, which latter can be had for little money, and distribute them among your conservative acquaintances, in the unions, etc., always pointing out the danger the people are in if they do not soon awaken.

AMERICUS.

#### Protest Meeting in Philadelphia.

(On Sunday evening, Nov. 22, a protest meeting was held under the auspices of the Social Science Club in Odd Fellows Temple. G. F. Stephens and Wm. L. Ross, as governmentalists, denounced the action of government in detaining John Turner on Ellis Island, and demanded his liberation under the guarantee of the Constitution. George Brown, as an Anarchist, expressed himself as expecting nothing short of deportation for Turner, and said that the Constitution had always been interpreted to mean just what the paying party desired it should—that government was based on force and never had acted justly. That it was well enough for people who believed in government to protest, but that he was not there to plead, argue, or protest, but to assert the right of free speech, which was prior to all governments or constitutions.

H. D. Albright followed, and stated that Brown's assertion as to free speech was correct, and that the only thing he had to do in the matter was to see that this right was not invaded by other individuals, and that the federal government in this case was the criminal, and acting in direct violation to the constitution. Comrade V. de Cleyre followed, asking what it was the fathers of this republic fought about in '76. She said the people in England especially—had some queer notion that the Americans objected to King George's interference with their right of free speech, but that in view of the present attitude of the government this could scarcely be credited; that we might expect to hear of the conservative English press rising to inquire why the war had been fought at all, since there was more freedom under the monarchy of England than in this republic, and that we would presently find ourselves in the odd position of being declared criminals for keeping in our possession the works of Jefferson, Paine, Tolstoy,

and the Constitution of the United States—all of which works expressed sentiments heretical to the present government.

After this Mr. Milliken of the Single Tax Club read a letter from Congressman Baker, some extracts from Turner's letter, and resolutions denouncing the attitude of the government, which were unanimously adopted.

There were about 1000 people present, and this despite the fact that a number of policemen were stationed outside the hall, which must have scared off a considerable number of timid persons.

The Cigarmakers' Local Union, as well as the Associated German Trades, have adopted resolutions denouncing the action of government and opposing Turner's deportation. The former body will bring the matter before the Central Labor Union and urge energetic action. MARY HANSEN.

#### Appeal to all Friends of Liberty!

John Turner, an English workingman, member of a trade union, is kept in close confinement by the federal authorities at Ellis Island. He is treated like a dangerous criminal because it is alleged that he "dis-believes in organized government." Therefore he is to be forcibly returned to England under the provisions of the recently amended immigration law.

The undersigned have constituted themselves into a Defense Committee, and propose not only to attack, by proceedings before the United States Supreme Court, the constitutionality of that monstrous law which violates all American traditions, but at the same time to conduct an effective agitation in defense of the liberty of thought and speech.

A struggle for principles of the most fundamental importance is forced upon us. The right of free thought and free speech must not be trampled upon without the most determined resistance, else the gates would be thrown wide open to every kind of arbitrary tyranny.

Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, favorably known as a sincere lover of justice and a friend of the working class has expressed his willingness to take Mr. Turner's case to the United States Supreme Court on behalf of the defense committee.

The campaign against governmental measures which seek to ape Russian methods upon American soil will require considerable financial means.

We therefore appeal to all friends of liberty of thought and speech, particularly to all American workmen, for voluntary contributions towards the struggle which we propose to conduct with all possible vigor.

Contributions should be forwarded to our treasurer, Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., 120 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

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



## A Christmas Sermon.\*

This being the unusual season when small folks may ask favors of big ones with some hope of getting them let me beg enough of your space to preach a little Christmas sermon whose texts shall be taken from your own news columns.

Theoretically we call ourselves a Christian people and we celebrate Christmas Day as the birthday of the founder of what most of us think is our religion. Even those not calling themselves by his name, the Hebrews, the despised Chinamen among us, those of the numberless dissenting churches and those, like myself, of no church at all, gladly join in the words which voice the spirit of this especial festival: "On earth peace, good will toward men."

Now peace on earth comes only as those on earth feel peaceably and lovingly toward each other, a state of mind natural enough when we are pacifying the Spaniards, the Chinese or Filipinos with fire and sword; and good will toward men means a kindly feeling toward all, not only toward those nice few persons of our particular caste whom we usually honor with our acquaintance.

And among those many toward whom we as individuals and as a community have, on other days than Christmas, no good will whatever, are certain folk who call themselves Anarchists. I mean real folk—not the fearful creations of comic newspaper artists and of more comic newspaper writers who take themselves seriously, who between them have evolved, or invented without patenting, a hairy and red-shirted type of demons with torch and dynamite. You know the kind as well as you know the mother-in-law or the stovepipe joke of the comic weeklies. Whenever a crazy man tries to kill a king or a millionaire, who personifies to him the social wrong which makes life the horror it is to people who work and think, he is headlined and put thru the "third degree" of the police torture chamber as such an Anarchist.

But since in many years acquaintance with all sorts of men and women who are trying to make the world better by plans of their own, I never met a single one who believed matters could be helped by personal violence, I am inclined to believe, in spite of my faith in newspapers, that this kind of Anarchist is what scientist call a myth and plain people call a fake, just as Santa Claus is to the Camden school teacher, who lately outraged public opinion by refusing to lie to some of us because we are a few years younger than the rest.

But there are real Anarchists none the less, having flesh and blood, and many of them having heads and hearts beside; men and women who believe and teach that government has degenerated into organized oppression and law into organized injustice, that men may safely be trusted to take care of themselves and of the rights of others without the policeman's club and the jail and the gallows. Curiously enough there is a resemblance between this belief and that of the teacher in whose honor we hold Christmas celebrations.

Toward this kind of Anarchists, however;

\* This letter had been written for the Philadelphia North American, but was rejected, of course.

we practical Christians have on most days as little of good will as to the fairy-tail kind of torch and dagger. One of them, a woman, lay in Hahneman hospital last Christmas Eve, shot by a man she had never injured, and her one desire appeared to be that her murderer should not be murdered in turn by the government: that is, by you and me and the rest of us. So real is this wish and so characteristic of her kind that her fellow Anarchists, wage workers for the most part, were trying to collect out of their miserable earnings a fund of two thousand dollars to defend in court the man who shot the girl they love and honor.

Now would it not be Christmasy kind of a thing if the rest of us would show good will enough toward those of this unpopular belief to frankly recognize—just to ourselves of course and without saying it out loud,—that these unchristian Anarchists have out-Christianed our alleged Christian community with its living faith in detectives, jailers and hangmen? Here are this woman's words as the *North American* gives them. "The boy who shot me is crazy. Lack of proper food and healthy labor made him so. He ought to be put in an asylum. It would be an outrage against civilization if he were sent to jail for an act that is the product of a diseased brain. I have no resentment against him."

Surely in this Christmas season, this little time of the year during which we believe in peace and good will, we may drop our conventional phrases and poses long enough to hear in this an echo of the death cry of the first great Christian "Father forgive them for they know not what they do;" even tho they are spoken by one who thinks, as most of us think, and says, as most of us are afraid to say, that our civilization is a failure, our laws a mockery of justice, and our religion an echo; that all of them can be and ought to be changed in the spirit of Christmas time, of peace on earth and good will toward men. FRANK STEPHENS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

— o —

## Why Not Help Socialism?

I have a dear friend whose tendencies I supposed were all Anarchistic. Very radical at least I knew her to be. She attended our Social Science club, whose talent was all of the Tucker school, "to get confirmed," as she said, "in the philosophic Anarchism," and, behold! she develops into a Socialist.

She writes in a long letter and says:

You will have to smile audibly at me too, for I have become convinced that Socialism is coming, that it will bring great gain to the working people, and that it needs the support and the earnest endeavor of every true lover of liberty.

I answered her loving letter a little hastily, perhaps, and, an after-thought, suggested using the subject for an article for *FREE SOCIETY*, wherein I might elaborate and possibly elucidate the matter somewhat.

It is a subject we have long dwelt upon, yet it seems to require "line upon line and precept upon precept." My fair correspondent, however new upon the field, is not alone in the thought that the Anarchist ought to work with the Socialists, or at least politically. When I read what I had written to

a sojourner friend, one whom I knew had a leaning towards Socialism, yet I thought might sympathize somewhat with me, he turned on me, wanted to know what I was doing, or had been doing to alter conditions. Not voting, what redress had I? He claimed I was under obligation to government, and could see only ingratitude and perversity in the attitude of the Anarchist.

Now this is an old, old argument (?) of the politician; advanced Socialists do not resort to it, for they denounce government as it is and sympathize with the Anarchist in wanting its abolition. They differ in that they would have an institution take its place. They vote and resort to political action as the only means they have of accomplishing their object. In a word, the advance guard are revolutionists, that is to say, if their ideas are really revolutionary. The Anarchist claims that their institution must of necessity be government. They would simply change its form and name. The Anarchist claims that the nature of government is ever the same. Changing its forms or officials, in no way alters the principle. The fact is these people seem to ignore, or fail to grasp the principle the Anarchist contends for—the principle of liberty—the action of the will untrammelled. They cannot let go the idea that some restraining power is absolutely necessary. But to return to the letter of my friend. She says:

Every forward movement brings in its train certain disadvantages, certain losses, certain retrogressive tendencies. The objections to Socialism as an ultimate ideal are valid.

I cannot think she actually believes this, for "the ultimate ideal" of advanced Socialism is identical with that of Anarchism. What she means, I suppose, is, that the evils of politics are real, and the danger of instituting something that may deny liberty is valid. Still, as she sees no other way at all practicable, we should take the risk of continuing. She says:

But as compared with present conditions and as weighed in the balance of present tendencies and direction of social forces, they don't count.

Now, this seems to me like venturing on a policy devoid of the principle. Like the Republican, who admits that the principles of free trade are all right, but "weighed in the balance of present tendencies and direction of social forces they don't count." It reminds me of the boy's excuse for being late at school, "It was so slippery, every step he took forward he slipped back two." "But," said the teacher, "you would never have got here at that rate." "I know it," said the boy, "so I turned and walked the other way." Now we don't propose to walk towards slavery for the purpose of slipping into freedom. Again she says:

You fear the tyranny of the cooperation commonwealth,—then, work within the Socialist movement to enlighten, to broaden, to inspire the love of freedom, the conception of justice, and the individual.

Well, there is no doubt many so-called Socialists are doing this, confining themselves to the ideals and avoiding as little as possible all mention of politics, still they must give the sanction of their presence and influence, but, for an Anarchist to do this would be to stultify himself. Because he must recognize that the principle underlying poli-



tical action is diametrically opposed to his ideal, which is absolute freedom from the rule of man. Now, my friend, who once thought to get confirmed in "philosophic" Anarchism, writes me:

The individualist Anarchist has no common cause with Socialism. He is a back number, competition is dead, dead, DEAD! \* \* \* But the Communist has no need to set himself up against Socialism and thus to divide the forces that make for liberty.

I have to thank my friend as a Communist Anarchist. I wish I could return the compliment. But the forces she wants me to work with I cannot admit "make for liberty." She says, "Socialism can be attained long before Communism (Anarchistic) is possible." There is no doubt about this. Socialism as a political party is making head fast, much faster, I fear, than those forces that "make for liberty." Her ideal seems to be that "every true lover of liberty" ought to identify himself with the party. Still she must know that her conception of liberty is vastly different from the great majority of that party. And "majority rule" is the great principle they advocate. Now it seems to me that lovers of liberty might be in better business. "Birds of a feather should flock together," and I have an idea that the radical element will be forced to do this. Just the moment political success is assured the riffraff of all parties will rush in and radicalism will rush out, or be kicked out. The only question is, will the advertisement the radicals receive, recompense them for the loss of principle they must sustain. Again my friend:

Socialism must come. The trusts have got to be met by the only weapon stronger than a combination of capital, and the only such weapon is a combination of workers.

But I cannot see how the lover of liberty is especially interested. Will his interests be advanced by transferring power from capitalists to workers? We have been told sometimes that the trusts were making Socialism not only possible, but imperative. The trusts, we are told, foreshadow Socialism, they are to merge into Socialism.

If it be so, and it is worked out very nicely by Mr. Wilshire and many others, and the Socialist papers all dilate on the beauties of system and economy of the trusts, it would seem that Socialism was really due to "a combination of capitalists," rather than "a combination of workers." And according to Mr. Wilshire our "captains of industry" will be elected guardians of the State. But my friend says:

Socialism will revolutionize economic conditions and prepare the way for future development.

Now it comes as above suggested by allowing the trusts to absorb industry, instead of government absorbing the trusts, concentrating the many monopolies into one monster monopoly. I fail to see where the revolution comes in. The economic system remains identically the same. I am not unmindful of the many promises held out, but promises are peculiar with politics. It is about the only thing we are sure of. My friend says:

Anarchists will not hasten the realization of Anarchism by fighting Socialism.

Which is very true. But will they hasten that realization by merging themselves in

Socialism, that is to say, political Socialism? As a matter of fact it is not Socialism that we fight, but authority, forceful authority, the rule of man by man. Again:

You are trying to cross the river but refusing to help in building the bridge.

I don't know about that. I am inclined to think the river they want to bridge over is the river we do not care to cross, as it would not lead to liberty, but to authority. We have got far enough into the enemy's country. It is easier to fight the individual monopolist than the universal monopolist. The principle of State Socialism is to concentrate and centralize authority. It would reverse the evolution of government, which has been on lines of diffusion and decentralization. Hence the principle of government became less and less acute. No, your bridge would give to the enemies of liberty greater facility, when once they get command. You know the adage "fools make feasts and wise men eat them." I fear your bridge, like every political endeavor, would prove an abortion. We work for Socialism, that is, social democracy, the common life, liberty, equality, fraternity—the ideals of justice, fellowship, and humanity; but for Socialism, the institution to be established by and thru political action, we have no use. And the principle upon which this party is striving for power is not only objectionable but dangerous in the extreme, as it aggravates an evil.

Let the true lovers of liberty beware its serene song.

A. LEROY LOUBAL.

— o —

Echoes.

Where are the workingmen? How many unions have discussed the case of Mr. Turner? One. The Central Labor Union—and it voted that it could not afford to help him! Could not afford to help a unionist! It was afraid of being contaminated. How many workmen know about this case? We have interrogated a great many. "Oh, yes; I saw Mr. Turner's name mentioned in the papers as being arrested." "What! Turner the Anarchist? They sent him back to England, didn't they?" And this was all they knew about the outrage on their champion.

In the speech, after making which Mr. Turner was arrested, the reporters claimed that his utterances were incendiary, inasmuch as he said that within ten years there would be a strike beside which all other strikes have been infants' efforts. Mr. Turner is mistaken. The workingmen are asleep to stay. Sleeping men do not think, and the workingmen are asleep as far as all the vital principles of liberty in this country are concerned. Once in a while they wake up and break some comrade's head and then go to sleep again. They are in the brute force stage, and are met with brute force, and they always lose in the end because they can be hired to club and shoot and arrest their comrades. The institutions of society are in no possible danger from them. Mr. Turner can be safely turned loose.—  
Truth Seeker.

they never refuse, they are glad that they are allowed to obey," the emperor replied laughing.

Taking things in general, history justifies the emperor's statement. Most of the good sheep have always been willing to be fleeced and slaughtered. The disobedient ones among them have quickly been slain by faithful watch-dogs.

Being raised in obedience the ruled ones have always looked upon it as a matter of course to sacrifice their fortune and spill their blood for the rulers. Very slowly have the brighter ones come to see that the exploitation of one another, the oppression of the masses by the few, is preposterous and degrading. These have sacrificed their lives to imbue the others with their thoughts—freedom and equality for all alike. These hosts multiply slowly but incessantly.

Today in all countries many answer the jester's question: "We will obey no longer, and shall take good care that the number of those who abhor servitude is multiplied from day to day."

To pass from disobedience to revolt, from passive to active resistance, is the next proposition for those who are free mentally. The oppressors and their jesters will yet learn that the days of their splendor are gone, when submissive subjects are transformed into rebellious "disturbers of the peace."—  
Martin Drescher.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor has obviously found no time to occupy itself with Turner's case. At least the reports said nothing about it. Perhaps a committee has been appointed which will quietly bury this affair, which is so disagreeable to the leading spirits.

John Turner's services in the interest of trade unionism, not only in his own country but also in others, need no special mention. He has devoted his whole life to the cause of labor, and has been untiringly active in organizing and strengthening labor. In their own interests should the trades unions of America take sides with this fearless man, when a foolish and unconstitutional law prevents him from working for trade unionism here. But it is just his zeal, his unselfish devotedness to the cause of labor which do not suit the pusillanimous Gompers and his fellows. These labor leaders, who have shown themselves so often—an insult to their position—unreliable and unfaithful regarding the worker's interest, are afraid to offend the high officials in Washington if they energetically defend an Anarchist.

Gompers has again been elected president of the Federation. It is said that "only the biggest calves select their slaughterers themselves." And it actually seems that the majority of the American Federation of Labor has not had enough of the fleeing to which Gompers has submitted it at the hands of capitalism thru his timidity, and wants to be led to the shambles directly by him.—  
Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung.

— o —  
For Chicago.

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

"But if the others should one day refuse to obey?" once the jester Kunz von der Rosen asked the Emperor Maximilian. "Oh,



**SUBSCRIPTIONS for FREE SOCIETY can**

be paid at the following addresses:

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

**RECEIPTS.**

Mint, \$2. Weeks, Kunze, Landskron, Koenigsberg, Rudash, Nortvedt, Schoolman, Scheibel, each \$1. Etkin, Schwarz, Gilroy, Goetz, Rodosy, each 50c.

### MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By Peter Kropotkin.

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

Considered by some Kropotkin's best work.

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

**CONTENTS:**

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

Price, 25 cents

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

**BOOK LIST.****ALL ORDERS FOR THE FOLLOWING BOOKS****RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE.**

- Essays on the Social Problem..... 05  
.....H. Addis  
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen 05  
God and the State.....Bakunin 05  
The Same. London edition..... 10  
Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings.....Helena Born 1.00  
Prodigal Daughter: or, The Price of Virtue.....Rachel Campbell 25  
Love's Coming of Age..... 25  
.....Edward Carpenter 1.00  
Evolution of the Family..... 05  
.....Jonathan Mayo Crane  
Conduct and Profession..... 10  
.....Clarence S. Darrow  
Crime and Criminals..... 10  
Realism in Literature and Art..... 05  
Resist Not Evil. Cloth..... 75  
Tolstoy..... 10  
Crime and Punishment..... 10  
.....Voltaireine de Cleyre  
The Worm Turns..... 10  
The Emancipation of Society from Government.....Dallan Doyle 05  
Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism.....Jay Fox 03  
Moribund Society and Anarchy. Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave 25  
Origin of Anarchism.....C. L. James 05  
The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. (An excellent work to disillusionize those Social Democrats, who still imagine that Socialists contemplate a Revolution.) 180 pages..... 50  
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal.....Peter Kropotkin 05  
Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles..... 05  
An Appeal to the Young..... 05  
Anarchist Morality..... 05  
Expropriation..... 05  
Field, Factory and Workshop Law and Authority..... 45  
Memoirs of a Revolutionist..... 2.00  
Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution..... 2.00  
Organized Vengeance..... 03  
Paris Commune..... 05  
The State: Its Historic Role..... 10  
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government..... 05  
Socialism and Politics..... 05  
Government Analyzed.....Kelso 50  
The Economics of Anarchy..... 25  
.....Dyer D. Lum  
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream? Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....Malatesta 10  
A Talk about Anarchist Communism between two Workers... 05  
A Chambermaid's Diary..... 50  
.....Octave Mirbeau  
Do You Want Free Speech?..... 10  
.....James F. Morton, Jr.  
The Deistic Pestilence.....John Most 05  
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition.....W. Nevill  
The Pyramid of Tyranny..... 05  
.....F. Domela Nieuwehuis  
A Cityless and Countryless World: An Outline of Practical Cooperative Individualism Cloth \$1..... 50  
.....Henry Olerich  
Mating or Marrying, Which?..... 05  
.....W. H. Van Ornum  
Sine Qua Non, or The Core of Religion.....Dr. Geo. Pyburn 10  
Evolution and Revolution.....Reclus 05  
Pure Economy.....J. H. Rowell 10  
Pages of Socialist History..... 30  
.....W. Tcherkesoff  
The Slavery of Our Times. Cloth..... 75  
.....Leo Tolstoy  
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses.....E. C. Walker 15  
Vice: Its Friends and Poes..... 15  
What the Young Need to Know " 10

## History of the French Revolution.

By C. L. JAMES.

A new history of the French Revolution, and a history written from a new point of view—this is in little a characterization of a work which is exciting intelligent interest and appreciative criticism among historical scholars and readers of history in general.

The author of the work, C. L. James, is in a literary as well as the physical sense the son of his father, G. R. James; who was well-known, both as a scholar and imaginative writer to an older generation of book-lovers. With a trained literary faculty, an unbiased judgment, and a capacity for painstaking investigation and emendation, he has produced a piece of writing which cannot fail to become better and better known as time goes on, and which will take a place among authoritative pronouncements upon those events which it chronicles.

C. L. James approaches the problem of the French Revolution in a thoroughly scientific spirit, and conciliates opposition at once by giving due consideration to all the facts having any importance in that memorable strife. But ere the reader has gone very far into the book he discovers that it is a vindication of the human race in its long, long struggle to free itself from restrictions upon its liberty and life; in short, he discovers that the author views the evil of the French Revolution as a thing arising mainly out of oppression prior thereto and authoritative interference during its progress, and the good as those liberties which it gave to the world and which its ideal and example predispose men to augment according to their strength and individuality. Monarchic, democratic, religious histories we have had; the French Revolution is now presented to us from a libertarian point of view.

Printed from large, new type on good book paper, and handsomely bound in cloth; 343 pp. Price \$1, postpaid. Send orders to

**LIBERTY GROUP,**

427 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

**SOME APPRECIATIONS.**

All must be attracted by your forceful and pointed way of putting your matter. I thoroughly enjoy your reading of this great world movement.—Prof. G. R. MOULTON, University of Chicago.

I was much interested in looking over the work. It seems to me to indicate careful study of the sources, and to be the work of one profoundly interested in democracy.—AZARIAH S. ROOT, Librarian Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio.

It presents a point of view which entitles it to more than passing consideration.—The Public, Chicago.

It shows ripe scholarship and a profound knowledge of the subject, which is the greatest in the history of the world. It is original and is written in Mr. James' terse, vigorous style. . . . For the ordinary reader it is much better than Carlyle's famous work. It is certainly most creditable to its scholarly author.—Daily Leader, Eau Claire, Wis.

Carlyle gave us the English of the Revolution. Thiers gave us the French of the Revolution: the conventional French. But it has remained for more modern criticism to render up the Revolution to its larger meanings. James belongs to that criticism.—The Conservator, Philadelphia.

**M. N. MAISEL'S BOOKSTORE**

194 EAST BROADWAY - - NEW YORK

The best ten plays of

H. NRICK IBSEN.

- A Doll's House, 25c.  
Rosmerholm, 25c.  
The Lady of the Sea, 25c.  
The Wild Duck, 25c.  
Young Men's League, 25c.  
Hedda Gabler, 50c.  
The Master Builder, 50c.  
The Pillars of Society, 25c.  
Ghosts, 25c.  
The Enemy of Society, 25c.

The last three plays named, are also published in a cheap edition in one volume, cloth, and sold at 30c. or 40c. postpaid.

The above ten plays, paper, sent to one address, postpaid, for \$2.50.

The same ten plays, seven in paper, together with the last three in one cloth volume, sent postpaid for \$2.25.

I have on hand a few new sets of the complete works of

LEO TOLSTOY,

in twelve volumes, good print and fine binding, published at \$12, which I will sell, while they last, at \$9.50 a set. The expressage must be paid by the buyer.

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

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

## MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

**CONTENTS:**

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

The book is printed in large type, and consists of 176 pages.

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

### LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS.

Order from the publisher, Mrs. LUCY E. PARSONS, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago, Ill.

**WANTED.**

One hundred women to study midwifery. Register now for session beginning Jan. 1st.

Address

DR. F. E. DRESSLER,  
COLLEGE OF MEDICINE & SURGERY  
245 Ashland Boul. Chicago.