



### Praise to the Heroes.

Praise to the heroes who struck for the right,  
When freedom and truth were defended in fight:  
Of blood-shedding hirelings the deeds are abhorred,  
But the patriot smiles, and we honor his word

Praise to the martyrs who died for the right,  
Nor ever bowed down at the bidding of might:  
Their ashes were cast all abroad on the wind,  
But more widely the blessings they won for mankind.

Praise to the sages, the teachers of right,  
Whose voice in the darkness said, 'Let there be light':  
The sophist may gain the renown of an hour;  
But wisdom is glory, while knowledge is power.

Heroes, martyrs, and sages, true prophets of right!  
They foresaw, and they made man's futurity bright.  
Their fame will ascend till the world sink in flames:  
Be their spirit in all who sing praise to their names.

— William Johnson Fox.

### The Paris Commune.

Again the significant historical event of 1871, the uprising of the Paris toilers against the corrupted rulers of the newly proclaimed republic, who would rather surrender the country to the Prussians than listen to the voice of the people, will be celebrated all over the so-called civilized world. Every year the revolutionary press gives a brief account of the aspirations of the workers of Paris and the tragical outcome of the insurrection, yet the dense ignorance concerning the Paris Commune makes it necessary to relate the event again and again; for even the average editor of the trade union press refers to the struggle of the communards as "a piece of mad and murderous folly."

The revolt of the Paris toilers was neither murderous, nor mad, nor aimless; "its fault was want of success, only," as William Morris says, and its failure was due mainly to the attempt of pouring new wine into old bottles. But it is safe to say that the rebels of 1871 were the heralds of the stupendous revolution which is already visible on the social horizon—a revolution which will not aim at the change of government, but endeavor to abolish all government and servitude, as one cannot exist without the other.

As already mentioned, the corrupted republican government feared the revolutionary spirit of the workers more than the enemy, the Prussians, and decided to surrender Paris practically without resistance. Thus it was that the people of Paris, joined by the National Guard, turned against the regime of Thiers, the tool of bankers and jobbers. Thiers and his satellites, with 40,000 soldiers, took refuge at Versailles, a suburb of Paris, after which the people of Paris proclaimed the Commune.

Altho being without any government, the people of Paris immediately rushed to the defense of the city and made arrangement that none should suffer for want of food and shelter. Food was scarce, yet never had there been less universal suffering; never had there been less crime committed; never had the streets of Paris been more secure at night than during the days when Paris was practically without police protection, according to an American eye-witness. Spontaneity, voluntary action, proved itself more prompt and efficient than the "discipline" of government. Everybody, even the children, showed great anxiety to make themselves useful, either in defending the city against the troops of Versailles, or in providing ammunition and the necessities of life. With the retreat of the government to Versailles debauchery was conspicuous by its absence, much to the disappointment of the professional prostitutes, who immediately located themselves around the headquarters of Thiers and other parasites. Instead of murder and wanton destruction, peace and order prevailed in the city. More than this. In spite of the scarcity of provisions and money, the Commune guarded the gold in the vaults of the banks, thus respecting the property of their enemies, to their own detriment. The prisoners taken they treated like their equals, while the first prisoners taken by the Versailles were shot on the spot, to preserve "law and order," of course.

But the Commune made the mistake of supposing it possible to legalize its position. A central committee was elected to govern the affairs of the Commune, and this was the beginning of the end. The people now relied upon the central committee, which wasted its precious time in parliamentary quarrels, framing laws and issuing decrees, while the enemy was busy in strengthening the army. In short, inactivity became more and more the order of the day. The spontaneous rush to the endangered positions of the communards had ceased, for the request for more men had to go thru the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, and before this committee had considered the call for men pro and con help came usually too late, and thus the Commune lost one entrenchment after the other. Yet the people were not daunted by the first defeats; they were determined to fight to the bitter end, being aware that surrender meant death and torture, as it had become apparent by the cruel treatment the captured communards were suffering at Versailles. But the people's bravery and courage were frustrated by the timidity and inactivity of their government—the central committee—which continued to indulge in framing laws

and issuing decrees, instead of directing all its energy against the defense of the city. "Much precious time and still more precious energy were wasted by the leaders in vain attempts to legalize their position in the eyes of France," says William Morris, "a position, one cannot too often repeat, whose real aim was the destruction of legalized tyranny thruout the world." We cannot help thinking that this uncertainty of aim was felt thru all their councils, and was the cause of the shortcomings that hampered the heroism of the people of Paris. In nothing was this more plain than in their dealings with the bank. The very heart of the enemy was in their grasp, as the giant's heart of the old fable, and they refused to clench their hand. They borrowed a small sum from the stored up plunder of the people, instead of taking the people's own and using it for the freeing of the people."

On May 27 the Commune, which had been proclaimed March 18, with great hopes and high aspirations, was completely defeated. And now "law and order" instituted a reign of terror such as the world has hardly ever witnessed. "In the prison of La Roquette alone nine hundred prisoners were slain in cold blood, and without any pretence of form of trial." People were shot for pastime and amusement. Fifty thousand people—sex or age made no difference—were arrested, twenty thousand of whom were killed in Paris in cold blood, besides those slain in Versailles. Some of those arrested were released after long months of cruel imprisonment; about one thousand eight hundred died from being tormented; some were condemned to deportation, and some were shot after a regular trial.

Thus ended the great struggle between the common people and the exploiters and parasites of society, between the revolutionary population of Paris, whose aim was the abolition of wage slavery and freedom and those who would impose their regime of tyranny by all means. And humanity and heroism were certainly on the side of the communards, who had not shed blood except in open fight, and who faced death and torture rather than have their ideals befouled and degraded. They failed in their attempt to establish free and independent Communes all over France, which was their aim; but the success lies in their failure. The progressive workers of the world have learned a lesson, namely, that a revolution cannot be legalized, and ceases to be a revolution with the formation of a government, no matter what its name or how pure its intentions may be. To be successful, a revolution must be the spontaneous activity of the people themselves, stimulated by indi-

vidual initiative and intelligence. Had the central committee directed its energy toward the defense of the city and opening the factories, instead of wasting its time in making laws and issuing decrees, the result would perhaps have been the starting point of a new era in France.

A. ISAAK.

### In the Country of the Inquisition.

Once more Catholic Spain has followed the lead of its compatriot St. Dominique and resuscitated,—to our astonishment—the Inquisition which was thought to be dead.

To imitate the saints; is not that the surest road to salvation? And since God has created man in his own image, God himself, is he not ultimately the ideal type of perfection, from whom the Christian should not for an instant avert his eyes? Now the eternal father excels in cruelty as in all things, for he has invented purgatory and hell; where he broils before a slow fire and submits to Dantestic tortures his own children, for a frightful time—for an eternity.

The Spanish executioners, I admit, have not been able to do so well, not being God and not having had at their disposal tortures under which life is renewed, permitting eternal suffering. Notwithstanding this they have been,—as much as human feebleness permits it—admirable inquisitors.

It is more than twenty years since the prolific imagination of Thomas Perez Montfort organized, in all its parts, the Mano Negra (Black Hand), an association as little existing and more mysterious than that of the thirties. On the first occasion, whoever was in the way of power was arbitrarily affiliated to this phantom group. Should a crime be committed, the guilty one was a Mano Negra; but the members of the Mano Negra were in the federation of workers! the surviving branch of the Internationalists, that they found them, as if by chance.

They arrested, they tortured, they executed, they deported in masses. They struck the unfortunates blows with the stock of a gun; with raw-hide thongs, and strangled them, to force from them false confessions. They compelled them, under the menace of loaded guns, to denounce imaginary confederates. Some became mad; the galleys prolonged the martyrdom of others, who at last succumbed. Only the most healthy survived to see the hour of their deliverance—it required the best constitutions to do so.

In 1892 the peasants of Xeres, armed with forks and scythes, took it into their heads to ask for their little place in the sunshine. Our modern Torquemadas got busy in the finest way—so much so that one of these Spanish James, Caro by name, died under their hands.

The attempt at the Lyceum, committed by a single person, was drowned in the blood of innumerable victims. Several perished during the tortures, overwhelmed by the sufferings,—one of them had recourse to suicide. Cerezuila was condemned to an exclusive diet of salt codfish and deprived of all drink,—the testicles twisted even to atrophy,—compelled to walk without sleep and without stopping. Denounce who they would, a crowd for execution or for the galleys,—and they already held

Santiago Salvador, who had thrown the bomb.

The dynamite spoke once more, in the middle of the procession, in Cambrios Neuvas street, this time attacking directly that enraged beast, clericalism and its venomous tail, the devout. The repression was atrocious. More than four hundred arrests were made in a few days, and Montjuich began again, renewed tenfold,—a hundred fold, the preceding horrors, adding thereto a complete collection of unlisted tortures. The introduction of slivers under the nails,—or tearing them out; the sexual parts burned by the use of a segar; the rumps marked with a red hot iron; a helmet applied which crushes the temples and draws the lips apart until bursting occurs.

The good customs are not lost. A peaceful strike has just revived the inquisitorial traditions. The first of August, 1903, the workmen of Alcala del Valle had limited themselves to protest by quitting work, against the unjust arrest of striking comrades. The civil guard fired and slew a child of fifteen years; besides wounding several sympathizers.

Of course, the people received this homicidal provocation with considerable anger. Nevertheless, the crowd was such that it is difficult to impute to the strikers, with certainty, the blows which were struck. A sergeant and a guard were wounded—by their comrades—in the general confusion.

And it is for that that they proceeded to make hundreds of arrests. And all these people, men and women, were thrown pell-mell into a narrow cell. They were in danger of being heaped up to the ceiling. They remained eight days in this pestilential atmosphere, leaving there only to be submitted to torture.

The wounded even were not spared. Salvador Mulero Medina, who had had a hole torn in his chest by a ball, was unmercifully beaten with bludgeons, a cord was bound to the genital parts, which received such a beating that they burst. Juan Velasques Gavilan, wounded also in the hubbub, was so flogged and trampled on (not a common place remedy) that it was necessary to wash his shirt, which was soaked with blood; then they placed it back on him with force, without drying it. A woman, Maria Dorado, aborted under their blows. The fingers ground by iron, stones come in aid of clubs to beat in chests; feet swollen with bruises, which the patient is forced to put shoes and stockings on again, under the menace of revolvers. Such are the episodes of the horrible and bloody drama!

And in scorn of all constitutional guarantees, those who thus mocked their laws—the rulers—transferred the poor, mutilated ones to military justice, to finish them.

The interests of the public treasury demanded of them—they who had done nothing, they the victims, good measure—from four years of incarceration to forced labor for life.

From Seville, where they are incarcerated in the prison of Ronda, these wrongfully tortured ones have given forth a new cry of distress. Upon the verge of losing all hope which remains to them, they forget themselves to think of others; to those who have been cruelly punished, having committed crimes infinitely less than the odious wrongs of Alcala del Valle. It is Jose Bergellos, of whom a single article

appeared in *El Productor* of Barcelona, has suffered twelve years of confinement. It is Francisco Rey who for a single placard adjudged seditious, affixed upon the walls of Seville, has suffered four years of the correctional prison. It is Francisco Soler, secretary of the original federation of the workmen's association, who for having published—as the radical press of the entire universe did—the memorial submitted by the French workmen at the workmen's congress at Dublin, has been condemned by the military justice to eight years in the galleys.

It is necessary that this appeal be heard. This cynicism in the compression of the thoughts should overwhelm the generous hearts of all countries. We who say we are civilized, we who are made afraid of the Chinese plague, we owe every effort to these workers from the unclean executioners of Christian Spain.

Let us not await the springing up of an Angiolillo to chastise the Canovas of this new Montjuich. Or will it be necessary that, as the workmen of Puerto de Santa Maria in 1883 threatened the bourgeoisie of Seville, if they did not return their prey, to set fire to the four corners of the city?

Or, as for Montjuich, as for the Mano Negra while they write, on all sides many unworthy articles, will they organize so many meetings to protest that it will be necessary at the end that the voice of humanity shall be heard. In one way or another let us act; time presses.—*Translated from the French.*

### Another Voice heart from.

I was very glad to see in FREE SOCIETY a short article on woman's emancipation by Grace Strickland. As I have had a somewhat limited chance to see and feel the growing evils of our present institutions, both publicly and privately, I feel encouraged to see young women coming out into the open field to take a decided stand against these evils and the time-honored customs. It is appalling to see the blighted, ruined lives of young men and women. Women forced by society and church to minister to the passions of men, to purchase their daily bread, thru moral degradation and sensuality. The sad stories which fill the columns of the daily press are not overdrawn. And the men in their struggle for gold, position, homes and favors sink to the lowest depths of vice. Honor drops from its heights for the royalty of gold. The sensitive nerves of our organizations are dulled in the keen pursuit of it. Social sins are covered by polite lies. The sharpness of the contrast between the rich and poor is becoming more and more glaring and keenly felt.

It certainly means a great deal to a young "society woman," born and bred in the church, with all its influences and inherited tendencies, to step down and out, closing its doors behind them forever. Few there are born with such great love for truth that they can do this. It is easier for most of us to follow along in the old well-beaten tracks, where there are no thorns to pierce and wound us. We shrink and refrain from real energetic thinking and working in order not to wound those who love and worked for us. We hate to grieve our mother,



whose love is beaming like stars in a dark night. But there comes a time when we cannot bear the burden of deceit and wretchedness any longer; when we feel cramped and stifled in the old creeds and dogmas; when our hearts cry out against them, and we find no rest until we throw it all away and resolve to be true to our highest convictions, to struggle for freedom,—and the fiercer the struggle, the more intense is our life. After one year of such life we could no more go back to the old life than put our hands into fire. Even one year of such life, as Kropotkin says, "is worth ages of vegetating."

Were I to relate some of my late experiences in the homes of the so-called "better class," it would shock Madam Grundy. If there is much greater mental suffering to be found even in the slums I doubt it. The polluted atmosphere in the homes of the rich can scarcely be excelled in the basements of the tenement houses.

No wonder the divorce courts have such heavy grists to grind, and that life is robbed of all its poetry, its vigor, ambition and color. Environed in so much artificiality as are the rich, is it any wonder that the natural instincts of their higher emotions are neglected, or that the desire for freedom is completely killed? And when I am forced to be an eye and ear witness of so much misery even among the well-to-do classes, it lifts me out of my despair to see such young women as Maud Starnes and Grace Strickland coming out with their suggestions to start some kind of an association whereby women may exchange greetings and mutual help. I endorse the movement most heartily and congratulate them for their good ideas.

Those women who are so well poised and self-sufficient as Comrade Lydia, will not need such aid, yet there are many who are not possessed of such blessings, and it is for these that such correspondence and help will be given. I think there will be a great advantage in exchanging ideas, books, etc., and in introducing comrades by letter, holding firmly to our very best ideas and trying to present them in the best possible manner to anyone who is searching for more light, giving our experiences, success and advancement.

I shall certainly be glad to correspond with all who are interested in the most vital questions of to-day, and will answer all queries in a plain and straightforward manner.

HILDA AVIS.

Gen'l Del., Tacoma, Wash.

This great truth which I have now to declare—to declare to you—is that the system on which all the nations of the world are acting is founded in gross deception, in the deepest ignorance, or a mixture of both. That, under no possible modification of the principles on which it is based, can it ever produce good to man; but that, on the contrary, its practical results must ever be to produce evil continually.—Robert Owen.

All for ourselves and nothing for other people seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind.—Adam Smith.

## The Growth of Authority.

Voltaire has said: "If God did not exist it would be necessary to create him." Certainly, all power is from God. He who says Power says God. Who finds Authority necessary makes himself a God. Thus did Moses, Confucius, Zoroaster, Numa, Columbus and Cortez. And so have done all leaders, augurs, magic-mongers, and priests. And so does every one at the present time who wishes to rule. The number of gods is as many as the number of those greedy for power. For every aspirant to power there is a new god.

Holloway made gods from unknown physicians who persuaded you to buy his pills. "Then saith the Lord," said Moses, "and also Dr. So-and-so," added Holloway, "be obedient and buy." And both added "that ye may save your souls alive."

A servant maid went out with the children of her master. She received instructions to watch them very carefully. But the children were disobedient and ran away, so that all her trouble was in vain and her care useless.

Thereupon she created out of "nothing" a black dog which would bite the little one which did not keep close to her side, and the children were in fear of the dog. They were obedient and kept close to her. And in the bottom of her heart the servant maid saw the god she had made, and lo! it was very good.

But the children were crazed with fear of the black dog.

And thus it has remained to the present day. \* \* \*

A child was born for the first time! The mother was in raptures, and the father also looked upon it with deepest love.

"But, Genius, tell me, will it always remain so small?" asked the mother, and she added: "See, I myself do not know whether I wish it. I would like to see it big as a man, but it would be very hard for me were I not to be able to carry it about and feed it myself."

"The child will grow up into a man," said the genius; "it will not always be fed at thy breast, it will not always be carried in thy arms."

"Oh! Genius," cried the mother, terrified, "will my child go away? When it can run, will it then leave me? What must I do that my child will not leave me when it can run?"

"Love thy child," said the genius, "and it will not leave thee."

And it was so, and remained so for some time. But then many children were born. And to many parents it was very troublesome to love all these children.

Therefore a commandment was discovered to take the place of love—like so many other commands. For it is easier to make a command than to give love.

Honor thy father and thy mother!

The children left their parents as soon as they could run. Then a reward was added.

So that thy days may be long in the land!

Thereupon some children stayed with their parents. But tho they did so, it was not in the spirit that the first mother had in mind when she asked the Genius, "What must I do so that my child will not leave me when it is able to run?"

And that has also remained so to the present day.—Multatuli.

Inequality is the source of all revolutions, for no compensation can make up for inequality.—Aristotle.

## Echoes.

So the lord chamberlain's department refused to license the new play of Mr. Arthur Shirley called the "White Slaves of London." The reason given is that there are no "slaves" in London, and, according to one report, the title was said to be objectionable because "it would stir up discontent among working people." One of the disadvantages of being a libertarian—for this applies to others as well as to ourselves—is that he has to defend on principle every cur that licks the lash that is applied to him, instead of kicking him, as he deserves. Mr. Shirley is the cur in this case; he extols the censorship as an institution, only he "would have it carried out in a common sense manner." Here we have a serious question; no objection is raised against the "Worst Woman in London," "Her Second Time on Earth," "The Female Swindler," "The King of Crime," and all the other demoralizing plays that degrade and brutalize the people in the East End; but let a writer touch the labor question in such a way as to arouse the people to their misery and the reason thereof, and my lord chamberlain is up in arms, and strikes the play from the list. Octave Mirbeau ought to pay us a visit and write a play on the censorship, and see if it is not possible to shame the people into some sense of their inferiority in this respect to France and Germany.—*Freedom*, London.

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The master class are more afraid of the general strike than any other weapon the workers possess, and the rapid progress the idea has made on the Continent has alarmed them in this country; hence their efforts to render strikes useless by making them illegal, and the encouragement given to the unions to adopt political action.—*Voice of Labor*.

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The New York *Sun* says that Wall Street men now sometimes tell the truth for the express purpose of deceiving—knowing their character to be so bad that it is impossible for people to suspect them of honesty. If things go on as they are we shall reach the stage where we will not be able to believe a capitalist's statement if he proves it.—Ben Hanford.

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Prostitution and capitalism are inseparable. No amount of "moral" teaching can effectively purge society. No matter where the attempt to combat prostitution has been made, it always proved a miserable failure. This has also been the experience of the city of Colmar, Alsacia, where, in the eighties, prostitution was rampant, and enchanting damsels openly bartered in the streets. The city council was suddenly afflicted with a fever of virtuousness; the houses of prostitution were broken up and the women driven out of town. "Vice has been eliminated from the good town of Colmar," the council announced triumphantly. What was the result? Sexual diseases increased enormously, so that the goody-goody council became frightened, and saw no other way out than to open the gates of prostitution. The city has now again lost its external purity which it enjoyed for a decade or so, but it will be healthier internally instead. Prostitution carried the victory over so-called chastity, as always will be the case in a society in which woman has become merchandise, and sexual intercourse is purchasable.—Martin Drescher.

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## NOTICE.

All mail intended for FREE SOCIETY should in future be addressed to 230 East Fourth Street, New York City, N. Y., instead of 407 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill., as heretofore.

## FOR NEW YORK.

John Turner will speak on "The Signs of the Time" Thursday evening, March 24, at Cooper Union, under the auspices of the Free Speech League. Admission 10 cents, platform tickets, 25 cents. The doors will be open at 7 p. m.

The proceeds will be assigned to defray the expenses of the Turner case in the Supreme Court.

## From the Kips of Liberty.

Truth can stand alone.

Wisdom: the mother of love.

The future awaits its architects.

Every coward is a willing slave.

Custom represents but a frozen past.

Competition is another name for petty war.

A charity ball is a murder ball, and nothing more.

Every revolution is the climax of an evolution.

The work of the State is to promise and to plunder.

War is a banquet of blood and a waste of wealth.

Freedom for man cannot be attained apart from freedom for woman.

Carnegie rests on his millions, but society rests on manhood.

Roosevelt wants a \$90,000 stable. To your drudgery, ye dazzled people!

Free thought results in free speech and free speech in free action.

## FREE SOCIETY

The great hope of the world, freedom, the world has the least confidence in.

A great light looks small in a still greater darkness.

"Business is business," it is true; and that is why it is so bad.

Liberty struggles even when there is no sign of hope.

The Philippines have a new governor, but their government is the same now and forever.

The need of the beautiful life is the surest of guarantees that we shall attain it.

There is no better test of a man's faith in man than to discover what faith he has in himself.

John Turner, out on bail, is a living, breathing monument to the inviolability of free speech and press.

The yearning for a simple life is not a yearning for the commonplace, but for the things which are essential to life.

Dreyfus, it appears, is to regain his "honor"; but the honor of French or any other judicial practice—when did it have any?

Anarchism is slow in coming, for one reason, because there is "nothing in it" for the expert juggler called the "practical politician."

The Russo-Japanese war gives the press of the world an opportunity to make money, and fulminate race hatred at the same time. Glorious opportunity!

The impracticability of liberty is the text of every advocate of the present impracticable state of society who is to be found outside the insane asylum.

Field Marshal von Waldersee was the German emperor's friend. Now that he is dead his envious enemies arise by thousands and dishonor him. It is fine to be a great soldier.

In feudal days the masses had some initiative, and united in the use of much common land; nowadays slaves deceive themselves with modern houses and finer fitting clothes, thinking themselves free.

The merchant tailors of the country, a most conservative body of men, have at last fallen in with the spirit of capitalism and organized a protective association. Their object, as avowed, is to conquer labor.

The example set by the rich teaches that happiness depends upon the possession of a superfluous amount of wealth; but the ideal of the thoughtful, whom the money madness has not spoiled, is to have enough, and no more.

King Peter of Servia, desiring the respect of Europe, is pretending to look for the regicides who made him king. It is said that he desires to punish them. It would be interesting to inquire if the regicides are looking very fearful.

Naturally, soldiers do not care for liberty, for then there would be no one left to conquer; certainly jurists could not be expected to interest themselves in it, for where would their fees be? And the authorities, they tear their hair at the very word liberty.

The trial of Senator Smoot to determine whether or not he is a fit person to sit in the Senate reveals one thing clearly—whether you are good enough to associate with depends wholly upon the kind of wrong you do. To have two wives is horrible; to be a thief—well, that is another story.

The Anarchist who understands evolution is prepared for the best or the worst, as the case may be, in respect to the progress of his ideas. That those ideas must at last triumph he cannot doubt; that a slight event may set the clock of history forward or backward, he is aware. He works. He is no pessimist.

Lucifer, the Light Bearer, has been readmitted to the mails at second-class rates, after a long delay, following a high-handed act on the part of the officials, who will tell no one how to win their czar-like approvals. Censorship of the mails seems a privilege to be enjoyed according to the whim of men whose official stupidity has reached the maximum degree.

When wealth is free to all; when education, with all that the word implies, is free to all; when homes, when clothes, when everything may be had for the asking, or rather for the taking, where will there be room for the worry, the care, the trickery, the scheming with which the world of today makes us sadly familiar? "It is too good to be true!" is almost the only answer to the question heard.

The trials of the Chicago car barn bandits has cost the people about \$50,000 and has unloaded on to the excitable mind of Chicago's youth all the details of a series of revolting deeds. It is idle to talk of the punitive effects of the death penalty; and if there were such effects, the sensational newspapers would nullify these with their highly colored accounts. The \$50,000, of course, is just legal blackmail. Justice, justice!

It is about time that those astute guardians who surround the president of the United States discovered a new assassin lurking in the vicinity of the White House and arrested him, finding some antiquated weapon in his possession, and a paper giving careful directions for the relief of chilblains. The people of this country find it hard to keep up an enthusiasm, even for a presidential candidate, while nothing sensational happens.

It should be made widely known that Springfield, Ohio, the scene of a recent negro lynching, is the headquarters of the National Anti-Mob and Lynch Law Association, and is the home of ex-Representative Chase Stewart, framer of the Ohio statute for the punishment of lynchers and those participating in mobs. The strength of such an organization and the worth of such a law may be estimated by the regard which they appear to have inspired in the minds of the madmen who slaughtered the Negro, Dixon.

AMERICUS.



### By the Wayside.

District Attorney Jerome, the guardian of public morals, is quite indignant that Reginald Vanderbilt, "a half-drunken boy," has been plucked by vultures in a "respectable" gambling house, where he lost several hundred thousands of dollars in a few hours. But if the district attorney would also have informed the public that the Vanderbilts recently reduced the wages of their railway employees—which reduction will amply cover the losses caused by the "gentlemanly pastime," as the *Evening Journal* terms it—the public would at least have realized why the Vanderbilts could not afford to pay the old wage scale, altho the railway managers reported an increase of profits.

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Judge Parish B. Ladd, of California, whose scathing articles against imperialism and the prevailing bureaucracy in the United States appeared in *FREE SOCIETY* about two years ago, is now travelling in the Andes Mountains, South America, and has found the happiest people in the world in Cali, a small town in one of the Andes valleys, according to the *New York Evening Journal*. The people of Cali take a dinner hour that lasts from 10 o'clock to 4 in the afternoon. Fruit trees of various kinds grow in the public streets. There is plenty of gold in the mountains near by, and the Calians pay for all imported goods with the gold, for which they do not seem to care. "There are no sicknesses, no doctors, no lawyers, no courts, no taxes, and very little buying or selling," says Judge Ladd. The town was founded three hundred and fifty years ago by the Spaniards. Perhaps Judge Ladd, who is a persistent fighter against the God superstition, will now learn that the belief in government is as much a curse as the belief in the "Almighty."

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Many friends of the Russian revolutionary movement entertain hopes that a victory of Japan will weaken the bureaucracy and foster the revolutionary spirit in Russia. Kropotkin, however, expects no gratifying results from the war, according to press reports. On the contrary, he thinks the war will weaken and retard the revolutionary movement, as the minds of the people will be diverted from their own sufferings, and a defeat is even apt to pour oil into the flame of patriotism. Wars never had a beneficial effect, and it is a mistake to assert that the Crimean War abolished serfdom in Russia. In short, Comrade Kropotkin has no sympathy for Russian imperialism, nor is he inspired by the hankerings of Japanese feudalists and capitalists, who desire to conquer Manchuria, Corea and Peking for the purpose of exploitation. The yellow exploiters are no better than the white ones. And last, but not least, Kropotkin fears this war may result in hostile European complications which would be disastrous to the revolutionary movements in general.

When a year or so ago *Wilshire's Magazine* and the *Appeal to Reason* were annoyed by the Postoffice Department the indignation exhibited by the Socialist editors against the tyrannical censorship of our "capitalist government" made many simpletons believe that Socialist parties, if in power, would at least grant their opponents the freedom of speech and press. But such hope is a dangerous delusion; for all political parties

clamoring for power are of necessity tyrannical, no matter under what name and lofty principles they may sail. And what we may expect from a Socialist "administration" can be seen from the following edict, which the executive of the Social Democratic party in Austria has issued recently. The document speaks for itself. Here it is:

Since several weeks some men are loitering about in our electoral district recommending a paper entitled *Der Freie Arbeiter* ("The Free Worker"). These men had even the effrontery to fasten their sheet to the same newspaper holders in hotels in which our local organ, *Volksrecht* ("Rights of the People"), was fastened. We request our party members to take strict measures that this anarchistic-socialistic weekly be not received anywhere and these men be shown the door. The sheet is full of nonsensical phrases, and capable of diverting the minds of the workers from the true problems of culture. Besides, the sheet may not only be edited and circulated by confused heads, but also by police spies and scoundrels of the lowest sort, and for this reason we advise all workers and comrades not to associate with these obscure fellows in any way. . . . It is the duty of our comrades to observe strictly that the workers and their families read only Social Democratic papers, and the intrusive element be kept out of the workers' unions.

Now, does the spirit here manifested greatly differ from that which dominated the Catholic Church in the Dark Ages? These people only lack the power to put a Torquemada in the shade, especially when we remember the fact that the modern Torquemadas have production and distribution in their control, and can starve any disobedient member into submission. But the frank admission that "nonsensical phrases" and "confused heads" are "capable of diverting the minds" of the "scientific Socialists" from "the real issue" is gratifying indeed, for there is hope that the intelligence of mankind will never commit the blunder to enter the vestibule of a State Socialist heaven.

INTERLOPER.

### The Differenz.

Two men were overheard talking together; their subject was the vexed one of sexual freedom. One of them, a married man, who, as an Anarchist, had reason to think that his wife was in doubt over the monogamic ideal, and might test it in practice, said, concernedly:

"Well, free love is all right in theory, but it is bad in practice."

The other, an unmarried man, said in his turn:

"No; on the contrary, it is all right in practice, but it is wrong in theory."

How plain the causes of their respective positions are! A needle might more easily be found in a hay mow than the truth be attained by following the lead of feelings. W. F. B.

Yes! Those who know how to appreciate the ideas we defend, which are so vehemently attacked by the whole clique of pharisees, hypocrites, mystics, Jesuits and pietists, may be able to imagine that at some future period there may be a more ideal social edifice, which may have for its foundation human dignity and human equality.—"Force and Matter," Dr. Louis Buchner.

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The object of all government is to render government superfluous.—J. G. Fichte.

\* \* \*

England is the paradise of the rich, the purgatory of the wise and the hell of the poor.—Theodore Parker.

### From Far and Near.

In response to a cable request, the *North American*, of Philadelphia, has received the following message from Leo Tolstoy: "I am neither for Russia nor Japan, but for the laboring people of both countries, deceived by their governments and obliged to fight against their welfare, conscience and religion."

ROUMANIA.—The desperate act of the soldier who killed two army officers, as we reported in our last issue, has caused a great sensation among all classes of people, and the flogging of soldiers has since been abolished.

FRANCE.—The agricultural workers in the vine-growing regions are on strike for an eight-hour workday and higher wages. Their awakening surprised both the employers and politicians, to whose promises they would listen no longer. Singing revolutionary songs and carrying red flags, the workers, men and women, marched from place to place, and soon all the workers joined the strikers. The majority of the employers have already conceded the demands of the workers.

RUSSIA.—In Wrotkow, Poland, several thousand peasants have for three years defied the Russian authorities in their attempt to collect a tax imposed upon them for the nationalization of the local communal schools. On December 14, 1903, one hundred and thirty soldiers and officers tried to levy at the homes of two thousand peasants, but these revolted and defended their property. Many arrests were made, but since the neighboring villages are also preparing to defy the tax collector the authorities are perplexed as to what course to pursue next.

SPAIN.—The agitation against militarism has reached such dimensions that the government is enraged. A young man published an article in *El Productor* denouncing the act of murder, for which he has been sent to prison for twelve years. Another young man has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment for posting an anti-military leaflet on barracks.

Owing to frequent suppressions of *Tierra y Libertad* by the government, which confiscated the paper three times in a single week, the comrades have decided to make a weekly of this Anarchist daily. The Italian and French comrades do not regret this change, claiming that in obtaining and maintaining a sufficient number of subscribers to keep a daily afloat the revolutionary propaganda is bound to suffer.

GERMANY.—That "my party, right or wrong," applies to all political parties alike has again been verified by the Social Democrats. Some fifteen years ago Liebknecht defined patriotism as murder, and when Bebel recently indulged in patriotism in the Reichstag many radicals expected that the "class conscious" voters would certainly protest against the effusion. But the party press is conspicuously silent. "We do not hoist the red flag," Bebel said, in reply to General von Einem, "but you cannot take away our feelings. You cannot engage in a war successfully without us. Whenever it will be necessary to fight for our country we shall be ready, from the youngest to the oldest, to take up arms and march shoulder to shoulder and fight to our last breath, I assure you." Fight our fellow-workers, this "revolutionary Socialist" ought to have added.

### The Principles of Criticism.

In the January *Comrade* John Spargo gives my "History of the French Revolution" what, on the whole, is a highly appreciative review. I have not yet had to complain of an unkind one. But he says, what I have seen said before, that my bibliography is "of very questionable value." The author's choice seems indefensibly whimsical and the omissions are numerous and important." My critics appear to agree that my point of view is novel, my accuracy commendable, my narrative detailed, my conception of history philosophical; that I have slaughtered lies by the bushel, and that my style is not bad. Agreement on my possessing so many good qualities ought to, and does, make me feel good. But when there is a consensus in finding fault—I may learn something by that, I turn then to inquiring whether it really is a fault, or whether it depends on that novel point of view which the critics observe, but do not naturally understand as well as I? In the latter case it is an originality, and an originality is a merit.

That the bibliography should be incomplete was inevitable, unless, perhaps, I had made the French Revolution instead of general history the subject of my life's study, for a reason mentioned in the bibliography—there are six thousand books about the French Revolution. But incomplete does not necessarily mean defective. I stated in the bibliography that I did not propose to catalogue and criticise six thousand books, which (of course) I did not all know; but to acknowledge obligation to those which had assisted me, and repudiate any towards some which everybody expects will influence the writer on my subject, but which I had found out to be spurious (*Souvenirs de Mare Crequin*), considered trash (Chateaubriand's "Essay on Revolution"), or, for other reasons, had made use of, tho sufficiently acquainted with them for the purpose. Thus my alleged single omission excuses itself. Among the six thousand books about the French Revolution, almost every one can doubtless name some which interested him, but not me. He may learn what they are by finding his favorites mentioned in my bibliography with contempt or not at all. Other value than to exhibit the sources of my information and my way of using them, I did not intend the bibliography to claim.

But in regard to the charge that my sources of information have been capriciously chosen, I plead not guilty, and will take the trouble to defend, because this concerns not only my history of the French Revolution, but my "Vindication of Anarchism," and all my published writings, which are but parerga to my general history.

I began my study by recognizing that neither the situation nor the magnitude of my plan would allow that thoro acquaintance with first authorities, which the historian of one event must aim at. For both reasons, it was inevitable that I should be guided chiefly by previous compilers. But I was very unwilling to trust them without verification, and it did not seem to me that this was necessary. I could find out who their authorities were. I could learn what those authorities were worth. I could see for what the compilers had trusted them. In cases of disputed citation, I could verify. I could utilize the prejudices and recriminations of previous historians for the purpose of getting very close to their authorities. There were also previous works from which I could expect assistance. Whole volumes have been written on the fontes of Diodorus, Plutarch, Thucydides, Polybius, &c.; and tho such research is less inviting when the book to be analyzed was derived from sources still extant, a good deal of it has been done for almost everything standard. There is in this minute criticism of good historical writers, something

which to a large extent serves the function of cross-examination; and tho its risks are obvious, yet besides being often the only method practicable, it commonly yields larger positive results to less doubtful inquiry than reading of bad witnesses whose quantity clogs the hopper. Of my results, that latest critic says: "Mr. James' work is, so far as I am able to determine, remarkable for its accuracy as well as for its keen critical insight into the heart of things. I have tried it upon many points, and have invariably found it to agree with the best and most modern scholarship. Little or nothing of importance seems to have been missed, and a well developed sense of historical perspective is manifest thruout." I submit that all this does not come from "indefensibly whimsical" choice of data.

The original research cannot be the merit of a universal history, especially one written in a small American city, I proposed to do as much as possible, and was guided by certain principles. One, noticed unfavorably by a former critic, is that things are better witnesses than mere customs, institutions, coins, medals, monuments, whose date can be ascertained; weapons, armor, language,—these stand for indisputable facts, whose explanation constitutes such positive sciences as "sociology," archaeology, etymology, and whose evidence is independent of testimony. This is fully recognized by modern historians generally. The annals of Rome, before Camillus, are legendary; but the true history of the struggle between the patricians and plebeians is written in a series of statutes whose existence is far too well attested by all Roman literature to be doubtful, and whose sequence is traceable, because the later ones presuppose the earlier. Similarly, tho the annals of the cities during the dark ages are lost, with the exception of Marseilles, the great fact that the cities uniformly supported the king against the nobles till the latter were sufficiently humbled to seek the aid of the cities against the crown, falls at once into the proper sequence of causation when we observe that the cities, from Sulla's time, owed their charters to the general government. And, together, these facts convince me that the municipal history of the dark ages, which most historians leave a complete blank, must be recoverable in great measure by those who have opportunities to seek for ancient archives. In ways like this the Higher Criticism opens new lines of research, leading to such brilliant results as recovery of the Egyptian Loggia; and I have been able to propose, upon such grounds, a great many new lines which, to myself at least, seem hopeful.

Another principle which has aided my historical research, is that, as a great part of what passed once for history is now rejected on a *priori* grounds, there must be rules by which lies can be detected, classes into which they fall, laws which govern their evolution, and are capable of being formulated. A myth is not to be confounded with a legend. The former is an idea embodied in the form of a story—an unrecognized allegory (Prometheus). The other is a narrative of facts, by a party who have moulded it to their preconceived ideas of fitness, till it reaches us as a work of finished art, which analysis only spoils, without restoring, the dry bones. Suppose Schliemann's discoveries to have proved that there was in prehistoric times a town and castle at Troy, taken by the Greeks, after a war of the primitive barbarian kind—"a war without incidents, without gods, without heroes, and without Helen"—that is archaeologically interesting, but adds virtually nothing to our knowledge of history. The important thing about a legend, as about a myth, is itself—the idea, the story, its effects. The genetic process of legend justifies in saying (unlike the case of a myth) that "something of the sort occurred." But that is all we can say without external evidence. Even where, as very often happens,

there are two cycles of legend from opposite sides—when one declares the Buddha a miracle working incarnation of that wisdom which delivers from false ideals, and another that he died of a surfeit on the unclean flesh of the hog—this guides us only to the opposite views of Ananda and Devadetta. About his personality we can but say that it is implied in the legendary (not mythic) character of his biography it is the central idea, which, like the existence of Troy, cannot have grown out of a misconception; while we at once see Prometheus to be no real person, but the personified genius of invention and science. Other narratives than myths and legends I call romances, coloring fact with the personality of their author; while myths and legends have no personal authors. Carlyle's "French Revolution" is quite an ideal instance. But myths and legends commonly enter into quite modern "romance"—Carlyle's mounted. Anarchy, which goes about eating up wicked institutions, when their iniquity is full, and then lies down with a surfeit, and gives its last kick, is as much a myth as the Fenris wolf, a vague popular notion which he has given artistic interest, as Eschylus did for Prometheus—his "rat-eyed attorney, Fouquier Tuiville" is a legendary character—an impossible man, but a possible conception of a man, lovely current, like that of Æneas, before it found its Virgil. Other fictitious elements in "romance" are too numerous to treat here, but they turn on two great pivots—the natural disposition to exaggerate—an "Idol of the Race"—and the partisan propensity to add suppression of truth, thus raising exaggeration to the higher power of misrepresentation, which is among the "Idols of the theatre." These several kinds of falsification have, I contend, their characteristic marks, by which they may be detected and eliminated. I find no difficulty in recognizing as sentimental absurdities those fine speeches by which the wordless Louis XVI made more interesting in his agony; or as malicious slanders by a hostile party, statements like that of Egalite Orleans, giving the decisive vote for his execution. In sifting romances, though not legends, comparison of versions is useful, on account of the way they correct each other. But we must by no means allow them blind faith; even about things on which they agree. Narratives and facts all are data of history; the facts alone are absolute.

C. L. JAMES.

### Rejoinder.

In a "Letter from Holland," published in FREE SOCIETY, dated February 7, H. N. writes that Terwey is the first young man who refused to serve in the army; which is not correct, however. De Bruin was the first military striker in Holland, and he was not a "Christian Anarchist" either; that is to say, he did not believe in Christianity. De Bruin was sent to prison for one year, and as the penalty had not changed his opinion he served another year in prison. Then he agreed to do service in a military hospital. Two years after he was again called upon to do military service for one month, but he refused again, and was sent to prison for one month.

And at that time the "Christian Anarchists" were not heard from, but since one of their own members is persecuted they are ready to fight for "freedom of conscience." Terwey has been sent to prison for three months only. The authorities understand very well that "Christian Anarchists" are not endangering the stability of government, for they ask principally for freedom of conscience, which is to be legalized. But we say the principal thing is anti-militarism, for militarism is the prop of government.

H. H. KNOLLE, JR.



### Consistency and Communism.

My insinuation that Comrade Barnard was an enthusiastic newcomer, who had not properly digested his subject, has not been proven incorrect by his verbose rejoinder to my article in No. 452 of FREE SOCIETY. He repeats his former charge that I am inconsistent and that I want to foist upon the movement "a bureaucratic system of group control of the propaganda," and that I accept a certain form of authority as an expression of Anarchism, wishing to invest men with power to rule their fellows, and all in the name of liberty. He goes on in the same loose, indefinite manner so characteristic of his first article, carefully avoiding the serious part of my article.

I was quite sure he would make an effort to defend his definition of Anarchism, but he seems to have abandoned it altogether. This being the case, his whole article consists only of so many beautiful phrases; for how can we discuss what is consistent with Anarchism unless we first understand what is meant by it? We cannot build without a foundation. I have given my definition of Anarchism, negatively, by defining government as forcible subjection. Where there is no government there is Anarchy. There is but one logical method of distinguishing one from the other. If I perform an act under threat of physical violence, or imprisonment, or forfeiture of my belongings, and against my will and consent, I am governed by force. On the other hand, if my act is voluntary, and the result of my wishes, I am governed by my natural desires. The former is under government, the latter under Anarchy. It is the element of force that must distinguish government from Anarchism. If we try any other method we get hopelessly lost.

Comrade Barnard wrote: "If we supervise a man we sacrifice our Anarchism." I characterized that as kindergarten philosophy, for it lacks the essential element of mature philosophy. The craftsman supervises the work of the apprentice; the school teacher supervises the work of the scholar; all instructors supervise the work of their pupils; yet in doing so they sacrifice the principles of Anarchism, according to the above, which is an absurdity on the face of it. Not until the instructor gets the government behind him to enforce submission to his supervision does he violate the principles of Anarchism. It seems strange it should be necessary to define Anarchism for an Anarchist.

I submit the above as my understanding of what Anarchism means. If I am wrong, let it be shown wherein I err; but I warn my instructor that the new definition must be more clear and definite than that of Comrade Barnard, or it will meet a like reception.

We may talk, and talk, and all to no effect, unless we first define our terms. Of late years I have not thought it necessary to define the term Anarchism when writing for Anarchist papers. Generally, after long use of a term, we take it for granted that those who use it know what it means. Such, however, is not always the case; at least, people have different notions about the meaning of terms. Had I taken the precaution to define Anarchism when I began writing about group propaganda I might have avoided a useless controversy with Comrade Barnard. As it is, he and others, whose ideas about the question seem to me rather vague and indefinite, may have an opportunity to clear them up.

I notice the editor of FREE SOCIETY is in the same box. He, however, has not attempted to argue the question; he simply calls names. In the issue of December 27, 1903, he quotes approvingly: "Jay Fox is proposing state socialistic methods in anarchistic phraseology." Again, in No. 453, he referred to those com-

rades who favor group propaganda as "group control fanatics." Now, I submit that calling names is a very poor substitute for argument; epithets prove nothing, except that those who hurl them are short of better ammunition. Maybe he hadn't the time to give the matter more serious consideration; in that case it were better to be quiet. At all events, the spirit of intolerance displayed toward comrades who differ from him is decidedly inconsistent with the lofty, poetic conception of Anarchism which he seems to hold in common with Comrade Barnard. I fancy, however, that as the proprietor of an Anarchist Communist paper, Comrade Isaak took the matter personal. Which, if true, was quite the wrong thing to do; and it shows how intensely sensitive to criticism a person in his position must be.\*

I opened this discussion by suggesting what seemed to me a better, more consistent and effective means of furthering the propaganda than at present prevails; and in doing so I didn't purpose that the least sacrifice of principle should be made by any one. Personal observation and experience have taught me that people are much more inclined to assist an enterprise if they have the right to participate in the conduct of its affairs than otherwise. Anarchists' undertakings are no exception to this rule, and Anarchists' papers are especially amenable.

Unless an Anarchist paper has proper assistance it cannot do effective work, and for every person who withdraws his support the cause is weakened exactly to the amount of that person's efforts. The movement cannot afford to discourage the efforts of a single individual who desires to assist the cause of liberty. On the contrary, we should study the means of a common cooperative unity whereby the work of each individual, by his or her cooperation with others, may be made more effective.

To that end I suggested the formation of groups wherever a few comrades existed; that these groups communicate with each other relative to the work being done; and that from this simple system of grouping and correspondence a genuine federation could be developed purely anarchistic, and certainly in harmony with Communism. To make the federation more complete and effective I suggested, further, that in some large city a group undertake the publication of a paper, wherein an account of the work of the numerous groups could be published, thus becoming the medium of communication between the individuals and groups of the entire federation. I will not take the space here to enumerate the many advantages of such a federation; they are easily apparent to any one who appreciates the value of cooperation.

What is this "bureaucratic system of group control" Comrade Barnard complains of? It is simply this, that a group of comrades conduct the literary propaganda instead of one comrade; that the medium for the exchange of ideas between comrades and the dissemination of Anarchism among the people should be as close to the movement as possible, and not the exclusive property of one or two. Barnard is decidedly fearful lest the group might suggest something to the editor he wouldn't like, and thus "invade" his sacred "liberty" to give the group whatever kind of paper he sees fit, regardless of the opinions of the individual members of the group, who support the paper with their earnings and get him subscribers. To be sure, the group can withdraw its support; but why not the editor withdraw, instead? Why should he be of more importance than any other member of the group? Could not there be a mu-

tual agreement whereby the editor would withdraw when his editorship became distasteful to the group? Would such an agreement be a violation of Anarchism? Verily, no! Anarchism implies mutual agreement. Mutual agreement is the very essence of Anarchism.

I cannot see how a Communist can consistently oppose the group. It certainly shows a decided lack of faith in his ideal to do so. If a group cannot publish a paper today without violating the principles of Anarchism, what is going to happen in the future when, we are told, all the industries will be operated by groups? Here is a strange incongruity, men denouncing the very thing they are preaching. People are prone to get suspicious of such proceedings, and begin to look upon this combination of Anarchism and Communism as something that will not mix. And why not? Since the very leaders of the movement by their words and actions proclaim the "tyranny" of the group, and denounce as "bureaucrats" and "fanatics" the comrades who want them to take some of their own medicine.

JAY FOX.

New York, 57 E. 99th St.

### Anarchist Literature in Poland.

Up to the present time Anarchist literature was little heard of in Poland. In Neflan's "Bibliographie de l'Anarchie" the chapter "Poland" occupies scarcely half a page. Only one Anarchistic work circulated in the Polish language, namely, "God and the State" (Bog i Panstvo), by Bakunin, which appeared in 1889 in Geneva, Switzerland, and which is now out of print. Though Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" also appeared in the Polish language, the publishers, being revolutionary Socialists, and not Anarchists, arbitrarily distorted its contents and carefully eliminated the term "Anarchist" and inserted "Socialist" as a substitute.

Thus it was that the term Anarchism did not signify a theory to the Polish people, but a name of a gang of murderers, drawing lots to kill rulers, etc. Even the social democratic daily, "Naprzod," which published extracts from Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionary," never mentioned the fact that the author was an Anarchist, so that if Kropotkin is pointed out to the Polish workers as the promulgator of Anarchism they answer with a smile of superiority that you cannot fool them so easily, for they know that Kropotkin is nothing more or less than a revolutionary Socialist.

The credit of having made Anarchism accessible to a large circle of people in Poland is undeniably due to the Socialist writer Ludevic Kulczycki. In his book "Modern Anarchism" (Anarchizm Współczesny) he gives a fair review of the Anarchist theories and the movement in general, though he criticizes Anarchism from the standpoint of an authoritarian Socialist. This book, which, by the way, has been very fiercely attacked by the Socialist press on account of its fairness, broke the prejudices which were formerly in the way of Anarchist publications, and has served as an impetus for the publication of two other Anarchist books. At the close of the year 1903 Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionary" and "Conquest of Bread" (Zdobycie Chleba) appeared in the Polish language. These two works, which have been published in almost all the other European languages, will not fail to make a deep impression upon the minds of the Polish workers.—M. N., in "Freiheit."

\*The "proprietor" of an editorship will have his say as soon as convenient space is available to him.—A. I.

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

ALLEGHENY, Pa.—H. Bauer, 73 Spring-garden Ave.  
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—M. Kisluck, 1108 Baltic Ave.  
BOSTON.—K. A. Snellenberg, 127 Center St., Roxbury.  
BROOKLYN.—M. Metzkw, 174 Ralph St.  
CHICAGO.—T. Appel, 1228 Milwaukee Ave.  
CLEVELAND.—E. Schilling, 34 Elwell St.  
LONDON, Eng.—T. Cantwell, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.  
NEW YORK.—M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way.  
Alfred Schneider, 230 E. Fourth St.  
PHILADELPHIA.—Nataasha Notkin, 1332 S Sixth St.

## International Commune Celebration

will take place on MARCH 17, 1904, in MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 E. Fourth St., New York. Address in English by EMMA GOLDMAN; in Jewish by H. WEINBERG, of Philadelphia; in Spanish by P. ESTREVE, of Paterson; in Italian by Joseph Villatore.

To be followed by an elaborate concert, participated in by Morris Nitke, violin solo; Max Wellerson, piano solo; Miss A. Asherman, soprano solo; Henry Zaks, baritone; J. Joseph, pianist.

Admission 15 Cents.

### FOR NEW YORK.

All comrades interested in the English propaganda are invited to meet Monday evening, March 28, at 83-85 Forsyth Street, New York.

A dinner at which John Turner will be the guest will be given by the Free Speech League Monday, March 21, at Arlington Hall, St. Marks Place, 8th St., bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves. Tickets \$1.00. Tickets can be procured from Dr. E. B. Foote, 120 Lexington Ave.; M. Maisel, 194 East Broadway; FREE SOCIETY, 230 East Fourth St.; Radical Club, 168 W. 23rd St. (Wednesday evening), and Manhattan Liberal Club, 220 East 15th St. (Friday evening).

### FOR NEW YORK.

The Slavic Group meets on the first and third Sunday of the month, 2 p. m., at 334 East Sixth St. Free discussions. All are invited.

### FOR PHILADELPHIA.

The annual Russian Tea Party will take place Friday, March 25, 8 p. m., at Pennsylvania Hall, 928 S. 6th St. An excellent program has been arranged, consisting of a grand concert and ball, in which V. de Cleyre, C. McGuckin, L. Sobelman, F. Giamini and other talent will participate. Admission 25 cents.

### FOR BOSTON.

The Boston Social Science Club meets every Sunday at 3 p. m., in room 9, 724 Washington St. The first series of lectures will be on Anarchism—its relation to other forms of Socialism: "What Anarchism Is," "Its Scientific Basis," "Its Social Application," and "Its Political Economy." Free discussion follows each lecture. Admission free.

## Book-List.

"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".....	1.00
.....Edward Carpenter	
"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
.....Voltaire de Cleyre	10
"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
"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".....	45
"Law and Authority".....	05
"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	
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