



### From Dark till Dawn.

#### MEETING.

A scimitar moon in a violet dusk;  
A sleepy midnight wind;  
A hidden seat mid the roses musk;  
A rose in the path behind.  
A white hand pushing the bloom apart;  
A voice: "Now I hold thee fast!"  
A heart that longed for the home of the heart  
Is home in its home at last.

#### TOGETHER.

Silence, except the sound of sighs;  
The hushed tones of love;  
While eyes in the gloom seek other eyes,  
And the poplars tremble above.  
Breast against breast in throbbing beat;  
Bewildering passion's spell.  
Raptures sweet with a pain that is sweet;  
And the hours are told on the bell.

#### PARTING.

A straining clasp in the dawn's half light,  
While the oriole wakes in its nest;  
A clasp, and a kiss on a throat more white  
Than the white rose at its best.  
The dew pearls drop from the shaken stalks;  
The moon sinks over the hill.  
A tiptoe step on the echoing walks,  
And joy in the heart lies still.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

### Who is the Assassin?

That which every intelligent man expected, i. e., one who is familiar with the late atrocities perpetrated upon strikers by the Spanish government, has happened. The Premier Maura has been stabbed by a youth of nineteen, named Joaquin Miguel Artao, the news of which appeared under big headlines in our dailies. The young man is said to be an Anarchist, and vituperations against the "beasts of society" will again emanate from the brains of emasculated and hypocritical editors—the scribes of God Mammon, who are ever ready to shed crocodile tears for so and so much a week. The virtues of the premier are portrayed in glowing colors, and the fact that this "noble" official was attacked while he was returning "from a requiem service for the repose of the soul of the late Queen Isabella," is sufficient proof of his innocence and piety. But these news agents, who never fail to inform the public when royalty coughs or sneezes, are conspicuously silent about the cause which creates the spirit of retaliation among the oppressed toilers, and others, who are not yet void of all human sympathy and love for justice.

In 1896 a bomb was thrown into a religious procession in Barcelona, Spain. The perpetrator was not discovered, and in default of such discovery the Spanish government arrested the entire membership of the Car Men's Club, composed of Republicans, Socialists, and Anarchists. The prosecution made the whole of the membership responsible for the act, altho there was no other proof against that society than that its members held different views from those of the government. For almost a year one hundred and seventy of these persons were imprisoned without trial or interrogation. Finally, eight men were shot and twenty sentenced to imprisonment in terms varying from eight months to twenty years. The convictions were secured upon the testimony of three men, who succumbed under the most cruel tortures imaginable. One of the "accusers," Nogues, succeeded in transmitting a letter to one of his friends, in which he says:

"You know that I am one of the accusers who figure in the trial. I could not bear the atrocious tortures of so many days. On my arrest I spent eight days without food or drink, obliged to walk continually to and fro or be flogged; and as if that did not suffice, I was made to trot as tho I were a horse trained at the riding-school, until, worn out with fatigue, I fell to the ground. Then the hangmen burnt my lips with red-hot irons, and when I declared myself the author of the attempt, they replied, 'You do not tell the truth. We know that the author is another one, but we want to know your accomplices.'"

"In spite of my desire to make an end of it, I could not answer anything. Who should I accuse since all are innocent. Finally, six comrades were placed before me whom I had to accuse, and of whom I beg pardon. Thus the declarations and the accusations that I made. . . (I cannot finish, the hangmen are coming)."

Such was the terrible fate of the innocent prisoners in the Montjuich fortress. They appealed in vain to the dailies in Spain, and the protests made in the Anarchist press remained a voice in a desert, and not until one of the jailers appealed to all mankind for pity in the *L'Intransigeant*, Paris, did the capitalist press find it necessary to investigate the horrors of the modern inquisition, admitting that the cruelties perpetrated upon the prisoners had not been exaggerated in the radical press.

The statements of the prisoners in court were heart-rending. Mas, one of the "accus-

ers," was insane, and his body atrociously mutilated. A young lawyer, one of the counsel for defense, being overcome with the emotion aroused in him by the awful stories of the accused, could not bear it and left the court. Even several gendarmes left the hall in anger against the prison officials, exclaiming: "Assassins! Assassins!"

The American press did not concern itself about such trifles as the torturing of workmen in Spain. The descriptions of robes and jewelry of a European princess, or an "American Duchess" were of greater importance. But in 1897, while the shocking stories of the mutilated victims of Montjuich were being related in court, a man of "education and refinement," as the press reluctantly admitted, was overcome with the indignation aroused in him by the atrocities perpetrated upon the innocent workers, shot the instigator of the tortures, the prime minister of Spain, Canovas, and our dailies were at once alert, tumbling over one another in their haste to kneel before royalty and its satellites, and in denouncing the Anarchists—the "beasts of society." Only a few dailies dared to intimate that the deed had been provoked by the minister himself.

The same spectacle we witness to-day. Since last August another Montjuich has been inaugurated in Spain. Again workmen have been tortured in a most horrible manner, as reported in No 8 of *FREE SOCIETY*, in order to wrest "confessions" from them. Again their appeals from the dungeons to the outside world have been made in vain. Only the Anarchists have so far responded to the cries of agony of the victims, altho their political beliefs are unknown to them.\* Of course, they were "criminals." On August 1 the united workmen at Alcala del Valle went on a strike, merely protesting against the many arbitrary arrests and detentions of workmen on suspicion. They assembled in the outskirts of the town to discuss the situation, when, without any provocation, the police rushed upon the scene, and began firing into the crowd. A boy of fifteen fell dead, three others were shot thru, and others were more or less severely wounded, and ninety-four men, women and children were arrested and thrown into jail, where for a whole week they were subjected to most shocking tortures, the perpetrators even mutilating the genital organs of the help-

\*A little Italian group of this city sent twenty dollars for the benefit of the imprisoned toilers.



less victims. Again the press closed its ears. But Maura, the prime minister, was stabbed, and immediately big head-lines adorned the columns of our dailies. Some of them have gone so far as to say that the prime minister was hated by the Socialists and Anarchists, "as upon every occasion when a public character visits Barcelona he has all of them arrested," but no mention of the provoking prosecutions are being made.

The young man, whose heart was overflowing with sympathy and love for the victims of the modern Torquemada will suffer death, while the real assassin—government—and its brutal tool, Maura, will be glorified by dormant and insolent humanity. Such is the natural course of so-called civilization, a civilization in which the misery of the many is the price paid for the luxury of a few idlers, who never hesitate to kill women and children if they attempt to appease their hunger by invading the sanctity of property. Well then, so long as property is more sacred than the lives of a hopeless and down-trodden humanity, tyrants cannot expect that the crushed and stunted toilers respect the lives of their tormentors.

### Anarchism and Its Practicability.

"Your ideas are all right in theory, but they are not practicable; men need some tangible power to govern them and force them to respect the social contract." Such is the objection urged against us as a last resort by advocates of the present social order, when after thoro discussion we have answered their arguments and demonstrated that the worker can hope for no sensible improvement of his lot while the machinery of the present social system is preserved. "Your ideas are all right, but they are not practicable; man is not yet sufficiently developed to live in such an ideal state. In order to put them into practice human beings must first have become perfect," is added by many other persons, undoubtedly sincere, but who are misled by education and habit, see only the difficulties and are not yet sufficiently convinced of the principles to work for their realization. And in addition to these avowed adversaries and these indifferentists who may become friends, there rises up a third category of persons more dangerous than declared opponents. These latter pretend to be animated with enthusiasm for our ideas; they loudly assert that nothing can be greater, that the present organization is worthless and must vanish before the new idea, that it is the goal toward which humanity is tending, etc. "But," they add, "it is not immediately practicable; humanity must be prepared for it, brought to understand this happy condition;" and under this pretext of being practical they seek to revive those reform projects which we have just shown to be illusory. They perpetuate existing prejudices by flattering those to whom they speak, and seek personally to profit as much as possible from the present situation; before long their ideal vanishes to make room for the instinct towards the preservation of the existing order of things. Unfortunately it is but too true that those ideas which are the end

and aim of our aspirations are not immediately realizable. The number of persons who have understood them is yet too small a minority to exercise any immediate influence upon events or the course of our social organization. But is that any reason why we should not work for their realization? If one is convinced of the justice of his principles why not try to put them into practice? If everybody were to say, "It is not possible," and passively accept the yoke of the present society, it is plain that the capitalistic order of things would still have many centuries to run.

If the first thinkers who fought the Church and the monarchy on behalf of natural ideas and independence; who faced the executioner and the scaffold in order to proclaim these, had said "it is not possible," while dreaming of their ideal, we should, today, still be bound by mystical conceptions and seigniorial rights. It is because there have always been people who were not "practical," but singularly convinced of a truth and seeking to disseminate it, wherever they could, with all their might, that man, today, begins to be familiar with his own origin, and to get rid of his superstitions concerning divine and human authority.

In one of the chapters of his really valuable book, "Outlines of a Morality without Authority or Duty," M. Guyau develops this admirable idea: "He who does not act as he thinks, thinks incompletely." Nothing can be truer. When one is thoroughly convinced of an idea, it is impossible for him, feeling it, not to seek to spread it and endeavor to realize it. How often do disputes arise between friends over trivial matters, in which each maintains his own view without any other motive than the conviction that he is in the right of the matter. Yet to please one's friend, or even to avoid wounding him, it would cost nothing to let him speak his mind without either approving or disapproving; since the thing he maintains is of no real importance to our convictions, why not let him have his way? And this we often do in a conversation concerning things about which we have no fixed opinion; but directly something about which we have an opinion comes up, presto! we take sides and dispute with our best friend in defense of our own opinion. Now, if people act this way about trifles, how much stronger must be the impulse received when it is a question of opinions which have to do with the future of all humanity, the enfranchisement of our class, our posterity, and ourselves!

Truly we understand that not every one can bring the same amount of resistance to bear in the struggle, the same degree of energy in combating existing institutions. Temperaments and characters are not all moulded alike. The difficulties are so great, poverty so severe, persecutions so multiplied, that we comprehend how there must be degrees in efforts towards the propaganda of what is admitted to be true and just. But acts are always in proportion to the impulse received and the intensity of one's faith in his beliefs.

Very often one may be deterred by considerations of one's family, one's relations or the necessities of earning one's daily bread; but whatever be the force of these considerations, if one is really a man they will never go so far as to make him swallow all the infamies that spread out before his eyes. There comes a time when one sends considerations to the devil, remembering that he is a man and that he had dreamed of something better than what he has been compelled to submit to.—He who is incapable of making any sacrifice for the principles he claims to profess, does not really believe in them at all; he decorates himself with the label merely for show, because at some time it looked well, or because he pretends to justify certain vices, by the help of these principles: beware of taking him into your confidence—he will deceive you.

As to those who seek to profit by existing institutions, ostensibly for the purpose of aiding the propaganda of new ideas, they are ambitious knaves who flatter the future in order to enjoy the present in peace.

It is, then, quite plain that our ideas are not immediately realizable; we do not hesitate to admit it. But they will become so thru the energy exerted by those who will understand them. The greater the intensity of the propaganda the nearer the hour of realization. It is not by yielding to existing institutions that we shall do battle with them, nor yet by hiding our light under a bushel. To fight these institutions, to work for the advancement of new ideas we must have energy; this energy can come from nothing but conviction. Those, then, who already have the conviction must find their men and labor to impart it to them.

Reforms being inapplicable, as we think we have shown, it would hence be conscious deception to recommend them to the workers. Furthermore we know that the force of circumstances will infallibly drive the workers to a revolution: crises, enforced idleness, the development of machinery, political complications, all conspire to throw the workers upon the street, and compel them to revolt in order to affirm their right to existence. Now, since the revolution is inevitable and all reforms illusory, nothing remains but to prepare for the struggle; that is what we are doing by moving directly towards our object, leaving to the ambitious the business of carving out positions and sinecures for themselves from the misery they pretend they would assuage.

Just here, however, we anticipate an objection: "If you recognize that your ideas are not yet ready to be put in practice," it will be said, "are you not preaching abnegation to the present generation for the sake of future generations, in asking them to strive for an idea whose immediate realization you cannot guarantee to them?" In nowise do we preach abnegation; we merely refuse to delude ourselves as to the facts, nor are we willing to encourage enthusiasts in deceiving themselves. We take the facts as they are, analyze and set them forth thus:—A class which owns all and is unwilling to give up anything on the one side; on the other side



a class which produces all, possesses nothing, and has no other alternative than a cowardly cringing to its exploiters, slavishly waiting for them to throw it a bone to gnaw, having no longer dignity, pride, or any quality which uplifts human character, or else to revolt and imperatively demand what is refused to all its genuflections. For those who think only of their own personality, those who want to enjoy themselves at any price and no matter how, there is nothing pleasant in the alternative. We would advise all such to yield to the exactions of present society, to try to chip out their own little niche, not to look where they plant their feet, not to be afraid of crushing those who hinder them; such people have nothing in common with us. But to those who think they can be really free only when their liberty ceases to trammel the liberty of the weakest of their fellows; to those who cannot be happy until they know that the pleasures in which they delight have not cost some disinherited one his tears, to them we say that there is no abnegation on the part of any one who recognizes that one must struggle to be free.

We proclaim this material fact, that there can be no enfranchisement of humanity save thru the application of our principles; it rests with humanity to decide whether it will free itself completely, at one stroke, or whether there must forever be a privileged minority which will profit by all its progress at the expense of those who are dying of want while producing for others. Shall we be the ones to see the morning shine? Will it be the present generation, or that which follows it or a still later one? We do not know, we do not care; it will be those who will have enough energy and courage in their breasts to want to be free, who will find the way to obtain freedom.—*Jean Grave.*

### Trades Unionism and Politics.

In the beginning of the trades' union movement, an interest in political action was practically enforced. The union was struggling for very existence against the laws forbidding combinations of labor, and not until 1875 were these laws in England finally repealed. It is to be noticed that the repeal came not thru the laborer, individual or organized, but rather thru the persistent efforts of a self-appointed committee, known as Junta, composed of earnest friends of labor, and of which Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown at Rugby" and other well-known books, was a prominent member. Ever since the legal basis of unionism was established, the question of its relationship to politics and political action has been constantly arising. Trades unions arose primarily for the purpose of strengthening labor by abolishing competition among the workers themselves, and by uniting them in one common interest to compete with the employers in fixing wages. The individual dependent on his labor for daily subsistence, in selling that labor, was practically at the mercy of the employer who could wait. The labor was necessary but the employer could dictate his own terms. The theory of the trades unionist was that, with his fellow workmen at his back, the individual in selling his labor could also wait, and that dealing with the employer in a

body, labor could not only dictate its terms, but also enforce its demands. The union's activity was directed almost entirely in the industrial sphere, and was from the very first subject to the criticism of destructive revolutionists on the other hand, and of those who looked to the law as the solution of all difficulties on the other.

Hitherto, trades unionism has been, in the main, true to its first purpose and has confined itself mostly to organized effort in industrial life. The tendency all along to enter the field of politics has, of late, however, become strongly emphasized, and the claim is now even made that without so doing, trades unionism cannot but fail in its industrial struggle. It is stated that in every conflict, trades unionists have to contend not only with the strength of the employer or employing class, but also with laws, which are unjust to labor and which give to the capitalist a power, fictitious in its basis, but very real in its effect. It is claimed therefore that until trades unionism steps into politics and transforms the laws, it must display inevitable weakness as a factor in industrial life.

That the labor problem is not solely industrial, all will admit. But granted this, is the entrance of trades unionism into politics, likely to increase or diminish its power in behalf of labor? The action of those who have hitherto guided trades unionism, in what little political activity it has had, does not tend to awaken much confidence in the political movement. The politically-inclined in the trade unions have for the most part either openly or suspiciously been allied to one or other of the great parties. It has been their aim to make party capital out of trades unionism, and sooner or later they have generally found a means to rise from the ranks of labor thru the well-merited reward of their deeds in an appointment to the civil service. It is true that the delinquencies of the individual do not constitute a valid argument against something right in itself, but it must be borne in mind that the political tendency of organized labor will only increase the power of the delinquent individual, the demagogue, and the heeler. If labor be not strong enough to enforce its will in the industrial sphere where the commodity of labor is an absolute necessity and where, if properly united, it has power to tie up the whole industrial system, law or no law, what will be its power in the political sphere, where it has no monopoly of the most effective weapon, where all its differences become emphasized, and where its strength becomes centered in the hands of a few who may betray its principles at the critical juncture.

The fact that this anxiety in trades unions to enter the political arena, apart from the element of demagoguery that underlies it, is a symptom of that dangerous hallucination that nothing can be accomplished without law and politics.

As a matter of fact, however, there is always in the community an undercurrent of thought and activity, apart altogether from law and politics, but to which, as it dominates the community, law and politics must eventually conform. The strength of labor is in the industrial field, and when its voice is heard there in the fulness of that strength, the law will only conform to the will of labor, or be powerless to oppose it.

W. E. G.

### LETTER BOX.

N. NOTKIN, PHILADELPHIA.—Hundred dollars were received by the FREE SOCIETY Group. Thanks. Letter follows.

PATERSON, N. J.—Received thru Janoffsky \$3.20.

The Turner case, having been advanced for argument before the Supreme Court at Washington, from the October term to April 4, after the other cases were disposed of, was reached on Wednesday afternoon, April 6.

Edgar L. Masters, associate of Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, opened the case in about an hour's speech. Little impression seemed to be made upon the judges, who frequently interposed with questions, and apparently thought the quotation of precedents both tedious and unnecessary.

Attorney-General McReynolds opened for the government ten minutes before the court adjourned for the day at 4:30 p. m. He resumed the argument immediately the court opened at mid-day on Thursday. The case was met fairly and squarely, it being contended "that the United States government has the right—the same as every other sovereign nation—to exclude aliens for any or no reason." If Congress passed a law excluding John Turner, an Englishman, from entering the United States territory, without giving any reason, the law would be binding, and it would be the duty of the government to keep him out. There was no dispute as to Turner being an Anarchist, and under the law of March 3, 1903, such persons were forbidden to enter the United States. If they did, the immigration authorities were bound, upon proof, to deport them. Previous decisions of the court were given respecting cases of Chinese laborers; and an amusing as well as significant incident occurred when the attorney-general said "these decisions hold good as to the right of Congress to pass a law such as that under consideration." Judge Harlan, who had been lying back on his seat, seemingly half asleep, like the rest, leaned forward and said: "The decisions of this court hold till we change our minds." Clarence S. Darrow closed the argument in a twenty-five minute speech. It was noticeable how the judges were all alert when he began to speak. They soon settled back in their seats, however. He closed his argument by saying that if the court upheld the decision to deport it struck at the very root of freedom of speech and press guaranteed by the Constitution.

Certainly no "epoch-making" speeches were delivered by either side. It seems the brief, which is printed and handed in to the court prior to the argument, is the principal thing relied on. Darrow's brief covers the ground from every point of view, and some of it will be worth reprinting. The argument before the court is regarded as perfunctory, and it was nothing more on this occasion. The decision of the court may not be handed down for some time, perhaps not till after the presidential election in the fall. In the meantime Turner will probably return to England at an early date to take up his duties with his union. If the decision is for deportation, he will have anticipated the order of the court; if not, he will be free to return any time he chooses.

REPORTER.

Anyone praising self-humiliation as a virtue is a fraud.—Multatuli.



# FREE SOCIETY

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should in future be addressed to 230 East  
Fourth Street, New York City, N. Y., in-  
stead of 407 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill., as  
heretofore.

## From the Watch Tower.

Only the free can love.

\* \* \*

Man lacks wisdom, not virtue.

\* \* \*

The truth stops not for laughter.

\* \* \*

Trust makes men become friends.

\* \* \*

Laws are the mummies of customs.

\* \* \*

Freedom will never come to beggars.

\* \* \*

The free man will forget the name "Duty."

\* \* \*

No slave driver ever desired to be a slave.

\* \* \*

Carnegie will help Roosevelt. Kiss, broth-  
ers!

\* \* \*

Wars pour wealth out on the ground like  
water.

\* \* \*

Society was made for man, and not man for  
society.

\* \* \*

Every fraternal thought is a thought against  
the State.

\* \* \*

The free man is the only one who can value  
life aright.

\* \* \*

"Time-honored" customs are often grey-  
headed wrongs.

\* \* \*

Tariffs are burdensome taxes upon interna-  
tional solidarity.

## FREE SOCIETY

Are you a criminal that you will not trust  
others with liberty?

\* \* \*

Senator Burton will either have to spend  
some money or be imprisoned.

\* \* \*

The State is the most terrible of whips forc-  
ing submission to the strongest of chains.

\* \* \*

The Mormons will have to leave the Senate;  
highly moral monopolists need their places.

\* \* \*

Grover Cleveland appears to respect him-  
self; he is, therefore, entitled to our pity.

\* \* \*

Voting machines are now being used in elec-  
tions. The human cattle can thus be made to  
move faster.

\* \* \*

The Belgian authorities in the Congo coun-  
try are indulging in and abetting the greatest  
of cruelties. Noble white men!

\* \* \*

The makers of firearms and explosives do  
not want peace; but they all want the State.  
Why?

\* \* \*

Hearst is for Tammany in New York, for  
municipal ownership in Chicago, for unionism  
in San Francisco, and for fakery everywhere.

\* \* \*

Barcelona, Spain, had a gas explosion, and  
straightway it was reported that Alphonso, the  
king, had been attacked by Anarchists. The  
Associated Press furnished the sensation, of  
course.

\* \* \*

The term of the Chinese exclusion act of  
1894 will expire Dec. 7, this year. It seems that  
we are so prosperous in America that we must  
deny Chinamen a place in the country.

\* \* \*

An American editor in Porto Rico, one who  
told the truth about the American occupation  
of the island, having been arrested sixty-two  
times, was obliged to give up.

\* \* \*

There is one criticism of Anarchism which  
it would be hard to reply to satisfactorily: it  
would not furnish easy positions for "pure-  
minded patriots."

\* \* \*

In a speech to publishers, President Roose-  
velt praised the man who writes all day long,  
day after day, and year after year. Doubtless  
he had in mind that laborious liar who edits  
an administration paper.

\* \* \*

Tolstoy and Kropotkin having spoken their  
thoughts upon the war, the lovers of slaughter  
may now be permitted to ponder the differ-  
ence between Anarchism and patriotism. The  
"ship of State" always sails in a sea of blood.

\* \* \*

The thirst for liberty is only the thirst for  
life. Vaguely is it realized by the many,  
definitely is it realized by a few, that liberty

is existence, while slavery is the denial of  
being.

\* \* \*

The German government is discriminating  
against American meats; and already the  
authorities here are talking about discriminat-  
ing against German wines. States make  
enemies of men by establishing duties on im-  
ports.

\* \* \*

Communities are evidences that there is  
something in the human heart which profit  
grubbing cannot satisfy, or rather stultify.  
This commercial age is witnessing a measure  
of revolt which should encourage the believers  
in solidarity to press on.

\* \* \*

A voter is a man who by reason of false  
teaching and that innate love of ease which is  
natural to slaves, will put a piece of paper in  
a box as a man will put a nickel in a slot ma-  
chine hoping that a dollar will come out, and  
gamble for "justice." Poor fool!

\* \* \*

Dr. Edward Everett Hale wants an inter-  
national supreme court of arbitration, so that  
wars can be prevented. The chaplain of the  
Senate should consider that wars at present  
are solely commercial wars, entered into as  
means of getting wealth; and cease to decry  
business.

\* \* \*

The Single Tax, at its best, would dispossess  
one landlord and put another, the good, kind,  
thoughtful State, in its place; after that of  
course the users of land would not exploit  
labor upon that land in order to get the tax,  
and profits to boot, out of labor, but would  
spend their energies daily in deeds of loving  
kindness.

\* \* \*

From the apparent attitude of the Russian  
government, one may judge that a terrible  
war is before us. The slow and deliberate  
massing of vast armies in the east, indicates an  
era of prolonged slaughter. Freedom must  
now speak her loudest, to be heard.

\* \* \*

Many clergymen thruout the country wish  
to become fraternal delegates to the conven-  
tions of the Federation of Labor. "The ser-  
vants of God" can never be the friends of  
man; and even where they are honest in pro-  
testing that they are friends, they should be  
determinedly waved back to their piety and  
their prayers.

\* \* \*

An independent newspaper characterizes  
Jacob Riis' "Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen"  
as a "fawning, obsequious, sycophantic array  
of gush." Riis was made by Roosevelt, and  
like the under servant by nature that he is,  
he assiduously licks the feet that condescend  
not to kick him. It is reported that the presi-  
dent calls Riis "Jake." A man would call him  
jake-ass.

\* \* \*

Milwaukee is all astir over the exposure of  
its officials, and numerous indictments have  
been returned by the grand jury which re-  
cently sat. If Milwaukeans have passable



memories; the New York reform fiasco, in which Dr. Parkhurst went down to ridiculous defeat, should interest them and give them food for reflection. Officialism breeds corruption, *being itself corruption.*

District Attorney Jerome is the most amusing of the whole tribe of "busy bee" officials, and acts like a young schoolboy playing with his first watch. His utterances in New York, like his utterances in Chicago, are so nonsensical in their substance and confident in their manner, that one naturally looks about for his nurse when one hears Jerome talk.

AMERICUS.

### By the Wayside.

"Practical reasons" impelled the Social Democrats in Berlin, Germany, to abandon the last vestige of a revolutionary character—the Paris Commune celebration. Thus Social Democracy is rapidly sliding down the slippery slope of politics, and Socialism is drowned in the cesspool of political corruption, as was predicted by the opponents of political action in their own ranks thirty years ago.

"What can have been the reason for the remarkable friendliness shown by many statesmen at Albany for the lottery—that meanest form of theft that thrives on the pennies of the poorest poor?" the New York *World* asks naively, pretending not to be aware of the fact that government's and statesmen's sole

object is to protect legalized thievery that "thrives on the pennies of the poorest poor."

In order to establish "harmony between capital and labor," the war department has decided to form rifle clubs thruout the United States. According to the Associated Press, the department will encourage the formation of these clubs of murderers, and lend them every possible aid in their preparations for human slaughter. Is it not strange that the Christian government of a "free country" has much more confidence in the efficiency of bullets than in the omnipotence of their God and the God-sent ballot-box?

The Philadelphia police have again shown that it matters very little what kind of laws there are on the statute book. Comrade Emma Goldman was scheduled to speak last Sunday in Philadelphia on "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," a subject which is neither endangering the stability of the United States government, nor apt to incite people to riot, yet the Director of Public Stupidity—pardon, "Public Safety,"—Smyth, deemed it necessary to protect the tyrannical husbands, and prohibited the meeting. Freedom of speech will be guaranteed only after the last vestige of government has passed into oblivion.

The pleasing fact that so many clergymen abandon their profession has stirred up an animated discussion in magazines and other periodicals, and since one of the "renegades" has made the statement that, as a rule, only the weak ones study theology, and that he had

a "feeling of revulsion at the type of man" with whom he had been forced to associate, the indignation of the high-salaried divines has been greatly aroused. But the ex-sky pilots are not in the least timid in their retorts, and one of them boldly declares that he has ceased to believe in the efficiency and necessity of the churches.

There seems to be an overproduction of churches in this country and the sky pilots are flirting with labor in order to fill their sheepfolds—and their purses. In Chicago the ministers attempted to join the Federation of Labor, but their efforts were nipped in the bud. At a meeting where the question was considered, a delegate, T. P. Quinn, said: "It may be they are workers, but I want to see the cabbage head they have raised or the garments they have woven. You have to carry them as well as other parasites. You cannot find a preacher who will say that he is not a friend of the working man, but let him prove his friendship by getting off the backs of workingmen. If you open your doors to them you cannot consistently close your doors to others, and then your usefulness as an industrial organization is at an end, and the capitalists have got you, body, boots and breeches."

Like the newspaper scribes, who attribute all radical thought which threatens to disturb the tranquility of our "captains of industry" in their noble occupation of bleeding labor, to the foreigners, some Yale professors recently sought to vindicate the integrity of the "genuine Americans" by informing the world that the corruption prevailing in the States and cities was due to the "foreign element," and all goody-goody New Englanders approvingly nodded their heads. But Lincoln Steffens, in his new book on corruption, tears the mask from our pious American. Having visited the cities in which the "foreign element" was supposed to predominate, he found that the officials were not foreigners. "Philadelphia, the purest American community of all, and the most hopeless," says Steffens, thus proves that the "spirit of graft" and "rotten politics" is genuine American. "And this piercing and stinging charge," says the *Literary Digest*, "is indorsed by practically all the newspapers that comment on it." The charge that advanced thought is imported by foreigners is not in the least flattering to the Americans, for if it be true it would only prove the indolence and insolence of the Americans.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that our enemies are forced, by the logic of events, to vindicate the contentions of the Anarchists. Only a few months ago President Roosevelt made the frank admission, in a rear platform speech, as reported in the press, that "the State cannot do as much for us as each can and must do for himself." Now the editor of the New York *Evening Journal* follows suit and removes the halo which illuminated the statute book. "Usually a nation is better than its laws," says the editor, and proceeds to show that people are usually far in advance of their laws, and that it is difficult to rid themselves

of their own obnoxious creation. "It took a Dickens to show the English people that they had outgrown many of their laws," he says, and "it would take a good many Dickenses to demolish some of our laws that are unworthy. It would take a good many much stronger than Dickens to enforce others of our laws which are ignored. *'Men make the laws, laws never made the man,'* all of which is only a repetition of what the Anarchists have said decades ago, namely, that law is simply the means of tyranny and the making of "criminals." Even as to the proper remedy the dailies coincide with us. In commenting on the recent "disheartening spectacle of a docile legislature" at Albany, which bare-facedly passed laws in favor of all sorts of "grabs," the New York *World* thinks "there is no remedy save in the outspoken utterance of honest public wrath."

INTERLOPER.

### In Defence of Free Speech.

During the summer of 1893 a great industrial depression prevailed thruout the United States, resulting in intense hardship and poverty among the poor. In New York the allied trade unions, in connection with other radical movements, decided to make an appeal to Congress for relief. Some of those who realized the futility of such action called several meetings to protest against such an appeal. Two meetings were held in Golden Rule Hall, and one in Union square on August 21, 1893, which was attended by an immense throng and addressed by eight speakers.

Emma Goldman spoke at each of these meetings. After the Union square meeting, a warrant for her arrest was sworn out by the police. As she was announced to speak in Philadelphia, detectives arrested her there as she was about to enter the hall; and after a detention of ten days she was extradited to New York. Three indictments for "unlawful assemblage" were found. The trial commenced on October 5, and lasted several days. A. Oakley Hall, ex-mayor and former district attorney, with two associates appeared for the defense.

At the Union square meeting, Emma Goldman quoted Cardinal Manning's famous sentence, "Necessity knows no law," and stated that as hardship and poverty were so acute, people would soon have to go out and help themselves in order to live. Several detectives swore that the speaker had said "people should go out and help themselves." A conviction was the result. The judge sentenced the defendant to one year in the penitentiary, with the remark that he regretted his inability to make it more.

In his defense Mr. Hall said in part: "This meeting at Union square was a peaceable meeting, solely and simply a meeting of protest. In the thirteen years that I occupied the office which is now so ably filled by my learned friend I never even heard of the offense which is called by him 'unlawful assemblage.' The offense dates from the time of Wat Tyler, the early radical. Even the notorious Judge Jeffries never dared to execute anyone for exercising the privilege of free speech."

Just before the case closed the attorney withdrew from the defense, because the defendant refused to take an appeal. When called upon to state why sentence should not be passed, she said that she had prepared a statement, but owing to the fact that the police were trying to provoke her friends, so as to be able to make more arrests, she



would not deliver it. This statement appeared in the New York World of October 14, 1893. It is given below:

"I speak not to defend myself, but to defend my right of free speech, trampled upon by those who have caused the curtailing of my liberty.

"I know that the right of free speech was once guaranteed to every man and woman of this land.

"What do those, who have brought me here understand by the right of free speech? Does it give a right to all to say what appears to the individual good or bad, or has it been granted to permit the expression of only that which to a certain class of citizens appears right?

"Is free speech solely for the purpose and use of the government and its officers? Are individuals prohibited from saying that which is true, even though hardly to the taste of a certain class or portion of the public? Can I say only that in which I do not concur, and must I say it?

"I am positive that the men who shed their blood for the independence of this land, and who offered up their lives to secure the liberty and rights of the American people, must have had a very different understanding of the right of free speech than those who today represent the government, and who so interpret the right as to permit the expression only of that which is conducive to their benefit.

"According to such an interpretation of the right of free speech, I must call them despots, and as such without the right to commemorate in celebrations the memory of those who fell in the fight for independence; for the former deliberately trample under foot the principles of those heroes, and when decorating their graves commit blasphemy.

"Why don't the representatives of the State drop the so-called mantle of free speech, discard the mass of falsehood, and admit that absolutism reigns here?

"Under such a condition of things the American citizen has no shadow of right in pointing the finger of contempt at European institutions, and speaking of the downtrodden hungry of the Old World.

"The sorrowful condition of the workingmen of the Old as well as the New World increases from day to day, and it reached a high point in its horizon this very year.

"Devoid of all means of sustenance, the workingmen assemble to consult, to devise means to remedy their need. Those who throughout the year utilize the people and gather riches at their cost perhaps feel that it would not go well with them should the workingmen become half conscious of their exigencies; and in their terror the latter seek the aid of government. Innumerable policemen and spies are sent into the meetings of the unemployed, to control all their deliberations, to control the speakers.

"I belonged to that class of speakers who endeavored to show the workingmen the real reason of their misfortune.

"The speeches made by me must have contained much that was unpleasant for the rich of the city of New York, because they set in motion whole bands of spies to cause my apprehension and confinement, for the reason, as the indictment reads, that I have offended against the law and exhorted those present at my speeches to acts of violence.

"If what I said at Golden Rule Hall and at Union square was a violation of the laws, then all those who were present at these meetings, and who by protracted and loud applause evinced their approval of what I said, were equally guilty with me. Why, then, did the city authorities proceed against me alone? Why? Because the authorities know that

no danger lies in the workingman's ignorance of the true cause of his privations.

"From the moment that I, as an Anarchist, showed them that the workingman could never expect relief from his despoilers, from that moment I made the ruling classes uncomfortable, and had to be put out of the way.

"I do not acknowledge laws made to protect the rich and oppress the poor. Who are the lawmakers? Senators, the great of the land? Capitalists—capitalists who torture thousands to slow death in their factories. They are people who live in affluence, robbing the workingman of his strength, and depriving him of the results of his labor; they are men whose fortunes have been built upon a foundation formed by pyramids of children's corpses.

"The wealth, the luxury, the pomp and glory of power are bought at the price of murdered and disfigured mankind.

"Ever rises the voice of the disinherited people, a voice growing in volume, and to which the overbearing classes will not listen, and to still which they devise new laws intended to silence the masses. Bands of priests are sent out to teach subjection, to propagate superstition and keep people in ignorance.

"The demands of the workingmen are met with Winchester rifle and the Gatling gun; and I must confess that my brethren and myself will ever oppose such a state of 'order'—an 'order' in which we do not believe, and whose representatives we will never be compelled to meet in the struggle for advancement.

"I can fully understand that such people hate the Anarchists, for it is our endeavor to abolish private property, State and Church. In one word, we aim to free men from tyrants and government.

"The striving for freedom is not the creature of my brain, nor that of any other being; it lies rooted in the people, and the contentions of the past, the struggles between the people and their oppressors show but too plainly that the people are desirous of being freed from their burdens.

"The burning at the stake and the gallows have been the reward of numberless men of advanced thought, and even today thousands feel the icy blasts of Siberia and the torrid breath of New Caledonia, while others yield up their lives in the cause, hidden by the grim walls of dungeons deep. And yet the desire for freedom grew, and grows.

"The world is gliding ever nearer the fact that in Anarchy can be found the happiness and content of man.

"You will not be able to stifle Anarchy by the erection of gallows and jails.

"You endeavor to make us appear to the public eye as veritable murderers, wholly depraved, but when we show the people our true objects they find that we only desire the benefit of mankind.

"We seek the establishment of Anarchy, or, in other words, a freedom from government of any kind; a community of interests based upon common production of equal and necessary character; we seek a perfect liberty for each individual to enjoy the grand and glorious products of nature; we seek for each an equal liberty to cultivate the talents and abilities as well as the attainments of the highest knowledge.

"All wrongs, now perpetrated, such as theft, murder, lying and prostitution, are an outcome of the injustice at present obtaining in the social state, and will disappear with its downfall.

"I tell you, the day of reckoning is not far—a time when no concessions will be granted to the tyrants and despots.

"Such is my belief, spread by me among the workingmen, and this belief will cease only with my life.

"You have convicted me; you may pass sentence of imprisonment upon me; but I tell you that I hate your laws, that I hate your 'order,' for I know but one 'order'—it is the highest potency of order—Anarchy."

### Babel and Bible.\*

Professor Delitzsch, the German scholar whose researches in the East have shown the Babylonian origin of much of the Bible, has at length broken the silence with which the criticisms of his lectures were received, and has written the following reply, here translated from the *Tageblatt* (Daily Journal) of Berlin:

My first lecture on Babel and the Bible covered, exclusive of the illustrations, about thirty pages, small octavo, the second twenty-nine pages, and when, in September, 1903, I retired for a short time to London, I took with me of German "Babel and Bible" literature about 1,350 short and more than 300 longer newspaper and magazine articles, besides which I left behind twenty-eight pamphlets and a multitude of clippings from foreign papers. The letters which I have received since the lectures were delivered would cover the whole world from Calcutta to the "last farm on the California prairies," and from Norway to Cape Town. From all classes, high as well as low, a continual stream of letters still comes pouring in.

Both lectures were translated into English, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Czech and Hungarian. The "Babel and Bible" movement has taken hold of the whole world of religious thought, and to the sorrow of many who have already preached its funeral sermon and said its "requiescat in pace" it not only still hangs on, but, as the evangelical theological side itself openly admits, "will sooner or later come to the front again, as the battle is not yet fought out"; and for all that, as both my Christian and Jewish critics with one voice assert again and again, "there was nothing new in either lecture," and the old "was not even presented in a spirited manner."

We are obviously standing before something unusual and mysterious, which seems to merit a quiet examination.

Personally I do not object to the criticism, "Nothing new." For whoever knows me would gladly testify that nothing is more distasteful to me than to court publicity. It can certainly be no attraction for a religious-minded man to be assailed for month after month from Evangelical and Jewish camps with a mass of letters; many of them anonymous, most of them abusive. But what in the world is the reason for all this calumny and complaint, when theologians, professors, and ministers, even cuneiform savants themselves, assert with one voice that my lectures contained "nothing new," absolutely nothing new?

I do not know if the criticism "nothing new" is so entirely in accordance with the facts. I do not recall, for example, whether the bridge had been built which connects the Old Testament conception of an eternal, gloomy Sheol, to which all men (except Enoch and Elisha) were alike doomed, with the New Testament (and late Jewish) distinction of hell and paradise; for the little documents from the Babylonian sarcophagi, in which it is promised as an especial reward and blessing "to be watered with pure water," have only been discovered since 1901. I do not remember that the old cuneiform names la've-illum, la'um-illum, the announcement of which had helped in an extraordinary way to set the world on fire, were known outside of the narrowest circle of As-

\*Some time ago FREE SOCIETY briefly referred to Prof. Delitzsch's lectures on the origin of the Bible, for which he has been bitterly assailed by the clergy. His reply, I think, will interest our readers.—A. L.



syriologists, as the documents were only made public by the British Museum in 1898 and 1899. And how could, prior to January, 1903, a comparison be made between the revelation of the Mosaic law thru Yahwe and the revelation of the Hammurabi law thru Samas, as the latter was only published in October, 1902, by the French discoverers? Nevertheless, I submit without resistance to the verdict of the "most competent" judges, "nothing new," and gladly content myself with having been of some service in diffusing old knowledge and discoveries, the more gladly as I now have a hundred testimonials against the calumnies of those who are never tired of accusing me of trying to be sensational. For how any one can make a sensation in a time like ours, with scientific information that is old, and warmed over in the bargain, without even the spice of piquancy, I do not understand. It is true that external circumstances have given both lectures a sensational character, but I myself am entirely innocent of any attempts at sensationalism.

But nevertheless, the question remains, How is it possible that what I said in my lectures, much of which was undeniably not new, has caused such a commotion among the laity and so much fervor among theologians? There is, as it seems to me, but this one explanation: For the enormous majority of the laity, even the more educated among them, these facts, which to the initiated are "old," represent something surprisingly new, until now entirely unknown, while on the other hand the theologians, who for some reason or other have never taken the opportunity to state this "old" knowledge to the laity and to explain its importance, have suddenly been roused out of their peace and quiet in a most unpleasant way. And it is becoming clearer all the time that all this stir is occasioned by my announcement of the results of the Assyrio-Babylonian excavations and of Old Testament criticism, especially of the Pentateuch. We can understand that Jewish theologians, who on national grounds consider the Thora God-given and therefore critically unassailable, ignore on principle those achievements along the lines of Old Testament higher criticism which are inevitably associated with the name of Johannes Wellhausen. But also in the Evangelical churches, and not only among those of strong orthodox tendencies, do the pastors entirely suppress this information.

Very characteristic is the letter of an evangelical minister of middle Germany (of April 21, 1902), which I have quoted on a former occasion, but quote again, as it is one of many of the same kind: "Your charming little book" (my first lecture is referred to) "would be so appropriate reading in the family circle, and for both public and private libraries, if the passage on the criticism of the Pentateuch and some other parts were left out. Our wives and children understand nothing at all about such things. They think rather that their faith in the Bible and possibly all faith is attacked by them. Would you not perhaps have so much consideration for the weak ones as to prepare a new edition for them?" A strange request indeed! To ask a scholar in this twentieth century to suppress a truth which has been known since 1753, and since that time acknowledged to be true by scientific theologians, both Catholic and evangelical; to proclaim aloud the parallels between Babel and the Bible where they teach us to understand the Bible better or confirm it. Otherwise, to cut out everything which is likely to cause reflection on the old methods of looking at things. As if weakness, imperfection, and untruthfulness would be able to stop the triumphant march of Truth, which is from God himself.

When the director of the German Oriental Society in the winter of 1901-02 had chosen from among other suggested subjects the one

entitled "Babel and the Bible," I immediately began to distil the more than abundant material which, under the name of the "Cuneiform Monuments and the Old Testaments," for more than twenty years I had been using in the lecture room (two or three times a week) so as to make three lectures, each of which would be as far as possible a complete whole. That this was no easy task everyone familiar with the subject will admit, especially when he reflects that I had to adapt them to a class of educated hearers of the most diverse confessions and religious standpoints; that there was a time limit placed on each lecture; and that the disposition and arrangement of the matter must be such that the hearers would be interested and fascinated, not bored and put to sleep.

Whoever makes these three points clear to himself will in the future avoid making many of the charges against me, which were as thoughtless as they were unjust, charges that I was not thorough enough, did not cite earlier authorities, etc. But as far as the terse, clearly stated theme, "Babel and Bible," itself is concerned, it is to be supposed that I am versed in both cuneiform and Old Testament lore, in its most modern form, and that, altho not a theologian by profession, I am still enough at home in the subject of theological or, more accurately, Old Testament learning to have an independent opinion. Furthermore, as the Old Testament serves as a religious canon for both Jews and Christians it was impossible to avoid touching on religious questions. And finally I felt it to be clearly my duty, no matter what class of hearers I was privileged to address, to boldly announce those results of scientific investigation which in man's judgment represent the truth, and to be true to the vow I made at the beginning of my professional career, "to courageously champion the truth and to bravely defend it." So it happened that I mentioned the different sources of the Pentateuch and some other things as facts known to and generally accepted among scientific circles, and must comfort myself with the hope that my lectures have succeeded and may still further succeed to bring about a better condition of things on both sides.

I refer to the condition of affairs existing between the church and scientific theology. In his pamphlet, "Israel and Babylonia," Professor Gunkel says:

"There was immediately a great stir among church circles. Delitzsch had taken the side of the modern higher critics of the Old Testament. For instance, he announced as a well founded fact—scientifically unassailable—that the five books of Moses are compiled from ancient writings of very different sources. He said that certain well known parts of the Israelitish tradition, especially the stories of the creation, the deluge, and the Garden of Eden, were of Babylonian origin and upheld that these stories are to be accepted as myths and sagas, not objective descriptions of real occurrences. The Sabbath is also of Babylonian origin. . . . And in asserting these things, Delitzsch has said nothing that is not either accepted by higher critics or at least under consideration by them. Nevertheless, his words have fallen like a thunderbolt among many of the laity. . . . This effect is chiefly accounted for by the undeniable fact that there is a most lamentable breach between the evangelical church and evangelical learning. How few of the educated laity or even of the older ministers themselves have a clear idea of what is going on at the present day in scientific theology. And how many of the accepted results of higher criticism have found their way into the training seminaries for teachers. So the people, kept ignorant alike by pastors and teachers, are overwhelmed by the announcement of the results of biblical and Babylonian research."

Dr. Julius Bohmer, at the close of a series of articles on "The Old Testament in the Light of Mesopotamian Excavations," says:

"Delitzsch has touched an open wound which threatens to become fatal if it is not fought by the church, that is, by Christendom itself, by the believing public. This wound is on holy ground, on the territory of faith in the Bible. Briefly stated it is this: In the course of the nineteenth century, biblical criticism, under the visible guidance of an all-wise, gracious God, has made great and wonderful progress. And this progress has not been made of service to the believing public. The present question is not one of the work of an unbelieving, destructive, radical critic. It is of results and conclusions which are the common property of all scientifically minded theologians and all those who are working professionally along scientific theological lines. But the mass of believing Christians know nothing of all this. The church teachings, sermons, religious books, etc., are in great measure as free from all of it as if the scientific biblical investigations of the last century did not exist or were at least under the guidance of the devil. So as a matter of fact, Delitzsch has put his finger in a burning wound, and if thereby he has given the impulse to examine the wound with a view to healing it, instead of covering it up again to fresh corruption, we are very much indebted to him."

Fine words and true ones! If only acts would follow them.

A brief word about the deplorable conditions of relationship of the church and the schools. *Pueris debetur maxima reverentia*—our greatest reverence should be shown the children. How sharp a contrast this is to the complaints of earnest and able teachers from every part of our German fatherland! Religious instruction as it is carried on at the present day cannot educate the heart and soul, but must repulse every thoughtful child. Adolph Harnack in discussing the subject says with justifiable sharpness that it is "laziness and fear" which have until now kept this valuable knowledge out of the schools. But I think he is not justified in blaming the schools for it. Budder, in his book on the Old Testament and the Excavations, seems to me to be more just in his judgment. In speaking of the compilation of the Five Books of Moses from a number of different sources, the connection of many of the biblical stories, such as the Creation, Deluge and the tables of stone, with Babylonian myths, the failure of all attempts to bring our Bible account of the creation of the world into harmony with the results of natural science, he calls them "truths which have become part of our flesh and blood, but which are still often tabooed as heresies by the ruling church circles."

The schools would so much like to spread their wings and take a higher flight; would, for example, like themselves to examine into the different sources of the Pentateuch, compare the different stories of the creation and the deluge, etc. They would like to see religious instruction purified from the outgrown Oriental ideas and stories about the creation of the world in seven days, the making of man out of clay, and the breathing into his nostrils the breath of life, the making of woman from the man's rib, of the flood which covered the tops of the highest mountains with fifteen cubits of water, of the taking of the living creatures into the Ark, and similar things—all saga or myths whose elimination will not in the least shake our "inheritance of Christendom." But altho the evangelical church is the very body which need not fear the truth, nevertheless that body of the church which has charge of the schools can never quite bring itself to take the position which would free it from all imperfections and compromises. And yet truth alone—the whole undisguised truth—can make us free.—*The Truth Seeker.*



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FREE SOCIETY Group meets every Tuesday evening at the Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. All comrades interested in the English propaganda are cordially invited.

\* \* \*

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\* \* \*

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\* \* \*

The Freeland League meets during April, every Monday; after April every Thursday, 8 p. m., sharp, at Etris Hall, 168 W. 23d St. Lectures and free discussions.

\* \* \*

The Italian Group, Studi Sociale Circolo, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at 20 Hancock St.

\* \* \*

May 2, 8 p. m., Gorki's interesting play, "The Citizens", will be performed at the Thalia Theater for the benefit of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. All comrades who have the propaganda at heart are cordially requested to aid the comrades in the sale of tickets in order to make the undertaking a success.

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Free Society Group meets every Sunday, 3.30 p. m., at 223 Columbus St. Lectures and free discussion.

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