



The Right to Be a Man.

You are humble to your masters; you have not the heart to strike,
Tho they kick you and deride you and abuse you as they like.
You have fawned and cringed to Midas for a thousand years and more,
And your heart and hand are palsied—you are coward to the core.
You kiss the hands that cuff you, and you think that you are wise;
You have not the strength or courage from your slimy groove to rise.
To the men who own and boss you you are servile and a tool—
Will you always serve the tyrant, and be branded as a fool?
Will you crawl to men who robbed you since this old world first began,
And be false to love and freedom and the right to be a man?

You have truckled to your masters, and have suffered for them, too;
But what for all your crawling have they ever done for you?
They have dulled your mind with dungeons, they have cowed you with the rod;
They have cut you off for ever from the guiding light of God;
They have set their chains about you, they have bound you down with bars;
They have kept you at the muck-rake lest your soul should seek the stars;
They have bred you to the slave-yard that their profits might be sure;
They have ground you down and house you in the kennels of the poor;
They have left you in the wallow of a sordid social plan,
And you lost your love and freedom and the right to be a man.

They have set the Church to hound you and the State to forge your gyves;
They have hired your sons for money-gods to batten on their lives;
They have fought their battles with you—you're a puppet to be bled;
They have bought you and can buy you for a mouldy crust of bread.
They have wreathed the flowers with serpents that are waving at your feet;
They have made your children pagans and Delilahs of the street;
They have put you on the treadmill when your words were wild or rash;
They have cut your back to pieces with the hangman at the lash;
They have trained you to submission as your master only can,
Lest you fight for love and freedom, and the right to be a man.

They have driven you in exile to the lands beyond the wave,
They have put their yokes upon your neck and branded you a slave;
They have rioted in luxury your ceaseless toil has won,
They have put you in the workhouse when your working days were done.

They have lifted heads above you that are narrow as the ape's,
They have dwarfed your sons and daughters down to all inhuman shapes;
They have worn your heart with waiting, they have cowed you to your creed,
They are kinder to the spaniels and the poodles that they breed;
And their fetters, aye, shall drag you down, till in the Labor van
You have pluck to fight for freedom and the right to be a man.

—J. K. McDougall.

Society in a Mirror.*

Somebody ought to tell the whole truth about the religious, industrial and social conditions of the country. Many are willing to tell a part of the truth when discussing these questions, but when a half truth is made to stand for a whole truth the result is usually false. The laboring man cannot do it, because it requires too much of his time to keep the wolf of starvation from his door, but he is reading more at this present time than ever before. The lawyer cannot tell the whole truth, because it would interfere with his business; the more corruption and crime, the more business for the lawyer. We live in an age when he is called the best lawyer who makes it the safest to commit crime. The merchant cannot tell the whole truth, because it would interfere with his trade; the editor cannot do it, because it would interfere with the circulation and advertising of his paper. Our so-called statesmen cannot do it, because they are afflicted with the disease called moral-color-blindness, and the politician cannot do it, because he is not in the habit of telling the truth—so I guess I will be compelled to do it myself.

I wish to discuss these questions under the following heads: First, the Ministry; second, the Church; third, the Rich; fourth, the Poor. I wish to show that all these classes are contending for the material prosperity of our country, and the idea of the rights of man is hardly ever thought of.

First, I wish to pay my respects to the ministry, because I belong to that class. And I wish it understood that I am a friend to the preacher. If there is a set of men on earth who are in need of friends it is the ministry, for they, as a class, are the biggest cowards on earth. Besides they are slaves. My brethren blame me for telling tales out of school, but I cannot help it. We are cringing, cowering, timid slaves who are compelled to surrender our manhood and be directed by men and women who belong to church because it is fashionable, and would belong to an infidel club just as willingly if it were equally fashionable. We are paid so much a year, not for telling the truth, but for telling what the people want to hear. It takes us four or five days of each week hard study, not how to present the truth, but how to dodge it. We

* This is an excerpt from an address delivered before a labor union by Rev. H. M. Brooks, of Paris, Ill., which has attracted considerable attention among his colleagues and other idlers.

fully understand that if we should happen to tell the truth it is our business to apologize for having done so. We fully understand that no man can preach for a rich, fashionable congregation and tell the whole truth and hold his job. It is therefore the chief end of the preacher's life to know how to please his congregation and hold his job. We know that greed has commercialized business; mammonized the church and hypnotized the clergy, but we dare not tell it. We know that every time we preach a discourse we ought to take for a text, "I am thine ass," and there would be no one to dispute our premises. We know that we are run by rich men, many of whom have acquired their wealth by the most questionable methods, and fashionable fools who have neither religious conception nor conviction, but we dare not open our heads. We know that the preachers in the past have been, that is, many of them have been, great factors in the march of civilization, but great preachers have always been scarce and now they are all dead. When we look about us we are conscious of the fact that there is not a great reformer, poet, preacher or statesman on this earth today. We are all well trained as the monkey who can go to the end of his chain and no further. * * * *

Sometime ago I saw in the daily papers that a preacher in Cincinnati had come to the defense of football, and I thought to myself that if seven-tenths of all the preachers should quit preaching and go to playing football, that the country would be better off. In the presence of the church we are as truckling as ever a scullion was in the presence of a king. A preacher with a good place and a good salary was never known to have an original idea or enter a protest against the oppressor of the weak. We know that almost all crimes in the whole catalogue are committed by church members, but we dare not speak with authority. Think of such men and women passing on the fitness of a man to preach! Here is the caste of a committee, before whom I once appeared to have them determine my fitness to fill the pulpit: The chairman's income was over thirty dollars a day from buildings that he owned and rented for the use of gamblers, saloon keepers and prostitutes. Another had an illegitimate child that was over twenty years old, but he had reformed and was a very nice appearing man at that time. Another had been in a mixup with a woman that was enough to make angels hide their faces and devils blush for shame. Another could out-swear a steamboat captain. Another had just lost all his money on the election, and was about to be turned out of church, not for betting, but because he had lost all his money. Another one of that committee was half a fool and he was the best one of the bunch.

We all know that the church is no longer looked upon as a place of worship, but as a place of entertainment. I do not object to entertainment, but want to go to the opera house where they are prepared to give it. We all know that the ministry as a whole has never been on the right side of any great question till right, in the hands of a few tried and trusted friends, has fought its way to the

front and then we have always been around to receive the honor, saying, "Look what we have done."

Second, the Church. Never in the history of the world was there a time when it meant so little to belong to church as it does now. The church is dying of unbelief. It is on the highway to infidelity and the road seems greased for the occasion. Most church members would rather think that death ends all than think of meeting a just God and give an account for the way they are living. It knows very little and cares less what Christ taught on anything. Indeed, the Bible is looked on today as being out of date—an impertinence—and people are called old foggy who believe it. It is acting the part of the dog in the manger. It will not follow Christ, neither will it permit others to follow Him. It knows enough of the doctrine, but is sadly wanting in spirituality. It has its feet shod with the preparation of the gospel, but it will not walk. It knows the doctrine, but will not teach. It has the commands, but will not obey them. It has the truth, but will not tell it. It has the breastplate of righteousness, but will not wear it. It has the shield of faith and the sword of the spirit, but will not use them. It is like students of a military school who are eternally in the mess room. It believes, or admits for the sake of argument, that that part of the Bible is true which requires no sacrifice, but it has no use for that part of it that requires unselfish service for the good of all. Anything it can do to make a show, it will do at any cost, but doing right in the love of right is a thing that never enters its mind.

The first thing that the church ought to learn is that Christianity means honesty. A man cannot put in his time robbing and stealing from his fellows and then settle it all by giving part of it to the Lord. I do not believe the Lord will receive stolen goods. Neither do I believe there is money enough to bribe him. Nor do I believe that the God of heaven ever received a church building, a college, or a library that was built by blood money, or money that was wrong from the hands of helpless men and women. I believe that the God of heaven is honest. And I had rather live that honest, simple life of the Nazarine, who had not where to lay his head, I had rather go to some hollow and build me a log house, the kind I was born and raised in, where love reigned supreme, where hate was shut out and love shut in; have a little spring that would send its waters as freely to the common man as it would to the millionaire, a stick chimney, a wooden lock with the latch string hanging out, where I could hear the vespers of the whip-poor-will in the evening, and the song of the thrush in the morning, where in declining years I could read God's promises and watch the lengthening shadows and die surrounded by a few friends, than be a millionaire, live in a castle, with iron windows and a strong guard around the house, with locks and bolts, surrounded by flattering fools and die conscious of the fact that I have insulted the Holy Spirit, traduced apostles trampled the blood of Christ under foot, and counted it an unholy thing, crowded helpless men to wall a robbed them, and compelled helpless, overworked and underfed mothers to press hungry babes to empty breasts.

I do not believe in the forgiveness of sins unless there be restitution first. If restitution be possible, I do not think that the libertine can destroy the virtue of the young girl and then settle it all with the Lord at the mid-week prayer meeting. I do not think God will forgive him until he makes wrongs right with the girl. If I robbed a fellow, I do not think that God will forgive me till I make things right with him. We have an idea that it makes no difference what we do to get money, just so it is done in the name of the Lord. One man can give twenty millions to build a college in California and then put up freight rates and make it all back in a short time and it is all right with the church. An-

other can drop a few millions in Chicago to build a religious seminary and then put up the price of coal oil and make it all back in a few days and the church is so far gone morally that it can see nothing wrong in it. No difference what we say about the Jewish church, it was not so corrupt as the present day church. When Judas offered the thirty pieces of silver, which was the price of blood, the Jewish church refused to take it. Where is the church that would do it today?

Not long ago I read of a preacher in New York who was worth twenty-five millions of dollars. Think of such a man being a disciple of Him who had not where to lay his head. Another gentleman can build libraries all over this country by changing the scale with his workmen and robbing them, and if they say anything, he calls in Pinkerton thugs and cut-throats to shoot them down, and then calls on the great State of Pennsylvania to uphold him in his hellish business. If Andrew Carnegie will take care of the men he has robbed, and the women he has made widows, and the children he has made orphans, he will have enough to do. But I am glad these monuments are being built. They are monuments of blood and they will serve to point out to the future our present methods of getting money which are no better than the methods of Robin Hood. Once I was shown a house where John Merrill, the outlaw, robbed a rich man and gave the money to a poor widow who was trying to support her helpless children. The latter act was commendable, but was Merrill any the less a robber? There are in this age three great shams—the church, the law, and politics. * * *

Crime is on the increase. There is no question but that crime is on the increase. There is no question but that the world is getting worse, still, I have hope for the final outcome, but my hope is in the common people. There will first come a time of suffering such as our fair land never saw * * * There are two classes of robbers in this country—one robs contrary to law, while the other robs according to law. Statistics tell us that drinking is alarmingly on the increase among the more fashionable women, but why should we be surprised, for the corruptest thing in this world is fashionable society. * * *

Sometime ago a rich man asked a poor man why it was that he had so many children, to which the poor man replied, "We do not kill any of our children." I once saw a woman stand in a missionary meeting with five thousand dollars' worth of jewelry on and heard her make a plea for the poor heathen, and Paul's language immediately came to my mind, "Oh, thou who art full of all subtlety, thou child of hell, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" * * * I am not so much concerned about the heathen who has a thousand Gods as I am about the American who has only one God and will not serve him. The church is always pretending that it is trying to reach the masses, while everybody knows that there is no truth in the claim. The church wants the classes. It wants only those who have social and financial standing. There is no place in any church in this country for the man with plain clothes. The church has turned its back upon the common people—that part of the race who heard Christ gladly, who followed him in great crowds that they trod one upon another.

Here is a picture of the church which is always getting ready, but never doing. Word comes that there is a man drowning in the creek. The people all put on their best clothes and go to the rescue. They congregate upon the bank and appoint a chairman. The chairman calls the people together and states the object of the meeting. After the people all join in singing "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name" a very elaborate prayer is offered for the unfortunate man, a young lady comes forward and in a beautiful voice sings, "Throw Out the Life Line." The poor man struggles

and strangles! Next there is an address on the beauty of rescuing. The man sinks and rises. Then there is a well modulated voice renders "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep," and the dying man is making awful efforts to reach the shore. Next there is a very elegant address on "The Necessity of Rescuing," and the man sinks and rises again. Then the leader of song steps to the front and asks all to join in singing the old song, "Rescue the Perishing." They make the air almost blossom with melody but the man sinks to rise no more. As the people go away they are all talking of the fine music, the elegant addresses and what a fine presiding officer Mr. Blank is, but some one asks about the drowning man and they reply: "Oh, he is drowned; the truth is, he had no business going about the water until he learned to swim. * * *

I know it is quite unpopular to say it, but the New Testament teaches just as plainly that a rich man cannot be saved as it does that a drunkard cannot be saved. Christ was born of a poor woman. He was brought up by a carpenter and if any rich, fashionable church member could see Jesus today going along the street with his tools they would turn their noses at him, and if he should come into any of our cities today and say again, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head," he would be arrested for vagrancy and be thrown into prison. He associated but little, during his personal ministry, with the rich and had he called his disciples from among the rich, he would not have been crucified. It was the rich who sought his life at his birth; persecuted him during his life; arrested, convicted, crucified and buried him.

Jesus came in contact with three classes of men who were ruined by riches and we have the same classes today. The first was the young man who came to him inquiring the way into the Kingdom. This young man had been ruined by fastidious refinement. He had been brought up in a nice home, where he was taught it was not proper to associate with a laboring man, but all right to take all that a laboring man could earn. He was faultless in his dress and manners and popular with a certain class. If the question of the poor was mentioned in his presence, he would, no doubt, have thanked God that there were no poor in the church where he belonged. He came reverently and earnestly asking the way of the kingdom of heaven: This was a fair question and I take it that Jesus gave him a fair, square answer, "Go sell what thou hast and distribute to the poor," was Christ's answer, but the young man did not like the terms and therefore went away full of sorrow.

Another class is represented by the fellow that wanted to pull down his barns and build greater. This man was ruined by coarse greed. He only ate what he could not sell, worked his men half to death, watched every poor fellow in the country till he would get into a close place and then rob him, until his stock and grain barns were running over and he had to build greater. Such an one is always telling how little he had when he started and how much he now has and he is not going to give any of it away; that people can work just as he did for his. Take such a fellow into a church and he cannot keep awake during a thirty minute discourse, while on the other hand, if you should put him into a room where he could hear his notes and mortgages drawing interest, you would have to chloroform him to sleep. He can pass right by the little, dirty, ragged hungry child, a helpless woman or a sick man and have no scruples of conscience.

A third class is represented by the rich man who fared sumptuously and dressed in fine linen every day. This man was ruined by unrestrained luxury.

Therefore fastidious refinement, gross greed and unrestrained luxury are the three gigantic social evils of the age. Thousands today are in these classes. They never made an hon-

est dollar and have nothing but contempt for the hands that created the wealth in which they are revelling. But over yonder it seems that all was changed. The rich man becomes the beggar while Lazarus becomes the millionaire. Here men are measured by their money—over there they are measured by their character. The account says that the rich man died and was buried. It does not say whether the beggar was buried or not. There were no reporters at the funeral of the beggar, and it was a hard matter to find anyone who attended the funeral services, but every fool in the country was around trying to do something for the rich man.

Paul tells us that the love of money is the root of all evil, but who cares today for what Paul said? We all know that no man can make a million dollars honestly. If Adam had lived until today and had been paid two dollars per day for every working day and had his board gratis, he would not have had six millions of dollars. In other words, he would not have money enough to introduce him into the "smart set" of New York.

I use the term as covering that great body of people who love virtue; who are too honest to steal and too conscientious to speculate and are therefore content with what they get by honest toil. That class who heard and followed Jesus gladly. If you belong to the common people, you should be glad of it, for there is nothing in history against this class, and there is nothing in God's Book against them. All the anathemas in the Bible are against the rich or their families. Some people tell us that we must not talk of the rich and the poor for fear of stirring up class hatred, but the Bible speaks of these classes and we are all aware of the existence of these classes, and there has been class consciousness in this world since the first feeble hand of resistance was raised against the iron hand of oppression, and this will continue and ought to continue till the common man gets his rights. During all the ages of the past the common man has suffered all things and endured all things for the sake of peace, and it is almost time he was speaking for himself. The king may rule all and the priest may pray for all and the soldier may fight for all, but labor always pays for all. In the march of civilization, he has been persecuted and prosecuted, whipped, starved, robbed and murdered. He has fought all wars, furnished all the great scholars, statesmen, scientists, poets, lawyers, inventors and preachers. We are dependent upon him for every bite we eat, every stitch of clothing we wear, every house that shelters us, every ounce of fuel we burn and every dollar we spend.

From immemorial time there have been two classes—the one that has created all wealth, the other who spend their time in idleness and trying to get what labor creates. I believe that all able-bodied men should be compelled to work or starve. I believe the time will come when men will have to work in order to be respected. I believe that the most damnable crop that any nation ever raised is a crop of idlers—whether they be tramps or millionaires. Enforced idleness on the one hand and voluntary idleness on the other has toppled thrones and annihilated empires.

During the centuries of the past labor has been a sleeping giant and has therefore never been conscious of its strength, and during all this time if he said anything about his condition, the doctors would rally round him, and tell him that he was talking in his sleep or had the nightmare, but he is beginning to arouse and rub his eyes. He is beginning to study profits, and as he approaches his task, villains tremble. He is asking why it is that he who creates all wealth should be compelled to go on his knees before the capitalist and beg for enough to keep soul and body together. He is wondering why it is that capitalists can or-

ganize for the purpose of cutting wages and it is called legitimate business, while on the other hand if laboring men organize for the purpose of resisting such cut, it is called a conspiracy. He wants to know why it is and how it is that they who work the least have the most and they who work the most have the least. He is wondering why it is that we have an industrial system that compels the many to pay the few for the privilege of living on the earth and why a man should have to pay for the privilege of doing an honest day's work.

Permit me here to make a few statements. First, any system, no matter how old it is, nor how much respect we may have for it, that makes one person dependent upon another for a living is slavery. Age can never make truth out of a lie. Second, no man can be enslaved until you rob him of some right. Any man that is dependent upon a scale of wages for bread and clothing for himself and family is a victim of the most damnable slavery. The capitalist can change or repudiate any agreement at a time, and be sustained in his action. We live in an age when a common railroad engine has more rights than the child. Money is greater than man, and the rights of property are greater than the rights of man. The common man of today is very rapidly becoming deprived of the right to the use of the earth. The time was when the common man could exercise a little independence, but that day is past. If he sold himself into slavery, it was voluntary, and if his master began to turn the thumbscrews of oppression, he could take old Horace Greeley's advice and "Go West to grow up with the country," but today he is hemmed in on every side. Labor in this country is just where capital has been trying for the last forty years to get it. There are two men for each job, and the capitalist will lie in the background and shake his fat sides laughing while the two men fight it out to determine which shall have the job. I know that the prosperity howlers tell us that there is a job for every man, but in time of a strike they claim their ability to fill the place of every striker. If the poor man goes out West, the landlord is there and possesses all the land. If he goes to the coal regions or the manufacturing district, he is told, "I can give you work if you will work at my price and do not belong to the union."

Laboring men, let me tell you something. If ever you get any relief it will come thru your own efforts. If you depend upon lawyers, politicians, or even the church you may make up your minds to live and die in industrial slavery. Remember that the present laws were all made by lawyers and politicians. * *

In 1858 the labor organizations came to the front. It looked for awhile like the labor question was going to be settled before the slave question, but in 1860 the question of slavery got in the lead. In 1861 the war broke out. The laboring man went to the front while the bankers went to Congress to make laws by which to govern labor, and that same class have been dictating the laws ever since. For the past twenty-five years the laboring man has kept the road hot traveling from one old political party to the other. What have we gained? A change of President and Congress from one of these parties to the other is like the old man who had a hen sitting for six weeks without hatching, and he asked his neighbor if he had better take that hen off and put on another, and his neighbor told him he needed a new set of eggs. What we want is to clean up the whole thing, eggs, hen, and all.

One of two things must happen in this country. There will be a set of castles and lords on the one hand, and hovels and slaves on the other, or else the common people will come together and assert their right and be free forevermore. Man makes progress from the ground upward, and we have not gotten

above our stomach yet. Sometime there will be a generation that will rise above our stomachs. For that time let us labor.

If man to man will not be true,
Their duty to each other do,
Trouble will like the mountains grow,
And blood like streams of water flow.

The Torture Chamber Revived.

The following dispatch appeared in the New York Evening Journal just before Free Society went to press:

PUEBLO, Col., June 21.—John Yates and Peter Styler, miners, residents of Victor, confined in the bull-pen for weeks, tell a tale of barbarous torture by the militia under General Bell, and the condition of their arms, which may have to be amputated, lends credence to their story. They assert that they were strung up by the thumbs by General Bell and another officer, and that while suspended they were beaten with the flat of swords and brutally kicked. They are in the hospital here, and attorneys who have heard their statements are preparing to bring suit against the State government.

Penniless and nearly starved, they reached here in a box car from the New Mexico State line. Yates told the story while lying on a cot in the County Hospital.

"We worked in the mines," he said, "and had no trouble until about four months ago, when we were told to give up our union cards. We refused and were discharged. Then came the explosion that killed the scabs at the Victor depot. As God is my judge, we were innocent, but that night we were arrested in our homes, taken without being allowed to kiss our wives good-bye and hurried to the pen."

"General Bell and his soldiers asked us a lot of questions and then we were taken into a room with high rafters and the little general in gold lace and another fine little chap they called Major Naylor raved at us and finally ordered that we be strung up."

"They tied knots around our thumbs and pulled us up, and while we hung there they cursed and beat us with the flat of their swords and kicked us. I do not know how long it lasted, for my head began to swim in a few minutes and everything became black. The next I remember is standing in the sunshine, so that it must have been at least four hours. We were struck with a bayonet, forced in a box car with a lot of others and then the pain was so bad that we forgot everything."

Letter-Box.

J. P., MILWAUKEE, WIS. — The "lucky number" in the prize-contest of the gold watch was 221.

Literary Notes.

We would remind our readers that a cheap and revised edition of "Mutual Aid," differing but little in appearance from the first edition, is now on sale for \$1 a copy. The German translation, "Gegenseitige Hilfe" (by G. Landauer) has been published by Theodor Thomas, Leipzig.

Eight thousand copies of the cheap edition of "Fields, Factories and Workshops" having been sold, a new edition is now ready; and the German translation is just out, published at Calvary, Berlin ("Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handwerk").

There is also a German translation of "Modern Science and Anarchism" ("Moderne Wissenschaft und Anarchismus") published by Johannes Rade, Berlin, W., which contains a very useful little dictionary of eleven pages, added by the translator, and explaining who are the men of science named in the text, and their chief work.

These books can be obtained from M. Maisel, 194 E. Broadway, New York.

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.
Issued Weekly by FREE SOCIETY PUBL. ASSOCIATION
A. ISAAK, Editor.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 230 E. Fourth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter March 3, 1904, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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

SUNDAY, JUNE 26, 1904.

471.

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

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

ATTENTION.

All delinquent subscribers are earnestly requested to renew their subscriptions if they wish to receive the paper. It is due to the negligence of the delinquents that we are forced to issue only four pages.

In New York City Mrs. ANNIE EDELSTADT will visit the negligent subscribers, and we hope she will not spend carfare in vain.

For the benefit of FREE SOCIETY a pleasant afternoon and evening outing will take place Sunday, July 3, 1904, at Smith's Wald Hotel, near Glendale Schuetzenpark. Section 13. Transfers from all Brooklyn cars to Richmond Hill cars.

Thursday, June 30, 8 p.m., a public conference will be held by the Society founded for the purpose of producing modern social dramas at Lyric Hall, 723 Sixth Ave., near 42nd St. Several speakers will address the audience.

For the benefit of the FREIE ARBEITER-STIMME an excursion will take place on Saturday, July 16. The steamer „Richmond” and two fine barges will leave Market st. Pier at 2:30 p.m. sharp. Come and be merry. Ticket 50 cents.

A Summer-Night Picnic for the benefit of THE FREIHEIT, given under the auspices of the singing society „Freiheit,” of New York, will take place on July, 10, at Old Homestead Park, Third Ave., near 91st st. Admission 10 Cents.

By the Wayside.

The advocates of the infallible „Initiative and Referendum” who assert that such schemes of democracy will usher in the millennium, have received a terrible blow in Zurich, Switzerland, where the majority of the people recently voted against a small increase of the teachers' salaries. Two years ago the same „intelligent” majority voted for the increase of the preachers' salaries. Admitting that „religion is a private affair,” the Socialists may learn, however, that after all

intelligence is the main factor in social evolution.

Since the corruption and the inefficiency of government inspectors has again been revealed by the terrible loss of life on the Slocum, the ardent believers in government are at the end of their wits as to the remedy. But one of these wiseacres comes to rescue with the suggestion „that the government should employ secret inspectors to review the work of the others.” And if they also are bribed? Why, employ a third set of idlers „to review the work” of the second set, and so on *ad infinitum*. Yet mankind cannot see the farce of government.

General Bell, the ex-cowboy and „tough rider,” loudly proclaims that he is going to „weed out all Socialists and Anarchists in Colorado, no matter whether it is against the Constitution or not.” His vandalism knows no limits; union property is destroyed without hesitation, and valuables found on the miners are „expropriated” without ceremony. The „respect for life and property” is utterly absent when it concerns the life and property of the „underdog.” Our Socialist friends, who fear that a general strike might involve the expropriation of food and shelter, can learn a good deal from this trained murderer.

The Spokane Press sent a woman reporter to several employment agencies, who was to represent herself as the agent for the „madam” of a house of ill-fame, and asking for innocent girls for „sporting” houses. „The managers, one of whom was a white-haired, benevolent-looking old man, with grown-up daughters of his own,” as the paper puts it, „treated her with the utmost deference, as a good paying customer, and agreed to furnish her with the girls she wanted at fifteen dollars per head, warranting that they would be well-educated and pretty.” And this is the society which levels its scorn and indignation against Anarchists who would inaugurate a society in which the want of bread should not drive people into prostitution.

„Political action” brings forth strange blossoms of logic in the camp of Socialistic politicians, as can be seen from the report of the Socialist convention in this issue. The delegates admonish the workers not to hobby the general strike, as such a step „would make existence impossible for all.” Yet their principal contention is: „All wealth belongs to the producers, and when the majority vote for Socialism we shall confiscate the means of production and distribution for the good of all.” Now, why does a majority of votes justify expropriation any more than a unanimous refusal of the producers to work for the benefit of the exploiters and idlers in society? Could not Mr. Politician, Mr. Exploiter, Mr. Idler, and Mr. Ruler go to work with the rest of the toilers who have taken possession of „the means of production and distribution that belong to them,” and thus make existence possible for themselves?

The New York Times, one of our „respectable” dailies, thinks that General Bobrikoff, the Russian official who was shot in Finland,

„has at last met the fate he has been inviting,” and that in such case „tyrannicide becomes not only no crime, but the height of patriotic virtue.” I agree, of course, with the editor that „tyrannicide is a virtue”—but why this change of sentiment? For when Bresci committed a similar act of virtue by executing King Humbert, the Times was foremost among those who stigmatized Bresci as „a beast of society,” and according to it such beasts could not be exterminated too quickly. Why this discrepancy? Had not King Humbert ordered to be shot down men, women and children who were clamoring for bread to appease the pangs of hunger? Had Bobrikoff perpetrated a more dastardly act? No. He only „benevolently assimilated” the Finns. Ah! but Bresci was only a working man, an Anarchist, while Schaumann—the executor of Bobrikoff—„was not a revolutionist, but a young man of ‘respectable’ parents, highly imbued with patriotism.” He did not revolt against the system of murder and plunder, as did Bresci, and hence Schaumann „is already enshrined as a hero in the hearts of his countrymen,” according to the Times.

According to Freedom (London), the government of British Columbia has investigated „the causes and effects of the recent labor conflicts in the province.” The report of the commission lays special stress on two things: the necessity for the importation of yellow labor and the approaching dangers of organized labor. Coolie labor is required to work „the saw mills, the canneries and the mines of comparatively lower grade at a profit,” and trades unions are dangerous because the advantages they offer are such that the Canadian workers are bound to join them. Those that are affiliated with the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners are the most obnoxious, for they intend „to seize the political power of the State for the purpose of confiscating all franchises and natural resources without compensation.” But worse still, these „fraternities are told to prepare for the universal strike, ‘Labor’s Gettysburg,’ which is to bring about the collapse of capitalism and the Saturnian reign of a single world-grasping organization—a gigantic labor trust.” The general strike is, of course, the main thing to be feared by the powers that be, for once the toilers lay down their tools, all the armies and ironclads to suppress rebellious labor will be of no avail.

The Denver Post, in an editorial addressed „to editorial writers and exchange editors,” cautions its contemporaries not to exult too hastily over the lawfulness in the East in comparison with the „lawlessness” in Colorado. It is simply a matter of being five to ten years ahead of a struggle inevitable in all industrial centers of the United States,” says the editor correctly. The paper then goes on to state that the governor „declared the troubled districts in a state of insurrection and put the military officers in charge of them, in advance of any rioting, and for the purpose of preventing the strikers from using any influence whatever to keep the non-union men from working.” Thus corroborating the claims of the strikers that the calling out of the militia was wholly unwarranted,

the editor points out that the experience in Colorado merely "represents the crossing of the Yalu in a struggle much vaster and costlier than the war between Japan and Russia, and much more important to civilization and society"—a struggle between old and new ideas. "The heart of the struggle was a question of the existence of organized labor whenever it attempted to carry out its principles to the full," the paper continues. "This situation has not developed in the East because both organized labor and the employers have been afraid to fight it out squarely." . . . The fact is that this State has been the first large battle-ground of a natural and inevitable struggle which every State, not entirely agricultural will have to go thru." The editor requests his contemporaries to reprint and comment upon his article, but it is evident that his colleagues are refusing to comply with the challenge merely because he predicts a revolution, justifying between the lines the rebellion of labor.

* * *

The horrible calamity in New York harbor, where hundreds of men, women and innocent children were burned and drowned and trampled to death, has again brought the cupidity and callousness of our commercial age to the surface. Aside from the fact that the boat was a "floating fire trap," which the newspapers have now discovered, and that the life preservers and fire hose proved to be old and rotten, the most disgusting feature in the heartrending tragedy was the deliberate sacrifice of hundreds of human beings for the sake of the Moloch Property. The captain, after realizing that the fire was beyond control, attempted to beach the boat at the nearest point. But the captain of a tugboat shouted that the lumber yards and oil tanks would be set on fire if he landed there; and the sacredness of property—the curse of the age—seems to have had a greater influence upon the captain's sentimentality than the agony and mad cries of women and children, for he heeded the warning and steamed ahead. "New life preservers cost money," says the New York *Evening Journal*. "Life is cheap." Lumber yards and oil tanks cost money. Life is cheap. Such are the fruits of "benevolent" commercialism and the "Christian era"! It is this spirit of avarice, heartlessness and arrogance which is now trying to exterminate awakening labor in Colorado by murder and imprisonment. It is this spirit which subjugated the Boers and the Filipinos by wholesale slaughter, and which now rages in carnage and devastation between the Russians and Japanese. And there is no relief unless the Juggernaut whip of government and property is cast into oblivion. Both institutions are the result of slavery and deception, and as long as these wrongs continue, human beings will be nailed to the cross and millions of innocent lives wrecked and ruined to satiate the cupidity of the rich and the ruling classes.

* * *

"That's a fine article in FREE SOCIETY by Esther Minkin," I was told. "That's the thing—not the twaddle that appears in the paper on the sex question." This reminded me of Nietzsche's sarcasm on people whose lives are like timepieces. "They make their

tick-tack, and want us to call their tick-tack virtue," he says. And there are people, I would add, who make their tick-tack and anything beyond the tick-tack philosophy of Anarchism is "twaddle." Perhaps the critic is right, after all. He handles the pen well, and yet he has never taken the trouble—for the good of the propaganda—to point out that the "deluded ones" were indulging in "twaddle." I, for one, would be grateful to him if I could be convinced that mankind will acquire sound views on sexual morality and a healthy sex life by the grace of accident. So far, I am of the opinion that if the Anarchists had not made governments and economics the only scapegoats of all our social ills and miseries, but had sought to rid themselves of the pernicious superstitions and prejudices regarding sexual relationships, Esther Minkin would have had no occasion to criticize the narrow-mindedness of her comrades, or to protest against the ostracism she is subjected to among so-called Anarchists. Priests and proclaimers of religions have perceived that in order to lead the masses and subject them to their will, it was necessary to get control over the most powerful impulse in man by controlling sex relationships. But the Anarchists, who flatter themselves that they have penetrated the secret chambers of the human soul, condescendingly tell the "twaddlers" that they are wasting their time and energy in vain in trying to rid mankind of the mad curse of perverted morality; for the sex question, so they say, is secondary in solving the social problem. And the result of the tick-tack theory? Stagnation and decay in our own ranks. They repudiate capitalism in theory and accumulate riches if they have the opportunity. They repudiate the form of conventional marriage and its morality in theory, and feverishly uphold its essence in practise. And if their temperament is not utterly one of the tick-tack type, their life is a mass of contradictions and hypocracies, finally sinking into oblivion, as far as their influence on the advancement of social life is concerned. And the children raised by such parents are wanting in character and purpose. They either return to the ranks of conservatives, seeking to gratify their emotions in the embrace of religion, or else become mere automatons, swimming with the current of unthinking humanity.

INTERLOPER.

From Colorado.

What you read from the Denver, Cripple Creek or other daily papers in regard to the troubles here are mostly lies and of the whole cloth. The "battle" at Dunville, which is twenty miles distant instead of ten, as stated by the egotistical "general in command," and the cross-firing or fusillade by the little handful of peaceable, unarmed miners is one great big lie. I am told by reliable persons that not a shot was fired by the miners, and that Carley, whom they murdered, was not only unarmed, but had his hands up when he was shot down. People who knew him here say he was a very peaceable citizen and well liked by those who knew him.

General Bell's statement to the Chicago *Tribune* is full of falsehoods, all of which will leak out in time; some one or more of the hundred and fifty men who made the raid so

valiantly will tell the truth some day, and the Napoleon of this wonderful "battle" will be shorn of his glory. How could fourteen (instead of nineteen as the general states), with three rifles—and that was all the arms found—pour a "deadly fusillade" into the hundred and fifty deputies and militia men, and fail to hit a single one of them.

The war of extermination waged by the Citizens' Alliance and military on union men and their sympathizers caps the climax of anything known in the history of the United States. The card up Bell's sleeve that is to convict two union leaders will prove as illusory as those he held against various persons during the early troubles in this district; out of all his charges and arrests he was never able to convict a single individual.

The attempted railroad wreck to which he refers was a put up job by two of the dirtiest curs of detectives that ever breathed the breath of life; it was abundantly proved that the wrecking episode was the work of Scott and Sterling, and that not one of the men accused of the crime had anything whatever to do with it. Hundreds of good men have been deported or driven from their homes, while wives and children are left destitute. Secretary Hamlin's statements to a New York paper are equally misleading. He did have a vigilance committee composed of scab miners, kids and Citizens' Alliance members. About the only lawlessness or depredations that I have ever witnessed here since the strike was called has been perpetrated by the militia and members of the Citizens' Alliance. They have murdered and maimed, and confiscated and destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of property.

To the student of history and observer of events, or he who reasons from cause to effect, there is nothing to be surprised at in all this. The scene in Victor of soldiers firing on the Miners' Union Hall reminded me very forcibly of what I have read of the Paris Commune, except that the shooting was all done by one side, the side of the militia. I saw no shots fired from the windows of the hall, as has been stated, and the saddest sight I ever witnessed was the brutal treatment of the miners after they were lined up on the street unarmed and made to hold their hands above their heads for a time which must have seemed an eternity to the victims, despite the fact that they were utterly within the power of their prosecutors.

Well, its the old, old story of persecution which always did defeat the ends of those who indulged in it. The mine owners and Citizens' Alliance have stamped out unionism in Colorado or very close to it, but unionism will grow and flourish like a green bay tree all over the country on account of the high-handed outrages that prevail here. The other side will have a hearing and its innings in due time.

I am well aware that these lines would forfeit to me my right to longer remain in this State, if indeed my life were spared, but I'll risk sending them to you for the truth's sake.

AN OBSERVER.

[The above may have greater credence when I add that "An Observer" is for some reasons against trades unionism, and therefore cannot be accused of being partial in his observations.—A. I.]

From Far and Near.

There are now, according to reports, 450,000 workers out of employment in Russia as a consequence of the war. They will starve and live in misery, while the government is squandering hundreds of millions in slaughtering ignorant human beings.

HOLLAND.—The tenth congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party was held recently in Dordrecht. In the opening address the chairman gave out the consoling message that Anarchism was "disappearing more and more," which seemed to be of greater importance to the delegates than the disappearance of wage slavery. The august body also agreed "that the general strike could have no place among the methods of struggle of the toilers," because if all laborers would leave "their work at a given moment, it would make existence impossible for all, the proletariat included." But while the Socialists will have it that Anarchism and the general strike are "disappearing," Comrade Nieuwenhuis' *Free Socialist* is still coming forth twice a week, which does not indicate that the Anarchist propaganda has vanished from the little Dutch country.

SPAIN.—The trade unions of Spain have grown rapidly in recent years. In 1899 there were but 3,355 organized workers, in twenty-seven local unions, affiliated with the "Union General de Trabajadores" or "General Working men's union." In 1902 the number of unions had risen to 267 and the number of members to 43,535. We have no exact figures of a later date, but it is certain that the increase has continued. Nearly one-third of the organized workers are in Madrid. Of the thirty-eight labor conflicts covered in the last report at hand, eighteen had been won by the unions, five had been lost, and fifteen were still pending. The Spanish government, at the initiative of Premier Silvela, has recently undertaken a program of legislation for the improvement of the conditions of labor—a concession which, whether or not it amounts to anything in itself, shows that the growing strength and aggressiveness of the labor movement has compelled the attention of the ruling powers."

The foregoing is taken from *The Worker*, a Socialist weekly, the editor of which forgets to point out, however, that the 3,000,000 Socialist voters in Germany have not been able to frighten the ruling power as much as the handful of trade unions in Spain.

England, that nation which has boasted of her civilization for centuries, has placed a law upon her statute books which satiates the ravenous greed of the mining czars of the Transvaal. The doors of the once proud little Boer republic have been opened to the coolies of the Orient, and slave labor is to extract the precious metals from the mines of South Africa. While the law makers of proud old England were drafting this bill which makes glad the heart of the mining Shylock in the Transvaal, thousands and tens of thousands of her subjects were haunting the soup houses to appease the cravings of hunger. England sacrificed the flower of her army to conquer the brave Boers, and now, when the flag of the vaunted mistress of the sea waves over the

defeated people, the serf of the Flowery Kingdom is given the preference in the land of gold and diamonds.

It would not be so deplorable were it not that the coolie of China is sentenced to the gold and diamond mines for a period of six years. These slaves become the inmates of bull pens and work for six years at the miserable stipend of \$6 per month in order that the mining magnate may revel in the munificence of profit. Where is the reward for the thousands of men who, under the enthusiasm of patriotism, responded to England's call and went forth to the field of battle a few years ago? The time will come when men who labor will realize the fact that they have no country, that the poverty of labor is protected by no flag and that patriotism is a mockery and a delusion.—*Miners' Magazine*.

LONDON, ENGLAND.—On Monday, May 30, a unique and in some respects a remarkable demonstration took place at the Holborn Town Hall, where some twelve hundred people assembled to welcome John Turner, the prisoner of Ellis Island, on his return home, and protest against the violation of free speech by the United States Government. Preparations for the meeting had been made before the Supreme Court gave their decision in this now famous case, and the fact that the verdict was against Turner seemed to add zest to the speeches.

Dr. G. B. Clark, ex-M. P. for Caithness, author of the Crofters' Act, friend of John Stewart Mill and arch pro-Boer in the late war, was the chairman, and he was supported by men and women of such diverse views as J. Morrison-Davidson, the veteran journalist and brother of the late Prof. Davidson, of New York; Herbert Burrows, known on both sides of the Atlantic as a Socialist, friend of James Russell Lowell, and of the Match Girls, of London; Mary R. Macarthur, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League; H. Quelch, editor of *Justice*; Margaret Bondfield, Assistant Secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union; R. Rocker, a German Anarchist who himself was excluded from the United States a few years ago; and Lúthrop Withington and H. M. Kelly, two Americans residing in London. Mr. Turner spoke for nearly an hour and stated his case with modesty and fairness, disclaiming any credit for his "martyrdom," which he said was merely an enforced holiday, and one which he enjoyed very much. On the other hand, he told the story of his arrest by a number of armed men, the ride in the patrol wagon, the search at the police station, with the discomfiture of the police at finding merely a penknife, his conveyance by tug to Ellis Island, and his confinement there in a 6x9 cage, with two guards to see that he didn't run away. The history of the case was traced from the meeting at Murray Hill Lyceum to the trial before the Supreme Court at Washington, where before judges, some of whom were half asleep, Assistant Attorney General McReynolds tore the last rag from the goddess of liberty and laid bare the sinister attack on the constitution of Jefferson, Washington and the two Adams. It was humiliating for an American, living in effete old England, to listen to this subject of a monarchical government, tell how from Secretary Cortelyou down to the humblest

laborer on Ellis Island, every one he came in contact with apologized for having to enforce such a stupid and tyrannical law. It was still more humiliating to hear how Secretary Cortelyou and Commissioners Sargent and Williams assured him nothing personal was intended, and it was with the greatest reluctance they enforced the law against him.

The speeches of those who supported him were brief and to the point, most of the speakers paying high tribute to Turner's twenty years' service in the labor movement and his high moral character, while all of them strongly condemned the action of the United States government in attempting to penalize free speech and free thought. Messages of good will and regretting inability to be present were read from among others, the distinguished artist, Walter Crane, A. E. Fletcher, late editor of the *Daily Chronicle*; R. B. Cunningham-Graham, the well-known traveler and writer; Robert Blatchford, editor of the *Clarion*; and W. M. Thompson, editor of *Reynold's Newspaper*. Among the letters received were the following from Prince Kropotkin, whose name and fame are household words, and G. Bernard Shaw, considered by many people England's most brilliant author and dramatist. Kropotkin writes as follows:

Bromley, May 29, 1904.

Dear Comrades—I am so sorry that I cannot be with you to greet our comrade and dear friend, John Turner, on his return from America, and to tell him how delighted we all are with the wide propaganda of our ideas which he has made in the United States.

We Anarchists here look with great hopes on the great labor movement of our American brothers, because we know that it has much wider aims than a simple reduction of the hours of labor or a mere increase of wages paid to the servants of capital. We know that it aims at the complete destruction of capitalism.

And we hope that the help which our friend Turner has given to this movement will aid it a little in the right direction—that of fighting the real causes of the present evils—Capital and State, the two secular enemies of freedom and equality.

Mr. Shaw, who is in Rome, writes a characteristic note:

I am sorry I am out of England for the moment, or I should certainly offer John Turner my personal congratulations on having terrified the greatest democratic republic in the world into laying violent hands on him, not because of anything he said, but because of what the Americans feared he might say. This sensitiveness to criticism is flattering to us in England, but it must amuse the rest of Europe. I hope you have invited the United States ambassador to take the chair.

As an authority on the English language, Mr. Shaw's failure to capitalize "republic" and "ambassador" is a delicious bit of irony and should be remembered.

The following resolution was adopted amidst great enthusiasm:

That this meeting, representing all sections of the labor movement, extends a hearty welcome to John Turner on his return home; and records its appreciation of his gallant fight against the attempt of the United States government to suppress free speech.

Further, believing the free expression of opinion to be the inalienable right of all men and women, the meeting strongly condemns the action of the United States Government in attempting to prevent, by force, such free expression in the case of John Turner; records its indignation at his arrest and at the treatment he received during his imprisonment, and calls upon all lovers of freedom in America to resist to their utmost such encroachments upon the elementary rights of the people.

Russia's War at Home.

The war with Japan is not the only war that Russia is now engaged in. The struggle in the Far East is the least of its conflicts.

Russia is confronted with a more dangerous, more fatal, more deadly war than the one that now holds the attention of the world, and whatever is the outcome of the contest with Japan, this greater war is bound to continue until the power that now rules and ruins Russia is completely defeated.

This war is not being carried on in the Far East, but in the near West; in fact, this war is raging right at home in the very heart of Russia. It is conducted by the bravest of her sons. It is the underground war that is being waged against the government by

"Those who take their lives in hand and smile on death,
Holding life as less than sleep's most pitiful breath."

as Swinburne has sung in his ode to Russia.

This war is waged by the noblest youth, students, laborers, dreamers and idealists of Russia, and it is the fiercest, deadliest war that the powers of the land have to contend with.

The voluntary soldiers of this war are the greatest heroes of our time. They sacrifice comfort, position, rank, honor, all the most acceptable things in life, for their cause. They give their best years, most of their strength to the secret, underground efforts to awaken the minds of the masses to their conditions, to steer them up in rebellion against the darkest of all tyrannies.

While we in America deliver a lot of flowery oratory in memory of those who fought and fell for the cause of human rights, men and women in Russia actually die for freedom—give up their lives any day for this unheroic age.

He was thinking of these revolutionaries and Nihilists when Ibsen said that the real lovers of freedom today are to be found in Russia.

The war of these revolutionists is waged, not by sword or cannon ball, but by that which is mightier—the pen. The secret printing presses are at work in every part of the country, and they are turning out thousands upon thousands of pamphlets, newspapers, circulars, proclamations, spreading intelligence among the people and calling them to rise up against the most despicable despotism of the land. The country is flooded with publications speaking the true word of democracy—the word that is so strictly forbidden. A whole army of spies is employed by the government for the suppression of these printing presses and the general annihilation of the Nihilist movement, but all efforts of the secret police are in vain. For every revolutionary that is arrested several others enter the movement; for every press that is confiscated two others are established. New printing presses spring up over night, and the police officials are driven to madness. This war is ubiquitous, irrepressible.

Whatever others may say about it (and in spite of the *Jewish Chronicle*, of London), all progressive Jews in America are proud of the important part which their brethren in Russia are playing in this movement. Jewish participation in this underground, most dangerous way is in keeping with the best things

that have been done in Jewish history, and gives the lie to all the charges of cowardice, practicability and love of gain that have been hurled against the Jews. There is nothing material to be gained in this movement, and there is life to be lost on every side.

The Jews may and may not regain the Holy Land in the far-off future, but I know of no holier land than where people shed their blood and give up their lives for freedom. The Jews who are fighting for freedom in Russia are surely living on sacred ground.

Multitudes of Jews in America are watching this underground war in Russia, and many of them are doing more than this—but perhaps it is better not to speak of it in public print.

Russia's war at home is to many people in America of greater concern than its war with Japan. Around this war at home centres Russia's future. The enemy in this war is Russia's greatest friend.

This enemy is fighting against the powers that be—against the government and for the people, for the emancipation, the enlightenment, and the redemption of their country.

Friends of Russia in America should give their attention, and what is more, their aid to this enemy, as many are already doing. Those who are inclined to do so will easily find the channels thru which to forward their support. Lovers of freedom everywhere have here a good opportunity for striking a blow at tyranny.

B. G. RICHARDS.

The Sex Question.

In my opinion the evolution of love and sexual morality tends toward monogamy, and, I believe that in the future things will be possible which do not seem so today, namely, the stability of the affections between two beings, from their first kiss to the grave. And it is likewise my opinion that variety in sex relations would mean a retrogression toward the purely animal state. In fact, the question of free love does not concern Anarchy as much as it does the present state of society, which actually practices variety. (1)

It seems to me that the relations of two beings, if entirely left alone in their sexual felicity and without any interloping varieties coming between them, can properly be called anarchistic, just as they may be called monarchical, according to the point of view we contemplate from. It is all a matter of personal taste, and the subject has no place in the philosophy of Anarchism, its discussion in our press is therefore idle. (2)

Anarchism is opposed to anything obligatory, including the matter of love. What it stands for is the abolition of the marriage contract, the economic slavery it imposes, and the domination of man over woman as its consequence. No master, no authority, no enslavement—that is Anarchism. When we are free from the halter of the oppressor, then we shall be able to love each other—only then will our love be free love in the Anarchist sense, which allows each one to live according to his feelings and beliefs, whether such be love for one or love for many. Let one who prefers to make all his love sacrifices on one and the same alter do so, if he finds perfect bliss in uniting with one individual similarly inclined, while his counterpart can butterfly-like flit from flower to flower, provided he can find the flowers equally anxious for variety. (3)

Methinks, tho, that the clean Anarchist would prefer to have a nice "Dulcinea" all to himself and leave the "Donna General" to the varietists. Love is an individual sentiment diversified under a thousand different manifes-

tations, and it is therefore absurd to attempt to offer one exclusive theory to regulate its conduct. Consistently Anarchists can only say in regard to love: Do as you please about it. (4)—"Innamorata" in *La Question Sociale*.

COMMENT.

This article, as translated, is of a kind familiar to most readers of controversial writings, in that it is full of "my opinion," "I believe," "It comes to me," and "methinks," but is totally lacking in argument and evidence. It is easy enough to register one's disapproval of another's argument and conclusions, but it is a very different thing to present counter arguments and their conclusions. "Innamorata" should have learned nothing of the position of free lovers before venturing into print.

1. The "evolution of love and sexual morality" has been going on for thousands of ages, and on "Innamorata's" own admission the present society is one that "practices varitey." What has evolution been doing all this time? Variety is the source of our development in all the other phases of life, why should it not be then in that phase called love? Education comes from a variety of knowledge; sustentation comes from a judicious variety of foods; health comes from varied habits and varied exercise under hygienic conditions of varied organs of the body; in fact, our complex beings depend upon complex uses for their full development. Are the requirements of our love natures, then, such that love for one and with one only is adequate to our needs?

2. As to what kind of love is Anarchistic it may be said that one who learned what a full and normal life meant would see no "return to the purely animal" in multiplying love; but, when conditions permitted it, would have various lovers as one has various friends. Saying that "the subject has no place in the philosophy of Anarchism," is like saying that what constitutes a normal life has no interest for Anarchists, as such. This would be uttering nonsense.

3. Here, "Innamorata" admits that when liberty has been established, "there will be free love in the Anarchist sense." How does this compare with the statement that the "subject has no place in the philosophy of Anarchism"? Also it is conceded that there will be varietists as well as monogamists when we are all Anarchists. Well, well: some critics almost answer themselves! If only "Innamorata" would tell us how one can "find perfect bliss in uniting with one individual"! Methinks that such bliss would be the bliss of narrowness; the bliss of a poverty-stricken nature.

4. The "clean Anarchist" (A) Ah, there we have it; the old standards of purity and morality, the standards created and fostered in authority and oppression, stealthily creeping back into their wonted place, the Anarchist mind. Clean; forsooth! A clean mind would see no uncleanness in the multiplication tables. One who desires to monopolize or have "one all to himself," should look to his own mind before he uses the word clean in such a connection again.

AMERICUS.

Collectively we make the laws to protect the helpless, individually we laugh at them, evade them or sell them.—N. Y. *Evening Journal*.

Every man respects money, very few respect law.—N. Y. *Journal*.

FREE SOCIETY

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.
CHICAGO.—T. Appel, 790 Girard Ave. H. Gordon, 427 Park Ave.
BROOKLYN.—M. Metzkw, 174 Ralph St.
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.

FOR NEW YORK.

The Slavic Group meets on the first and third Tuesday of the month, 8 p.m., at 543 East Sixth St. Free discussions. All are invited.

LIBERAL ART SOCIETY meets every Wednesday at 8 15 p. m. sharp, at Terrace Lyceum, 206 E Broadway. Free discussions.

FREE SOCIETY Group meets every Saturday evening at the Radical Reading Room, 37 Attorney St. All comrades interested in the English propaganda are cordially invited.

FOR ST. LOUIS.

The Debating Clubrooms, at 1008 N. 17th St., are open every evening. Lectures and discussions every Saturday evening. Everybody is welcome.

FOR CLEVELAND.

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

LUCIFER—Son of the Morning—a fortnightly Journal of Radical Thought—Devoted mainly to the Emancipation of Womanhood and Motherhood from Sex Slavery, and to the Right of the Child to Be Born Well. Send 25 Cents in Stamps to 500 Fulton St., Chicago, Ill., for a three month's trial, and get a Catalogue of books and pamphlets in the line of Sex Reform.

ROOM TO RENT.

Address, Mrs. Blum, 228 E. 109th St., New York City.

FOR CHICAGO.

Liberty Group holds its **BASQUET PICNICS** every second Sunday in the month at the Grove on the corner of N. Western and Berceau aces. Take Lincoln ave. cars and transfer to Irving Park Boulevard and get off on Campbell ave., or take any car line which crosses or transfer to Irving Park Boulevard. The proceeds will be used for propaganda purposes.

Anarchist Stickers.

Aggressive, concise Anarchistic assertions and arguments, gummed and perforated, to be planted everywhere as broadcast seed for thought; 25 in a sheet; 1 sheet for 2 cents, 3 for 5 cents, 20 for 25 cents, 100 for \$1. Postage paid. Address S. T. Byington, 70 Otis Street, East Cambridge, Mass.

Book-List.

"Essays on the Social Problem".....	05
"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".....	05
.....Clarence S. Darrow	
"Crime and Criminals".....	10
"Realism in Literature and Art".....	05
"Resist Not Evil." Cloth.....	75
"Tolstoy".....	05
"Crime and Punishment".....	10
.....Voltaireine de Cleyre	
"The Worm Turns".....	10
"The Emancipation of Society from Government".....Dallan Doyle	05
"Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism".....Jay Fox	03
"Moribund Society and Anarchy." Cloth, 60c.....Jean Grave	25
"Origin of Anarchism".....C. L. James	05
"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
"The Coming Revival of Socialism".....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".....Octave Mirbeau	50
"Do You Want Free Speech?".....	10
.....James F. Morton, Jr.	
"The Deistic Pestilence".....John Most	05
"God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition".....W. Nevill	05
"The Pyramid of Tyranny".....	05
.....F. Domela Nieuwehuys	
"A Cityless and Countryless World: An Outline of Practical Co-operative Individualism." Cloth \$1.....	50
.....Henry Olerich	
"Mating or Marrying, Which?".....	05
.....W. H. Van Ornum	
"Sine Qua Non; or, The Core of Religion".....Dr. Geo. Pyburn	10
"Evolution and Revolution".....Reclus	05
"Pure Economy".....J. H. Rowell	10
"Pages of Socialist History".....	30
.....W. Tcherkesoff	
"The Slavery of Our Times." Cloth.....Leo Tolstoy	75
"Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses".....E. C. Walker	15
"Vice: Its Friends and Foes".....	15
"What the Young Need to Know".....	10
"The New Dispensation." Cloth.....	1.50
"Social Democracy in Germany".....Landauer	02

"Life Without a Master." 336 pp. Cloth \$1.50.....J. Wilson 1.00
 The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court; and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab"..... 25
 Order from FREE SOCIETY.

M. N. Maisel's Book Store 194 EAST BROADWAY New York

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

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

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

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

MAXIM GORKY'S.

"Orloff and his Wife" and seven other stories, 485 pages, cloth, published at \$1; my price for the copies on hand, 45 cents, with postage, 60 cents.

LEO TOLSTOY'S.

"The Slavery of Our Times," cloth, published at \$1.25; my price 40 cents; with postage, 50 cents.

I have only a few copies of this book on hand.

"History of Civilization in England."

By Henry Thomas Buckle.

Three vols., cloth, 12 mo., 1720 pages, large type and good paper. This best edition of Buckle's great work was originally published at \$9.00 a set. My price is \$3.25 or \$3.60 postpaid.

I have only a few sets on hand.

Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

Elegant artistic cloth binding, 12 mo., 446 pages. This is the copyright edition of 1897 by Bucke, Horned, & Traubel—literary executors of Walt Whitman. My price is 85 cents, or \$1.00 postpaid.

Modern Science and Anarchism

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

By some critics this book is considered one of Kropotkin's best work, dealing with all phenomena of life scientifically.

The author reviews and analyzes the intellectual movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the teachings of the Church. He shows what place Anarchism takes in science; the object of the ideal, its origin, and how it developed. In conclusion he treats law, morality, economic ideas, government, and revolutions and their birth.

Price, 25 cents.

Address orders to N. Notkin, 1332 So. Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE ANARCHIST CONSTITUTION

By D. I. STUBBER, Anarchist.

Price, 50 cents.

Sent prepaid on receipt of price. Sold by The Radical Publishing Co., San Francisco, Cal.

History of the French Revolution.

By C. L. JAMES.

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

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

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

Monarchic, democratic, religious histories we have had; the French Revolution is now presented to us from a libertarian point of view.

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

Order from Liberty Group, 427 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SURE CURE FOR "THAT WAR SPIRIT"

Resist Not Evil 75 CENTS postpaid

By Clarence S. Darrow.

Write for list of other Darrow books.

THE HAMMERSMARK Publishing Co.

151-153 Wabash Ave., CHICAGO, ILL.

Comrades SEND ME NO MONEY cured of but a statement from the publisher of FREE SOCIETY, that you

have deposited with him the sum of \$25 to be forwarded to me when the Cancer is removed, or returned to you if it is not, and I will send you, postpaid, my Remedy, which is painless and has NEVER failed. Edw. E. Coan, Lawrence, Kan.