



The Way of the World.

Ah! hate and the world will laud you,
Love and it looks awry,
Because its view is quite untrue
Of what love is and what 'twill do
The soul to satisfy.

Dear love to the world is a boughten thing,
As land and cows and bread;
But when 'tis free as birds on the wing
'Tis an ugly thing with a painful sting,
And the world would have it dead.

If love be bent, despite how sent,
To Grundy's guilty will,
The prudes give vent to their consent,
Tho wills be crushed and hearts lament;
Subjection's master still.

Where gets the world to rule your heart
The power rightly won?
Can others think and do your part
In love's sweet art without a smart
And righteousness not shun?

Love comes to us as sunny beams
And fills our souls with joy,
And he, meseems, but God blasphemes
Who interposes ruthless schemes
Our yearnings to destroy.

Aye, hate and the world hates with you,
Love and it looks awry.
It preaches to you to love be true,
To love your neighbor and hate taboo: —
Then hatreds justify.

But whom I love as the stars above,
Pray don't be false or blind!
Love with a fearless, honest love,
Hard and fast as are iron and love,
And ever be mild and kind.

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

What's to be Done?

It behooves all friends of labor and liberty to ponder carefully the salient facts of the great strike of miners of Colorado, a strike that has attracted the attention of the civilized world, and aroused the indignation of all lovers of liberty and justice, because of the high-handed methods adopted by the government in dealing with the strikers.

First fact — The people of Colorado, by a majority of 40,000 votes, demanded the passage of an eight-hour workday law for the mines of the state, and the legislature refused to pass such a law.

Second fact — Upon seeing the will of the people so bare-facedly ignored by their supposed servants, and learning from the incident that the working people's hope for relief thru the law was a long-cherished childish dream, the miners concluded that "who would be free themselves must strike the blow," and struck for their eight-hour day.

Third fact — The military was ordered out under the command of one S. H. Bell, the head

of one of the mines involved in the strike, and martial law proclaimed by the governor, in order that Bell might have a free hand in dealing with the strike and become absolute dictator over the lives and liberties of the people of the mining district.

Fourth fact — The union headquarters were raided by General Bell, the records of the union confiscated and turned over to the mine owners, and all miners who refused to give up their cards and return to work as scabs were ruthlessly thrown into bull-pens, deported from the state, and left to starve on the waste deserts of New Mexico; some even strung up by the thumbs and flogged and kicked into insensibility by the heartless puppet in command.

Fifth fact — The business men of the district formed a "Citizens" Alliance to aid the mine owners in crushing the Miners' Union, and this "law abiding," "respectable" body of "citizens," true to its class interests, destroyed the miners' co-operative store with all its contents, and assisted General Bell in wrecking the miners' newspaper office and plant, and in the innumerable other outrageous attacks upon the life, liberty and property of the miners and their sympathizers.

The above are but a few of the glaring and significant facts of the Colorado strike. Russia has never produced more terrible examples of outraged liberty, yet Colorado is in America, the land our forefathers shed their hearts' blood in freeing from thralldom and tyranny less than 150 years ago. No tool of King George III. so nearly approached the acme of heartless tyranny and downright violation of the rights and liberties of the people as have the pliant tools of the Colorado mine owners, Governor Peabody, General Bell and the "Citizens" Alliance. Yet the American people have not been aroused. Even the trade-unionists themselves do not seem to appreciate sufficiently the importance of this strike as an indication of the rapid strides being made by the ruling class toward a complete mastery of the workers.

The introduction of the present system of machine labor, coupled with the efforts of the workers themselves to organize, afforded them some measure of liberty over the former system of feudalism; but the development of this system tends to engulf the workers in a morass of thralldom no less galling than any previous system, unless they awaken to the demands of liberty and by a united and intelligent effort, prove themselves superior to their masters, and steer the bark of social evolution onward and upward toward the ideal of liberty and equality. This is a broad generalization, but it must be understood in order that we may

be able to interpret the meaning of the numerous acts of government and employers in their true sense.

Let us ask ourselves a few questions. Why didn't the legislature pass the eight-hour law, and why are the miners imprisoned, deported, and hung by the thumbs for openly defying the sovereign will of the people? Why didn't Governor Peabody declare the legislature in a state of insurrection, which it really was? Need I answer these questions in detail? Cannot the discerning reader easily see that the answers to all these questions are encompassed in the one word — "Graft"? Will we still continue in the comforting delusion, so persistently propagated by employers and politicians, that the government, courts, and military are here to protect the weak against the strong, the poor worker against the powerful employer?

Is it not plain that the employers' money is more powerful than the people's will? That gold and its influences control the whole machinery of government just as surely as it controls the machinery of production? Has it not yet been made plain to us, despite all beautiful theories, that the continual and never-ending practice of governments is the protection of the monied interests against the interests of labor? How can we escape these conclusions with the experience of the Colorado strikers, and strikers everywhere, staring us full in the eyes? Everywhere we turn we see plenteous evidence of the thoughtful observation of the poet, Goldsmith, that: "The law grinds the poor and the rich men rule the law."

But you will ask, "What's to be done?" I trust we have at least learned something that should not be done, that is: We should not waste any more time striving to better our conditions thru legislation. The attempt in Colorado has been a miserable failure, and all such attempts elsewhere must inevitably fail for the reasons aforementioned.

Arbitration cannot be considered in any sense a remedy, for at best it is never anything more than a compromise between equals.

No employer will arbitrate a disputed point if he thinks he can defeat the union without much loss. So, before arbitration can become a factor the unions must be well organized, become the equals of the employers in strength.

Compulsory arbitration is the most obnoxious of all. We never hear it advanced until the unions become very strong, and then always by statesmen and employers.

It is the last resort of the employers in their attempts to cope with powerful unions. In the early stages of a union's growth the employer says, "There is nothing to arbitrate."

But as soon as the workers become well organized he is suddenly converted to arbitration, and begins extolling its virtues from the house-tops. He dilates at great length upon its benefit to the worker, and waxes eloquent when describing the misery and privation strikes impose upon them and their families. The politician, taking his cue from the employers, raises his mighty voice in behalf of the dear, innocent bystander and eternal victim of all strikes, the public. As part of the conspiracy, the newspapers take up the cry, until finally sufficient of the "public" is convinced to warrant the politicians venturing the passage of a compulsory arbitration law. This accomplished, the doom of the union is sealed; for its only weapon, the weapon with which it had fought its way to recognition as a factor in industrial evolution, is destroyed. The victory of the employer is complete. The strike is buried and the open shop a universal fact, for no court of law would countenance any discrimination against nonunion men. It is "unconstitutional," you know. Only by private contract can the closed shop be maintained.

Under compulsory arbitration the unions have nothing to gain and everything to lose. True, they could compel a stubborn employer to arbitrate; but under freedom they could force him not only to arbitrate, but to a complete surrender of the point at issue.

The unions must shun the wolf of compulsory arbitration, which employers and politicians bring forth in the guise of a lamb. Let the "public" howl, for the only public that complains of a strike are the scabs and other hangers-on of the employers. Remember that the unions have battled their way to the front in spite of the opposition of employers, government and the public; and the wisdom of experience points to a continued course, free from all these three factors of society, straight along the beaten path, gathering strength as they go, until finally the goal is reached.

That path leads to the general strike.

If the Colorado Miners' Union wins the eight-hour day it will have accomplished by the strike what the whole people failed to accomplish by the ballot, and if it loses it will only be for want of sufficient support from other unions. If all the unionists of Colorado laid down their tools and refused to work until the miners' demand was granted what would the employers and their tools, the politicians, do? A general strike would have forced a settlement in one hour, for the show of unity of interest and solidarity of such a move would frighten the employers so completely that fear of the workers going a step further and repudiating the owners altogether would force the latter to yield readily to the paltry concession of an eight-hour day.

No employer was ever known to be in favor of a strike, except it be in the factory of a rival whose business he wanted injured. Nor will the time ever come when employers will favor strikes. But the time comes in the development of every union when the boss is willing to adopt arbitration. Why? Because it is to his advantage and to the detriment of the union.

It is the shadow on the wall — the shadow of the general strike — that is driving the bosses to the extreme measures used in Colorado and

elsewhere to retard the growth of the unions.

The employers are more keen-sighted than the workers. The latter follow, step by step, in their evolution without much concern about where it is leading them; but the employers look into the distance and see in the complete organization of labor, which is fast being accomplished, his finish as a ruler and exploiter of his fellows. It is this shadow, this foresight, that is the central thought around which the Employers' Association is growing, and explains, only too clearly, the attitude of vigor, strength and unity which characterize employers everywhere.

They perceive clearly that the logical outcome of the general organization of labor is the general strike.

Their first effort will be to crush the unions by main force, using all the powers of government, scabdom and starvation to that end. Failing in this, they will evince a friendliness for labor and endeavor to cajole the unions into a compulsory arbitration scheme. From all such trickery may the fast growing intelligence of the unionist protect them.

Let every intelligent worker join the union of his craft and work for its interest and up-building as he works for his fireside, for it is his only protection against the most unscrupulous system of exploitation that ever cursed the earth. The supreme test of unionism is near at hand, much nearer than many of us think, and if its onward growth is checked great privation and want will surely befall the helpless individual worker at the hands of the heartless and irresponsible trusts. But, on the contrary, if the unions come out victorious from the severe test of strength to which the Employers' Association is now forcing them, great blessings of wealth and freedom will be the lot of each and every individual member.

The fight is on. It is union against trust. Let each man rally to the defense of his organization and we need have no fear of the final result. — JAY FOX in *International Wood-Worker*.

Striking Ignorance.

In *The International Socialist Review* of June, 1904, published in Chicago, there is an article on "Socialism and the Socialist Movement," by A. M. Simons. In a foot-note on the first page, the author says that the article was prepared for the "Encyclopedia Americana," published by the Americana Co. "The proofs of this article were sent to several European comrades for correction" So, for instance, the part on France was sent to Jean Longnet. From this it is evident that the article was prepared with all possible care; at least the author tries to impress his readers that they may confidently rely on the correctness of his statements, which is so necessary for any contribution to an encyclopedia. What was our astonishment when on the same first page, giving the definition of the "philosophy of Socialism," the author says that it is identical with the materialistic interpretation of history. This statement is quite erroneous. Socialism is based on modern ethics and economics as well as on the contemporary evolutionary philosophy of natural science. The evolutionary explanation of history, which Engels strangely calls materialistic conception of history, is not at all

identical with Socialism, but forms a part of evolutionary philosophy. To identify Socialism with materialistic explanation of history is to narrow the ideas and conceptions of Socialism. The author says that the doctrine of materialistic explanation of history is stated as follows in the "Communist Manifesto":

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; and consequently the whole history of mankind since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution; now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class — the proletariat — cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class — the bourgeoisie — without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction, and class struggles."

We looked up attentively the English, French, and German editions of the manifesto and we nowhere found the quoted lines, but we did find them in an introductory note by Engels to the third German edition of 1883, written 35 years after the publication of the "Communist Manifesto". In this introductory note where Engels mixes Socialist ideals, the doctrine of class struggle (*butte de classe*) and the evolutionary explanation of history, he tries to attribute to Marx and himself all these great generalizations of social and economic science of the 19th century. With this purpose the introduction was written by Engels, as he says himself in the concluding phrase, wisely omitted by Mr. Simons: "Dieser Grundgedanke gehört einzig und ausschliesslich Marx an. Ich habe das schon oft ausgesprochen; es ist aber gerade jetzt nöthig, dass es auch vor dem Manifest selbst steht. ("This fundamental thought belongs exclusively to Marx, I have said it often already;" but it is just now necessary that it precedes the manifesto itself.)"

How could it happen that in an article for an Encyclopedia the author committed such a blatant mistake?

In the text of the "Communist Manifesto", which, as is proved now, was a compilation from Victor Considerant's "Socialist Manifesto", nothing is said about the evolutionary conception of history; this is only natural as that doctrine was elaborated and established by science between 1850 — '65, at the time of the publication of the works of Darwin, Buckle, Spencer and other great thinkers, and the manifesto of Victor Considerant was written in 1843 and the German compilation of it by Marx and Engels at the end of 1847.

Engels has made other similar statements. In his footnote to Marx's "*Das Elend der Philosophie*" on page 27 he attributes to himself the Turgot-Ricardo law of minimum-wages, called by Lasalle "the iron law of economists."

The same in his "*Herrn Eugen Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*" (Leipzig 1878) page 175; and on page 197 of the Zürich edition of 1886, that the idea of the *surplus value*, formulated by Sismondi in 1819 and developed by William Thompson in 1824, was discovered

by Marx: "und dieser Zuwachs nennt Marx Mehrwerth." ("And this increase Marx calls surplus-value").

Engels attributed the fundamental ideas and generalizations of the great American author Morgan ("Ancient Society") also to Marx. For instance, in Engel's work "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," amongst many other appropriations from Morgan, he gives as Marx's words: "In the Grecian gens we recognize the contemporary savages, the Iroquois "which we find on page 222 of Morgan's work as follows: "The similarities between the Grecian and the Iroquois gens will be at once recognized."

The same Engels, when yet quite young, in 1844, compiled from the famous French social reformer Buret's work (*De la Misere de la classe ouvrierie d'Angleterre et de la France*) his book "*Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*," without ever mentioning Buret's name. And 40 years later in one of his numerous introductions he allows himself to state that it was he and Marx who in 1845 discovered concentration of capital, of production and land. These ideas were in reality copied from Buret's work and Victor Considerant's manifest.

We give these short indications only in order to show to Mr. Simons that it is obligatory for a contributor to an encyclopedia to know the history of his subject and the controversies of its sources. If Mr. Simons would not satisfy himself with introductions, but study the works of Socialists authors, he would be obliged to recognize that his whole article does not contain a single line on Socialism, but that it deals exclusively with Social-Democracy. But Social Democracy is not Socialism. Social Democracy, "democratie-socialiste," as it was defined by the first Social Democrats in France in the forties, is a political party which "*veut passer par la question politique pour arriver aux transformations sociales*." (Ledru - Rollin.) ("Will arrive by politics to social transformations"). Socialism includes not only Social-Democracy but also phalansterian Socialism, christian Socialism represented in England by Kingsley and Maurice and by Lamenrais and others in France; it includes also State Socialism, Collectivism, Mutualism as well as authoritarian Communism and libertarian or Anarchist Communism. All these are absent from the article "prepared with all possible care." If the author would take the trouble to look up the articles on the same subject in the Encyclopedia Britannica by Mr. Kirkup, which were published separately later as "History of Socialism", he would recognize himself the complete absence in his work of every notion of Socialism, of the history, of its development, and its schools.

Then we must observe that France in Mr. Simons' article occupies less than half a page, which is full of errors and misconceptions. The comparative unsuccessfulness of Social-Democracy in France he attributes to its "rather backward economic conditions"; as if Germany or Italy, where Social Democracy are so prosperous, are higher in economic and industrial development than France! If Mr. Simons knew the history of the French movement, he would understand that the contemporary French "radicaux-socialistes," headed

by Clemenceau are more advanced in their political and social claims than the German Social Democrats. The "Radicaux-Socialistes," being the continuators of the traditions of the Democrite Socialiste of Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc and others, have now over a hundred deputies in parliament and so great is their influence that even Social Democrats, as Millebrand, and radical Socialists like Pelletan are invited as ministers. In no country has Socialism penetrated so deep the working-classes as in France, where the tradition of the Commune of 1871 is till now venerated among the workers.

The same about Russia. From Mr. Simon's article we learn nothing about Tchernychevsky, whom Marx admired as the greatest Socialist thinker. We find nothing about the great revolutionary struggle of 1870-80 of which Marx said in 1882: "Russia (Socialist Russia) represents the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Europe." — For Mr. Simons the Russian movement begins in 1898.

In conclusion we can only say that we pity the American reader and also the publishers of the Encyclopedia Americana for having such an erroneous and incomplete exposition of Socialism by an author who does not even know the contents of the little pamphlet of the Communist Manifesto. W. TCHERKESOFF.

A Critic and C. L. James.

Enclosed please find two \$1 bills for your paper which has been coming to me for a couple of months past. I have delayed most unduly in sending you this remittance but the fact is that I wanted to accompany it with a letter, the writing of which I have perpetually put off as requiring time in which to think the matter over. Time has been the scarcest of commodities with me of late, and I have now to write more hastily than I like. I have had quite a correspondence with my friend Holmes, — who probably furnished you with my address — in which I have tried to show him why, when I left the ranks of Socialism, I found myself bound to go into those of Individualism; in fact, the Tucker and Proudhon camp; which considers, and rightly as it seems to me, that Communism would result in the most autocratic despotism. (1) Whenever I have spoken during the last seven years or so I have always endeavored to make my conviction on that head absolutely clear, and I have found myself quite unable to see the matter in any other light. It was Warren's "True Civilization," (2) that first opened my eyes to the machinery that Communism would necessarily involve, and "Instead of a Book", "The Coming Slavery," and a good deal of other reading only served to confirm this. As this whole question of economic reconstruction is the most difficult problem in the world (except always the sexual question (3), I have the feeling that no one can say that he is absolutely in the right, since we are all more or less out of our depth, but I have felt for a long time past that the real war is between those who believe in the freedom of the individual, which carries with it — as the most important of all rights — that of property (4) in whatever he has justly earned by his labor, and those who believe that the dear people must be governed and looked after and administered for the so-called good of the greater number. I believe that this is the true line of cleavage. (5) The result of this line of thought is that I do not find myself in the least in sympathy with those who are striving for a millennium of Communism, because that seems to me to carry despotism in its womb. (6) Also, since I came to this way of thinking I have had no use whatever for the tactics of organ-

ized labor in forcing the so-called "scabs" into their organizations, willy-nilly. This is defended on the ground what is called the "Class Struggle", which I have come to regard as a delusion. The real struggle is not one of classes but one of ideas (7) — libertarian and authoritarian, and I will not uphold authoritarianism because it is exercised by the class with which my sympathies lie, (8) or because it is sought to be justified as a necessary incident of the struggle. When I was active in the labor movement I believed in this forcing men to do so and so for the general good. When I became possessed with the sense of the absolute necessity of freedom for the individual I found it necessary to abandon all these positions, altho', — and I can assure you that it was to my great grief — it had the immediate effect of taking me right out of the active labor movement. I found myself intellectually forced to the conclusion that the appeal to violence was the one thing that we should abstain from, since violence is always tyranny; (9) and since it is inconceivable that the workers can succeed by violence until they have put themselves under a military discipline and despotism of their own, which would be fully as objectionable and evil in its results as anything that we now complain of. In fact, I honestly think it would be worse, for, if I must be ruled, for God's sake let it be by an aristocrat and not by the people. (10)

Take the case of the Colorado troubles. I have no doubt in the world that the capitalist press has lied; but, unfortunately, I have also no doubt that there is lots of lying on the other side. I hold it for certain that there has been violence and the desire to use violence, and the grimmest determination to run things to suit themselves, on both sides, as is inevitable so long as our ideas move in the channel of supposing that we must either boss or be bossed. And, of course, violence begets violence. All this goes without saying, but the point that I wish to make lies in the words — "So long as our ideas," etc.

It seems to me therefore — and those are the opinions that I came to some time ago — that the business of the Individualist, or Libertarian, or Anarchist, or whatever you choose to call the man who looks on the ambition to boss as the cause of all these evils, is not to whoop it up for the workingman who is doing his best to play his petty role of tyrant and monopolist, but to sternly and most unflinchingly tell him that salvation is not to be found along any such lines as those, and that the program on which he is expending so much time and trouble is an illusion.

I feel very strongly that the worst thing that you can say of any leader is that he has frittered away the strength of his army on a program that is absolutely impracticable, and this is the view that I have for a long time taken of the program that labor has set before it. Every resort to violence is a deliberate challenge to the governing powers to fight, and there is no sense whatever in issuing such a challenge unless you feel that when the contest is pushed to its very extreme you will be able to whip the other fellow. I was active in the labor movement at the time of the Chicago executions, and I have always thought that one of the most pathetic things about it was Spies' plea for his fellow prisoners to the effect that their only fault was that they were idealists. Yes, indeed, they were idealists who did not calculate the forces arrayed against them. But it is the very first business of the leader to calculate, and not to lead his men into hopeless positions. To put yourself where you have to whine out — "Please, Sir, I did not mean it," — is, to say the least, the greatest of stupidities. In my last letter to Holmes I expressed myself as most impatient with those who blamed Cleveland for his interference at the time of the Chicago strike, and I tried to explain the futility of attacking government on

(Continued on Page 6.)

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

By the Wayside.

"The country of the toiler is wherever he
finds kindred hearts," says the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.
For him there are no boundary and no color
lines, and no hatred of nationalities. Sighing under
one yoke, his aim is that of all the wage-slaves
of the world, and the sooner he realizes it, the
sooner will he be delivered from the shackles
of tyranny. The spirit of fraternity is the
powerful buoyancy which will bring about inde-
pendence and free the workers from the tor-
menting fetters. The toilers would be invin-
cible if they were conscious of their power.
With one blow they could sweep away economic
slavery if they so desired; and it is tire-
some to remind a giant constantly of his power.
But the indifference and indolence still prevail-
ing among the majority of the workers compel
one who has the cause of labor at heart to
repeat the admonition continually.

* * *

That the skilled workmen in the packing
houses, who were satisfied with their wages
and treatment, should have gone on strike in
order to ameliorate the miserable conditions
of the unskilled drudges, has aroused the ire
of the *Chicago Chronicle*, according to the
Arbeiter-Zeitung. A strike is a declaration of
war, the *Chronicle* comments. If the employer
readily surrenders bloodshed is prevented. But
if the employer refuses to surrender, then it is
absolutely certain that brutality, attacks, riots,
and attempts to kill, and incendiarism will be
the result. Not even women are spared by
these cowardly agents of the unions.

The *Chronicle* is certainly right in asserting
that riot and murder are often the concomi-
tants of a strike, but the editor is wrongly
informed as to the originators of such violence.
Who is it that calls for troops in order to shoot
the strikers into submission? Who is it that
procures injunctions which are calculated to
prevent the men from using persuasion and
other peaceable means. The battlefields of
Homestead, Hazleton, Idaho, Mount Olive,
and the mining districts in Colorado tell the
tale. Always and everywhere it were the em-
ployers who resorted to violence. Everywhere
the employers have been aided by the military
and civil authorities, and it is no wonder that

the maltreated toilers finally object to being
driven to the shambles of capitalism by force
of arms.

* * *

In Switzerland two thinking Social Demo-
crats have again violated the course of evolu-
tion as marked out by "scientific Socialism".
They refused military service, basing their re-
sistance on their conscience, which forbid them
to violate the Scriptural command: "Thou
shalt not kill," and laid special stress upon the
fact that they had imbibed this doctrine in the
public schools. The so-called Socialist press
hurls its condemnation at the "comrades" and
admonishes its capitalistic contemporaries that
such conduct has nothing in common with the
aims and principles of the Socialist party. "I
trust," says a writer, "that the great majority
of the comrades agree with me that the attitude
of these two comrades is condemnable at all
events. With such anarchistic demonstrations
nothing is gained."

"We do not intend to master nor prescribe
the things that are to come," the party organ
explains, "but to study the natural course of
evolution, learn to understand it, and adapt the
organization of society accordingly. Therefore
our party in all civilized nations of the pres-
ent time concurs not in the demand of abolish-
ing war at a slow or quick pace; but, on the
contrary, to bring about a universal conscrip-
tion, the armament of all the people, in order to
reduce the term of service successively, and to
prevent war by international arbitration
boards."

What an eye-opener for the voting dupes if
they should happen to put on their thinking
caps. Social Democracy, which is to deliver
mankind from capitalism and its concomitants,
such as competition, war, wage-slavery, pov-
erty and exploitation, and establish an era of
brotherhood, does not intend to abolish militar-
ism! A strange logic indeed. If "natural evolu-
tion" destines that in the future hundreds of
thousands of "comrades" are to be butchered
in warfare, Social Democracy will adapt itself
to the conditions without a murmur, and the
"Socialists" will be found in the front ranks
when the interests of the fatherland are at
stake. No wonder that, owing to such adap-
tiveness, some of the leading Social Democrats
have become "highly honored officials" in
Switzerland, as the Socialist press rejoicingly
informs the world.

* * *

At the last fortnightly meeting of the Paisley
Trades Council Comrade McKay proposed the
following resolution, *Freedom* (London) re-
ports, which was carried by a large majority:

"That we press upon all trade unions
affiliated to the Trades Council the necessity
of being affiliated to the General Federation
of Trade Unions, and coming into line with
nearly all trade unions in France and all trade
unions in Spain, as well as a large part in
Holland, which stand on the basis of a
general strike. The signs of the times point
to the commencement of the inevitable con-
flict between labor and capital. Federation
means solidarity, and solidarity means suc-
cess to the workers in freeing themselves
from the power of capital. Therefore, we
urge upon all trade unions to prepare for the
international general strike."

In speaking of his motion, McKay quoted
extensively from the Canadian Province of
British Columbia government commissioner's
report on labor conflicts for the purpose of
showing that the capitalists are fully alive to
the danger of their interests of trades federa-
tion. The idea of a general strike, McKay
went on to say, was brought forward at the
Congress of the National Federation of Trade
Unions and Co-operative Societies of France
in 1888, and was accepted by vast majorities
of subsequent Trade Congresses held at differ-
ent places on the Continent; and he concluded
by asking the delegates to urge upon their so-
cieties the necessity of becoming affiliated with
the General Federation. Thus the idea of a
general strike as a means of combating capi-
talism and government is fast taking hold of
the toiling masses in spite of "scientific" So-
cialists and other reformers.

* * *

In speaking of the apathetic attitude of the
Central Federated Union of this city regarding
the outrages and tyrannies perpetrated upon
the Colorado miners by the authorities and the
mine owners, the *Trade Union Chronicle* inti-
mates that the ruling classes do not fear the
economic struggle, and the workers — not
being ripe for a political battle — are treated
accordingly. Now, while it is perfectly true
that labor is tyrannized on account of its igno-
rance and timidity in the struggle for better
conditions, the editor grossly misrepresents the
facts when he asserts that the exploiters do not
fear the economic or the trades union move-
ment, and such distortion is not at all becoming
to a representative of labor. The fact is that
so far "independent political action" of the
workers has not annoyed the ruling classes in
the world to any considerable extent. In poli-
tics it is an easy task to hoodwink the voting
dupes or to corrupt the elected officials with
"love and money", and there is no record in the
history of labor that it has ever achieved any-
thing worth mentioning by putting a slip of
paper into the idolized ballot-box. Everything
labor has gained in its struggle with tyranny
and exploitation is the direct result of educa-
tion and the strike. Even in Colorado the mine
owners' tranquility was not disturbed because
the people had voted in favor of an eight-
hour day. For consideration the legislature
refused to enact the law, and it was only when
the miners decided to force the eight-hour day
upon the employers by laying down their tools
that the rumpus started, and if the rest of the
toilers in Colorado had been able to conceive
that "an injury done to one is an injury to all",
and had in a body joined the strikers, the eight-
hour day. For a consideration the legislature
days. In Sweden the Social Democrats are now
contemplating to make propaganda for a gen-
eral strike as a means to obtain universal suf-
frage from the ruling classes, and there is no
doubt that the crying workers will be silenced
by being given the toy to amuse themselves
with.

INTERLOPER...

"Free love" is a word of terror, but free
prostitution has become a social institution,
riaged by a legal license. And shall I tell you
why men condemn freedom in love? Because
it would be the end of freedom in prostitution.
—Karl Heinsen.

From a Christian Standpoint.

The article by C. L. James, in *FREE SOCIETY* of July 24, in which he so ably discusses a sermon by Rev. Dr. Aves, is naturally of much interest to a Christian minister, who finds in the life and teaching of Jesus an ideal of love and freedom, intimately related to that promulgated upon an entirely different basis by modern libertarians. It is, as such, that I propose to offer a few considerations.

While I have not seen the full sermon of Dr. Aves, I should say from the synopsis given by Mr. James, that there is a distinct discrepancy between the text and the conclusion. The opening section referring to vehemence with which Jesus denounced the tyranny of the rich and powerful, expresses a fact which Christians as widely recognize, as they deny in practise their own profession that He is "the same yesterday, today, and forever" (Heb. 13,8). How Dr. Aves reconciles this attitude of Jesus with the attitude of "*noli me tangere*," which he seems to commend for the church today as regards the conflict between capital and labor, is hard to see. As a matter of fact the two brothers quarrelling over an inheritance in the incident from which he draws his text (Luke 12, 13-15) have not even a remote or fairly illustrative connection with the classes represented in the struggle of today. Because Jesus refused in this instance to constitute himself a civil court, as he refused in the instance of the woman taken in adultery to constitute himself a police court (John 8, 3-4), are we to infer that He had no regard for justice man with man, or that His attitude toward the oppressed was that of denouncing the "greed" of their desire for better things? Such an idea is as absurd as to suppose an Anarchist assuming the part of an outsider in the struggle of the poor, because he refused to be at all aroused over some wealthy individual disinheriting one of his sons. It is true that Jesus went to the root of the matter in denouncing both the lust of wealth and the lust of power, just as Anarchism represents an ideal, rather than a mere movement for bread; but it is true also, that the tyranny of the strong placed him on the side of the weak, and the injustice of the rich placed him on the side of the poor, just as the quest of freedom places every sincere Anarchist on the side of the oppressed today.

In the presence of the great social problem, which in its fundamentals is really the same in every age, the attitude of Jesus is unmistakable. The terrible arraignment recorded in Matthew XXIII is the word of one who, however he might desire to save the poor from the evils of the rich, found something more to do than merely exhort to unselfishness. What can it be but the expression of one who has "taken sides"? When the church speaks forth in terms as unmistakable, it may be pardoned for constituting itself custodian of the morals of the poor.

Had Dr. Aves desired a biblical incident, which does essentially and illustratively apply to the social question of today, he might much better have gone back a couple of chapters to the parable of the good Samaritan, in Luke 10, 30-37. The great laboring class has been precisely in the position of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho. Stripped of its raiment (Behold they that are gorgeously

apparelled, and live delicately, are in king's courts!), wounded, and broken, it has, indeed, had a lingering existence that has been half-death. The thieves have departed to the up-town districts and the summer-resorts, leaving the laboring class to wallow in misery. Just as of old the priests and Levites, with many notable exceptions, have passed by on the other side. And now, when, by the aid of a few Samaritans, the people are beginning to arouse and demand the things of which they have been robbed, the priest and the Levite make it their business to return, but they no longer pass by on the other side; those who had no eyes for the people's wounds, are all eyes to the people's faults, and suddenly proclaim in holy horror against the greed of demanding back their own. To imply such an attitude on the part of Dr. Aves would be somewhat unfair, not having seen the entire sermon, but such an attitude is all too common on the part of many divines, who seem anxious to cry, "good Lord, good devil," and, as a Christian, I protest. It is time to preach against the poor man's greed when we have attended to his wounds, and brought the thieves to justice. Perhaps, then, he will give a little more heed to our talk.

Some time ago I was, as I often am, among a number of ministers, and the discussion turned upon a strike then in progress, and the labor problem in general. One man, who came from an up-town church, with a goodly number of the self-made (from a poor pattern) in his flock, informed us, with the air of one who had made a startling discovery, that he feared the next fifty years would see "a tyranny of labor"! He spoke of it as a sort of impending doom. It filled his whole horizon. I confess that the words, and the way in which they were uttered made my blood boil. A tyranny of labor! Why not? No thinking man wants it, but how are we going to prevent it? We have had the tyrannies of church and state, of autocrat and plutocrat, and will it be a marvel if we yet have a tyranny of labor? Can a people kept in oppression and ignorance come to power without abusing that power? I am not an Anarchist, but I would give full credit to those who call themselves such, who are, with their efforts to liberate the people, endeavoring to instil ideals of freedom, which will make the triumph of labor without tyranny. But how can we prevent a tyranny of labor by perpetuating the tyrannies that are? When the tyranny comes, if come it does, the responsibility for it will rest not upon the mass, but upon those who have kept the mass in moral, economic, and intellectual slavery. The sadness of contemplating a tyranny of labor, will in the heart of a true man be for labor itself. He will not waste much pity upon the sleek representatives of a corrupt commercialism, nor upon the proud and haughty churchman, nor upon the sincere followers of a narrow dogmatism, nor even upon the artists, poets, and literateurs, who have followed art for commerce's sake (which is ignoble), or art for art's sake (which is noble) but have forgotten that there is such a thing as justice for justice's sake (which also is noble), and freedom for freedom's sake (which is sublime).

There is no use railing at the church, which as an organized institution only gets into new clothes when the style has already changed,

but there is much justice in attacking the blindness and insincerity of individual professors of Christianity, whose personal ideals are a disgrace to Him whom they call Lord and Master. If there was one thing that Jesus taught, it was sympathy, and it is just this that has been lacking so conspicuously in many of the intellectual and religious toward the masses. When men have not sympathized with labor's distress, how will they sympathize with what they deem excesses of materialism and tyranny in the dawn of labor's power. Elisee Reclus has finely said of Anarchism what may be said of Christianity, and of the whole labor movement: "*Ou ne comprend rien que ce qu'on aime*". ("We cannot understand what we do not love.") (Zenker's "Anarchism" pref. VIII. This is the best thing in the book). The mass of even the well-meaning religious do not understand the heart of labor because they do not love it. When, in my weak judgment, I am inclined to believe that labor has acted tyrannically as toward an individual worker, the perpetration of some excess or depredation, etc., (the excess and depredation are forever going on on the capitalistic side,) I think of the wrong to which labor has been subjected, and the marvel is that labor is so fair. How is it that even in the professed followers of Jesus, not in these alone but, as such I mourn mostly for them, the petty offences and faults in the labor movement seem so large and unforgivable, while a compromise is made daily with forces and powers of the rich and great, which in their very existence are an offence, and in their exercise are relentlessly cruel?

My purpose is not to make any special pleading for Christianity nor for the church, nor for my conception of either. I am perfectly aware that I, too, shall be considered as a teacher who needs to learn. Did I not so regard myself, I would hardly be found writing as I have. It is a time demanding an appeal to intellect and conscience, and we may welcome any emphasis on that demand no matter where it comes from. It is well that Christianity and Christians should be under scrutiny. The scrutiny of its critics has often been relentlessly unsympathetic, but had Christians really sought to understand and express in life the teaching of Jesus, I cannot but feel that many a tirade of denunciation would have lost its text.

W. E. GILROY.

Broadview Cong. Church, Toronto, Canada.

The Anarchist Convention.

Since our first call for an Anarchist convention, we have received a large number of letters from all over the globe, encouraging the convention and promising moral and financial support. We have, therefore, decided that the convention shall take place on September 5, lasting about five days. Those wishing that the convention may bring forth practical results, but cannot be present themselves, are requested to send essays and suggestions on the following subjects:

Anarchism, Communism, Individualism, Collectivism, Anarchism and Trades Unionism, The General Strike, Anarchism and Social Democracy, Political Action, Religion, Federation of Groups, A Defense Fund, The Sex Question, Our Literature, The Modern Drama and Anarchism, Ways and Means of Propaganda, and other pertinent questions.

Those intending to attend the convention will please communicate with us in order that the arrangement committee may provide accommodations for them at low rates.

DEBATING CLUB.

1008 N. 17th St., St. Louis, Mo.

A Critic and C. L. James.

(Continued from Page 3.)

those grounds. I told Holmes that, as it seemed to me, if he had been in Cleveland's place he would have had to do just what Cleveland did, even to the calling out of the last bayonet that he could have commanded, and that government is never open to attack because it preserves order — for that is what it is elected for and paid to do — but that the true ground of attack is that it itself, with its appeal to arms and the special privileges that it creates, causes disorder. If I were in office — for which I have never had the least ambition — I should unhesitatingly summon all the force I could muster, for the defense of the scab threatened or attacked by the union man, or for the defense of the business man whose free and legitimate running of his business was interfered with. But it matters very little what I individually think. What does matter is that nine out of ten of the people in this country think this way. They feel that there is no reason why a man should be condemned to involuntary idleness and starvation because he does not choose to belong to a union, and that if a man happens to own a business he should be free to manage it his own way so long as he does not injure other people. If the unions should ever become strong enough to put this to the test — and I wish with all my heart that this might happen tomorrow, for it would greatly hasten the solution of this question — they would meet a Waterloo from which they would never recover. Therefore I say that the program of force and of attacking government as the defender of order is quite impracticable and can never be made to go. You do but strengthen it and enable it to multiply its armaments with the full indorsement of the public. But when you arraign it as the creator of monopolies and special privileges, when you show that it is by the special privileges granted by government that so-called infant industries have been enabled to grow into these Trusts that overshadow the whole land; that it is by government that huge tracts of land and invaluable franchises have been taken from the people; and that it is government and government alone that has given gold the monopoly over all other commodities, and so forth: then you are attacking government where it is weak and defenseless, and you are promoting that mental growth without which, as I am pleased to see you declare in a late number of *FREE SOCIETY*, nothing can be done. In short — and this is the very pith of the whole matter — this is an intellectual problem. The first question to be settled is — What is wanted? That the people should rule? Good God, no; so far at least as I am concerned; for of all hells on earth the worst is compulsory rule by an ignorant majority — a Tammany multiplied ten-thousand fold. What I believe that both you and I want is exactly the reverse of this; the greatest possible freedom from interfering rule, and full and equal opportunities for all. Then, "Hands off": no interference unless we are actively trespassing on and injuring some third innocent party.

I say that this is an intellectual problem, and looking back and calling from memory pictures of the men and events that have passed under my own notice, I cannot but think how emotional have been the first and how childish the second. How childish all this celebration of bloody outbreaks such as the French revolution and the Commune, etc., in the face of the fact that the world is, except during very brief and exceptional moments of excitement, under the firm rule of a strong common sense that desires nothing under the sun so little as any repetition of those mistakes. How childish to cheer to the echo, as I have heard thousands cheer John Most when he shouted, "*Arbeiter, Arbeiter, revolutioniren Sie*", when all the time any man who has not taken entire leave of his senses knows perfectly well that the work-

ingman has not the least idea in the world of getting out and putting up a barricade, or of firing on the police or militia. You will not misunderstand me, I am sure, as holding that we are going to get thru all this thoro-going change that has to come without lots and lots of trouble. His outlook must indeed be limited who can harbor that idea. My plea is that the only thing that can mitigate that trouble, and out of such turmoil snatch some satisfactory result is perfect mental clearness as to what we want and as to the practical way of getting it. It is not mental clearness when a man vows that his ideal is liberty for all men and in the next moment is crying, "To hell with the scab!" or when his dream is that if he could only get where those now in power are he would run the job to suit himself and his party or class.

And, as regards the practical means of attaining ends, I have come to think what a world of wisdom there is in the old Roman saying, "*Inter arma silent leges*" ("During war the laws are silent"). You will remember that in the Abolitionist movement, which was as fine and so native to the soil of this country, and which therefore, as it has always seemed to me, we should study most carefully, its leading spokesmen were untiring in their insistence on the difference between true and false laws; that a law for slavery was no law at all, however plainly it might be written in the Constitution, because it was unnatural and contrary to all principles of justice. Well; "*inter arma*" — that is while the air is full of violence and prejudice and bitter partizan feeling, this kind of law — true law — the sense of equity and right — is condemned to silence, for it cannot make its voice heard. Surely, we should try to make as large a place as possible for the still, small voice of reason, as the only anchor in the storm.

As regards what I have said about the rule of masses. I have often spoken before most well-to-do and most prosperous audiences and attacked the rule of money with all the bitterness that I could lay my tongue to, and I cannot remember the occasion when I did not get a respectful hearing. (11) Within the last few years, my point of view having changed, I have at various times tried to show at labor meetings that, in copying after the masters and themselves endeavoring to create a monopoly, they were merely strengthening the bonds of tyranny and antagonizing and inflicting the gravest injury on those who in reality belonged to themselves and should be with them in this contest. I have almost invariably met with the very roughest treatment, and it makes me think what the mob in the saddle would be.

This letter has grown to such length that I am sure that you will understand why I delayed writing on the subject.

I am going to ask you not mention my name, or identify me in your paper on what I have said as I work in an office where there is the most bitter opposition to everything that even squints at radicalism, and I do not care at present to find myself in a storm that would probably lose me a job that I have very good reasons for wishing to hold for some little time to come. (12)

In the course of the next few months I hope to be able to pay much more attention to these matters than has been possible for me for a long time past.

COMMENT.

(1) This letter is recommended to the study of "the Tucker and Proudhon camp," as pointing out their line of march. It does not so much matter where you are, as which way you are going. The Autocrats, with their Spencerian formula, are so very near Anarchism that until lately a great many people, including some of themselves, have actually supposed them to be there! But they admit the necessity, "of course," for some sort of "organization to re-

sist invasion," and, lo, this nasty, little, logical traitor has already led one of them to justifying Cleveland, Peabody, and even Gary! Let us hope such an example will cause the cureables among them to put on their thinking caps again! (2) You never learned from Josiah Warren that any kind of organization to defeat the setting up or aid the pulling down of this "mechanism" was necessary. Where, then, is the relevancy of your plea for governmental organization, typified to yourself by examples so execrable as Cleveland, Peabody, and Gary? Perhaps from Tucker you did learn something of the sort. (3) The sexual question is as plain as a pikestaff. It is fully answered by saying that the cancellation of all laws, common, statutory, theological, and social, prescribing what sexual relations of willing persons shall or shall not be tolerated, is the right of woman and the duty of man. (4) As Anarchists, we hold that the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the most important and obvious. Gouverneur Morris, however, was quite correct in saying that government exists for the sake of property. Whether property has been justly earned is usually "one of those things no feller can make out"; hence the need of government to tell who shall have it. Your authority, Proudhon, said property was robbery; an observation which his alleged followers in "the Tucker and Proudhon camp" seem to have strangely forgotten. I'm afraid "Tucker and Proudhon" is "*Ego et rex meus*" (I and my King) — a good deal like "Boniface, Peter, — and Jesus." (5) No. A man who justifies Cleveland, Peabody, and Gary — why not Mully Ishmael? — is a living witness that if you once admit "the dear people" need any protection against "invasion" at all, there is no end to the sacrifice of individual freedom which your "most important of all rights, that of property" will exact. The line of cleavage is between those who believe organizations against "invasion" necessary and those who do not.

(6) At the beginning of my career as an agitator, Josiah Warren himself told me, that "a millennium of Communism" would come spontaneously as the result of the increased production following absolute individual freedom. He should have added the restraint on population which must be caused by the absolute individual freedom of women. But this paradox has been my guiding star ever since. You see, he had some sympathy with those who are striving for a millennium of Communism, tho he told them, very justly, they were on the wrong track if they sought it thru an organization carrying despotism rather on its back than in its womb. Cannot you believe that Tucker has absolutely deceived and bamboozled you if he represents the "Anarchists without adjectives" — the inductive Bakunin school of Anarchism, who own no guide, maxim, formula, but experience, — as doing any such thing? (7) Wrong. Ideas don't struggle. They sink their way like dew. Wherever there is a rumpus, be sure there are conflicting interests at the bottom of it.

(8) Which is that? If your sympathies lie with the Cleveland, Peabody, and Gary class, the truth of your assertion is open to criticism. You do "uphold authoritarianism," like a very Atlas, — when they exercise it." If your sym-

pathies he with the honest useful, producing class, you certainly are innocent of upholding their authoritarianism, so far as the poor devils have any. But then is it not a superogatory sacrifice of your sympathies to uphold the other fellow's authoritarianism?

(9) Always excepting Cleveland, Peabody, Gary, and Mully Ishmael violence?

(10) Perhaps if you knew more about aristocrats, you might think differently. The trouble with you, as with all the Anticrats, is, however, that you don't know where you are at. If you want to take no side in struggles, you may be a good Anarchist and an useful person. Tolstoy takes none. But if you must take sides, choose between them. You cannot take both. If you like property, Cleveland, Peabody, Gary, and the aristocrats, better'n life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the producers, why, in Helen Blazes, don't you come out for them flat-footed? Your job would be in no danger then; and your march from "the Tucker and Proudhon camp" has brought you, by a short cut, so near the Roosevelt and Parker, that there would be little lost.

(11) If what you have written here is a fair specimen of the bitterness, no wonder. Well-to-do and prosperous audiences have long heads. They saw at once that you were practically doing their work. Even the laboring men who used you roughly were smart enough to see that!

(12) Hello! what's the matter with those courteous well-to-do and prosperous fellows, Cleveland, Peabodies, Garies, and the rest? You don't know where you are at again: but I can tell you. You are where the cat's paw was when it pulled the monkey's chestnuts out of the fire. The more sagacious animal had no reason to be angry with the cat, and was not angry. He recognized the usefulness of her paw. But he did not insure it against getting burnt. Your intelligence is beneath the cat's if you think an organization to resist "invasion" — (beg its pardon) "to preserve order" — Tory language treads apace on Tory principles — will "protest" yours'. C. L. JAMES

A Query.

The Rev. Thos. C. Hall, in his article on "Socialism and Organized Christianity," in the *North American Review*, of June, 1904, says:

As a matter of fact it should be remembered that the men who were hung, the so-called Anarchists in Chicago, were really Socialists, Socialists at that time not being distinguished from Anarchists.

Is this correct? Will one of your well-informed readers answer? I do not know enough to judge for myself, except that I do know that the latter claim is true.

The Rev. Tom is an old Chicagoan and familiar with radical circles there and may be right. BOLTON HALL.

The men judicially murdered in Chicago, with the exception of Schwab and Neebe, were certainly Anarchists, altho in their writings they often call themselves Socialists; and certain as that none of them was a Social Democrat, as can be plainly seen from the speeches they delivered in court.

Government is the great blackmailer. No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of Revolution. — Buckle.

At Last.

In Germany at present there is a great and widespread agitation for the promotion of knowledge among the young respecting sexual matters. Physicians are, naturally, especially active in devising means for the lessening of disease and for the increase of healthy moral sentiment; the press is teeming with books for parents to help them in giving the necessary enlightenment, and with books for children, to teach them the laws of increase in plants and lower animals, and thru these examples to lead them to consider human propagation as a part of the system of Nature, to be recognized understandingly and treated with reverence. Congresses are called at many central points for the discussion of sexual diseases, which are said to be alarmingly on the increase, and institutions are being founded for the alleviation and cure of the afflicted; there is a demand for more thoro physiological instruction in the schools, and for plainer speaking in the family upon subjects which have hitherto been forbidden thru mawkish prudery; the "Stork" is to be banished from nursery lore, and children are to be taught betimes the great facts of their bodily existence, in order to prevent the disasters which ignorance and false knowledge have brought upon the race. This awakening appears to be in great part due to the modern facilities offered to women for higher education, and is another proof of the benefits sure to accrue from the elevation of the female sex to equality with the male, as to ability and opportunity for co-operation in all ennobling work. In recent efforts for the purifying and strengthening of youthful minds and bodies, women are noticeably prominent, and these pioneers will undoubtedly do much to correct the mistakes of many mothers whose domestic duties fill up all their time. — Elizabeth E. Evans, in *Truth Seeker*.

Notes.

The Boston *Investigator*, founded by Abner Kneeland in 1831, the oldest Freethought paper in the world, has discontinued publication for lack of support. The unexpired subscriptions of the *Investigator* will be filled by the *Truth Seeker*, 28 Lafayette Place, New York City. This periodical also has the books published by the *Investigator* for sale.

The second edition of Mr. John E. Remsburg's remarkable book about the Bible will be ready August first. This book has received more praise from Freethinkers than any other book on the same subject ever published. It contains eleven chapters on the authenticity of the Bible, based on the best authorities of the time; thirteen on the credibility of the Bible, ten on the morality of the Bible, and an Appendix in which Mr. Remsburg sets forth unanswerable arguments against the divine origin and in favor of the human origin of the Bible.

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the Bible by saying, "Some one ought to tell the truth about the Bible." This Mr. Remsburg has done — done it fully, and done it well.

Bound in cloth, 500 pages. Price, \$1.25. At the office of The Truth Seeker, 28 Lafayette Place, New York, N. Y.

Letter-Box.

I. G., Haverhill. — Subscription received, and the number has been advanced from 469 to 521.

P. A., Chicago. — Yes, there are other Anarchist papers in this country, namely, *The Demonstrator*, Lakebay, Wash., *Lucifer*, 500 Fulton St., Chicago, Ill., and *Liberty*, P. O. Box 1312, New York.

F. M., Wilmington, Del. — Leo Tolstoy's article on the war, "Bethink Yourselves!" appeared in the dailies of this city in a somewhat condensed form. We intended to publish the article, but could not very well do so in four pages. The complete essay will shortly be brought out in booklet form by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

B. H., City. — I frankly admit that it was neither "wise" nor "humane" to call a certain class of Socialist writers 'putrid mudsills', but who would not get out of patience once in a while when an ideal, which is dear to one, is constantly and deliberately misrepresented simply to foster public prejudice? I pity the ignorant, but look with contempt upon a deliberate liar. Still, I deserve the rebuke.

S. S. R., Lawrence, Mass. — Why waste space in the dispute whether Elbert Hubbard is a Fabian Socialist or an Anarchist? The fact is he has called himself both an Anarchist and a Fabian Socialist, i. e., that he believes in a gradual evolution of things, which coincides with the opinion of many Anarchists. Comrade Pyburn criticized him from the Anarchist standpoint, and if the admonition does not apply to Elbert Hubbard it hits those who label themselves Anarchists and at the same time appeal to government protection.

Prostitution does not proceed from woman any more than slavery does from the slave; as the latter must be charged to the oppressor, so the former must be charged to man. "Free love" for women signifies the end of prostitution, just as free self-determination for the slave signified the end of slavery. — Karl Hein- which is approved inside and outside of marriage.

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