



A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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WHOLE NO. 450.

### Like Begets Like.

Laugh, and the world laughs with you;  
Weep, and you weep alone;  
This grand old earth must borrow its mirth,  
It has troubles enough of its own.  
Sing, and the hills will answer;  
Sigh, and it is lost on the air;  
The echoes bound to a joyful sound,  
But shrink from voicing care.  
Be glad, and your friends are many;  
Be sad, and you lose them all.  
There are none to decline your nectared wine,  
But alone you must drink life's gall.  
There is room in the halls of pleasure  
For a long and lordly train,  
But one by one we must all file on  
Thru the narrow aisles of pain.  
Feast, and your halls are crowded;  
Fast, and the world goes by.  
Succeed, and give, 'twill help you live,  
But no one can help you die.  
Rejoice, and men will seek you;  
Grieve, and they turn and go—  
They want full measure of all your pleasure,  
But they do not want your woe!

—Dr. Joyce.

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### The Policy of the State.

Success in State management depends largely upon the practice of deception, and the better the State is able to conceal its true inwardness and hoodwink the people, the more certain it may be of securing prompt and trustful submission from the masses. The people are never allowed to know who the State really is, nor who is the one that needs or wants their money. The whole policy of the State, as a rule, is one of actual or constructive fraud and deception. The people are not permitted to know, except to a limited extent, what becomes of the taxes that are raised. A favorite method of raising revenues is thru what is called "indirect taxation," a scheme by which large sums are taken from the pockets of the people annually, while those who pay the bill have no means of knowing how much is thus taken nor what becomes of the money.

In this, as in every other civilized country, no man can own anything unless it has the government brand on it in some place; no one is permitted to do even the most simple thing, against the will or without the approval of the State. Society, or government, has all the power—the individual has none. The theory is, that all the people are good for is to serve the public, and in so doing, to serve the State. What the public wants, or rather what those want who control the machine, is to have some one else do the serving and sacrificing, while they

simply give the orders. The public always extols a man for his patriotism—it loves patriotism, in other people—but when a war is begun it is only a certain portion of the people who are sent forward to fill the enemy's prisons, or die in the hospitals or on the battlefields. Those who call themselves the State, with their favorites and friends, are careful to remain at home to raise funds and send forward recruits. Even if they join the army, they uniformly obtain some choice place, some office, or a position on some officer's staff, a clerkship in some department, or perhaps a situation as hospital steward. It is the "bone and sinew of the land" that is usually sent to the front—at least that has been the experience in this country in previous cases. It is always much more pleasant to rule than to be ruled, and to be on the inside than the outside when trouble arises.

Max Stirner says, with truth: "The State rests upon the slavery of labor. If labor were free, and the worker were his own master, the State would cease to exist." The great works of this world are usually the product or result of what may be called slave labor.

No one obeys this man or that man; he obeys simply the law or the constitution. That is the prevailing fiction, and it has worked with surprising success thus far in most countries. But who makes the law, and how is it made? It is much easier to name those who do not make the laws than those who do. The people who obey the law do not make the laws; if they did, they would usually make them different.

Men generally hate black slaves, but they have no objection at all to white slavery, provided it goes by some other name and is not against the law. They would not see a dog ill used or trodden under foot, but they stand by and see the noblest men of our land imposed upon, trampled down and even murdered in cold blood, if it is done in the name of the State, and if it is claimed to be necessary for the good of the public. The State can do anything it chooses—it can commit any imaginable crime, in order to tighten its grip or insure its safety or success. That is the remarkable prerogative that the State seems to possess.

The "Horrors of Slavery" was a book that I happened to come across in my younger days. It was an account given by an American who had fallen into the clutches of the Algerians in the early part of this century. The tale of the sufferings related

by this man was shocking enough, but a more affecting account than that could be given, if one should attempt to describe the sufferings and misfortunes of men and women in every civilized land today who are pestered, persecuted, prosecuted, ruined, and sometimes slaughtered in the name of Christianity and the law! What will men not do, if they can only be brought to believe that it is their duty? Is there any crime that they would hesitate to commit under such circumstances?

But we cannot have brave men unless we have free men; and we cannot have honest and virtuous men, until we have men who fear neither god nor man. Men who are afraid fail to do what they know they ought to do. A man who is under the law is a slave, and a slave can have no virtues, certainly no virtues of his own. He can never be himself—he must be some other one than himself—a sort of fraud or hypocrite, a nondescript, a kind of centaur that is half horse and half human being. How can a man develop himself, fully and naturally, when he is always kept in a straight-jacket and is always under restraint?

It is rascals that always get the most service and assistance from the State. The State will send out a regiment to protect a scalawag, if he happens to be a protégé of the government, but what it would do for an honest and worthy citizen, would usually be very little indeed. It is the majesty of the law, and its supposed violation, that arouses and irritates the State, and when the State feels insulted, it brings out its big guns in short order. Then the trouble begins.

Under the State no man does anything that is not authorized. When a man does anything, the first question that is asked, especially if it is a little out of the ordinary course of things, is whether it is according to law. Everything is supposed to come from the State—it is the source of wealth, power, happiness, everything. No wonder the State is our God, and there is no other God but the State. In the Middle Ages the Church had all the power; now the Church is allied with the State, in a subordinate capacity, however. God himself has become simply a shadow, a remembrance, a form without either substance or power.

It is a curious fact that the State in which the people rule is strictly an unlimited monarchy, because the government, the people, is the source of all power. The people are above kings; the king gets his power from



the people, and the people are the original source of power. The people take the place of God. And, by the way, whom do we mean by the "people"? Do we mean everybody, the whole people? No, most assuredly not. The whole people never does anything—it would be impossible. When we say the people, we mean some people, a few people, those who take the lead and conduct the business—they are the people in all cases. All other people are ghosts, mere words. Nay more, when we talk about what the whole people does, we are trying to perpetrate a fraud and deceive the public.

We pay the State because we feel obligated on account of the good we imagine it does for us. The State, as we believe, gives us our daily bread, or at least if it were not for the constant protection the State gives us, we could not have our daily sustenance. We have everything from society and the State. But what does the State have from us? What could the State or society do without you and me, and the rest of us? Without us, *there never would be any State*. The obligation is on the other side; we could exist without society, but society could not exist for a moment without the individuals of which it is composed.

In this connection, the following additional truths may be brought to the attention of the reader: All men are equal among themselves—but as against the State, there is no possible room for comparison. The State has all the power, and the individual none. The one who has the power is right always—power is the only source of justice that is known. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reform either the State, the government, or law. We can dispense with them, but we cannot improve them. . . . It must not be forgotten that the State in its whole nature is depraved—it was conceived in iniquity.

It must be remembered that the State is a ghost, so is society, mankind, the court, and organizations of all kinds. They are all ideal and not real things. Bodies of men are always ghosts, mere imaginary existences. Their sole representative is a word.

Finally, nothing is holy unless I make it holy. No man is my master unless I make him such, or unless I follow and obey him. As a matter of fact, I do not believe in sacred things, because I do not believe in sacredness in itself. Why should I recognize power? What is power desired for? Simply to have something to apply to those who are subject to power. *If men did not desire my labor, my money, my property, myself, they would never seek to overpower me.* So it is with the State.—From "The New Dispensation," J. I. Wilson.

#### Government and Wholesale Murder.

The mundane authorities, the governmental penal institutions with their representatives upwards to the hangman, justify their well paid existence with the assumption that they secure the life and property of those who pay them. . . . Submit to their laws and decrees. Among those who are not especially strong mentally it is a common belief that everything would be turned topsy-turvy if it was not for the law and its executioners; for then we would be nothing but savages, restrained by no fences,

intelligent as it is even among the teachers, and rob and murder according to our wild passions and inclinations.

As a parody, an irony, this belief nicely illustrates the biblical claim: "God created man in his own image." Accordingly, then, God's likeness must be constantly held in check with great difficulties by brutal violence and terrible threats of severe punishment. If only vigilance be slackened for one moment these images mangle and mutilate each other. This is indeed a gratifying subject to investigate for a reverend gentleman, that is, if the image shows itself such a brute whether the original is not of the same quality.

But let this pass. For the earthly affairs the question is in what manner the authorities, "organized government," which lately has been sanctified, fulfil their assumed mission. Are they in reality the safeguards, the shelter of those in distress?

If those suffocated and burned and trampled under foot in the Iroquois theatre fire could only speak, the answer would manifest very little confidence in and enthusiasm for this mission. The perilous well of governmental humdrum way and corruption is now to be covered, of course, but only after hundreds of lives perished in it. Police providence now stands guard at the burned theatre. Facts are now to be established and the guilty to be ferreted out. But there is no doubt that the real culprits only endeavor to obliterate the traces of their guilt. The higher inspecting authorities are guilty. They did not carry out what they promised to do; that they were elected or appointed for and for which they were paid. They did not give a snap for their own laws and ordinances. Perhaps out of comfort, loitering, or to oblige influential people (Anybody who disposes of the means to oil the official machinery is influential nowadays), they failed to close this theatre in time and similar institutions altho their condition was known to them. In short, they were to take the initiative which they did not, and thus made this wholesale murder possible for the sake of profit.

The limping behind of the officials' precaution is the characteristic mark of this precaution. It is like the quack who stands perplexed before the sick-bed, and then, after the patient dies, with a solemn look issues a death certificate. This official after-care does not prevent industrial or commercial wholesale murder, but looks for its cause, without success certainly; for if it should search for its cause truly and earnestly, than it would impeach itself and its constituents, the upholders of government, and the exploiting and skinning class of mankind. That would not do, it would be suicide, and therefore the "arm of justice" mostly reaches only the weak and dependent.

"Organized Government" has nothing to put forth against the present social guerilla-war except sham maneuvers, which at best are only suitable to cover the shameful reality, scarcely enough to veil the true condition of society, and to offer scraps of paper for well-being and security. The authorities can protect Lake Michigan from danger of fire and the desert of Sahara from being flooded, but can never prevent

the wholesale sacrifice of men on the altar of the golden calf. And to do this is not at all their calling; we all know well enough that they perceive it to be their highest task to protect this social system from attacks and decay, the continuation of which depends on retail and wholesale murder. BAGINSKI.

#### The Degenerate Republic.

Some people still keep up appearances and profess to believe that the amount of freedom once possessed and cherished by the United States has not been surrendered thru ignorance, greed, commercialism, and recklessness. It is time such ridiculous and nauseating pretensions were abandoned. American liberty is dead. A vulgar, doubly offensive despotism has been permitted to rear and establish itself.

We are behind England, behind Switzerland, behind France, behind Germany even, in several important directions. None of those countries would endure such outrages as the degenerate American classes and masses have acquiesced in, even applauded. The Constitution is annulled; plutocracy is on the throne, and cheap mountebank moralists carry out its orders while adding hypocrisy to tyranny and crime. The absurd and irresponsible Roosevelt is not merely an individual; he is a type.

When, after dismembering Colombia, he dared profess sentiments of amity and regard for her, he unwittingly characterized a spirit, a period, a generation. Machiavellianism is a thousand times more respectable than Hay-Rooseveltism. The most sickening feature of the Panama scandal is the cant, the assumption of virtue, by which it was justified. The highwayman's plea may provoke your indignation; the Rooseveltian appeal to the "duties" and "burdens" imposed on him by the treaty with Colombia that had run with the land makes you ashamed of the species to which you belong. How can such liars look one another in the face? you ask. Has decency departed to the beasts?

But this is a digression. The Panama garb and the idiotic (read Rooseveltian) defense of it require no discussion in these columns. I mean to speak of the monstrous anti-Anarchist provision of the new immigration law, which a federal court has upheld as not inconsistent with the Constitution!

The Constitution! What is left of it? Have not ingenious hirelings of the brotherhood of thieves "construed" it of real and substantial existence? Slavery; oppression, massacre, torture, despotism, every crime and infamy is possible under the charter which was once thought so wonderful and so advanced and libertarian. It does not protect the Filipino victims of plutocratic aggression. It does not apply to Porto Rico, Alaska and other "possessions" of the so-called republic, and it has been intimated that it may not extend even to the organized territories.

Is it of much protective value at home? The greenback decision, the lottery cases, and a number of less notorious supreme court usurpations suggest the answer. A constitution is worthless; worse than worthless, where the love of liberty is dead and the conception of liberty so ridiculously un-



That the anti-Anarchist section of the immigration act should be held to be constitutional is, therefore, the most natural thing in the world. This section enables the government to do what no European country, Russia alone excepted, would think of doing; but what of that? The fiction that the United States is freer and more progressive than Europe might be discarded.

One of the provisions of this section provides for the exclusion and deportation of persons who disbelieve in all organized government, even if they do not expound their disbelief here. This has been indignantly denounced at a mass meeting and in several liberal papers. But is it more outrageous and impudent than the denial of the freedom to advocate the abolition of the State by peaceful means, the substitution of voluntary cooperation, in a gradual and deliberate way, for the compulsory cooperation of government, with its inevitable corruption, fraud, waste, and folly? Verily, most of the critics of the law (and how few there are!) understand the principle of liberty as little as do the knaves and ignoramuses who defend it.

The comments on Judge Lacombe's decision sustaining the law were unconscious exhibitions of ignorance and superficiality. What did "his honor" say? That the constitutional provisions guaranteeing freedom of belief, speech, and publication were not intended to benefit aliens. Any one already in this blessed country enjoys these rights; but he who seeks to join us has no rights that we are bound to respect. Was the absurdity of this position pointed out? Here and there the remark was freely made that the law, if not unconstitutional, ought to be amended, so that men like Tolstoi and Reclus and Kropotkin (and Jesus, it should be added) might be admitted.

Let us see what this logic would lead us to. If congress may order the deportation of an immigrant within two years (or two months) of his arrival, for professing or expressing anarchistic ideas, it may order his deportation within twenty years for the same offence. Unless he gets himself naturalized, he is without redress or protection. If he may be deported for preaching Anarchism, he may be deported for any and every reason, or unreason, the absolute congressional despotism sees fit to specify. He may be deported for criticising the president, for telling the truth about humbugs like Roosevelt, for opposing protection, for reminding us of the Declaration of Independence, even for advocating democracy! What the citizen can claim as a right congress may make a crime and ground for deportation in an alien irrespective of the length of his sojourn in the country. If the Constitution does not apply to him, he is as helpless as the subject of the czar. He need not be granted even a hearing. An "administrative order" will do in his case.

But what does the Constitution say? This: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." It does not say that congress shall not deprive citizens or persons already in the United States of freedom of thought and utterance. The words are, "shall make no law." Is not the provision for the deportation of aliens exercising, or known to have

exercised abroad, the right of speech, "a law"?

Judge Lacombe's distinction is baseless. That it has not been universally repudiated is the result of general indifference and contempt of liberty, constitutionalism, and original Americanism. Who cares about rights, liberty, justice, in these days? Blood, spoils, full dinner-pails, and low amusements are the needs of the degenerate republicans fitly represented by half-witted buccaneers and vulgar boodlers.—S. R. in *Liberty*.

[Our friend is right as to the facts, but why should he call this "The Degenerate Republic"? Are republics different in substance from absolute monarchies? A. I.]

#### Woman's Emancipation.

A REJOINDER.

I feel that my suggestion in *FREE SOCIETY* (No. 50) will be the fortunate means of liberating many of us slaves to "falsehoods fostered by society or government," by bringing us in touch with such a well-poised, self-contained individual as Comrade Lydia Landow.

True, she did not outline any plan of action, and did not give the association idea any encouragement, but I feel confident that had she given the readers of *FREE SOCIETY* her full address she would ere now have received many pleading letters from women who need her thoughts.

I have never considered myself so "well poised" as to be perfectly indifferent to the attitude of all others; indeed, I have had the impression that most of us were quite susceptible to the influence of sympathy or censure, and that the desire for the love and comradeship of our fellow beings is quite as good and elevating a trait in human character as is desire for martyrdom. Not all of us have the enthusiastic courage that needs only "convictions and will live up to them" all the world to the contrary notwithstanding; yet the instruction of one who is so endowed might strengthen us wonderfully.

As for myself I am free to confess my own inability (aside from the hindrance of present outside influences) to live up to my ideals. Struggle as I may, I cannot attain to the height of my convictions of what I should be and do. But if Comrade Lydia will tell us how she or any one else can live up to convictions, no matter how unpopular, I for one thirst for the lesson.

I thought that an association of radical women might develop ways and means by which we would be enabled to nearer and nearer approach our ideal and yet live on the earth, but if Comrade Lydia can tell us the way at once so much the better.

It never occurred to me that "half convinced women," or any one else, would become convinced of anything thru merely knowing there were others; but I do think people may become convinced by having ideas or reasons put before their minds.

May I ask what Lydia's motives were in "often discussing the question of freedom with women," she caring not whether or no there were others with the same convictions?

Of course women say (among other things) that they cannot have freedom and make a living. May I ask what it is that hinders

them from doing so if it is not a lack of moral support, that is the lack of sufficient numbers concurring in ideas of liberty and fraternity?

I have written as tho Comrade Lydia has convictions and those of an anarchistic nature but in fact she only says "all I need is convictions." So may we not hope she will soon become convinced of the noble truths of the Anarchist philosophy, be converted to a desire to have others think as she does, and taking her candle from under the bushel become a heroine in the much needed epoch—Woman's Emancipation.

MAUD STARNES.

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#### Turner Nails a Lie.

"I have been quite amused at seeing what a stalking horse and bogey Anarchy is to the average American," said John Turner, who calls himself an Anarchist, today at Ellis island, where he is held by the immigration authorities pending the decision of the courts as to whether he shall be deported to England.

"Historically this should be the country for social and industrial experiments as it has been politically with some success. Few Americans understand what Anarchy is. I read that the trades unionists of Colorado and elsewhere speak of the state governor as a cheap Anarchist because he enforces the law.

"The employers of Chicago describe the trades unionists as Anarchists of the worst type. When men believing in law lynch negroes some papers speak of it as Anarchy. Even at the protest meeting held at Cooper Union some labor men spoke of the Anarchy of the rich as if it, not the law, enabled them to appropriate the products of others' toil.

"Still I have every confidence that America will not be behind the rest of the world, even in social progress. She is too restless to stand still. America cannot always remain in its attitude toward Anarchists like China to the 'foreign devils.'—*Chicago Chronicle*.

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#### Notice.

*The Petrel*, a new semi-monthly Anarchist Communist journal, will appear February 1.

When we are issuing a new journal and ask the comrades for their moral and material support, we must justify our appearance by supplying a want now seriously felt.

We are to publish a journal for the benefit of the average proletarian; to elucidate our ideas in a manner and style outspoken and simple; and with a more revolutionary spirit permeating its columns than those of the now appearing journals. These reasons, and no personal vanity, prompt and inspire us in our new undertaking.

Subscription, 50 cents per year. Address all communications to S. Mintz, 610 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Calif.

S. MINTZ.

H. TRAVAGLIO.

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#### For Philadelphia.

The annual Russian Tea-Party will take place March 25, at Pennsylvania Hall, 928 S. 6th St. An excellent program has been arranged.



# FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, 1904.

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

## Notes.

Friends are requested to give us the names of persons who are likely to be interested in FREE SOCIETY, that we may send them sample copies.

To anyone sending us \$2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and \$2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

## For Chicago.

Sunday, Jan. 31, 2 p. m., a meeting of comrades of all nationalities will take place at Toggenburger's Hall, 105 Wells St. The subjects to be considered are (1) "Our Relation to the Labor Movement," (2) "The Propaganda in General," and (3) "Our Press." All are cordially invited.

The Sociological League meets every Sunday evening, 8 p. m. sharp, in Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St. Admission 10 cents. Jan. 24 W. F. Barnard will speak on "Art and Life."

Liberty Group meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 427 Park Ave., corner Western Ave., for business and social purposes. Saturday, Jan. 30, 8 p. m., a social gathering will take place. All friends are welcome.

## From the Lips of Liberty.

Only cowards kneel.

Progress involves suffering.

Roosevelt is only a fat shadow.

It takes strength to live your life.

Where charity begins reason ends.

You cannot hide behind your vote.

Respectability is the badge of servitude.

False teaching leads to a lying existence.

## FREE SOCIETY

The love of ease is the beginning of decay.

If might makes right, than a fight makes right.

"The good of the State" is the evil of the people.

The "bull-pen" of Colorado is an illustration of "Justice."

Let not your love of man or woman persuade you to not love liberty.

One of Carnegie's gifts has been refused, but only because the donor is unchristian.

When a Rockefeller can preach a Judas Iscariot should be able to get into Heaven.

Liberty does not come to you with a letter of introduction; she does not study manners.

Mark Hanna is after Roosevelt's popularity, as he wishes to be president. How large is his mouth?

Millerand has been expelled from the Socialist party in France. Was he "economically determined"?

The Pilgrim has been having fun with the reputation of Herbert Spencer: but any live ass can kick a dead lion.

Some Colorado mine owners have been jailed for declaring that the union miners are in the right. What next!

The Iroquois Theatre disaster will be talked out of recollection, and finally commercialism may resume full sway.

If Smoot is to be expelled from the Senate because he is a Mormon, let him get a majority and retaliate by expelling the Christians.

Geo. T. Angell, the well known humanitarian, believes that "well paid armies of high-character are necessary." Save the animals; men may kill one another.

Judge Haney, whom the voters rejected recently, has been appointed to a judgeship by governor Yates of Illinois. Moral: be a friend of some governor and the voters may as well use their ballots for shaving paper as oppose you.

Since the declaration of martial law in San Miguel County, Colorado, fifty men have been expelled from the county, while between 600 and 700 weapons have been confiscated. Is the Constitution of Colorado in the hospital?

John Turner in a recent interview corrected for the thousandth time the use of the word Anarchist in a false sense, a thing which the mere smartness of journalists has imposed upon the world. The action of rich and

privileged law-breakers is not Anarchism, for these believe in all laws which are not against their interests. Mr. Stocks-and-Bonds is a governmentalist.

Chicago policemen have combined to protect themselves against the "reformers," who, they allege, "do not understand." The inference is that to be a policeman you must needs act in a very questionable way and have very questionable friends.

Lucifer continues to appear despite the post office embargo, and its friends are flocking to its assistance in its struggle against the government. The cost of the paper to subscribers has been increased to two dollars a year, for ammunition costs money.

The obstructionists who oppose Anarchism may be divided into two classes, one of which opposes Anarchism "because it is too good for men," while the other rejects it "because men are too good for it." It is well that the world is big, to make plenty of room for the fools.

A postoffice schemer, convicted of "grafting by a federal jury," was immediately dismissed by the presiding judge, who warmly praised him for his good behavior during the trial. With examples like this clearly proving that the guilty will suffer, the postoffice should soon be as pure as a church.

How the people can expect that their well-being will be fostered by the State, which exists merely by right of conquest, is a problem for the psychologists to determine. Of course the State has always protested that its purposes were virtuous, but then its robber career, its robber career! Is the State a hypnotist?

The inauguration of Edwin Warfield as governor of Maryland the other day called forth from that individual's lips certain subtle remarks, implying that the Negro would soon be deprived of the vote in Maryland. Under a republic, of course, where liberty is guaranteed, you cannot take away the "sovereign citizen's" rights,—unless you want to.

Numbers of university professors, including several Yale men, are out in a protest against Roosevelt and his Panama grab. With senators Morgan and Hoar against him with these other well-known men, the president may be suffering from a slight stomach ache in the region of the conscience; but remembering public apathy, all of these protests taken together amount to as much as a single lightning flash in a midnight sea of black thunder clouds.

Is Colorado out of the world, that the tyranny which prevails there under the "benevolent" hand of Governor Peabody, is not known and resented by all lovers of liberty everywhere? With every mouth gagged by a censorship of press and speech; with miners deported from San Miguel County by the dozens, while their attorneys



## FREE SOCIETY

are imprisoned; with the "courts of justice" tied hand and foot, and the "right of habeas corpus" at an end, it is time that "the voice of the people be heard."

It is the supreme beauty of the thought of liberty in developed minds that it means the putting of the life of man into an environment where it can find its destiny by virtue of its innate capacity to learn, and thus develop strength and wisdom at one and the same time; and it is the supreme ugliness of the thought of authority that it stands for the leading of men by "blind leaders of the blind" into "law and order" quagmires of arrested development.

To many thoughtful minds it appears that the last stronghold of human slavery will be the institutions and influences of that which is now called "love" by "grace of candor and clear-seeing gone." The price of manhood or womanhood may yet prove to be the denial of "love" while its insanity of demands and jaundice of jealousy prevail. That a beautiful passion may at sometime put off the ugliness which is now esteemed its chief glory by too many, is the hope of those who would love, but who would also live.

The putting of "free love" forth as a "modern idea" is simply ridiculous. Retrogression to the sexual herd system is the meaning of the whole straw-splitting affair. It is of course being modified by recommending preventatives and precaution against propagation. But that such perversions, which, if they become universal, would simply mean annihilation, can by no means give the beastly affair an ideal tinge, ought to be a matter of course even to the father of a jackass.—*Freiheit*.

It is true that "free love" is not a "modern idea"; neither is the general idea of freedom a modern one. As to free love being "a retrogression" one may reply with a question: Is freedom a retrogression? It is true that perversions "cannot give a beastly affair an ideal tinge"; that is why monogamy fails to satisfy the ideal. It is also true that his prejudices will surely make things as clear as mud, even "to the father of a jackass," as well as to his long-eared son. Does liberty lead to evil if pursued in all directions? That is the question at issue, and the ONLY question.

AMERICUS.

### By the Wayside.

A close observer of the labor movement will find very little encouragement in the contemplation of an approaching revolution. Ignorance, the greatest enemy of labor, is rampant among the organized toilers, and no rational action can be expected from men who grope in the dark as to their own situation, which only fosters their timidity and submissiveness toward the arrogant encroachments of the employers. And there is no hope for improvement unless the Anarchists take it upon themselves to disseminate advanced ideas in the trades unions; for so far there are no prospects that one of the labor leaders will arise to the occasion and attempt to open the eyes of the dormant slaves, as did Fernand Pelloutier, who once stood at the head of trades unionism in France. Unfortunately he died young; but he showed what one man can accomplish in the labor movement

if he has the necessary courage and intelligence.

"Justice" has been gloriously vindicated in this country, where "all are equal before the law." A few weeks ago a poor devil left the penitentiary in Dakota, after having been fifteen years in that "benevolent" institution for stealing a two-cent postage stamp. This man, of course, had neither "pull" nor money. Another picture: Edmund H. Driggs, ex-congressman of New York, was found guilty of accepting a bribe of \$12,000 to defraud the government of \$25,000, and the judge felt very sorry that the law did not permit him to inflict a sentence without imprisonment, and so he reluctantly sent the "gentleman" to prison for one day and fined him \$10,000, which leaves Mr. Driggs a profit of \$2,500. "Demosthenes said, a good while ago," comments the *San Francisco Star*: "Bury for him that takes a bribe, jeers for him that confesses his wrong-doing, mercy for the convicted, and hatred for those who denounce the evil-doing—these are the sure signs of a corrupt society."

The *Daily News* apologizes for publishing Darrow's opinion on the theatre disaster by denouncing and repudiating such "sentimentality" and "law-breaking" philosophy. "Offenders against law must be punished for the protection of society and the individual," the editor argues. This reminds me of the cross examination some Chicago Anarchists were subjected to after McKinley's death. "Don't you think government and police are necessary for your protection?" the chief of police asked one of the prisoners. "I am forty-six years of age," came the reply, "and have traveled extensively, even in the dangerous highways of Brazil, South America, but was never assaulted in my life except three times by the police, and that for no other reason than that I looked upon government as an evil." "Where did the police assault you Mr.—?" the chief continued. "Once in Russia and twice in this country—this is the third time that I need protection against the police." The chief then dropped the subject of "protection."

INTERLOPER.

### From Many Lands.

The Argentine republic is again annoyed by a strike of the dock laborers in Buenos Ayres. The railway workers, teamsters, and bakers threaten to join the strikers if their demands are not conceded. Troops are guarding the harbor.

The mass meeting under the auspices of the Central Federated Union, of New York, to protest against the detention and deportation of John Turner was held Jan. 14, in Cooper Union. So far we have received no details.

The dailies have repeatedly informed the world that, owing to the tyrannical measures of Gov. Peabody, the strike in the Colorado mine regions had been broken. But the miners report that they are still hoping to gain a victory.

In Paris, France, a trades union leader, Yvelot, who had been indicted for publishing

"Soldier's Handbook," a strong anti-military treatise, has been acquitted by a jury composed of patriots. The citizens remained true to the principle observed in France, i. e., not to interfere with the freedom of the press.

"The jurymen proved to be more broad-minded and less prejudiced than the Social Democrat Millerand," says a contemporary, "who approved of the persecution of the author by the minister of war."

Casimir Wagner, an ex-States attorney, of Germany, has written a book in which he elucidates the advisability and expediency of deporting all Anarchists to the German South Sea Islands. "To avoid misunderstanding," he writes, "I want to emphasize the fact that I only have the Anarchists in view and not the adherents of Social Democracy, who begin to be moderate and under the guidance of renowned and rhetorical leaders have introduced many legislative reforms for the benefit of the working classes." There seems to be an inexhaustible supply of the idiots in the legal fraternity.

The discrediting of Dewey's victory in Manila Bay continues. First it was said that he and his men only sank a few "tubs" anyhow, but there was great praise for the gunnery of Dewey's men. They would have smashed a finer navy by their marksmanship, just the same. But even the credit is now denied the victors in the harbor fight of May 1, 1898, says the *St. Louis Mirror*. The work of raising the vessels of the Spanish fleet sunk in the harbor of Manila is now ended. The famous flagship, the *Reina Christina*, is again afloat, and will be used as a collier. The other vessels will be variously utilized. But the singular fact revealed, according to the *Manila Sunday Sun*, is that "the Spanish ships of war do not bear the mark of an American shell near or below the water line." The Spaniards burned and sank their own vessels, and many of them went to death with their ships in preference to bearing the disgrace of defeat." Not only this, but the *Sun* affirms that, in the opinion of Captain Garry, "the Spaniards set fire to their own vessels and afterwards scuttled them. The American shells did not sink them." Captain Garry is the manager of the American company which is raising the vessels.

### New York, Attention!

The new group of New York, the Radical Club, has arranged a theater performance for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, which will take place on Thursday, Feb. 4, 1904, 8 p. m., in Thalia theater, 46 Bowery. The well known and attractive play, the Jewish Sappho, will be performed by Mrs. Calsh and the other best actors of the house. Comrade Emma Goldman will speak between the acts on "The English Propaganda."

Tickets can be got from the following: Radical Reading Room, 180 Forsyth St. M. Maisel's bookstore, 194 E. Broadway Herrick Bros., 141 Division St. Parnes & Katz Café, 167 E. Broadway. H. Nack's Barbershop, 79 Clinton St. The Manhattan Café, 90 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

All comrades are cordially invited to aid the club by selling tickets. H. COMAROW.



### The Iroquois Theatre Disaster.

Enough has already developed to show that had the theatre been constructed or even operated with the view of making life as safe as possible these dead would still be alive. It is likewise plain that if the city officials had compelled the enforcement of the ordinances in reference to the construction and management of theatres these lives would have been safe. It is perfectly clear that this terrible tragedy was the direct result of an effort to save money at the serious risk of human life. But conceding all of this, are the public justified in their loud clamor for the punishment of the managers of the theatre and the officials of the city?

It is plain that punishment can now do no good. The great calamity has already aroused the public to such an extent that the danger is rather that measures for the protection of theatre patrons will be too drastic than not stringent enough. No right thinking person can doubt that the proprietors of the theatres and the city officials are human beings and that so far as they are responsible for this great calamity they must feel that responsibility as keenly and deeply when they contemplate all these dead victims as any possible punishment could make them. To send any one to prison for this dire disaster could not bring back one of the dead and could add nothing to the security of the living. It would be vengeance pure and simple and the fruits of vengeance are always evil.

But beyond this question, is it just and fair to condemn as murderers the men responsible for the construction and management of the theatre?

To say that they could have made it absolutely safe and to admit that their failure in this regard was due to greed is by no means to make them morally responsible for this terrible destruction of human life. Not one person connected with the construction or management of the theatre ever had any thought that anything done or omitted would bring such dire results. No one can believe that had the managers considered such a catastrophe as anywhere in the range of probability they would have failed to take necessary precautions to prevent fire. True it is that, looking back upon it now, it is easy to see that such a result from such a cause was in the line of probability. But this was not expected either by these managers or any others in Chicago or elsewhere. The plain fact is that these men are condemned because a calamity occurred. If there was moral guilt it is obvious that this guilt exists quite apart from the calamity and that every manager in the country operating a theater or other public building in the same way is equally guilty with these.

But men's moral responsibility must be fixed in the light of all the surroundings of the time and place. Grant that these lives were sacrificed because the theatre was not as safe as it might have been. Grant that this failure was due to the desire to save money, then are we justified in singling these men out for crucifixion?

Every part and parcel of our social and industrial system is operated exactly like the theatre. Nay, more than this, the theatre was doubtless much better calcu-

lated to preserve life than most institutions of our civilization. It was better, because after all is said and done the restrictions and conditions thrown around theatres are more stringent than those of railroads, factories and stores. How many people are sacrificed daily—hourly—because men place a higher value on money than on human life? No one can ever imagine the number. The Iroquois theatre is only noticed because it is so appallingly dramatic and terrible. Every one knows that in our weekly railway disasters the rich who ride in the Pullman cars escape, while the common people are always slaughtered, and yet the common coach could be made as safe as the Pullman car by expending more money and the fare paid is enough to secure a ride in a first-class coach.

The railroads kill and mangle their employes by the thousands every year. A simple car coupler would save much of this slaughter and nearly all of it could be averted if construction was made for safety instead of money. Our factories and mills kill and maim their tens of thousands every year, because the machinery is not the best and safest that can be used, and when these victims go to courts for redress our judges always tell the jury that the employer is not bound to provide the 'safest' machinery and tools that it is possible to get, but only those that are 'reasonably safe.' The great factories and stores are not constructed for health and ventilation, but to make money for their owners. In most instances, like the theatre, even the building ordinances are not observed. Our great stores send their clothing to be made in sweatshops packed with human beings almost like sardines in a box, and thru these great shops and crowded tenements consumption travels from victim to victim. Look at the pale faces of the little shop girls, whose lives are blighted and whose constitutions are undermined because this money-getting age will get rich by enslaving little children.

In whatever direction we turn is the same disregard of life, the same placing of money above men and women and children. It can all be generalized in the statement that working men and women live less than two-thirds as long as other people, to say nothing of the discomfort in which they live. This loss of life is due to the disregard for life that marks this money-getting age. And yet the public are asked to close their eyes to our whole social system and illogically and brutally condemn certain men.

But how about our city officials? Here, too, it must be remembered that no one expected any such result. The neglect of some things was simply a part of the general yielding of all public men to the spirit of commercialism that distinguishes the age. Certain things can be done cheaper; it will be practically as well, why not save the money? No one dreams of the great danger to human life. When the victim is a single consumptive, or one man who loses a hand or a leg, for lack of proper inspection, the neglect passes unnoticed and is not stopped. Now all the world stands aghast at the horror. But where is the citizen who has not gone to an official and asked him to disregard some portion of the law? The citizen who can stand up and throw a stone is

a very obscure man, with no property interests to protect. No public official, national State or municipal, could live if he enforced all the laws and ordinances on all men alike, and many of those who condemn the loudest have been the earliest to ask officials to be accommodating and complaisant. Our officials have done what all other officials have done, and exactly what we citizens have asked them to do, and every one of us has a share of responsibility in the result.

Unspeakably sad is the story of this terrible calamity. It is horrible enough without seeking to magnify it or needlessly drag out its harrowing details by long investigations, which can do little except to inflame the public mind. Sad as is the story, it would be sadder still if all of this sorrow should bring no good anywhere in the economy of nature. If the only lesson that the public learns from this tragedy is the blind condemnation of a few men, then all of these poor victims have been sacrificed without result.

Grievous are the sins of this commercial money-getting age. Great is the debt that future generations must pay for our wanton destruction of life and happiness. This debt will be paid in stunted, deformed men, in shattered lives, in seared consciences and in a weakened race. The victims of our cruel greed, with maimed limbs and broken lives, are met at every corner of the street; the prisoners are in every shop and factory and store, and every graveyard is sown thick with the forgotten dead whose lives had been sold for gold. But however many the victims, I, for one, protest that it is neither just nor humane to lay all the cruelty and sin of a generation upon the shoulders of a few men, who are no more responsible than any of the rest.—Clarence Darrow, in *Daily News*.

### Echoes.

When a man wants to murder a tiger, he calls it sport; when the tiger wants to murder him, he calls it ferocity. The distinction between crime and justice is no greater.—Bernard Shaw.

We are too cowardly. We live a life of lowliness and poverty because we do not dare to express our demands vigorously. We submit to be pinched and clubbed, altho we could knock our enemy down with one blow. We are conscious of our strength, but hesitate to make use of it, because we may incur all sorts of disagreeable consequences.

For the ignorance of the masses is not the worst enemy of progress, but it is their cowardice. Those who felicitate themselves over their possessions would never so brazenly insist upon their demands, to make which they have no right, if they were not aware that the masses timidly and in cowardice yield to every audacity.

How could it be otherwise? Being raised in submissiveness and kept in obedience and humility, a weak and fainthearted race populates the earth. Evil sins of omission must be amended if free ideas are to dominate the world. Raise your children as a fearless race, teach them self-confidence, boldness, intrepidity, and you will accomplish much more than if you apathetically



judges, and editors of the United States. Lament about the sad lot of the disinherited, to which you belong yourselves, and will not so long as you have not the courage to act daringly in behalf of your ideas.—*Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung*.

With great exaltation and touching eloquence much is said in parliaments and at public festivities about the high missions of civilized mankind. It is pointed out with enthusiasm that it is the duty of the more developed nations to bring culture and education to those of lower standing. Warmly they speak in favor of colonies among the heathen—to open new fields of exploitation for capitalism, and to procure for it new and cheap labor material.

The talk about spreading civilization among barbarous peoples and the blessings these will derive from it is as much bombast as the babble of the loving care which government takes of the poor at home. Today government executes the commands of capitalism, as when it was the tool of feudalism in former centuries. But capital takes not the least interest in the elevation of the proletariat, which would only weaken the influence and power of capitalism. Capital ever and everywhere looks out for profit, which it finds in its own country as well as in foreign lands, more abundantly by availing itself of labor which mentally and morally remains at a low standard, and which knows no higher demands and desires, hence its enthusiasm for colonies, and blessing the heathen with whiskey and Christianity.—Martin Drescher.

The mayor of Paterson's refusal to permit American citizens to assemble in public for the purpose of indorsing the Cooper Union resolutions relating to the case of John Turner arouses no public indignation, provokes no comment. It was an arbitrary denial of the right of petition, but what of that? A people that cares so little for its liberties as to make no protest against the monstrous usurpation of power by administrative officers, that penalizes thought itself, cannot be expected to insist on the right of free speech. The mayor of Paterson told Hugh O. Pentecost and other members of the Free Speech League that he "would not allow any discussion of the law under which Turner was arrested;" and he prevented by force the holding of a meeting by orderly citizens because he did not approve their opinions. So the American people have lost the right to discuss anything that Congress, in its infinite wisdom, may see fit to do, and any addlepate clothed with a little brief authority may declare himself their master and disperse them with clubs when they meet. Americans submit to these things, not because they are profoundly respectful to the forms of law, for that they are not when the law and their desires conflict; but because the invasion of their liberties has not affected the personal comfort of masses of people, and they are indifferent to principles which their forefathers held to be of supreme importance.—*New York Daily News*.

John Most, the unterrified Anarchist, got out a special illustrated edition of his famous

weekly, *Freiheit*, at the close of the year, to celebrate the quarter century of its existence. Most, who had served in the Reichstag as a Socialist member, was hounded out of Berlin in 1878. His articles in the *Freie Presse*, of which he was editor, did not exactly suit the authorities, to express it mildly. He came to London that year and started *Freiheit* in December. On March 13, 1881, Alexander I., was induced by his faithful and loving subjects to take a sudden departure for heaven, or some other hypothetical locality, and Most made editorial references to the subject which did not meet the approval of the Russian authorities. As the latter had a "pull" with the English judicial powers. Most was sentenced to sixteen months in the Clerkenwell house of correction. In 1882 *Freiheit* was again prosecuted by the British authorities, but as the editor was not to be found they contented themselves with sending two of its compositors to jail. Most came to the United States in the fall of 1882, and addressed an enormous meeting of German-speaking workmen in Cooper Union, December 18. The publication of *Freiheit* has been continued in New York ever since, not even being interrupted by Most's imprisonment on three occasions. The last time, as will be recollected, a very flimsy pretext was used. Most had published the day before the shooting of McKinley some extracts from an article written fifty years ago by Carl Heinzen. By a garbled translation this was made to have a bearing on Czolgosz's deed, and in deference to a supposed public feeling against Anarchists, Most was made to suffer. Most's other unpleasant experiences with American liberty of the press were in 1886, when he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for alleged inflammatory utterances, and later in 1891. On the latter occasion only five of the jury considered him guilty, and a verdict was secured only after long wrangling and some bulldozing by the judge. Most enjoys, he thinks, the distinction of having been more lied about by the New York daily press than any other semi-public man now living.—*Truth Seeker*.

#### The Anarchist.

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The Anarchist is a very fierce creature. It is own cousin to the gorilla. It kills emperors, kings, princes, presidents, likewise members of their families. The Anarchist walks on two legs, like some other monkeys. It has long, unkempt hair on its head and all over its face. Instead of finger nails, it has long, sharp claws. The Anarchist has many pockets in which it carries knives, pistols, bombs, and dynamite. It is a night animal. After dark, it gathers in groups, large and small, and plans raids and murders. Lots are drawn to select those who must carry out the work.

The Anarchist does not like water. It never washes or changes its clothes. It is always thirsty and drinks beer and whiskey. The home of the Anarchist is Europe, especially Russia and Italy. Some few have been imported to America where they are feared and hated by all decent folks, and hunted everywhere they show up.

Papa does not like Anarchists a bit. They

give him bad dreams, he says. He has given orders to have them all caught and put in cages. And he will not allow any more to come into this country, if he can help it. If any sneak in, he will shoot them like bears, Spaniards, mountain lions and such wild animals. I practise every day with my new rifle so that I can shoot those wild beasts when I grow up.

Papa says, Anarchists, rabbits and such vermin multiply and do not commit race suicide.

#### Literature.

THE YELLOW VAN, by Richard Whiteing, 12mo, 400 pages. Price \$1.50. New York: The Century Co.

In this work Richard Whiteing has given us a purpose novel more outspoken and fuller of "painful truths" than many a previous book laying claim to that name has been. The contrasts between riches and poverty give him his theme, and he handles these depressing materials with the judgment and literary force for which "No. 5 John Street" had prepared us.

The central figures of the book are an imaginative American woman, recently become a British duchess, her husband the duke of Allonby, and one of the sons of sordid toil, George Herion. The little village of Slocum Parva, and the city of London, furnish the scenes wherein the story is wrought out in contrasts between pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow, and their accompaniments, labor and ease, till the old, old story come to the one and inevitable end.

The duchess goes to England full of dreams of "ancestral halls" and bucolic life, only to find an England where pauperism, actual or impending, stares at her from the eyes of the hungry villagers. She sees the toadying, the bowing and scraping of the tenants on her husband's land with a feeling of pain and disgust, and the fact that a feudalism which she had thought was dead is still alive and active in England, completes the process of disillusion. She goes on tho to try to help the common people, but because of their habits and conditions she fails first, last, and all the time.

The yellow van with its advocate of land nationalization, who speaks to the people from its platform, visits Slocum Parva, and George Herion becomes a convert. He supports a Radical candidate in an election: the rest is easy. With his wife and child he is driven out of the village and flees to that dark refuge of the disinherited, London, there to drag out an existence beginning and ending with defeat. Death takes his wife: and broken and diseased himself, he is found by the duchess and is taken back to Slocum Parva.

The merit of the book consists chiefly in the fact that it very vividly portrays the England of today, where misery and starvation touch shoulders with pleasure and plenty; leaving nothing covered up for the sake of the tender feelings of Plutus and his rapidly-growing family. The author does not attempt a solution of the problem which is presented, but contents himself in presenting that problem with all the force which as a fictionist he can command. The book is a judgment and a plea in one, and is commanding attention.

W. F. B.



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