



## TO THE ENEMIES OF FREE SPEECH.

As well to lay your hands upon the sun,  
 And seek with bonds to bind the morn'g light;  
 As well upon the winds to spend your might;  
 As well to strive against all streams that run;  
 As well to bar the seasons; bid be done  
 The rain which falls; as well to blindly fight  
 Against the air; and at your folly's height  
 Aspire to make all life that is be none;  
 As well to do all this as threaten each,  
 And bid man check his tongue to suit the schools;  
 As well to do all this as give us rules  
 And bid us hold our words within your reach.  
 As well all this as try to chain man's speech.  
 So others learned before ye lived, O fools!

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

February 13, 1904.

## CIVILIZED OR SAVAGE?

Upon observing closely the workings of the present system of society, one is tempted to ask the question: Are we civilized or savage? A little reflection will show there is something in the question. I am aware the casual thinker, and he is legion, will exclaim, "Ridiculous! What has the modern, highly refined and developed gentleman in common with the hideous savage?" It would be much harder to show what he has that is not common to the savage. Let us examine, briefly, the few general principles that guide the conduct of both and see if the question is worth consideration.

While sleeping secure in his mountain cave the savage dreamt. In those dreams he visited places that, when awake, he had never known. How could that be? What was the solution? The savage imagination was perplexed. The riddle must be solved; and it was, as well as the savage mind could do it. There was something within him which was not a part of his body that made these midnight excursions. For the future civilization he had made an important discovery—he had located the human soul. In a like manner he later developed a god, by worshipping, thru fear, the soul or spirit of a dead ruler. Here is the foundation upon which rests the greatest and most influential of modern civilized institutions—the Church. Nothing has swayed the minds of man like religion, nothing which has caused them to shed so much human blood; and it rests upon a savage dream.

Religion, then, which has played such a mighty part in the lives of men in all ages, is a direct inheritance from the savage. In its name the civilized man has committed more murder and inflicted more cruel torture upon

his fellows than can ever be laid at the door of the savage. The modern Church, because of its origin and influence, must be regarded as the greatest enemy of progress. Being founded upon fallacy, it cannot afford to have the truth known, especially since its very existence depends upon maintaining the original falsehood.

The Church never could have taught the theory of evolution, because that would give the lie to her own dogma, that the world was made to order about four thousand years ago. Such a course would be suicide, for the Church, contrary to science, has always maintained she has the absolute truth. And to make the open confession that what she has been expounding with fire and sword down thru the centuries are absolute lies, is too much to expect from her. Indeed, were she to admit her fallibility and take up the propagation of the discoveries of modern science, she would quickly lose her power as an all wise mother, and degenerate into a purely human institution. She would no longer awe the world with her towering spires, her revelations and the silvery eloquence of her priesthood. Mankind would cease to worship at her altars on bent knees with downcast eyes; but, with erected head and questioning mind, would challenge her to justify her existence. But this is a dream more iridescent than that of the savage. The Church can never become an engine of progress; she will always stand by the original dream; and all her powers will continue to be thrown in the path of science. Her withered hands are gory with the life blood of the greatest thinkers of past ages. Her power is gradually waning, by reason of the progress she cannot prevent, but it is still great. And only in so far as the effect of her barbarous teachings are minimized and her waning influence destroyed can we hope for any real progress.

The savage has his king to whom he pays tribute, and worships and fears and serves. The civilized have their kings and presidents, whom they worship and fear and serve, and to whom they pay tribute. Government originated with the first strong brute of a savage who undertook to force a weaker brother to serve him. Government to day is one of the most revered of our institutions, and indeed has come to be regarded as indispensable. Next to the Church it is the greatest institution in modern society. For a long time it was a wing of the Church, and it is yet, except that in some countries there is an apparent separation.

There cannot be any real separation, for, however glibly orators may prate, the Church is still mother of States. She controls the mothers and thereby the early training of the men who compose the State; they imbibe her poisonous virus from their mothers' breasts.

The Church moulds the plastic brain of the youth who are to be the future statesmen. In her moulds are deeply engraved the hideous shape of authority—the authority of the parents, the Church, the State, the rich, and, more than all, the authority of heaven to reward and punish, according as one has been obedient or rebellious. To be thus schooled is to be either slave or tyrant in later life; to be either anvil or hammer in the forge called society that shapes the happiness and sorrows of mankind. The State, therefore, can never be separated from the Church, for the latter teaches the children; and what the child learns the man performs. She prepares the rulers, and what is vastly more important, fashions docile and obedient subjects.

The State then may be regarded as the step-daughter of the Church, and founded upon the same barbaric, savage, instincts. The business of the government is to keep the poor in subjection, and protect the various institutions employed by the rich to extract the labor product from the toilers. Its police and soldiers, its jails and gallows, are truly representative of the barbarians, who, by the way, didn't have any jails in which to torture men in the refined manner of the Christian ruler. Still, the savage liked to torture his enemy, whom he sometimes killed and ate. In like manner, the government kills and enslaves its enemies with the same spirit of revenge displayed by the savage.

War is the delight of the savage, often his only means of subsistence. He found it easier to swoop down upon his industrious neighbor, kill him, and carry off his wives and herds, than to supply himself with these necessities of life by honest toil. He felt no conscientious scruple in killing his neighbor, and always relied upon his god to help him do the job. The modern barbarian, who calls himself Christian and civilized, and who has not the excuse of being goaded by the pangs of hunger, prays the Almighty to help him in the noble cause of sending to heaven, or hell, he cares not which, the industrious brother who resents his encroachments. The great white czar is on his knees praying for victory over the Japs. This is the greatest inconsistency of all; for the Christian represents his as a god of peace and



love; while the god of the savage is never represented as being any better than himself. Consistency is the rarest of jewels among civilized rulers, and the spectacle of a czar, a king or president pleading at the altar of love and peace for assistance in war is not the most ludicrous one.

Hunger, ignorance and lack of conscience were the motive powers that urged the savage out to attack his neighbor. The "civilized" man dare not plead any of these savage attributes. Yet he wars upon his fellows and machines them out of existence with a horrifying dispatch impossible in any other age of barbarism. Nearly a million men were slaughtered in America in a single dispute over the question of authority. Incidentally the form of slavery of a few million negroes was changed; but the real issue was upon the question of how the South should be ruled. What is more horribly savage and cruel than war? Yet their armies and navies are the great pride of every modern nation.

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Modern marriage is a relic of savagery. The ring symbolizes the iron hand with which the savage bound his better half in his dugout or hut to prevent her from eloping. The Christian wife wears her ring in proud emblem of virtue and constancy; really it betokens slavery. For the man of today is in full possession of all the attributes of his savage ancestors. To be other than savage we must not act the savage, for men are judged by their actions. Authority is the parent of slavery, slavery is rooted in barbarism. The savage rules wherever he can; where he cannot he submits to the rule of others. There is one place every male savage is supreme; there the pitiful subjects cringe to his ruthless, whimsical, will. That place is the home. Women and children are his specially appointed subjects, by reason of their inferior strength. The civilized man differs little in this respect from the savage. He also is the supreme ruler of the home, not so ruthless, perhaps, but still master.

Centuries of slavery, absolute economic dependence, has made woman easily submissive, without much resort to violence. In fact, it is actually becoming unpopular to thrash a wife nowadays, a real sign of progress. But really I see no necessity for violence; there are so many other ways of making her bite the dust of servility. Every well regulated modern home, however, is equipped with a birch rod to impress the youth with due reverence for parental authority. A child dare not have a mind of its own when the parents are about. It is a mandate of the Church to obey the parents, and a great sin, to be answered for hereafter, to be rebellious. In every essential respect the modern household is conducted on the same plan as that of the savage. There are some slight modifications to be sure, but the curse of authority is there. Authority, the most conspicuous feature of savage life, dominates the present society from its lowest strata to its topmost heights.

No society that harbors the spirit of authority can ever be civilized. The one sure mark of a civilized man is his disavowal of authority. Civilization, if it means anything different from savagery, must mean liberty and equality.

These must be the test qualities of civilization, for they are entirely unknown to the savage; and a society which upon analysis can show only the elements of savagery can have no claim to civilization. Authority is the bane of progress, liberty its nutriment. The civilized man sounds the clarion notes of liberty from the housetops, the savage asks for more law, some new rule of action. The civilized man despises rule as the weapon of the tyrant; to him the golden rule is no rule. JAY FOX.

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#### LIBERTY AND ENLIGHTENMENT.

The Socialist says, "There was a time when people on earth were free from established government, and could do as they pleased as far as any man made law was concerned. But they were called savages, and they fought and killed and oppressed one another. Is that an ideal state?"

But in truth there never was a time since human beings lived when no government by man existed. In primitive days, the savage knew no restraint beyond his own incapacity to get what he wanted. If he wanted the game his fellow caught and he was strong enough, he took it away from him, and in so far "governed" him. If he did not like his neighbor, and felt like it, he "executed," that is, killed him. The strongest man ruled the others, and when his own right arm could not reach all he wished to govern, he could make other men who were not so strong as he, and who thus secured their own safety, compel them. Presently several strong chiefs combined and thus made their power more far reaching and effective. There came a time when the actual brute strength could not reach out far enough, and then the superstitions of the people were worked upon. Men were made to fear some incomprehensible, unseen power whose extent could not be estimated, to force them to do what they otherwise would not do at the bidding of the chief. And thus "Church and State" became united and established.

It was the rule of the strongest; and the rights of the ordinarily strong were invaded whenever the strongest chose to do so. No consideration of another's rights or feelings ever entered into their plans; they killed, robbed, and enslaved as it suited them if they were able.

The principle of government was very early established. Government grew more and more complex and elaborate, as people experimented, observed, suffered, failed or triumphed. Tyrants ruled because they could—for in the earlier times there was no pretence that "government was for the good of the common people." That is a fiction which arose with later times. All thru the ages past, subjects have rebelled, sometimes have been victorious, but always a new ruler took the place of the old. Not because the people believed they were benefited—usually they thought too little to realize that there might be any other way—but the rulers themselves knew it was for *their* good to be rulers, whether it were best for their subjects or not, they cared not.

It is only in comparatively modern times that it is claimed that "governments are for the

good of all." The Declaration of Independence contains perhaps the first definite statement of the principle. "It was for these (lofty purposes) that governments were instituted among men." That is, we could not possess freedom and equal rights, if there were not an established government to secure them for us; we cannot be free unless we are ruled.

Why we should come to the conclusion that our rights are sure to be invaded under the rule of one individual, and are safe and secure under the rule of a majority of individuals, has never been demonstrated. No one has ever shown us yet that our rights are better respected under a government than if left free to secure them as we can. Government furnishes the means by which we are invaded a hundred times where it prevents us once from being invaded.

The Socialist desires ultimately just what the Anarchist desires: liberty of thought, word and action; equal accessibility to the earth and its resources; the best and most advanced methods and implements of labor; liberty to associate as we see fit; and a chance to be brotherly and social with one another without running the risk of starving one's self. Liberty, equality, fraternity, in fact.

But the Socialist has no faith in an enlightened humanity. He believes that in order to bring about this desirable condition, mankind must be coerced into it. How or why he is so certain that another form of government—another power made up of the same material only under a new name—would secure these beneficial advantages, we do not know. He is with the conservatives, horrified at the thought that we could have freedom, equal opportunity, love, without any machinery to secure them—that in fact they are simply ours if we are let alone on this bounteous globe.

The world is roomy enough and has resources enough for us all to satisfy our physical, mental, and social needs; if nobody possessed a means by which they could grasp great quantities, more than they want, no one need be deprived. I used to think of this when I visited the City Park in Denver on Sunday afternoons when the band played out on the lake. The number of visitors really exceeded the number of seats provided. No law existed regulating the occupancy of the seats; it had not been found necessary to establish a government to secure those who wanted them the right to sit on them. Some of the people liked to be walking around, some preferred sailing on the water; the seats were comfortably filled, and if you did not get just the seat you wanted one time, you knew that you could another. People had different tastes, and a seat that did not suit one would another, and all were very well satisfied.

But if there had been a law by which individuals could monopolize a large number of them by paying for them with money obtained by other like methods, or by going early and speaking for them, or claiming them by right of birth, a law which would enforce such claims at the point of a gun or a threat of imprisonment, then there would have been trouble. Hundreds would have stood about wearied to death, while seats remained empty; hundreds would have been "punished" for getting into



seats they had no business in; and there would have been struggles, fights, riots, disturbances without number caused by the authorities trying "to keep order."

Liberty is not something that can be enforced, dragged in, or manufactured by any sort of political machinery. It is something which is, if nothing be done to destroy it. Remove all the barriers, and it rushes in, as water does when all obstructions are cleared away. The strong, invading arm of a savage, or the power of a well trained army, a horde of officials who may legally invade our rights, are alike obstructions in the way of liberty. True freedom consists in the right to act out our true selves so long as we do not interfere with every other person's equal right.

But, the objector will say, it will always be difficult to decide what equal liberty is, and just how far we may act without invading.

"And so," I answer, "it is necessary to establish an authority composed of these same ignorant people, for we have no others, to decide what liberty is, and to enforce their opinions on us whether we agree or not. Is that the idea?"

It is the old notion that because the people of the world do not know enough and are not good enough to govern themselves, they must have somebody out from their own ignorant and evil selves to govern them. How are ignorant and bad people better able to govern others than themselves?

I believe the lesson of equality is one that is here for man to learn, and he has all the ages to learn it in. It is the meaning of progress, the significance of the march of civilization. The savage was not trammelled with an established government, true. But he was ignorant. He did not know that his own liberty could be best preserved by respecting the liberty of others. He knew nothing of the blessings of fraternity, of the truths of interdependence, and of the advantages of solidarity. He did not know that the keynote of the universe is love, and so—he proceeded to invade others in order to preserve himself, thus blindly destroying himself. His descendants, as ignorant as he, established rulers over themselves and their fellows, in order to preserve themselves and as blindly destroy themselves and their kind. Slowly, slowly, painfully, mankind is learning the lesson, and when it is learned—then will we be truly civilized, then will the millennium reign on earth.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

### INTERESTING QUERIES.

Some little time back Lizzie Holmes in these columns asked certain questions that were of high philosophical import. Several correspondents answered in a general and meritorious way. The subject being an ever-interesting one, and bearing strongly on that of the propagation of truly liberal ideas, and the latter being, I believe, the primary reason for the existence of FREE SOCIETY, it might well be further discussed here. It is, as it were, ever preparing the ground for the seeds of liberalism. I will endeavor to answer her queries specifically, and not from any odious speculative standpoint, but from the simple one of natural everyday observation,

Her first query runs thus:

"Can any one, no matter what his surroundings, make of himself an intellectual, strong, well balanced, healthy and happy man by determining to become such?" He cannot, by mere will power. If disease is hereditary in his family the strongest will power will not help him much. If born sickly or puny, or if neglected or injured in his early childhood, he may never be healthy in body. If there is insanity in his family he may never be healthy in mind. But in all three cases a strong will power may be of some benefit to him, as, for instance, the determination to lead as temperate and hygienic a life as he possibly can under surrounding conditions. The latter can even make the puny or sickly child grow up into a healthy man, and with judicious exercise or occupation even into a strong man. So far the physical aspect of the query. As to the mental one, the correct and experienced observer must come to the conclusion that mental capacity like temperament is inborn with us, never-acquired. True, environment plays some part in the general development of the mind and body, but great and independent thinkers are born, not made. Anything abnormal, physical or mental, is simply what might be called a "freak" of nature, like an abnormal fruit on the tree, that is not only finer, larger or better in color, or softer of skin or meat than other thousands on the same tree, but has a superior flavor as well. It is the same with flowers as to size, beauty or fragrance, tho they may grow on the same stalk.

In animal life, too, there is this general distinction. It is observable in the same nest of the same brood of birds, aye, the very eggs of the same bird are different in size, shape, color, or in the thickness of the shell. And each pup in a litter of dogs shows difference of shape and characteristics. The common observer will hardly notice these distinct differences—all eggs are just oval to him, and all pups in the litter look alike; but not so to the true observer and ardent student. Very often all the members of a human family will look alike; but often also they do not, and sometimes a child will neither resemble its father nor its mother. It is the same with temperament, personal characteristics or mental capacity.

In the same family, all born and reared under precisely the same environments, we see "smarties" alongside with "dunces," "wide-awakes" and "sleepy-heads," with all the temperaments known, and from happy to unhappy. While one brother in the family displays the live individuality of the future successful exploiter, another will only have the "non-resisting" characteristics of the average proletaire. The Biblical picture of Cain and Abel is not a bad ocular example. It is thousands of years old, and yet to-day we have high professors, plenty of them (crowned by the goddess of science, too), actually still succeeding in proving that it is all a question of environment, evolution or what not. Yet Cain and Abel are still with us.

And while I am on the subject, there is another Biblical demonstration nearly as old, and that all the learning since has not been able to refute. The story of the Tower of Babel; for we are still at it, trying to build right into heaven with our ideals, and the same obstacle

obstructs us in the noble work. We do not understand each other. Those old Hebrews were not such bad philosophers (read Koheleth, et al.).

"Happiness"? The ignorant savage living in and with nature can only come nearest to it, and this is the true philosophy that Tolstoy is driving at. I do not know whether his is not the best guess, so far as to simple happiness. But since we live under a civilization, it is manifest that the simple and the ignorant among us must come nearest to a happy state of mind. They certainly seem so if their bare physical wants are obtainable by them.

The well balanced individual can only make up his mind to get as much good out of existence and surrounding as is possible. True, he has to live mostly on optimism (alias common hope) to keep the nightmare of pessimism off, if he happens to be a real earnest thinker.

"Or must we first make an environment that will naturally develop such (fine and strong) characters?" is Mrs. Holmes' next query.

As shown already, it would not help us much if we did, for nature is the most consistent Anarchist. She will not stand any dictation, not in any of her various and complex functions. She will bring forth her freaks of the supergifted as inequalities in individuals, no matter what little man would like to doctor on her. The little molecules can fight and kill each other over her gifts, but nothing can interfere with her producing or managing forces in the universe. Thus on our globe she will bring forth a great and noble character from a simple peasant woman in the hovel, while in the magnificent centers of luxuries and learning she, by way of a change, will germinate (yes, sometimes from the wife of the most learned philosopher) a mere dunce, if not worse. 'Twas thus in comparison five thousand years ago; it is so today. Evolution? Where is it among mankind? We are exactly the same in our characteristics and in our will and desires as we were when history began. To what purpose or benefit, then, Darwin's and Spencer's evolution of species, even if they did prove it to our social evolution? Here is the whole human history thus far: masters and slaves.

Query 3. "But as the people who are living now have come out of bad and unjust conditions, how can they be expected to be able to create the suitable environments?"

Can we change it? Nature seems to say to the oppressed, the disinherited and the exploited, "It isn't my fault. I supplied you plentifully, all of you, with what you need. Why did you let it slip from your grasp? Why did you worship individuals instead of mother nature? You should have restricted certain individualism; instead of that you have allowed it to run riot. Curb it wisely and you have solved the social problem. I did my duty—do yours. My way of producing is my concern; I shall not alter my ways for mere creatures. You made your own environment, and you will have to fight out your differences among your species by yourselves."

If Mrs. Holmes is not satisfied by the above hints of mother nature, then I'm afraid she will have to join the ranks of the science of inertia—gloomy pessimism. F. CAMBENSY.

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## FROM THE LIPS OF LIBERTY.

Moral laws are tyrannies.

\* \* \*

Fools are the State's tools.

\* \* \*

Might has a substitute for right.

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Doubt is the mother of weakness.

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The greatest of arts is the art of life.

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Liberty comes not; we must go to her.

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Liberty's war is the only war for me.

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Free thought is, therefore free speech will be.

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Socialism is moonlight; Anarchism is sunlight.

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Free hearts will live resisting, and die resisting.

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Liberty is the soil in which manhood may develop.

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The eternal struggle is a struggle against ignorance.

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Property is the possession of what you don't need to use.

\* \* \*

As no man can live my life for me, so no man can guide my life for me.

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Russia and Japan have no quarrel; it is the czar and the mikado.

\* \* \*

Fraternity grows as men are free, and dies wherever men are forced.

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The cultivation of respectability is the death of all other ability.

\* \* \*

College President Hadley wants the rich to make the laws. The man is consistent,

## FREE SOCIETY

Senator Foraker wishes the State to build a summer palace for the president. Royalty!

\* \* \*

In the free life there is room for everything but coercion. Even the fool will be free to be himself.

\* \* \*

Dr. Jameson, the author of the infamous Jameson Raid, is to be premier of Cape Colony. The State rewards its own!

\* \* \*

It is a poor arithmetic which tries to demonstrate that a State-levied Single Tax will take less than a State-levied general tax.

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The latest London prevarication is one to the effect that Kropotkin will oppose Russian revolutionary effort during the present war. The lie is transparent.

\* \* \*

Emile Vandevle has published a trenchant criticism of the Materialistic Conception of History. Political Socialism is being wounded in the house of its friends often now.

\* \* \*

Production and consumption will balance each other under free conditions, desire and effort reciprocally affecting one another.

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Freedom in love will have to be a principle in many minds which now abhor it ere man will think less of his home than he thinks of liberty.

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The thrift of one makes that one doubtful as to whether slavery is the evil it is said to be; the thrift of many would teach capital to lower their wages. Down with thrift!

\* \* \*

Ere the dust which was Mark Hanna can return to its own, the hungry hounds of privilege and plunder are fighting for the bone which he left ungnawed. Not a yelping cur of the pack stops to weep.

\* \* \*

Tho we are angry over things as they are today, and are often disgusted, the joy of the thought of the life to be, the life which we love, should be the thought first in our minds. A great heart is more glad than sad.

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The time is near when the American trades union movement will be tried in the fire; capital is organizing for the avowed purpose of crushing the solidarity of the workers. Anarchism's opportunity is to reach the union man.

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The picture which a Morris draws in representing a free society has not much "moral" color in it, nor is the family ideal shown there in favorable hues. But the life of man is pictured as a beautiful life, nevertheless. Do not be afraid.

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The observant mind can distinguish the calm before a possible storm in the result of the Hay note to the Powers. Each State now is watching every other one while pretending to

be perfectly neutral. Let but one move, and carnage is turned loose.

\* \* \*

Political Socialism insists upon the cultivation of class consciousness in one breath, and in the next expresses its abhorrence of classes, crying that classes must disappear. How the cultivation of class-consciousness is to do away with itself is the puzzle.

\* \* \*

We hear people rejoicing over the war, saying that it will help American industries. How will it help them when the war is over? What can the then impoverished people take of our goods? A war, which wastes wealth, must be paid for, and Russia and Japan will pay in increased taxes and deprivation.

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Under conditions of liberty men will be free to be Christians or Atheists, monogamists or varietists, vegetarians or meat-eaters; men will be free to labor singly or in groups, to build pianos, paint pictures, till the soil, or carve stone. Experiment will be attractive; all will live and all will let live.

\* \* \*

The Christians of Macedonia need no lesson from the Turks; they have developed the art of killing and the ingenuities of torture to such heights that Abdul himself might envy their devilish skill. The mere "belief" in Jesus as a saviour never stands in the way of that fiend worship which the Old Testament, a favorite Christian book, inculcates.

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With hate made unprofitable by the abolition of class and personal privileges; with poverty made impossible by the freedom to work; with the social instincts given free room by the sense of mutual dependence and love of comrades; with all the latent powers of man roused by opportunity for development, I think that life would taste sweet. This would be Anarchism.

\* \* \*

Leo Tolstoy, the great opponent of war, never stood in more danger than he now does, and never made a grander figure than he now makes, uncompromisingly sounding in the recreant ears of the world his protest against the envy of rulers as expressed in the slaughters in which they periodically indulge. What his fate will be none knows, but his fame will stand secure with the ages. AMERICUS.

## SPLINTERS.

It is said that Bryan, when he called on Tolstoy during his recent trip to Europe, invited the noted Russian author to visit America. This puts Bryan in the way of getting five years under the John Turner law if Tolstoy accepts the invitation.

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Why are some Socialists so much opposed to the idea of the general strike? Are they afraid a little vigorous action at the present time will take away the worker's patience, so that he will not wait till the Socialists have "captured the State" some time in the third millennium from now?

JR.



## THE USE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STRIKES.

Middle-class economists, as well as certain sections of the Socialist party (the parliamentarians), frown upon the strike, declaring it to be not merely futile but productive of evil. The former point to the dislocation of trade, and hypocritically deplore the privations to which the strikers are often reduced. The latter disapprove of such action on the score of its not being sufficiently "scientific." They call it the blind, unreasoning revolt of ignorance from the inevitable. They advise the workers to confine their efforts to sending a number of self-seeking politicians to the legislature, who will make speeches—shaking their forefingers while they quiver with generous emotion—and advocate the passing of laws to remedy social and economic evils. Such laws, when the middle class graciously permit them to be passed, are generally so constructed that only lawyers benefit by them, owing to the involutions which confuse them, and the technicalities with which they bristle—witness the various "compensation" and "liability" Acts.

Or, again, reformers point with pride to the Factory Acts, those procrustean measures which have caused no end of mischief, and utterly failed to abolish child labor, which was the principal object for which they were enacted. Every little while the age limit is raised, but the physical deterioration of the children outstrips the legislators' action; and where the little ones are actually excluded from the mills and factories, they are thrown upon the street. A walk thru the principal thoroughfares of any of our large cities, swarming with wretched mites, selling matches, flowers, newspapers and the like, discovers the mockery and futility of all such legislative action.

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During the Middle Ages, the popular masses over the length and breadth of Europe were engaged in a prolonged contest with the ruling class, the feudal aristocracy. The ultimate result of this contest was the breaking down of the feudal system. The people—whether of the city, the plain or forest—had not by any means what we moderns term "a walk over." The struggle was cruel, bloody, and replete with suffering. They were often crushed. Almost every rising was put down with merciless rigor. Where the sword failed and cajolery proved futile, the basest treachery was employed to enable the rulers to achieve a temporary triumph.

No doubt there were pessimists and croakers in those days, to whom the struggle seemed senseless and hopeless. No doubt the rebels often were admonished to give up such useless and mischievous conduct; to submit to the inevitable, and trust to the good offices of the priest and the fatherly consideration of the baron, both of whom were heartbroken at having to maintain "law and order" in such strict fashion, but were nevertheless determined to do it—from the most exalted motives, of course.

The people fought and bled. To contemporaries they seemed to suffer defeat; but we who can look back upon those times, and comprehend the meaning of the struggle, know

that the object of the struggle was gained—Feudalism has disappeared.

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The economic struggle now going on thruout Christendom, and which finds its acutest expression in strikes, bread riots and the like, is but the continuance, under a modified aspect, of the struggle alluded to above. It is the same contest, the same effort of the oppressed toiler to be rid of the grievous burden laid upon him by the crafty, dissimulating priest and the juggling middle class exploiter, the successor of the feudal lord, sprung from the people and therefore doubly guilty.

The contest must continue as long as the burden is not removed. Revolt is begotten of oppression—is, in fact, its natural and inevitable outcome. Treat with kindness and consideration, any domestic animal—a cat or a dog—and you will find that it seeks your society, clings to you, follows you about; take hold of it by the paw in such a manner as to convey, ever so slightly, the impression of restraint, and it will strive to get away. The harder you make your hold the more determined will be its efforts to release itself. It is the natural, spontaneous resentment of insulted liberty—the instinctive repudiation of authority and coercion evinced by all animals, and also by all children before "education" has ruined them.

\* \* \*

Had it not been for strikes and other modes of revolutionary action, the working population of this country would still be living in the abject and miserable condition of a hundred years ago. Even when the legislature inaugurated meliorative measures it was usually done in response to direct pressure from workers politically unenfranchised.

When workers who have struck are forced to give up the struggle (as frequently happens thru various causes—sheer want, inadequate organization, or the treachery of leaders), it is described as a failure because the particular object of their action has not been gained.

But this is a superficial view. No strike ever fails. In one way or another some good results follow. The temporary setback inspires them with a dogged determination to win another time; while the dearly bought victory warns the exploiters of the necessity of concessions. Such concessions are often made quietly soon after a strike.

The triumph of the workers is inevitable because they cannot be destroyed. "Victor from vanquished issues out at last." They are gradually wresting a greater and still greater measure of freedom from the ruling class. And as in former times, the peasants and craftsmen risings increased in number and immensity until they developed into civil wars and conflicts between nations—so shall the labor struggle spread and develop, until a time shall come when the workers of the world, realizing their solidarity of interests, will combine to seize the heritage from which they have been so long excluded—a universal revolt of Labor, which will form the dividing point between the old order and the new era coming upon us.—Alvan Marlow, in the *Voice of Labor*, Glasgow.

Friends are invited to send names for sample copies.

## OBSERVATIONS.

I wish I had the eloquence to induce many comrades to read "Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution," by P. Kropotkin. However, they would read the book to little purpose if they did not at the same time possess the spirit of solidarity and mutual aid, and the individuality to apply them in practice, of which Kropotkin brings forth such numerous examples among animals and man.

Kropotkin proves in this book that those species, societies or groups of men or animals, are the best equipped combatants in the "struggle for existence" that are united for a common purpose, thru the instinctive tie of "mutual aid."

This is, unfortunately, not the case among the comrades. They believe in the superiority of this or that person in the movement, combine themselves accordingly, and combat each other continually, without aim, purpose or result, instead of striving for the realization of their ideal, liberty, Anarchy.

To what purpose? Why waste so much energy? Merely to elevate or lower some comrade's standing or reputation, so far as I can see. Now, of what value is the good or bad behavior of a comrade, or his reputation, to an understanding of the philosophy of Anarchism? Will a person's conduct make it more or less true?

Thru the imaginary injury of some comrade's dignity, some of the best moral and financial undertakings have come to naught.

The realization of our ideas will appear problematical to the growing generation, if we do not change our hostile attitude in our relation toward each other. ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

Churchmen are bemoaning the increasing "godlessness of the times." Instead of becoming penitents, the sinners seem to get only worse, they despairingly declare. Yes, the pious man sees his business on the wane, he preaches to empty benches more and more from day to day, and his "exhortations" are well adapted to drive the few remaining "believers" away before long. He scolds them; he is disgusted. But it never apparently enters his mind that it is his "teachings" that no longer attract even the average simpleton. In his narrow mind he puts it all down to "perversity" of mankind, and his scoldings are really entertaining music to the emancipated; for, while the "successful" churchman gives fear that traditional superstition is still a power, the scolding, wailing, bunco man "of the cloth" must appear even to the pious to be sadly behind the times. But to the emancipated it is demonstrating that, in spite of all, light is approaching, and that the fortress of tyranny and superstition is beginning to tumble to pieces.—Martin Drescher.

Milwaukee, following in the wake of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and other municipalities, is unearthing corruption in its officials on a large scale. There is nothing extraordinary about this, except that the matter became public. It is the nature of government to be corrupt and incompetent. It would be interesting to know of a government organization of any size which is not corrupt. "Grafting" abounds in all of them. JR.



## ECHOES.

Thinking people refuse to be lulled to sleep any longer with accepted concessions regarding certain problems as insoluble. Theologians and philosophers in vain mount the popular rostrum in order to deceive the eager masses with conventionalities and empty phrases. They fail to assure the doubtful or console the anxious, who desire to live in a world of realities. The masses refuse to subsist on the slim diet of mere hope, but strive for things attainable. The unattainable no longer interests them. They demand from general culture that the benefits of scientific discovery be made subservient to daily life, and claim that the time has arrived to do away with all fear of an eternal punishment, or any other superstition.

Do we not know by this time that the doctrine of love preached by the Christian Church is a mere mockery? In her bloody history lies the answer. Is the man-made prison an evidence of heavenly love? A "love" that has resorted to the fire and sword as a means of propaganda represents only a hideous skeleton wielding the scythe of death instead of a genius holding out the key of life. Among the vices that, in spite of evolution, still hold on to mankind, cruelty is one of the worst. The child is no less cruel than the mere animal; and it is only the consciousness of our worldly mission of culture and the comprehension of beauty and benevolence that can deliver the maturing man from the influence of this demon of cruelty. The Church claims that its influence assuages all unworthy passions, especially cruelty; but one has only to look back over its own history to give the lie to that claim, for there we find all the crimes on the calendar, including long and bloody wars, committed and condoned in the name of God.

Like the history of the world, so, too, the history of the Church is written in blood. Her history, too, is one of atrocities, persecutions, idiocies and cruelties. Christianity has no more brought redemption to mankind than did any other religion, and for a good reason; for a belief founded on fear can never propagate really free or emancipating thought.

In Palestine, at the Church of Christ's sepulchre, to this day the "heathen" authorities have to maintain armed guards to prevent the brothers of the different Christian denominations from spilling each other's blood on account of sectarian jealousies.—Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

\* \* \*

There is much in a name. When it comes to the domain of philosophy, theology, and social economics, a rose would not smell as sweet with another name. For instance, the word "Anarchy" carries a significance altogether odious, and its true representatives are assumed to be the degenerates who, out of disordered lives and incoherent thinking, have outraged the laws of nature written within, as well as the statutes written without. But when we speak of "individualists," who advocate the minimum of law and the maximum of self-government, with Emerson, Herbert Spencer and Tolstoy (not to enlarge the list) taken as representatives, the philosophic systems involved become quite respectable. Again, the word "Socialism" is in many quarters a red

rag, representing all kinds of malignant forces; but when the phrase is "co-operation" and "combination," as opposed to "competition" and "speculation," the same thing appears under a very different guise, and those who dread the first mentioned word rejoice in every movement that increases the common wealth and adds to the efficiency of the social compact. Many of those who dread the word "Socialism" will rejoice to know that, according to the latest compilation, there are 22,512 co-operative societies in Germany, nearly 1,400 of which were organized within the last year; that Holland has 214 co-operative women's guilds; that Denmark has 900 distributive societies with a membership of 150,000, transacting an annual business of some \$7,000,000; that in this country 150,000,000 pounds of butter were made last year on the co-operative plan; that in Hanover last year there were 95 co-operative associations engaged in the handling of eggs alone, doing a business of from one thousand to twenty thousand dollars each. These figures we take from the *American Co-operator* for February 6, the last issue of the well packed little weekly to be published at Lewiston, Me. It is the old story—a paper too good to live—and the management announces a probable suspension for a space of three months, during which time "all our energies will be devoted to the raising of money for the support and endowment of a paper worthy the educational work in hand." Let us hope that the dream may be realized and that when next the *Co-operator* appears it will be from a Boston office worthily backed in its advocacy of brotherhood in business.—Unity, Chicago.

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## CONGRESS HIT BY A MORAL WAVE.

We note with pleasure the outbreak of Congress morality which manifests itself in the voluntary retirement of Representative Shafroth (Dem., Col.), from his seat, on the ground that he was elected by fraudulent votes. The expression of regard shown by the Elections Committee, which exonerated Mr. Shafroth of all connection with the frauds revealed, was affecting. Nothing more touching has stirred the House since it was compelled, against its own wish, to let go of the double mileage plunder into which the members had sunk their long hooks. Of course, the probability that the gentleman from Denver would have been kicked out of the House anyhow (not necessarily on the ground that some of his managers had been caught cheating the ballot law) is neither here nor there. The fact remains that he has committed self-expulsion, and, presumably, will now go back to his district martyred, looking for a vindication. (So many members of Congress are always hunting for vindication!)

Representative Shafroth's example must be held up for the imitation, and perhaps his fellows will fall all over one another in their rush to resign their seats. Mr. Butler, of Missouri, whose conscience must be sore with the thought that boodle played its part in his election, may lead the stampede. And if the moral wave should sweep over the Senate! Then watch "Billy" Clark, of Montana, and the Delaware pair deposit their commissions on the president's desk and walk out with heads high in

air, scorning to hold warrants on which the breath of scandal has blown. Then see senators popping up all over the chamber, to vacate seats which common rumor says have been bought in the open market, like life insurance, or railroad stock, or gold mines. Just wait to see the reform whose coming is heralded by the member from Colorado who could not bear the shame of sitting in a minority with a commission tainted by fraud; just wait until the great-great-grandchildren of the infants born today grow long white whiskers and the millennium comes thundering down upon us!—New York Press.

Free Society's readers will be interested in the following paragraphs from the *Dnyanodaya*, of Bombay, India. The *Dnyanodaya* is a Congregational missionary organ, and the topic of this editorial is the social reform movement among non-Christian Hindus—a movement which at present relates mainly to such evils as child marriage and compulsory widowhood.

"It is often said that in union there is strength, and one of course would wish that all who had Indian reform in mind could see all things alike, and so work with one mind and heart, but as this cannot be, the distinct separation of those who work on different principles is to be desired. Those of different minds cannot work well under the same yoke. Progressionists, who have a distinct principle as to method of reform, that it shall be distinctly an evolution of the national life, and in no sense a revolution, cannot work to advantage with those who are not afraid of a revolution. Nor can the latter make their revolution complete if hampered by those who cling to evolution. A distinct cleavage is therefore most desirable, and we trust "Indian Reformers" will adopt more and more distinctly *revolution* as their principle of reform. Those who wish can thus choose their own party, evolutionists, or revolutionists, "Progressionists" or "Reformers." There is no doubt where the victory will lie. The idea of reform thru evolution, thru national lines, tho lines of least resistance, and the like, is hopeless. Those who take this side will waste much of their energy, and in the end will fall far back in the race. It is revolution alone that will triumph as a principle of reform. We trust the *Indian Social Reformer* as the organ of the more radical party will see this clearly, and so lead along the winning path.

Revolution is the only true path for reform. It sees an evil, and stops it. It is simple and effective. What matters it even if hoary tradition, or the most deep seated habit, gives sanction to an evil social custom? If it is evil it is evil. That should close discussion, and the evil be removed forthwith. To feel bound to see that in removing a social evil national lines must be followed is ridiculous, because it is national lines that are responsible for these very evils. Where does the responsibility of the wrong treatment of Indian womanhood lie? On the "national lines." And now to subordinate reform to "national lines" is the height of absurdity, and no party to such a method can accomplish reform. The fact that reform is needed means that a revolution against "national lines" must take place. And it is the side of revolution that will win.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ROUMANIA.—The treatment of the soldier in this country is little better than that of the Jew. Owing to rumors of brutality in his army and consequent desertions the indolent king has at length thought fit to express his displeasure thereon. At a council the officers declared that discipline in the army could only be maintained by corporal punishment. A soldier whose life had been made a burden by maltreatment, thereupon threw a petition at the king's feet. He was instantly arrested and punished as a liar for making false reports. Soon after, when the general made his inspection this man pleaded to be transferred to another regiment. He was immediately thrown into the cells "for speaking disrespectfully to an officer." Then his manhood asserted itself. The following morning when at exercise he contrived to give his guard the slip, and snatching up a rifle ran into the officers' quarters and shot an adjutant and a captain dead. A desperate disease needs a desperate remedy. The soldier will die, but not before he knows that he has won better treatment for his conscript brothers thru his act of self-devotion.

\* \* \*

GERMANY.—Here, as in the United States, peaceful strikers have to face, not starvation merely, but bayonets. For several months the cotton spinners in Saxony have been out on strike fighting for a shorter day and better wage. When it was noted that the sympathy of the trade unions and the workers was with them, and that they were loyally supported in their struggle against capital, the military were called out. Every meeting was suppressed by troops, every civil right outraged. Once again brute force—the power behind the throne and capital—won the day. The strike collapsed. But failure does not always spell defeat. Once let the workers understand the power behind a General Strike and they may laugh at brute force the world over.

\* \* \*

SPAIN.—The Spanish students with Anarchist tendencies have printed an appeal in *Tierra y Libertad* calling upon their comrades throughout the world to form an international association of Libertarian students, for the threefold purpose of getting into close touch with workers' groups, to assist these in their struggle for liberty, and thus to form a powerful organization for propaganda and agitation. This is a splendid idea, and we hope it will bear fruit. The closer the bond between workers and thinkers in the revolutionary world, the deeper and stronger the forces within and results without. How terrified the authorities in Spain as elsewhere have become over the growth of the anti-militarist spirit has been lately shown by the ferocious sentences passed on two young men for openly expressing it. One not yet old enough for conscription has been condemned to twelve years' penal servitude in Africa for writing an anti-militarist article in *El Productor* of Barcelona. The second, a Seville worker, to six years' hard labor for being caught in the act of pasting a leaflet against the army on a barrack wall. The abject folly of such repressive measures makes one smile. Thousands of such leaflets will pass the quicker from hand to hand because walls and paper are tabooed.

RUSSIA.—There have been several attempts within the past three months to punish police officials noted for their brutality in repressing strikers and revolutionary propagandists. Of these, two especially made some sensation owing to the rank of the victim. Koulischeff, a sub-commissioner, was shot and seriously wounded in October, solely on account of his cruelty to the peasants and mechanics in his district near Berditcheff; while Metlenko, chief of police at Belostok, received condign punishment in November for the same reasons. In neither case was any arrest made. Metlenko appears to have been particularly brutal in the exercise of his official duties, and each brought his fate entirely upon himself. Whether the warning will be taken to heart by the police in Russia and elsewhere remains to be seen. The revolutionary movement among the students and population meanwhile increases steadily.

\* \* \*

FRANCE.—Innumerable small strikes of more or less intensity are taking place throughout the country, the unceasing demand being for a shorter day and living wage. In the purely agricultural districts also the peasants are standing up for their rights, at the village of Counzouls with quite a fierce insistance. A large estate here was sold by a nobleman to a rich leather merchant. From time immemorial the people had enjoyed the right of free pasture in the surrounding forests and to fallen branches for fuel. The new owner refused to tolerate these ancient customs—such things must be paid for. He set the law to work and the peasants answered by buying eighty guns. Further, they took an oath to resist payment by force and to hang the first of their number who broke his oath. They practice shooting every Sunday, and up to now have successfully driven every process server and man of law away from their district, yet in a peaceable and polite manner. A gamekeeper's lodge has been burnt, but when judge and gendarmes commenced an inquiry the peasants became suddenly dumb. Now the sub-prefect has been ordered to search for and seize all arms, and the result is awaited with interest.

At Montpellier, where the trial of some workers took place recently for obstructing the police during a labor manifestation against the labor registry offices in that city, one of the men under examination retorted to a taunt of the presiding magistrate, "But in the name of the rights of men I claim that we have the right to protest against these dishonest offices without prevention by the police, for to us it is a question of daily bread." To which the luminary answered, "Before the rights of you men there is the right of the police officer." What a complete unmasking of the law and of the bourgeois mind.—*Freedom*.

At the recent strike in Bilbao, the wealthy class all left the town, while the men of God were afraid to show themselves on the streets. Of course the Spanish workmen do not walk about the streets aimlessly, like the British workman, when on strike. They will not starve quietly, and that is why the rulers are so afraid of them.—Liberty Bell, in *VOICE OF LABOR*.

Any delays in answering correspondents or filling orders are due to our removal. They will be attended to as soon as possible.

THE TURNER CASE.

If any part of Mr. Spencer's estate were situated in this country, there is one of his executors who could not come here to settle it. The executor is the Hon. Auberon Herbert, the Anarchist whom Huxley, in his essay on government, acknowledged by name as his friend. Mr. Spencer probably did not see the humor, and possibly missed the "incongruity," of appointing as his executor a man who cannot enter the country where his writings were first welcomed.

And here arises a question.

If men not well disposed towards organized government are to be pushed back into the sea when they touch our shores, why should the writings of such men be admitted to the country and distributed by the government thru the mails? For, after all, it is not the men who are regarded as dangerous, but their ideas. I suppose the secretary of Labor and Commerce has given some thought to the difficulties he would meet in detaining an idea at Ellis Island, and deporting the same on the vessel that brought it over.

The disrespect that some of us have for government was put into print in reckless language by the late Ralph Waldo Emerson, who inquired: "Is not the State a question? All society is divided in opinion on the subject of the State. Nobody loves it; great numbers dislike it, and suffer conscientious scruples to allegiance" and the only defence set up is the fear of doing worse by disorganizing." Emerson only needed to have this fear dispelled to become an Anarchist and an outlaw. If any of our mediums should chance to bring Emerson back to the "mundane sphere," it might become the duty of our authorities to detain him.—*Truthseeker*

INTELLECTUAL EMANCIPATION.

A factory laborer who is compelled to toil the whole day, has no way of becoming a man. The end of all work must be to satisfy man. Consequently man must be the owner of his labor, he must be able to make a piece of work from beginning to end. He who is compelled to make a small part of a shoe, or to stretch wire, works mechanically like a machine. He has no way of becoming a craftsman. His work cannot satisfy him. It can only weary him. In itself, his work is not interesting. It has no definite end. He contributes only to another man's work.

For the laborer who is bound to serve another, the pleasures of the spirit exist not. He has only ordinary pleasures, because he is not cultivated, culture is held far from him.

To be a good Christian it is enough to believe—not to know—anybody. The partisans of Christianity, therefore, concern themselves more about the suffering working people, about their patience and resignation. The oppressed classes could not bear their misery with more ease being Christians. Because Christianity destroys the germs of revolt.

But this spirit cannot be destroyed now, it has to be satisfied. The "bourgeois" has proclaimed the material satisfaction, and all the conveniences the world puts at our disposal. The very same wonders that this doctrine finds followers among the poor. The 'bourgeoisie' proved that not belief and want make people happy, but the benefits of science and well being. This is something that we proletarians begin to realize.—Max Stirner.



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