



No Master.

Saith man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed;
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shall we too crouch and quail,
Ashamed, afraid of strife;
And lest our lives untimely fail
Embrace the death in life?
Nay, cry loud and have no fear;
We few against the world;
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurl'd.

It grows, it grows: are we the same.
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
NO MASTER, HIGH OR LOW,
A lightning flame, or shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

—William Morris.

Signs of the Times.

(Delivered at the Cooper Union meeting in New York
on March 24, 1904).

The claim that the tendencies of the times are all towards greater individuality will to many probably sound strange. We are so in the habit of hearing that the individual is being absorbed by society, that there is less and less opportunity for the development of individuals, that the economic situation crushes out all desire for personal liberty and initiative, that one is almost inclined to believe it. But while the position of vast masses of the population of all civilized countries is still deplorable, and intelligent interest in life and its activities is almost a blank, yet there is undoubtedly a strong current of self-assertion running thru every phase of human activity.

Never before in history was the average individual as independent as now. The last half century has seen a complete break-up of old ideas in every direction, and each person has been left free to accept or reject the new. The common conception of the universe, and man's place in nature, has been entirely revolutionized by the theory of evolution. It is quite impossible that the old checks upon conduct can continue. Everywhere men and women with free ideas are reducing their thoughts into practice and slowly modifying social life. Many things that half a century since would have shocked all the conventions are now accepted as a matter of course.

In the realm of art and literature, this spirit has naturally found expression. Old traditions have been abandoned, new schools and

styles adopted; in fact, every artist is now expected to express himself along new lines to obtain recognition. And especially in literature does this hold good. Conservative as are the English as a people, it does one good to compare the relative boldness of writers of today with the insipid stuff poured forth in the early Victorian era. Only the genius and sympathy of Dickens makes his subjects readable at the present time. Compare the deeper and broader views of life from such men as Meredith, Hardy, Grant Allen, or George Bernard Shaw with the puny ideas of the period named. One cannot help feeling that progress has been made and that a stronger note is being struck.

Perhaps, however, it is the growing independence of women, particularly here in America, that stands out as something accomplished of the character making for stronger individuality. The larger half of humanity has begun to assert itself. And to all lovers of liberty what an encouragement it is! For while women were willing to remain slaves, there was little hope for the men. Just reflect what advances have been made in the matter of women's enfranchisement, the holding of property by married women, facility for divorce, as proof of how far society has advanced on this question during the last half century. And when one knows that these are but the first feeble and timid steps it is indeed encouraging to those who feel that the old family traditions—with the women and children absolutely subordinate to the man—were the very nursery of slavery in social life.

And as always happens, this new spirit has found expression in the modern drama. Ibsen, Sudermann, and in a milder manner, as becomes the people for whom he writes, G. B. Shaw, have expounded the feelings of women for a free, full, individual life. We are only on the threshold of this new development, but we may rest assured there will be no going back. There may be considerable suffering caused in its working out—that is inevitable with every new departure—but freedom once tasted can never be resigned. The woman of the future will assert herself more and more, and men will learn to respect her strength.

Speaking of women reminds one that even children today are expected to have some individuality. It is not so long since children were considered to be entirely without social rights of any kind. The parents, especially the father, were supposed to be their sole arbiters. The cruelties inflicted were supposed to have divine sanction. Absolute subjection to parents in everything was considered the correct thing in the home, and cruel punishments at school were believed to be both right and necessary. Today, cruelty to children has become so repugnant to the social conscience that the law has reflected the change of idea and now retaliates by punishing parents for excessive cruelty. In some cases it will even take the children from their care altogether. Teachers are now hardly considered competent

for the profession if they cannot bring out the best in the child without corporal punishment. And so each child is now enabled to develop more and more its own individuality. With women and children living a larger and freer life the race is bound to be benefited. After all, men and women are only children grown big, and it will be very difficult to enslave the children of the future, brought up in the atmosphere of freedom.

One other point before I come to the big question of labor, which I have reserved till last because of its importance. There has been one field of human activity—a horrible, a fearful one—where all questions of individuality were supposed to be abandoned, like hope on entering the gates of the inferno. It is the military profession—the art of war! Even here, where discipline in the past has crushed out all individuality, where organization and initiative came from above, where to obey was the only virtue, yes, even here individuality is becoming a necessity. Overwhelming numbers and wealth can of course still win victories, but the recent Boer war taught the proud English ruling class that a number of relatively free men, with little or no military training, but possessed of great initiative and individuality, could hold in check a vastly superior horde of hired and disciplined soldiers who dared not act without orders. And already the government, quick to learn the lesson, is trying to solve the problem of how to preserve discipline, and grant a larger measure of individuality and initiative to the private soldier at the same time. Any way, the soldier of the future will have to be thought of as an individual; the general and his staff will no longer be the whole show. So we see individuality asserting itself in the most unsuspected quarters. And soldiers with initiative are a double-edged weapon in the hands of the ruling classes.

If we now turn to the labor movement, here, too, we find individuality, but it is developing in a different manner to the previous forms of expression. In the sphere of science, art, literature, and to a considerable extent in the women's movement, it has been powerful personalities who have raised the whole. But in labor matters, the economic situation is such that the strong have had to organize the weak to secure even their own advancement. They could not separate their own interests from those of their class. The result has been that the best among the wage-earners have helped to develop those vast associations of the work people which to-day are able to have some voice, however small, in arranging the terms upon which they will work. Certainly the growing capacity of the workers in all civilized countries to organize among themselves for mutual help and protection warrants one in believing that the ultimate outcome of the movement will be a complete transformation of industrial conditions.

So far the greatest gain from these organizations, apart from the improved conditions of employment, has been the growth of personal

a result of combination. In the first place, independence that has come to the workers as they no longer blindly compete one against the other in the open labor market, and allow necessity to put in operation the "iron law of wages." And as the fear for the immediate future has been allayed, so the feeling of independent manhood has been developed, till today it is quite common for the workers and the employers to arrange the rules under which work shall be carried on between them. The caprice of the employer is now tempered by the strength of the workers' organization, and slowly but surely the individuality of the workers is growing under the fostering influence of strength in association.

As proof of the capacity of the workers for organization, and for constructive ability, it may interest the audience to know that in England there are at present two million members of trades unions, most of which provide for mutual help in case of sickness, being unemployed, and when incapacitated from working by accident or old age. All this assistance to one another helps to relieve the competition to secure employment, for if a worker is not driven by necessity his own self-interest prompts him to stand out for the highest wages possible, and instead of wages being dragged down, as they might otherwise be, there is a steady tendency in an upward direction.

But it is not only in the trades unions or fraternal societies that the English workers are interested. It might truthfully be charged that these were at best but negative organizations, and did not prove capacity for constructive work. The industrial co-operative societies among the wage earners have shown them capable of conducting vast business undertakings. A few figures will give some idea of their extent. Last year the membership of the co-operative societies was 1,980,441. The business done during the year was just under \$430,000,000, while the profits amounted to over \$40,000,000. And remember that every year sees an advance.

One cannot help feeling that Ibsen was right when he said the two big movements of the future are the emancipation of women as a sex and the wage-earners as a class. Anarchism sees in the signs of the times—in the steady growth of individuality in every direction, and in every phase of life—every indication of the triumph of its ideas. But it also recognizes that in the case of the workpeople, this personal liberty can only be secured as they recognize their common interests, and can prove themselves capable of conducting industrial undertakings as well or better than they are managed today. This they are steadily showing they can do. In spite of opposition of the employer and the government, labor organizations grow apace. The continued growth of individuality in association, of a fraternal basis to organization in place of authority, leads directly to Anarchy.

JOHN TURNER.

The War in the Far East.

The most extravagant opinions have already been expressed concerning the probable effects of the present war upon the inner conditions of Russia. Social Democrats of different nationalities are represented as having uttered the wildest hopes as to the beneficial political changes which this war is going to confer upon Russia—provided it ends in a crushing victory for Japan. It is represented as "the doom of absolutism," "the beginning of a new era"—not only for Russia, but perhaps also for all civilization. In the London press world, a few weeks before the war, persons usually well informed in foreign politics confidently predicted (and made, perhaps, the poor Japanese believe it) that the war would be the signal of a general uprising in Russia; that the Russian government would not dare to move one single

soldier from European Russia from fear of a revolution. I pass under silence some still more extravagant utterances.

All this wild talk is only a symptom of the hatred which Russian absolutism has inspired all over the world, by its brutal opposition, for forty years in succession, to the rising tide of liberty—the result being that now, as in the times of Nicholas I, much of the hatred against the rulers of Russia is transported upon the nation as a whole, or is utilized for that purpose by those who have an interest in it.

The stern reality is, however, that every war is an evil, whatever its issue may be; an evil for the triumphant ones as well as for the defeated; an evil for the bystanders, as well as for the belligerents themselves; and the present war offers no difference from all the others.

Take the Crimean war, which is always represented as having inaugurated an era of reforms in Russia. To say so has become a commonplace; and precisely, therefore, it only means a shallow skimming on the surface of the events. To begin with, the death of Nicholas I and the advent to the throne of his son Alexander II, who, like his brother Constantine, had received an advanced liberal education, was an event far more important for the direction of politics in Russia than the fall of Sebastopol. As to serfdom, whatever the outcome of the Crimean war might have been, this institution could not have been retained for another ten years. Numbers of serf-owners were ashamed of it, beginning with Alexander himself, who much before the war had solemnly undertaken to abolish it. Besides, since the revolution of 1848, or, rather, since the *Jacquerie* in Galicia in 1846, the Russian serf-owners lived under a constant fear of a new *Pugatchoff* uprising; and their fears were fully justified by the ever-increasing numbers of isolated acts of revolt of their serfs, the murders of landlords (ten to fifteen every year), and the ever-growing seriousness of large peasants' uprisings (from fifteen to fifty every year), which attained a special violence in 1846-1848, and again in 1854-1859.

And, finally, it must not be forgotten that the years 1850-1865 were years of a general revival of radical thought in Europe.

It was not the Crimean defeat which made Garibaldi and Lincoln the heroes of all Europe and of the British Radicals, and the bold inductive philosophers the leaders of European thought. The Crimean war had only delayed for seven or eight years the coming of this inheritance of 1848. In fact, it was not only serfdom in Russia which was blotted out in those years; slavery disappeared in the United States (1863) and a number of feudal survivals everywhere—in Britain as well. Radical reforms were fought thru. And if the Russian reformers succeeded in those years in accomplishing so much, their success was due to an immense extent to the radical spirit which inspired Europe at that time. Where would we have been if a wave of reaction swept over Europe then, as it is sweeping now?

The same is true of the war of 1870. When that war was over, quite a campaign was begun in Germany in order to prove that the Latin races were dead; that since the very fall of the Roman Empire the Teutons had been the bearers of freedom, while the Latins had always been knaves. I well remember how my brother and myself were exasperated when we saw that even men of science in Germany went on saying that France had never done anything in science; that all real progress was of German origin. It was then that the legend was fabricated, according to which Germany had brought liberty to France. All fairy tales are born in the same way. Always the same worship of him who has won the battle.

The truth, however, is quite the other way. In 1870 the Empire of Napoleon III was already on its deathbed. Napoleon knew it per-

fectly well, and, with the *empire liberal* of Ollivier and the plebescite, he played his last card; while his wife, Eugénie, saw in "her war against Prussia" the last hope of saving the throne for her son; she had already given up the father. Germans may ignore that, but we who knew the intellectual and revolutionary energy which was at work amidst the Republican young generation and inspired the mass of working men in the chief towns of France, we who saw later on the apathy and the triumphant reaction under MacMahon (the Bourbon restoration failed only because "Henry V" had refused to accept the tricolor flag instead of the white flag of the clerical monarchy), we who know all that cannot but see how much France was thrown backwards by that war.

And not only France. All Europe was thrown backwards in all domains of political, social, and scientific thought. The great movement of the International Working Men's Association, of which the most precious feature was the intellectual awakening of the working classes, was killed by the war, and German Social Democracy was but a poor substitute for the great movement. Since the victory of the German military State, radical thought began to be treated as obsolete all over Europe. Bismarck became, and remains still, the ideal of the statesmen of Europe—and, alas, of Asia too! With Metz at the doors of Paris, representing an immense fortified camp from which half a million of fully equipped soldiers can be marched upon the capital of France twenty-four hours after the declaration of war (or, maybe, before); with the Triple and the Quadruple alliances which followed; under a standing menace of dismemberment—how could France not be paralyzed in her interior development? She had to patch up with Rome, she had to flirt with Alexander III and she had to live thru all those paroxysms of militarism and Caesarism which were a direct consequence of the open and secret clauses of the treaty of Frankfurt. Nay, the wave of reaction which rolls now over all Europe, with its glorification of militarism, imperialism, and the international hooliganism, was a necessary sequel to the conditions created by that war.

Such being the case for these two wars, there is still less reason why the present one in the Far East should be a source of good for either side. It has not even the "liberation" touch of the Franco-Italian or the last Turkish war.

To represent the advance of Russia towards the Pacific Ocean as a mere thirst of conquest of its autocrats is pitifully childish. It would be too bad even in a schoolbook, in which all historical events are attributed to the will of the rulers. There is a logic in the excrescence of nations as well as in the growth of continents; and "Calchis" has very well indicated it in his *Fortnightly Review* article, which it is a relief to read amidst the trash that we have been served with lately. Few people in this country know that the Russian occupation of the Amur region and the North Manchurian littoral was a direct consequence of the Crimean war; but so it was. When the United States had taken a firm footing on the Pacific Ocean, when they had opened Japan to the white race, and the regards of Europe began to be turned that way; when it became known in Siberia that at her very doors there was a river, as large as the Mississippi, flowing into the ocean, and on the shores of which the vine grows, while immense prairies, capable of feeding millions of settlers, spread on its banks, and remain desert, as the Chinese government prohibits its subjects from settling on the left bank of the Amur—when all this became known, a push of the Russians down that river became unavoidable. However, years might have passed before any move would have been made in that direction, were it not for the Crimean war. It was expected that in the

summer of 1854 the allies were going to make a landing in the Sea of Okhotsk and Kamtchatka, to take possession of the Russian ports of Ayan and Petropavlovsk. Thereupon, Muravioff, the governor-general of East Siberia, undertook to garrison these two ports from Siberia, and in the spring of 1854 he boldly descended, with a flotilla of boats and rafts, the great Chinese river, reached its mouth, and sent therefrom small garrisons to the said ports. More reinforcements were brought in the same way next year. The mouth of the Amur, as well as the De Castries Bay, was hurriedly fortified and garrisoned; and when the Anglo-French forces landed at Petropavlovsk in 1854, and next year in the De Castries Bay, they were repulsed. It was thus the Crimean war which induced the Russians to move from their Transbaikalian arid steppes down the Amur. Now that this river had been used for two years in succession as a highroad to the Pacific, and the Chinese made no objection, Muravioff made a diplomatic effort to secure from China the immense stretches of uninhabited fertile lands on the left bank of the Amur and the Pacific littoral, with its harbors, which remained in fact nobody's land. This he obtained without firing a single shot—with no support from St. Petersburg—against the will of the St. Petersburg bureaucracy.* Next year this acquisition was confirmed by a formal treaty—the war waged by the English and the French against China in 1857 inducing the Chinese mandarins to grant these territories to their northern neighbor.

The remainder had necessarily to follow. When the Siberian railway had been built as far as Irkutsk, its continuation towards the ocean was unavoidable. But, as I wrote already fifteen years ago, to begin building a railway along the left bank of the Amur, down to Khabarovsk, as it was proposed to do, would have been a sheer folly. The first 500 miles below Sryétensk (its present terminus) and the last 250 miles above Khabarovsk, as well as the three miles long bridge across the Amur at this last spot, would have cost simply foolish sums, squandered to no purpose, because these stretches of land are bound to remain uninhabited. The only two possible ways of reaching the ocean from Irkutsk are, either across Mongolia, *via* Urga, or across Manchuria, *via* Harbin; and this last was done, evidently with the consent of the great powers of Europe.

Looking now upon all these events, I cannot but say that it was a misfortune for the Russian nation that no other civilized nation had taken possession of Northern Manchuria. The whole history of that part of the world would have taken another turn if, let us say, the United States had got hold of this territory. The colonization of the Amur and that railway across Manchuria have cost immensely to the Russian people; but this territory will never be Russian. It will be invaded very soon by Chinese, Korean and Japanese settlers, while Russian settlers will never feel at home in that region of monsoons. More than that. Even as a protection against a possible march of the yellow race against Europe, Manchuria would be of no avail. This is why, before the present war broke out, so many Russians advocated that the Manchurian railway, or, at least, its southern portion to Port Arthur, should be sold to China—a solution which might have been possible then, but now that floods of blood are going to be shed there would be impossible.

*How the occupation of the Amur was opposed at St. Petersburg is best seen from the numerous letters of Muravioff, published in 1891, in his biography.

Considering now the Japanese advance, it is only natural that this laborious nation should try to find new outlets on the mainland of Asia for its rapidly growing, and already dense, population, which was 44,260,000 in 1899, and must be now 46,500,000, the average density in

different provinces being from 220 to 475 inhabitants per square mile. And as the Japanese have succeeded so well in maintaining such a dense population in relative wellbeing on their limited territory, Asia would only win if they further spread their civilization on the mainland.

Unfortunately, this rural "pre-ironclad" civilization of the Japanese is rapidly going away, and what the Japanese are bringing now is but an imitation of the European civilization, and that not in its best forms. Already, in 1891, Rathgen mentioned the abominable exploitation of women and children in the Japanese factories which were working for export. Instead of basing their industrial production chiefly upon the needs of a wealthy agricultural population, as is the case, to a great extent, in France and the United States, Japanese industry was based on the impoverishment of the rural classes and export. Rathgen predicted therefore that Japan was bound to wage war with China, in order to get the markets which her industry did not find at home. The war came, indeed, and only prepared material for new wars. In addition to the Jingoism provoked by military success came the Jingoism that was bred on purpose by a capitalist press and the old feudals, who (as the young Japanese Socialist party says in its spirited protest against this war and in its letter to the *Daily News*) hope to recover by war their lost influence. We know something of the Johannesburg way of preparing wars. Another Johannesburg has now grown up, since the Boxer uprising, at Shanghai, and a third is now Tokio, with its Anglo-Japanese press (see Alfred Stead's most interesting quotations from that press in his *Fortnightly* articles). Of course, we may smile when a Japanese statesman tells us how Japan, marching at the head of the Asiatic league, will defeat the European league in the plains of Siberia, but things become quite serious when we are told by English friends of the Japanese that it is not at all Korea that the Japanese want—that it is Peking. Not at all more room for their population, which, without any war, would have permeated Korea, Manchuria, and the Russian maritime province, but the military lead of China.

To pretend that a war inspired by such motives is going to be a boon for Russia is simply a remainder of that faith—the faith of all workings—according to which providence will always arrange everything for the good of the nations, especially the most docile ones. Far from sharing such a faith, I maintain that the revolutionary movement in Russia, forty years old by this time, is now in such a good way that it does not require the aid of Japanese torpedoes in order to achieve its aims. Far from aiding this movement, the war will only retard it and divert it from the great issues at stake.

Great economical and political problems, such as the general impoverishment of the rural population of Central Russia, the industrial laborers' question, and the necessity of a federal organization for the Russian nation, have imperatively come to the front. At the same time, the impossibility of further maintaining the absolute rule has become evident, even to the rulers themselves. Even members of the imperial family, even M. Plehve, recognize that. Plehve has put ten years, the others five years, as the utmost time limit for absolutism. War or no war, the absolute rule had to disappear. Under such circumstances, what can the war do but to impose new incredible sufferings upon the Russian nation and to postpone the solution of the great problems just named, to put an end to the great and broad popular agitation, and to reduce the little agitation that will be possible in war time to minor issues? And if the war takes such a turn that Russia has to face great disasters, like that of Plevna, nearer to home than the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, then we shall see patriotism tak-

ing the same turn as it took in 1877 and 1878.

Moreover, if we know where this war began, we do not know where it will stop. Many agencies were at work to prepare it, while the Balkan peninsula was going to begin a new liberation war. But if the peninsula is set ablaze next spring, where will the war in the Near East find its solution? In the vicinity of the Dardanelles? or, maybe, in the Black Sea? How many years will it last? It is all right for dreamers to predict that dear old Providence will turn everything to the best, and send, in the end, all sorts of blessings upon the heedless European nations. . . . We cannot indulge in such dreams. More than any other war, this one, which represents the letting loose of the worst capitalistic instincts, is a calamity, which every thinking man ought to combat with all his energy.—P. Kropotkin, in *The Speaker*, London.

A Chance for Thinkers.

Le Libéraire, of Paris, France, proposes a "Congress of Correspondence," inviting the libertarians of the world, and especially libertarian journals and periodicals, to express an opinion on the following nine questions:

1. What do you understand by Anarchism?
2. What is your ideal of a future society, and what will be, according to your ideas, the society of to-morrow?
3. What, in your opinion, will be the modifications society will have to undergo before your ideal of a society is reached?
4. What are the means you consider as best in order to bring about such ideal society? If you believe in reforms, which are the reforms you believe possible to obtain, and by what means or actions do you propose to obtain these reforms?
5. Do you consider it possible to form an alliance between the present different factions in the field of philosophy, and, in case you affirm this, on what basis do you support your assertion?
6. Do you think a compatible alliance could exist between the different factions of Socialism?
7. If you have renounced Anarchism since you have been an adherent to it at one time, what are your reasons for having taken such a course?
8. What, in your estimation, is the line of individual conduct as the most consistent with your theories under the present state of society?
9. What, in your opinion, is the actual situation of Anarchy to-day, what has it thus far accomplished, and what has the future in store for it?

Since there are more or less apparent irreconcilable differences in the libertarian movements of the world, the question naturally arises, whether these different schools of thought are destined to remain indefinitely in a more or less hostile attitude toward each other, or whether they can be made susceptible to the idea of combining their forces for the common advancement of humanity—a thing "most consummately to be wished for."

In soliciting answers to the above questions, *Le Libéraire* very properly pleads with correspondents to omit all personalities or scurrilous allusions. We discuss theories, not individuals, and he who resorts to personalities only proves one thing, *i. e.*, that he has a weak case.

F. CAMBENSY.

Erratum.—Among other typographical errors in No. 12 of *FREE SOCIETY*, a distorted sentence appears on the first page, third column, last paragraph, fourth and fifth lines, which should read: "Whose aim was the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of freedom," etc.

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From the Lips of Liberty.

Nations are factions.

* * *

Progress is a disturber.

* * *

Wisdom and work bring freedom.

* * *

A dead heart cannot beat with hope.

* * *

Liberty's sunlight dazzles the weak-eyed.

* * *

War creates conquerors, but not comrades.

* * *

The social spirit is the backbone of freedom.

* * *

The great burst the bonds which keep men small.

* * *

Faith in man is more practical than "faith in God."

* * *

Polygamy is part of the much greater evil, monopoly.

* * *

Treason against liberty is the only undeniable treason.

* * *

The State often apologizes; but liberty never takes anything back.

* * *

The trusts are preparing to hide themselves behind the lawyers.

* * *

General Leonard Wood is "blameless," and now murder may don gold lace.

* * *

If mere piled up words made truth, the lies would have triumphed long ago.

* * *

In three days recently nine Negroes were lynched in Arkansas. White men commit no crimes.

FREE SOCIETY

Worship is the beginning of superstition and narrowness. Liberty herself must not be made a goddess.

* * *

The journals which are favorable to John Turner are favorable to liberty, tho often without knowing the fact.

* * *

The only universal and invariable rule of conduct is this: Respect the liberty of your fellowmen, and keep your own.

* * *

The deceased duke of Cambridge was said to be a "great admirer of women." Had he not been a duke he would have been called a lecherous wretch.

* * *

Whenever a human heart, upon hearing the truth about authority, aspires to be free, those who have eyes to see may know that a man is born anew.

* * *

From mere shame, or miserable fear of detection at times, the administration at Washington concedes something to the people. May their demands eternally increase.

* * *

Anarchism is the announcement by the best that is in man that the worst that is in him shall not by any means whatever determine his condition or development. It breaks the chains.

* * *

The people of Paris have done something for progress by refusing to have the guillotine set up for executions anywhere in their city. President Loubet has therefore commuted two death sentences.

* * *

The folly which makes every man either a culprit or a policeman, the folly of lawmaking, is largely responsible for the estimates which human beings place upon their characters. We are better than we know.

* * *

Rapacity on the part of German traders caused the revolution among the Hereros of Eastern Africa. Thus the story is repeated which civilization has ever told when it comes in contact with simple and trusting men.

* * *

Social Democratic votes serve one purpose principally: that of making men think that the day of miracles has not passed. What a pleasure it is to put a piece of scribbled paper in a box and then trustingly fold your hands!

* * *

The Colorado mining regions are again to be ruled by the military, whom the mine owners will pay for their time. Governor Pinhead—I mean Governor Peabody—has been promised a renomination for his part in this conspiracy. Law and order!

* * *

Social evolution has many bypaths and turnings, many retreats and circuitous ways; but that its work will be to make man free, and wise in freedom, is the conviction of those who can find no other reason for the social life than that it helps manhood.

* * *

The war between the Japanese and Russian governments is carried on by the myriad slaves of both, who find a very glory in kissing the rod, now that their masters are quarrelling over a fat privilege. There is one comforting thought: men are not always fools.

* * *

All freedoms depend upon one another: Without moral freedom there is no other freedom; without religious freedom there is no

other freedom; without economic freedom there is no other freedom; and without sexual freedom there is no other freedom. We are free when all slavery is at an end.

* * *

Gold deposits of great value are said to have been found in Tibet. If the report is true, Tibet will soon be occupied by a host of British, who will "develop" the country in the latest and most approved manner; that is, by laying its green places waste, and reducing its people to metal grubbing slaves.

* * *

That the trades unions present a fine field for libertarian propaganda cannot be doubted, when it is remembered that their spirit is not expressed in a useless ballot, but rather in strikes, original and sympathetic. Elements of authority they have, and many of their officials are corrupt; but the evil in them is incidental, while their good is fundamental.

* * *

When he reached Naples recently, the emperor of Germany received a message from the king of Italy, ending with the words "Your affectionate friend and loyal ally." Etiquette puts a great strain upon the truth at times. No doubt the king of Italy shared the kaiser's real feelings, which, expressed in words, might sound like, "I wonder how I could conquer you and your country."

* * *

The love of freedom has been held up in all time as the measure of a man's, as a nation's, glory; it is only when that love threatens to suspend a constitution or inaugurate a revolution that its expression is called treason; and then a Patrick Henry or one of his kind dares to be treasonable, perhaps, and defend liberty. When the love of freedom is adjudged right or wrong according to its degree, truth must laugh.

* * *

A British librarian declares that "Society" reads more of Kipling's poetry than that of all other poets taken together. Bored and dyspeptic men and women, whose every wish is anticipated by flunkies, and who can find absolutely "nothing to do," must, if they would read anything at all, turn to strong literary food, and Kipling's erratic lyrics, redolent of bluster, barbarism and blood, doubtless serve to rouse them a little where other writings would fail.

AMERICUS.

To William Randolph Hearst

Your love of labor was in full blast to-day, indeed. The *Chronicle* gave the news of the release on bail of John Turner from the iron cage. Of course, no iron cage was mentioned by the *Chronicle*, but then they do not profess any high or deep affection for labor, like you do. Your papers, however, did not even give the news, and if your professions were genuine, you would have devoted the whole of the front page to such an event, letting the butchery business of the Japs and Slavs take a second place. And if you were not man enough to acknowledge the highest human and humane ideal—Anarchism, which John Turner embraces—well, you could have sheltered your cowardly attitude behind the fact that Turner is an organizer of labor.

The owners of great newspapers and their scribes of to-day are merely dollar hunters and dollar worshippers. And labor's eyes are on the Turner case and note your lack of backbone, consequently your chance of being president of the United States is not worth a tinker's dam.

You can be elected on one line only, and no one but myself will show you the way. If you ask me I shall tell you, and will not take a cent for the information.

KINGHORN-JONES.

By the Wayside.

"Experience has not established the fact that any class of men may safely be trusted to govern other classes," the editor of the New York Times frankly admits, which, however, does not remove the fact that the editors of our dailies are always considerably behind the times; for the Anarchists made that "startling discovery" decades ago.

* * *

At last the lawmakers have succeeded in demonstrating to us poor mortals that they are trying to benefit—themselves. They are going to raise not only their own salaries from \$5,000 to \$8,000, but correspondingly increase the "compensation" of the president from \$50,000 to \$75,000. There was another bill in the House asking for the increase of the letter carriers' salaries, which "was defeated by resort to a parliamentary quibble," according to the New York Journal. This paper then goes over the records of Congress and makes the discovery that "labor has always asked in vain," which is more than Gompers has so far found out.

* * *

That governments exist for the purpose of protecting life and property, that is, of the rich and feeble, has again been amply demonstrated in Colorado. About a hundred miners were driven out of town by a mob of "law-abiding citizens," who threatened the victims with death if they should attempt to return to their homes and families. Martial law was immediately in operation to prevent the return of the exiled and outraged union men, who had announced their intention of going back under protection of the injunction they had secured. The press reports this outrage without comment, which again goes to show that violence is only decried if it is applied by the toilers in the attempt to rid themselves of some of the burdens put on their backs by the drones of society.

* * *

Since the goody-goody Christians and legislators of this blissful country are wrestling with the problem of polygamy and tyrannicide, some of them have turned to the Bible for enlightenment on these perplexing questions, and they find themselves now in an embarrassing predicament. "Polygamy must be accepted as a legitimate religious custom by all who accept the Bible as the actual word of God," says a Detroit minister, who has since renounced the "holy writ"; and Mr. Moses Oppenheimer has shown by numerous quotations that "the doctrine is laid down in the Bible to kill tyrants and exterminate their families by fair means or foul." The next thing in order is, of course, to suppress the Bible, for this book also claims that peace and happiness reigned among the people when there was no government in the land.

* * *

The tyranny and atrocities perpetrated by the military and civil authorities against the Colorado miners have caused the Denver Post to reflect upon the demerits of government, which is Anarchistic and good food for thought. The gist of the editor's frank admission is that all officials, high and low, act "in the interests of themselves and their cliques." It is not right, but it is human nature, and therefore the courts were instituted as a bulwark against human passion to the encroachments upon personal liberty and public rights. "But alas!" the editor laments, "judges, like other men, are only human. They, too, are swayed by passion, influenced by party fealty, subjected to the appeals of friends; and they, too, may be cowards, moral or physical, and they, as well as other officers, may regard their immediate welfare as more important than principle or human rights." Thus the

editor comes to the conclusion that law is merely a means to an end of those who are in power, and that a judge who here and there shows nerve and courage enough to stand for principle should be looked upon as a hero. Such is the indictment of government by a conservative daily, which dares to state the facts as it finds them.

* * *

Our Socialist friends raise a howl of indignation and condemnation when the toilers are discharged by the capitalist employers for partisan reasons. But the report of the Socialist congress, held in Brussels, Belgium, shows that such discrimination is a very trifling matter in comparison with the tyranny exercised by the Socialist co-operative organizations. The following clause found the unanimous approval of the delegates:

The co-operative organizations should guarantee their employees permanent employment, grant them the minimum trades union wages, and the eight-hour work day in all establishments, and consider them as fellow workers and not as subordinates. The officers and employees of the co-operative institutions have to be members of the trades unions, and remain within them not only as dues paying members, but principally as agitators. They should use their leisure hours granted to them for the study of the party program and of all social questions and always offer their services to the party. To secure employment in any of the co-operative institutions a worker must be a member of the Socialist Labor party for at least three years, must be organized as a trades unionist as well as in the political labor party, be a regular subscriber to a Socialist party paper, and must have given evidence of his sincerity towards the party.

The report further states that the Socialist party "is getting its main revenues for party propaganda and agitation from parts of the enormous profits wielded by the co-operative societies," all of which goes to show that the capitalist exploiters are the personification of modesty as compared with the Socialist employers.

* * *

On another page appears a synopsis of comrade John Turner's lecture, "Signs of the Times," which he delivered at Cooper Union under the auspices of the Free Speech League on March 24, which was vigorously applauded by the large audience. But both the press and the police were sadly disappointed. "The dozens of bluecoats who lingered around the entrances of the hall were given no opportunity to prevent a violent outbreak of reds," and "the lecture was not so radical" lamented the press. Nothing of a sensational nature occurred, and thus the dailies were robbed of the conspicuous headlines which usually induce the curious to rid themselves of their pennies.

"Do you believe the assassination of rulers tends to help the cause of Anarchism to any extent?" Comrade Turner was asked after he finished his lecture, and the reporters took to their pencils.

"You would have to go a long way back into history to make a thoro survey of that subject," the speaker replied. "Whether, if you take all such cases in history into consideration on a broad philosophical basis, it would appear that the welfare of society had been advanced, I am not in a position to say.

"The advocacy of these things I believe to be harmful, and I am glad of this opportunity to say so. Any one that begins the advocacy of such things suggests their commission to other people. And the man who remains in a place of safety and suggests violence to others I believe to be a coward."

"Do you believe in violence?" another auditor asked.

"We Anarchists," said Turner, "are the only people who believe that society can be carried on without organized violence. If there have

been individuals who have committed violence, remember their training and surroundings. Stung by seeing force applied on every side under organized government, they have, after all, applied only the homœopathic principle, believing a small dose of poison would effect a cure."

"Why do you not believe in independent political action?" some one wanted to know.

"Because I do not believe in any political action, independent or otherwise. Each party claims to be independent. Political action stifles individuality and the spirit of initiative. Majority rule retards progress, for the masses are always reactionary. The world is moved by spontaneous individual activity. Anarchism implies the right of the individual to voluntary association. The idea of my Socialist friends is that capital is being concentrated in fewer hands until it will be in the hands of a very few, with whom it will be easy to deal. The truth is, capital is increasing so that the number of the rich are continually on the increase. This is what makes the social problem more and more complex. The number of parasites in society is growing. Almost every worker can now carry a parasite on his back. I am also a Socialist, only I am a little more of a Socialist than those adhering to Socialist parties."

INTERLOPER.

From Far and Near.

John Turner lectured to a large audience in Philadelphia on March 27, in Odd Fellows' Temple, Broad st.

The initial number of *Freeland*, a critical journal of economics and politics, is announced for April 15. Alexander Horr, 816 Broadway, New York, is the editor and publisher.

In London, England, the Jewish comrades are now publishing Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" in jargon. The book can be ordered from L. Baron, 9 Pelham st., Brick Lane, London E., England.

God's terrestrial manager of the Pennsylvania coal fields has shut down some of the collieries in order to maintain high prices, notwithstanding the mild weather and the consequent reduction of demand. Had the miners quit work in order to maintain the old wage scale our guardians of the public welfare, the dailies, would immediately have raised a hue and cry about the "injury to business" and the great loss of wages, but when the Baers and Rockefellers fill their pockets at the expense of the toilers the press observes conspicuous silence.

The Russian revolutionary Socialists vigorously protest against the attitude of their German brethren regarding the suppression of the Hereros in Africa, who, according to Dr. Stueber, director of the colonial department, "revolt because they cannot forget their former freedom." In their sincerity the Russian Socialists cannot comprehend why the German Socialist representatives should not have protested against the subjugation of the people in Africa who are fighting for their independence.

An incident which occurred about three months ago in a large government factory in the suburb of Ekaterinoslaf clearly shows of what stuff the Russian workers are made. One day the management posted notices in the iron workers' department that their wages would be decreased. After 6 p. m. the workers gathered at the office and demanded that the notices be taken off the walls, as they would not accept lower wages. The director insulted the workers, for which he got a good thrashing, after which the rebellious toilers emptied the company stores, burned down the office and the residences of the officers, and when the troops arrived the rioters were sound asleep.

Gorilla Talk.

In the Gaboon country I had sauntered one day, alone and unarmed, into the primeval forest, all absorbed in my thoughts.

Traversing a magnificent series of floral glens with crystal brooks, moss-carpeted nooks of retreat and rest, and lofty domes of arboreal architecture, covered by a sunlit roof of verdure allowing only occasional glimpses of the skies to remind one of the outside world, my eyes suddenly met an object that transfixed me. Leaning against the trunk of an immense ebony tree, a full grown gorilla was quietly watching my movements. Tho his aspect terrified me so that my first impulse was to seek safety in flight, yet on looking again I perceived that he was quietly and pacifically regarding me with almost a paternal interest. I felt riveted to the ground, and was only able to clatter my teeth and tremble in fear of what might come next.

"Come and sit down," said the gorilla, beckoning me to the mossy bank he stood on. "You need not fear anything from me. I am not brute enough to take the life of defenseless creatures, as man does."

I hesitatingly advanced, and both of us sat down at the foot of the tree on a thick carpet of soft moss. The ape looked me all over for quite a while, and without saying a word. Then he felt my arms, legs and chest, and, in a compassionate voice, mixed with a certain degree of envy and contempt, he said slowly:

"So you are a human being?"

Somewhat ashamed, I answered, "Yes."

"Well, if you are, I should judge that you're not a particularly pretty specimen after all the centuries of civilization and culture you've had. How small your stature, how soft your muscles, and how frail your bones, and with a smooth skin that the least sting of an insect can inflame. And such a narrow and flat chest—how can you breathe properly?"

And, shaking his head, he continued: "And I am thought to be your inferior in everything, eh?"

Breaking my perplexed silence, he said gently, bowing his head to me: "Let us see what you have done since the day that—"

"What day?" I asked anxiously.

"The day on which, in a moment of foolishness, I made spring forth from our family that cursed human race."

"Well, yes; it has accomplished many things since."

"Many contemptible things; is it not so?"

"I don't wish to boast too much."

"Tell me, then, about some of the things you have accomplished."

"Well, ever since we began to propagate on this earth, we always had the desire to create religions and patriotism; we therefore invented the priests to serve some of us, and the soldiers to defend the others."

"Yes, you invented war when you could have lived free and happy without it, as, for instance, in this beautiful sylvan dell, with fruits of all sorts abounding; or by the breezy side of a lake with fish and fowl in plenty; or in the warm mountain caves, with cattle and game for your necessities all around, and yourself free to roam wherever you chose."

"Alas, I believe that man had to be deceived by lies and kept in degradation and poverty in order that we might rule him."

"Yes, you have made a nice mess of your faculties. I don't know exactly what you understand by religion and patriotism; but I can only too plainly see the track of blood and destruction they have left in their path—hideous and worse than fevers and the pest. As for your priests and your soldiers, I have seen them occasionally in the wilderness, doling out 'civilization'; the former brandishing a terrible

mace they called a cross, and the latter disemboweling the defenceless natives, sometimes murdering all they met, men, animals, plants, and destroying huts and provisions. I never saw anything like their murderous mania in all the kingdom of nature—dire destruction for the love of it."

I hung my head in shame. "It is true," I said by way of excuse, "we have not been very fortunate in the choice of our means to succeed, and so far the issue—humanity—has in reality only resulted in a cry of pain and despair all over the earth."

The gorilla appeared greatly agitated, and without deigning to regard me, would only utter, now in ridicule, now in sadness, the exclamation: "Oh, the fool! Oh, the imbecile! What chaos!"

After a while he said bitterly: "Are you going to continue to live in imbecility, in crime—in this torture?"

"What would you have me do?" said I.

"Coarse and stupid creature! Why don't you wipe out all this confusion and suffering you have created?"

"The confusers are too many; it is impossible to cope with them. From one pole to another humanity has been poisoned by the lie; I am chained down by the chain of my own forging; my hands are tied—it is too late to amend."

The gorilla shrugged his shoulders and in a rude voice exclaimed: "It's because you don't want to! You're too cowardly! You are lacking in energy. Your heart is as weak as your body is feeble—debased wretch! I am only a simple gorilla, and little versed in your histories, your doctrines, and your morals; but nature has taught me to comprehend things—and your priests and soldiers are but phantoms in spite of the immemorial time during which you have worshipped and feared them—they are an absurdity! Too often I've heard all this, and I am tired. Wake up and be doing something, nevertheless."

Feeling uneasy under the humiliating blows of the gorilla's argument, and endeavoring to bolster up my confidence, I drew myself up and expostulated:

"But we have done some admirable things"

But the gorilla soon cut short my efforts; his look of abject pity made me feel smaller than ever.

"Enough," said he. "I don't want to know the 'admirable' things you have done, because as you and yours have not been able to rid yourself of priestcraft and patriotism and all the bestiality that is connected therewith, it is clear that you have done nothing at all. Here, take some of the fruits that I have gathered from the trees, and say nothing more."

I accepted, and devoured it in voluntary silence.—Translated from the French of Mirbeau.

Living Thoughts.

The late Northern Securities decision of the United States Supreme Court affords a very nice illustration of the basis upon which law and justice are founded in this country. It is called the decision of the court, and it becomes the law of the land; and yet it was not the decision of the court. It was the decision of only five of the court, and hardly that, for Justice Brewer did not agree with his colleagues, tho he consented to what they did. The other four men, just as able and just as good judges every way, were entirely ignored and treated as if they never had existed. That is the way that decisions in court are reached, and it shows the shabby foundation on which justice rests, in this as well as in other countries. Is it any wonder that a great many people in this country have no very high regard for law, and no

great reverence for justice? Majority rule is the most offensive and most tyrannical of all the known forms of government.

* * *

The *World* severely criticizes and condemns the president for his presumption in ordering a ruling made on pensions, in the Pension Department. In this case, as often happens where questions arise, both sides are in the right. It is true, as the *World* claims, that it does not come within the president's province to make laws, and yet it is a fact that, as the world goes, presidents do make laws, and a good many of them. In all government, theory is one thing and practice another. A very large proportion of our American laws are not made by congress or the State. All the rulings of the departments are laws; all the decrees of courts are laws; all the ordinances of subordinate bodies are laws. As a matter of fact, the pension department has been sending out rulings, which are known to be true laws for a long time. Why could it not carry the principle a little farther and make the ruling in the case of age? It is true the president has taken a long step, but it is on a route much travelled.

* * *

All of the writer's late works—including "Radical Wrongs," "Life Without a Master," "New Dispensation," and the last, "Living Thoughts"—have been devoted to Life Questions, to the greatest and grandest of all, the question: *How to Live*. Few are interested in this question, because there are so many other questions that are considered more entertaining and believed to be more important. People want to sing and dance all day long—they want to enjoy themselves and do like other folks. Why do we have so many almshouses and homes for the friendless, always filled to overflowing? Why do so many, so very many, fill paupers' graves? Why are there so many asylums and hospitals all filled from basement to garret—with crazy folks, feeble-minded folks, sick folks, helpless folks and especially with folks who are without either means or friends? How did they get there? Because they could not go anywhere else, and nobody would have them around. Is it easy to get there? No, it is hard to get there, because every room is crowded. . . . Anybody can get to the poorhouse—if there is a vacancy. But really the friendless are not wanted even at the poorhouse, except by the keeper, and with him it is a matter of interest. People are allowed to go to the poorhouse, simply because it would not look well to stand by and see them freeze or starve. However, the taxpayer is always glad to hear that one more inmate has died a natural death and his name is stricken from the roll. It makes taxes less. Let it never be forgotten that a person who is penniless and able to do nothing is never wanted by anybody—except the undertaker. We wish our voice were louder, or rather that people's hearing were better. But as it is, it does no good either to talk or write. If we had the trump of the Angel Gabriel, we do not believe it would do one bit of good. Some people sleep so soundly that you cannot wake them up. Nothing arouses them except hunger, or a desire to enjoy themselves.

We are in the habit of speaking disparagingly of savages, and we are amazed at their ignorance and want of culture, but it is well that the public should be reminded that savages get along nicely without poorhouses, hospitals, asylums for the feeble minded, asylums for the blind, insane asylums, and even without laws, prisons, schools or churches—*simply because they do not need them*. The American Indian is a perfect man. The American gentleman is an imperfect man. That is the leading difference between the two.

J. WILSON.

Echoes.

I do not fear the free woman. I fear the enslaved woman. The man who fears to see his mate walk the earth a free and untrammelled being is himself at heart a slave, unworthy of his mother's agony.—Franklin H. Wentworth.

It should be borne in mind that our marriage system, like our religious and our governmental system, is only one out of many. It is only for the time being, and eventually it will disappear. When woman achieves her independence, as she undoubtedly will some day, she will not tolerate for a moment any husband and master. She will want to retain her name and have her own property, and when it comes to the matter of service she will not consent to be the slave of any human being.—J. Wilson.

Dr. Isador Singer writes to the *New Era* that Agnosticism is making rapid progress in the Jewish quarter. He says: "Strange as it may seem to the uninitiated, it is nevertheless a fact that the disappearance of the religious element in the make-up of Jewish life proceeds much more rapidly with our Russian brethren than with us slow thinking Ashkenazim and Sephardim. They jump almost without transition from extreme orthodox to Agnosticism, or, what is still worse, to absolute indifference in religious matters. They quickly arrive at the conviction that the great metaphysical problems which could not be solved by Rambour, Spinoza, Mendelssohn and Lazarus will not find their solution at the hands of the young men who are being prepared for their ministry by the Jewish theological seminaries of New York and Cincinnati."—*Truth Seeker*.

A Last Word.

I am quite content to allow the group supervision controversy to rest where it is, leaving the readers of *FREE SOCIETY* each to determine for him or herself the merits of the positions taken by Comrade Fox and myself. The issues have been plainly presented; our differences have been made clear as they could be made; and there is no advantage that I can see in further reiteration. I shall make no rejoinder to the *restatements* of Comrade Fox. But there is a matter of some importance, which I will deal with briefly; my treatment of which will show how loosely our comrade thinks, and make it clear that it is as easy for him to misconceive me as it is to think loosely. For, in essential *new* matters, presented in No. 457, he has made assumptions respecting my views for which there is no basis, either in what I have said or in any implications of what I have said.

In his second paragraph Comrade Fox states that he expected me to defend my definition of Anarchism. I gave no definition of Anarchism anywhere in any of my articles; for the excellent reason that a definition was agreed upon for purposes of argument in the beginning, that implied by the term Anarchist Communism. In this same paragraph he states by implication that voluntary submission is equivalent to freedom. A race of slaves, then, a race of men willing to be slaves (the kind of men that Comrade Fox and all the rest of us are trying to arouse), is not governed, but is free! Well, this is news indeed to us poor young, and undeveloped Anarchists. Comrade Fox will have to go a little deeper for his distinctions between liberty and authority.

In his third paragraph our friend draws comparisons between group supervision and the supervision of instructors, foremen, and the like, who are developing the minds or muscles of the young. He says, too, that, "Not till the instructor gets the government behind him to enforce submission to his supervision does he violate the principles of Anarchism." I thank Comrade Fox for that admission (tho he

doubtless makes it unintentionally), for that is what I have been asking him for all along. Does he not remember now, and does the reader not remember, that his originally proposed group supervision of "Jones" carried with it the power to force Jones out of the editorial chair? On his own admission, now, a group having the power "to enforce submission" to its "supervision" violates the principles of Anarchism. Before Comrade Fox judges anyone again he should make sure that his capabilities are beyond suspicion. And this complete confusion and breakdown in his argument he cannot afford to ignore; for in it he concedes all that I originally contended for, and brings the controversy to an end. I did not expect Comrade Fox to concede my point in this manner. Now the words with which I opened this article are explained.

In his final paragraph Comrade Fox states that I am opposed to group propaganda. Another misrepresentation! I am a member of a group myself, and believe most thoroughly in its work. What I do oppose is group "government." To all that a group can legitimately do, as I explained in my second article, I give most cordial assent.

W. F. BARNARD.

The Earth and the Human Race.

There are still millions of people who entertain the idea that property in land is proper and perfectly just, altho even the ancient philosophers repudiate such a notion, as the average man can see in the Bible, which says that "land should neither be bought nor sold."

"You trespass on my land," said an English lord when he met a workman crossing the field. "Your land?" queried the worker. "How did you get it?" "Well, I got it from my father." "Where did he get it from?" "Why, he got it from his father." "And how did his father get it?" "He fought for it, you dunce!" the lord replied proudly. "Well," said the worker calmly, "take off your coat; I am ready to fight for it."

This may be a primitive lesson in sociology, but it is perfectly correct and to the point. Property in land is entirely an arbitrary arrangement, upheld by violence, i. e., maintained by virtue of ignorance and the police club.

Can the idea of retaining land by purchase be justified from a biological point of view? Certainly not. The science of biology, to which I can refer only briefly and superficially, teaches us that there is a close relationship between the earth and the human race; that life originated in a minute cell—protoplasm or a jelly-like substance, which contains oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, albumen, and a particle of carbon, the latter of which is the very life of that single cell. This cell, or the smallest thing endowed with life, is called infusoria, and is visible to the naked eye, and much smaller than a pin's head. In the course of untold millions of years this infusoria has evolved into a human being. In other words, in the course of its transformation that small creature developed into a large biological tree (if I may use the term), and, like an ordinary tree, it began to give forth branches, namely, large and small jelly-like fishes, vertebra, semi-amphibia, amphibia, reptilia, lizards, crocodiles, birds, and lastly, all sorts of mammalia, which finally reaches the present form of a human being—"the crown of creation," as the naturalists are inclined to call it.

Another jelly-like substance (infusoria) developed into a botanical tree, producing branches, such as sea grass, sea weeds, sponges, sea vegetables, etc., finally creeping out on land, diversifying its vegetation from the most infinitesimal leaf of grass to the magnificent California trees. In short, to quote Professor Huxley, in studying the origin of a human be-

ing and the origin of a tree we come to the conclusion that both the tree and the human being originated from a jelly-like substance.

The biological tree or the organic world has been and is assisted by certain processes of nature, such as reproduction, inheritance, adaptation, natural selection, modification, environment, the struggle for existence, etc. The science of chemistry, on the other hand, verifies the theory of evolution in claiming that the human being is a combination of the chemicals which can be found in the earth, or, in other words, whatever you find in the human body you find also in mother earth.

See, then, that the earth is the original mother of the human race, and therefore its members—sons and daughters—are justified in maintaining themselves upon mother earth without let or hindrance. There is no reason why we should pay for the use of land any more than for air and sunshine in the desert of Sahara.

Every human being is the natural owner of the earth, and is justified in claiming enough land for his maintenance. We have, therefore, to free the land—by peaceful means if we can, by force if we must—by the same means that it is now withheld from the people. Then let us live and prosper on it, and try to assist those laws or principles which developed us into the present form of intelligent human beings.

J. W. R.

Literature.

LE MARIAGE CHEZ TOUS LES PEUPLES (Marriage Among All Peoples). By Henri d'Alméras. Published by C. Reinwald, Schleicher freres & Co., 15, rue des Saints-Pères, Paris, France. Price, 3 fr. 50.

The innumerable forms of marriage among all peoples of the world, which the author involves in a knot somewhat arbitrary at times, are distinguished by four periods: The savage régime, where woman is the prey which submits to man who has conquered her by violence as much as by love; the barbarian régime, where the woman is a piece of merchandise, protected by law or custom as a piece of property more precious than all others; the hierarchy régime, where the husband has the authority of a father, but is also expected to show tenderness; and, lastly, the civil régime, where marriage becomes a civil act in which the woman finds more guaranties and liberties than in the preceding periods. These forms are not, however, always successive, but often exist simultaneously side by side. They had for their original basis the scorn of woman we find in all ancient religions.

The conceptions the different people had of marriage can be learned from the ceremonies with which they surround it; the study of these ceremonies, often very poetic, has been made by the author in a very complete fashion, which renders his book very interesting.

But to study an institution it does not suffice to relate only the exterior forms of it, and in the second part of the book the author shows in what measure marriage was subjected to the morals of the people, and that it has been menaced by the extension of celibacy, the worship of money, the growing desire for emancipation of woman, adultery and divorce; and the inductions and conclusions of the author will certainly find many opponents.

Taken as a whole this book is interesting and instructive; it will be read with pleasure and benefit by those who are familiar with the French language C. T. B.

The law is always mute and inactive when something that is good is to be rewarded or nobleness to be awakened, but it has immediately voice and strength when there is something to be condemned and punished.—Multa-tuli.

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The Radical Club, devoted to free discussion of political and social questions. Meetings open to the public every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, ERIS HALL, 168 West 23rd Str., cor. 7th Ave. April 6, John Turner will speak. April 13, Hugh O. Pentecost will address the audience.

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

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

FOR CHICAGO.

A concert and ball will be given by the Liberty Group, Saturday, April 2, 8 p. m., at Stangel's Hall, 235 Western Ave., near Van Buren St. W. F. Barnard will also deliver a short address.

The prize-contest for FREE SOCIETY will also take place on this evening. All comrades and friends should be present. Admission free.

FOR CLEVELAND.

Free Society Group meets every Sunday, 3:30 p. m., at 223 Columbus St. Lectures and free discussion.

FOR PHILADELPHIA.

Emma Goldman will speak Sunday, April 10, 7:30 p. m., at Odd Fellows Temple, Cor. Broad and Cherry Sts. The lectures will be preceded by a musical program and followed by free discussion.

Most's Historical Lectures

will take place at Terrace Lyceum, 206 East Broadway, New York, every Saturday, 8 p. m.

Book-List.

"Essays on the Social Problem".....	H. Addis	05
"The New Hedonism".....	Grant Allen	05
"God and the State".....	Bakunin	05
The Same. London edition.....		10
"Whitman's Ideal Democracy and Other Writings".....	Helena Born	1.00
"Prodigal Daughter; or, The Price of Virtue".....	Rachel Campbell	25
"Love's Coming of Age".....	Edward Carpenter	1.00
"Evolution of the Family".....	Jonathan Mayo Crane	05
"Conduct and Profession".....	Clarence S. Darrow	10
"Crime and Criminals".....		10
"Realism in Literature and Art".....		05
"Resist Not Evil." Cloth.....		75
"Tolstoy".....		10
"Crime and Punishment".....	Voltaire	10
"The Worm Turns".....		10
"The Emancipation of Society from Government".....	Dallan Doyle	05
"Roosevelt, Czolgosz, and Anarchism".....	Jay Fox	03
"Moribund Society and Anarchy." Cloth, 60c.....	Jean Grave	25
"Origin of Anarchism".....	C. L. James	05
"Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal".....	Peter Kropotkin	05
"Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles".....		05
"An Appeal to the Young".....		05
"Anarchist Morality".....		05
"Expropriation".....		05
"Field, Factory and Workshop".....		45
"Law and Authority".....		05
"Memoirs of a Revolutionist".....		2.00
"Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution".....		2.00
"Organized Vengeance".....		03
"Paris Commune".....		05
"The State: Its Historic Role".....		10
"The Wage System. Revolutionary Government".....		05
"Socialism and Politics".....		05
"Government Analyzed".....	Kelso	50
"The Economics of Anarchy".....	Dyer D. Lum	25
"Anarchy." (Is It All a Dream?) Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....	Malatesta	10
"A Talk About Anarchist Communism Between Two Workers".....		05
"A Chambermaid's Diary".....	Octave Mirbeau	50
"Do You Want Free Speech?".....	James F. Morton, Jr.	10
"The Deistic Pestilence".....	John Most	05
"God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition".....	W. Nevill	05
"The Pyramid of Tyranny".....	F. Domela Nieuwehuis	05
"A Cityless and Countryless World: An Outline of Practical Co-operative Individualism." Cloth \$1.....	Henry Olerich	50
"Mating or Marrying, Which?".....	W. H. Van Ornum	05
"Sine Qua Non; or, The Core of Religion".....	Dr. Geo. Pyburn	10
"Evolution and Revolution".....	Reclus	05
"Pure Economy".....	J. H. Rowell	10
"Pages of Socialist History".....	W. Tcherkesoff	30
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