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# MOTHER EARTH

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## OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

Judge Rosalsky, of New York, is achieving notoriety by the equanimity with which he imposes the most brutally severe sentences upon—poor, friendless defendants.

Recently he sentenced a man to fifteen years, whose "crime," properly considered, was mere disorderly conduct.

Last October, when the mention of Czolgosz's name by some of our comrades created a panic among police and bourgeois souls, this same Rosalsky volunteered the information that if the arrested Anarchists were to appear before him, "they would get a fair trial; but if convicted, they would be punished to the full extent of the law."

A hangman in the garb of a judge! And yet a judge overflowing with consideration and mercy—when the right kind of defendants stand before the bar.

The theatrical trust, managed by Klaw and Erlanger, was charged with illegally suppressing competition, persecution of "obnoxious" actors and the suppression of unprofitable plays.

The charges were dismissed by Judge Rosalsky. The art monopolists, who deal in art as the butcher deals in meat, found mercy at the hands of the wise judge. Bring but rich, influential culprits before the bar and Judge Rosalsky will prove that his heart overflows with kindness, compassion and mercy for the unfortunate defendants.

Our statistics as to the "wealth of the country"—the absorption of monster fortunes by individual families and corporations—remain incomplete if we fail to count in the army of victims sacrificed on the altar of greed and profit.

The following report from one of our industrial hells—Pittsburg—throws some light on the cost of capitalistic production:

"The grim and tragic side of Pittsburg's industrial supremacy, as reflected in the county coroner's log book of violent deaths, is beginning to arouse a feeling of horror at the frightful cost of the wealth which its millionaires are piling up.

"When the coroner closed his log for 1906 he found that in the year he had been called on to record a total of 2,660 deaths. Of these 919 were the result directly of accident in mill, mine, or on railroad, the industries most essential to the city's progress. Sufficient more of the total number of deaths in the city were indirectly attributed to the same causes to make more than 50 per cent. of all the deaths the cost in human life of the steel and money made in Pittsburg for 1906.

"Appalling as these figures are, the chances are that a new record will be established this year. Already in the five months that have elapsed, 1,095 deaths have been recorded in the coroner's log, and of these 344 came suddenly and violently in the mills and mines and on the railroads that gridiron the city. In the same period last year, the total number of deaths recorded was 1,015, and those laid at the door of the city's industries numbered 340.

"While in the aggregate these figures may seem abnormal they are recorded so regularly that their magnitude is scarcely realized. The average number of deaths reported to the coroner is about 250 a month, and there is little variation from this from year to year.

"Comparing the loss of life by accidents with the tonnage and production of the Pittsburg district, one life has been snuffed out for every 50,000 tons of coal that is shipped, and the annual shipment is about 50,000,000 tons. For every 3,800 cars that carry freight out of or into Pittsburg some soul has given up the ghost. This is exclusive of cars that are carrying freight through to other points.

"Every 7,600 tons of the 7,000,000 tons annual production of iron and steel have been put out at the cost of the life of one of the manipulators somewhere in its manufacture, and of the 800,000 tons annual output of steel rails every 87,000 tons have been put upon the market only after some one of its producers has laid down his life."

Such reports often read: "Burned by molten metal and died."

In what cause do these unfortunates suffer such a terrible death? Merely to prolong their poverty, to per-

petuate their own and their progeny's slavery. How much more noble and heroic—and more practical—were it if they would stake their lives in the cause of their emancipation from industrial slavery!

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Canada is about to perpetrate one of the most unspeakable outrages—ostensibly in the name of civilization, in reality because of governmental violence and greedy land speculation.

Recent reports from Winnipeg state that the Canadian government has finally decided to expel the Doukhobors from the lands assigned to them in 1899.

The Doukhobors are splendid agriculturists; they have successfully cultivated a considerable part of the land, and now they are to be despoiled of their homes and the fruits of their labor, in the manner practiced by our own railroad and land sharks.

One is reminded of the story told by Frank Norris in "The Octopus": the fight of the California farmers with the railroads who are wont to claim the "right of ownership" as soon as the value of the land has become enhanced by successful cultivation.

But while the California farmers, conscious of their strength, resisted by force of arms the robbery of their land, the meek in spirit Doukhobors will be set upon and driven from their homesteads, like the lepers of old, without offering resistance.

Knouted and persecuted in Russia, victims of Cossacks and starvation—all because they refused to murder at the Czar's behest—they finally sought, with Tolstoy's assistance, a haven on Canadian soil.

There they toiled industriously and successfully, as farmers. But the government, greedy of the improved lands, stamped them as criminals. Their worst crime is thus described in a report from Winnipeg:

"One of their earliest leaders had taught that governments were unnecessary, all men equal, the hierarchy and the priesthood human inventions, the church and its ceremonies superfluous, monasticism a perversion of human nature, the conspiracy of property owners a disgrace to mankind, and the Czar and archbishops just like other people. They refused to pay taxes, and the matter was compromised by allowing them to do road work.

"They had been made exempt from military service, but they

refused to become citizens and take out patents on their land in the regular way. They were cleanly, industrious, honest, moral and religious, but the only Bible they believed in was scriptural quotations passed from mouth to mouth and such inspirations as they themselves thought they were receiving from time to time."

Thus the Doukhobors are to be despoiled and expelled by a Christian government for taking Christianity seriously and attempting to practice its precepts in their every-day lives. How unfortunate that they did not become good, hypocritical, automobile Christians—their desirability as citizens would then not be doubted.

Non-resistants, the Doukhobors will prove easy victims of governmental brutality. With fiendish refinement of cruelty Canada has chosen the coldest winter months for the expulsion outrage.

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A word about recent strikes and how they should *not* be conducted.

It seems like the veriest irony upon modern, all-too-passive strike methods that the seamen declared a strike *after* the longshoremen, defeated, had returned to work. Are there any workingmen foolish enough to believe that their strike funds will ever suffice to successfully fight multi-millionaires along lines of passive resistance? What folly! The labor unions have but *one* successful weapon: economic pressure combined with the General Strike.

Lack of active sympathy and solidarity was responsible for the loss of the car men's strike at San Francisco. Union teamsters, for instance, hauled strike breakers from the railroad station to the company's barns and transported for the company the necessities of life, thus helping to break the strike. Mr. Cornelius, one of the organizers of the car men's union and now its President, personally assisted in taking a street car to the barns when the unskilled scabs proved incompetent to do so. Such leaders are traitors and the worst enemies of labor, and strikes thus conducted are doomed to failure.

The New York authorities are very much concerned about the city's health, but not to the extent of giving the city cart drivers a chance to make a decent living. Refuse lies rotting in the streets—but even at the risk

of an epidemic the powers that be will not grant the drivers' demands for humane conditions.

If the strikers, however, had shown more perseverance and had received the solidaric support of their fellow-workmen, they would have won the strike: the comfortable classes would speedily realize that their whole civilization would perish from filth, were it not for the work of their slaves.

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It cannot be denied that even the dog days bring some consolation.

People and institutions whose habitual activity is a nuisance—when not positively evil—take their summer vacation, to the unspeakable relief of sensible men.

Legislatures adjourn, so that the growth of the ill-smelling refuse pile of law-making impotence is temporarily arrested.

In the courts only the "most important cases" come to trial—and Justice draws a sigh of relief: she is not to be prostituted so often by the hangmen of paragraphed legality.

Another advantage of the dog days is that the President makes fewer speeches. That's about the only occasion when he deserves well of his country.

Perhaps the greatest boon resulting from the hot spell is the fact that Benjamin R. Tucker has decided not to publish his *Liberty* till September. He thus stamps himself a man of great consideration, who sympathises with the troubles of mankind and is determined to do his best not to add to our intellectual misery.

It is to be hoped that the unusual heat will also moderate the zeal of the ethical Felix Adler. It were the better part of wisdom if he would consent to take a few months' rest upon the moral cushions of scientific ethics. He has earned his vacation, since he must have toiled long and hard to discover the great new virtue: self-aggrandizement. He recently eulogized Carl Schurz as the very personification of virtue. Schurz's forte was career making. 'Tis the newest virtue to secure as many sinecures and honors as possible. Felix Adler will go down in history as the founder of get-there ethics.

John Spargo's abortion: "Not Guilty." Dramatis personae: Haywood et al. Scene—Boise. Time—1907. The wisdom and integrity of the jury triumph. Accused free. General blowing of noses. The public melts in tears. Wet handkerchiefs. A priest intones "Te Deum." General thanksgiving. Amen.

The next drama of the Social Democrat Spargo will close with a cake walk in which Orchard, McParland, Governor Gooding, Archbishop Ireland and the leaders and dramatists of the Social Democratic Party will participate.

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DOUGLAS, Arizona, July 1.—Manuel Satabia, one of the leading spirits in the former St. Louis junta, known here as Samuel Moret, was arrested yesterday and lodged in jail at the instance, it is said, of the Mexican Government.

Late last night an automobile occupied by two Americans was driven to the jail. The prisoner was delivered to them and was forcibly placed in the vehicle. The automobile and its occupants were seen a little later passing through the streets and several witnesses say that the prisoner was choked into submission.

This was the last seen of the automobile, but there seems little doubt that Satabia was delivered to Mexican officers at Aguaprieta.—*N. Y. Times*, July 2, 1907.

The people that go into hysterics over the crimes committed by the Czar of Russia should bear in mind that conditions nearer home, in Mexico, are in some respects even worse than those of Russia. It is also well to remember that the American government is aiding to the best of its ability the Mexican bloodhounds in their mad pursuit of innocent victims.

In our next issue we expect to speak at greater length of the terrible governmental outrages now being perpetrated in Mexico.

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When the first Duma was dissolved, a member of the British Cabinet exclaimed in a fit of "liberal" enthusiasm: "The Duma is dead. Long live the Duma!"

Now the second Duma has been driven to join its predecessor. Liberalism and Parliamentarism are proving dead letters.

Is it not time to exclaim: "The Duma is dead. Long live the Social Revolution!"?

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Severe prison sentences have been imposed by the Spanish Inquisition on several radicals, among them José Nakens, editor of *El Motin*, who has been condemned to nine years' imprisonment. They were charged with sheltering over night Morral, who had thrown a bomb at the imbecile Alfonso. Humane feeling was the offence of the condemned. Among barbarians hospitality was a sacred duty, but under Christian civilization it is the gravest crime.

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The "revolution" of the vine growers of Southern France would seem to indicate that even philistines will kick over the traces when governmentally driven to starvation. They had heard of the State-enriched Panamites and of greedy speculators and promoters generously fed by the government. There was no reason, they thought, why they, too, should not be protected by the government in their profits. Poor simpletons, they soon learned through bitter experience that the State is the agent of the big thieves, but no protector of the common people. The social and economic maladies of the latter are governmentally treated with powder and shell.

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## THE HAYWOOD TRIAL

By MAX BAGINSKI.

THE social and economic causes and battles, which have resulted in the Idaho trial, are of far greater significance than the legal wrangle now in progress at Boise; the latter, considered by itself, is but a caricature of the world-drama and its social, psychic meaning.

It is to be hoped that Clarence Darrow, chief counsel for the defence, will lift the court proceedings from their low level to the higher phase of social-philosophic consideration. He is probably the only lawyer in the country intellectually equal to the requirements of the case and who, moreover, possesses that sincerity of purpose and sympathetic understanding which cannot be acquired by either study or calculation.

The trial is still in its early stages; we shall therefore attempt no more than to sketch its most characteristic features.

Let us glance, first of all, at Idaho's official justice and the means employed by the State.

The very soul of this justice is—Orchard. Anarchistic thinkers have long ago realized that the State—government—embodies a large part of those crimes and evils under the yoke of which humanity is being driven forward like a herd of cattle. The trial of Haywood abounds in proof supporting the opinion of Anarchists in regard to the true character of government. Orchard, coached and drilled by the State, is trotted out as the savior of social order. He, the many-time murderer, thief, counterfeiter and all around scoundrel, is in miniature what—according to Tolstoy and Kropotkin—the State is on a larger scale.

The State and its prize witness look uncommonly alike; indeed, they are worthy of each other. And what remarkable similarity in their motives!

The powers that be heard in the labor struggles of the West the passionate war cry of the exploited against the established order of economic robbery by fraud and violence. The Western Federation of Miners waged uncompromising war against the plutocratic robber system; their attitude was also inimical towards the governmental authority and politicians who, as the faithful servants of the possessing class, give their legislative sanction to capitalistic economics. As clear-sighted men—as Anarchists—we see in the State the mailed fist, the executioner's sword that flies from its scabbard the moment the rich feel the possession of their stolen property endangered.

This view is also justified by the Boise trial. Hawley and Borah are acting as the juristic agents of plutocracy; they have been assigned the task of destroying the powerful organization of the Western miners.

The State and the plutocracy are waging war against organized labor from motives of self-preservation: they feel their system of exploitation threatened by the awakening of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, which can neither be weakened nor corrupted—Hay-



wood and his co-workers are of a different stamp than the Gompers and Mitchells.

Motives of self-preservation are also actuating Orchard in his legend of blood and murder. He must sacrifice the defendants in order to save himself: he supplies made-to-order evidence, under instructions of the authorities and the Pinkertons. But his chief infamy is not in his murders and thefts; his greatest crime is his State evidence.

The incredible villainy of this degenerate reaches its highest triumph in his "conversion" to the "good," his faith in the forgiving mercy of the Christian deity. This miserable conversion comedy, heralded by priests and journalists as a great miracle, is the sign of a trembling villain-soul—clutching at the skirts of Detective McParland he utters prayers, Bible verses, denunciations and lies, all in one breath.

But the State is in full accord with this infamy; it has reared it and is drawing from it its exclusive evidence against the Western Federation of Miners.

Orchard is the rock on which the State wants to found its kingdom of justice.

How touching is the mutual understanding between the authorities and that fellow Orchard! In the course of the trial it leaked out that a convicted murderer—a cell-neighbor of Orchard—was pardoned by Governor Gooding a few days before the execution, by request of the prisoner Orchard. Again, Gooding lends the self-confessed murderer fifty dollars with the casual remark that he could repay the debt after his release. Former Governor Peabody "accidentally" meeting Orchard at a lawyer's office, the two almost embrace for joy. With the unctious manner of one converted at a Salvation Army meeting, Orchard solemnly avows his repentance and joy that the Governor was divinely preserved. The latter replies with true Christian humility that now all is well and all forgiven. There is perfect understanding between the chief executives of the State and the State's chief informer.

McParland was quite right in assuring Orchard that the State is always generous to its witnesses and would not disappoint Orchard's expectations. Conscious of his numerous crimes, haunted day and night by the sight

of the gallows, Orchard suddenly felt opportunity knocking at his door: acquittal, liberty, money and protection held out alluring hands to him—the conversion of the murderous Saul into the meek Paul was a foregone conclusion. 'Tis but a repetition of a common occurrence. It is our daily experience that the meanest scoundrels feel safest and best under the protection of the altar cloth. The prosecutor, Senator Borah, is certainly a pious Christian—there is a charge of land robbery pending against him.

So far no evidence has been forthcoming in support of the charges against the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, except the accusations of the Pinkerton-converted Orchard. The prosecution has no legs to stand on; the State's case is even weaker in this instance than it was in the case of Spies and comrades in 1886. It is only too plain that plutocracy, with the aid of the State, is straining every nerve to remove from its path its enemies, these incorruptible champions of labor; and yet, 'tis by no means safe to predict the acquittal of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, for Justice has sold herself, body and soul, like a prostitute, to the money power.

The Prosecutor and Court are the tools of plutocracy, and the jury consists, at best, of "desirable" citizens whose chief fitness, as jurors, is in the fact of their complete ignorance of the very subjects most vital in this trial.

The sole hope is in organized labor, whose advisers and true friends the accused are. Unfortunately, however, the great majority of workingmen are still sleeping the sleep of the innocent; yet there is a ray of hope shining from the West which leads us to believe that the great awakening is not so far distant.

That ray is to be found in the following report:

"The annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners has by a vote of 345 to 25 delegates deprived local unions under its jurisdiction of the power of making contracts with employers. The preamble and resolution adopted read as follows:

"Contracts entered into with the employing classes are of benefit only to the former. Such contracts divide the workers in their struggle with the exploiters; change one body of workers in subjection while war is being waged upon another body; often compel one union to scab upon another union; destroy the class instinct of the workers by a false sense of

temporary security to cease taking an active interest in the affairs of their organization while such contracts are in force, and have absolutely no place in a progressive labor organization. Therefore be it

"Resolved, By the fifteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, that any and all signed contracts or verbal agreements for any specified length of time that may have been entered into between any local union or unions of the Western Federation of Miners are by this convention declared null and void."

This step is a new departure; it shows clear comprehension of conditions and is the reflex of the determination to oppose the whole economic power of labor to brutal capitalistic exploitation. Welcome the conscious strength which will not be twittered away in useless bickerings and compromises.

Such shameful trials as the one now taking place at Boise can be prevented only by the strong, self-conscious attitude of labor. An intelligent proletariat which has advanced to a true understanding of its position and which has emancipated itself from the superstition of governmental justice and capitalistic economics will not suffer such trials.



## ON THE ROAD

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

(Conclusion.)

*Denver.* Those who fly high on the wings of imagination must expect to suffer an occasional fall.

The stirring history of Colorado's labor struggles quickened my blood with the thought of the revolutionary attitude of the workers since 1903. I was full of expectation. Had not the mine owners with the aid of their hirelings—the government—waged relentless war against organized labor? Had they not robbed and oppressed in the most merciless manner? Had they not employed the most dastardly means against the three friends of labor whom they could neither corrupt nor conquer? Surely the plutocracy of Colorado had committed enough crimes to cause a national revolution.

My imagination pictured united labor striving in soli-

daric unity in that great cause, their emancipation from the twin monsters of capitalism and authority.

It was a painful awakening! Whatever the feeling of the workers of Colorado may be at this critical moment, Denver has too much of the hospital atmosphere to permit of a healthy revolutionary spirit. Essentially a health resort, its patients are too much occupied with themselves to bother about the outrage now being enacted at Boise. Of course, there are the intellectuals, or the High Brows as they are playfully called: writers, editors and other professional men; but one would look in vain for revolutionary backbone among them. They hug their comforts and love material and social success too well to follow the example of their brothers in Russia who, at the risk of their own lives, carry the beacon of human emancipation into factory and field. No doubt the American intellectuals are also interested in the pressing questions of the day, but it is the parlor interest of men decked out in evening dress, sipping tea from dainty China cups. Fortunately, the world is full of exceptions. It gave me great joy to find two such in Henry and Lillian Thayer—true Americans in the best sense, in whom the revolutionary spirit of their forefathers has triumphed over the influence of a conservative New England rearing.

The meetings arranged by a solitary enthusiastic comrade proved quite successful, but as I said before, they bore a convalescent appearance. Our social, however, more than realized my highest expectations. In spite of the stormy night we had a most successful gathering of representatives of various schools of thought, united by a genuine feeling of brotherhood and common interest. The purely human side is always at its best at informal affairs.

Our comrades at large will be glad to learn that our old staunch friends William and Lizzie Holmes have awakened to a new interest and have joined the literary staff of *Mother Earth*.

*San Francisco.* The city I once called the American Paris looked like a graveyard upon my arrival. Not a fashionable cemetery with imposing tombstones, but like a gigantic refuse pile in which sticks and stones mark the last resting place of the social outcasts. But, then,

an uninterrupted trip of sixty hours under capitalistic management that landed me in San Francisco eight hours too late for the first of May meeting, is not calculated to make one see things in roseate colors. Three weeks' stay in the city has, however, not worn off my first impression. The earthquake—or the fire, as the natives prefer to believe—has left its lasting mark. Of course, capitalistic greed is striving to rebuild the city, but the new homes and structures being put up are making the Gate City even more hideous than the ruins still scattered about. No less hideous are the disclosures of the depravity of the local authorities, represented by Mayor Schmitz & Co. The good citizen is eternally drilled in the necessity and usefulness of laws and government, while his rulers are growing fat on the Mrs. Warrens, without even running the financial risks of Sir John Crofts or the Bishop of Canterbury. When one considers how few of our official rogues are ever exposed, one shudders at the demoralization of our public life.

The conditions during my stay in San Francisco almost seemed to bear out the charges of the yellow press against me. As if it were not sufficient for one woman to be responsible for the deaths of all crowned heads and most great strikes, I have now discovered that I am credited by science with having enriched surgery by a most interesting case—the result of the Czolgosz shot.

Two strikes really broke out after I set foot on the shaky soil,—shaky not because of the quake, but on account of the numerous quacks of the California labor movement, who are feeding the workers on patent medicine and pills. Nothing but quack treatment can bring about such results as the strike of the telephone operators and car men. The former have but recently awakened to the necessity of organization, which probably means to most of them more ribbons and ice cream; but the car men, familiar with the true purposes of trade unionism, should have long since realized that they are waging a life-and-death struggle. The attitude of the unions was simply ridiculous. They gave the company all opportunity to prepare for the strike and then looked on in passive resistance while their doom was being sealed. Nay, more, Cornelius, President of the car employees,

offered his services to the Mayor to preserve order, which under the circumstances meant the protection of the company in its successful strike-breaking.

The only satisfactory feature of the strike was the attitude of the public. The people refused to ride on the cars and walked singly and *en masse* to and from work; their sympathies were entirely with the strikers and the latter would have gained a splendid victory had they been blessed with sufficient sense to know how to handle the situation.

The general condition of the city made the preparations for my meetings very difficult, the more so as most of our local comrades live very far apart and were worn out by their daily long tramps. The work of arrangement therefore fell upon the shoulders of a few men. A number of splendidly attended meetings took place, and a large amount of literature sold.

Our farewell social brought the radical elements closer together and, though twelve different nationalities were represented, including our ardent Japanese comrades, all hearts beat in unison for one great, common cause.

Climate is known to have great influence upon human development; it is probably due to this that the Socialists of the coast are less dogmatic and authoritarian than their Eastern brothers. At any rate, I was invited to lecture before the San Francisco local and was treated in the most cordial manner.

*Los Angeles.*—Four weeks' continuous correspondence finally resulted in five meetings being arranged in the Sunny City. It was hard ploughing, but the harvest repaid the effort. As the readers will find a more detailed report from Los Angeles, I shall merely remark here that if I have accomplished nothing more than to rekindle the enthusiasm of our long-lost brother, W. C. Owen, my work at Los Angeles has been amply rewarded.

Few of our young readers and comrades are familiar with that name, but those of us who remember such intellectual towers as Dyer D. Lum and John Edelman will recollect W. C. Owen as one of the ablest and ardent workers in the movement at that period.

For reasons of his own, Comrade Owen has kept in the background. When my coming to Los Angeles was suggested, he was too skeptical of success to take an

active interest. I was therefore very glad to see him at every meeting and happy to learn that he became sufficiently interested in my work to continue it upon my departure.

I am also glad to state that C. B. C——r, well known to our New York comrades, has recovered his former intellectual breadth and is now actively participating in the work of the Social Science Club.

Altogether, my visit to Los Angeles proved a rare treat. My host and hostess, the breeze of the Tyrolian mountains in their natures; my meeting an old comrade who, in spite of his Socialistic opportunism, is really bigger than his work; and many other persons and incidents combined to make my visit interesting and pleasant.

*Portland.*—Philistine ascendancy seems to have ridden the local Anarchists of their Anarchism. Most of them have grown prosperous and do not want their neighbors to remember their "youthful follies." Others are busy saving the country from race suicide. Those who have some Anarchism left were willing enough to work, but lacked the experience. Still, three meetings have been held at Portland, and it is to be hoped that the ice crust covering the native heart and mind has been somewhat reduced in size. The *Oregonian*, a daily publication, aided my work by printing almost stenographic reports of my lectures.

*Tacoma.*—Nature has not been as generous to Tacoma as to Portland; it lacks the latter's brilliance and beauty. The city seems to be stagnant; it has not grown during the last eight years.—My first meeting was largely attended and very satisfactory. By request I remained for another lecture which, however, was not as successful as the first, owing to a large fire which broke out in the neighborhood at the opening of the meeting.

*Home Colony.*—It was my intention to spend a few days at Home Colony, better known in Tacoma as the home of "cranks" and "free-lovers." But fate willed it otherwise. I arrived at 8 P. M., and left the next morning, as time was pressing. I therefore do not know whether the colonists are either cranky or free; but this I do know, that they have accomplished wonders. Within eight years they have converted a wilderness into a beautiful

garden, and though numerous nationalities are represented at the Colony, they have successfully demonstrated that neither law nor government is necessary for their well-being. No doubt there is occasional friction and misunderstanding; but the colonists have conclusively proven that neither police nor jails are necessary in a rational social organization. As they gradually learn that true Anarchism means non-interference, friction will be minimized.

*Seattle.*—All is well that ends well.—The authorities and hall keepers became panic-stricken when my coming was announced. It was with great difficulty that we procured a hall.

I refer my readers to the more detailed report by A. H. I wish to state, however, that I regret very much that the proposed debate could not take place. It would have been almost too easy a victory to meet a man who shows his colors like Mr. Mills. The latter claims that Socialism "proclaims its obedience to the law and its desire to act always under and in accordance with legal forms." If that be so, I fail to see the difference between Socialism and any other governmental theory. Or Mr. Mills misrepresents Socialism, and in that case he is but a typical politician.

*Calgary.*—"We are the people; the grandest people. We possess the greatest wonders of the world,"—such is the notion of a real, "desirable" American citizen.

After enjoying the perfume of New York's greatest ornament—the famous East Side—for eight years, I made my first trip through the West in 1897. When I beheld the majestic beauty of the Rockies and the California mountains, I too felt that nature was incapable of anything grander. But my journey from Seattle to Calgary, through British Columbia, the dreamland of Selkirks and the Glaziers has completely cured me of national arrogance. Never before had I seen such glory, such wealth of color and form, and never has man with all his boasted achievements seemed so puny, so insignificant as at the sight of those giants with the shimmer of gold reflected upon their snowy caps, immovable, inexorable and eternal as the firmament.

From these heights I fell into the mud of Calgary,—a town as gloomy as the priest's cassock. The great mass,



however, that thronged the hall Sunday, June the sixteenth, was as surprising as it was unexpected. Indeed ideas are like lightning: they travel with the same rapidity and strike hard when they come in contact with the human mind. They have reached even far-away, deserted Calgary. Unfortunately, I did not have a single brochure or *Mother Earth* with me. The Canadian Postal service seems to serve everybody but the people. Literature sent from New York on the sixth of the month did not reach Calgary till after the sixteenth. My trunk, containing books and pamphlets, having been negligently allowed to remain at Seattle, I could leave nothing behind me but an impression. However, the ice has been broken, and if the work is continued, good fruition will result.

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Nobody should be expected to lecture or to attend a meeting during the hot Summer days. Winnipeg and Chicago have convinced me of this on my return trip. It was altogether too hot to remain indoors. Besides, the human mind refuses to be overtaxed. I was too fatigued and worn out to take much interest in the meetings in the above-mentioned cities. Still, I was glad to meet again our active boys of Winnipeg and the good comrades of Chicago.

When I left New York, March third, I believed that I could return by the first of May. I found, however, such a tremendous interest in Anarchism all through the country, that even four months' touring barely covered the ground.

Our grand old man, Peter Kropotkin, recently wrote to me, inquiring whether I could recommend some young American comrades for work abroad. I replied, in effect, that if we had such gems, we could set them here. Now that my tour is ended, I am convinced more firmly than ever that the soil is ripe and the seed good. What we need is sowers. I have met many genuine, clear-headed and sincere American Anarchists, willing and ready to help our work, once it is properly started. What they lack is initiative. Some day that, too, may be called forth when the call of the battle will ring loud enough in their ears. Then they, too, will realize the beauty of the open road and joyfully follow its beckoning.

"Listen! I will be honest with you,  
 I do not offer the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new  
 prizes,  
 These are the days that must happen to you:  
 You shall not heap up what is call'd riches,  
 You shall scatter with lavish hand all that you earn or  
 achieve,  
 You shall be treated to the ironical smiles and mockings  
 of those who remain behind you,  
 What beckonings of love you receive you shall only  
 answer with passionate kisses of parting,  
 You shall not allow the hold of those who spread their  
 reach'd hands toward you."

\*\*\*

### ANENT THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE

The San Francisco Group "Liberty" and the Cleveland "Anarchist Group" have endorsed the suggestion of the Chicago and Winnipeg comrades about my going to the Amsterdam Conference; they have decided to cooperate in furnishing the necessary funds.

Groups and Clubs in other cities who are in sympathy with the project will please communicate with me at once. They are also requested to notify me of any particular subjects they may wish me to bring to the attention of the Conference.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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### SEATTLE REPORT

It was good for sore eyes to see Comrade Emma Goldman again. We were unable to arrange a complete schedule—could get the hall only for three lectures, June ninth, eleventh and twelfth, at the Socialist Temple, where Emma Goldman spoke on "Misconceptions of Anarchism," "Direct Action versus Political Action," and "The Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama." She spoke in Seattle to crowded houses and wound up by organizing the Social Science Club with about 60 members. The work here was not only successful financially,

but also served to kindle the dormant fires of the spirit of revolution and has created a basis for uniting the revolutionary forces and stimulating them to greater activity.

One of the causes of this success was the announcement of our amiable and enlightened Chief of Police that he would arrest Emma Goldman on sight. The natives took notice—for they have heard that Emma Goldman usually dared, and were anxious to see Greek meet Greek. I helped the ball along by issuing this gentle defy a week or two before Emma arrived: "Wappenstein, Chief of the Police Department of this city, has been quoted (I hope incorrectly) to the effect that if Emma Goldman will open her mouth here he will arrest her. This is wild talk. Miss Goldman has a perfect right to open her mouth at all times and places. The Chief of Police should be the last man to be guilty of such intemperate language. There may be some of us who have little respect for policemen in general, but I can assure Chief Wappenstein that it can not be increased by such behavior on his part." After this the Chief modified his plans and announced that he would arrest the speaker if she held open-air meetings, but as such meetings were not contemplated, his officiousness and impudence were entirely gratuitous. His back-down was sufficiently undignified to serve him as a lesson in all future attempts to suppress free speech.

Aside from the great success that attended the meetings there was one significant incident that deserves particular mention. The Socialists in this city are split in two factions, as a result of the "practical" methods that W. T. Mills, leader of one of the factions, favors for winning power as the representative of a "class-conscious proletariat." He is succeeding fairly well, to the angry disgust of the revolutionary (sic) wing. Were it not for the jealousy arising from this split it would have been next to impossible to get the Socialist Temple for the purpose of expounding Anarchist theories. We challenged Mr. Mills to debate with Miss Goldman, but as the latter could not stay long enough to meet Mr. Mills's convenience, the debate was given up and Mr. Mills contended himself by criticizing the lecture on "Direct Action versus Political Action." The Socialists

thought the "honors were about even," but as a matter of fact W. T. Mills was annihilated.

Not satisfied with the result, however, Mr. Mills sought "revenge." But realizing that he got worsted in an intellectual encounter where the odds were even, he decided to try conclusions under circumstances where he would be prosecutor, judge and executioner all in one, with nobody to hold him responsible.

In the *Saturday Evening Tribune* of June fifteenth, Mr. Mills shot off a two-column leader, in which he protests that it is high time for Socialist speakers and writers to express themselves on the question of Socialism versus Anarchism by a careful statement of the respective positions of these schools. We quote:

"There is a misunderstanding as to the relative position of Socialism and Anarchism; Anarchist utterances are often ignorantly cheered by Socialists, mistaking them for Socialist utterances; Anarchists are often violently denounced by Socialists who call it criticizing and discussing Anarchism."

We cheerfully concede all this, but question very much if incoherence expressed strongly is more harmful to a movement than suave ignorance tempered by subtle mendacity. Mr. Mills has not added to his reputation, either for fairness or insight, by the following performance:

"Anarchy has always stood for 'a universal revolution—social, economic and religious.' Its purpose is and has always been . . . 'to destroy all governments and all churches, together with their religions, political, financial, judicial, police, university, economic and social institutions.'

"Anarchism contends that the working class is incapable of emancipating itself. Anarchism declares only for revolution and refuses any statement of what it would do. Anarchism always relates itself to the present State, not as a good citizen seeking justice, but as a rebel promoting disorder. Anarchism is a program of destruction."

Aside from the first paragraph we deny these charges in toto; they are the baseless fabrications of a brain which, while thoroughly competent to comprehend the real situation, lacks the strength to meet it squarely and so resorts to insinuations and half truths to give a semblance of coloring to bolster up a watery eclecticism.

"Socialism, instead of seeking the destruction of the State, the Church, the family, the school, contends that it is the part of wisdom to enter into and to use the powers of the State. Socialism makes the ballot box the rallying point of its propo-

ganda, and proclaims its obedience to the law and its desire to act always under and in accordance with legal forms."

We deny that this has always been so, but admit that the Socialist parties are degenerating so rapidly that they will soon be what Mr. Mills thinks they are.

What, then, are the important differences between Anarchists and Socialists? Briefly, the Anarchists want to destroy the State, while the Socialists would be content if they could capture it. This brings about a variation in tactics that is far-reaching and is quite independent of what each desires to accomplish after the State is disposed of. As Anarchists have no favors to ask of the State, they can afford to indulge in honest criticism, without having to resort to strategy, chicanery or "practical" politics. This assures individual purity, disinterested motives and a revolutionary spirit. Kill these and you leave the labor movement to the hazard of a conflict between interested parties, either side of which is prepared to buy enough from the other to give victory to those who control the sinews of war. Mr. Mills and those who agree with him (and that means all those who are doing things for Socialism) enter this battle with ardor, vainly imagining that they are on the verge of great achievements where the proletariat will tumble *en masse* into the arms of parliamentary, authoritarian, regimental Socialism. The proletariat as a body is not disturbed and is quite unconscious of Mr. Mills's plans—but the energetic and active sympathizers of the revolutionary movement are hoodwinked by the siren promises of office, gold, power and perhaps political victory. Then come inevitable despondency, failure and collapse, and thus what might be used as a basis for fruitful work is nipped in the bud by a dead fatalism that kills everything it touches.

The Socialists will kill the Revolution by their lust for power.

A. H.



## LOS ANGELES REPORT

EMMA GOLDMAN has been lecturing here from May 23d to May 26th. She came practically unheralded, only one evening paper containing any notice of her advent, and the *Times* refusing to insert the proffered advertisement of her meetings. A committee which worked most faithfully, but had many misgivings as to the success of the venture, distributed a number of cards, and the rest was left very much to chance.

May 23d Emma Goldman lectured on "Misconceptions of Anarchism." An admission fee of ten cents was charged, and every seat was taken long before the hour for opening. Burbank Hall, in which the lecture was held, seats about 700. Unquestionably many came from curiosity, and it was anticipated that the following evening, when the subject was "The Building of True Character," would show a decided falling off. Again even standing room was at a premium.

"Crimes of Parents and Educators" was the subject of the third lecture, given at a comparatively unknown hall. The admission fee there was twenty-five cents, and, contrary to expectation, almost every seat was occupied.

Sunday afternoon, a warm day on which the vast majority went out of town, saw another packed house at Burbank Hall, the subject being "The Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama." In the evening, at the same hall, a debate was held with Claude Riddle, of the Socialist Party, on "direct Action versus Political Action." It is estimated that, at least, 1,000 persons were unable to get into the already crowded hall.

One most gratifying feature of all these meetings was the sale of literature, which was extremely large. Yielding to the strongly expressed desire that an attempt should be made to form a nucleus for further educational work, Emma Goldman consented to stay over Monday, and a Social Science Club was then formed, with fifty-five charter members, for the discussion of social and economic questions on the broadest, non-partizan basis. It is hoped that a library may be started, and correspondence, literary and lecture bureaus formed, the apparently unanimous opinion being that study rather than the

delivery of or listening to oratory is essentially the need of the hour.

On every hand is to be heard the loudest praise for the clear exposition of principles and tendencies in the lectures given, and they are classed as something distinctly higher than the ordinary agitation speeches to which this city has become weariedly accustomed.

WM. C. OWEN.



## ON CONSCIENCE

By THEODORE SCHROEDER.

**N**O habit of human thought is more universal and more pernicious than that by which the social utility, or evil, of conduct is measured by the intensity and kind of the emotional states which we associate with it. Most of humanity still approves all human conduct which induces agreeable emotions, and likewise they assume that the degree of badness may be accurately measured by the intensity of the resentment which is felt toward those whose act is to be judged. This is moral sentimentalizing, though often it is characterized by pretentious names. Scientific or rational ethics is the very antithesis of this. Instead of measuring moral values by "moral" emotions, the scientific mind limits moral emotions by moral values, which are measured according to objective standards.

Individually and racially, according to its pleasurable or painful effects, men come to associate some conduct with emotions of approval and other conduct with emotions of disapproval. In these matters each individual is a law unto himself, except as unconscious sympathetic imitation induces the superficial appearance of similarity. As these emotional "moral judgments" become habitual by frequent repetition, the unreason of their origin becomes progressively less conspicuous, and when lost sight of humanity enthrones this moral sentimentalizing on an imaginary pedestal outside the brain, calls it "conscience," and now the emotional associations, perhaps founded on diseased nerves, are believed to constitute an innate and therefore infallible moral guide. Then "good people,"

over-confident in their inerrancy of their feelings, begin to regulate their neighbors' conduct, especially their sex conduct, because our emotional nature is more involved therein, and because upon the subject of sex ethics we have on that account been less accustomed to reason than upon any other. Here moral sentimentalizing is most natural and most pernicious, precisely because it is here sure to be least tainted by reason.

The mistake in all this lies in the fact that, like the insane, we ascribe to conduct those qualities which are mere associated emotional states of the perceiving mind. To cease the objectivizing of our emotional "moral judgments" is the beginning of rational ethics, and the highest degree of it will have been reached when all moral sentimentalizing shall have been abolished and each individual from his own perfect knowledge of natural law, in which I include natural justice, shall no longer have the desire to live contrary to it.

We will never be able to dispense with those mental processes which produce what we call conscience, but we will approach a higher and better humanity only in so far as we abolish from our own lives the authority of that conscience which is only moral sentimentalizing, and in lieu of that authority enthrone a pure cold-logic machine which, without artificial human restraint, shall control our self-regarding action according to natural law, and our social conduct according to the nearest approach to natural justice, of which our minds can conceive. When we have abolished moral sentimentalizing, have acquired exact and complete information as to what is natural law, and what is required of us by exact natural justice, and when we shall live in perfect accord with these acquirements, the millennium will be at hand, and government will cease to have any function to perform. Until then, we can only work with that end in view, each of us striving to promote the acceptance of that ideal by others, while endeavoring to realize it in our own lives.





## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By SLOVAK.

## BRAZIL.

*A Terra Livre*, our contemporary of Sao Paulo, Brazil, reports in its issue of May 10th that with the intention to meet more successfully the ever increasing necessities of the propaganda, and the uncertainty and difficulties of *Novo Rumo* of Rio de Janeiro, and *A Terra Livre* of Sao Paulo, the editorial groups of these two papers have decided by common accord to unite forces and to publish only one paper, and that as a weekly under the name of *A Terra Livre*.

Inasmuch as Rio de Janeiro is the most important center of labor, the future weekly will be published in the capital, which is most in need of libertarian propaganda. The advantages of such change, combined with the uniting of forces and efforts giving guarantee of a more frequently appearing and more effective publication, are so manifest that it is not necessary to enlarge on it further to the comrades and sympathizers.

The Biblioteca da *Terra Livre* will remain in Sao Paulo and be able to pay more attention to the publication of new pamphlets. The latest pamphlet issued is a social drama, "O Infanticidio," by Mota Assuncao, 51 pages, with an introduction by Neno Vasco.

Correspondence can be sent to the same address in Sao Paulo or to *Novo Rumo*, rua Tobias Barreto, 86, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The latter paper reports effective trades union organization, causing the establishment of employers' associations, and a great number of strikes in many trades to obtain the eight hour day. Splendid May day celebrations by awakening labor are reported from Sao Paulo, accompanied by police outrages at Santos and Salto de Itu.

## HOLLAND.

*De Vrije Socialist*, of Hilversum, publishes a strong appeal on behalf of the striking seamen in the Baltic and Northern seas of Germany. The appeal, signed by the *Seemanns Verband* of Germany, the central council of

international transportation workers, and the *Algemeen Nederlandschen Seemannsbond*, calls for solidarity in the strife and strict refusal to serve any German ships from Hamburg, Bremen and Bremerhaven. France also had an immense longshoremen's strike on hand, and similar strikes are reported from Rotterdam, Scotland, Cuba and the Atlantic ports of this country.

All over Holland protest meetings are being organized against the farcical peace conference and the colonial wars. A monster demonstration is planned for the Hague, to be addressed by Nieuwenhuis, van Erkel, Schermerhorn and Rijnders. Everywhere protest meetings have been held against the imprisonment of Ferrer. Good educational work is done in many of the unions.

Bulletin No. 4, published by the Arrangement Committee of the Anarchist Congress, informs us that the latter will take place 25-31 August. It publishes the following programme: 1) Anarchism and trades unions; speakers: Pierre Monatte, Paris, and John Turner, London. 2) Universal general strike and political mass strike; speakers: Enrico Malatesta, Italy, and Dr. Friedeberg, Germany. 3) Anarchism and organization; speakers: Amadée Dunois, Paris, and Gg. Thonar, Liege. 4) Antimilitarism as tactics for Anarchism; speakers: Marmanda, Paris, and Pierre Ramus, London. 5) Co-operation for production, and Anarchism; speakers: Gustav Landauer, Germany; Dr. F. van Eeden, Holland; Em. Chapelier, Belgium; J. J. Samson, Holland. 6) Lessons taught by the Russian revolution; speaker to be appointed by Russian comrades. 7) Alcoholism and Anarchism; speaker, Prof. Dr. J. van Rees. 8) Modern Literature and Anarchism; speaker, Pierre Ramus.

Communications to be sent to Joh. J. Lodewijk, Amsterdam, Corn. Anthonystraat 49.

## BELGIUM.

*L'Action Directe*, the little intrepid fighter of militant Belgian trades unionism, published in Mons, has been cited in court for the third time since its existence, and Comrades Beghin, Kinif and Preumont were sentenced to four months' imprisonment and ten dollars fine each.

## SPAIN.

The Minister of Justice has put before the administration a proposition for a new law to "Secure Peace and Oppose the Anarchistic Movement."

Some time since Eusebio Carbo was condemned to six years imprisonment for insulting the army. He fled across the frontier, but recently, when the government issued an amnesty touching similar offenders, Carbo took the opportunity of visiting his parents. He was seized, transported to Gerone under heavy escort with orders to fire at the first attempt to escape, he being so tightly handcuffed that his hands were terribly swollen. Such are government amnesties.

Concerning the numerous "finds" of bombs in Barcelona, the liberal papers are remarking that the particular bombs in question "are such as are manufactured by and for the government itself; and that if the fund which is raised for the purpose of rewarding revealers of bomb-plots be suppressed, the bombs will disappear as by enchantment."

The clerical press is especially vituperative in treating the case of Ferrer and Nakens, one of the Christian champions saying: "Every one who is teaching the freedom of press, the freedom of thought and the freedom of education, has contributed to the attempt upon the life of the king, and is therefore an accomplice in the deed." Thus the powers of darkness are reaching out to throttle the awakening spirit of the people, taking for pretext the act of an individual. How would it do to make that seat of darkness responsible for the deed of Ravailac or Guiteau, both faithful communicants in the alone sanctifying orthodox church, that would crucify a Jesus over and over again should he dare to whip the soul adulterers and money mongers out of the temple to-day.

## PORTUGAL.

Portugal has joined the most backward nations by introducing press censorship, and by an attempt at supplanting constitutional government by an autocracy mitigated by slovenliness.

The proposed conference has been held at Lisbon and the "Anarchistic Federation of Portugal" founded.

## ITALY.

Direct action or rather a passive resistance strike of thousands of agricultural workers in Argenta, lasting over three months and solidarily supported by organized labor all over the country (which took care of some 1,700 children of the strikers, as done before in Fourmies, Verviers and Richtersweil), is reported to have ended in a victory for labor.

On July first, a new fighter will be in the field—*Germinal*, to be published in Torino; address Sobrito Cesare, Via Nizza 17, Torino, Italy. Number eight of the seventh year of *L'Università Popolare*," published by our comrade and friend, Luigi Molinari, formerly in Mantou, now in Milan, reaches us with splendid articles diffusing knowledge hitherto monopolized by the ruling class. The review is doing the work of the social science clubs, making its readers the recipients and dispensers of wisdom and beauty. Number ten of the fifth year of the bi-weekly review, *Il Pensiero*, published by Pietro Gori and Luigi Fabbri, in Rome, contains good brain food, among other things a discussion upon the advisability of an Anarchist congress in Italy, which has since been held without governmental interference. *Il Pensiero* also contains a splendid translation of the chapter on association in Jean Marie Guyau's wonderful book, "The Non-religion of the Future"—a book which ought to be read more in this country, as it is suggestive and constructive, and to be had in splendid English translation.

## GERMANY.

The bakers in Berlin, the building trades in the same city, and the metal workers in Frankfort-on-Main were on strike, the first named to improve their miserable unsanitary conditions, the latter locked out by the organized employers to break the backbone of the metal workers' powerful organizations.

## TRANSVAAL.

The domestic workers in the mines are in a life and death struggle with their absentee exploiters, protected in their fleecing process by the native Transvaal government with police clubs and soldiery. Many casualties are reported.

## CUBA.

In Cuba the ideas are in a state of fermentation. Through a tenacious struggle came a victory which proved a deception. But the energies did not remain dormant; the victor having shown himself a new oppressor, all efforts are directed against him and against the cause of all oppression. To give to the propaganda a rational basis the comrades arranged for a lecture tour of Abelardo Saavedra. The lectures terminated, however, in Guanabacoa by the arrest of Marcial Lores and Saavedra, who were ordered to be deported by Governor Magoon. The comrades are taking steps to stop the procedure, which is considered only a pretext for preventing a propaganda that might open the eyes of the ten thousand tobacco workers on strike.

## CHINA.

*Les Temps Nouveaux*, of March, describes the revolution of Ping-Siang. The same paper reports that the outbreaks in Koung-Toung and Fou-Kien are incidents in the same direction, and that the Chinese revolutionists have adopted the following programme: 1) Overthrow of the government; 2) democratic organization; 3) suppression of individual property; 4) international peace.

Under the caption "China's Impending Revolution" *Der Revolutionär* publishes an exceedingly interesting report which contains the following: "What in Europe is at present conceived to be an ordinary insurrection only is in reality the beginning of a democratic revolution. Over the entire land countless adherents of the revolutionary party are rising up, especially in the Southern provinces. Secret societies, which co-operate firmly with each other, have devoted themselves to the spreading of revolutionary thought, their purposes being to drive out the present government, to bring absolutism to an end, to erect a republican government, to divide the land equally among the people, and to assure universal peace through the common brotherhood of man."

This is not Anarchistic, but it is interesting.



## MOTHER EARTH SUSTAINING FUND

### RECEIPTS.

Previously acknowledged.....	\$492.91
Liberty Club, San Francisco, per A. Wilbers....	28.75
Proceeds from Los Angeles meetings*.....	100.00
Proceeds from Seattle meetings*.....	150.00
B. Brooker, New York.....	1.00
	<hr/>
	\$772.66

### EXPENDITURES.

Deficit covering April, May and June issues	
<i>Mother Earth</i> .....	\$150.00
Balance of debts paid.....	150.00
Invested in pamphlets.....	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$400.00
Balance on hand.....	\$372.66

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### NOTE.

For reasons of economy it has been decided to reduce *Mother Earth* to 32 pages during the summer months. The magazine will appear in its original size of 64 pages in October.

\*\*\*

### NOTE.

Owing to the delay of comrades in accounting for their tickets, the r—— has been postponed for two weeks.

\* Figures quoted represent proceeds from meetings after traveling, etc., expenses have been deducted.

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