

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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WHOLE NO. 296.

IN MEMORIAM.

The years pass by,
Ah, swiftly fly—
The past we see again;
We hear the cry
Of misery;
We hear the voice of pain.
And through the gloom,
The bitter doom,
The hallowed tale we hear;
We see again
The bloody stain,
Upon the sainted bier.
The throttled word
Again is heard,—
Great Freedom's strangled call;
The tale untold,
That would unfold
A deathless martyr's soul.
And while the life
Of endless strife
And torture still moves on;
While Pity weeps,
And Terror keeps
Untouched the tyrant's throne;
Our heroes sleep
Beneath, so deep,—
They hear not, know not pain;
Their seed is sown;
The winds have blown,
And spread the golden grain.
And from that seed,
A human creed
Some distant day shall grow,—
A creed whose balm
Shall heal and calm
All hearts oppressed with woe.
While in the grave,
The martyrs brave
In sleep oblivious dream,
The golden sun
Shall o'er shine on,
And cast a gladd'ning beam,
That age will shine
Upon the shrine
Of Justice' champions true;
When Freedom's Bell
Its sound shall swell,
For free Mankind anew.

N. NAVRO.

AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND MILLERANDISM.

The attitude of American Socialists toward the betrayal of the proletarian cause by the International Socialist Congress, is naturally of special interest in this country. The Kautsky resolution, giving "aid and comfort" to the traitor Millerand and his associates, received the votes of Job Harriman, candidate of the Social Democratic Party for Vice President of the United States, and his party associates. It was opposed by Lucien Sanial and his companions of the Socialist Labor Party.

The attitude of the Socialist press of this country has been diligently examined, and with extraordinary results. The Weekly People of the Socialist Labor Party is, as far as I have been able to learn, the only Socialist paper in the country, which printed the Kautsky resolution in full. Being opposed to the resolution, it was not, like the papers of the Social Democratic Party, afraid or ashamed to face its own work. Its position can best be examined, after noting that of the others.

The People of the Social Democratic Party published a two or three column report of the Congress. Although admitting that the "ministerial question formed the main battleground of the Congress," it neither printed any part of the Kautsky resolution, nor any description or discussion of the question at issue. It seemed strangely afraid of the whole subject. Its sole comment was a gush about "a contest of giants" in which "the gladiators clenched and struggled with all their power." No reader of this so-called report could gain the slightest clue to the subject matter of the resolution, or the point at issue, which "formed the main battleground of the

Congress." What are we to think of such a policy of evasion? Though the Congress met more than two months ago, The People has not yet found space for any further explanation.

The Social Democratic Herald, original official organ of the Social Democratic Party, has maintained an unbroken silence, as have the Appeal to Reason, the Southern Socialist, and a score or so of other Socialist papers which come to this office. The Advance of San Francisco publishes a eulogy of Millerand and denunciation of the proletarian Socialists, from the ultra-bourgeois London Times, with no further comment than that contained in the single word "interesting." Beyond this, it has nothing to say.

The International Socialist Review, in its November issue, contains an account of the Congress, made up from different sources. It expresses the opinion that the Millerand case "seems to have been given much more attention as a whole than its importance deserved," and describes the Kautsky resolution as a compromise, "which provided that a Socialist might in case of an emergency take an office in a bourgeois ministry, but that it must be with the approval of his party, and that he must leave the ministry whenever the Socialist party to which he belongs should so decide." No further comment is made.

An article on "Some Questions at the Paris Congress," by Job Harriman, appears in the same issue. Although Harriman supported the resolution, he does not undertake to defend it, but gives a rehash of some of the arguments on both sides, himself sitting tranquilly on the fence. Specially significant is the following paragraph, though in another sense than that intended by its author:

It is a notable fact that the vote showed that the delegations from those countries where the movement was powerful, and for that reason had been forced into practical affairs, were unanimous for the Kautsky resolution, except France and Italy, which were divided; while the delegates from those countries where the movement was yet small, were almost all unanimously against it. This fact shows the lines along which the movement is developing, and at the same time puts us on our guard against the dangers that inevitably arise.

The Workers' Call, the only remaining American Socialist paper of prominence, reluctantly breaks a two months' silence with a short editorial, attempting to escape from the fact that the Kautsky resolution was a practical and effective endorsement of Millerandism. But it will not work. Whatever Le Socialiste may claim for tactical purposes, the fact will not down that "the Socialist world," as represented at Paris, clearly condoned what it refused to condemn—bourgeois alliances, and the triple treason of Millerand.

Such is the record of the American Socialist press—the record of those who are so thoroughly ashamed of their representatives, that they seek to keep as mum as possible about it. Not one of them has even ventured to print the resolution which "formed the main battle-ground of the Congress." This is the fruit of political methods, and of trust in leadership. Proletarians have nothing to hope in that direction.

It is true that a small group of irreconcilable "militants," of whom the Socialist Labor Party in this country is the representative, stands sturdily aloof from all manner of compromise. Their errors are of quite another order, though no less grave. They are simply beginning the whole work over again. The movement which has now reached its collapse in Millerandism was originally as irreconcilable, as militant, as that of Guesdes, Lafargue, Palm, De Leon, and Sanial. While it remained

small in numbers, it continued to be uncompromising—as it is today in those countries where the movement is yet small. But the moment political power is clearly in sight, and the scramble for office begins, one plausible excuse after another is found for giving way a little here, and a little there. The rank and file remain honest enough in their intentions; but the leaders, who determine the actual policy of the party, pursue a course distinctly anti-revolutionary.

Let the Millerand case serve as a warning to proletarians everywhere. Let them learn to depend on themselves, and cease to put faith in organizations, committees and representatives. Let individual initiative be strengthened; the spirit of resistance to capitalist encroachment fostered; every possible point be wrested from the enemy; an educational propaganda vigorously carried on; and men's minds prepared for the needed and inevitable proletarian revolution. JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

DISCORS.

The Social Democratic Herald conceives of Anarchists as "extreme individualists," who abhor all forms of association. It is true that the immense productivity of capitalism is only made possible by the united action of many hands and many brains. We could not, if we desired, return to the primitive methods of production, which satisfied the early races. Nor does any Anarchist wish to do so. We have no impulse to destroy the machines, or to allow them to lie idle. We would not relinquish one of the advantages bequeathed to us by the experience of the past. In the absence of special privilege, created and upheld by law and force, private monopoly could not maintain its grip on the workers. Their needs and aspirations would swiftly point out the path to voluntary co-operation, on a large or small scale, by which no atom of individuality would be sacrificed. We would preserve the benefits of association, and avoid the danger of authority. We do not take "News from Nowhere," or any other dream of the future, in a literal sense. The future will unfold itself in ways undreamed of. Our effort is to eliminate those factors which serve only to cramp human development. The problems of social life will need all our best efforts; and only free men and free women will prove competent to furnish the needed solutions, and to lay a stable foundation for the future society.

The Protestant religious press of this country is almost unanimous in rejoicing over the triumph of imperialism and capitalism at the polls. Several leading preachers took pains to turn their Thanksgiving sermons into eulogies of Emperor McKinley and the maladministration. Even the mild radicalism of Bryan was strongly censured by them, as savoring too much of sympathy with the common people. Never was the Church more outspoken in its worship of wealth and power, than at the present day.

Miss Flora M. Levi, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Chas. E. Levi, of 702 West Ninth Street, Cincinnati, O., was married to Mr. Albert Keppler on Wednesday evening, October 17. The wedding was an Agnostic one, as the paper announced, a magistrate instead of a minister performing the ceremony. The father and mother of the bride are prominent Freethinkers in Cincinnati; and their daughter has been brought up in their way of thinking.

We extend our congratulations to all parties concerned, and rejoice that this young couple has put more faith in the State than in the Church.—Boston Investigator.

From fetich to fetich, seems to be the progress of many "Freethinkers." Between a State marriage and a Church marriage, there is about the same difference as between tweedledum and tweedledee. Christian morality, divorced from Christian doctrine, is like a house without a foundation. Those Freethinkers who forsake the Church, while worshipping the customs and institutions sanctified by it, exhibit an amazing lack of logic, and have little ground for reproaching their Christian neighbors with superstition.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTES.

The removal of Free Society to Chicago is not a certainty, although warmly advocated by a number of comrades in the Eastern and Central States. The change will involve large expense at the outset, not all of which has yet been provided for. As already stated, Comrade Clemens Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill., has charge of the fund, a large part of which has already been raised. Those interested should communicate with him. Our aim is to render Free Society, whether published in San Francisco or in Chicago, of the utmost service to the Anarchist propaganda. With the assistance of those to whom the cause is dear, we are prepared to carry on the work, wherever the opportunity seems greatest for benefiting the movement.

Gertrude Atherton is out with a semi-recantation of her recent wild words concerning Anarchists. She now thinks that there are good Anarchists and bad ones; and only the bad ones should be exterminated. If she continues to investigate, she will soon find yet more to retract.

CURRENT NEWS.

Oscar Wilde is dead—hounded to death by bigots, persecuted to the tomb by Christian malice. He threw down the gauntlet to the hypocritical Puritanism of British society; and the mangy hounds of Puritanism turned on him, and rent him. A veritable genius, a lover of beauty and hater of shams, he was bitterly misunderstood and misjudged by even the well-meaning of his own day. He has enriched literature, and has met with the basest ingratitude, on the part of those who are the most deeply indebted to him. His artistic philosophy is by no means sound; but it is at least "a voice crying in the wilderness" against the emaculated, devirilized art demanded by the prudish of Anglo-Saxondom. He has dealt Grundyism a blow, from which it will never fully recover. In essays and criticism, he has punctured many a solemn humbug. In fiction, he has created a new type, with "The Picture of Dorian Gray." In the drama, he has penetrated to the heart of modern society, by his marvellous play, "Lady Windermere's Fan." In poetry, to say nothing of his earlier work, he has enriched the language with "The Ballad of Reading Goal," a marvellous poem, itself sufficient to dower any man with lasting fame. He is not the first, who has brought rich gifts to his people, and has reaped a harvest of hate. Let his memory be cherished by all to whom truth and beauty are dearer than the applause of the groundlings of Grundyism.

In Austria, it is a crime not to be a murderer. Because an army officer, thinking his readiness to murder in an official manner was sufficient, refused to fight a duel on a purely private ground, he has been dismissed from the service by his Christian superiors.

And now a trust is formed, to control all the gold of the world. Like all the rest, it will rest wholly on special privilege. As long as the proletarians submit to the robber system under which we live, they must expect the screws to tighten more and more—until something gives way.

The maladministration has decided to reduce some of the war taxes. With its wonted solicitude for its own friends, it has selected precisely those which weigh slightly on the wealthy class, while leaving the less favored to bear a double burden. With conscienceless effrontery, its mouthpieces openly proclaim that those interests which contributed most largely to the Republican campaign fund are to receive special privileges at the expense of their fellow citizens. Even the opposition organs seem to take this outrage as a matter of course, recognizing the sacred principle that

"to the victors belong the spoils." The simple-minded citizens who cling to the exploded idea that the function of government is to minister to the needs of all, regardless of party, are the subject for well-deserved mockery, on the part of those who have the real direction of affairs.

The "good" Queen of England approves the appointment of the brutal Kitchener as chief in command of the British forces in South Africa. He is a man after her own heart. As the Toronto Sun puts it: "Lord Roberts is . . . too much of a humanitarian for the work now to be done." Meanwhile, the monstrous outrages perpetrated by the British are reviving the spirit of resistance among the Boers. The war is not yet over, by any means. Emperor William of Germany, like the cur he is, refuses to see President Kruger; but the sympathies of Europe are none the less with the sturdy farmers, who are fighting to the last against British aggression.

ASSASSINATION OF POTENTATES.

Since Comrade Bresci made an end of the miserable life of Humbert, much has been said in Free Society and Discontent about the wisdom or folly of his deed; and I wish to add a word or two.

I noticed a list of the assassinations during the century, of royalty and rulers; and out of forty-eight killings or attempts at killing, five had been committed by Anarchists. From this, it would seem that Anarchists are not the only king-killers; nor does the killing or attempt at killing of five potentates by Anarchists prove that Anarchy is simply the theory of king-killing.

A. A. Orcutt denies that anyone can be an Anarchist, and kill another at the same time. Others claim that a person cannot vote, hold office or get married and be an Anarchist. As a matter of fact, all these things are not consistent with the Anarchist philosophy, would not exist in a condition of Anarchy, and are not desirable now. Taking society as we find it, however, all of them are justifiable under certain circumstances. The fact that a person does any one of them, does not prove that he or she does not believe in and desire liberty, or hold to the Anarchist philosophy.

Is it wise to kill potentates? That seems to be the question. Who will deny that the killing of Canovas by Angiolillo was wise, timely, and of great and far-reaching consequences? Do we forget him, to shake our heads in doubt at the deeds of Luccheni and Bresci?

The principal one under discussion is Bresci. He did well in slaying Humbert. After the first Associated Press dispatches of the affair had gone the rounds of the papers, the unjust tax system of Italy, the hard conditions of Italian peasants and city workers, and the terrible servility of the people, were portrayed in nearly every paper in the land. So, in the end, the deed of Bresci stands justified in the minds of a large minority, perhaps a majority. Shall we, then, say it was ill-advised, or did no good?

Bresci, in common with all those who have risen to strike a blow at the embodiment of oppression—the potentate—made one mistake. He did not fight the enemy to the last trench. Having killed the king, he allowed himself to be taken prisoner. That was a sad mistake. Having taken up arms in open rebellion against the government of King Humbert, it was but logical that he should continue the war until he had exterminated the government, or been by it exterminated. In other words, it would have been wise for him to fight every approaching officer, until they had killed him. That would have been logical. Not only would it have been logical; but it would have saved him the torture he must now endure. Besides, he might, in the battle, have caused a few more officials to "bite the dust." Such conduct would force admiration, just as the stubborn resistance of arrest by certain famous American outlaws has forced a certain admiration, even among their most bitter enemies.

Caesario did well when he slew Carnot. Carnot was entering a triumphal march across France; while striking coal miners' families starved, and Anarchists languished in jail for opinion's sake. The poor and unknown Italian laid him low, and in so doing struck terror to the oppressors. Greater freedom of speech and of press has been enjoyed in France, from that day to this.

I call not the wisdom of such acts in question. It would be hard to show that an Anarchist is any the less consistent, if, in his judgment, an act such as these will do more for final freedom than the continuance of

his life will. True, it may not be a defence of his person against a direct personal attack; but if the common brotherhood instinct is developed in him, his sympathy for those who are attacked will lead him to strike in the common defence! Such acts are not in accord with the idea of an Anarchist society, it is true; but we have not reached that condition of society; and, like wage working and tax paying, they may be deplored by the doer, but yet considered necessary under the prevailing conditions. I only suggest that where deed takes the place of word, that the deed be as logical as the argument. If war is begun, let it be carried to the uttermost limit. We know no mercy will be shown the king-killer; why then should not the king-killer raise the black flag? Logic demands it; self-interest demands it.

Much good has been done by the doers of violent deeds. Much more will be done, when they grow as logical in their deeds, as in the theories they have expounded.

HENRY ADDIS.

WHAT I AM THANKFUL FOR.

About this time (November 29, 1900) when all over this fair land of ours, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, people are singing their songs of praise and thinking thoughts of thankfulness, I want to add my mite to the general joyfulness:

First, I am glad that I am still living in the Land of the Sneak and the Home of the Slave; some people are dead.

I am thankful the financial slop-pails of Republican protection are still over-flowing with the waves of prosperity (?).

I am thankful that I still eat three square meals a day; in 1904 I may not get one.

I am thankful that the serial story of "McKinley's Maladministration" is still to continue a few more of its chapters of damnation to the Republican Party.

I am thankful that Bryan is no longer howling for dead and bygone issues, and trying to get into the White House chair by copious quotations from the antique fossils of the party, summoning up from the misty, musty past the voices of the tomb.

I am exceedingly happy that the Republican rooster-crats and Teddy's bulldozing Terrors are crowing their crow of joy over MacSkinkley's election.

I am glad that Dollar-Mark Hanna is the American Earl of Warwick of our time; and that Bryan is the Prince of Waits that led a Democratic party to its doom.

I am glad that in our expansion grab game we have taken polygamy in Sulu; "benevolently assimilated" leprosy in Hawaii; and annexed a banditti of incapables in Cuba.

I am glad that today war is "patriotism," international scoundrelism "benevolent assimilation," and military murder "national honor and heroism."

I am glad that knaves rule with a high hand, and that a sucker is born every minute.

I am thankful that the American eagle is showing its claws, and sticking its beak into international affairs.

I am thankful that the so-called "graduated income tax" has not yet graduated from any school of finance or college of economics, into the broad glare of day.

I am exceedingly joyful that millionaireism and militarism are the Siamese twin-despots of the age; that millionaires are evolving into billionaires, ministers into birds of prey, tramps into robbers, criminals and assassins, women into prostitutes, and children into infant imitators of prevailing lawlessness.

I am thankful for labor riots in New York, Chicago, Buffalo, St. Louis and other centres of civilization; for the bull-pen of Wardner, Idaho; for the Tammany tiger and the rule of Croker in New York city; for political feuds and bank robberies in Kentucky; for Negro-roasts and black barbecues in Tennessee and Georgia; for floods in Texas and California; for cyclones, blizzards and hurricanes in the wild and woolly West; for meteoric showers and ghastly astronomic observations throughout the world.

I am thankful that our yellow journalists have become slingers of slangage, and that our newspaper editorial writers are hired braves of the pen.

I am thankful that our lawyers are hirelings, who rent out their brains and words and anger for money, in this monetary pigpen of a world.

I am glad that actresses are selling their legs for a living, twinkling, dancing stars in the theatrical firmament; that singers are selling their voices, ministers their tongues, legislators their votes, and professors of pedagogy their brains, education and syndicate-handled will-power.

I am glad that oily tongues have been selling oil stock in the East at a most unscrupulous rate; and that swindling schemes glory in their shame.

I am thankful that the buzzards of civilization, those cormorants of commercialism and pirates of plunder, are stealing the liberties of the people, to enrobe themselves in the halo of a reverential and class-conscious power of rule.

I am thankful that mud-hens and Belgian hares are made up to look like turkey-meat on Thanksgiving Day, and fed to underlings with strong stomachs, who can stand the strain of digestion, and not know the difference.

I am thankful that "mystery meat pies," dog-sauces, horse-beef and sickening swill of all kinds is the truck fed in our 15-cent hasheries, to people who must afterwards be plucked by the doctors and robbed by drug-stores.

I am exceedingly glad that the cooks, doctors, druggists and undertakers in Los Angeles are thinking of forming an Assassination Trust on the quiet, for the killing of people and the raiding of their pocketbooks—the cooks to feed them sickening stuff; the doctors to send them to druggists, who will dose them with ruinous compounds; both the doctor and the druggist charging big fees; and the undertaker to take what little money there is left from the family of the deceased, after he takes the corpse to its earthly resting-place. (The beauty of this trust is that you are only allowed to die according to certain legal conditions. If you die under the treatment of a Christian Scientist, magnetic healer, faith curist or even taking no treatment at all, your death is illegal; but if you die under the treatment of a doctor, your death is perfectly legal and justifiable.)

I am deeply thankful that love has become a commodity-selling virtue, homes of beauty dens of prostitution, and lovely women painted sirens of the night.

I am glad that this is an age of lust and lies, of libertinism and barbaric splendor; that the world is not only a stage, on which we all are actors and act our little parts, but that life is a howling farce, a vaudeville sketch of freak-making blunders, a tragedy of hate, an extravaganza of dancemanship and a puppet-show of historic hyst-ries.

These are only a few of the things I am thankful for on Thanksgiving Day, 1900; but I have enumerated enough for the present; and I will close by saying that I am thankful that I still live and prosper in an age of infernal ingenuity, in a world of diabolical despotism, that drives many a poor fellow to a suicide's grave, the jail, or a madhouse of misery.

Los Angeles, Cal. JOHN A. MORRIS.

THOSE SPECIFICATIONS.

When I described Comrade James' article in No. 280 of Free Society as "on missionaries," I was judging it from the contents, not from the title.

In reply to my charge that he uses other sources than Williams, while talking as if he used no other, he says "I several times cited other authorities." I cannot find such citations, unless he refers to these three: "whose liberality is attested by all authorities," "Chinese and Tartars, whom the Jesuit Huc found," "It is well known that he afterwards perished . . . and that Tennyson celebrated his virtues in an epitaph." Such "citations" will hardly keep him from seeming to claim that "his statements about Chinese matters are all from" Williams.

He says, "The great marches . . . are ranked by Williams with Marlborough's to the Danube and Sherman's to the sea"; and, "Gordon's nobility of soul, Dr. Williams assured us, was shown in the fact that he was angry." Here is express credit to Williams; and I cannot find that Williams mentions Marlborough, or intimates that Gordon's anger was in any way creditable to him.

Comrade James now says that on p. 589 (let it be understood that when I name a page it is from vol. II of Williams, edition of 1882, unless otherwise stated,) there is nothing about the Thistlemount colonists being intolerant to idolatry. He will find it near the bottom of pp. 588 and 590. Native Protestant martyrs are mentioned near the top of p. 350.

He now says he will believe that the early Protestant missionaries to China were not all in the employ of the opium trade, if I will tell him about one who wasn't. This is cool; having made a wholesale charge against the character of several men, he ought to offer proof, instead of demanding disproof. But I can meet him half way. He asks, "Does Mr. Byington mean to deny that Morrison's employers were opium smug-

glers?" Yes, sir, I mean to deny that, in those precise words. Morrison at first lived on the premises of an American firm, whom Comrade James describes as "opium smugglers," for no reason but that they were foreign traders, and that opium is now, and perhaps was then (out see James' aforesaid article, at top of p. 3, col. 1), the leading import. But there were men prominent in the foreign trade of Canton, who did not handle opium (p. 379). James further says that Morrison was expelled from Canton as "an attache of American opium smugglers." He will see on p. 456 that Morrison's "employers" or landlords, or any other Americans, had nothing to do with the matter. Morrison's life after his return to Canton was spent under the East India Company, whom James especially loves to describe as "opium smugglers." But smuggling was the one part of the opium trade that they carefully kept clear of (pp. 379, 459). As to the company's character, this makes little difference; it only illustrates Comrade James' perpetual inaccuracy of language. But as to Morrison's character, it makes much difference. The company's connection with opium was confined to its India department; and his service was confined to its China department, two thousand miles away by sea. Is it inconsistent for a Prohibitionist to work in a farmer's dairy, if the grapes of that farmer's vineyard in another town are regularly sold for wine-making?

As to other early missionaries, Abel came as "seaman's chaplain" (p. 327) under the pay of the Seaman's Friend Society (Life of Bridgman, p. 14.) Is this being in the employ of the opium trade? Surely one should be allowed to preach to the wickedest. And Bridgman says in his journal (Life of Bridgman, p. 66): "Although I have a special permit, as every one must have, yet I am probably recognized only as a merchant, or merchant's clerk. Such, I believe, was the case with the officers of the Vincennes, two years ago." It is plain enough how mere a legal formality all this was. Apparently he did not know whether he was registered as an independent merchant, or as an employee. At any rate he was in no sense actually "in the employ" of any mercantile business. I understand that his position was that of the early missionaries generally; they were nominally traders, for the purposes of Chinese law. It does not follow that they were all employees, even nominally, of any one engaged in actual trade. Suppose they were: it may be probable that most of their "employers" were opium traders; but it is rather improbable that all were, as James would have them. But suppose even that all the foreign firms dealt in opium; I insist on a man's liberty to get around a tyrannical law by going through any notoriously empty legal formality. We respect Comrade Pope, who would not leave jail on bail, because he would be formally recognizing the government's authority; but do we not also respect Comrades Addis and Isaak, who took bail and came out to found Free Society?

As to Comrade James' substitution of "Taoists" for "Triad Society," he defends it by saying that any one who knows the great Chinese religions must see that the Triad Society is "a part of Taoism." The most important thing to notice here is the confession of Comrade James' method of writing. By his own account, he has taken the statement of his authority, and remodeled it on the basis of his general knowledge of the influences at work. Any one who has paid any attention to historical method knows that this kind of procedure is extremely fruitful, but extremely unreliable. This deductive method of history, joined to some slips like writing November for December, constitutes almost the whole of my charge against James' work.

As to the result here: his knowledge of Taoism may be so much superior to mine as to justify him in calling the Triad Society a part of it. But this will not justify the language he used. He says "the Taoists" joined Tien-te; while Williams does not say that all or a majority of the Triad Society did so. But what does James mean by "the Taoists"? In the general sense of putting faith in that religion and practicing it, every Chinaman (bar Mohammedans and Christians) is a Taoist, just as every Chinaman is a Confucian and every Chinaman a Buddhist. In any narrower sense, "only the priests of this sect are regarded as its members" (p. 214). Now the Triad Society does not include the mass of the Chinese nation; neither is it made up of Taoist priests. James' argument from "the characteristics of the larger religions" can at best only prove that the Taoist element in Chinese life produces the Triad Society; it cannot prove that the Triadists are

rightly distinguished from other Chinamen as "Taoists." Again, it could at most only prove that all Triadists are Taoists, not that all Taoists are Triadists; but it would have to prove the latter, to justify him in saying "most of this sect," where Williams says "most of the Triad chiefs."

After this example, and especially James' confession, I abstain just now from the complete enumeration of twenty-two places in which I have noticed that he evidently misunderstood Williams, and in fully half of which his misunderstanding has brought him into downright contradiction to Williams. He can have the twenty-two, or a selection of them, if he likes.

As to his "suppressing all the discreditable facts," etc.,—I admit that the word "all" is so far an exaggeration, that in half his stories he inserted one or two facts (mostly unimportant), which might make against the impression he desired to produce. But in his first story, of the Catholic missions, he neglected to do even this. The old quarrel between the Jesuits and Dominicans of China, in which he takes the Jesuit side so zealously, lies in a nutshell; it is simply the "consistency" question lately under debate in Free Society. The Dominicans insisted that the converts be consistent as Christians; the Jesuits thought this superfluous. In describing the Jesuit policy as "prudence," saying "it would be difficult to imagine more judicious, honorable, or unselfish propagation of Christian civilization among a heathen population," he forgets to add that the distinctive characteristic of this policy was the recommendation of the grossest wholesale hypocrisy. I think it is generally held that time has decided in favor of the Dominicans. James' quotations, suggesting that the present Catholicism of China is mainly the result of Jesuit work, are woefully garbled.

He emphasizes and exaggerates the contrast between the first Catholics, boldly entering the interior, and the first Protestants, sticking to the foreign settlement of Canton; but he neglects to say that the Catholics came when Chinese law allowed free entrance, and behaved so as to cause the emperor to prohibit missions; consequently the first Protestants were restricted to Canton, where they had more work than they could do.

He acknowledges Tien-te's theological ignorance—yes, in part; but he suppresses the way in which Tien-te's followers devastated the country, which is much more to the point.

In order to make it appear that the admiration of the missionaries for Gordon was a result of his war against the Tai-Ping, he asserts that Gordon was not an orthodox Christian; which is notoriously false.

Enough for now, I hope. Only I want to close with a protest against his doctrine of solidarity in responsibility, by which he saddles the missionaries of today with guilt for the real or imaginary crimes of certain missionaries in the past. Is every member of a trade-union to blame for what some members of that union did fifty years ago? Or every brewer, for the faults of Oliver Cromwell?

I did not mean to charge him with inconsistency in praising Tien-te. My quotation was meant to refer to the fact that Gordon, a man of the highest character in many respects, let his reverence for law and order lead him into the active support of the most atrocious villainy,—as James, with all his blunders, has successfully shown. I see nothing in James' article inconsistent with Anarchism, except his constant choice of "opium-smuggler" rather than "opium-trader" as a term of reproach, as if smuggling was a bad thing.

Sherburne, Vt. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Is it not possible that an individual may be right and a government wrong? Are laws to be enforced simply because they are made, or declared by any number of men to be good, if they are not good?—Thoreau.

Patriotism and parasitism are never found far apart.

Literature.

The Coming Woman. By Lillie D. White. Chicago, Ill., Moses Harman. Price 5 cents. For sale by Free Society.

This is No. 8 of the excellent Light Bearer Library. It was originally delivered as a lecture at the International Congress of Freethinkers, Chicago, October, 1893. It is a splendid plea for the broader womanhood of the future, free from the cramping restraints of convention and sex slavery. Radicals will find it an exceedingly useful pamphlet.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

AN OPEN LETTER TO GEORGE DE LION.

Feeling more than a passing interest in the weal or woe of all progressive colonies, I take the liberty to publicly inquire of you, what principles pertaining to the relations of the sexes are to be promulgated and practised in your prospective colony.

A close observer of the workings of former colonies, of more or less Anarchistic proclivities, remarked to me that the rock against which these defunct societies were dashed was the sex problem.

This is a question which is ever present in all societies; and it is one which will not be ignored.

Do you purpose admitting to your colony "single" individuals, and professed free lovers?

Is monogamistic association, "for life" of "paired" couples, your ideal of sex relationship? Or do you consider the satisfying of mutual and spontaneous desire, without sexual contracts, to be higher in the scale of evolution?

As the fate of the children, their "morals," as well as their industrial condition and economic welfare, is professed to be the chief concern of those who study the sex problem, I make bold to ask: Do you favor the herding together of those persons who chance to be "blood relations" into "families," without reference to the tastes or temperaments of the individuals connected? Or does it appear preferable to you for those men, women and children of agreeable temper, similar habits and congenial mental development, to be thus closely associated, if they choose, regardless of kinship?

In your ideal society, is the child counted the property of its parents; or do you claim for it the state of freedom from birth? Shall the child be accorded the prerogative, at as early an age as its intellect will admit, of choosing and refusing its associates, teachers, occupations?

VIROQUA DANIELS.

Los Angeles, Cal.

A LETTER.

I read Free Society each week with much interest, enjoying the contributions from many comrades, and especially from the pens of Wm. and Lizzie M. Holmes, Emma Goldman, my dear friend Rose Winn and others. I endorse Comrade Holmes' idea of getting to people, and have long since adopted that plan; and find that men who before were my enemies and would refuse to listen, are now my friends and willing to hear the truth.

I cannot endorse Comrade Henry Addis' ideas on the sex question; they strike me as coming from a perverted mind. Such thoughts are too coarse for sensitive beings; and it is, I believe, only strong sensitives that will stand true to humanity under the hardships Anarchy must yet endure. It seems to me we should not present ideas in a way that will drive humanity from us, or that would cause the homes of those seeking truth to be destroyed; therefore I never hand out a paper containing an article from the pen of H. Addis. I do not say this in any spirit of condemnation; but I will not be guilty of destroying homes, any more than guilty of perpetuating our present system of government by voting; for as Brother Winn has

truly said, when our homes are destroyed, the nation goes down." Notwithstanding hard experiences and facts, I believe that virtue is on the increase; but perverted minds who advocate promiscuity have no claim to the cause of increase. People are demanding freedom as never before; and thousands of homes are being wrecked amid the clamor by those who cannot in reasoning go deep enough to find that freedom, liberty, only comes to those whom the truth makes free. —W. J. O'CONNELL.

COMMENT.

I think Comrade Addis is thoroughly competent to answer the personal reference to himself, and will leave that side of the matter to him. But as to "destroying homes," it does seem strange that Comrade O'Connell cannot see that liberty cannot destroy any home that is not held together simply by force. I do not know any contributor to Free Society who advocates "promiscuity." If there be such, he merely claims it as his own conception, and does not seek to compel others to accept it. It is not liberty that ruins homes, but ignorance, born of the denial of liberty. If freedom in sex relations necessarily leads to perversion, why is not the same true of freedom in all social and economic relations? Sexual freedom rests on precisely the same basis as the entire Anarchist philosophy; and the two must stand or fall together.

CHORDS.

One day, in advocating a more liberal loosening of the purse strings at a Methodist conference in Washington, Bishop W. A. Candler said that several years ago he sent an article to a paper, in which he wrote that "we pray too loud, and work too little."

The intelligent compositor got in his fine Italian hand; and when the article appeared, it read: "We bray too loud, and work too little."

"I let it go at that," said the bishop. "The fact is, I believe the printer was right; and I never attempted to correct it."—Exchange.

A number of millionaires had a big dinner at Delmonico's (New York) the other evening; and the first toast was: "To her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India." Faithful subjects they, who would also make the whole American people subjects of the British Crown.—San Francisco Star.

Although the coal strike has been off for some weeks, the coal combine has not yet taken down its raise of 50 cents a ton, and won't; as a dispatch from New York declares in so many words that the higher price will probably remain permanently. If anyone thought that the coal barons would lose anything by the miners' strike, he has just one more thing coming.—Cleveland Citizen.

In answering Mr. Olney's charge that present tendencies are educating the nation to "contempt for alien peoples," the Providence Journal hastens to refer to "our new-found brethren over seas." The "brethren" that need more troops to make them brothers.—Justice.

Attorney-General John P. Elkin rises to say:

"We are going to give the Filipinos just as good government as we have here in Pennsylvania."

Angels and ministers of grace defend and help the Filipinos.—Light of Truth.

Does not the unwritten law against a third term prohibit Mark Hanna from running for the presidency in 1904? If eligible, he is the logical candidate to

succeed McKinley, in an era of "commercialism in politics."—National Democrat.

Human progress is only possible where liberty exists. Give men liberty; and all things become possible to them, and will in time be accomplished by them.—National New Era.

Why this howl, when Mark Hanna's name is mentioned for president? Can't the people stand it to be governed at first hands instead of by the hired man?—Workers' Call.

The Wall street farmers are just now stuffing their lambs. The shearing season will come later.—Farm and Factory.

Let well enough alone, is always the cry of those who have their hands in other folks' pockets.—Farm and Factory.

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