

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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SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 15, 1900.

WHOLE NO. 262.

"IF, IF, IF."

If life were not the life they are
Imagination's lordliest scene
Would nothing have its bliss to mar
Or spoil what then there might have been.

WALLACE E. NEVILL.

LOOKING BEYOND.

Looking forward beyond the present strange era, though not so very far beyond, to where in imagination we behold the sinking sun of the old world becoming but the daybreak of the new, there, in the light of the future the elucidation of problems that tormented the past as they torment the present, seems somehow easier.

Behind us, deep in shadow, lies the past where Man as yet participated in the brutalities of the wild human flock; before us, almost with reach, we have the new human Ideal, above and beyond which like a chain of endless peaks towers Progress.

Certain laws of transition, such for instance as that of growth, are eternal; people and things are born, emerge from obscurity, grow and attain to their different stages across the flight of Time.

The people, now outgrown their infancy, have today reached the age of conscious youth; grouped around the newborn century and freed from the horrors of their past, they stand the harbingers of a new legend.

Borders and frontiers strewn with the many dead, now strive ceaselessly towards the widening of their natural limits, and following the example of the United States of America, the people will form themselves into confederations, Europe first and then the others.

Only by the union of Europe in a confederation of free States, will it be possible to resolve without disastrous wars, the old envenomed problems whose knots have become veritable coils of snakes, which strangle the peoples as once the serpents of Tenedos strangled Laocoon.

We have reached the heroic age when such monsters as Misery, Slavery and War will be conquered; when nations no more than men can return to the cradle from which they sprang. Science, stone by stone, will overturn lying religions; Art and Literature foreshadow the new ideal, the ideal of Freedom, which with its ramifications across the ages now envelopes the earth at the dawn of the new times.

Yet, epochs, like men, can sink back into slumber, once the population becomes decimated in the slaughter-house of War, leaving only sufficient to obey their masters' will; then is it that Equality, the true ideal of Justice, may be forgotten. Let us allow no man to slumber until his sleep is safe from snares, until all are free in a liberated and regenerate world.

London, Eng., March, 1900. LOUISE MICHEL.

PRICE, PROFIT, POWER.

Price, profit, power—allied destructive forces these, and formidable indeed, shielded by a multiplicity of social intrenchments. A strong outwork is the slowness of society to perceive that annihilation may occur piecemeal; that, while some agencies, as fire or tidal waves, precipitate ruin, others equally fateful, as unjust social connections, do their work of devastation at a snail's pace, and this silently, almost imperceptibly.

Affix prices to products and products will creep in. Admit profits as a factor in exchange, and the accumulation of the apparently harmless trifles adds power to the hands of the collector, the power that "pollutes whatever it touches," for it is the power that subjects one human being to another, that swells the conscious importance of one ego into arrogance, and shrivels another into a state of underestimation and servility.

The man conqueror, whatever his degree, "breaks the wills" of the conquered,—or "bends" them for a

time! Many parents think they have been amiss in their duty to their child, if they failed to "break his will." They really had as much right to break his arm or leg—or neck! What fits the case of the child is not less applicable to the public. Every unit of society has an incontrovertible right to his unbroken will, to his every faculty, intact; but so long as the power that follows price and profit is an element in human organization, so long will these rights be held in abeyance, or be only partially yielded up.

The powers of private monopolists and governmentalists are interdependent; fortunately they are not boundless! The mightiest subject of the race lacked the requisite shrewdness to sweep mankind from the face of the earth, though he employed all the repressive and suppressive measures his ingenuity could devise!

Censorship of some sort is indispensable if private property and government are to be perpetuated. Individual faculties cannot fully develop in an atmosphere contaminated with the presence of a censor.

Friends, withdraw your mental and physical support from the institutions of Price, Profit and Power.—Viroqua Daniels.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPAGANDA.

Every new idea, every new social theory that is contrary to prevailing traditions and established morality has its period of trials and labor-pains. The new idea gives birth to enthusiastic adherents and mighty agitators who by the power of word and pen try to tear down old barriers and who are carried by the belief that they can easily conquer conservatism. That is the period of criticism, the period of labor-pains, which, like every other clarifying process, is bound to be productive of some phrases, superficial thought and chaff along with the kernel. Gradually a seeming calm sets in. The adherents of the new idea begin to scrutinize and criticize themselves and—to learn. Within their own ranks new groups are formed; new perspectives are opened up before them and they begin to enlarge the foundation of the idea. A portion of the adherents retain a blind reverence for the idea; it becomes a sacred thing, a new religion for them; a new code as it were, a new morality, and woe be unto him who dares to criticize; he will be persecuted just as much as the propounders of the new idea used to be at one time. Another portion—the largest—compromises with the enemy, and sacrifices some of its radicalism while the enemy does the same thing and gives up some of its conservatism, which furnishes a sort of porridge palatable for most anybody. That is called by those wiseacres to be "practical." Many lose faith because things are not progressing fast enough or not according to their notions; they either wholly go into the enemy's camp or retire, play off hurt and become a hindrance to those who are willing to go ahead. Aside from these groups are found isolatedly the discoverers of new truth, the pioneers of new ideas who travel their own roads. Wherever one turns one's eye the same picture presents itself. I would only remind the reader of the struggles of the new ideas in natural science, the fine arts, sociology, nay religions. How long since we have witnessed the battle the impressionists were forced into against the old school of painters? Are we not living right within the mists of a battle in literature? Naturalism, naturism, symbolism, decadence, and so on, all of them are opposing each other.

We had to go through the same experience with the woman's question. During our years of tender youth in our fancy and enthusiasm we created an ideal woman. Our imagination credited her with the finest and noblest attributes. Our motto was "equality for

both sexes in every respect." This was illusion. But soon we returned to realism. The woman we had thus pictured did not exist in reality. That is, the educated, free woman existed in many editions, but we did not see her because we were chasing after moonshines—the ideal woman. Because we did not see the free woman she did not exist for us—then we became skeptics as regards the woman question.

I remember quite distinctly when some friends and myself read the news in Freedom that Emma Goldman was coming to England upon a tour of agitation. Well, Comrade Goldman was no stranger to us. We had heard about her work in America; some comrades, indeed, had become slightly acquainted with her in 1896. We were too much used to our dry parrotlike Social Democratic sister agitators. Incredible as it may appear to the American comrades, there is hardly a capable female agitator in the Anarchistic movement of all Europe. There are indeed some very excellent comrades, but they come to the front but seldom. It is hardly necessary, then, to assure the readers of Free Society that we were very agreeably disappointed in our comrade Emma Goldman.

In the beginning of these observations I spoke of the development of new ideas. Was it not the same with the idea of Anarchism? Let us give a resume of the short but eventful history of our work. There are few movements in the history of mankind that can show so much sacrifice, enthusiasm and devotion. How is it today, however? How many are there who have evolved and remained steadfast under the flag of Anarchy, of liberty and independence? Alas! but very few, and of those few Emma Goldman is one of the first. One evening we were speaking of wages. I asked how would those individuals be paid whose usefulness consists in their very personal or individual influence, as it were. "They cannot be paid at all," replied Emma. That reply fits her own case. To wade through the dirt and pitfalls of our modern society requires the freedom that lives within us and the consciousness of the righteousness of our actions. There is no pay for such work.

The English Anarchistic movement is weaker today than it used to be—as, indeed it is the case in all countries—that is, weaker so far as regards the number of its adherents and its papers. That does by no means indicate, however, that Anarchism is on the decline or has vanished. On the contrary, the loss of a few papers has been balanced by the incorporation of our ideas into literature whereby the liberal minds of all countries have been attracted to us.

Look for instance at a large percentage of the modern literature of France and Germany; it is more or less Anarchistic. While thus the movement itself may have grown weaker, an agitation trip of a talented comrade gains in importance and becomes an event. Comrade Goldman's propagandistic powers have surpassed all expectations. It should be remembered, however, that she hails from a country that produced women who will always possess the admiration of all liberty-loving human beings. A woman that springs from the circle of revolutionary Russia is made of solid material. A good speaker, keen in debate, controlling her subjects in a brilliant manner, she always understands how to treat her audiences to something new and characteristic. In former days rhetoric used to play a prominent part in propaganda; today many even go so far as to consider public speakers entirely unnecessary. Oh! if these people but knew what it means to be a speaker.

Comrade Goldman stayed here four months and during that time she spoke at London, Leeds, Dundee, Glasgow and many other cities at about forty meetings partly in the English and partly in the German languages. Her lectures are carefully thought out,—instructive masterpieces. I anticipate very beneficial results from her work among the poor Russian-Jewish proletarians of East London. Knowing the condition of

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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.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The representatives of our rulers and would-be kings and queens, the daily papers, seem to be conscience-stricken of late, or else how shall we explain the short notices and subsequent silence regarding the attempt of the youthful Sipido to assassinate the notorious libertine and gambler—the so-called Prince of Wales? Probably the wholesale slaughter going on in the Transvaal and the Philippine Islands, the shameless exploitation and robbery perpetrated upon the poverty-stricken population of Porto Rico, and the scandalous affairs in the State of Kentucky, are things so atrocious that it would be preposterous even to these scribes to moralize on such a trifle as the killing of a prince. Of course the Prince of Wales is not worth the rush, but the sentiment which prompted the courageous boy to make the attempt will be hailed with joy by all those whose humane feelings are not yet entirely blunted. "Because he caused thousands of men to be slaughtered in South Africa." Compare his motive with that of Gov. Taylor of Kentucky, or that of Chamberlain and his like, who still run at large while the much nobler boy will be condemned to spend his best years in a prison cell.

Thousands of men are slaughtered and hundreds of millions of dollars—robbed from the toiling masses—squandered merely for the benefit of a few money-mongers while the producers submissively famish in the name of "law and order." A woman in Rochester, N. Y., Catharine Meyer, killed her two little children and then committed suicide, because she owed a grocer \$1.06 and would not trust her for any more supplies. When will the day of reckoning come?

During the last eleven months, according to official records, there have been 83 suicides in the armies of the United States. During the same period about 1000 soldiers have been put in the military insane asylum in Washington. Such are the blessings of patriotism and "benevolent assimilation." Verily, "only block-heads go to war."

ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

III.

PHILADELPHIA TO PITTSBURG.

The comrades in Philadelphia deserve personal mention. I could fill many pages with descriptions of them, and pleasant words, amply deserved, concerning them. But the same may be said of the comrades in many another city; and the limits of space forbid. To single out one or two for special reference, would seem invidious. But I know there is no comrade in Philadelphia who will grudge any words of praise spoken with regard to comrade Natasha Notkin. Everybody seems to love her. I do not know where I have seen a comrade so universally popular. "She is the life of our movement here," writes one of the comrades, in a personal letter to me. She hates to hear herself praised, and does, in a quiet and unassuming manner, an amount of work for the movement which can be paralleled by very few. Anarchy is a part of her very life, which she could by no possibility separate from her own existence.

It will be remembered that Philadelphia is the home of comrade Voltairine de Cleyre, who is too well and favorably known, both as poet and as lecturer, to need any words of commendation from me. It is to be hoped that by another season, she will be able to arrange her engagements so as to take an extended western tour. The Pacific Coast comrades would be most glad of an opportunity to hear one of the most gifted orators of the East.

I had also the pleasure of meeting Sada Bailey Fowler, well known as the author of "Irene, or The Road to Freedom." Her quiet manner and quaint Quaker phrase clothe a warm heart and an active mind. She has recently published a new book, enti-

tled "One," dealing with social and economic problems in the spirit of an earnest speaker for truth.

But I will be accused of being over-enchanted with Philadelphia, if I do not hasten on. My visit there at an end, I started toward Buffalo, making two minor stops on the way for personal visits.

My stop in Buffalo was brief. The movement there is almost wholly among the Germans. For local reasons, the comrades were unable to secure a hall for a meeting. I was, however, invited to speak on "The Scope of Liberalism" before Moses Hull's Spiritualist Society, and thus enabled to sow a little good seed.

Every visitor to Buffalo goes to see Niagara Falls. I was fortunate enough to have an unusually bright and pleasant day for the purpose. I set forth with two companions who, like myself, had never seen the Falls before. The magnificent spectacle has been described by so many word-painters that I shall not pretend to give an account of it. The first sensation is one of disappointment; but the Falls grow on the spectator, until their majesty becomes enthralling. Especially is this true of the great Horseshoe Falls, seen near at hand from the Canadian side. The only drawback to the magnificent spectacle is the clamorous greed of the hack drivers, curio sellers, and a whole tribe of other sordid wretches, who see in this peerless display of Nature's grandeur only a chance for money-making. On every side is dishonesty and extortion. The only safe way is to trust to your own feet, and repel with a vigorous refusal every attempt to cajole money from you. You can see all that is best worth seeing without paying tribute to any except the thieves who hold the bridge across the river, and exact booty for allowing you to pass. On the Canadian side, you are not further molested; but beware of making many purchases there: for on your return to Uncle Sam's territory, you will be stopped by another bandit, known as custom house officer, who will insist on examining every parcel, to find a pretext for robbing you. The trolley ride down the river is very pleasant, though the fare is grossly extortionate; and the whirlpool, which is a famed sight of Niagara, can be reached equally well on foot.

My hosts in Buffalo were those excellent comrades, Gus and Hattie Lang, 408 Riley St. A little gathering was arranged at which I met several other comrades. They are laboring under special difficulties in Buffalo, but determined not to give up the fight.

My next stop was a short one in Cleveland. I was down for a lecture before the Franklin Club, Sunday, Nov. 12. The night before, I went to hear comrade John Most speak in honor of our martyred Chicago comrades. He was present, but suffering from a severe cold, which left him too hoarse to speak at all. At his request, I undertook the subject, rather than send the audience away entirely disappointed. Most of the audience were Germans, who had come to hear Comrade Most speak in their language. As my German is somewhat too rusty for public speaking, I was compelled to use my native tongue, which was, I think, intelligible to most of them. The theme was fortunately one capable of lending some inspiration to even the dullest-witted speaker.

The Franklin Club is an extremely live debating society, numbering many Anarchists among its members, but by no means confined to them. A lively discussion followed my speech there, in which several Roman Catholics participated. They showed an amazing ignorance of facts, but were unusually fair and courteous in their language.

I stayed at the house of comrade Emile Schilling, 4 Elwell St., an earnest and faithful worker. I met several other comrades, whom I should have been glad to see more of. But further duties called me away. Pittsburg was my next stopping place; and the long ride there passed more quickly and pleasantly an account of the agreeable company of comrade Henry Bauer and his Gretchen, who had been making a brief visit to Cleveland.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

SOCIALIST DEWEY ROASTED.

If I had no mistrust of politicians, particularly those who label themselves "friends of labor," who constantly go about, ranting about the woes of labor, advising us to elect "class conscious" individuals to relieve us from our self-inflicted injuries, I should surely have mistrust by the ton after listening to a speech delivered last Sunday night by A. M. Dewey in this city, under the auspices of the Social Democrats on the subject: "The Crime of the Century."

A few words as to Dewey and his connections, politi-

cal and otherwise. From the crown of his silk stove pipe hat to the soles of his well polished shoes is there the faintest trace of want and toil! The well rounded and protruding belly, the thick neck and full red face denote no very recent scarcity of food in his vicinity; the white, soft, fat hands show no contact with any tool of productive industry; the immaculate white collar and shirt, the well fitting "Prince Albert coat," and the massive piece of jewelry dangling from his west pocket show that he is on friendly terms with both tailor and jeweler, and that to feel—ill clad—the keen cutting blast of chilly winter is something entirely unknown to him. His present occupation is holding down a U. S. government job: member of the U. S. Industrial Commission. He is a member of two labor organizations and a Socialist by trade.*

Now for his speech. Dewey says he heard governor Steunenberg of Idaho say that he was not opposed to labor unions, but to a certain organization that is controlled by criminals. Of course Steunenberg is not, for there is no organization of workers in Idaho to be opposed to except the Western Federation of Miners. "Oh yes there is," says Dewey; "one organization I belong to has 12,000 members in the State, and there are printers' unions all over the State, of which Mr. Steunenberg is a member at Boise." There is, however, another labor organization in the State of Idaho beside the Western Federation of Miners—the Knights of Labor. Any, yes, very many of them are members of the Federation, in fact they officer the Federation, and Dewey has been allied with them many years, for he, too, is a Knight of Labor. If according to the governor of Idaho, whom Dewey claims as his friend, the Knights of Labor miners of Idaho, who are members and officers of the Western Federation of Miners, are criminals, then he himself is equally guilty of what he and his friend, the governor of Idaho, call the crimes of the miners in that region. Furthermore, he is an associate of criminals if these men be criminals. Yes, Steunenberg is a member of the International Typographical Union, and notwithstanding his utterances to the contrary, the printers' unions do not approve Steunenberg's actions, for I have read resolutions published in newspapers, by printers' unions, strongly condemning the actions of Steunenberg relative to the Coeur d'Alene trouble and calling upon the sister union at Boise to expel him. True, the local union did approve his action, but when we remember that the members were working in the State printing office, the act of approval is not remarkable, for if they failed or refused to approve they might come under the ban of his anger and lose their jobs. Yet in the face of such conditions he advises us workers, as an avenue of escape from the ocean of trouble that we are struggling in, to turn ourselves over to the mercy of the politicians—by delivering up all power and right to the State, resting in the belief that the State can do no wrong. Never, Mr. Dewey! never shall we permit such a condition of affairs to come about, for there are too many Steunbergs, Sinclairs, Merriams and A. M. Deweys running loose for us to safely try such an experiment.

"Men were run out of the Coeur d'Alene mining camps at the point of loaded rifles," says Dewey, and that was terrible! Men were run out of these same mining camps and places by mining companies and other corporations because they had the magnificent courage to combat the tyranny of corporate greed. Dewey says nothing about that, though. He investigated, in an official capacity, the Idaho troubles, but knows "nothing about the cause of the trouble on account of the religion and politics that is mixed up in it and the lying of both parties regarding the trouble."

* Comrade Lynch is perfectly free to attack the personal appearance of Socialist Dewey, but such an attack is not an argument and can only arouse the ill feelings of Dewey toward Anarchy—a free society—in which no one would be without these pretty things, if he desired them, and every one could have a "well rounded and protruding belly" instead of as now when many of us look like the skin of a Belgian hare hanging up to dry on the dry bones of an Egyptian mummy as we stand around with stomachs so flat for the lack of sufficient and proper food. I am an Anarchist because I think, speak, and act hoping to bring about a condition in which the "full red face" denotes no very recent scarcity of food in my vicinity.

Nay, comrade, your article is excellent and we publish it just as you wrote it, and probably Dewey deserves no mercy at your hands because unfortunately (fortunately for him) "his present occupation is holding down a government job, member of two labor organizations and a Socialist by trade," but remember, if a man's appearance is held up to ridicule, glorious principles are liable to be lost sight of in the contemplation of the inglorious personality.

THE COMPOSITOR.

Quite an admission for an official to make. The mine owners according to this must have introduced the old bait—religion and politics—and divided the workers. That is what they did. Catholicism and A. P. A.'ism, Populism and Democratic-Silver-Republicanism were some of the tools used to break down the miners.

Dewey further said these miners were mere Trade Unionists and trade unions were opposed to Socialism, therefore ought to be broken up, or words to that effect. Here is where Dewey shines again. He himself is a member of the printers' union, and he is also a Socialist. Now, as a Trades Unionist, according to his own statement, he is opposed to Socialism, then as a Socialist he is not opposed to Socialism.

Oh, what a shining mark is this politician Dewey for the Anarchist! For the good of the Socialist movement the printers' union should be broken up; for the good of the printers' union Socialism ought to be broken up. "I am both," says Dewey.

Trade unions, according to Dewey, can do no good, because the money power picks out a bright fellow here and there among them and by corrupting them manipulates the rest. Was he throwing bouquets at himself? Was he a bright fellow, in the long ago, among the printers and therefore picked out and given an office? If his accusation is true, has he, too, been corrupted and being used as a decoy by which to trap the rest of us? Well, it seems so, and I will take it for granted since he has said it. There was a time when this man Dewey spoke and wrote differently, but holding down a government job has had the same effect on him as it has on all who strive to free labor from its shackles, namely: to increase their own *avoids*, wardrobe, and the contents of their wallets, and decrease their respect for the hopes and aspirations of earth's suffering and toiling millions, and their sense of horror at the injustice that the idle class enjoys in inflicting on the industrial masses.

Now, I do not suppose Dewey will ever see this, for I presume he would not look at much less read an Anarchist paper, although he did say in his speech (he stammered though when saying it) that the Chicago Anarchists were indicted for murder, arrested for conspiracy and hanged because they were Anarchists and told the truth, and the person who threw the bomb on the Haymarket was known to the police, but being a wealthy man had been permitted to leave Chicago and go back to Germany where he was still living, and that he—the speaker—had his name in his notes but would refrain from giving his name. Still I must tell Dewey and all others that the miners of Idaho are not criminal. Their attitude was that of brave men battling for liberty, and their work on April 29, 1899, did more good than all the "labor friend" politicians could or will accomplish in a century. What we need is more men possessed of the revolutionary spirit of the miners of Idaho and less of Dewey politicians. C. LYNCH.

NEWS AND NOTES.

There is evidently a spirit of revolt abroad in the land,—the whole modern civilization with its trinity of State, Church and Commercialism is on trial. Persons of all social strata are investigating the causes of the many evils which oppress liberty-loving men and women. We are undoubtedly on the eve of a general revolt and therefore does it behoove us Anarchists to be on guard that the mistakes of the past not be repeated in the future.

The eighteenth of March has been set aside by the radicals everywhere not simply to commemorate the heroic deed of our brothers in France to defend the Commune of Paris, or of the many blows struck for freedom in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and France in the mad year of 1848; but the object of these anniversary gatherings is to bring to our remembrance the lessons which these previous uprisings have taught us, one of the main lessons being that the exploiters will do everything in their power to keep the producers of wealth in subjection, and that no mercy or humane considerations may be expected of those who fear to lose the privileges which they at present enjoy.

The comrades here in Portland, like in many other places, had a meeting for the 18th of March arranged, our comrade and co-worker Henry Addis delivering the address of the evening. His clear and concise explanations of the aim and object of the communards of '71 were listened to with earnest attention, and taking the impartial history of Lissagaray for his guide, he pointed out the causes which in the end enabled the middle classes of France to drown the greatest popular

uprising of the nineteenth century in the blood of the 40,000 slain or murdered lovers of freedom. Many previously unacquainted with the true inward history of the Commune have learned a lesson which they will not easily forget. Some literature was sold, several "converts" gained, and those of us who labored for the success of the meeting feel satisfied that we have not worked in vain.

The Wendell Phillips of our cause, Jas. F. Morton, has informed us that we may expect him here in the "hub of intelligence" on the Pacific Coast about May 1. We hope that he may find time to stay a little while with us, because Emma Goldman and John Most remained for a few days only and we had no time to become thoroughly acquainted with either of them. He will find many things here which cannot fail to remind him of Boston. The same high regard of our intelligence, the same conservative though tolerant attitude toward all new ideas brought up for consideration, and Spiritualists, Theosophists, Astrologers, Palmists, etc., we have also here in quite respectable numbers. Success to you, comrade, and may the man who claims that you are not handsome thank his stars that you are not a woman.

We have had an addition to our numbers here in Portland. It is a little baby girl, the result of a "free union," as it is called on Comrade Addis' part. We celebrated the event with a gallon of wine and named the baby "Louise Michel." She, like Morton and Addis, also wears the color of revolution on her head, and we hope that in time she will be as genuine a red as her namesake of sunny France. CHAS. DOERING.

STIMULANTS AGAIN.

In No. 19 of Free Society appears another new name under more than a column of stimulants. She says: "To parallel the vocation of a lawyer with that of a wage worker is—to say the least—sophistry." But does the assertion prove it? It is inconsistent with Anarchist principles to practice law. So is it to work for wages. Who is to decide which inconsistency may be allowed and which not? There is but one answer: every one must decide for himself or herself. No one can decide for another; no one has any right to decide for another.

She says: "One must of necessity sell the only commodity at his disposal—his manual labor." But need one do so? Comrade Blechschmidt draws the line—for himself—at wage working, and recently refused to apply for a job, where he was told he could get one, because he would have to work for wages. But should he spurn all who work for wages as untrue comrades because he will not work for wages? Comrade Doering does not pay house rent; but does he condemn all who do as inconsistent, and would he be justified in so doing?

She says: "Anarchy means the absolute negation of law and authority and to justly bear the name 'Anarchist' one must utilize every chance to fight against all existing accursed institutions with might and vigor." Bless you, yes! and no hesitating to see if the tact used conforms to some one else's idea of consistency. You bet, use every opportunity, and make opportunities if you can, but don't stop and go through a critical self-examination to see if your conscience approves, but pitch in and do the work.

Self-sacrifice and martyrdom are relics of religious fanaticism, justifiable where a golden crown is to be gained, but have no part in the Anarchist philosophy, yet our friend, Bertha Leib, insists that we, as Anarchists, should practice them. Is she fully away from early religious training or inheritance? Has she read "Anarchist Morality"? What care we for "moral aspect"? The most intolerant community in Oregon is Silverton, famous as the stronghold of Secularism, and it is so because these self-styled "liberals" wish to present a "moral aspect" to the public view.

"Moral aspect" indeed! If we bow our necks to that yoke, the next one will be respectability, and finally conformity to all the customs of the day, but we will have none of it. We who have been long in the work do not propose to have our efforts confined to certain limits by any fixed creed, moral standard, line of distinction, or, in fact, anything outside of our own wish and will in the matter, nor yet to be driven out as unworthy the name of "Anarchist" because we see that absolute consistency is impossible and contend that every one must determine for himself or herself what the circumstances allow them to be.

Again I say, let every one try to reduce the inconsistency in their own life to the minimum, not drawing lines for others to toe, or saying: "thus far shalt thou go and no further," and we will see the work of consistent Anarchist action grow with amazing rapidity.

"Why not be a reverend then, a priest, a rabbi, a political heeler, etc., and still be an Anarchist?" Because we have not the education that fits us for these jobs; but we do work amongst them, and I have seen a number of reverends and one priest lose their job on account of becoming tinctured with radicalism, and if all lecturers could travel on half-fare rates, it would be a saving to the propaganda fund. HENRY ADDIS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPAGANDA.

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these poorest wage slaves of the world and to enlighten them regarding their condition so that they might become conscious of their dignity as human beings.

"Let us board new ships, we need a new morality," says the great thinker Nietzsche. This has never been done more effectually by anyone than by our friend Emma. It was a treat for the gods to behold the long faces of the Philistines when she spoke of the basis of morality or the critic of ethics, etc. As a matter of course she sometimes encountered opposition and found enemies. Many of these people have grown into and become accustomed to present conditions. What consternation it created, therefore, might be realized, when she showed these people that it is not enough to call oneself a Freethinker, Socialist or Anarchist, but that ones actions should correspond with his theories. I am far from speaking of the good paterfamilias; I am sure they are still having the shakes, for wasn't the sacredness of marriage in jeopardy!

But the principal effect of our friend Emma's propaganda consisted beyond doubt in the position she took against the most miserable war that was ever carried on—the war of the English capitalists against the two Boer republics. One must have participated in the indignation meetings which were disturbed by the Jingomob, one must have witnessed the great Trafalgar Square meeting at which the speakers—women—were threatened with knives and pelted with stones in order to appreciate what our brave Comrade Emma has done for free speech in England. As all meetings were disturbed by the paid mob, everything suddenly calmed down. Comrade Goldman being here, the local comrades agreed to hold an indignation mass-meeting with Emma as the principal speaker. There were some cautious ones who were of the opinion that it would be better for Comrade Goldman not to speak of the war at all being a foreigner which would provoke the Jingoes still more. I cannot help smiling even today when I remember the answer Emma made to that objection.

The meeting took place at the Workmen's Institute and Club, Tom Man presiding. The effect of the address of our Comrade Emma was simply grand. I had never before witnessed such spiritedness and enthusiasm at any meeting. And what an address! Verily, this robber-war had never before been condemned in a more forcible manner. As an effect of that address it was resolved to participate in all indignation meetings and to oppose the Jingoes by force if necessary. That meeting was a mark in the anti-war agitation.

A farewell festival for our Comrade Emma was held on Feb. 26. Comrades Kropotkin and Louise Michel delivered addresses. Words of joy, of love and appreciation were uttered. With emotion Comrade Kropotkin pointed out how happy they are who realize that their labors have not been in vain and that their efforts have produced new champions to complete the work they had started. Emma Goldman even on this occasion could not suppress her true character. After a few brief words of farewell she delivered a revolutionary address in favor of the striking Bohemian miners.

The young Anarchists or those who have become rejuvenated have learned a great deal and know a great deal, but it may be said of many of them that they do not possess backbone enough; they are too willing to let matters run their regular course and be satisfied with book philosophy. Let them take pattern after our Comrade Emma and realize that one may be up-to-date and yet, or even because of it, be a rebel and a champion in the cause of new ideas.

London, England. I. H. HAVEL.

It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume, is to do at any time what I think is right.—Thoreau.

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THE PITTSBURG MANIFESTO TO THE WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

(Issued by the Pittsburgh Congress of the International Working People's Association on October 16, 1883.)

FELLOW-WORKMEN:—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE says: " . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people), under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to re-assert their declaration?

Fellow-Workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in the behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. This exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalists) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages) and take for themselves, i. e. steal the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average, never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon, and absorb the labor-product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth, the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle-classes) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production as well as trade and intercommunication into their hands and develop into monopolists. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and

"commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: the last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e. stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class, being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, and unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers, unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths—so-called "over-productions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane and murderous. It is therefore necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it, and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains; as the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called "civilization," as the governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as finally the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society, so therefore the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association, presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production, in short, capital produced by labor, is changed into society property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoilage of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can satisfy their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—the Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while

on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class dominion. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance and servility; in short, want of sense. The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore, expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeoisie of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commits, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie must have a violent, revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our masters for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one resource—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson—"to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plain and simply:

First:—Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means i. e. by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

Second:—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third:—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongering.

Fourth:—Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth:—Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth:—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother hands!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY!

There exists now no great obstacle to that unity. The work of peaceful education and revolutionary conspiracy well can and ought to run in parallel lines.

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win!"

Tremble, oppressors of the world! Not far beyond your purblind sight there dawns the scarlet and sable lights of the JUDGMENT DAY!

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