

# 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. 263.

## MARTYRDOM.

To utter your thoughts before all men,  
Speaking full freely with voice and pen;  
True to the truth, while it brings to you  
But cold contempt or a harsh taboo;  
Or to lock your lips, all truth resigned,  
While you make a grave of the fruitful mind  
And fawn on the knee with the fawning crowd,  
The shallow-souled and the narrow-browed,  
The price of your silence a slave's ease; come,  
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To act as you think—untrammelled and bold;  
To reject, and to hold what is worthy to hold;  
Enduring scorn, or things more fell:  
The mob perhaps, or a prison cell;  
Or to chain your hands to your chained lips,  
And wait, your birthright in eclipse;  
For the whip of a custom to come or go;  
To the fetish of force your head bowed low;  
Your payment a coward's existence; come,  
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To live your life though the whole world blame;  
Taking no thought of fame or shame;  
Fighting, and falling if you must;  
Your face to the foe as you sink in the dust;  
Or to sell yourself for a paltry peace,  
And get for your gain a longer lease  
Of a life that at most can be but a lie,  
Bound in shame till it rot and die;  
All of its potencies palsied; come,  
Which is the greater martyrdom?

—W. F. Barnard.

## THE MARRIAGE INSTITUTION.

Are the marriage relations considered by the devotees of that "time honored institution," or is it the marriage CEREMONY to which sacredness is attached? Ah! there's the rub! We Americans do not worship idols as the ignorant and miserable heathens do, but we are sticklers for ceremonies. The harmonious operating of natural law is of minor consequence when a ceremony is at stake.

Still, when marriage rites are taken into account, the FEES usually contribute their share (and no mean part, either) to the performance, although the legality of the transaction is not endangered in all localities by a failure to foot the bills; but what an unappreciative rascally fellow he is, to be sure, who evades payment for—a wife! Does not the law literally bestow upon him this woman to love and to cherish?—and uphold him in confiscating the proceeds (in property or service) of her labor? He who begrudges the trifling sum required to pacify the law, and insure recognition by society of his "respectability," is either a dolt or the personification of avarice!

"Once upon a time," when death overtook a poor mortal, his mourning friends placed a coin between his lips to induce the invisible ferryman to becomingly transport him across the "dark river." Unsophisticated souls! How easily we of modern times see that those people were hoaxed out of their wearily earned coppers. Had they lived a hundred years later, prior to giving up the ghost, they would have hired some of the Lord's satellites to "read their titles clear, to mansions in the skies;" or they would, perforce, have divided their scanty stores and have passed it over to a reverend gentleman when a child was born so it could be regularly christened, and not named off-hand like a horse or cow. The christening mummeries included an item worth remembering; the child's spirit was safely switched off the track that leads to perdition. The blessing of the "holy fathers" at the nuptial ceremony was, no doubt, spontaneous and fervid in proportion to the size of the prospective requital for the service, etc., etc., at every important turn in life, or one that could be conceived by any stretch of the imagination to be important. You reverend adherents to the institution of marriage, do you

see in it any similarity to those institutions of the "good old times?"

Did you ever hear of a county clerk, who issues the marriage license, or the priest, preacher or justice of the peace, who repeats the customary formula that legally binds the couple, did you ever hear of any of these beneficiaries giving the "happy pair" the slightest information about the forces of sex, social purity, prenatal influences or heredity? Is not the "tying of the knot" a purely perfunctory and ritualistic affair, done solely for the FEES? Then why does society look upon it as such a weighty matter? Is it not a case of the exploited worshipping the "letter?"

I shall leave to those who defend legal marriage flummies the pleasant office of enumerating the reasons for retaining the institution, while I undertake to point out a few of its objectionable phases.

The promise exacted from the contracting parties, that they will live together till "death do part," whether the union prove to be "for better or for worse," is in the last degree revolting to a person whose dislikes are terse. It is simply preposterous to demand a promise of that sort of two individuals who cannot possibly foresee the probable alterations in their temper and temperament, brought about by the inevitable change in their habits, cares, and environment generally. To compel the fulfilment of the promise is monstrous. If, under certain galling conditions AND UPON THE PAYMENT OF A PRICE, the promise may be set aside, what gross absurdity to require it!

The law by causing the wife to be dependent on the husband for even the common necessities of life, subjects her to his will, just as truly as the day laborer is subject to his master (employer). What can be worse than sex slavery?

Property, not morality, is the bulwark of the marriage institution. All the evils of any age are interdependent.

Sexual intercourse, where love is absent, is prostitution; neither sex escapes the corrupting effects.

Sex subjugation, by direct brute force, or by any indirect means, is prostitution.

Legal enactments or ceremonies do not soften the facts.—Viroqua Daniels.

## OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

DEAR COMRADES, FRIENDS, AND SYMPATHIZERS OF FREE SOCIETY,—Little has been heard of me in the columns of Free Society, and this may have led some of you to believe that I am inactive or out of the movement entirely; but I have been neither. True, I cannot boast of having been as active as I was during my tour through America, but I have done some propaganda after all, at the same time not leaving the progress of our American movement out of sight, especially devoting my attention to the health and growth of our brave little rebel, Free Society.

My tour has been reported in a previous number of Free Society, so I will say little about it, only adding that while it did not turn out as successful as the one in the States, I do not think my trip fruitless.

I had occasion to join in a monster protest meeting against the brutal attempt of a few big thieves—Cecil Rhodes, Milner and Chamberlain—to rob the brave and marvelously courageous heroes of the Transvaal and the Free State of their independence and liberty.

Every Briton boasts of his freedom of speech, and in fact I myself with most radicals believed, up to my arrival in England, that freedom of speech was a reality in Britain. During my four months' touring in England and Scotland, however, I had ample opportunity to convince myself that freedom of speech is as much a farce there as elsewhere. The worst of it is

that this sacred right is not suppressed by the government, like in our "blessed land," but by the people themselves. By the "people" I do not only mean the ignorant, whisky-saturated, patriotism-maddened workers; but also the mental wage slaves: clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, typewriters, commercial travelers, and other flunkies to money and titles. We, too, have had to deal with a patriotic craze, but it was at least tinged with humanitarian sentiments, and I cannot recollect one single instance of having been disturbed in any of my meetings against the Spanish-American war. The only disturbance came from the police and not the people; whereas in England, where patriotism in the present war is based upon nothing but commercialism, the brutality of the people is simply beyond any comprehension and rather discouraging. Yet the pleasure of an instructive association of comrades like Kropotkin, Tschaitkoffsky, Tscherkessoff, and others, together with the study of the lights and shadows of the English Anarchistic movement, overbalance the disagreeable features one meets with on a tour hampered by obstacles of all kinds.

I cannot close my short review of my tour without mentioning the kind and energetic assistance rendered me by comrades H. M. Kelly and A. Davies, both known to the comrades in America through Solidarity, The Rebel, Free Society and Freedom. These two, themselves "foreigners" in England, like a faithful mate of a shipwrecked crew, are in a quiet and unassuming manner keeping the movement alive in London.

It is a rather singular feature that both in England and America the energetic workers are foreigners, yet such is the case. Not that our ideas have failed to gain ground among the natives of either country, nay, on the contrary: the number of English Anarchists in London, for instance, is very large; but it seems the Anglo-Saxon character lacks that power of devotion and enthusiasm which forces one on and on, almost against oneself, to break the chains and to fearlessly climb over all obstacles; because of that one cannot but appreciate such workers as Kelly and Davies, and a few others, so much more.

Exceptional conditions produce exceptional characters, so I have not yet lost hopes that some day England and America may furnish us with a Kropotkin, Tschaitkoffsky, Tscherkessoff, Perovskaya, Angellio, Caserio and other such wonderful men and women; indeed the beginning has been made in America by the appearance of a Parsons.

The comrades in Paris and elsewhere are busily engaged in preparing for our congress; but why has so very little been heard from the comrades in America? It is because the congress, when first proposed, was lightly treated by a few Anarchists, who either for personal reasons or because of lack of knowledge about the movement, have expressed themselves against the congress, and have denounced it as useless? If this be the case, I advise you to read Comrade Kropotkin's article carefully, and I am sure any prejudices you may have hitherto entertained on the subject, will vanish.

Of course, neither the organizers of the congress, Comrade Kropotkin, nor I believe that it will bring about a reconstruction in society, or a revolution in the methods of propaganda; but we do believe that there is not a better opportunity to let the world see that the Anarchists are very much alive, than the congress to be held during the congress to be held during the Exhibition in Paris, at a time when organized thieves, robbers, and legal and illegal prostitutes, will squander the sweat and blood-stained products of millions of workers. Or can you tell me of a more opportune occasion to send out a joint cry of protest against Church-sanctioned and State-legalized murder and exploitation? A protest against all forms of tyranny, not only in the ranks of the enemy, but even in those of so-called reformers, Socialists, nay, even Anarchists? I hardly think you can name one. And here I must not forget to mention the main object of importance 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.

We cannot all agree as to every point in our doctrines; especially are we likely to disagree as to the best methods of propaganda. Honest differences of opinion should be respected, and when one comrade differs from others in regard to tactics, etc., it is not necessary, nor is it fair, to publicly question his integrity, or to intimate that he is a hypocrite or a coward. As I said before, I do not value newspaper controversy unless it is upon fundamental principles, and I shall not again reply to the personal reflections of Streit and other critics.

The reports that the pockets of Sipido were filled with Anarchist literature when he was arrested, have given to the capitalist press another excuse to rave about Anarchy and Anarchists. The tenor of all the articles which have come under my notice is that the teachings of Anarchy lead to murder. Not one of these well paid scribblers seems capable of tracing effects to causes, or of crediting the attempt on the life of the prince of Wales to the wholesale murders of the nation of which he is a leading representative. Anarchy teaches that war is murder, and this highly sensitive, emotional, illy-balanced boy, fired with this idea, did exactly what might have been expected he would do. The teachings of Anarchy do not always find lodgment in well balanced brains, but we shall not cease spreading them for that reason. In his ignorance (for which he was not responsible) Sipido probably imagined that the prince was directly to blame for the war in Africa, and knowing no better than to strike, he struck where he thought the blow would tell the surest. Taking all the circumstances into consideration this was the act of a revolutionist, not of a would-be common murderer.

A flowery, yet strong article by William J. Bryan, written for the San Francisco Examiner, on "The Man With the Hoe" has found its way to my desk. Bryan's condemnation of monopoly, of corruption and abuse of power is powerful; what a pity he cannot see the real source of these evils. But that he does not is evident from these words:

Give justice to every creature—justice in the methods of government, justice in the distribution of the burden of government, justice in the making of the laws, justice in the interpretation of the laws, justice in the execution of the laws—justice first and charity afterward.

This is not the language of the demagogue or the self-seeker, but of a man who truly wishes the betterment of his fellows, while but dimly conscious of the remedy for their ills. To have a "good" government, not to abolish government altogether, is Mr. Bryan's ideal. But as Burke declared: "The thing, the thing itself is the evil," and I fear that Bryan's ideal would prove but a will-o'-the-wisp even if it were possible for him to have his way.

I think I correctly gauge comrade Victor E. Southworth's sentiments and feelings when I say that he is not looking for and has not expected a call to enter the lecture field in behalf of the Anarchist propaganda. Comrade Southworth is independent enough to do his chosen work in the manner which best appeals to his idea of the fitness of things. When he feels that he can do more good by taking the lecture field than he is now doing by addressing his Sunday morning audiences in this city, I have no doubt that "the Lord will provide" a way. Meantime those of us who are getting the benefit of his Sunday meetings are selfish enough to want to keep him where he is. As to his fitness to represent the Anarchist movement, those who think "Southworth is too young in the movement and not well enough grounded in the philosophy" would surely be better qualified to give an intelligent opinion if they would take the trouble to come and hear him. Merely reading an occasional lecture published in Free Society or Discontent gives but a very poor idea of Comrade Southworth's ability.

Here is a man who for many reasons is entitled to the respect and the earnest support of all radicals, and especially of those who live where they can hear and know him. He has left the church and voluntarily given up a fat position in the pulpit. He has become an Anarchist and taken an early opportunity of publicly declaring himself. Because he would not be untrue to his awakened convictions, he has suffered, both in himself and in his family, almost every kind of persecution and privation. He accepts with cheerfulness poverty and the ostracism of his former friends. Sunday after Sunday he eloquently pours forth his heartfelt convictions of right and duty. He unsparingly denounces every form of injustice. He holds up liberty as man's highest ideal. Surely for these reasons we should do for this man all that lies in our power. But Comrade Southworth is not only an agitator, a devoted propagandist, a consistent Anarchist. He is an individualist, and not the less so because he upholds free Communism as the ultimate highest form of society. He is an ardent lover (I had almost said worshiper) of Whitman, of Emerson, of Thoreau. He teaches the purest, the most enlightened individualism and egoism. His hatred of the State is only equalled by his confidence in the integrity of mankind. For these additional reasons our comrade is entitled to, and should receive, the highest consideration of every individualist, and especially of the individualists of this city. I am sorry to say that with one or two exceptions they have persistently absented themselves from his meetings. This, of course, they have a right to do, but they are hardly justified in sneering at him behind his back or publicly questioning his ability to represent our movement until they know him. Comrade Southworth may not thank me for this interference in his behalf, and I am sure the Denver "plumblers" will not, but under the circumstances I deemed it necessary.

W. HOLMES.

## ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

IV.

### PITTSBURG TO CHICAGO.

It is with good reason that Pittsburg is called "the smoky city." A dense pall of thick smoke, from a multitude of immense chimneys, hangs constantly over the city. Much of the time, the sun is completely eclipsed; and the city enveloped in gloom for days at a time. The soot, continually settling on hands and face, requires hourly washings, to secure even partial cleanliness. Whatever may be the effect on the inhabitants, the stranger is subject to a feeling of intense depression, which only disappears as he becomes thoroughly acclimated. It seems impossible to draw a free breath. The result in my case was to stretch me on a sickbed for a day or two, immediately after my arrival.

Nevertheless, Pittsburg contains much that is beautiful and desirable. Its natural scenery is attractive in the extreme, in spite of the monstrous disfigurements of commercialism. There are many splendid buildings in the city. Nowhere, however, is there a more startling and cruel contrast between the extremes of wealth and poverty. The parasites are housed in magnificent palaces; while the wretched hovels, that shelter thousands of the workers, in and near Pittsburg, are miserable and repulsive beyond the power of description. This is one of the cities in which the wrath of an aroused proletariat will some day be a terrible thing to face.

The Anarchist movement has had many ups and downs in Pittsburg. It is one of the storm centres from which much is heard in every time of crisis. The comrades are earnest and aggressive; though there is a general apathy at present among the public at large.

I spoke twice in Pittsburg, and once each in the mining towns of Roscoe and Buena Vista. The attendance was not large at any of the meetings; but I trust some good was done. The Pittsburg Leader, with a fairness unusual among daily newspapers, interviewed me, and printed the result without the slightest misrepresentation. It also gave a column report of my lectures, which was really remarkable in its justice and accuracy.

My headquarters in this city was the home of comrade Harry Gordon, whose address is 707 Wylie Ave. He is extremely enthusiastic for the propaganda. Among the friends I enjoyed meeting in Pittsburg, was Theresa Hughes, the author of "Hilda's Home." She is a true-hearted, whole-souled champion of liberty in every phase of life.

In Alleghany, just across the river from Pittsburg, is the Western Penitentiary, where our comrade, Alexander Berkman, is suffering an unjust and cruel im-

prisonment. Nothing cheers him so much as letters from comrades. All who can do so, are specially urged to send an occasional word of greeting to Comrade Berkman, addressing him simply as above. This is a real service that any comrade can perform with little trouble. I could not see our comrade, owing to tyrannical prison regulations, which are made to apply to him alone, to shut away from him every friendly face.

After leaving Pittsburg, I made a brief stop in Cincinnati, where I was booked for a lecture before the Ohio Liberal Society. This was well attended, and well received. Considerable lively discussion followed the address, showing that the members were doing some good thinking on social questions. Among the comrades I met in Cincinnati, was H. Wagner, 2283 Loth St., an active and effective worker. This was my second visit to Cincinnati, which does not impress me with an individuality different from that of many other cities.

But I must proceed to Chicago. I reached there December 1, being put down for a visit of four weeks. Comrade N. H. Burmin met me at the train, and welcomed me to the great city. And what a city! As everybody either lives in Chicago, has visited it, or intends to visit it, I shall try to limit my account of the city as much as possible. But I could fill pages with the description, if I expressed all that is in my mind. The first impression is one of immensity. More than any other city, it appears inconceivably gigantic. This impression is never lost, however long one may live in Chicago. Everything here is on a large scale. It is the scene of continual activity, combining all the energies of other cities. Stay in Chicago long enough, and the whole world will come to you. Natural scenery apart, Chicago can reproduce all the characteristics of all parts of the continent. It is the one place to see everything. Its supremacy as the unchallenged centre of American commercialism is rapidly becoming established. With equal certainty, it seems marked out as the great centre for radical propaganda, the principal storm centre in the day of revolution, and the foremost centre of reconstructive activities when the triumph of liberty shall have been secured. In all times of crisis, all eyes naturally turn to Chicago. There our martyrs lie; and there their avengers will arise. There labor has fought some of its greatest battles; and there educational propaganda will yet do its greatest work.

My stopping place in Chicago was with Albert H. Verrall, 2203 N. Robey Ave., a cordial friend of all libertarian work. Finding much that was sympathetic in our views and natures, I enjoyed my visit at his hospitable home most intensely. J. F. MORRIS, JR.

## OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Concluded from page 1.

the congress, namely, that the last tie of relations between parliamentary Socialism was broken at the congress in London in 1896, and that from now on we must as much fight the narrowness, discipline and intolerance of parliamentary Socialists as any other form of invasion and despotism, and show the workers that those who even without blushing rejoice over the success of one of their men as comrade of the murderer of 30,000 Communards,—Gallifet—have no claim to be the representatives of the workers' cause.

It is an undisputable fact that our movement in America and Europe is not what it ought to be and could be, but for the lack of co-operation and solidarity, and our enemies, including the leaders of the Socialist parties, have ever made use of this fact in attempting to show that "Anarchy is dead," and those Anarchists who are alive "work in obscurity." While they have wilfully misrepresented us, it remains true that the majority of comrades in England, America and Germany seldom come to the front. I only refer you to a number of German groups, composed of Anarchists, wasting their time in singing and beer drinking, (I have no objection to either, if coupled with serious work), and discussing their next door neighbor; or some of our American parlor meetings, frequented by a number of middle-class people who have not the courage to be known as Anarchists; or some comrades who waste the precious space of our papers with the discussion of spooks and ghosts, Anarchist judges and jurors, or the consistency of prostituting oneself in politics, which only tends to harm the movement instead of helping to lift the veil of ignorance from the eyes of the worker.

You may contend that we can protest against existing evils through our papers and public meetings; so we can, and do, but of what importance is it compared with an opportunity like that offered us in Paris? In



the first place, our papers are read mostly by the comrades themselves, and our lectures reach only those who happen to attend meetings, the daily press either reporting nothing, or misrepresenting our speakers in the most shameless manner. I do not undervalue such methods of propaganda; yet I claim that by these methods we reach but the few and not the many, whereas bodies of men and women assembled in a congress have always been recognized by the press. It will be so with the coming Anarchist congress. The very fact that this is to be the first Anarchist congress since 1872; that for the first time since then, men and women from different parts of the world bring tidings of international solidarity, deep love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, openly and fearlessly discuss the philosophy of Anarchy, and ways and means of a speedy spread of their ideas, and all this almost next door to the arena where international parasites celebrate one of their last orgies and dance a cancan upon the decayed pillars of a rotten society, would be of such grandeur, such importance that it could not pass unnoticed.

But there is still another reason why the comrades in America should take part in the congress. Since I have been in Europe, and especially in Paris, I have been dismayed to find how little is known of, or how little interest is shown here regarding the movement in America. This is due to the fact that very few French people know any language beside their own, and that very little is written about America in the French papers; unfortunately this is also the case in Italy, Austria, Germany and Holland. Now, in the face of the growth of imperialism, militarism and despotism, can we stand such lack of solidarity and unity? Can we hope to accomplish more in the future than we have in the past, unless we really become international, not only in theory, but also in practice? The congress is to serve as a medium of putting the comrades into communication with each other, and of suggesting ways and means of carrying on propaganda work co-operatively, and last but not least, to acquaint the comrades of all countries with the movements of each respective country.

The comrades in England and elsewhere have already formed groups for the purpose of raising funds to send delegates, and prepare reports and suggestions for the congress. What are the comrades in America about? Surely they are not going to be silent and inactive in such a grave and important matter?

Permit me to make a few suggestions; first of all, a subscription should be opened to help make the congress a success, amounts temporarily to be sent to Free Society. I hereby contribute \$5 to the same to make a start. With a little effort and the assistance of our Jewish comrades, we can raise enough to send an American delegate. The Bohemian and Italian comrades will also send delegates. We have a few able and competent Americans who could represent our cause, (I say cause and not comrades, because I wish to avoid misunderstanding). There is, for instance, Borland, who has not been heard of much of late, yet who understands the movement and Anarchist-Communism thoroughly. There is Comrade Edelman, known as an able worker for years, who may be well enough to go to Paris. There is Comrade Cooper, certainly one of our most intellectual writers, and there is Voltairine de Cleyre, a fearless and brilliant exponent of Anarchism. Of course, Addis objects to her as a lecturer, claiming that she opposes Communism, yet that is a mistake; she does not oppose Communism "because she favors Individualism," but rather because she wants to be known as an Anarchist without a tag. That ought not to influence any one. She may not be so well posted on Communism as Addis, but she has the advantage of having a clean past—I mean in regard to her devotion and faithfulness to the cause, and her hatred for politics and politicians. I venture to say that she would rather do scrubbing than make common cause with politicians, a quality which Addis seems to value very little. She may not know as much of economics as some of our other workers, but, as she says herself, she is all right in the philosophy of Anarchy, and certainly perfectly competent to represent the Anarchistic movement of America.

Of course I have suggested these comrades merely because I think them the fittest as delegates. I have done so without their consent, leaving it for you to ascertain whether they would like to accept a delegation or not, or to suggest others, if you know. At any rate, I hope the congress will be discussed and reports prepared. Should it be absolutely impossible to raise enough money to send a delegate, Comrade Kelly and

myself will gladly submit any of your suggestions or wishes to the congress, but the groups should send us credentials for that purpose. I should like to recommend Harry Kelly to your attention as he is an American. I shall be there at all events. But I beg you to leave nothing undone to raise the necessary means for a delegate directly to be sent from America, as Harry Kelley has been away for two years.

Paris, France.

EMMA GOLDMAN.  
140 rue Mouffetard, care of Les Temps Nouveaux.

### IMPRESSED BY BOER TACTICS.

I am impressed with the military tactics of the Boers. They have no organization, no drill-masters, no authoritarian officers, and their fighting abilities show conclusively the superiority of Anarchist methods over the commonly accepted governmental ideal of well drilled, disciplined troops who have no will of their own, but depend entirely on the whims and notions of their commanders; if they see fit to sacrifice their men, all the latter can do is to obey and be slaughtered like so many sheep. The Boers spontaneously resolved to defend their country and have thus kept at bay the numerous armies of British hirelings. The Revolutionists of all countries may do well to study these tactics a little for future use.

Here is greeting to you and your valiant men, "Oom Paul." The sympathies of the liberty-loving men and women are with you in this fight against the international capitalistic bloodhounds. You have won fame eternal; you and Joubert, Cronje, Botha and the host of unknown men and women will mark the few shining spots in the history of the mass of servile subjection. Miltiades, who fought on the plains of Marathon the Chersonese hords, Spartacus who headed the slave insurrection in the Roman empire, Arnold von Winkelried who gathered the Austrian spears in his breast to save independent Switzerland, and the numerous men and women who with Patrick Henry had only the choice between liberty and death, are your peers. We sorrow with you in the death of Joubert, in the defeat and surrender of Cronje, and we hope with you that you may drive your oppressors into the sea.

Oom Paul, the rebels salute you! C. DOERING.

### IN FAVOR OF PURITANISM.

"Authoritarian! Puritanical!" This is the garb in which Henry Addis ventures forth in an attempt to slay the "bogy" of consistency. But the "bogy" is not to be scared out of the way by an apparition so transparent. Because some refuse to accept swindlers, rapists, brutes, brothel-keepers, tiger-mothers, soldiers, politicians, judges (hangmen), juries, lawyers, and other parasites in the movement generally, Addis has stamped them as "Puritans." The most fitting reply would be "You're another." If it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin inside, surely it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin outside the movement; yet no one has come forward to defend the above named class of those who are not Anarchists. But if it is Puritanical to oppose parasites who label themselves Anarchists, as well as parasites generally, by all means let us have a revival of Puritanism. An odious name will not scare those who have had one so long already.

Henry Addis says: "Every one must decide for himself where one is to toe the mark." Precisely; but when he decides to toe it on my back, I am a party to the business, and have a voice. That he reverently folds his hands and says it is for my benefit, and he is sorry for the necessity, etc., does not lighten the burden, but tends to aggravate it. And William Holmes says: "The radical who follows such 'methods and practice' with a single view of strengthening the Anarchist movement is nevertheless consistent along this line, and is worthy of our highest regards." If such a radical exists (which is quite a large "if") under certain conditions this might apply, but I would like to see such an Anarchist. Comrade Holmes should remember that we do not enter wage slavery or the profession to strengthen the Anarchist movement, but to make a livelihood, and neither did Cohen claim he was doing more for liberty since he had become a lawyer, simply contenting himself with abusing our good-natured S. D. The question remains: Is a man justified in living on his fellow man, even though he calls himself an Anarchist? And I do not see how a brothel-keeper, a lawyer, a judge or politician can be made to be anything but a parasite by any stretch of logic. Working in itself is not against Anarchist principles, but it is the supporting of judges, juries, lawyers, politicians, brothelkeepers, etc., that makes it un-Anarch-

istic, because of the degrading condition this entails upon the worker. The worker must foot all the bills, whether Addis puts a "levy" (!) on the enemy or not.

Undoubtedly the gist of the inconsistency argument, as has been said, is that we cannot entirely live up to our ideal. The logic necessary to justify upon these grounds the "Anarchist" brothelkeepers, etc., is that if one is compelled to step ankle-deep into the filth of society he might as well go in up to his waist. If this is good logic, then why stop at the waist? Why not take it all in, just so whoever perpetrated any base deed declared that he was doing it for a noble object? What is the matter with shaking hands with William McKinley, who declares that his wanton course is in the cause of liberty and humanity? And with Judge Gary, who simply wanted "justice" done to the "people" of Illinois? Or with Grinnell and Bonfield, and the rest of the whole gang, who worked for "justice and peace"? If an Anarchist is justified in living on the toil of his fellow creatures, though professedly declaring against the present society, so are those who, being essentially parasites, hypocritically profess they are "working in the interests of humanity" or for the "glory of God"! And what is the use of Anarchism as a philosophy if those who profess to teach it have only words and not deeds with an adjective only to distinguish them from other parasites?

Henry Addis says martyrdom is a relic of the past, and has no part in the Anarchist philosophy. "One who dies or suffers for any object or cause" is a martyr, and to say that men no longer suffer for a cause now is one of the absurdest statements I have ever read. It has not yet passed out of the memory of man when five men died for our cause—the Anarchist cause. They were "religious fanatics," no doubt! "Relics of the past!" Does he know that now, while these words are being written, men are dying for liberty, martyrs to her cause? No doubt Wm. Holmes and Henry Addis look with disgust on the brave Boers and Filipinos for carrying on a "policy of open, deliberate warfare against the powers that be," because it entails what Addis would call "self-sacrifice." If the Boers had not "antagonized" the English there would have been no martyrdom, no "self-sacrifice," and Chamberlain, Rhodes, et al. would have been allowed to decide for themselves where to "toe the mark." Unfortunately the Boers were not cunning enough to see the advantage of such inconsistency, as it takes a politician to be able to serve two masters. And what about Peter Kropotkin? He also sacrificed his large estates, his position at the Russian court, and prefers to cast his lot with the toilers and to work for his living. Was he one of those "religious fanatics" who in "blind faith" hope to "gain a golden crown"? How much would Kropotkin have accomplished if he had prostituted his intellect and individuality by not antagonizing the Russian government?

The time has not yet come when men are at liberty to act according to their opinions without coming into conflict with the powers that be, nor is it likely to come if men are to uphold the State in deed, and fight it with words only. But I do not wish to impose a "self-sacrifice" on Addis at all; but we will not advance without it—that is all I claim. Do Addis and Holmes think we shall come into Anarchy on a rose-scattered road, meeting no opposition from the powers that be?

Henry Addis would do well to read "Anarchist Morality" again, also his own writings. Says Kropotkin: "To struggle, to look danger in the face, to jump into the water that we may save, not a human being only, but even a cat; to live on dry bread in order to put an end to iniquities that revolt us; to feel ourselves in harmony with such as are worthy of love; to feel ourselves loved by them; this for a weak philosopher perhaps means self-sacrifice. But for the man or woman filled with energy, force, vigor and youth it is the conscious joy of life."

On the jury question I could not do better than to quote Henry Addis: "If you really want Anarchy, refuse to uphold the State. Decline to run for or hold office. Refuse to do jury duty, and in every way practicable weaken the powers of the State." Again: "To support government is to aid tyranny. To become a part of it is to join hands with organized murder. Political action is for the ignorant, the deluded and the knave."

Wm. Holmes can now turn me over to the "tender mercies of Benj. R. Tucker," but I care nothing for the latter's mercies; even if I cared all the world for them, I should not fear the result. Tucker does not mince matters; he calls a spade a spade, and he also called one of his foremost comrades a prostitute.

—ABE ISAAC, JR.

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### SQUIBS.

Some of us Portlanders got to thinking that free action in sex matters in Oregon was confined, to a great extent, to Portland, but that is a bit of city egotism. I was over a part of Eastern Oregon last winter. I found the same freedom there as in this city. In Wheeler county they seldom hold court, but "the judge comes to grant the divorce cases," remarked a rancher.

A man I traveled with for three days, a merchant who had recently located in Dayville, complaining to me, attributing it to the lack of Christianity amongst those people, that there were more illegitimate children in Eastern Oregon than he ever saw anywhere else, and treated the same as other children and their mothers recognized in society.

In the Unity Basin I sold trees to a man whose wife had gone off up to Sumpter, twenty miles away, and was living with another man. The neighbors said she was a good woman, but that G. W. could not satisfy her.

The wife of the druggist in Burns was one day sitting on the lap of the receiver of the U. S. Land Office, when a rap came at the door. She said: "Chester, open the door." Her boy opened the door to the caller, his mamma retaining her seat on her friend's lap.

Ex-governor Pennoyer refused to contribute to the expenses of our Commune meeting, saying he did not intend to take part in anything this year. He looked down his nose and said, "don't."

Senator Simon is making a reputation in the U. S. senate by his radical utterances on the Porto Rican and Philippine questions, and his opposition to the administration. If not careful, he will get himself called an Anarchist.

The Social Democrats evidently have a "stand in" in this city. They post their cards anywhere and everywhere they remain undisturbed. They get lots of free advertising in the Evening Telegram. They said so often through the Telegram that the Anarchists disturbed their meetings that I got tired of it and called them down. As a matter of fact, the "class conscious" Socialists "disturbed" their meetings by taking part in the discussions until shut off, but no Anarchist ever spoke in any of their meetings. They say they propose to "cut a swath" in the coming elections.

Comrade Morton informs us that he will be here between now and May 1. We think he can find here, for the size of the city, as many ists, rams, oddities, curiosities and the like in the way of new theories, beliefs, etc., as in Boston, and probably a stronger Anarchist movement. G. Miller read a sign on a prominent street here, "Dance every Sunday Evening," and remarked: "Holy smoke! that sign could not stay up two hours in Boston." But we will let Comrade Morton make the comparison.

The present city administration has been the biggest fool one and the most puritanic the city ever had, and every one knows it. However, as election time comes on the gambling houses are running full-blast with open doors.

All these things are looked upon by the Anarchists as hopeful signs, for we

notice the sneers that many now use every time politics and politicians are mentioned. The average man is learning that there is no difference between politicians. When he becomes fully convinced of that fact, he will begin to inquire how to get rid of them. The average man of Portland has no dread of Anarchists, and so we confidently hope he will soon begin to try to find out what we propose to do and what we want.

Comrade Austin is right in saying it behooves us to pay more attention to the farmers. The Paris Commune was drowned in blood because the rural districts of France were not as educated in thought of freedom as the cities. In the United States the farmer is the most independent, consequently the most fearless man in America. He is also the most studious and ready to learn. It is a sad mistake, therefore, to put our attention on the city worker to the exclusion of the farmers. HENRY ADDIS. P. O. Woodstock, Portland, Ore.

### REPORT FROM UTAH.

Comrade Morton arrived in this hotbed of superstition, Salt Lake City, April 3, and if his visit here had to be told in very few words, I would say: He came, he spoke, and he conquered. I do not mean to say that the progressive people here are all Anarchists now, but he has gained their good will and laid a good foundation for future work.

Wednesday evening, April 4, he spoke before the S. L. P. In this speech he gave a short outline of the development of science leading us into the principles of evolution. He also dwelled on the desirability of tolerance between the different factions and schools of philosophy that combat capitalism. "We should not compromise," he said, "but be tolerant toward each other."

Friday night he spoke in an independent meeting on "The Meaning of Liberty." The audience was not large, but composed of people who are deeply interested in social problems. The lecturer demonstrated the tendency toward progress and liberty through the various stages of human evolution,—from cannibalism, slavery and serfdom, to the present form of wage slavery, and stated that they were all necessary steps, and each step had been a great improvement over the one preceding it. He also strongly attacked the reactionary tendency of majority rule, and in the course of his lecture he did not forget to give The Salt Lake Tribune a good roasting for some slander and misrepresentation it had indulged in regarding the Haymarket affair.

Sunday evening, April 8, Comrade M. spoke again before the S. L. P. In this lecture, which was the last he gave here, he entered more fully into the details of the Anarchist philosophy and the practicability of a condition of freedom. After the lecture numerous questions were asked which he answered very satisfactorily.

Well, I must say Comrade Morton is not only a good speaker, but also a great walker. Nearly every day he would take a pedestrian tour to some place of interest in the vicinity of our beautiful city of "saints," and he would make them in a remarkable short time.

April 9 our young comrade left us, taking the train for Tacoma, Wash. We enjoyed his presence and would like to see him soon again. N. J. JORGENSEN.

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