

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.

VOL. VI. NO. 27.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1900.

WHOLE NO. 267.

THE SITUATION.

The comrades in London, England, held a meeting to commemorate the Paris Commune, and Comrade Kropotkin, having been sick, sent the following interesting letter:

DEAR COMRADES,—Illness prevents me from being with you at this 29th anniversary of the Paris Commune. I regret it the more as, at this moment, it is absolutely necessary that all the branches of the great Socialist movement should lose no opportunity to affirm and to stimulate the international solidarity which unites all workers, of all nationalities, against their oppressors—national or international.

The war in South Africa, which will be known in history as the most unjust war ever fought; as the most scandalous slaughtering of human beings in the interest of a handful of capitalists, and as the most terrible illustration of the crimes which even such a freedom loving nation as England is capable of committing once it endeavors to base its well-being upon the exploitation of serfs in Africa—this war is not yet concluded, but guns and rifles are already prepared for new wars and new conquests.

The capitalist papers are now doing all they can to raise a bad feeling between France and England; and if the workers of both countries do not interfere with their mighty voices at the proper moment, we may see, before this century is over, the most fratricidal of all wars fought between the two most advanced nations of Europe.

Take it as a rule: One war brings another war as its sequel. "You did not want Socialism? Well, you will have War—a new Thirty Years' War!" Hertzén wrote after 1848. Now we are in the same position.

The two great nations which are most advanced in civilization—Britain and France—have before them this choice:

Either to boldly march hand in hand towards true Liberty and Equality, by working for the realization of Well-being for All. Creating wealth by Free Labor, in the interest of all and marching boldly towards a Communist life based upon Free Co-operation;

Or, to go about conquering new slaves in Africa and Asia, trying to exploit all the world by means of their accumulated capital; and fight, bitterly fight one another like robbers fight for the spoil; and to both march towards decay.

It is with you, with the workers of France and Britain, that the choice lies. Don't expect that the moneyed classes will take the lead in that movement towards a better Future. You, you alone, can impose upon the greedy, bigoted capitalists the new lines of Progress towards Equality and Liberty.

"SETTLED LAW."

According to Young, in his "Principles of Government," (pp. 22) "law, as the word is generally used, has reference to the government of men as members of the body politic, and signifies an established rule, prescribed by a competent authority in the State, commanding what its citizens are to do, prohibiting what they are not to do."

Now, established means settled firmly. Just how anything in connection with law, which is being continually changed, amended, repealed, re-enforced, can be said to be settled firmly I leave it to the lawyers to decide; but that it is not settled must be evident to any one with only the proverbial thimbleful of brains.

There are at least four thousand laws passed by the

supervisors for the government of the city of San Francisco alone. The latest "settled" law is that partitions to private boxes in saloons must be cut down from eight feet to six. Why don't they come right out "commanding what citizens are to do, and prohibiting what they are not to do" in said boxes? Or is it that they think the moral law will be henceforth respected seeing that at any time even the fattest "cop" may stand on his toes and peep over?

That law is the most unsettled thing is admitted even by the "authorities." Stewart in his "Law of Husband and Wife" says "marriage rights have wonderfully changed during the past twenty-five years, and in no two States have the changes been precisely the same." (Italics mine.)

For example, a certain California senator feeling that he could not conscientiously draw any more interest from his matrimonial bonds secured a divorce. Realizing that it was not good for a man to be alone he decided to take unto himself another helpmeet; but the settled law of California prohibited such action on his part for the space of one year. The boundaries between States are sometimes decided by lakes, rivers, or mountain chains. In this case our hero soon gets over the little "Short-Ridge" between California and Nevada, marries, and then comes back into California. Who is to say (he has got money enough) that his actions are not moral, and strictly in accord with settled law in both States? And what horrid people those Anarchists must be who advocate the abolition of statutory laws, leaving people free to do what they want to do without such trickery? Is this California

"the seat of innocence
Where nature guides, and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools"?

The Bible is considered a pretty good authority. It says "sin is the transgression of law." Moreover, it says "where there is no law there is no transgression."

It is not the natural relation of men and women which has changed "wonderfully" during the past twenty-five years; but it is the natural growth and evolution of opinion in society which has changed; only the law has not changed fast enough, or in the right direction to keep pace with it. Somebody has said, and rightly: "the tablet of the law becomes the tombstone of liberty." WALLACE E. NEVILL.

ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

VII.

SPAULDING TO CAPLINGER MILLS.

Spaulding and Riverton are mining towns in central Illinois, composed of a population which includes all nationalities. To reach Spaulding, I was obliged to go first to Springfield, and to wait there several hours. I employed the time in visiting the State House. A very courteous old gentleman acted as guide, displaying great pride in detailing the wonders of the building. It is really a magnificent piece of work, as exhibiting the possibilities of modern architecture. In the day when we find nobler uses for the mighty structures which now serve as shelters for knaves and vampires, we shall learn to appreciate and enjoy all this beauty and grandeur.

I delivered two lectures to the miners in Riverton, and one in Spaulding, all of which were well received. Avowed Anarchists there are few as yet; but the men are beginning to think. No Anarchist lecturer had ever visited these towns before, so that the ground was entirely new. Our one active comrade in Spaulding, John Freimann, arranged for the meetings, but was himself called away to attend a labor convention at that time. Hence I was unable to meet him personally, but heard much from the men concerning his zeal and devotion to the cause.

While in Spaulding, I took advantage of the opportunity to visit a coal mine, and to note the conditions under which, hundreds of feet below the earth, human beings sweat and toil their lives away. A few days

before, the fall of a cage had seriously injured several men in the very mine I visited; while the day before my arrival a Riverton miner was killed by the caving in of part of the roof of the chamber in which he worked. Such are the risks always before the miner. The capitalist expects enormously increased compensation when he subjects his money to unusual risk of loss. Yet the miner, who daily hazards his life, is, all things considered, the most poorly paid laborer in the country. So far is the dollar placed above the man, in this day and age of civilization! The interior of a coal mine reminds me of the old ideas of hell. Each dark winding passage seemed the ante-chamber to some fiendish torture-room. The flickering lamps of the miners served only to intensify the gloom. The sensitive imagination might easily receive the impression of unknown horrors on every hand. Here our brothers toil, robbed of nearly nine-tenths of the product of their labor, to swell the already exorbitant profits of a handful of swindlers and exploiters. The monstrosity of the capitalist system is nowhere so manifest as here. If the social revolution does not start with the coal miners, it will be because their spirits are already so crushed and broken as to take away their courage.

Returning to St. Louis, I had a few more days to spend there. Early in my visit, I had spoken before the Bellamy Club, a society of men and women espousing no particular propaganda, but investigating all social and economic questions. My first lecture was on fundamental principles of progressive thought; and, as they assured me that they were ready to listen to the most radical doctrines I had to present, I now gave them a second address in the subject "Why Marriage is a Failure." The result was a particularly lively discussion, in the course of which the conservative element was completely cornered.

An unexpected incident happened two or three days before leaving St. Louis. The comrades held a pleasant little social, on returning from which, we found a scene of devastation. A coal from an open grate had, in the absence of the family, leaped out on the floor, and set the room on fire. The family cat, for whom no attentions will hereafter be too great, doubtless remembering the high example of the Roman geese, saved the house by mewing until she awoke the family just below, who had already retired for the night. The floor and part of the furniture were burned; but the alarm was given in time to avert further disaster. It was a close call, however.

Before leaving St. Louis, I had the privilege of visiting Henry M. and Rosa E. Parkhurst, who live between Baldwin and Manchester. Like their cousins, Henry and Annie Parkhurst of Brooklyn, N. Y., they are true blue, and interested in all progressive movements.

Passing westward, my next objective point was Caplinger Mills, the home of Sam and Kate Austin. Here I had experiences enough to fill a volume; but they would not all be of interest to the readers of Free Society. Caplinger Mills is a very small town, sixteen miles from the nearest railroad. This is only a stub line, whose connections with the main line are perfectly diabolical. In fact, Missouri is the worst State I know for railroad connections. The roads about Caplinger Mills are in a terrible state. Always out of repair, filled with deep and dangerous ruts, they are hard walking for the pedestrian, and a justifiable cause for timidity to the inexperienced driver.

Kate Austin is well known to the readers of Free Society, as a writer of no mean ability. She always has the courage of her convictions, and presses home her conclusions with a logical directness. Her personality is exceedingly attractive; and her conversation does not disappoint the reader of her articles. Where she resides, the fire of Anarchy is always kept burning brightly. The visitor to the Austin farmhouse, is sure to be well received, and made to feel that there is something real in the spirit of comradeship.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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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.

OBSERVATIONS.

A great many good Freethinkers pat themselves on the back in the thought that they are too smart to pay tribute to the Church in support of superstition and fraud, but at the same time they believe in and support political institutions of the State, which is nothing less than a twin evil of the Church. It matters little which one of the twins does the robbing. The State is even more dangerous than the Church, because more subtle, as it can levy taxes (tribute) in a thousand different ways, while the Church is confined to well-defined methods of raising revenue, which are more easily understood by the victims who are bled.

From appearances, Kentucky seems to be the most progressive State in the union. Until lately there were two men in that State who claimed the right to govern at one and the same time. Now, when every citizen of a State recognizes his right to be governor of himself and himself alone, no such troubles as have recently occurred in Kentucky will be repeated. If the citizens of the Blue Grass State want to settle the trouble they are in, let each one take an oath to govern himself and then go home and mind his own business. Kentucky papers please copy.

Strikes are raging all over the country as they never did before. Industrial war is at every hand. Blood and riot run mad. We are in just the sort of condition now that ignorant people think would prevail under Anarchy. Labor is being fought to the death by the ruling powers of law and authority. Yet, notwithstanding this warlike condition of things, the representatives of the ruling powers will be invited by the representatives of labor next labor day to address the laborers on some such subject as "Labor and Capital: Their Oneness of Interest." Which reminds one of the adage about the blind leading the blind.

Sheldon's Topeka paper quoted scripture which prohibits usury and putting out money to hire. In the same issue was an advertisement of a money lending Shylock and mortgage shark. I called the attention of a devout Christian to this seeming inconsistency. He said by usury the Bible meant exorbitant interest charges, as, for instance, ten per cent instead of three per cent. I called his attention to the Biblical command, "Thou shalt not steal," and asked him whether he thought it related to stealing anything over a certain amount, as, for instance, ten dollars instead of three dollars. His answer was mum.

Following the example of the Americans who sent resolutions of sympathy to Kruger and the Boers, the Canadians have forwarded messages of condolence to Aguinaldo and the Filipinos, urging them on in their fight for liberty. What irony! Chicago, May 9, 1900. WILLIS M. ANDREWS.

AN ANARCHIST COLONY PROPOSED.

Insuperable objections prevent my leaving the town where I was reared (at least at present), so I will state what I think can be done in regard to an Anarchistic colony or group right here in North Scituate, Mass. It will be applicable, generally, of course, to groups in other places. Many Libertarians are nomadic enough not to prefer especially one spot of good earth to another on sentimental grounds, and there are some advantages in this old colonial town that may appeal to

most. We are a good people, reasonably honest, pleasant to one another, with some exceptions; but we do not know any too much,—not exactly for want of intelligence but for want of information. Remember that I am only one Anarchist, with one mind, setting this thing forth from my own standpoint and my own "premises."

I have premises (land) enough as a starter. Now for buildings; what would be the objection to wall stone as material? It is fireproof, durable, warm in winter, cool in summer (covered with vines) and needs no painting. Repairs and insurance would be practically saved. Outside of windows, doors, fireproof roofing of tarred paper shingles, and cement, there would be no expense but labor. One-story buildings of from two to four rooms; plenty of stone and sand practically free; each family to own its house and lot. Small buildings will save taxes. Additions can be made at any time when practical.

The thing is done; what next? The communal part. A communal bath-house, library, guest-house, hospital, music hall, grove, pleasure pond, water supply, horse and steam power, and many other things for convenience and pleasure.

Several of the houses could be included in one. Communal money would save book-keeping. You see I do not believe in absolute Communism or Socialism in the beginning; it may never be expedient or wise, and only time can tell about such thing. As to Communism in business, there will always be plenty of chances for those who are square and can agree. The first essential thing is to get together. We are situated twenty-five miles from the great Boston market and three miles from the shore market. Scituate and Cohasset are well-known watering places. From the top of an observatory on this hill a fine view of the Atlantic from Cape Ann to Plymouth can be had. Untilled land can be bought at \$10 or \$15 per acre. The land is productive, the water of excellent quality, and the climate healthy. Almost anything that can be produced from the land in the temperate zone can be produced here.

A group of from seven to fifteen families, or even from three to seven, would be all that is necessary in the beginning. Each man could work at his usual occupation, either in the town or in adjacent towns or cities, until opportunities for Communism should present themselves. Joining together to buy groceries at wholesale is one thing that could be done at first.

A group of men engaged in propaganda work would soon gain a following, and then voting (always under protest) to reduce local taxation might be expedient. Other groups might be formed in other parts of the town or in adjacent towns. This place is fifteen minutes' walk from the depot, and the ground can be covered in two or three minutes on a bicycle. A number of men living here the year round have their business located in Boston. Many make it a summer residence, going to the city every day. As I have said, the opportunities for production being exceptionally good, the first thing and the main thing is to get together. We can socialize our pleasures at any rate.

The hall and grove could be used as sources of income—let to outsiders for balls, entertainments, etc. There is no good place fitted up for small picnics, within miles. The trade of building cheap stone houses once learned, it might be put to good account by taking contracts for such work. The pioneers should each have some little capital (or credit). "None but people who can appreciate the Bond of Fellowship now should be eligible as founders. If the experiment goes no further than juxtaposition, no loss (or but little) would be entailed, as the pioneers could dispose of their outlay; there is always a demand for cheap houses.—W. W. Gordack, North Scituate, Mass.

Comrade Gordack sent me the above communication, and I gladly give it the place of honor in this number. To those who may know nothing of him, and yet feel interested in this scheme of his, I will say that I know him personally and have no hesitation in endorsing him. He is a poet, an artist and a gentleman, and more than that he is an honest workman earning his bread by the sweat of his hands, and a more whole-souled, big-hearted fellow I do not know. He is all right, and will treat you white.

His plan seems very business-like and feasible. I have a warm memory of a visit I once made to his home and the kindly hospitality of my entertainment. I did not observe the country with any thought to a possible colony, and the season of the year was unfavorable, yet I believe the location a good one. But all who contemplate joining any colony should go and see

the ground first, and take no other man's view.

A wild, rural spot, like this, close to the sea, yet not far from a great cultured city like Boston, is not to be found everywhere; nor land so cheap, nor building material for the gathering.

To those colonists able to reside all the time on the ground, not looking to the city for a living, I would suggest a modified Communism as more satisfactory, perhaps, than either entire Communism or complete Individualism. Suppose one-half of each day they all work together for the common interest, sharing expenses and profits equally, and the rest of the time each have for himself to do as he pleases in? Greater solidarity, mutual assistance, and certainty of material success would, I think, result from this. But there should be no compulsion. The spirit of liberty first, and then all pull together.

If I were "foot-loose," I believe I would be one of Comrade Gordack's first settlers.—J. Wm. Lloyd, in The Free Comrade.

THE UTAH MINE DISASTER.

In reading in the daily press of the horrible and lamentable mine disaster in Utah, we find that they make much less fuss about it than when Mrs. Dewey has a sore throat. It were only working-men, willing and ignorant slaves, of whom there is no scarcity. Their places will be filled without difficulty, and business will not suffer. And, according to "investigation," the miners were themselves to blame, because they took dynamite into the mines in order to dig out a greater amount of coal per day.

No matter what the direct causes of the calamity may have been, it remains an indisputable fact that it was the direct result of our commercial system of robbery and exploitation, and as long as such conditions prevail such disasters will occur, for profit is of much greater importance than the life of a poor worker, who can be substituted without difficulty or cost. Were the miners chattel slaves mine explosions would be of rare occurrence.

Now, what is the remedy? If commercialism—monopoly, profit, private property and exploitation—is the cause, the only remedy is to abolish government, the protector of profit and exploitation, socialize the means of production and distribution—land, machinery, railways, boats, etc. Thus the worker will be able to protect his life and enjoy the full fruits of his labor. A WORKER.

CONSERVATISM AND SOCIALISM.

As one of the signs of what we might expect for social freedom if certain leaders of the Socialist Labor Party were in power today, we quote the following paragraphs, credited by the Appeal to Reason to the Salt Lake City Deseret News:

The idea that Socialism would be a panacea for all human ills must be dismissed. In Germany it seems to have a tendency to loose morals, which in the end will prove fatal to any social structure. Mr. E. H. Steiner, in a recent number of the Outlook, illustrates this. He tells of an interview with Dr. Kunert, at the headquarters of the Socialists in Berlin. Mr. Steiner expressed his astonishment at the fact that so many young people lived together without being married, to which Dr. Kunert replied:

"You must live somewhere in the back-woods to be astonished at that; we are beginning to be astonished if they get married. No, I can't give you any figures how many couples live that way, but nearly everybody has a mistress. They find it more convenient; they can both keep at work; the responsibilities are less, and when they get tired of each other they separate."

On the above quotation the Appeal to Reason comments as follows:

Nothing could better prove the moral aspirations of Socialists in Germany and everywhere else. Germany is NOT controlled by Socialists but by the same commercial spirit that controls this country, which has reduced the working people to such a state of poverty and dependence that men fear to assume the responsibility of a family and the above is the result.

Now, the fact of the matter is, that marriage is being avoided by so many enlightened people, not because of "such a state of poverty and dependence," etc., but because young folks possess more common sense than people had some years ago. They find that they are better off in every way without consulting State authority or submitting to Church morality. They have come to the conclusion that the payment of a marriage

fee to some official parasite to make their union "moral," is nothing but a scheme to rob them of their money when they enter marriage and to rob them of a greater sum should they desire in after years to sever their relations by securing a divorce.

Instead of accepting these reports as indications of progress, the Appeal to Reason clings to all the old traditions of morality and respectability and attempts to show the moral aspirations of Socialists by asserting that "all the ills that affect society are the effects of our competitive system," instead of a false system of morals. Yet we are told how the people under Socialism will be educated so that none of these so-called evils need be necessary in society.

Further on in its comments the Appeal to Reason says, "The News, ignorantly or maliciously, blames the Socialists with the crimes of the men who are opposing Socialism," just as though it were a crime for a man and woman to associate as man and wife without the sanction of Church or State. Where is the progression, intellectual or moral aspiration, under such a system of society? It appears to us that Socialism will undoubtedly perpetuate the same social evils which exist under all forms of government, and people might enjoy even less independence under Socialism than under our competitive system.

J. A. GILLIE.

***** RUMANIA.

A terrible crisis, such as cannot be remembered in the experience of the present generation, exists here. The struggle for life is growing continually fiercer. Particularly the Jews are the select victims, for not only are they prohibited from holding offices, but they are persecuted by the Christians besides. Jewish workers can find no employment. Peddling and other occupations congenial to the Jew in gaining a livelihood are prohibited either by law or by police regulations, at least they are prohibited for the Jew. Anti-semitism is growing at a fearful rate; in less than three months four anti-semitic daily papers have been started. Of course not all of these will be successful. A so-called "cret anti-semitic party" has also been organized. But we know all of its by-laws and supporters. Among them is a minister who is a Spiritualist * and some other high officials.

National insanity and anti-semitic imbecility have become fashionable with us. Most every high-school boy considers it his duty to smash the windows of Jewish houses. The Jews emigrate en masse to Palestine, to Cyprus, to Canada and to America, particularly to New York and San Francisco. †

Yesterday 300 families emigrated from Bucharest to America. Today 600 more Jewish families of working people are starting for Anatolia. In the spring many are going to emigrate on foot.

Several Social Democrats have gone over to the so-called Liberal Party. A large labor meeting protested against this "treachery." Especially remarkable was the desertion of the deputy Vasile Mortzum who had been active as Socialist deputy for twelve years.

Bucharest.

JOHN HORVITZ.

* People with hitches in their brains are capable of most anything.

† And here some of them grow wealthy and join the ranks of that class that was the basic cause of their persecution,—the government-backed monopolist.

TRANSLATOR.

***** QUESTIONABLE TACTICS.

It seems impossible for me to make myself understood. I will not accuse my critics of misrepresenting me, but otherwise they misunderstand what I write. Because I defended Comrade Holmes from personal attack, and declared he had a right to his own opinions, and the expression of them made him no less a comrade in the movement, many rush to the conclusion that I share his opinions. Such conclusion is unwarranted, however, by anything I have written.

Again, because I do not condemn lawyers, as persons, being willing to accept their assertion that they hold the Anarchist philosophy, and long for its realization, I am accused of defending the practice of law, and of advocating inconsistency. All this is bad enough, but not so bad as when comrade Kate Austin asks "what service the politicians and district attorney of Portland, Or., required of Henry Addis in return for the \$35 they paid towards defraying the expenses of an Anarchist meeting?" If she will re-read what I wrote she will find that the money I collected for Emma Goldman's meetings came from lawyers, doctors, dentists, business men, money loaners, and a few

politicians, "and that even the United States district attorney, who was then prosecuting the Firebrand case, was not exempt from a levy." I spent many days going from office to office and from shop to shop in order to raise that \$35, and had it not been for my exertions in that direction, how would Emma have paid railroad fare to Chicago?

I don't like this personal matter, but since my motives have been called in question let me say that if my motives were not purely to advance the propaganda I would not walk hundreds of miles on city streets and country roads distributing bills, pasting up placards in defiance of law, soliciting funds when the doing of it is as painful as tooth pulling, and all this when I could be working at \$2.50 per day.

Whether in all this I have compromised can be judged by the fact that the daily papers always mention me as Addis the Anarchist. My name is first on the list of Anarchists at the police station. In introducing me to each other the officers introduce me as Addis the Anarchist. So much concerning my motives and the view in which I am held.

As to tactics, I retract nothing I have written. I would take the hand of any man or woman in the world and gladly explain to them the Anarchist theories. In fact there is not a human being but I would be a brother to were they but willing. I have no class consciousness. I try to develop race consciousness; a consciousness that will include every human being in the race. Can that be done by nursing hatred for others because of their mode of earning a living, or of the position they hold in the present society? If we never speak to priests, preachers or politicians will they ever learn what we really want? If we always keep our bristles up and a repellent attitude toward those in power, and in possession of wealth are they not justified in calling us non-social, would-be destroyers of society? If, on the other hand, we meet every man and woman simply as a man and woman, displaying the best rather than the worst that is in us, will they not learn that we are human beings, not ferocious malcontents desiring destruction and chaos?

I am a believer in Universal Brotherhood, an advocate of solidarity. As such I consider the judge on the bench, the priest in the pulpit, the gambler behind his game, the prostitute in her crib, the capitalist in his bank, all as the legitimate products of society as it is, and seek to let them know that a better life is possible, the same as I seek to carry such news to the farmer, mechanic, artisan or common laborer. My tactics are based upon this view of it. Am I right?

HENRY ADDIS.

***** ANARCHISTS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS.

Newspaper controversies seldom hold much interest for any except the combatants; still if bitterness can be kept out of them they often serve to clear the mists away from some befogged question. A great deal has been said regarding the conduct befitting an Anarchist, which perhaps is necessary, in order that we may know once for all what a person may believe, do and be and still preserve the right to call himself an Anarchist.

A Roman Catholic never has any doubts on the question as to where he stands; he knows exactly what he may believe and what he may do and not come under the ban of excommunication; he has this drilled into him from his early childhood. A good Republican knows that if he shouts loudly for his candidate, knows the main points of the latest party platform, and has at his tongue's end the party shibboleth, he is an "all right" Republican; the same with the Democrat; the Socialist, if well grounded, knows every plank of his platform, is familiar with Karl Marx's explanation of surplus value, swears by "the materialistic conception of history," and is thoroughly "class conscious." The least deviation from this line and he knows he will be read out of the party.

But the Anarchists have no creed, no code, no platform. Anarchism is but "an open gateway;" it progresses in all the open fields there are in the universe. It has only a principle—equal liberty. And that is its only law; keep to that and one is only answerable to self. People will not obey this law because they are forced to from some outside power, but because they know or will learn that their own best happiness will be best secured by observing the law himself. An Anarchist has but to measure his conduct by this principle—"every one has a right to do as he chooses provided in the doing thereof he does not infringe on every other one's equal right. Whatever does not

tally with this principle or law is un-Anarchistic.

In our every day life, we no doubt do violate this law to some extent, and we are compelled to suffer by its violation. There is no way of avoiding it under the present conditions. In picking our way through the quagmires of necessity and the high ground of our ideals, we must use our own judgment, not 'some one else'. What seems most expedient, best adapted to our purposes in life, or to inevitable circumstances, is our guide. If we find our highest happiness in trying to do good to the world, in trying to induce our fellow men to think, and think right, we must choose that course which seems to promise the best opportunity. If we are in a manner forced to do something to earn a living which we prefer not to do, we accept the fate because to struggle against it would take too much of strength and we could not do as well for the cause as we would like. In fact, I cannot see what real connection there is between what a person follows to earn a living under the present conditions, and what he believes, unless he needlessly invades the rights of others. I even contend that a woman could be a prostitute and believe in Anarchism; that a burglar could understand the philosophy; priests and ward he-lers might think that Anarchy in theory was right, but of course would not be living true to their convictions. But no more so than the millionaire who understands and believes it, yet thinks it no use for him alone to discontinue his methods of getting something for nothing. While I believe that any kind of a person may believe in the justice of Anarchism and thus far be an Anarchist, I claim that there is a wide difference in speaking of thieves and prostitutes as being Anarchists, and of lawyers and some of the officials in law, as being Anarchists. The profession of law has a great deal to do with our position as Anarchists. Law and established authority are the enemies we wish to destroy. Whenever you have an enemy which must be cornered, you wish to know all you can about it. War departments prize a good spy above a good soldier. If you are sure a wild beast is loose and ready to spring upon you and devour you at the first opportunity, you would feel that the more you knew about its nature and habits the better you could prepare for it. No one understands the absurdities, the arbitrariness, the despotism there is in legal enactments, in precedents, in judicial decisions, better than a well-trained lawyer. For the sake of the poor victims of "law and order" we should have many Anarchist lawyers. I am acquainted with several of them, and know of many good deeds they have accomplished. One of them, a very able young man, but poor, for he would only take cases which seemed to him just, met me one day and said with a look of disgust and indignation, "Why they asked me to take a case in court today to prosecute a poor devil of a thief! Think of it!" Mr. Holmes while practicing never took a case of prosecution, except to collect some poor working-man's wages, and saved many a poor victim of hard circumstances from the clutches of the State. If in the case of our poor noble boys in Chicago, we had possessed two or three good lawyers who were also well-posted Anarchists, history since that time might have been written very differently.

Denver, Colo., 3163 34th Ave. LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

Scene: Court Room.

Judge:—James Brown, you plead guilty to stealing three packs of cigarettes?

James Brown:—Yes, Your Honor.

Judge:—One year in the penitentiary!

Brown:—Thank you, Your Honor.

Prisoner's wife leads little child away, weeping. James Brown, being a thief, will be warned, fed, and clothed by the State for a year. His wife, being honest, will have to earn warmth, food, and clothing for herself and child the best way she can.—Positive Thought.

***** For Chicago.

Decoration Day, picnic and meeting in the woods, north of Waldheim cemetery. Bring your lunch. Meeting called at 2 o'clock; important matters to be considered. Comrades Mrs. Parsons, Jay Fox and others will speak.

Comrades at the monument will direct you to the place.

***** For Western Pennsylvania.

The first picnic of the season of the American, Italian, French and German comrades will take place on Decoration Day, May 30, on Comrade Meyer's farm, Lock No. 3, near Elizabeth, Pa. Trains leave the Lake Erie Depot direct to Lock No. 3 at 7.50 a. m. and 12.40 p. m.

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

MORTON IN PORTLAND, ORE.

International Labor Day was celebrated in Portland last evening, by a mass-meeting in A. O. U. W. Hall. At eight P. M. the hall was well filled with intelligent men and women, who had come to learn of the world-wide labor movement. A preliminary address of 10 minutes was given by Henry Addis, explaining the origin and objects of May Day as Labor Day.

When Mr. Henry Addis had closed his remarks, Mr. I. Swett, Chairman of the evening, introduced James F. Morton, of Boston, who he said was a graduate of Harvard University with the degree of Master of Arts, and who was the grandson of the author of our national hymn, "America."

Mr. Morton is a man of medium size, sandy, with a frank, open countenance. He opened his address by stating that he did not intend to appeal to passion, nor to arraign class against class. That the hatred of this or that employer by the wage-earners, or of his or that agitator by the employers, could never accomplish any good, but only tended to make a bad matter worse. Then turning his attention to the objects aimed to be attained by the world-wide labor movement, he showed that the labor problem was the same the world over; that the enemy of labor was ignorance and prejudice and separation into hostile camps.

Everyone, he contended, would be benefited in the long run by the freedom and equality of opportunities aimed at by the movement which celebrated May Day its special educational day.

Equality of opportunity and free access to all natural opportunities, were the inherent rights of all people, he said, and the process of evolution must in time sweep away all institutions which deny or restrict these rights.

After the lecture a spirited discussion was participated in by the Single Taxers, Socialists and other reformers. Mr. Morton closed the discussion with a plea for Universal Brotherhood, which, he said, would be a condition of Anarchy.

The above was clipped from the Evening Telegram of May 2, and is a fair report of our May Day meeting.

It is impossible to give a full account of Comrade Morton's meetings, for he is not yet done. His first appearance in public was before the First Spiritual Society, their hall being full and everyone present an attentive listener. His lecture was so well liked that he was asked to address them again; but as he had an engagement in Silvertown, he put them off one week. The Secularists at Silvertown, however, went back on their engagement, thus putting him out of some engagements he could have made here in this city.

On May 3 he spoke in Mrs. Malory's parlors, and May 4 to the machinists.

Just how long he will be with us, or how many more lectures he will deliver, we don't yet know. He is just the man to touch the literary element of this city, and to get a hearing where such fiery speakers as Emma Goldman or John Most, or such a rowdy westerner as myself, would find difficulty in reaching. For the general public, in this section at least, he lacks fire. He has not suffered enough to give a deep hatred of all that exists. Theoretically, philosophically, calmly he can point out the trend of evolution, the law of growth, the purpose of life, but lacks the power to arouse, enthuse and stir to action. As a missionary he is excellent, and just the man to forever silence in the minds of the timid the fear of wild-eyed, dangerous Anarchists.

HENRY ADDIS.

PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION.

Many efforts have been made to organize co-operative associations, but the fact

that many who were interested would of necessity have to leave their present surroundings and incur the heavy expense of moving many miles away, has caused our plans to be abandoned. Then, too, colonization calls for means; which few possess, and this again forms an obstacle not easily removed. Yet with these objections in view we are not dismayed, for these are all overcome in the plan we have in mind, and we are confident that it is possible to form associations which will not necessitate any changes that are hazardous, nor any sacrifice that cannot be redeemed.

In the methods herein suggested we contemplate a voluntary association that proposes to inaugurate a system of co-operation in which all so disposed can participate without being obliged to sacrifice anything in making the attempt, or being in any way restricted in their personal freedom.

Our methods of operation are divided into three departments: The Industrial Exchange, the Educational and Literary, and the Correspondence Department, the object of each being briefly stated under their respective headings in our "Principles and Objects." The first embraces the various branches of industrial co-operation, the second education and propaganda movements, and the third sociability and social culture.

One of our main objects will be to add recruits to our ranks from all classes of working people who are weary of their chains and desirous of being free. This explains our motive in admitting all individuals, without regard to sex, creed or color.

A Membership Directory, giving the names, address and occupation of all of our members will be issued from time to time so that each can know which of the others they would like to co-operate with in any industrial exchange. The desirability of knowing the addresses of active comrades who reside in various sections of the country has been repeatedly expressed, but the necessary steps have not heretofore been taken to supply this long felt want. In providing a Directory any and all of our comrades who are now total strangers may enjoy the sociability of becoming somewhat acquainted even if no further advantage should accrue therefrom.

Life and Labor, a miniature magazine published in the the interest of The Mutual Aid Co-operative Association will be issued occasionally at 15 cents a year for one copy, or five copies to one address for 50 cents.

No charge is made for entering your name and address in our Membership Directory, but when writing for additional information please enclose a stamp for postage if an answer is expected.

A copy of our "Principles and Objects" and our "Membership Directory" can be had free for one a one cent stamp for postage. Extra copies for distribution, (until further notice) at 10 cents for 15 copies, 15 cents for 25 copies, and 25 cents for 50 copies.

We desire representatives in all sections of the Union to become active members and establish local branches. If you desire to take part in voluntary co-operation send in your name, including permanent address, occupation, etc., to appear in our directory now being prepared. Address J. A. Gillie, 8644 Howard St., San Francisco, Cal.

The laborer turns a desert into a garden; then we increase his taxes. The speculator turns a garden into desert; then we diminish his taxes. Then we pray the lord for prosperity!—The Star.

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