



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. II.

PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1896.

No. 44

THE FIREBRAND

Published Weekly. Communicate in any of the European languages.
50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to The Firebrand, P. O. Box 577, Portland, Or.

Admitted as second-class matter at the Portland, Or., postoffice

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.

Not Settled Yet.

However, the battle is ended,
Though proudly the victor comes
With fluttering flags and prancing nags
And echoing rolling drums.
Still Truth proclaims this motto
In letters of living light—
No question is ever settled
Unless it is settled right.

Though the heel of the strong oppressor
May grind the weak in the dust,
And the voices of fame, with one acclaim,
May call him great and just,
Let those who applaud take warning,
And keep the motto in sight—
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Let those who have failed take courage,
Though the enemy seems to have won,
Thou' his ranks are strong, if he be in the wrong
The battle is not yet done.
For, sure as the morning follows,
The darkest hour of the night,
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

O man bowed down with labor!
O woman young, yet old,
O heart oppressed in the toiler's breast
And crushed by the power of gold!
Keep on with your weary battle
Against triumphant might;
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

Free Communism.

MY PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE PRINCIPLE.

By WILLIAM HOLMES.

Concluded.

THIS great truth of economic science—viz. that the productive capacity of society is far superior to its consumptive capacity—is, strange to say, denied by some of our Free Commercialist friends. It is insisted that there would be no limit to consumption under freedom; but the fact is overlooked or ignored that however true this might be under a system of free consumption—or in other words of Free Communism—it could not be true under a system of commercialism where consumption would be limited by the consumer's ability to purchase. But in spite of the denial, the truth remains a truth still. And it is easy to show that even under existing conditions this is so. Take, for instance, the manufacture of pins and lead pencils. A few factories in the Eastern States turn out all the pins used in the nation. Will anyone say that the production of pins is limited? Only by the demand. And there will be no greater demand because every one, no matter how poor he may be, has pins in plenty and to spare. The cost of manufacturing pins has been reduced to such an extent that even

after paying a profit to the manufacturer, to the numerous dealers and handlers, and extortionate freight rates to public carriers, the price to the consumer is so small that they are poor indeed who cannot afford to have an abundance.

So only in a little less degree with lead pencils. A few manufacturers supply the civilized world, and as people have what they require, the demand is limited. Only by using them as firewood, or in some other similarly extravagant manner could the consumption of lead pencil be materially increased while the capacity for producing them is practically unlimited.

But it is unnecessary, and would be a mere waste of time and space to present further arguments or illustrations in support of an economic fact so obviously plain to every unbiased mind. If there is such a tendency under present conditions for production to outrun consumption, we may be sure that it would not be less if both production and consumption were freed from the blasting influence of monopoly. Why should there be any limit to production as long as a single human want remained unsatisfied? Tens of thousands of people now engaged in harmful and useless occupations would become actual wealth creators. Even with our present comparatively crude methods the hours of labor would be reduced to an enormous extent. Only one of two things could happen; either production would be brought to a standstill by some artificial process, as limiting the hours of labor, or by unnatural restriction as the maintenance of the private property system and its necessary appendages, price and value. But it is safe to say that as long as our material wants remained unsatisfied there would be no artificial limit to labor time, and as it has been quite clearly shown that the constant tendency would be to cheapen production and therefore to reduce price and value, we may infer that a time would certainly come when both would disappear altogether. And as the function of competition is simply to enhance production and reduce price, which is according to the theory of the Free Commercialists themselves when the former has reached such a stage that grand pianos become so plentiful and cheap that every family desiring one can have one, and price has practically disappeared, what necessity will there then be for further competition?

There will be none, and the mode of holding property will become one of simple utility. The necessity for private property will disappear, and with it will disappear the desire. I contend that the desire to own private property arises mainly from the fear of want; from the fear that there will not be enough of the world's goods to give every one a sufficiency. Our Free Commercialist friends are horrified at the idea of one person enjoying as much as another, hence their antipathy to Communism. But if they will stop to think, the unreasonableness of their position should become apparent to them. Let me put the matter in the form of a simple illustration: here is a table laden with food; every needful article is supplied in profusion, and there is still an abun-

dance to replenish empty dishes, with every facility at hand to procure more for future occasions. The guests assemble; the feast is free. But stay! here is a Commercialist who grumbles and sulks over his dinner because his next neighbor, a Communist, who is not as good a worker as he, shares equally with him in the delicacies of the table! How absurd! As if one would grumble, provided he has enough for himself, that his neighbor should have enough also. And yet this is the base of the imagined desire for private property, and there can be no other. I say imagined desire for private property, for I hold that with the disappearance of want and the fear of want the desire for property would disappear also. If a wheelbarrow represented less value than ten minutes of my labor time; if there were millions of wheelbarrows in existence and my opportunity to labor were unrestricted, would I have any anxiety to claim a wheelbarrow as my private property? I think not. And in a community where every family who had use for a wheelbarrow could have one, how long would it be before private ownership of that particular article would be lost sight of? Even under the present system we find there is a tendency for certain articles to become communized, as in some of the Swiss cantons, where private ownership of agricultural implements has been lost sight of and forgotten in the changes that have taken place among the people.

In free society property would cease to have any value aside from use. In a literal sense many things would cease to have an owner; they would be at the free service of anyone who might choose to use them. For some time a mode of depositing and exchanging products similar to that adopted by the Labor Exchange would probably prevail; but the tendency would ever be to simplify all functions; co-operation, both in production and distribution would merge into closer and closer fellowship, Communism in one kind of product would be followed by Communism in another, and finally Free, universal Communism would come to bless the world with peace, plenty and happiness.

Free Commercialists may say they do not want Communism; will not have it. Very well, how are they going to escape it? How prevent it? And why will they insist upon private property and individual enterprise? To restrict production? Unquestionably, since there could be no other reason for maintaining them. At least that would be the inevitable consequence of insistence upon their program. Demand, as I have said before, would be limited by the purchasing power of the people. Restrict the purchasing power ever so little, and production would be correspondingly restricted. To maintain private property, with competition and the wage system, would undoubtedly restrict or limit the purchasing power of the people. People could have what they could buy and pay for; nothing more, if we except what they would have given them and what they could steal. Now, is it a good thing to place any restrictions upon production short of the full satisfaction of the people's needs? Who will have the hardihood to answer yes, and at

the same time confidently assert his belief in freedom?

Free Commercialism is a middle class, a semi-radical movement; a movement to assist the property owning class, and must depend for its achievement upon a slow process of education and repeal of existing laws. Nearly all Free Commercialists are either non-resistants or believers in passive resistance. It would probably take hundreds of years to achieve equal liberty by the means they employ. They have been agitating and working for years to abolish the tax on money, and it is absolutely necessary to have that tax abolished before mutual banking can be successfully inaugurated. How much nearer success are they now than when they began? How many people in the world have they won over to their views? How long do they believe it will take them to accomplish their end? These are pertinent questions in the solution of a question fraught with such deep consequences.

Free Communism, on the other hand, is a thoroughly radical movement; a movement to aid the propertyless class. It is essentially a working people movement. Free Communists are not so much concerned about the difficulty of small capitalists securing credit at a low cost as they are about the difficulty of the laborer securing the full reward of his labor. Again, Free Communism is a revolutionary movement, including all that term implies, and all or nearly all Free Communists are revolutionists. They favor all that makes for revolution. They are close students of history, of economic development and change. They recognize the fact that history shows that every concession favorable to labor has been wrung from the governing class by revolt and by demands backed by force. They also realize that not only decaying political, social and economic institutions are great factors in progress, but that inventive genius, the development of steam, electricity, hydraulics, of all mechanical contrivances and discoveries of new forces tending to annihilate distance and to save human labor also play an important part in the destruction of the old and the up-building of the new civilization. For my own part I hate violence: war and bloodshed. I am a man of peace. I would rejoice to see a peaceful revolution. But I know that is in the very nature of things impossible, and I await the menacing storm with the calmness bred of that knowledge.

Free Communists being revolutionists do all they can to cause a faster revolt. They sow seeds of discontent. They urge to rebellion. They show the necessity of a radical change in human relations. And they preach to the disinherited; to the propertyless class. To the class which has nothing to lose and everything to gain by revolution. That they have not agitated in vain is amply shown by the tens of thousands of converts in Europe and America. Adherents to this doctrine are increasing every day. Mr. Fulton is mistaken when he assumes that no one cares for Free Communism. Before long they will be strong enough to make a bold stroke for liberty. Events of a less radical nature will favor their attempt, and they will succeed. Long, long before the slow process of winning a majority by education and repealing laws would bring Anarchy, it will be made possible by revolt and by the quickening process of revolutionary deeds; for events educate.

The revolution once accomplished and a taste of real freedom enjoyed by the survivors, is it reasonable to suppose that the great proletarian class will voluntarily submit to a government of Commercialism? I think not. For my part I do not believe that the human animal is naturally a commercial being any more than that he is a cannibal. Commerce, with all its accompaniments of banking, accounting, etc., is a necessity of the present capitalistic system. With the dethronement of king capital and the resulting immense increase of production, the necessity for money and accounts would cease, and our present commercial system would be superseded by a simple process of equitable exchange.

Mutual selection and adaptation under freedom would result in the formation of groups. The inherent right of each individual to secede would be recognized. Land and all natural opportunities would be absolutely free. The best methods of pro-

duction and distribution would be speedily learned and put into operation. The capacity for production being practically without limit, production itself would only be checked after the wants of every individual would be supplied. Free consumption would then become a necessity. Prices would fall lower and lower, and finally practically disappear. Value, except in a few rare articles, would follow suit. What necessity then would there be for a continuance of those commercial features which at present consume so much time and labor? None whatever. They would rapidly fall into disuse, and, obeying a natural impulse to satisfy their desires, with the least possible exertion, people would drift easily and naturally into Communism. Not a form of Communism which would subjugate the individual to the will of a majority or a despot, but that which would leave the individual absolutely free; free to do whatsoever he willed at his own cost.

This is what I mean by Free Communism. In the contemplation of such a grand scheme as this, questions of administrative detail cut no figure. Nor can they. As a writer on Socialism truly said, we are not architects; we are naturalists. Free Communists cannot tell what the length or breadth of back yards will be, or whether they will need back yards. They do not venture upon the assertion that each member of a group will own a private cat, or that there will be a common tooth-brush. Such a question as "Who will do the disagreeable work?" asked by friend Fulton is positively puerile, while Cohn's query as to what they would do with murderers is only less so in degree. It is presumed that a community of people having sufficient intelligence to achieve liberty would be able to carry out administrative details in such a way as to preserve it. We posit certain principles and draw therefrom certain conclusions; nothing more. It has yet to be proved that we are mistaken; nor is the evidence against us sufficiently strong to make out a prima facie case. We leave details to the exigencies which call them forth. Convinced of the soundness of our position, firm in our conviction of truth, we await the outcome with calmness.

But a few words more of explanation. The above is not a complete article. I have not covered or attempted to cover all the points. I have not given all the arguments which suggested themselves to me. Possibly there are some which I have not yet learned. Other writers will perhaps supply the deficiencies. Moreover, the composition may be faulty, and the style deserving of criticism from a literary point of view. I have attempted to put down my ideas in very plain, easily understood language, and perhaps in my desire to make myself thoroughly understood I have been guilty of frequent repetitions. My main point is, however, gained, which is an elucidation of my own ideas of Anarchist or Free Communism.

Sex Ethics.

Under the above heading, some time ago, I wrote an article in which I asked some questions that I considered pertinent to the subject. I advocated nothing but the right of every one to act in accordance with their best judgement, but so completely at variance with accepted theories did the ideas advanced prove to be that some of the readers who were constantly talking politics forewent that kind of contention for a few days to discuss those ideas. As may be suspected much of the criticism was adverse.

I will try to answer the most pronounced of the objections raised. One of them was the idea that if those who did not wish to go through the customary formalities were allowed to refrain from so doing, everyone would have to forego that privilege. Such is not the case, and no advocate of freedom ever dreams of denying every one the opportunity to go through all the formalities they may wish. All we ask is that those who do not wish to go through any ceremonies shall not be compelled to do so.

But if that were the case people would sink to the level of the brutes" we are told. That is equivalent to saying that ceremonies and formalities make people different from themselves. The truth is that licences fee the political parasites, while marriage by a minister or esquire serves to fee ministerial or judicial parasites, gives opportunity for scandals and divorce court pro-

ceedings thus feeding some more parasites. Thus you see that all the way round it is a scheme to compel people to pay for the privilege of doing something that they have a natural and unquestionable right to do.

Instead of people sinking to a lower level were they free to choose how they would act in sex matters, the self-reliance which always comes with the sense of freedom and responsibility will become an active force in the correction of many of the abuses which are now complained of so much.

These objections to freedom in sex relations are a slur on womanhood, for almost invariably the objectors picture all manner of direful consequence to woman's virtue. They talk of the insecurity of women under a free love regime. And right here let me interject a word or two concerning women's virtue. When we have discarded the double moral standard, and ceased to think that virtue consists in abstinence, the question of "women's virtue" will not be so seriously considered as now, for two reasons. Because the distinction between "women's virtue" and "men's virtue" will be obsolete, and because women will then be considered capable of choosing and determining for themselves in sex matters.

The idea that all objections on the grounds of "women's virtue" are based on, is the same one that man's ownership of women is based on. It is the same old, tyrannical, degrading idea that a man's wife is his property, and that she must be guarded in order to prevent injury, and to maintain her purity. Her desire in the matter is not taken into consideration, and she is expected to render all obedience to her husband and be "true" to him, to remain pure and be a "faithful" wife, no matter what his life may be. Just in proportion as this idea holds sway in a man's head will he be found prating about "women's virtue," and seen opposing freedom in sex relations.

"Conformity to custom harms no one, and all that is necessary is that the contracting parties be careful and choose wisely," is another argument advanced. In reply I would say, if conformity does no harm it does no good, and being an expense, and a public show, there can be no justice in compelling it. So far as making a wise choice is concerned, people are not infallible, and for them to find it difficult and costly to correct an error, to dissolve a union that is unhappy and consequently immoral, is unjustifiable from any but a purely dogmatic standpoint. "If it was so easy to get apart," says our objector, "they would rush into all manner of excess and indecent actions." Vile slander on manhood and womanhood! especially on womanhood, for no matter how prone men may be, owing to false education, to run to excesses, it takes two to make a bargain, and the average woman is not constituted so as to turn into a wild seeking after indiscriminate sex gratification when there is no legal prohibition to such action. On the other hand when there is freedom in sex relations the person with whom each woman will gratify her sex desire will be a matter of choice, and, being freed from the restraints that now warp and artificialize sex loves, the sexual passion will become natural and orderly in its manifestations, and the excesses and disgusting orgies now so prevalent will disappear.

There are many abuses of sex now common, and many plans proposed to correct these abuses. Many of these proposed plans are unquestionable good as far as they go, but to my mind the first and essential step in the establishment of a correct and adequate code of sex ethics is the recognition of the right of every woman to the complete control of her person: the right of perfect freedom in sex relations for each and every one alike.

Again I call on anyone who may think differently to show why there should not be the same freedom in choosing sex partners that there is in choosing business partners.

HENRY ADDIS.

An open Letter to the Comrades in America.

LOUISE MICHEL must have written to you already that a relapse of my sickness, on account of which I had to go to the hospital, where I am still detained, from going to the United States with her before next spring, if I am finally cured.

After that sad comedy of the International Congress of London, I would have liked, once more, to tell the yet deluded laborers of the New World about the bad faith, which fatally drags to the fraud and still worse to the Tyranny, all the politicians (from the bourgeois to the Social Democrats) proclaim it highly as truth: that for their entire freedom, the people must get rid

of all inside and outside authority. His to-day's leaders and idols might become his to-morrow's tyrants. The liberty must be such that every body should be the center of their social circle: one immense circle of strength, intelligence, solidarity and happiness. What is Anarchy after all, if not the natural necessity that the independence of every one shall be assured by the independence of all; the only force which creates harmony between producers and production, between needs and satisfaction.

If, after the winter is passed; Louise Michel and myself are able, as we hope to be, to reach that far off Pacific shore we wish to find that little and brave paper of yours, is for the American laborers of the West, the battle flag.

P. GORI.

London, England, November, 1896.

What is Justice?

I HAVE endeavored to fill a place of usefulness for the readers of The Firebrand, by outlining the meaning of Anarchy and the meaning of liberty; now, I answer and outline the meaning of justice.

What is justice? is the same question, as What is Righteousness? and this, is the same question as, What is Right? and the whole of the questions, is the same as: What state of human society conduct and teaching will give "Peace on earth and good will to men?"

Men have found the meaning of justice, just as they found the meaning of liberty, by centuries of torturous and blind experimentation; blindly made, not knowing that they sought justice till the meaning of the word had been made clear, by traveling over the world without liberty or justice operating in society conduct and teaching.

Some teach that law outlives justice, this is not true; it is presumable that enactments of law are based on justice; but this is also a fallacy: law and injustice are synonymous as operated in so-called law courts.

Now, remember, justice is nothing in itself, only a mere name of acts performed by men for men and through men; that is, the conduct of man to man in society is just, is right, is righteous; or, it is unjust, wrong and unrighteous.

Question: How can I tell what act is wrong and what act is right? or, how can I tell when I act justly or unjustly? which is the same question; as, when is my conduct righteous and when unrighteous?

It is seen at once that to know the meaning of justice is to know the meaning of righteousness, and to practice justice in our acts and teachings is to be just and righteous.

Another fact, in the human constitution there exists a "monitor" which approves and upbraids the spirit, whether what has been done or said is right, just, or, wrong, unjust.

Some teachers, especially religious, teach that this "monitor" is the criterion, the means of knowing what is just, or right or, what is wrong or unjust; This is a fallacy; for it is only what is taught as being right or wrong, that if the conduct did not accord, the monitor came into action.

The fact I wish you to notice is that the monitor, for I know not what else to term it, exists, but it does not determine what is right or what is wrong; again, this "monitor" never gives the shame, the downcast head and eyes, only where one has been educated, informed, as to what is just, right, or, what is unjust, wrong.

Then of what use is this "monitor"? It performs the office of a reminder, and gives pain, which frequently is heeded and saves from wrong doing. It is the voice of God in the soul of all highly developed races of people, I do not wish to offend by using the term God.

I once more ask, how is right, how is justice determined; since law does not give it, or determine it, nor the inward "monitor" know it. I have answered, men determine what is just, what is right, what is wrong, what is false, by the effects produced on man in society conduct just as the physician observes the beneficial or injurious effects of his drugs upon the patient by the symptoms exhibited in the patient's life force.

If society is without order, without welfare for the whole of its units; if society is filled with crime, with disease, with poverty, ignorance and degradation; if society is destroyed by internal strife; if society exist one part enslaved, the other part privileged; if society exists one part performing all its labors, the other part lifted above toil and drudgery; if society exists where its toilers, wealth producers, are ever in want and partial poverty, the other part having all wants supplied and wealthy, without any laborious efforts, you may

rest assured that justice is not practiced in such a state of society.

Justice is an equation when operated in society; all members are equal; otherwise, false relations exist and an equation of inequality exists in society conduct and life.

Justice is nowhere practiced on the face of the globe, among civilized? people, if this be true, it follows that no people on earth are righteous, notwithstanding Christian teachings, practices and prayers; "none are righteous, no, not one"; Now, why do not men possess and practice justice or righteousness?

Men do not possess liberty; men are forced to deny the "monitor" of their souls, and act and teach what they know to be absolutely unjust, unrighteous, till custom and habit destroy the "voice of God in the soul" then men are lost to right and just doing.

Why do not men possess liberty to be just? Laws are enacted which are checks, barriers, hindrances, which push men on to deeds of unrighteousness in their struggles against each other for place, for power, for profit and escapement from toil, poverty and debasement. Don't you know toil carried to the drudgery point always debases and deteriorates human beings? Don't you know that poverty does the same thing? and don't you know that unjust acts, unrighteous conduct, no matter if custom, habit and law say they are just; also, debase, deteriorate and destroy the souls of men and women too?

Let me specify briefly, some unjust conducts, acts and human relations, now sanctioned as legal, right, righteous and just.

The ownership by enactment, giving the power to buy or sell any part of the earth, or what is in or on it, that God created, is unjust, unrighteous; Why? It deprives all people, unable to buy, of a place on which to exist, and this deprivation is unrighteous; it forces all people who own no land to support those who do, this is unjust: it increases the struggles for existence for the great classes, as population increases and as the ownership of land falls into fewer legal title holder's hands, this is unjust; it finally destroys land holding and the masses in bloody revolutions; all this exhibits the unrighteous relation men hold to the land and all that is on it and in it; by excluding and disinheriting all who cannot become owners of land and its natural wealth.

The taking of what is called rent, though sanctioned by custom, usage, and protected by law, is unjust and unrighteous. It forms an unjust equation, which destroys equal opportunity; it forms a class of people in society, who are enabled to shift the burdens of supporting a government entirely on those who toil and pay rent; this creates gulfs of inequality between a rich and soulless landlord and a poor laboring tenant class; it engenders the most cruel and heartless conduct through which women, children and household goods, are all cast into the streets in midwinter, in all our large cities; it damns the souls of all who engage in the business of landlordism; it places an extra burden on labor, reducing by rental the wages of the wage-earner; it causes the wageslave to pay, not only rent, but taxes and interest, consequently, poverty abounds with the wealth producers, in proportion to the sway and increase of landlordism in every country of the globe termed civilized; for these reasons, I absolutely know that to take rent is unrighteous, that is, unjust.

The charging and appropriating of money called interest, for the use of money, though sanctioned by centuries of usage and upheld by custom and law, is all unjust, unrighteous and wrong. It is clear to the just spirit that no one can claim something for nothing since no labor or service has been given by the money lord for the interest taken. Does he not get back all the dollars loaned? Then, he has no just claim for more, yet this claim is legally upheld and long usage has made right that which is wrong. It, like rent, for they are one and the same thing, creates a class of parasites who feed and thrive from the sweat and blood of the balance of society; it burdens all wealth producers, because it reduces their wages and the wealth their labor produces must, and does pay every dollar of interest that is ever paid; this is why society topples over in ruin and annihilation, this is why poverty increases as riches concentrate into the hands of the few, and this is why wealth concentrates, by means of rent, interest, profits and large salaries to non-producers of wealth; for these reasons, the taking of interest is unjust, and gives the penalties of misery, degradations, disease, crime, intemperance, unholy lust, suicide, insanity, ignorance and the sufferings following poverty.

Will the people forever uphold, sanction, and permit so unjust conduct to continue in society as the taking of rent, the taking of interest because the few own the earth and its money?

We pray not and our hands protest, and our pen and voice are ever crying out for the era of good will and righteousness to come to earth, not through miracle, but through an awakening of the dead "monitor" in men's souls to the demands of justice.

My next essay will be, What is Equality?

L. EMERICK, Public Educator.

Jacksonville, Ill.

In Memory of William Morris.

WILLIAM MORRIS was such a grand figure in the Socialist movement, and he occupied in it such a unique position, that I am afraid not to be able to do full justice to his memory in the few lines which I can write now, in my present state of health.

As a poet, he stood quite alone in modern poetry. Amidst the whining and morbid poets of our own time, who are plunged into self-analysis and self-complaint, and are utterly devoid of energy for struggle, he was almost the only poet of the joys of life—the joys which man finds in the conquest of freedom, in the full exercise of all his powers, in work—the work of his hands and his brain. No modern poet has been known to inspire men with a like love of liberty, and labour with the like vigour, like hope and trust in human nature, like confidence in the happiness that men can find in conquering full freedom and freely associating with their equals. A true poet of the Norse vikings, of the free labourers, of free men.

These same elements he brought into the Socialist movement:

When he joined it, he, like all really powerful men did not seek in it the position of a wire-puller or a leader. Not even that of a teacher. He simply undertook to express what the masses think and what they vaguely aspire to. He joined the ranks, and brought with him his hatred of oppression in all possible forms, and his love of equality and freedom—which he understood in its broadest sense.

This is why, when he undertook to write his own romance of the future—"News from Nowhere"—he produced perhaps the most thoroughly and deeply Anarchistic conception of future society that has ever been written. As he combined in himself the broad view of the thinker with a wonderful personification of the good practical sense of collective thought (the mood of thought of the masses when they occasionally, in revolutionary times, set free to work)—his ideal society is undoubtedly the one which is most free of all our State and monastic traditions; the most imbued with the feelings of equality and humanitarian love; the most spontaneously growing out of a spirit of free understanding.

Two tendencies struggle in present society. On one side, the tradition of the centralised State of Imperial Rome and of the Church, built up on the same plan—the tradition of slavery, submission, oppression, military and canonic discipline; and, on the other side, the tradition of the masses who endeavoured to build up their society outside the State—the tradition of the customary law, as opposed to Roman law; of free guilds and fraternities; of the free cities revolted against the bishop and the king; of the artisans and peasants revolted against Church and Empire. Morris entirely and unreservedly belonged to this second tradition. He was the bearer of that Scandinavian, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic spirit which for the last ten years has struggled against the Roman tradition. And this is why he was so little understood by all the unconscious followers of the Church-and-State tradition.

For the last few years of his life, Morris had abandoned the Socialist movement, and he frankly explained his reasons in a lecture which he delivered for the Anarchists at Grafton Hall in 1893. If the movement had gone on developing and bringing England to a Socialist Revolution, Morris undoubtedly would have gone under the red flag as far as the masses would have carried it. But the endurance of the workers, who patiently support any amount of capitalist oppression, deeply affected him.

Moreover, Morris, who would have gone any way with the masses, could not go with parties; and when the Socialist movement in England became a party warfare, with all its wire-pulling and petty ambitions, which he hated so deeply, he did as Garibaldi did after he felt wounded in the fight between his Italian volunteers and the Italian royal troops. He retired to his Capraia.

But the love of the masses has followed him in his retreat; and the deep traces of his activity remain with us. If the Socialist movement in England did not take that authoritarian and functionarist character which it took in Germany, Morris's influence was immense to prevent that disaster; and this influence will be felt more and more in proportion as his Socialist writings and his writings altogether are read more and more by the masses of Socialist workers.—(Peter Kropotkin, in Freedom, London.)

Literature.

"THE Old and the New Ideal. A Solution of that Part of the Social Question which pertains to Love, Marriage and Sexual Intercourse by Emil F Ruedebusch. Published by the Author, Mayville, Wis. U. S. A." The main part of the book contains 298 pages, the Appendix ("Notes, and Comments on Criticisms") 50 pages, in all 348 pages. The price will be 50 cents for paper cover and \$1.00 for cloth-bound editions. The first part of the book contains many free translations from the German treatise, especially in those chapters which are merely descriptive or rather "destructive." The greater part of the book, however, pertaining to what may be called the "constructive" theory and the suggestions for propaganda work is so radically different from the German book, that it would be misleading to judge the one by the other.

A review of this book will appear as soon as possible, but our German readers, who have read the German edition, will not hesitate to recommend the book to their English speaking friends. Groups and Free Reading Rooms should have this book in their libraries, as it is the best book in regard to marriage, love and sex relations that I know of. A. I.

PROSPECTORS MANUAL. We are in receipt of a book with the above title, it is just what miners and prospectors want. The book is a popular treatise on assaying and mineralogy, and will be found very useful to all who wish to discover mines. The first part of the work gives the United States mining laws and regulations, how to locate and survey claims etc. The book can be had of book dealers or the Author, H. N. Copp, Washington D. C. Price 50c.

Correspondence.

THINKS THE PAPER IS IMPROVING.

I received The Firebrand from you to-day and have received two or three, Nos. before. I took it a while and my time ran out, and I kept thinking about renewing, but neglected it. I am short of means just now, but will have some in a month or so and will then remit. I like the paper very well, and it gets better all the time. I hope that you have force and means enough to keep the paper going and will make a success of it, for it can be made a grand educator in its advance lines of thought. I see in this No. that you think of enlarging it in the next volume, that must mean that you are getting a fair patronage, and which I am glad to know. R. E. LA FETRA.

I HAVE no doubt that the opinion of many of our subscribers is, that we have a paid up and paying subscription list, that warrants us to enlarge, but so far we have not received enough, but are cramped to make both ends meet to print the present size, so some of the comrades are out to get means to sustain ourselves. We send out sample copies as educators, and if the most of them would become paid up subscribers, we would then feel as though success would attend us.

As we have said before, we intend to enlarge the paper with No. 1 Vol. III. But the success will greatly depend on our readers who have contributed so freely so far to sustain the paper. If we should fail to get means enough to print it 8 pages, we will then have to go back to the present size. A. J. P.

FROM PHILADELPHIA.

In the beginning of this month comrade Emma Goldman was here for the first time since her arrest in this city upon addressing the unemployed here in 1893.

On Wednesday evening the 4th. inst. she spoke at the Ladies' Liberal League of her "Experiences on Blackwell's Island." On Sunday, the 8th., at 3 P. M., she addressed a mass meeting called by the Jewish Group

for the double purpose of commemorating the death of our Chicago Comrades and discussing the case of our imprisoned comrade Alexander Berkman. The audience was an exceedingly good one and in response to an appeal made by Miss Goldman \$9.21 was raised there for the Berkman Rescue Fund. In the evening she delivered an address at the Young Men's Liberal League. "Woman's Cause" was the subject to which a densely crowded hall listened with interest. The following day she went to Baltimore, Md.

On the eleventh of November meeting of the L. L. L., there was also a collection for the Berkman's fund taken up, which brought \$2.64 and together with the sum mentioned above, was sent to Harry Gordon in Pittsburgh.

NOVEMBER, 23, 1896.

JACOB MILLER.

Note and Comment.

THE Socialist Labor Party vote in New York City is 972 short of what it was in 1895. This is not a very good showing after all the "fuss and feathers" De Leon and his co-workers have been making.

MANY Anarchists have for years voted the S. L. P. ticket, simply as a protest against present wrongs, but the tyranny of the Executive Committee, and the attitude of "The People," and other S. L. P. organs, have driven them away from the party. Maybe that accounts for the falling off of the S. L. P. vote in New York City.

The Comrades in Providence have started a free discussion club, called the People's Union which meets every Sunday evening at 935 Westminster St.

In San Francisco the comrades have established headquarters at 1232 1/2 Polson St., where they gather every night from 7 to 10 P. M.

Clippings and Comments.

A FRENCH journal describes a new and promising substitute for gold. It is produced by alloying ninety-four parts of copper with six of antimony, the copper being first melted and the antimony afterward added. To this a quantity of magnesium carbonate is added to increase its specific gravity. The alloy is capable of being drawn out, wrought, and soldered just as gold is, and is said to take and retain as fine a polish as gold. Its cost is a quarter dollar a pound.—[Ex.]

All that is necessary now, is to monopolize the invention and the composition will be as valuable as pure gold is to-day. Only the monopolists would pocket the difference and become millionaires.

THE telegraphers tied up the Canadian Pacific from end to end and in a few days won one of the grandest victories ever achieved by wage workers. Organization did it.—[International Wood Worker.]

It was not "organization" alone that "did it," Mr. Editor. It was the recognition that their claim was just, and that they only could accomplish the end in view by united efforts that "did it."

The Letter Box.

C. S., PHILADELPHIA.—We have reordered the books from Mrs. Parsons, and hope you have them now.

Receipts.

"Ceska Beseda" through Soupal, \$4.00. Fagan, Vogeler, Helman, Troona, Burda, Coustant, each 50c. Ad-Is, 4c. Barnes, Engle, each 25c. Tarovsky, 20c. Snellstrom, Clouston, each 10c.

THE FIREBRAND'S AGENTS.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for subscriptions for The Firebrand: Chicago, Ill.—Charles L. Bodendyke, 1140 Milwaukee Avenue. C. Pfuetzner, 239 Taylor Street. New York City.—F. Rudash, 60 Livingston Street. Buffalo, N. Y.—G. Lang, 29 Grape Street. Philadelphia, Pa.—L. R. Botnik, 731 Lombard Street. Baltimore, Md.—B. Morwitz, 1141 East Lombard Street. London, Eng.—Tom Reece, 19 Field Road, Fulham Road, Sw.

Taxidermy.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE FIREBRAND.—For the benefit of this paper, I will send instructions for mounting and preserving any sized bird, from a hummer to an eagle without skinning, to any one sending twenty-five cents to The Firebrand and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to me. P. S.—After receiving it, if your conscience troubles you for receiving so much for so little you can remit something to sender. Address, ED GORE, Warren, Minn.

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Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco, 1232 1/2 Polson St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

The Peoples Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 935 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

International Group Free Initiative meets at 64 Washington Square, New York City, every Monday at 8.30 p. m.

Radical Literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I. Rudash, Cor. Essex & Division Streets, New York City.

Independent Theatre (Eric Buchne), will be opened in Shoenhofers Hall, Cor. Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues, Chicago, Ill. Details will be given by Otto Wichers von Gogh, 33 Dear St.

Delinck Listy is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Bohemian language at New York City, 266 Ave. B by the International Workingmen Association of America. Send for sample copy.

Progressive Thought is the original advocate of the Labor Exchange. A sample copy may interest you, and a year's subscription will put you in a way to learn all about it if already interested. Published at Olathe, Kansas.

"**The Famous Northern White Owls**" make a beautiful attraction for the Parlor, office or counting room. Sent on approval to reliable parties. Address for prices and full description, E. G. Gage, Taxidermist, Warren, Minn.

The Alarm is an Anarchist weekly paper for the workers and is published at 98 Judd Street, Euston Road, London, England. The editorial policy is Anarchist Communist, and each issue contains twelve columns of eye-opening and thought-provoking matter. One cent weekly, or sent through the post for one dollar a year.

The Altruist is a monthly paper issued by the Altruist Community of St. Louis, whose members hold "if their property in common, and both men and women have equal rights and decide all their business affairs by majority vote." Twenty-five cents a year; sample copy free. Address, A. Longley, 1719 Franklin Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

The Age of Thought, published by E. H. Fulton, Columbus Junction, Iowa, is an advocate of individual liberty; of the free use of land and other natural resources; of free banking and is an unalterable opponent of arbitrary authority and special privileges. It is eight 9x13 pages in size and printed on fine book paper. Send 2 cents for sample with terms and premium offer.

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