THE FIREBRAND

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Anarchist.—A social theory which regards the union of orders with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal of society and the freedom to enjoy its individual liberty. —Century Dictionary.

Propaganda by Deed.

Much has been said and written concerning propaganda by deed, and at present the enemies of our propaganda never weary of pointing to certain acts of violence committed by Anarchists, and referring to them as “propaganda by deed,” with a sneer. Thus, some have come to fear the idea of propaganda by deed, and protest against it, saying it injures the cause.

Does propaganda by deed injure the cause? Let us see! First let us candidly inquire into what constitutes propaganda by deed. The propaganda consists of calling attention to the conditions as they are, in our ideas and an investigation of our claims. A deed is an act. Any act, then, that calls attention to conditions, and starts investigation of our claims, is a deed of propaganda: is propaganda by deed. While acts of violence are, in some respects, deeds of propaganda, yet they are more emphatically acts of revolt, and methods of revolution. Leaving revolutionary methods out of the question, no revolution can succeed in its object unless the revolutionists know what they want, let us look at what else may be done in the way of propaganda by deed, and see if there is something desirable. In our last issue we published a letter written by comrade Legat to the Inland Revenue officer. The writing of that letter and the defiance of the officers authority were deeds of propaganda. Comrade Albin Washburn, of Loveland, Colo., has for some time past been issuing what she terms “labor tender,” which is designed to take the place of “legal tender,” as a medium of exchange. This is not only a violation of the United States laws, but also of a state law of Colorado. She held her farm for some time after she had been “legally ejected.” She distributes copies of Lucifer and The Firebrand on the streets of Loveland, and constantly urges the refusal to pay interest and taxes. These are deeds of propaganda. In fact, any act of defiance to authority that is calculated to call attention to our ideas, or any ignoring of laws or customs that tend to break down respect for them in the minds of others and yourself is a deed of propaganda. Are they desirable? They are!

It would matter but little how many Anarchists in theory, there were if they were conformists in practice. Suppose one million Anarchists were living in the United States. Suppose further that all of them could see no good in propaganda by deed, and so went on conforming to the laws and customs of the country. As long as they did so, no matter how many times they might say they were Anarchists, would any alteration take place in social or economic arrangement? Most assuredly not. They would marry, send their children to the public school, pay their taxes, serve on juries, support the decisions of the courts by a silent consent, and everything would move on as it now does. On the other hand, suppose a million Anarchists believe in propaganda by deed. They would cease to marry, establish schools for their children where superstition and false training would be left out, avoid and refuse to pay taxes whenever possible, refuse to do jury duty, and oppose the operations of the courts. Would things move on then as now? Well hardly.

By voluntary co-operation interest can be dissolved. By communal home making women can be relieved of the drudgery that now destroys their health and happiness. By united action taxes can, when we are numerous enough, be avoided. Anarchist schools, where knowledge free from nonsense can be imparted, can be made of great utility to whatever number of families live near each other. By these means, and a thousand others propaganda by deed can be carried on and attention constantly directed and attracted to our ideas. Propaganda by deed is of the most vital importance.

It would be amusing, were it not so dismally discouraging, to hear the outcries and protests of some Anarchists against this or that method of propaganda. Some denounce violence, others too much publicity, while others go so far as to discourage free discussion of certain subjects. They would have us let religion alone lest we scare away some Christians from investigating, or they would place an embargo on any mention of the sex question because some prudes won’t read it. Such discussion would not be in the case. My goodness! how are we ever going to live in freedom if we can’t even discuss topics of vital importance to its maintenance? Away with such nonsense. Let the right to think, to make public our thoughts, and to act be unquestioned amongst all American Anarchists.

Deeds of propaganda that awaken a world wide discussion and bring the deed into conspicuous before the public are to be admired, but the quiet, constant ignoring of law and custom may be none the less effective in propagating our ideas and creating a public sentiment in favor of Anarchy. Whenever a couple ignore the county clerk and minister, and follow out their desires by simply living together voluntarily, whenever a number get together for productive or other purposes; deal with each other without notes or legal security; cease to use money where other devices can be made to answer the purposes; refuse to sit on juries or uphold authority by any means, they thereby do much to terminate the evils of which we complain and to begin the construction of a new social order. The one who will do these things alone will at first be derided, perhaps persecuted, boycotted and avoided; but as sure as that person persists in his course one after another will gather around him or her, and at first sympathy and protest, then gradually emulate until a company of persons instead of a lone individual will be found ignoring and defying the laws and customs that interfere with personal liberty. Take for instance the breaking down of the blue laws, or the anti-sweat laws. It is still a punishable offence to swear in Pennsylvania. The man who first swore and took chances on being fined was a propagandist by deed, and now no one ever thinks of enforcing the law against swearing. So with numerous other laws that were framed to stop the business of the churches. In some states it is “against the law” to play ball on Sunday, but the boys play ball, and as they grow up they have no respect for that law and it is doomed to become a dead letter. I have seen persons sitting on the grave in a public park, leaning against a “keep off the grass” sign. That was a bit of propaganda by deed against that restriction. I could enumerate many other instances of defiance of obnoxious laws, but it is not necessary as we can see it going on all around us every day.

In this issue a comrade pleads for enthusiasm, for a return of the “good old methods” of propaganda; of mass-meetings and emotional excitement, I plead for a return of, and a more vigorous pushing of propaganda by deed than ever before. We have had communards from cities further east come amongst us, who had confined their propaganda to mere meetings and distribution of literature, and they were astonished at the freedom from custom we enjoyed, and admitted that they learned much by contacts with American Anarchists. Would all who are mentally free act as they think, do as they advocate, it would be a constant propaganda by deed and would do much to encourage the weak-kneed to be more courageous. It will put new ideas into the minds of the people, and set tongues to wagging concerning the free actors, and the theories that are back of their deeds. Then it will be easy to get our literature read, for when anyone asks concerning the propagandists, they will very likely read the literature. Thus we see that propaganda by deed acts as a stimulus to the cause in general, in all directions, and we cannot afford to ignore or deride it. Rather let us encourage it and give it greater publicity.

Some of our readers have blamed us for “loading” ourselves with the care of comrade Wallenbrock, but it was not only a matter of satisfaction to us, but also a matter of propaganda by deed, and has attracted considerable attention. It also gave us the opportunity to say to those who depend on secret orders for assistance that organizations, constitutions, and by-laws are unnecessary to insure against disaster, or provide for mutual helpfulness. The redeeming of the Duggan farm, and its cultivation and improvement by the comrads communically, would be an important deed of propaganda, at the same time securing a pleasant home for those who prefer to live away from the city.

H. EDDIE.

At all times it is the individual that speaks the truth, not the age. It was the age that gave Stiles' hemlock for his supper; the age that burnt Huss. The age is always the same.—Goethe.
Be Kind to the Tramps.

By Lizzie M. Holmes, Denver, Colo.

Our work—soddest of all words! How many there are today who murmured hopelessly, looking, with a terrible fear in their hearts, at their loved ones and half crying, "Oh, how slowlv, and laboriously built up!" It means so much that can never be expressed in words, for starving to death is not the worst of poverty. There is a quote from one corner that says, "No thinking weeks and months of alternating hope and fear, of slow sinking from the plane of respectability, of gradual giving up of what have always been the most cherished, the breaking up of the home, the tramping of the husband and father, the drudgery and deprivation of women and children—the utter hopelessness of it all! These things appear to me as unendurable. There is the man who has told industriously and cherishing ambitions of a plentiful, well loved and respected old age, finds that after all, the future promises but a dreary existence, if existence is possible. For the penurious man long out of a job there is so very little chance of being reinstated in the fields of respectable industry. For our work—soddest of all words! How many there are today who murmured hopelessly, looking, with a terrible fear in their hearts, at their loved ones and half crying, "Oh, how slowlv, and laboriously built up!" It means so much that can never be expressed in words, for starving to death is not the worst of poverty. There is a quote from one corner that says, "No thinking weeks and months of alternating hope and fear, of slow sinking from the plane of respectability, of gradual giving up of what have always been the most cherished, the breaking up of the home, the tramping of the husband and father, the drudgery and deprivation of women and children—the utter hopelessness of it all! These things appear to me as unendurable. There is the man who has told industriously and cherishing ambitions of a plentiful, well loved and respected old age, finds that after all, the future promises but a dreary existence, if existence is possible. For the penurious man long out of a job there is so very little chance of being reinstated in the fields of respectable industry.

In favor of Enthusiasm.

I am a reader and admirer of your worthy paper. In fact, I have many a time pronounced your paper to be one of the best and most radical Anarchist periodicals ever published in the English language. I am sure it does a great deal for the spirit of mankind. I concluded therefore that there are many among you (or all of you) that understand the Anarchist-Communist principles well, and have sound judgment. This is the reason I apply to you, so be kind enough to answer what I am going to say.

I have associated with Anarchists for four years; at first, I was a mere boy, but I have read a great deal and as I believe myself possessed of a sound thinking power (not that I boast of it, but simply a power that is not mine alone) my man is sufficiently capable to throw off his religious and suppositional prejudices), and as I have taken great pains to study the sociological questions I can say I understand and I am well acquainted with the Anarchist ideas. I wished to say—I stated this for a reason which I will explain after, but to the point. The first few years I was associated with the holders of the idea, as far as I can remember, there was a great deal of work which consisted mainly in explaining to the workman, or any suffering class, their conditions and creating discontent among them, and telling them that they could change their condition. Right here you should understand that kind of propaganda was done by arranging big mass-meetings, demonstrations and publications writing all of a radically different kind. Most of the propaganda has had (and here is the point) only treated with Anarchism from its common sense purpose of point, and has, therefore, created "straw Anarchists," (to use the new line) and not with the plain straight idea. Anarchists which were at heart perfect Anarchists and lovers of freedom, but coming in contact with a more or less "scientific man" could not very well defend their theories, and in the end got all mixed up. The thing was to find a perfect advocate of Anarchism who would be able to wield any weapon you may have for him; an old man with his years of useful labor, of hope, ambitions and little success behind him; with the struggle young generation you take a workman, a practical man, one who is familiar with the world's lifetime of bad management working through the century's closing days, ready to overwhelm him. He does not know how weak and helpless he is against all this; and if you are able to convince him, he turns away tearful to know nothing can be done. No wonder man will dare anything, do anything before the sake of principle or a cause they love. But when it en masse march in small numbers, be the oppression of society, history and about other branches of science, and the very same patrons (about a hundred in number) gather together every Friday, or any other day, and after the lecture there are debates, which are not the time very interesting and sincere, for the following reason: to discuss science itself of course is beyond their power (or rather knowledge) as only the cleverest men are Proffesionalists as it, or had more opportunity and diligence to study it up, but as for the rest they go on in the same rag-chewing and blunders. They talk for the time being, have no heart of heart, no like to hear, and simply want to "show up," and this is their modern way of creating Anarchy and spreading advanced ideas. There are things happening daily which if big mass meetings were assembled masses called to the evils of it, and to all the evils of private property, religion, and government, and the whole question was put in general, who would enlighten their minds and would do a work of enmassing the revolution, which according to Anarchy is the only means for relieving mankind from their woes. But no! This will only create sentiment and "straw Anarchists."

Demur with it and how did you ever become a scientific Anarchist if not through being a straw Anarchist. How would you escape the charge? It is a serious point. Here are three or four lecture-meetings if not through the influence of agitation? The facts talk for themselves.

Years ago when agitation was going on there was some of it, in the North, that one might have thought was not assisted by the capitalistic press as some thing to be feared, but now, judge for yourselves. In short, I can not hesitate to admit that their friends are beneficiaires for the practice, found in the Anarchist movement. Participating in it will, or may, develop their minds to a high degree and understand Anarchy from its scientific point of view, but to state my opinion, that they devote their time and labor to those lectures by changing and commencing to aspire as before and that they are capable of being made as they have in the shape of classes, and to do anything to the cause of Anarchy. Who are the sufferers? Who are betrayed? Seduced? Exploited? Robbed? Murdered and plundered? And, who and are will be the soldiers of the coming revolution? "No! No! It's the people! Therefore they are the ones to be spoken to. Another thing: I have argued with many of them and they say: well, this is a reaction from those times, but I say: no, I don't think that certain times have produced certain men, but it is also true that certain men have produced certain times. To take their argument we go on with business and leave Anarchist activity all the same, altogether, until the time comes for it.

No! My friends! the more discontent we create, the more people we get to understand; therefore, I feel the better it is for our cause. For as knowledge and science which (I love not less than they do) this will come with time. This is the question which I ask you, as well as every other concerned: do they give up their opinions about; as for mine it is given.

Leo Rabin.

I have no objection to mass-meetings, appeals to sentiment and emotion, and the old style methods of propaganda, but I know that fever-heat enthusiasm cannot last. I say fancy and every method of propaganda that can be used to advantage by the comrades, but recognize that in order for our work to be permanent an understanding of Anarchism must go to the sentiment. A condition of this is that we must be effective and satisfactory.

H. A.

Paraphrages from London.

It may be interesting to Firebrand readers to learn that the newspapers are showing that the same thing is being of overwhelming extent, as to being the same seat, as to the situation what people are and of course the most effective and satisfactory.

Anarchist propaganda in London is dragging along desolately with a little life and less effect. Two open air meetings are held Sunday in Trafalgar Square, and one meeting to three million people. Though the London meeting was held out to the audience this is a trifle hard to reach, if he bad to address his full proportion. But he doesn't have to—by quite a little bit. To judge from one meeting remaining in Kipling's "Vampire."

A man gets up and he makes a blast. Even as you and A. Tales for a while to the empty air.

No man is adding corn to our.
The Firebrand

Two children then, and a lady fair. (The world is all a'war)

When energy is flung into the work, however, as occurs when demonstrations are organized, the results are gratifying. A meeting of the National Workers' Alliance and meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, May 30, It was one of the largest and most effective in the history of the movement. The crowd numbered in the thousands, and the speakers were listened to with admiration. The rally was marked by a series of events which served to increase the strength of the movement.

In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian," one of the leaders of the movement, said: "We are not satisfied with things as they are. We are determined to fight for our rights, and we will not rest until we have achieved our aim."

The object of demonstrating that Individualism was a better and quicker solution of the economic question than Co-operation. This point Mr. Bolsard was willing to concede for the sake of argument, but he did not wish to be outdone in generosity. He would concede, also for the sake of argument, that in some cases Co-operation would lead to Communism, and invite Mr. Bolsard to cooperate with him in the establishment of his system.

Henry Cowles.

Note and Comment.

Our friend J. Hildebrand, Borden, Texas, would like to express his appreciation of the work of the co-operative publishing secretary of the Pioneers of Progress Association. Mr. Hildebrand is one of the most prominent and progressive farmers in the territory, and his cooperation with the Association has been of great benefit to the people.

We have been informed by a reliable authority that the tax on beer is to be increased. This is a matter of great importance to the working class, and we hope that the government will give serious consideration to the matter.

The Register Union is a good try, a republican, but the two sentences above quoted could, I believe, be improved by an Anarchist. The sound is sufficiently condemnatory of government to suit the purpose of the "tax." If our republican contemporary could see as clearly as he ought, and as we should like to see him see, or if he was in a position to be as logical and as true as he is, he would large laborers under the delusion, just as the editor of the "Pioneers of Progress," that such an institution is not under some kind of government. All our efforts to get rid of the social ill will be utterly in vain as long as we are preoccupied with the taking of production and distribution last.

I was at one time an ardent Individualist, because it appeared to me that the sole trouble in our econo-

mies was caused by the failure of the system (of which each individual has his own) to serve the public good and for the benefit of its members. But I now believe that all systems of government are equally bad, and that all failures are the result of the fact that government is necessary to us all, and that unless a market at higher prices can be secured for the products of the race which cannot be expected. Seeing this they attempt to control them by restricting production, but they fail to see that to restrict produc-

tion is to stop the growth of the country. Thus we see the sale of one commodity is paid for, in the end, with another commodity, and one kind of production reacts on all branches of production. An-

other thing they fail to see is that as long as our pres-

ent system continues, the system of ownership and form-

ship and industry which are inseparable from it, just so long will it flourish. Indeed, under this system, the workers he crumpled down a constantly lower level of living.

Having come to a realization of the fact that the boss is subject to the conditions, the next step for them to take is to recognize that the destruction of our present commercial and industrial systems is necessary for a just and equal distribution of wealth and for the advancement of the race. Of course the common rule of the photoplastic press are no exception to this. It is the hope of all that the work of the workingmen is vain, but utterly false to show what can be done in the face of this. In fact, when they understand that they accept it as natural and unavoidable, and consid-

er that interest, profits and wages must be reduced, and that the workingman, in order to survive, has smitten them, but the workers are getting their eyes open, and the idea of an industrial and commercial revolution that is rapidly coming is some being born, and the workingmen will see the cause of their misery—the pres-

ent property system—and destroying it. H. A.

Climps and Comments.

When men lose faith in the ballot, in what do they place their faith? In the ballot it is a question of anything that can properly be called faith?

In Justice and Freedom. Though it is true these two do not now exist, so perhaps I might better say that they did exist in the idea of the people, though there was some day exist. But we know such will not be the case unless we fight. We will not cease chasing your will-o' the wisp and help us in our light for something decent? and nothing that is decent will ever come from the womb of a selfishly diseased ballot box. Quit fooling with the old stump, if you are not yourself too dazed, and be for the ballot box against monopolies, trusts, bad government, high taxes, low and unjust assessment of vacant lands held at exorbitant and fancy prices, hiding things under the false name of "taxes," being you willing to help your old uncle?—Uncle Sam.

If you truly mean what you say, we are with you.

But I would like to know what your idea of 'what is a "*public" government' is. You are not thinking enough to see that there is no such 'good' government. There is none in this miserable land but the bad ones. The government you propose is a gov-

ernment by a majority, and that is a government by a majority of the people, and of those who do not consent to such govern-

ment. And if that be slavery, please tell me what is not.

D. D.

We commend the following sentences from the Tulare Register to our Anarchist contemporary the Portland, Oregon, Firebrand:

"To introduce things, but can only tax and spend, and spending and taxing is not produ-

uction. It is liberty and an opportunity that will find work for the people."

The Register man is a good party man, a republican, but the two sentences above quoted could, I believe, be improved by an Anarchist. The sound is sufficiently condemnatory of government to suit the purpose of the "tax." If our republican contemporary could see as clearly as he ought, and as we should like to see him see, or if he was in a position to be as logical and as true as he is, he would large laborers under the delusion, just as the editor of the "Pioneers of Progress," that such an institution is not under some kind of government. All our efforts to get rid of the social ill will be utterly in vain as long as we are preoccupied with the taking of production and distribution last.

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I have seen several modifications made, especially as to the degree of tyranny which would logically grow out of the communist basis, I am still of the same general opinion, viz: That the amount of control which is or could be required by Economic Communism would practically be negligible.

But, on the other hand, I am now equally sure that full communism, as a practical system, would be essentially vicious and liberty destroying. It means the co-existence of immemorially equalizing states, prevent-

ing the growth of industry, the destruction of the small farmers and cities.—Vittorina de Cleyre, in Labor.

From the above it seems that Voltairine has modified her views since reading the writings of wood-
cutters, painters, etc., in The Firebrand, but like an eccentric, she has modified them to suit her own fancy and live without till by some strange and unknown means.

I would like to know what Voltairine is going to get her little laboratory if she is to be free from all government. The truth to which we all have come, exist solely as a result of co-operation, and that in the foundation of Economic Communism, and this is natural and has the approval of Social and Political Communism. The full expression of this is dependent on the full expression of economic co-operation.

H. A.
The FIREBAND

Be Kind to the Tramps.
By LAMAR M. HOXIE, Denver, Colo.
Out of the gobbledygook of the hour.
How many there are today who murmur hopelessly, looking with a terrible fear in their hearts, at their loved ones and the little home they have slowly and laboriously built up. So many that can never be expressed in words, for starving to death is not the worst of poverty. There is such a much before one comes to see that.

The long, long weeks and months of alternating hope and despair, from the place of the husband, father, the drudgery and deprivation of wife and children—these things find that after all, the future promises but a dreary existence, if existence is possible. For the penniless man long out of a job there is so little chance of being reinstated in the fields of respectable industry. For one thing, he gradually grows listless, loses confidence in himself, feels indisposed to exert his powers, grows morose and bitter. His every failure makes him more likely to fail again. Even broad-minded and liberal people come almost to look upon the long, long days of wait that will stretch on and on, as a matter of course. The chances are, they have been unemployed, or are now on their way to being "out of work" will be something different from the conditions of the past few years. The vast number of those entering the army of unemployed, the speculative efforts of those who are only beginning now on this path, will increase the already vast numbers of the unemployed. Since the imprisonment and death of so many good and noble reformers in America during the last 40 years it is an honor to have been in jail. Those who have been behind the bars have been the wiser, I know for I have been there, and I would rather be the prisoner than the turnkey under the circumstances again. In the same manner it is coming to be an honor to be among those who are noticing the need of the noblest men. I know are blacklisted in the west and cannot obtain work. When Eugene Debs leads his way to the fair, soaring above the clouds, to build up a new commonwealth, it will not be an ignorant, demoralized mob he leads, but an onward, moving throng of intellectual, high-minded beings, who, will, love and follow, in the spirit of the great civilization of the new world.—From the Inland Empire, The Dalles, Oregon.

In favor of Enthusiasm.

I am a reader and admirer of your worthy paper.
In fact, I have made my part of your paper a must. It seems to me that it should be one of the best and most radical Anarchist periodicals ever published in the English language, and I am sure it does a great deal for the liberation of mankind.

I concluded therefore that there are many among you (or all of you) that understand the Anarchist-Communist principles well, and have sound judgment. This is the reason why I am kind enough to answer your question on the subject of being a member of Anarchist and Anarchist organizations. I am associated with Anarchists for 8 or 9 years; at first more from instinct of discontent, but I have read a great deal about them and have been impressed with a sound thinking power (not that I boast of it, but simply a power of reasoning of which every man is capable should be thrown off his religious and superstitious prejudices and start anew, giving up many of the great pains to study the sociological language. I can say I understand the idea in its entirety, but this is not what I wanted to say. I stated this for a reason which I will explain after, but to the point. The first few years I was associated with the leaders of the idea, as far as I can remember, there was a propaganda going on which consisted mainly in explaining to the workmen, or any suffering class, their conditions and creating discontent among them, and telling them that they can change their conditions if they want to. This kind of propaganda is the same kind that mass-meetings, demonstrations, and publications writing all of a radically Anarchist character, etc. This kind of propaganda is loose and informal, in the beginning is never connected with Anarchy from its common sense point of view, and has, therefore, created "straw Anarchists," (to use the new-scientific—Anarchists expression) that is, Anarchists who are only interested in the struggle for workers' and lovers of freedom, but coming in contact with a more or less "scientific man" could not well defend their ideas, though with any ordinary individual they could, and even perhaps they would be willing to help in some case. But lately this kind of propaganda has been abandoned, and a new tactic was taken, "it is not the quantity but the quality" say the representatives of the new tactics. The new tactics are simply a better understanding of Anarchy perfectly than to have thousands which have the sentiment but are unable to talk about it scientifically. A man who accomplishes this...
The Modern Inquisition of Spain

In the Interest of Truth, of Justice, of Common Humanity, this Leaflet is Published. In that Interest We Beg You to Read:

These are the facts concerning an official crime the like of which has seldom been paralleled and never surpassed in infamy, the so-called trial of the Barcelona Anarchists:

On the 7th of June, 1896, a bomb was thrown into a Corpus Christi procession as it passed the Cambios Nuevos street, in Barcelona, Spain. The perpetrator of the outrage was not discovered, and in default of such discovery the Spanish Government, proceeded to arrest three hundred persons, the entire membership of the Centro de Carreteros (Car Men’s Club), composed of persons of various political faiths, including Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists. The method of the prosecution was to make the whole of the membership and attendance of the Car Men’s Club responsible for the act of some unknown person or persons who might or might not have belonged to that society.

For eight months now, one hundred and seventy of these persons have been imprisoned without trial or interrogation; eighty-three have been tried; twelve acquitted, but not set free; nine certainly condemned to death, and the death sentence demanded for twenty-eight; already five have been shot, and the remainder sentenced to imprisonment in terms varying from eight months and one day to twenty years.

**Upon what grounds and by what means have these convictions been secured?**

Upon the accusations and testimony of three men—Ascheri, Molas and Nogues. **How were the accusations obtained?**

The following letters, from a jailer in the fortress and from the imprisoned men, as well as the proceedings of the court martial, will show. And if any doubt, as a decent humanity may well make them doubt, the truth of such horrors, let them read the following from the Dominionales, of Madrid, a bourgeois paper, no Anarchist paper now being permitted to be published in Spain:

“We have received some little time ago not one but a dozen letters from the Montjuich prisoners, one and all arguing: ‘We are innocent! We are innocent! Don’t believe this on our mere assertion only; we can prove it before witnesses, but for this purpose it becomes necessary that we should be tried in public, and not in the subterranean prisons of Montjuich.’

‘Have not these unhappy men proved their innocence by demanding a public trial?’

‘And yet of these protests, accompanied by convincing proofs, and addressed to all papers like they were to ours, not one paper has mentioned a word, excepting El Pais and La Justicia. The veil of silence covered these cries of pain.

‘Later on, fearful rumors circulated; the declarations were wrung from the prisoners by means of torture! In the Montjuich prison the Inquisition reigned supreme! prominig from eight months and one day to twenty years.

‘If these rumors were false, why were they not denied by those concerned?’

‘Was it not incumbent on them to justify themselves in the eyes of Spain and of the whole world?’

‘In spite of the outburst of indignation, the trial took place with closed doors, and the press, in official reports, had to state: The chief accused declared before the court martial that their confessions were wrung from them by atrocious procedures. Also the indignant protests of counsel for the defense and their taunts against the prosecutors were reported.”
"Public opinion has now decided. Better the guilty escape punishment than torture one innocent. Since the confessions were obtained by violence, the trial is null and void."

And this from El País, a Republican paper of Madrid:

"Respectable citizens of Barcelona—doctors, lawyers, civil engineers, merchants—write to us exhorting us to prevent a great iniquity being perpetrated upon the prisoners of the Montjuich fortress. These letters all bear the imprint of revolt and terror. If their writers were not worthy of unlimited confidence we should hesitate to believe the enormities they tell us of. What the foreign press has published with regard to the Anarchists' trial is but pale, a dim outline, in comparison with what we have heard personally."

And this from the special correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung, of Frankfort, Germany (the leading provincial paper), sent to investigate the reports. (Article published February 13, 1897.) After reporting that he had spoken with former Anarchist prisoners, lawyers employed in these cases, members of the court martial, friends and relatives of the prisoners, high officials, etc., and that he had received seventy-four letters from the prisoners (which he sent to the Frankfurter Zeitung), he says:

"I am sorry to have to confess that I have acquired the strongest conviction that the published details of the Barcelona horrors are quite correctly reported—perhaps, even, they understate what has happened. The seventy-four prisoners say in this letter that since the trial they have, as before, been deprived of all communication with their friends. And why? 'That our appearance may not betray the work of the inquisitors!'"

Men like Friederich Spielhagen, Bruno Willo, August Bebel, M. von Egidy and Judge M. Kreeke, in Germany; and Peter Kropotkin, Rev. Stuart Headlam, Edward Carpenter, Walter Crane, Sir Frank Lockwood and Sir Charles Dilke, in England, have expressed their willingness to do all that in them lies to compel the cessation of these iniquities.

If such men utter a protest it is because they are convinced of the truth of the charges.

* * * * *

LETTERS FROM MONTJUICH.

[The following letter from a jailer in the Fortress of Montjuich appeared in Henri Rochefort's paper, L'Intransigeant (Paris), no name being signed for obvious reasons.]

BARCELONA, December 16, 1896.

MR. EDITOR:—The sittings of the court martial lasted for five days, and were rigorously kept secret.

On the first day the judge read a record of the events that led to the trial, full of exaggerations and untruths.

On the second day the public prosecutor read the act of accusation, calling them "wild beasts" and "bloodthirsty criminals." After finishing the reading of this act he avowed that he "shut his eyes against justice" and demanded the death sentence on twenty-eight and penal servitude for life for the remainder of the prisoners.

On the third day the presiding judge asked the accusers whether they maintained their accusations against the rest of the prisoners, and they assented, with slight alterations. After this the speeches for the defense were made. All the counsel for the defense were military officers; nearly all demanded the acquittal of their clients.

On the evening of the fifth day all the accused were led before the court, where they maintained their innocence with the utmost energy.

It is not known what will follow, but it is certain that the condemnation of a single one of those unfortunate men would under these circumstances be a monstrous iniquity.

Here are the names of the officers who, under the orders of Lieutenant Narciso Portas, perpetrated the tortures: Jose Mayans had to put on the mordaza (gag) and the instruments for compressing the head, squeezing out the testicles, bolaboring the flesh on throat and temples; he also commanded the flogging, executed by other warders, to keep the prisoners constantly running along without allowing them sleep, food or drink. Manuel Carreras had to apply red-hot irons to their flesh; Tiburio Estorqui had to mutilate the genital parts by means of reeds and guitar strings. To relieve this gang the fol-
lowing other torturers acted: Felix Corral, Rafael Mayans Botas, Cirilo Ruiz Osma, Leonardo López Parralles and Sergeant Botas.

I ask you to publish the names of these wretches, and receive the thanks of all the unhappy prisoners. Yours, etc.,  

A Letter from the Tortured Nogues.

[This is the letter that Nogues has succeeded in transmitting to one of his friends.]

Comrade:—You know that I am one of three accused (the other two are Ascheri and Molas) who were tried in the trial. I could not hear the atrocious tortures of so many days. On my arrest I spent eight days without food or drink, obliged to walk continually to and fro or be flogged; and, as if that did not suffice, I was made to trot as though I were a horse trained at the riding-school, until, worn out with fatigue, I fell to the ground. Then the hangman burnt my lips with red-hot irons, and when I declared myself the author of the attempt they replied, "You do not tell the truth. We know that the author is another one, but we want to know your accomplices. Besides, you still retain six bombs, and, along with little Oller, you deposited two bombs in the Rue Fivaller. Who are your accomplices?"

In spite of my desire to make an end of it, I could not answer anything. Who should I accuse, since all are innocent. Finally, six comrades were placed before me whom I had to accuse, and of whom I beg pardon. Thus the declarations and the accusations that I made: (I cannot finish; the hangman are coming.)

Nogues.

A Lesson in Spanish at Montjuich.

[One of the tortured at Barcelona has succeeded in passing through the following letter to a comrade.]

My Dear Friend:—This is what has happened to me on the day of the declarations, after which I was called before the judge whom I had given to understand that I did not know the Castilian language, still less the Catalanian dialect. Therefore I had asked for an interpreter, lest I should mistake one word for another; also for my personal safety and the authentication of the judge.

Thinking the spirit of equity to be one of the foremost duties of the judge, I believed myself confronted with a superior officer worthy of the instruction which he has received, in consequence of his education and his promise to me, on the word of a caballero (gentleman), to pay attention to my demand at the next cross-examination.

I am taken to my habitual dormitorio, to remain there scarcely a quarter of an hour. The guard calls me and puts me in the hands (or at the mercy) of private guards, who make me put down my meagre baggage in a corner of the passage leading to the great descent of the staircase to the zero. I am left to wait for a little while in the middle of the staircase, near the platform which communicates with the calabosillos (small dungeons). Then we resumed the march to the place indicated and known under the name of zero. (Note that on the way from the staircase I received a fearful slap in the face!) Imagine the terrible aspect of such a vast place, at midnight, with two civil guards following behind and one going in front of you with a candle in his hand; a staircase that reeks of carbolic!

Arrived at the ante-zero, I am bound up like a sausage. One of them opens the door and lets in another unfortunate victim, who did not utter a sound and passed me by like a ghost. The poor wretch, whose features and appearance I had not time to recognize, must have known for what purpose this gloomy retreat served was well fitted for the things that were displayed there.

I am ordered to undress, or rather to undress—waistcoat, jacket, trousers and pants. All these were placed in one corner and myself in another, my hands tied by the wrists and the arms taken backwards by a strong cord to the height of the biceps, afterwards bound tightly round so that the cord penetrates the flesh. The civil guard, with a stout whip in his hand, says to me, "You do not want to speak Spanish? I will make you speak before you leave this place!"

And, by heaven! he showers a quantity of lashes upon me, on the calves, on the knuckles—everywhere. At the end of five minutes I did not know which part ached most. Again the question was put to me: Was I determined to ask the aid of an interpreter, or would I make my statements in Spanish? I make a sign that I cannot, because I do not understand the language. Then the flogging begins afresh; on both sides, on the legs—each lash producing a fresh smile on the countenance of the official—lasting another five minutes. Seeing that I did not speak, they put a mordaza (gag) into my mouth; I was then tied down and the torture recommenced—on one side the whip, the string by which the gag was fastened on the other.
Once more I am told that, if this should not suffice, they have some other means which are infallible; that this is only the beginning; that I did not know as yet what was in prospect for me. After a number of lashes bestowed with the utmost force, I am freed of the gag and I am asked whether I have made up my mind to obey; that if not, there are some other things.

Then I said that I spoke a few words with difficulty, and that I would pronounce them as well as I could. One of them told me that this would do.

Then I was taken to the judge, Marzo, who thus addressed me: “¿Can you speak now?” He put a number of questions to me which I scarcely understood, and to which I replied full of fear lest I had misunderstood them.

Ascheri is brought in, looking like a spectre, and does not even look at me. A presentiment paralyzed my pains when thinking of what those others had to suffer during the two months and more at the hands of the hangmen-inquisitors. Ascheri’s new blouse and trousers told a harrowing tale in the light of my experience. It showed that his old clothes must be in rags or stained with blood; and his voice sounded as if it came from the grave.

The question having been put to him in an imperious tone by the judge as to whether he had seen me at the public or secret meetings, he replied in a death-like voice with this single word, “¡Public!” “Several times?” queried the judge. “Once,” replies Ascheri. He signed his deposition and went away, in accordance with the orders of the judge. This man seemed like a hypnotized being. He walked away with a halting step, like a man suffering from a venereal disease.

The judge says to me, “Seis una banda de pilíos!” (You are a band of good-for-nothing creatures). His secretary burst into a roar of laughter, quite amused by this insult; to which I replied in the following words: “No solo que entende usted para pilíos.” (I do not know what you mean by the term “pilíos.”)

Since then, the day when we were photographed, the same civil guard who inflicted the lashes on me said to me, “Tenirivar daras... ya, ya!” On the day when we were brought up in order to ask for a counsel for defense, this same guard asked me whether I had forgotten to speak! Another day, when I was called before the judge—I do not know why—there were several military physicians there, they told me. I could not see what purpose this formality served. I was with Rogiero, and I thought that it was because we were foreigners. We were asked our profession, why we came here, our age—which these men seemed to verify.

Afterwards, on the day when the charges were read, the judge had the cynicism to ask me—in front of fourteen or fifteen counsel for defense—whether I remembered that they had the means to make anyone speak; that I ought to know it! You want no more cynicism.

This is, as briefly as possible, my sorrowful history of the part played by me in the monstrous trial. Your unfortunate comrade,

JOSÉPH THIOULOUSE.

THE REVIVAL OF THE INQUISITION


Antonio Nogues declares that everything he has said against himself, as well as against the others accused, is absolutely false; that if he has made any confessions they were extorted from him by tortures.

Callis, Molas and Sunyer also declare that they were subjected to the same tortures as was Nogues.

All the counsellors for the defense are in the audience chamber. The reading of the documents presented by the latter finishes about a quarter past one in the afternoon. At 2 o’clock the sitting of the court is adjourned. At 3 o’clock all the accused are brought in, but they are removed before the sitting has been reopened. The accused remain outside.

Then Ascheri is told to enter. Ascheri admitted his having confessed to be the author of the attempt, adding, however, that he has made that declaration only when obliged by a superior force.

It is now Callis’s turn. Scarcely had he uttered a few words when—great agitation is produced in court. This was caused by seeing the examining magistrate, Enriqueta Marzo, open the door by striking against it with his foot and pushing Callis out of the court. Immediately after this the hangmen get hold of him and take him to
THE MODERN INQUISITION OF SPAIN.

an upper apartment, whence a few moments later one can hear loud screams.

The judge hastens to order another of the accused to be brought into the court, in order that the court may not pay attention to what had just taken place. Several counsel for the defense have remained standing up, and the commotion caused by the treatment of Callís does not pass away for a long time.

Then the lawyer, Pierre Corominas, is ordered to enter. He begins by drawing the attention of the tribunal to certain points that have remained obscure during the trial. He specially points out that in the course of his confrontation with Nogues, who had accused him with having attended secret meetings, he had asked him to name the others who were present. Nogues then mentioned Ascheri, Mas and some others, and all these have formally denied it.

Corominas points out that, having been confronted with Ascheri, the latter declared that he never met Corominas in the secret meetings. This, added the accused, had been stated in the procedure, but the judge suppressed it in his summary. Mas has also made the same statement, which has not been taken notice of either in the said summary.

Corominas added that he demanded to be confronted with the president and the doorkeeper of the Centro de Corretores (Car Men’s Club), in order that they might be asked as to whether they had seen him at the club on any other occasions but the time of the conferences. But he has been refused these confrontations, thus rendering impossible an evidence solicited in conformity with the rules of procedure.

With the accused Molas this scandalous treatment is brought to the highest pitch. As soon as brought into court Molas states that he had been tortured in order to force him to tell lies. The president threatens not to allow him to speak. But Molas expresses himself in such energetic terms that one member of the tribunal, in rising and addressing the president, exclaimed: “Mr. President, he must be allowed to speak—this accused man—for he has a right to do it!”

From all the benches where the counsel for the defense were seated a murmur of approval accompanies these words, which causes Marzo to become confused.

Molas then recounts the story of his Calvary. A sepulchral silence prevails in court. The story told by Molas, impressed by an undeniable accent of sincerity, produced a profound emotion. Marzo is terrified. Molas had been threatened to be subjected to fresh torture if he will tell before the tribunal of all the cruelties he has had to undergo. That meant placing this accused between the death-sentence or martyrdom.

Molas, while leaving the court conducted by his hangman, who takes him back to his dungeon, is placid and calm, and appears to be facing without fear the martyrdom with which he had been threatened.

After Molas, one of the accused who had not been tortured was brought in.

Nogues, while being brought into court, cries, for he has had to suffer martyrdom before. This is what Nogues declared: After having been several times subjected to torture, the pains made him confess to being the author of the attempt. His torturers, however, told him that it was not this that he ought to declare, that he ought to confess some other things, and that he ought to charge his comrades. He also told the tribunal that after four months of imprisonment he still bears the traces of the wounds inflicted upon him by burning. He adds that he has spent eight days without eating or sleeping; that his nails had been torn off; that he has got numberless blows with the rod; that he has had the gag applied to him, and his testicles compressed by means of a guitar string.

When Nogues is leaving the court his face is contracted with the pain, his eyes start out of the socket, but his steady gait and his proud look seem to say: “You can torture me; you can deprive me of nourishment and of sleep. I am satisfied now!”

Maś follows after Nogues. Mas has become insane. He could not stand the sufferings, and the tortures have caused him to lose his senses. The words addressed to him absolutely fails to understand. His body is covered with such sores and bruises, he is so atrociously mutilated, that they have had to take off his handcuffs for fear of breaking his wrists. During his appearance the physician of the regiment examined him.

Finally Sanyer is heard, who also tells the story of the tortures he has had to undergo. He speaks in the presence of Portas, lieutenant of the gendarmerie. His statements produce among the audience a sense of horror, so much so that several gendarmes leave the hall in anger, exclaiming: “Assassins! Assassins!”

A young lawyer (one of the counsel for defense), being overcome with the emotion aroused in him by the awful story of the accused, cannot bear it any longer and leaves the court. Some of the other counsel for the defense utter vehement shouts of protest, and it is reported that Ascheri’s counsel has challenged Portas.
Some gendarmes indignantly declare that the gendarmery has been converted into a body of hangmen, and in their anger they take off the prisoners’ handcuffs.

The latter are formed into two rows in a room close to that wherein the court martial is seated, and the exasperated gendarmes tell the accused of all that is going on in court.

In consequence of these incidents an energetic protest is drawn up and addressed to the president of the tribunal, in which the release of all the accused is demanded.

This demand is rejected, and people who desired nothing else but to unravel the iniquities of the procedure and to bring to light the innocence of the accused, have to keep quiet.

However, all the accused are led into court. Several among them try to recount some facts already known.

Casanovas and others say that during the examinations they noticed that their accusers showed their blood-stained wrists.

The Frenchman, Joseph Thioulouse, who does not know a word of Spanish, asks for an interpreter. This quite natural demand is met with a refusal. The military judge, Marzo, shrugs his shoulders and makes a sign to his guards: These undertake at once, and again remove the unfortunate man to his dungeon. There he is firmly chained to the wall. Then the hangmen (private gendarmes) began kicking him about everywhere, and after this they opened his mouth and put into it a small wooden cylinder, made like the bridle-bit of a horse, from the ends of which two strings are hanging down. These are fastened behind his neck, and Thioulouse is obliged to walk, while numberless welts with the whip are applied to him. All the while the gendarmes insulted him. When he made his declaration before the judge, Marzo, his counsel said with a revolting cynicism: “It seems as though this blackguard needed another lesson in Spanish!”

Little Oller states that in order to force him to declare himself the bearer of the two bombs found a few days before the attempt in the Rue Fivaller, he had been shockingly tortured. (One will remember that this boy of 20 has succeeded in resisting the tortures and has signed nothing.) Another one shows a letter which the tortured comrades have passed on to him.

All are avowing their innocence most energetically, and, while proclaiming themselves Anarchists, they deny having been implicated in any conspiracy or having participated in the attempt, which was the act of a single man.

Thioulouse, the Frenchman mentioned above, while pointing to the judge who had cowered down on his seat, said: “It was you who ordered me to be horse-whipped, under the pretext that I did not want to speak Spanish, of which I knew not even one word!”

All declared that they pardoned their accusers, since the latter were forced by torture to state what was evidently false.

To sum up, there was not a single comrade who did not loudly avow his innocence, and who did not vehemently resent the accusations made against him.

It is stated that the court has ordered an inquiry to be made, and that the physician of the Fortress of Montjuich had been commissioned to examine the tortured Anarchists.

It is known, among other shocking and sickening details, that the fire torture had been practiced in a place well known to the inhabitants of the fortress, la Cuadra de Artilleria (the stables of the artillery), where one may still see the stones recently blackened by the fire.

Was this not enough to damn the Spanish Government hell-deep below even the bomb-thrower of the Corpus Christi procession? But this was not enough! Not yet had the inquisitors filled up the measure of their fathers. The indignation aroused by the publication of the facts regarding these tortures compelled a reversal of tactics, as revealed in the following letters, also smuggled through the fortress walls: the first published in the Berlin Sozialist, the second in Les Temps Nouveaux, Paris.

First, the heartrending appeal of Sebastian Sunyer, an author and translator of Anarchist pamphlets:
"FORTRESS OF MONTJUICH, March 11, 1897.

"To All Good and Right-minded People:

"From you I hope for a little sympathy and justice.

"They want to murder us.

"After having torn the flesh from our bodies and the nails from our fingers; after compressing our heads and mutilating our testicles, they want us to disappear, so that we never might bear witness of these infamous proceedings.

"Good and right-feeling people! Do not let your attention be diverted from this ill-famed Anarchist trial. You who, with honest hearts, took up our defense, shall be told how matters stand. Our torturers want to conceal and frustrate the good work which you did by making our martyrdom known to all the world.

"Listen with your pure souls: In the minutes of the court martial, held in the accursed dungeon, our tortures, though distinctly told-to our judges, are not mentioned by one syllable.

"Listen, you with your honest hearts: In their zeal and love for justice, our torturers have published a series of lies. By means of these lies the inquisitors want to confuse public opinion and suppress the truth.

"Read this, honest men: They want us to sign a document by which we declare that we have not been tortured; and they have resolved to obtain these signatures from us by all means.

"Good people of the world, we are innocent; yes, we are innocent!

"Did ever such a monstrous injustice take place? All good and right-feeling men, in the name of all that you love in this world, save us from the power of our executioners! Aid us in our helplessness! Think of our misery!

SEBASTIAN SUNYER.

"All good people are requested to copy this document and spread it all over the world, that it may penetrate at last also to the Spanish papers."

The second letter says:

"Unfortunately for our enemies, these fiendishly refined tortures gave rise to a scene at the court martial never to be forgotten; for, in spite of the precautions taken—all doors closed, the accused securely handcuffed, forty-eight gendarmes armed to the teeth, each ready with a gag to stifle the truth in the mouths of our comrades—in spite of all this, our friends bravely did their duty. There was continuous exchange of defiance between counsel and judges. Truth and falsehood had a desperate struggle. In spite of the precautions and the apparent superiority of reaction, the battle was half lost for reaction, and it turned back nearly as quick as it had advanced. No more was said about the famous silver inkstand presented to the judge, Marzo, which represented a superior officer crushing under his feet a dragon, holding in its mouth two Orsini bombs.

"This is what is being done: A committee of inquiry was formed to investigate the allegations of the tortured. This committee consists of six members, and is presided over by the chief general of Barcelona. These six individuals went into the dungeons where Ascheri, Molas, Nogués, Luis Mas, Sunyer and Calis are kept, and laid before each of them a declaration, fully written out; in these words:

"'I, the undersigned, formally declare that I have not been tortured or ill-treated by any of my warders; on the contrary, I have only to praise their conduct. For these reasons I declare the statements in the press to be lies."

"In exchange for their signature they were promised: (1) Grace of their life; (2) good wine,
good bread and good food until their acquittal, which would soon be ordered from Madrid.

"None accepted save Ascheri, who was feeble enough to sign. In face of the categorical refusal of the other prisoners, the members of the committee changed their tactics, and begged and supplicated with no better result. Then they begged of their victims to pardon their torturers, saying that it was a misunderstanding. All replied by a categorical refusal. Ascheri said nothing."

In another letter (to the Vorworte) it is also recorded how Portas, lieutenant of gendarmes and immediate chief of the torturers, went about from cell to cell craving for pardon and shaming remorse. He met only with contempt. Meanwhile he found another victim. Captain Juan Morales, counsel for Nogues, had challenged him to a duel. The government prohibited the duel and relegated him to the reserve. Upon this he shot himself. He had risen from the ranks, and the Republican press honors his memory.

The reprint of further letters would but confirm the facts previously mentioned, and help only to initiate us into the refined details of cruelties. There is a letter from J. Molas telling of nine days and nights of torture, converting them from the innocent, unconcerned persons they were before into men accusing themselves and others of every conceivable crime. A letter from F. Callis states that a military surgeon examined him and saw his many wounds received from tortures before the trial.

Juan B. Oller (sentenced to 19 years, 1 month and 11 days) tells how, barbarously manacled, he had to move about for 39 hours, his only food dry codfish; and after this he was mercilessly flogged until blood came from his mouth and nose. Roused again in the middle of the night, he was beaten with sticks. When he could no longer walk he was placed erect against the wall until he fell down exhausted, when he was kicked frightfully and then left with some food but no water. After being subjected to another course of this horrible treatment, intensified by excruciating thirst, he had delusions, and in desperation ate mortar from the walls and drank his own urine and the oil from the lamp. All this for not telling what he did not know himself—where one of the Anarchists was hiding! After that they told him they had found he was of no importance, and warned him to be silent about his treatment. "You bought Anarchist papers," Portas said to him; "why not Catholic papers? Why do you not like these?"

[From the Paris L’Intransigeant, Henri Rochefort, editor, May 6, 1897.]

"BARCELONA, May 4.—At 5 o’clock this morning the Anarchists, Tomas Ascheri, Luis Mas, Antonio Nogues, Jose Molas and Juan Alsin, were shot at Montjuich.

"The day before the police tore from the walls placards posted in the town referring to this execution.

"The condemned men arrived at the place of execution, their arms tied behind their backs. They turned toward the public and smiled. Mas said to the soldiers, who were ready to fire, ‘Come forward!’ Nogues cried out at the same time, ‘It is the Inquisition!’ Then he added, ‘I am innocent! They all cried, ‘Vive Anarchy!’ and Molas commanded ‘Fire!’

"The soldiers fired. Four of the condemned fell dead. Alsin remained on his knees. He had not even been wounded. A second volley overturned him. It took a third to finish him. A large crowd witnessed the execution.

(Then follows this comment:

"The crime is accomplished! The torturer Canovas can be proud; he has had the victims he desired. The others, the ‘acquitted,’ will be transported to the African galleys."

"Another dispatch from Madrid announces that the execution passed without incident and that the ‘most complete calm’ obtains in the city.

"The Spanish Government has a method of making ‘calm obtain’ that is preparing for it a terrible to-morrow."
Two children then, and a lady fair.
(The world is all a-wry.)

When energy is flung into the work, however, as occurs when demonstrations are organized, the results as well as the action will be better. Take, for instance, the meeting in Taft Square on Sunday May 30. It was a demonstration of how a good cause can be committed to helpless innocent men in the streets of Montpich, Barcelona, Spain. Quite 3,000 people had gathered, mostly from the frequent bursts of applause their interest and enthusiasm showed that every man was willing to concede for the sake of argument. Not wishing to be obscure in generosity I will concede, also for the sake of interest, that even if a war can be averted by one man's eloquence and interest, it will lead to Communism, and invite Mr. Boulard to have a talk with me about the means of establishing his system.

Henry Coven

Note and Comment.

Our friend J. Hildebrandt, Borden, Texas, would like to commend the correspond.

The secret of joint cooperation. This secret is, therefore, more closely guarded than the secrets of the feminine gender.

On the other hand, the work of the world could throw aside class and national hatred and unite their efforts in the common cause of peace. That even if a war can be averted by one man's eloquence and interest, it will lead to Communism, and invite Mr. Boulard to have a talk with me about the means of establishing his system. Henry Coven.

A New Departure.

A strike of the iron, steel, tinplate, coal and coke workers is on, in the midlands states, and involves about one half million men. The curious feature of the strike is that it is with the employees, but with the market at large. They want to force prices up, and to demand higher wages. This is a hopeful sign. All workers have a pretty well understandable condition, they have struck at the nearest object—the market. The strike is not over the shoulders of the scale, have nibbled, cursed and hurled at them, but all, under compulsion, are going to force the bosses to succeed to their demands. Now they see that the boss is as helpless as they are, and that unless a market at higher prices can be secured, their products, higher wages cannot be expected. Seeing this they allow a market at higher prices by restricting production, but they fail to see that to restrict production means to reduce consumption, for the pursu.

In the case of steel, for instance, in another commodity, and restriction of one kind of production, there is the other kind of production. Another thing they see is that as long as present commercial system lasts, and the system of owner ship and control remains, the price of the product will rise and wages tend downward, and the workers will be crowded down to a constantly lower level of living.

Having come to realize the fact that the boss is subject to the conditions, the next step for them to take is to recognize that the destruction of our present commercial and industrial systems is necessary before they can hope for a readjustment of affairs on a satisfactory basis.

Of course, comments of the photogenic press are more twaddle than show clear enough that the hope of a general strike has failed to show up the many things that can be done to relieve this condition; in fact they accept it as natural and unavoidable, and consider that in the meantime something must be done, and let the world go on as usual. Kindness has not been wanted, but it has been shown that there are open, and if photogenic offers opposition to the industrial and commercial system, it will be followed quickly by other steps.

Another step in reason and the workers will see the cause of their miseries—the present system of production, and destroying it. H. A.

Clippings and Comments.

When men lose faith in the ballot, in what do they place their trust? When they carry anything that can properly be called faith—Ex.

In Justice and Freedom. Though it is true these two do not always go together, but there is no reason why the one should not defeat the other. The question is, what is the real issue? When the system under the head of "contingent" fund, etc. Are you willing to help your own man and woman? I say no, and what you say, we are with you, but you don't mean it. Oh! You retain your own definition of what is "bad" government. You are not thinking of the one, majority, or worse yet, by a plurality, and of those who do not consent to such government. And if that be not slavery, please tell me what is. L. E.

We commend the following sentences from the Tulear Register to our Anchastian contemporaries the Portland, Oregon, Firebrand.

"Government cannot produce things, but can only tax and spend, and spending and taxing is not produc-

The Register man is a good party man, a republican, but the two sentences above quoted could, we believe, be said by an Anchastian who would be extravagantly contented with government to suit the pro-

The Register man's defining of the word "tax" as the one that "cannot be produced," as a tax is all the capitalizing by the government, and "spending" as the one that "produces nothing." taxation and spending is not production."—Exeter Penny Fryer.

And the power to "tax and spend" is derived mostly from privileges granted and upheld by the government. Is it not? No matter what party is in power—be it Republican, Democrat, or whatever the key-note was to be. "It is liberty and an un-

I was at one time an ardent Individualist, because it appeared to me that the sole trouble in our econo-

While I have somewhat modified my opinion as to the degree of tyranny which would likely grow out of the communistic basis, I am still of the same gen-

But, on the other hand, I am now equally sure that Individualism, or the principle of property itself, is impossible to reconcile with the co-existence of innumerable squabbling states, pre-

From the above it seems that Volteriue has modi-

Wellenbrook's Relief Fund.

Previously acknowledged.

Wellesley's Relief Fund.

Previously acknowledged.
MANGLES

An ordinary family ironing can be done on the "Racine" Mangle in Twenty minutes, without heat.

NO HEAT. NO FUELS. NO SCORCHING.

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