



An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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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.

The Song of the Wage-Slave.

The land it is the landlord's,
The trader's is the sea,
The ore the usurer's coffer fills—
But what remains for me?
The engine whirrs for master's craft;
The steel shines to defend,
With labour's arms, what labour raised,
For labour's foe to spend,
The camp, the pulpit, and the law
For rich men's sons are free;
Theirs, theirs the learning, art, and arms—
But what remains for me?
The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make that future now.

I pay for all their learning,
I toil for all their ease;
They render back, in coin for coin,
Want, ignorance, disease;
Toil, toil—and then a cheerless home,
Where hungry passions cross,
Eternal gain to them that give
To me eternal loss!
The hour of leasured happiness
The rich alone may see;
The playful child, the smiling wife—
But what remains for me?

They render back, those rich men,
A pauper's niggard fee,
Mayhap a prison,—then a grave,
And think they're quits with me;
But not a fond wife's heart that breaks,
A poor man's child that dies,
We score not on our hollow cheeks
And in our sunken eyes;
We read it there, where'er we meet,
And as the sum we see,
Each asks, "The rich have got the earth,
And what remains for me?"

We bear the wrong in silence,
We store it in our brain;
They think us dull, they think us dead,
But we shall rise again:
A trumpet through the lands will ring;
A heaving through the mass;
A trampling through their palaces
Until they break like glass:
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,
From lonely homes we'll flee;
And still, as rolls our million march,
Its watchword brave, shall be—
The coming hope, the future day,
When wrong to right shall bow,
And hearts that have the courage, man,
To make the future now.

—Ernest Jones.

Anarchy Versus Law.

ALL knowledge is conveyed to the mind through the senses. There is only one defacto basis from which to determine whether a thing is real or not: that is, the senses. Therefore when I say: Man is living on the earth, I have stated a fact, for the senses confirm the assertion. With this fact there incidentally looms up in the mind another series of facts, no more disputable than the first, for no less

confirmed by the sensus, namely: The earth exists, so it must be matter, for nothing but matter exists.

Scientific investigation, microscopical and nature-historical, has shown by a series of empirical demonstrations that the earth has evolved its present forms of life from others that now only live in their descent. If the forms of life are subject to this process of evolution, the earth itself must be, for both are matter. And if the earth is, all matter must be. Evolution therefore is the all embracing principle from which life is born. It was important to emphasize this principle, for all phenomena must now be classed as evolution, or a point attained by it. In this manner egoism or selfishness, a principle which consciously or unconsciously characterizes all things, is nothing but evolution appearing in separate forms as one and the same. It is simply the working of the one principle, that urges all beings to jealousy watch their own individuality; for only in that manner can they cultivate and promote it, in other words evolve. And whenever this principle, as in the case of the human family, becomes detrimental to the whole, it does not so because it is outside and inimical to the whole, but simply because its appliance is misunderstood, and consequently misdirected. This misdirection, however, is the logical outcome of its evolution; it is but the remnant of qualities from a lower form of life.

We will now sum up and clearly state the result of our investigation: Man lives on the earth through selfishness. His selfishness must assert itself primarily in striving for all the comfort that he deems necessary for his well-being. The problem that confronts him in this respect is not a difficult one. It is apparent that the ultimate cause of man's inability to satisfy his desires lies in the fact, that that which he is striving for, is held by some one else. This some one else is in the first place nature, but humanity would be delighted to wrest the treasures out of her hand, for she holds abundance, were it not for the insane grabbing propensity of man. This grabbing is done by law.

A law is established that makes a certain piece of land the exclusive property of a certain man, and at once this person becomes a privileged person. The land that has been confiscated by law becomes his private property; he can sell or rent it.

At this point a very ingenious contrivance is invented, namely, a standard measure of values, called money; it is supposed to be the only value existing, as it is to represent all values. This invention of money however rests on a grave of misunderstanding. The truth is, that it has no value of its own, and therefore cannot represent value of labor and its products. This truth becomes at once apparent when it is considered, that men who never did any useful work, own acres and acres of this land. They bought it; they gave supposed value for real value. A few pieces of gold, silver or paper, backed up by nothing but legal scrip, have made them possessors of unearned wealth. This is the logical outcome of the institution of private property. Where there is the latter,

there must also be a means of increasing it, for accumulation of property on one side and dependence on the other, that and nothing but that is the property-law, and money functions as the means of increasing it.

The term property-law includes in fact all law, for all law has as its basis the institution of private property. Indeed, there can be no law, where there is no property. How could authority enforce a rule, had it no property in man, or the ground, or its products? How could a man be jailed, and certain comforts withheld from him, were it not that authority had jurisdiction over these comforts? Furthermore, how could government fine a person unless it were able to force this person to add to its property by giving up some value? Property therefore necessitates law and vice versa.

It is apparent, that if law proves a detriment to the human family, the absence of law must be the contrary, an advantage. It is apparent, that if law and disorder go hand in hand, a fact taught by daily experience, the absence of law must mean order and peace. It is legal property, creating want and greed, that prompts people to steal, rob and eventually murder. It is human selfishness, dwarfed and stunted; dammed into a forced bed, away from its natural course, that makes criminals. Give it its natural flow, and it will prove a high and noble quality.

It is through selfishness that men till and plow the ground, for besides yielding them the necessities of life, this sort of occupation is pleasurable to them. It is through selfishness that men will act a play for you, for their individual ability has prompted them to take up this sort of occupation. It is through selfishness a person will save another from a burning building, for his sensitive mind does not want to see anybody destroyed. Take the trammels of human selfishness away, direct it into its natural channel, and universal well-being will be the result. This is the next point toward which the evolution of the human race is tending.

H. E.

A Road to Liberty.

BECAUSE of the economic pressure from the rich and powerful on the one side, and the ignorance and stupidity among the masses on the other, I am once more prompted to pen my thoughts, with a view of stimulating thought and action in others.

The question, how to get out from under this economic pressure is ever uppermost in my mind; for it is out of the question to try and combat the whole system like one would a barndoor with a ram. Habit and usage are the principal supports of the present system. It is also said, "that the environments of the individual are obstacles to independence." But this view, I question very much; for I consider it more of an excuse for lack of energy and forethought.

Another support of the present system, prevailing among the people, is the belief that a person should do anything for payment, regardless of his or her adaptability to or the love for the particular occupation. Men and women will engage in an occupation, not because they like the work, but because it promises financial or social advantages or both.

Every one is bent upon getting rid of useful labor, simply because it offers them no social recognition and affluence. They can see nothing but drudgery in it and do not engage in it, they heap more drudgery upon those left to do the useful work. The drudgery, we find attendant upon useful labor, is such only because the ones engaged in it are ignorant. Wherever there are a number of workmen assembled, there will be found some that brag about the quantity of work they can perform. Of course, such conduct, on the part of the workmen, is fostered by the "bosses," for an ambitious, subservient slave is what they need and at the present day they find all they want.

No one can hold his position at present, unless he is a perfect subservient slave to his employer, and few think that such action enslaves them perpetually. The men out of a job the greater part of the time are those who refuse to submit to slavery, and upon such liberty-loving (though ignorant of its exact meaning) fellows, their better situated companions add insult to injury by considering them lazy loafers.

But I consider a first-class slave more dangerous to the moral and economic status of society than a hundred lazy loafers. For while a lazy loafer will, if given an opportunity to do so, refuse to perform as much useful labor as he consumes, the first-class slave increases the wealth and consequently the power of his employer to tighten the screws of exploitation.

If I am too lazy to shine my shoes and can hire or induce no one to do it for me, then I'll either have to do it myself, or else go without having it done. So with the farmer. If he will raise no more than what he needs for himself, instead of raising farm products for sale, then he would not be subject to the mortgage sharks. If the mechanics would consider it ignoble to build court-houses, jails and penitentiaries for themselves, and palaces for their exploiters, then they would have no cause to complain.

Teach this to your children and in twenty years some parts, if not the whole of this country, will be better to live in.

BODENDYKE.

Marriage versus Liberty.

Every year thousands of unfortunates hasten themselves into the realm of Minos, or at least beyond the river Styx, without any apparent cause, yet in most cases it is merely the act of last resort, when, by and through a persistent "weakness" or an unsatisfied longing, life has become valueless, if not unbearable. Why? Because society rests upon false principles, is curbed and checkmated by unnatural laws, is guided by perverse customs, is blinded by false delicacy, is misled by sham modesty, and is robbed of its birthright by and through the blindness of ignorance. Ignorance of the laws of our being is the curse, and the knowledge thereof must be the saviour of mankind. Why should one part of the human body be less pure and noble than another part? Why should it be improper, nay, indecent, to speak of and explain the proper functions of one organ, while it is right and proper to speak thus of another? Why should the organs of procreation, of reproduction, be called vile and debased, while we extol all the other organs? Why should we be ashamed of and in ignorance about these organs and the consequences of their proper use, as well as of their abuse, while yet they are absolutely necessary to the continuance of the human race?

Shall I shock some if I say, marriage in all its forms is a blighting curse, a vile offspring of the brutish selfishness of mankind? Marriage is the poisonous cesspool of jealousy, deception and crime; the marriage law is the unnatural check which goads thousands into frenzy and madness (by and through the unsatisfied desires and longings of their nature), and thus this law often drives them to the perpetration of deeds inhuman and revolting. "Unrestricted Liberty" is the essence, is the life of true love and is also the foundation upon which Justice and Equity must rest. All intercourse, of whatsoever description, should be perfectly unrestricted between all persons, whatever their sex, for all restrictions trying to counteract or circumscribe natural laws, must ever produce results, therefore do ever work harm, ever work injustice.

For instance, what right has a husband who can not satisfy the natural longings of his wife, because in ignorance or bravado he spent the strength of his manhood in the folly of his youth, what right has he, or any law for him, to keep her whom he professed to love, from the gratification of those longings and thereby keep her from the full and real enjoyment of life? Or, if a woman looks upon the sexual embrace

as low, vulgar, vile and therefore degrading, aye unnatural for human beings, and the husband has too much consideration for his wife's wishes to demand his legal right, must he then fight against nature, be in actual pain and think it all unnatural?

May humanity in its agonizing throes of reconstruction shake off whatsoever hinders it in the full enjoyment of life, and in its pursuit of happiness, and may it come forth the proud possessor of its just birthright—"Unrestricted Liberty"—in all the walks and relations of life.

ANTON NIEDERMEIER.

Commendation for Angioli.

At a meeting of Branch 2, of the Social Democracy of America, held at Nathan's Hall, cor. Milwaukee and Western aves., Chicago, on the 15th of August, with Mr. C. S. Boyer in the chair, the accompanying resolutions were passed, with instructions to the secretary to forward copies to the labor and reform press.

E. B. MORTON, Secretary.

WHEREAS, it has pleased omnipotence to remove from the midst of human vultures one of their most aggressive champions, Canovas del Castillo, premier of Spain; a wretch responsible for all the barbarities practiced under Spanish authority, and,

Whereas, the human family at present can be divided into two parts, namely, the governing, parasitical class, and the submissive industrial class, and,

Whereas, the representatives of the first, in all ages and at all times, without consideration of race, creed or country, have made common cause against the second, that their privilege of governing and plundering be perpetuated, and,

Whereas, the second, en masse, because of enforced industrial and educational conditions, which can do naught else but breed ignorance and crime, has never been able to intelligently and humanely prevent the injustice practiced upon it by the first, and,

Whereas, it is a sad fact in political and industrial progress that less than one hundred men—moneyed men and leaders in law and religion—control at present the legislation and governments of the earth, and are responsible for all the crimes committed against the human race, and,

Whereas, there are but two ways known to us by which mankind can liberate itself from the present slavery, 1st, by a violent uprising of the producing forces of the world against their masters and robbers—an uprising in which millions of innocent and guilty must necessarily be sacrificed, and, 2d, by a sufficient number of heroes such as Angioli considering it a truly religious duty to take the liberation of the human family into their own hands and select with equal intelligence and discrimination the representatives of the oppressive religious, political and industrial systems, and with the courage and devotion of martyrs, remove them from this earth as humanely as circumstances will permit, and,

Whereas, it is our firm conviction that such systems are always represented and made possible by men, and that if those men are removed as fast as they appear their systems will rapidly follow, and we are further convinced that every shot fired or dagger aimed in this sensible direction is but a distant echo of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge, and,

Whereas, the governing power of this country is no more representative of the producers than the governing powers of older countries, yet presumes to speak in their name, therefore be it

Resolved, that this assemblage do most emphatically protest against the president of this country telegraphing condolences in the name of the American people to the murdering despotism of Spain, or any other despotism, when a representative of their barbaric system is executed;

Resolved, that we have nothing but unqualified applause for the heroism and sacrifice of Angioli, and recommend him to the affections of mankind.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the reform press of the country.

Labor papers please copy.

Note and Comment.

COMRADE MORRIS undertakes to point out "a serious error" in my article on "An Economic Fallacy," in No. 31 of The Firebrand. He says that I "confound two materially different propositions, (1) that man seeks to satisfy his wants with the least possible exertion, and (2) that he seeks to avoid exertion as much as possible." Had he finished the second proposition it would have read thus, "he seeks to avoid exertion as much as possible in the supplying of his wants," which sentence would be identical with the first, so that there is in reality no difference in them, and he admits that if the second proposition is correct, "man would never have reached even his present stage of development and civilization." He seeks to indicate that I maintain that the expenditure of the greatest amount of energy is desirable, and I would discourage the use of machinery, in face of the fact that in my article I say:

"Our physical desires can be satisfied only on

condition that the production of certain articles is carried on, and in order to supply ourselves with these articles in greater profusion we use machinery. We also use machinery to do work that would be hard and exhausting, if done by hand, for we strive no harder to exert ourselves as much as possible, than we seek to reduce that exertion to the minimum. With the use of machinery, we can produce in much larger quantities in the same time, thus giving more of the articles produced, or allowing more time for other forms of exertion. We are told that machinery allows us to satisfy our wants with less exertion, but on the other hand, it only gives us an opportunity to diversify our wants and exert ourselves in many different ways, for exert ourselves we must—or die."

If, as Comrade Morris claims, we would transfer our ideas onto paper without the intervention of brush or pen, why do the greatest artists spend monthlong a small oil painting when they could transfer the image onto paper in a few seconds with a camera?

The evident difference between Comrade Morris and myself is this, I put the satisfaction of desires as the means, and the expenditure of energy the end. He puts the expenditure of energy as the means and the satisfaction of desire the end. I think my article shows clearly enough that all desires have their foundation in the generation of energy by the organism. Labor saving devices are for the purpose of shortening the time expended in satisfying any given desire, thus leaving more time for the satisfaction of other desires. The expenditure of energy goes right.

H. A.

If we seek to satisfy our wants with the least expenditure of energy, it follows as a corollary that we will shirk when the opportunity is afforded. Hence, Anarchist-Communism is an impossibility. O. M.

It appears that my effort to point out Comrade Addis' error was altogether futile. He manifests no comprehension of the distinction I drew. His amendment to my second proposition makes it just what I did not intend to say. I worded it as I wanted it to read. I do not mean to say that the inclination to satisfy our wants with the least possible effort leads us to seek to lessen our wants, nor does it follow that such inclination leads to invasion, as G. M. infers. On the contrary, the number of our wants makes it necessary to give to each the least amount of energy that will bring satisfaction. This point Addis concedes when he says: "Labor saving devices are for the purpose of shortening the time expended in satisfying any given desire, thus leaving more time for the satisfaction of other desires."

There is but one point of practical difference between me and those who have replied to my criticism. That is as to whether the proposition that man seeks to satisfy his wants with the least possible exertion is equivalent to saying that man is lazy and a natural shirk. I am satisfied that a reading of the article I referred to last week would have settled the question, and my opponents have access to files of The Firebrand. The proposition has nothing to do with limiting or extending our wants. The want is felt for food, clothing and shelter—not as means for the expenditure of energy, as Addis would have us believe, those things being requisite to the generation of energy—and it is absurd to suppose that we will go the hardest, or any but the shortest and easiest, way of satisfying it. Any elaboration in the matter of clothing, houses, etc., is a separate and independent want—desire for beautiful surroundings—and comes after and supplementary to the provision for actual necessities, and is, in its turn, satisfied with the least possible exertion. The reason the painter does not use the camera instead of the brush is that the camera does not satisfy the desire. The desire of the artist is not alone to secure a likeness, but to exhibit the accuracy and acuteness of his own mind, to say nothing of purely idealistic work, in which the camera is useless. But is Addis foolish enough to claim that artists would ignore any improvement in tools or devices that would aid in the satisfaction of their desires as artists? If I say that the man who has a field to plow seeks to do it with the least possible exertion, that is not saying he seeks to shirk the job or force some one else to do it for him. It is simply stating the fact that he will use the best ma-

chine available instead of going at it with a crooked stick. And not only does the truth of my proposition not make Communism impossible, as claimed by G. M., but in it we have the strongest evidence of the practicability of Communism. One of the strongest indictments against the present system, or any system of property-holding, is the waste and useless expenditure of energy it entails. Addis is especially strong on this point. Now we claim that Communism is a simplification of methods for the satisfaction of our desires, one of the greatest of which is security against want. The tendency to simplify and lessen the labor of production can alone bring such security. The tendency to hoard for exclusive use grows with scarcity, and the fear of it, and the abundance of production now makes hoarding and property-holding useless, if people were only awake to the fact.

J. H. M.

THE long winter evenings, when people read and think and debate, the most favorable time for propaganda, will soon be here. Let us prepare to take advantage of the opportunity by so increasing the propaganda fund that we can make The Firebrand eight pages. There is no doubt that if we could do this during the winter the circulation could be so enlarged as to make the paper permanently double its present size.

REMEMBER The Firebrand Library is to make its appearance soon, and do what you can to secure subscriptions at fifty cents a year. Also send advance orders for the first number, "The Chicago Martyrs: Their Speeches in Court and the Record of their Trial, with Governor Altgeld's Reasons for Pardon-ing Fielden, Schwab and Neebe." It will also contain a short explanation of Anarchist-Communism. The price will be only ten cents; \$6.00 per 100.

A Letter.

You are surprised, madam, that I have become an Anarchist,—I, whom you knew to be an intractable "bourgeois," full of prejudices, almost fanatic, entertaining a pitiful dude's ambition under the "holy" precepts of fashionable morality, greedy for power, and in the absence of other things proud of fools' compliments and of the bows of servants and housekeepers.

I despised the cottage and the wearer of dirty rags, while I, unconsciously, hypocritically, practiced that charity, which the fashionable morality recommends as a virtue,—while such a practice only means as little restitution of the excessive robberies committed on the common wealth by capital and individual property.

I had thus pleased what some call "public opinion," but what others and I call want of public conscience.

That makes your hairs stand on their ends, that such a product of capitalistic society could become an Anarchist? A militant Anarchist, a conscious and ardent propagandist of the theory of liberty, the new sun, the rays of which will enlighten the darkest brains, in order to cause there the flower of truth and justice to bloom.

At each reply you answer with your indignations and hate against this theory and its propagandists, of which theory you do not know the powerful philosophy and the purely scientific foundations, buried as you are in the dense walls of the narrow dwelling wherein lies the "official" science and philosophy. In your conceit you did not feel any need of examining thoroughly your capitalistic animosities prompted by groundless prejudices,—in consequence of which you presume to judge Anarchy and the Anarchists, blaming them for a supposed absence of love and altruistic sentiment,—while you are in this case the only egotist in the full sense of the term checking your faculties for love and reducing it to a narrow and indefinite idea.

For that reason I am not surprised that my conversion has remained to you unintelligible, though it is only the logical consequence of evolution in a thinking brain, that reasons for itself without allowing itself to be stultified and blinded by the transient influence of ambition.

If I had not emancipated myself of this oppressive guardianship imposed upon me by my ancestors, I could have done as anyone else then, when everything promised a happy future prepared in advance from end to end, eating well, drinking better, producing little or nothing rather, as it suits an exemplary citizen, whose brain is not molested by any significant

ideas, leading the idiotic life of a good patriot.

A day came at last, a happy experience which I wish to you, when I saw all this, whereupon I felt an immense sorrow. The immeasurable social misery appeared to me in its whole hideousness, for at every step I met new victims, corpses which I in the former blindness of my conscience had overlooked. Then I understood the real hate, the intense rage of those whose endurance has reached a limit; I realized that their suffering was caused by my indifference, by yours, by that of all the contented ones and their lack of conscience. I resolved to love them with so much the more power, as I knew the causes of their sufferings. This love, which you imagine to have vanished in us, in myself, we have extended its scope immensely; from the ordinary we have changed it to the sublime, extending over all humanity without limits.

These are some of the reasons which made me an Anarchist, some of the others being the irresistible logic of the theory and the grand philosophy of liberty, and still others which you may find in the books which treat on this question.

I believe that Anarchy alone can give to man his true place under the sun; it alone will end the antagonism and cruelty among men, by transforming the world into one family, where all the members are equally free, preserving all their forces for fighting the elements of nature. Do you not admit, madam, that the maxim put at the head of your letter cannot better be put into practice? You teach this maxim to your pupils, and with it all that it needs to make it remain a mere maxim to embellish the books of the conventional world: "Love one another."—[Henri Perceval, in La Jeunesse Nouvelle.

COMRADE I REDASH, New York city, informs his costumers that has removed his news stand to No. 27 Canal street, between Ludlow and Essex streets.

The Spanish Inquisition.

THE assassination of Canovas seems to have aroused even the plutocratic press to a realization of the horrible tortures inflicted by his orders upon the majority of the "four hundred persons of all shades of advanced ideas who were suspected of complicity in the Barcelona bomb throwing of last year, and immured in dungeons."

The Chicago "Chronicle" of Aug. 12, gives considerable space to pictures of instrument used in that torture. There are iron torture stocks, flesh hook, leaden scourge, thumb screw, Spanish collar, crushing cage, bone breaking wheel, and several varieties of flesh pinchers, knives, etc. The "Chronicle" gives a column to details of the tortures inflicted on the prisoners. It quotes from the letters of two prisoners, as follows:

"I could not bear the atrocious tortures of so many days. On my arrest I spent eight days without food and drink, obliged to walk continually to and fro, to be flogged, and, as if that did not suffice, I was made to trot as though I was a horse trainer at a riding school, until, worn out with fatigue, I fell to the ground. Then the hangman burned 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 the author is another one, but we want to know your accomplices.'"

Another of the tortured prisoners wrote: "Imagine the terrible aspect of the Zero at midnight, with two civil guards following and one going in front with a candle in his hand—a staircase that reeks of carbolic. Arrived at the Anti-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 like a ghost. I am ordered to undress, or, rather, I am undressed, my hands tied by the wrists and the arms taken backward by a strong cord to the height of the biceps, afterward bound tightly around so that the cord penetrates the flesh. The civil guard, with a stont 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 the heavens! he showers a quantity of lashes upon me, on the calves, on the knuckles, everywhere.

"At the end of five minutes I was interrogated and the flogging begins afresh, on both sides of the legs, each lash producing a fresh smile on the countenance of the official. Seeing that I do not speak, they put a gag into my mouth. I was then tied down and the torture recommenced—I cannot finish, the hangmen are coming."

The "Chronicle" adds:

"One of the jailers in the fortress testified that the prisoners were flogged, their nails torn off, their bodies compressed until the agony of suffering led them to sign whatever the inquiring judge wanted them to say. Among other methods used were feeding the prisoners on salt fish, with all water withheld. Eight men were sentenced to be shot; four were sentenced to twenty years of penal servitude; fourteen to nineteen years one month and eleven days; thirteen to nine years and four months; thirty-six to eight years eight months and one day, and the rest were acquitted, but really sent to Rio d'Ore, in Africa, for an indefinite period, and this was in order that none of the prisoners should ever reach their friends and betray the work of the inquisitors. One enthusiastic jailer exhibited a nail torn from the foot of one of the tortured. Then the news was brought from the far-away prisoners declaring that their confessions were false, and that they were made in agony of hunger, thirst, exhaustion, sleeplessness and endless beating, that part of their bodies had been crushed after the gag had been applied for days, as well as manacles and screws, lacerating the flesh by their iron spikes after their bodies had been burned all over with red-hot irons.

"People who saw these prisoners say that their appearance was frightful. Deadly pale, with dull, sunken eyes, reduced to skeletons, with swollen hands and torn mouths, dragging themselves along the ground, unable to stand on their feet, which had been either broken or so tortured as to be unable to hold the weight of their bodies. . . .

"A party of twenty-eight exiled Anarchists arrived at Liverpool from Barcelona July 30 and after a brief stay there under police surveillance they proceeded to London on the invitation of sympathizers there. The party included one woman, Teresa Claramunt, the Louise Michel of Spain. . . .

"Two of the men stated that a number of gendarms under the command of an officer, lashed them to stakes, tied their hands to a beam, and then pressed open the nails of their fingers with a slip of thin wood. This torture was prolonged for more than an hour, and it was terminated by the gendarmes applying pinchers to the nails and dragging them from the finger ends. They were made to walk about the cell for four days and nights continuously, and whenever they showed signs of fatigue they were lashed brutally with a whip. A case was mentioned in which a man went mad under the torture, only to be promptly shot by the gendarmes. The refugees allege that it is the religious question only that has brought about the expulsion. Shortly stated, their explanation is: 'We are not Roman Catholics, but freethinkers.'"

The "Chronicle" fails to tell its readers what portion of the "bodies" were compressed, for fear of offending Comstockian "morality." Well may the prisoners of Montjuich exclaim:

"We wretches cannot tell out all our wrongs
Without offense to decent, happy folk.
We must scrupulously hint
With half-words, delicate reserves, the thing
Which no one scruples we should FEEL in full."

Such events as these are enough to make us despair of human progress. The instinctive desire to torture seems ineradicable from the Spanish blood. The Inquisition of the Middle Ages was no more horrible than is this at the end of the nineteenth century. It is now conceded that only two or three of the four hundred arrested were implicated in the affair of which they were accused and tortured into confession.

Yet "our representatives," "our servants," at Washington use "our" money to cable "our" sympathy to the Spanish government. A common murderer may go hang, and justice is done; but when a tyrant who has laid waste the land of Cuba, who has caused the butchery of hundreds and thousands of men and women and helpless little children in their homes, falls at the hand of a madened "subject" the nations of the world must go into mourning! What a spectacle for gods and men!—[L. H. in Lucifer.

For New York.

THERE will be an anti-religious meeting in Clarendon Hall, 114 & 118 East 13th street, New York City, on October the 5th, ("Jomkiper"), at 8. p. m. The profits of the meeting are to be donated to The Firebrand. Let all the comrades do what they can to make it a success.

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Guarding the Public Mind.

THE following bit of sarcasm is clipped from the N. Y. Journal and shows the folly of some men in their efforts to control other persons thoughts:

Mr. Putnam, the librarian of the Boston Public Library, has withdrawn from general circulation the more extreme French and German books, papers and magazines advocating Anarchy and Socialism. Such writers as Rochefort and Louise Michel are to be strictly confined to their reservation hereafter. The new policy is thus lucidly described by Mr. Lindsey Swift, the editor and cataloguer of the library:

In the opinion of the librarian no good can be gained and much harm may be done by allowing works of this extreme character to be generally read. It may be asked why are these books placed in the library if not to be read? They are in the library for that purpose and they may be read, but Mr. Putnam and his assistants reserve to themselves the right to choose the readers, and most common sense people will agree with Mr. Putnam in such a decision. The average man of anarchistic or socialistic tendencies that frequents the library is not qualified by education or judgment to read the works I refer to, and estimate them at their proper value.

Mr. Putnam recognizes the fact that as physicians must be allowed access even to the most virulent poisons, so there are certain persons—physicians of the public mind—who must be permitted to read the most pernicious books, if only to know what heresies are percolating among the masses, and the more effectively to combat them. The only apparent difficulty is in distinguishing between persons who can safely be trusted with revolutionary literature and those who cannot. Who is to tell whether an applicant for the privilege of reading La Lanterne is "qualified by education or judgment" to make a safe use of its dangerous contents?

But that difficulty is only apparent. "Mr. Putnam and his associates reserve to themselves the right to choose the readers." They take the responsibility of keeping this perilous reading matter out of improper hands, and they are confident that they can spot a disguised Anarchist as easily as a Treasury clerk can detect a counterfeit bill. Of course, if some unbalanced radical like President Andrews should succeed in eluding the vigilance of Mr. Putnam and his assistants and getting hold of some of this incendiary literature should be impelled by it to throw a bomb into a bank, the consequences would be unpleasant for the librarian. Having assumed the duty of classifying the patrons of the library according to their fitness to be intrusted with certain writings, Mr. Putnam is of course morally and should be pecuniarily, responsible for any damages that may result from the faulty performance of this function. In view of this increase in their responsibilities we should think it would be only common business prudence to require librarians hereafter to furnish heavy bonds from some substantial surety company to secure the payment of liabilities incurred through a failure to discriminate correctly among the applicants for risky reading matter.

The Crusher Crushed.

AND now Conovas has gone, murdered by an Anarchist who glories in deed as a protest against the injustice and oppression of Spanish rule, but gone in a way that strengthens the hand of oppression, that puts back the growth of liberty; that leads not to freedom, not to the overthrow of autocracy, but to the strengthening of those who rule with the hand of iron. For a quarter of a century Conovas has been as much the life of Spain as Cavour was the life of Italy, as Bismark was the life of Ger-

many. Yet great in the sense of Cavour and Bismark he was not. Cavour built a nation, Bismark an empire, out of chaos. Conovas but re-erected a de-throned and trembling monarchy. He put the father of the present boy king on the throne, he steadfastly upheld the monarchy, crushed the Republican movements, crushed the Carlist revolts and kept the monarchy that he enthroned upon the throne. He guided Alfonso, the weak and incompetent King he put on the throne, as he guided the Queen Regent down to his death. He guided the monarchy, not the monarchy him. He was the ruler of Spain, not the Queen.

True, he has not always been at the head of the government of Spain since he re-enthroned the present monarchy. Upon the death of the king he enthroned and the succession of the present king, under the regency of his mother, Conovas deemed it wise to lay down the premiership and hand it over to the liberal Sagasta, thus stifling the discontent of the moderate Republicans under the rule of a conservative. But though he laid down the premiership he continued to wield influence over the Queen Regent just as if he had been Premier, and, when the storm blew over, he reassumed the premiership which he held almost unintermittently until the time of his death. So it is Conovas who has guided over the destinies of Spain. He is accountable for the good and the ill that have come to the monarchy. It was his ability that found the means to suppress the Carlist rebellion and prevent Don Carlos, cousin of the late king, from usurping the crown. To him again is due the success of the monarchy against the Republican movements. It was his harshness that caused the revolt in Cuba that can but end in the independence of the Gem of the Antilles. In short, he has put a monarchy on Spain and lost the richest of her colonial possessions. Such are the results of his life. Under his rule Spain has been for the monarchy, not the monarchy for Spain.—[The American.

Correspondence.

ROSE TRUMBULL, East Liverpool O.,—I am glad you have the courage to advocate sexual freedom. You would not be truly an Anarchist if you failed to champion a liberty so dear to all thinking people; the right to manage our own sexual relations without interference from church or state.

E. M. REED, Longmont, Col.,—I have been reading The Firebrand for some time. While I am not in accord, entirely, yet I appreciate the work you are doing in pointing out the iniquitous system by which one element lives by appropriating the products of the labor of the others, and renders no equivalent therefor. The pressure of extreme want on the sober and industrious worker is forcing him to look for the cause. Hasten the day when he shall find it.

E. W. COUNCILMAN, Newark Valley, N. J.,—Being an omnivorous reader and a fearless investigator, I sent for The Firebrand for the sole purpose of investigating the principles of Anarchism. I am much pleased with the paper so far as I am able to comprehend the subjects therein discussed. The writers thereof are bold, independent and radical. This is what we want to shake up the dry bones of syndicates, trusts, co-operations and combines. I'm also much interested in the fearless manner the lady correspondents handle the sex question—probably the most vital subject

discussed in your columns—but least understood by the masses. What a grand idea that there are a few publications that have backbone enough to handle the most needed, but the most neglected of any subject pertaining to the public welfare. Stella Starbright in No. 14 of The Firebrand makes the assertion that it can be demonstrated scientifically that variety in sex intercourse is as necessary to the health and happiness of the race as variety in food, work or amusement. Will she give us that proof through The Firebrand, and thereby gratify a great many seekers after truth and knowledge?

Propaganda Tour.

COMRADE EMMA GOLDMANN will leave New York about Sept. 3 or 4 for an extended tour in the interests of the cause in general and the liberation of Berkman in particular. She proposes to visit the new England states first, starting for the West about the 15th. She announces herself ready to speak on the following subjects, or any other chosen by the comrades arranging meetings for her:

- Must we become Angels to Live in an Anarchist Society?
Why I am an Anarchist Communist.
The Aim of Humanity.
Woman.
Free Love.
Marriage.
Religion.
Prostitution. Also,
Berkman's Unjust Sentence.

Comrades wishing to arrange meetings should correspond at once with Comrade Goldmann at her New York address, No. 50 E. First Street. The expense to the various groups or cities will be very light, as she wishes only contributions for her railroad expenses.

THE FIREBRAND'S AGENTS.

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International Turn-Verein meets at 1524 Ave. A, New York City.

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

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7: 30 p. m. at 1927 E St., Tacoma, Wash.

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

New York Debating Club meets and delivers lectures every Sunday 7:45 o'clock P. M. at 1524 Avenue A, near 80th. Free discussion.

Armstrong's Autonomist, an independent and aggressive journal of liberty. Published weekly at Houston, Texas. Sent for free sample copies.

Radical Literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I Rudash, 27 Canal St., New York City.

Pamphlets in English, Hebrew and German languages can be had by out of town students and comrades, by addressing A. Levin, 340 Cherry St., New York City.

The New Era, an advocate of the principles of Anarchy or absolute freedom of the individual in all things. A four page monthly, 10 cents per year. Address: Lake Bay, Wash.

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