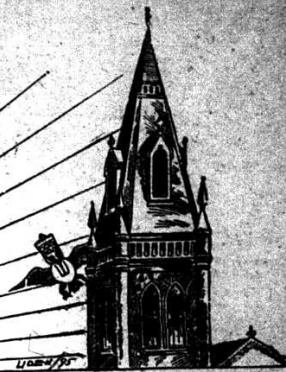


The Firebrand

FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CONGRESS OF IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION.



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 Touchstone.

A man there came, whence none could tell,
Bearing a Touchstone in his hand;
And tested all things in the land
By its unerring spell.

Quick birth of transmutation smote
The fair to foul, the foul to fair;
Purple nor ermine did he spare,
Nor scorn the dusty coat.

Of heirloom jewels, prized so much,
Were many changed to chips and clods,
And even statues of the gods
Crumbled beneath its touch.

Then angrily the people cried,
"The loss outweighs the profit far;
Our goods suffice us as they are;
We will not have them tried."

And since they could not so prevail
To check his unrelenting quest,
They seized him, saying—"Let him test
How real it is, our jail!"

But, tho' they slew him with the sword,
And in a fire his Touchstone burn'd,
Its doings could not be o'erturned,
Its undoings restored.

And when, to stop all future harm,
They strew'd its ashes on the breeze;
They little guess'd each grain of these
Convey'd the perfect charm.

North, south, in rings and amulets,
Throughout the crowded world 'tis born;
Which, as a fashion long outworn,
Its ancient mind forgets.

—(William Allingham.)

A Few Pointers.

THIS is a commercial age. Commerce is king—a despot, a Nero. Everything is in the market to be bought and sold. The earth and appurtenances, including mankind, living and dead, are "handled" for profit. The simple exchange of commodities for the mutual benefit of the persons making the trade, has grown into the monster, commerce, or exchange for gain. In a system of exchange, the object of which is gain, the person to whom the gains accrues, acquires an ascendancy in proportion to his profits over the person who loses, and this enables him to demand premiums and continue his exactions indefinitely. In commerce, to prey upon the weak is lawful, and the smart man, the one who purrs his victim into the belief that it is the will of Providence that he should be devoured, is "successful."

Exchange of labor or of labor's products when for mutual advantage is co-operation, but commerce is one of the many varieties of slavery, with which we are afflicted. It has long been our custom to speak of chattel slavery only, as slavery and infer that all other forms of servitude were freedom; but the

inference will not bear the weight of investigation.

Suppose two persons discover that by working together they can produce more than by working separately. When the job is finished, if one should say to the other: "I lifted more then you and I claim two thirds of the product. You couldn't have made a third as much, had you been alone," or, "I thought of doing it this way. Brains should count for something. By rights the extra product is mine," would the claims be just? In a co-operative movement, in which many persons engage, the impossibility of measuring the exact amount of brain or muscle to be expended by every individual will be readily seen, consequently, the product cannot be divided according to ability nor according to the amount of work performed, and as the union of forces should be for the benefit of all, "to each according to his needs," would be an equitable division.

But profit to the individual is the acknowledged basis of our present system of co-operation—if by any stretch of the imagination, commercialism can be made to take on even a semblance of co-operation. It is, to be sure, co-operation after a clumsy fashion of the workers. The manipulators of the system, the "leaders," pocket the proceeds. The laborers must be deceived, so they will permit this to be done, therefore certain intricate business processes, that are quite beyond the comprehension of the mediocre mind, are made use of. As the wits of the "herd" become sharpened by constant grinding, new machinery is fitted to the original plant, and the disturbing element, which pointed a threatening finger at the system, supposing a change has been made to better its condition, subsides and again "peace and prosperity" reign supreme. The use of this machinery though necessary for the maintenance of "trade" becomes senseless and burdensome when the end striven for is the welfare of the whole people. There is the endless book-keeping; the retailing of small quantities of goods; the labor of printing the limitless advertisements of all things, good or bad—commercialism hovers over everything; manufacturing of money and stamps, the supporting of consuls and the general fussing of the national government, to say nothing of that of the county!

The profit system allows a person to accumulate more products than he has use for and guarantees him the power to say, "This is mine. I can do nothing with it, but neither shall you, unless you give me ten, fifty, a hundred per cent more labor or labor value in return than was required in its production." The master said to the slave, "You are mine: work for me." Commerce says to the "free" laborer, "This is mine; work for it." In the summing up, what is the difference between the two systems of slavery? The mode of procedure only.

Commerce cannot thrive without markets, so we have a produce market, money market, labor market—not like the old ones, with the auction block where the wares were "knocked down" to the highest bidder, but employment bureaus, and when these are full the surplus labor wanders hither and

thither and is a "menace to society" and an ever present protest against the scourge of overproduction.

If commerce be so monstrous an evil, why have the people borne with it so long? The glitter of the "prizes" held ever before the eyes of the multitude has dazzled and blinded, no doubt. "The office of Rabbi," says Cunningham Geikie, speaking of the olden time among the Jews, "was open to all (men), and this of itself secured the favor of the nation to the order, just as the same democratic feeling strengthened the Romish Church in the middle ages." This "same democratic feeling," when not too democratic, when kept in certain channels has spared the lives of other abnormal fungus growths upon the body of society. "Any school boy may become president," has done its part in bracing up a constitution and system of laws copied from those employed in the English constitutional monarchy. A few trivial changes were made much of, and the name American added for a prop, and if we have not a monarchy, we have inherited scores of its diseases. Any young man if industrious, "capable," "a rustler," may become the possessor of millions. Democratic feeling again, and do we not have countless examples in full array, and do we fail to point to them with pride? John Jacob Astor by industry and thrift accumulated a few trinkets and shrewdly palmed them off on his equals?—no! the Indians for furs. These furs he traded to the laborers who manufactured the trinkets?—lost again! We all suspect that was not the way of it. This commerce is an intricate business as I have said before; but it has in stock a maxim quite easy to understand and upon which the public mind is constantly fed: "An even exchange is no robbery." Undoubtedly J. J. Astor held strictly to this maxim. At least he was not robbed; we have substantial evidence of that to this day, for the man's estate, real estate, lives after him, to be administered upon. Astor was not robbed; he gained wealth and fame, left his children "independent," and now the democratic feeling comes uppermost once more, for who would not like to provide well for his children? To be independent, in common phraseology, is to be so situated that you may be able to procure the best there is in the market of food, clothing, service, etc., at all times—of course you pay for it!

To be independent! the dream, we poor misled mortals have dreamed and have toiled, endured privations, all for the hope that was in us that it might some day be fulfilled. Beautiful dreams indeed. But the colors have faded marvelously since we see that its fulfillment under commercialism means the transition from servitude to mastery. If we would be really independent we must raise and manufacture all the goods we find needful, be hermits in earnest, for when we become independent to this extent, we shall probably spend little time in social intercourse. Besides social intercourse would lessen our independence, for thoughts might be exchanged. Thoughts constitute no small part of our present "stock in trade" and upon

them commerce sets a price and lays a heavy hand.

It is "human nature," I've been told, for one to try to get the best of a bargain. The truth about the matter is, the legitimate fruit of the commercial system is corruption and we are deceived when we think the corruption to be human nature. The system is the generator of avarice and strife. It divides the people into two lots, masters and slaves. They cannot escape being one or the other, and both positions are degrading to the persons occupying them. Instead of providing comforts for the present, we contend with our neighbors; scrimp and hoard that we may not be paupers in our old age. The differing opinions of the members of the household, concerning the management of business details, cause dissensions. The heirs wrangle over the savings of their kin. We produce too much, as markets are overstocked, and at the same time thousands go in rags and starve. One generation does the work and fighting a war and succeeding generations are called upon to "foot the bill." Amidst all this inconsistent turmoil we prate of the superiority of man over the lower animals, of brotherly love and of peace in the future world.

We are slaves, yet we know it not; slaves to a commercial system that we have been burdened with so long, we believe it a part of ourselves. We have fought for freedom, yet cling to our masters and call them "servants," "men of infirmity." We submit ourselves to other wills, other consciences than our own, yet call ourselves a "free people." Shall we still "bow the knee?" No! The world of learning, all that we know or surmise, must be free, and not hedged about as now, and the gates swung open to him alone who can pay the toll. We shall discover that if we would live in comfort we must work together—co-operate. We shall choose the work for which we are best suited, and labor with those personally agreeable to us. We shall see that to force another to do our will is despotism; to yield to the will of another is serfdom. We shall find it true that trade in a community results in the weaker cringing to the stronger, and that in barter or commerce between sections or countries the oppression continues upon a larger scale. We shall know that the church and state, fattened as they are upon gifts, tithes and taxes, make obedience to the "powers that be," with their money, usury, rent, and "corners." We shall learn that the exchange of labor, of ideas, of ministrations is needful for the happiness of mankind, and to insure this happiness the exchange must be made "without money and without price." In the new co-operative society every form of commerce must be annihilated.

VIROGA DANIELS.

A Page from a Summer Diary.

If I were asked to give of all the impressions of the past few months spent abroad those which were then and still are in memory the most vivid, they would not be of the streets and sights of a gay capitol, nor of a much-talked-of artiste and a new opera, nor the pages of any recent literary success, nor yet a woodland scene of exquisite grandeur, but they would be the impressions of the daily life of a people in far and remote valleys of Austria. This peasantry leads a life of toil incessant, unfruitful and hopeless, with no other outlook beyond the life their fathers led before them, with no other promise than the promise held out by the wide-stretching arms of Rome to her faithful children, in lieu of their allegiance. Not an unusual picture outside of Austria.

A people bound by an iron band of authority, forged by church and State, from whose clasp there is no escape. A happy people withal, the discontented possibly the exception; but happy only through an enforced ignorance of the truth; the awful reality of their own helplessness and hopelessness. Any day the disillusion may come. How unprepared are these people for disclosures! Can their condition be imagined at the awakening?

A people whose lands are taxed and mortgaged, only the strenuous exertion of united family labor and that is barely enough to meet their obligations.

The money from this labor goes for the sustenance and support of the nobility, and the leisure classes.

What are their lives? Very little beyond a round of useless charities, pleasures and idleness in the cities. There is no need to enumerate in detail. Their lives are well enough known to all. They do not want for bread. Whilst the blood of the worn, scantily-fed, meanly-housed, poorly-clothed workers is shed, literally drop by drop, for beings calling themselves human but—in fact incarnations of aimlessness. This contrast, so unjust, so inhuman, opposed to the teachings of the Nazarene whom all in that land profess to revere—cannot be portrayed by words. The condition must be seen to be felt.

In conversing with men and women belonging to the titled classes in Austria, I gathered that the desire on the part of the majority of these persons was only an echo of a common feeling to discourage the education of the poorer classes beyond a very limited standard. Others went so far as to pronounce education for these classes baneful, as leading to discontent and final rupture from the limits of their narrow lives. Again, many among the nobility are themselves simplifying their own lives, especially those faithful Catholics who may be classed as holding socialistic tendencies. Their object being to lessen the space between the very high and the very lowly born. The simplicity of the home life of these titled families of Austria compared with the reckless extravagance of our own property holding classes would bring the blush of shame to the reflective American, who believes himself inferior to none. I do not accept this remedy, good in its intent, as sufficient to relieve this cancerous growth sapping the progress of humanity.

Not the architecturally-favored gem of a Tyrolese town, nor the Ampezzo mountains with their natural rock summit cities all outlined as really against a blank blue sky as the purple coloring and tawny shades of their steep and precipitous foundations, nor yet the valley of Heiligenblut with its marvel of a church overshadowed by the snow-heights of the Glocknerwand; all of these, beautiful, pure and inspiring, fail to move the heart so strongly as the scene of a sordidly lain table for the toilers in and about the village inn.

The sounds of the evening Ave rang through the valley as these tireless toilers assembled for their repast, a break in the monotony of their hours. The table stood beyond the kitchen door in the open air, in full view of my window. Amidst this wondrous natural setting these men and women had gathered to sup. One small tureen of some meagre soup, scarcely sufficient to fill the plates of the twelve or fourteen workers who had come to the table, comprised the menu; neither bread, drink nor a second course supplemented the soup. I shall never forget the hungry-eyed glance of a woman, herself the expression of what her life had been, as she looked into the un replenished tureen, and then to the tables in the dining room, at whose boards sat those who scarce had known in their lives what hunger meant.

I will not detain you by repeating the gist of many conversations with the people that dwell in those valleys. Your sympathies would be moved to hear of these heartbursts: the scanty and bare existence, the nominal wages and rewards of toil, the longing in some hearts for a wider life, the glimpse that some few have had that all was not well in the world, the waiting of others for a helping hand and leadership where alone they would be powerless to go, the refuge of others in thoughts of a reunion through their faith with loved ones now afar, who have succumbed, alas! after years of anguish. The hope and aspiration of these souls, starving for sympathy, are engraved in words on stones and tablets of their dead. To those dead, asleep under the guardianship of fir-covered slopes and distant snows, whose step will no longer resound within the walls of the green-spired church, around whose base their graves cluster. The voice of their priests, within the sanctified walls, and the organ's tones, are soundless for their mouldering ears. A symbol, maybe, of a faith destined yet to die.

I carried away with me the sense of a great oppression, an oppression the outcome and realization of what the causes of this burden to my senses might mean. The horror of these sharp social con-

trasts in life, whether brought to us by painter, writer or observation, is as great, indeed, greater than other horrors, because the source of the miseries besetting our path. The errors of all systems fostering and harboring such motives of light and shadow cannot be dismissed with a careless thought or tear.

If I have brought these impressions for you to weigh, it is with the knowledge that human suffering is not peculiar to Europe, nor to any one corner of the globe; also I know by earnest effort power will arise to dispel from humanity these wrongs.

ALFRED KARSON.

Regimental Socialism.

WERE it possible to bring within the meaning of the Merchandise Marks Act, in addition to foreign manufactured articles of trade, all the imported "isms", then, of a surety, S. D. F.-ism and all its works would be labelled, "Made in Germany". And Socialism of German manufacture is a fraudulent and adulterated article; a socialism in name only; savoring more of inequality and military despotism than of liberty, equality and fraternity. Of this we had ample proof at the recent congress, where the soulless automatons of the S. D. F.—copying the drill-sergeant tactics of the German party—voted in a body on all questions, machine-like, in slavish obedience to their commander-in-chief, and utterly regardless of the mandates of those workers who had sent them.

The motto of the Marx-mad S. D. F., and similar—social democratic organizations under German influence, is Military Discipline. And it gives us somewhat of an insight into the workings of the Socialist State that is to be, and which has been correctly described by Herbert Spencer as "the coming slavery". This constant instancing of military discipline as the basis of the organization of the Social Democratic "society of the future" is certainly apt. It is an admission on the part of Social Democrats that Social Democracy, to be effective, can only exist by the exercise of the grossest tyranny.

Under the new regimentalism (if ever willing slaves enough can be found to give it birth), individual liberty will be relegated to the background, and industrial conscription take its place. Everyone being under compulsion to serve his term as a soldier in the industrial army, existence will be made up of one dull ceaseless round of mechanical, monotonous barrack-life; a kind of life-long penal servitude. The nation will be composed of one huge army of well-drilled, regulated, adult babies; a paradise of officialism on the one hand and helpless subordination on the other. Of this, Sidney Webb, one of the Socialist drill instructors, provides the following ample proof: "The perfect and fitting development of each individual is not necessarily the utmost and highest cultivation of his own personality, but the fitting, in the best possible way, of his humble function in the great social machine."—[Fabian Essays.

The State, under the regimentation of Social Democracy, being the great and sole monopolist—its officials omnipotent, everyone else absolutely dependent on them for the very means of existence, commanded and ruled in a wholly military manner—the industrial conscript has the delightful choice of knuckling under to the almighty State or perishing in the gutter or the gaol. Surely humanity will have sunk to the lowest depths of second childhood should it ever place power in the hands of Socialist martinets of the Hyndman, Quelch and Aveling type, wherewith to order full grown men and women.

Edward Bellamy, in outlining this Utopia of Socialist Militarism, says as follows: "The whole body of members of the industrial army is divided into four general classes. First, the unclassified grade of common laborers, assigned to any sort of work, usually the coarsest-kinds. To this all recruits during their first three years belong. Second, the apprentices, as the men are called in the first year after passing from the unclassified grade while they are mastering the first elements of their chosen avocations. Third, the main body of the full workers, being men between twenty-five and forty-five. Fourth, the officers, from the lowest who have charge of men to the highest. These four classes are all under a different form of discipline. The unclassified workers, doing unclassified work, cannot, of course, be so rigidly graded as later. They are supposed to be in a sort of school, learning industrial habits" ("Looking Backward", p. 73). "O, what must it be to be there!" is the only remark applicable to such a condition of things. Further on, we

are told that, "it is not even necessary that a worker should win promotion to a higher grade to have at least a taste of glory. While promotion requires a general excellence of record as a worker, honorable mention and various sorts of distinction are awarded for excellence less than sufficient for promotion, and also for special feats and single performances in the various industries. It is intended that no form of merit shall wholly fail of recognition." This is indeed funny. Even the Social Democrat, you see, recognizes that his military organization, without the tomfoolery of badges, stripes, medals and the rest of the paraphernalia of militarism, would not hold together for a week. Picture the butcher, tailor or chimney-sweep, strutting about pompously, their chests distended with pride, exhibiting medals they had won for killing more pigs, making more trousers or sweeping chimneys cleaner than others!

Mr. Bellamy also gives us plainly to understand that under the beautiful regime of Social Democracy, his highness, the State, will not put up with any damned nonsense; that all deserters, that is, men of spirit who refuse to slave to keep lazy, inquisitive officials, "will be made to work in institutions and under discipline prepared to meet such cases". When asked "as to who should judge of the worker's idleness or neglect of duty," he says: "That would, doubtless, be as judging is now-a-days, a question of evidence for tribunals existing for the purpose" ("Contemporary Review," July, 1890). That is to say, the industrial conscript who refused to perform "his humble function in the great social machine," who declined to be brigaded, numbered, bossed, drilled and regulated to suit a clique of Socialist autocrats of the S. D. F. type, styling themselves the State, would be tried by court-martial and condemned to a term of imprisonment; the evidence of the Social Democratic government spies (or inspectors, if you choose), like that of our present-day bobbies, being, of course, accepted as undiluted truth.

"Nunquam", in "Merrie England (p. 48), instances a soldiers' messroom as typical of the barrack-life of State Socialism. Verily, as George Bernard Shaw points out, "even under the most perfect Social Democracy we should still be living like hogs, except that each hog would get his fair share of the grub" (Impossibilities of Anarchism, p. 12).

The inquisitorial character of government inspection is seen to a great extent even today, where full grown men and women in our factories have to go through the indignity of being catechised and examined as to how they spent the day previous; whether they washed their hands and faces in the orthodox fashion, took certain prescribed drinks and medicines, wore certain garments, etc. But such damned impertinence on the part of governments to-day is not to be compared to what it must be when, under the blessed rule of Social Democracy, every industry is State-controlled. The poke-nose State will defile the sacredness of our private apartments, regulating even our sexual relationships. Mrs. D. G. Ritchie, speaking before the Fabian Society on Feb. 19, 1892, on the subject of "Women under Socialism" see "Freedom", March, 1892), made a startling plea for the State control of maternity and State support of maternity during a certain period before and after childbirth, together with State control of the hygienic conditions of parentage. Put in plain language, it means that couples desiring to become fathers and mothers must first apply to some special government office in charge of, say, Dr. Aveling, where, after due medical examination, they will, if adjudged fit and proper persons to be entrusted with the getting of children, be presented with a certificate stating the number they are graciously allowed to beget, and also the penalties they may expect to suffer for disobedience; whilst others not deemed fit to produce healthy children will no doubt be presented with a set of State Malthusian appliances.

Should ever Social Democracy emerge out of mere theory into the region of actual fact, and a socialist government composed of slavish adorers of the dictator, Marx, become a reality, it is certain that disobedience to officialdom, or revolt against the Socialist "powers that be", will be punished with instant death. Everyone has heard of the threat of a certain leader of the S. D. F. to the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, that "when the Socialist government got the upper hand he (Bradlaugh) should have the first rope." Why? Because Bradlaugh, to use a vulgarism, "showed the game up". Bradlaugh is dead, and today it is we Anarchists who are threatened with the rope should ever those apostles of State slavery gain the ascendancy—

and for the same reason. It is said that opportunity makes the tyrant, and it is certain that, once invested with power, Social Democrats would use their opportunities in the direction of stifling all independent thought, speech and action. The machinery of State becoming so enormously complicated by the taking over of all the industries of the nation, each minute part of the "great social machine" dependent on the rest, it follows that the slightest disobedience to orders, discontent or revolt, must necessarily culminate in throwing out of gear all the whole intricate mass of State officialdom. To prevent this, to stifle the desire for change, and consequently prolong their own tyrannical existence, the Socialist government will suppress liberty of speech, and revolt against the laws will become a capital offense. Quidam correctly sums up the position as follows: "The [Socialist] State merely requires a community—tax-paying, decree-obeying, uniform, passionless, enduring as the ass, meek as the lamb: a featureless humanity, practicing the goose-step in eternal routine and obedience."

Listen to the testimony of Social Democrats against Social Democracy. Kier Hardie, in the Labor Leader of Aug. 8, speaking of the late international congress, after referring to the "cast-iron Bismarckism of the German Socialists," "the intolerance of the German bosses," says that "those who disagreed with them (the official German party) found it next to impossible to enter; and those who supported them had, when necessary, special illegal privileges provided to facilitate their admission." He further says: "So far as I can see, the leaders of the Socialist movement in Germany conceive Socialism as a system under which Liebknecht and Singer would take the place of Kaiser Wilhelm and Bismarck." Bruce Glasier, another well known Social Democrat, writing in the same paper, says as follows: "The too obvious 'bossing' upon the part of a section of the official German party upon the platform was sufficient to make some of us quake at the prospect of Social Democracy, and turn a friendly eye towards Anarchism."

Here already, before they have gained legal power, these despots in embryo begin to show the cloven hoof: professing to be the friends of the workingman, these pretenders in reality are forging chains for him with all their might. To our friends of the Independent Labor Party, who at the international congress so stoutly resisted the tyranny and underhand trickery of the German party backed up by the parties who dance attendance upon them, the S. D. F. & Co., to those friends we say: Shun the leprosy of Marxism, which infects its victims with an insane hatred of freedom and all her works, and, as its founder, Marx, once said of the parliamentary craze, "relegates the infected to an imaginary world, and takes from them all sense, all recollection, all knowledge of the real external world." We repeat, avoid the intricacies, subtleties, and word-tangles connected with the brain-mystifying theories of Karl Marx. Think for yourselves. The battle today is, as it ever was, for liberty against authority, for Anarchism, and against grand-motherly, meddling legislation.

Your place, as liberty-loving men and women, is not beneath the dirt-bedraggled emblem of State Socialism, but with us beneath the folds of the red flag of Anarchy, fighting for the liberty of the individual and the brotherhood of the human race. Which side will you choose?

Discard the childish props of legality. Be men. Rely on yourselves. Cast off the leading-strings of legislative prohibition and injunction. Dare to be free!—(W. H., in Freedom, London.

Defends "Vital Force".

In The Firebrand of July 18th, H. A. disposes of Albert Chavannes' Vital Force in a very peremptory manner. In fact, I believe he did not take the trouble to read it through as it is based according to his judgment "on premises which the author cannot substantiate and consequently are mere unproven vagaries."

I conclude from this criticism that H. A. considers every opinion conflicting with materialistic views as unworthy of being expressed. Now I confess that I am very ignorant with regard to materialists and their creed, but I am driven to infer, from H. A.'s criticism that materialists believe as the Papists do: "No salvation out of our Church!" As to me, I have derived great pleasure and instruction out of "Vital Force." It is a work of a thinker and of a fair and clear mind, and those who want to find the truth, with regard to origin of Man and the planet we inhabit, cannot do

better than to read it. Let them also read H. A.'s objections, if he has any to offer. He cannot come to a conclusion without hearing both sides. It is not enough to say that our adversary cannot substantiate his theories, we must substantiate ours before we can convince him of his errors.

CAROLINE DE MAUPAUSANT.

In the above my slight review of "Vital Force" is quite severely criticised. I did not go into any extended criticism of the book for the simple reason that, as I said, the premises on which the theory is based are assumed, and the theory is, for that reason, unsupported and unsatisfactory. I do not think anything I have ever written justifies the above criticism, for I am wholly unaware of becoming dogmatic on any question, and particularly on materialism or spiritualism. What I objected to in the book was the method of the author; the assumption of certain theories and the seeking to explain natural phenomena thereby. In order for a theory to be worthy of investigation it must be

Note and Comment.

On August 16 the comrades in New York held a successful meeting in celebration of the death of Canovas. There were about 1000 people present, and the audience was very evidently in sympathy with the speakers. The English speakers were Comrades Kelly and Goldmann, who, with those also of the speakers in three other languages, were caricatured in the "World's" report of the meeting. About fifty uniformed police were in attendance, but made no disturbance. Comrade Goldmann sends the following statement of receipts and expenditures:

Collected at the meeting	\$11 35	
Collected at a group meeting	5 35	\$16 70
Expenses for hall rent	6 00	
For cards	5 00	
Sundries (postage, car fare, etc.)	1 70	11 50
Balance on hand		\$5 20
Donated to The Firebrand	\$2 50	
Donated to La Question Sociale	2 50	5 00

We read in an Exchange that the French government expelled the Spanish Anarchist, Tarrida del Marmol, from Paris. Not because of his dangerous character, but simply to save the Spanish government from a disagreeable position. Marmol claims to have gathered evidence showing that the prisoners lately tortured and executed were in no way connected with the Barcelona bomb throwing, and now proposes to submit his evidence to a court of honor consisting of five well known men, two of whom are Catholics and decorated by the Spanish government, volunteering that if he fails to prove his charge he will offer himself to the authorities to be tried for defamation. To avoid the exposure, the government has expelled Marmol.

SOME of the comrades may think it strange that we did not get out a Labor Day edition, or at least have a leading article in our issue nearest Labor Day. The reason is simple enough. Winter is approaching and we see the necessity of providing warm clothes, provision and fuel for that period. The receipts are small and coming in slowly, and we still owe the Hospital \$11.40 for care of Comrade Wellenbrock, and so something had to be done. We concluded to all go hopping-picking, except Comrade Pope, who staid at home to look after the place and receive the mail. In order to do this we had to get out three issues ahead of time and leave them to be mailed on the usual mailing days. This necessitated constant and unremitting hurry on our part and in the rush completely overlooked advent of National Labor Day. We're not much sorry for it, for the simple reason that it is a legal holiday, and to a certain extent a patriotic institution. Our Labor Day is the first of May, International Labor Day, a day set apart to indicate the solidarity of Labor the world around, while National Labor Day tends to emphasize a distinction between American and foreign labor. I am free to admit that it can be made use of to call the attention of trades unionists to certain facts that are not discussed in their unions, but when our readers learn how we came to overlook it I am sure they will not find fault.

Every instance of a man's suffering the penalty of the law is an instance of the failure of that penalty in effecting its purpose which is to deter.—(Whately.

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To the States.

To the States, or any one of them, or any city of the States, Resist much, obey little, Obey unquestioned obedience, once fully enslaved. Once fully enslaved, no nation, State or city of this earth, ever afterwards resumes its liberty. —(Wait Whitman.)

Liberty and Nature.

I AM entirely in accord with your work in the battle for freedom, except on one point, and that is in refusing the collective right of the society to restrict the individual, when his conduct becomes dangerous or annoying to others. I believe that in the future we will attain such conditions that no restriction will be needed, but to evolve into such we will have to use some means for our protection. I look to nature for example and deem it wise to follow its teachings.

Liberty, like other natural elements, when not controlled, may become an instrument of destruction, but under a judicious control it always may be and will be a blessing. The control must be exercised by all, when conducted by only a few, it ceases to be liberty. When under control it will lead mankind to undreamed of progress, and lift the human family on to an intellectual level which we cannot comprehend, but when left unrestricted it may, and will, at the least expected moment, unfurl its passionate fury and destroy what it has created, and then it must be left to exhaust its fury, then, when the elements are at war, there is no time to control or check its forces. The preparation to make outbreaks harmless must be made beforehand, like strengthening the levees before the floods set in and overflow the banks. And when such measures are taken in advance such natural outbreaks may be conducted to accomplish feats with which humanity is unable to cope in its calm and sober state, and clear seemingly unsurmountable obstacles to human progress.

To secure the human future from disaster, we must therefore provide channels, so humanity in its progress may flow down unobstructed into the ocean of eternity. Such channels must be deep and wide enough to hold safe any sudden outbreak of passion storm, which in its rage may flow down between its banks and evaporate into intellectual vapor, before creating any disaster, and then to come down in the form of intellectual dew to refresh and strengthen the human race and spur it on to fresh and noble conquests. For that reason I think that unrestricted liberty is impossible and we will have to make some kind of regulations for the individual and the whole. For we may look around us and on every side we find that in nature there are certain laws which must be obeyed or disaster will follow. — E. F. ROTCHECK.

The analogy which brother Rotcheck makes is useless, for if humanity is like a big river that overflows its banks annually, then it will be necessary for some power and intelligence outside of humanity to make the channels he speaks of, just as man and not the river makes the channel for it to flow in. The drops of water do not build artificial channels for the "whole" to flow in, and it is nonsense for human beings to try to build artificial restraints for the race, when "we find that in nature there are certain laws

that must be obeyed". If that is a fact, the restraint that is plead for in the above is already provided, and all that is left for us to do is to quit trying to regulate other peoples affairs, and leave the restraining to these natural "laws that must be obeyed." H. A.

A Criticism.

The Little Anarchist says: "Anarchy is a condition of freedom to act as you please," etc. (1) "Now I wish to ask the New Era, who is going to set the power to judge which is right or wrong, under Anarchy, and how?" (2)

(1) Yes, so long as you do not infringe on the rights of others. (2) Our conscience has the power to judge, because a civilized human being has a conscience which makes right-doing involuntary, and wrong-doing hated on sight. — VICTOR LAINE.

But if you make a limit to action you must have some one to watch so that no one goes beyond the limit; and those who do go beyond the limit must be punished, and in order to punish we must have government. And then why do you think we will infringe on each other's rights when there is no occasion for it?

What is conscience? Is it a superior thing that makes no mistakes? Let me bring an instance: In a certain town by a river, there are six or seven persons, men, women and children, who go bathing, naked, there. Their "conscience" does not tell them it is "wrong", but the rest of the town think it is. Now may I ask, which are "civilized"?

A LITTLE ANARCHIST.

Correspondence.

T. J. GRIFFITHS, Montreal, Canada.—The pamphlets and Firebrands have set the S. L. P.-ites on their ears.

On Sunday week I was called before the Grievance Committee and by a majority vote it was decided, that if I continue to circulate literature opposed to the party (The Firebrand), I would be expelled. I was not allowed in the meeting to say a word in defense. Next Sunday I will go and give my resignation, and give them briefly and tersely a few of my reasons for leaving their nice constitutional-law-abiding-scientific-respectable-shopkeeper-only-one-in-the-trade-anti-everything-else-hug-the-tiger-society.

See what your paper has brought upon me, from a society that declares that men do not make history? But never mind, I will try and bear terrible the blow.

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COMRADE EMMA GOLDMAN 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.
- Beligion.
- Prostitution.
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