



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.

VOE. II. PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1896. No. 41

THE FIREBRAND

Published Weekly. Communicate in any of the European languages.
50 CENTS A YEAR.
 Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to The Firebrand, P. O. Box 417, Portland, Or.

Admitted as second-class matter at the Portland, Or., postoffice
Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

In Memoriam.

YEARS roll on entombing men and deeds
 And slaves or despots leave no trace behind,
 While lying scroll unto the future pleads
 Conceding honor where vice lorded blind.

But there are imprints on the sand of time
 That granite shaft dare not hope to outlive—
 You may strangle freedom; yet what of the crime?
 Demanding justice it will still survive!

In every age and every clime you'll find
 Uncrumbling tokens of human thought
 To noble effort in some cause outlined,
 And vengeance mad by retribution sought.

The rack and gallows crimson with the tide
 Of gallant hearts in vigor stricken down
 Must surely perish, but on every side
 New fears and dangers shall at tyrants frown.

To-night wherever thinking men abide,
 Or thro' mock freedom servile justice spies,
 Chicago's martyrs by foul pen decried,
 As five stars blaze amid hope's clearing skies.
 —Edward O'Donnell, in The Rebel.

The Eleventh of November, 1887!

WHAT sad recollections luster 'round that fateful date! As I sit pondering over the many vicissitudes of nearly a decade of years, my thoughts go back to the strange events of the years 1886 and 1887; in imagination I live over again that momentous period. I lose myself in contemplation of the exciting incidents of the escape of Parsons, of the mock-trial, of the jail life, of the judicial murder—a veritable "Black Friday" was that awful day—and of the final act in that great tragedy.

Once more I am in my sitting room reading the thrilling report in a Chicago morning paper of the Haymarket episode of the night before. The startling news dazes me so that I scarcely hear the opening of the street door; but the familiar voice of my comrade Parsons arouses me to full consciousness of my surroundings. I spring to my feet. I grasp the outstretched hand. Breast to breast we gaze for an instant into each others eyes, then I say, simply "You are a fugitive," and he answers in the affirmative. Then comes the recital of the terrible events of the Haymarket meeting; the rush of the invading blue-coats; the throwing of the bomb; the fusilade of pistol shots, and the midnight ride to my Geneva home. Again I hear the startling rumors of wide-spread revolt in Chicago, and I see again the pale set face, the flashing eyes and the impatient gestures of my comrade as he pleads the necessity of his immediate return to take his part in the revolution which he believes is already begun.

Then come the following mornings journals. We read of a great city gone wild; of the arrest of our

comrades; of the search for Parsons, of the demand for victims to appease capitalistic hate. Then another scene in this first act of the tragedy quickly follows. I am walking on a country road beside a seedy, trampish looking man. His old slouch hat is drawn well over his piercing eyes; his face is covered by a short, grizzled beard; his coat is dusty, and his trowsers are negligently rolled up over a pair of muddy shoes. Again there is the convulsive hand-clasp; again I look into those deep, searching eyes—and he is gone.

Once only I hear from him before he gives himself up to his destroyers. A characteristic letter, full of noble sentiment, and written in a spirit of self-sacrifice.

Now the scene changes and I am in Chicago. I hasten to the gloomy old jail. I press myself against the iron meshes of the "cage" within which eight of my comrades are now confined. I touch the hand of my comrade Parsons again, and gently upbraid him for delivering himself to the Philistines. I hear again his reply, "I could not remain in security knowing that my equally innocent comrades were in danger. I decided to share their fate, whatever it might be."

And now the the crowded court room; the pitiless face of the modern Jeffries; the scowling countenance of the dastard Bonfield; the crafty manner of prosecutor Grinnell, then the farce of selecting a jury already doubly selected. Then the incidents of the so-called "trial"; the false testimony of detectives; the ridiculous evidence of the infamous Gilmer, the wonderful speech of Parsons in the witness chair, and the great speeches of the convicted ones to the court.

Then follow the weary days of waiting; the daily visits to the prisoners; the preparations for a lecture tour in their behalf. I bid good-bye to the martyrs awaiting their doom. I clasp the finger of the noble, great spirited Fischer. I hear him say, "Tell my friends in Missouri that I gladly die for our great cause."

Now comes the awful climax in the eventful drama. The eleventh of November is here. Cold and gray dawns the fateful morning. Mrs. Parsons, accompanied by her two children calls at our house on her way to the county jail, where she has been promised a final leave talking from her husband. Lizzie and I accompany them down town, where I leave them to attend an important gathering of the Defence Committee. The meeting over I hasten to the vicinity of the jail. I see the tremendous excited crowds. I witness the gigantic preparations, outside, for the judicial murder about to take place; the buildings topped with armed policemen; the ropes stretched across the streets leading to the jail; the swarms of officers with loaded winchesters. Strange to say, I have found it impossible to believe, even to the last hour, that this horrible deed can be done. The doomed men have already said authoritatively (and their wishes have been respected, though unwillingly): let the tragedy go on and consummate in our martyrdom. And yet in this awful hour of anguish I search in vain for comrades to

help me—to do I know not what. To the last moment I refuse to believe in the reality of the passing crime. My reason is paralyzed; I am as one in a ghastly dream. Then I search for my wife and Mrs. Parsons, and while still seeking them the hellish deed is consummated.

It is Saturday morning now, and I have been admitted to the undertakers rooms, where lie the mangled bodies of my comrades. Each of them is marked by a ghastly purple and scarlet circle about the neck. The undertaker says only two have had their necks broken, two have choked to death.

Again it is morning, and I stand beside the confined remains of comrade Parsons, while the long line of weeping humanity pass to view their friends. The procession is endless, and a little after ten o'clock we close the doors. Soon we hear the dirge of the approaching mourners bearing the corpse of comrade Fischer. We take our places in the line, six of us on either side of the hearse which bears our comrade Parsons remains. Now we are joined by the others, and the somber procession traces its long length through the principal business streets on its way to the railroad station. I see again the packed streets; the windows crowded with human beings; I hear the cries, the wailing of the sympathetic people. Even, many of the policemen who line the streets are in tears.

The last act in the great tragedy draws to a close. Weeping friends surround the graves into which are lowered the earthly remains of our martyred comrades. Words of sympathy, of sorrow and of passion have been eloquently spoken. Songs and dirges have been sung. The great stones have been placed over the last resting place of the dead.

Nine years have passed since the culmination of the great tragedy. By the just act of a good man three of our comrades have been released from a living death, and now enjoy the blessings of such freedom as falls to the lot of the common people. In Waldheim cemetery stands a beautiful monument to mark the last resting place of five victims of capitalistic hate. Every year meetings are held throughout this country and Europe to commemorate their martyrdom, and year by year the influence of their lives, of their speeches, of their writings and of their glorious death grows and spreads among the people. As their lives were remembered useful by their devotion and talents, so we may be sure they did not die in vain. The principles for which they lived and nobly died are as deep rooted as the ever lasting hills, and all the power of greed and hate cannot prevail against them.

WM. HOLMES.

What is Liberty?

To answer this, is to solve all questions of government, all questions of justice, all questions of morals and all questions of righteousness. Liberty, like truth, is studied, analyzed, defined, reflected upon, and around it is clustered in complex phraseology, much that only increases the utter impossibility of grasping its meaning, if it has one.

You notice how glibly writers and speakers use the word truth and yet ask for its meaning, it is seen at once, how difficult it is to give an understanding. So it is with the word liberty, and the more it is reflected upon, the more complex becomes the problem, for it embodies the whole of man's acts and teachings when seen in its completeness.

It is a fact that the names of all abstract concepts are names of phenomena and not names of things in themselves; this fact has been reached only through long experience and laborious study of causes which produce the phenomena and then to name the phenomena, hence the difficulty of defining abstract terms in one sentence so as to be understood.

I have made many efforts to grasp words in order to define liberty, I have asked others to define it for me, I have studied the verbiage of others who define it, I have been told that it is so simple that any one can tell its meaning and in all this, I got but a vague understanding.

Listen! "Holding that equality of opportunity alone constitutes liberty," then, liberty means equal opportunity. All these terms need defining, so it is not clear as to what is meant by liberty. Again, from same source, "Communism then, means equality of opportunity;" it follows, then, that liberty and Communism mean the same thing, synonymous. I am still in the fog.

If I say liberty means, to do as you please, and I know by experience that I have never done as I pleased, so I reflect that it is impossible for one to do as one pleases and if this is the meaning of liberty I know it does not exist.

Again, if I say liberty is a state or condition of human environment in which there exists no obstacles, no hindrances or no influences which repress or check my attempts to do as I please, I only make the term more complex as to meaning, yet more clear.

Now, does such an environment surround any one in society? No. None possess liberty and liberty does not exist, for all are more or less restricted in their mental and physical efforts to say and do, all are more or less dwarfed in their growth of body and mind and all are more or less hindered in their attempts to secure their highest ideals. Let us try again and see if the absolute idea of liberty cannot be reached, through what has been already projected.

Liberty of itself is nothing, no more than is wind, or light, or heat, or cold, or color, or magnetism. Liberty is not a thing, an essence, a something that can be secured, so as to weigh it, or determine it as a force: Liberty is a phenomenon, as is light, color, heat, wind. It is caused, made to appear as the phenomenon of the rain-bow. It is now understood what the cause is of the rain-bow's appearance, and it is understood what the cause or causes are which make the phenomenon of liberty to appear in society, and when these causes are operated we have liberty in society, liberty realized.

Once more: Liberty is a phenomenon of human activity, made to appear by fixed relations of man to man and to the earth and all natural forces, by which human growth, human advancement and human happiness become the heritage of all people in all climes of earth. Since liberty has never been realized, it is denied as being naught but an empty word by many philosophers and sages; this is seen to be a fallacy, for liberty has been the word, is the word which give the present forms of government and society conduct. It is the word which inspired the poet, the teacher, the orator and the soldier and the slave in the work of demolishing every hindrance, every obstacle, which stand in the way of its realization. But, liberty, when stripped of its verbiage and of its sentimentality loses its power to inspire the tongue, or push on the work of the soldier or the slave, for it is seen that liberty is a condition, a relation of man to man, by and through which life is made worth living, not to the few, as has been and now is the state of human society, but for all people.

It is the securing of these human relations which becomes the work of all, so that liberty may be realized. Liberty in its totality is only possible when slavery, its antithesis, is removed. The removal of enslavement, will cause liberty to appear as sure as light comes on the approach of the morning sun.

It is a fact, that the word Anarchy, when realized, is the same in meaning as the word liberty when it is realized. It is a fact, that the word justice is the same as the word righteous when either are realized, and it is a fact, without the realization of liberty, the realization of justice or righteousness can never be in society; so I am right when I stated that the solution of the meaning of the word liberty is the solution of questions of government, of morals or of right doing. "Will liberty be realized?" Yes!

Every step made to remove the hindrances in the way of its advent, is a step towards its realization. Its antithesis, slavery, had to be first realized before the concept and name of liberty could be born. It appears that the steps of mans progress industrially, commercially, governmentally and intellectually, are steps backward instead of forward; that is, his whole conduct is contradictory, in accord with his intellectual growth.

To make this clearer, I mean that he has found the meaning of liberty through organized enslavement. In all forms of government ever established, he enslaved himself in the name of liberty. To regain or possess what he sought—liberty, he overthrows his government and his teachings; then, again, he establishes slavery, government, only to again be forced to destroy his organizations called governments.

His want of seeing the cause of his not possessing what he sought, welfare and order, has forced him to prove his contradictory labors till he should discover the meaning of liberty and when he sees its meaning, no more governments are organized to enslave; but organizations are grown through which liberty, justice, fraternity and equality are the possessions of all men.

L. EMERICK.

Jacksonville, Ill,

What Anarchy Means.

THERE are various things which work out unjustly, and of course one does not need to be an Anarchist to wish to alter that. The Socialists are aware that by means of the system of Property as it now exists, great wrongs are committed; the people are compelled to spend the greater part of their time in producing for the wants of those who do nothing, or who labor, not to produce, but to get into their own control as much of the wealth as possible; many millions of persons, too, are employed in attending to this system of robbery for the profit of their masters; worse than this, the great mass of the people are practically debarred from the right to live and produce for their own needs even upon such slavish terms, unless they possess the useless thing called cash to begin with, for it is by means of cash that they are required to supply their robbers with the call on their labor or on their products, and rather than open their eyes to the fact that coin is not wealth, nor yet even a necessary means to the acquisition of riches by profit and rent, etc., the very robbers of society allow themselves to be thrown into the gutter to starve whenever the working out of the system produces a scarcity of circulating cash. Then, again, there are particular laws which are obviously unjust and framed in the interests of some privileged class, or which are simply silly and vexatious meddling for which even the shadow of a pretext that may once have existed has passed away. These it is not necessary to be an Anarchist or even a Socialist, to object to. And finally, there are very few people now, (except some rabid State Socialists who are the modern representatives of the superstition of an ancient barbaric age) who really believe that the proper condition of men and women is one of obedience to some authority and that it is the sacred right of any person or body of persons to impose their dictates on the rest, and the sacred duty of everybody else to obey them. When people speak of government, they mean an institution by which they suppose they can combine to attend to certain interests which they have in common, and defend one another's liberty against the aggression of social enemies; it is a very different idea from that of a century ago. In an advanced country the Anarchist is not able to attack government as being the straight out expression of the idea that ordinary people have no rights on their own account. It is recognized that every person is himself his own right to develop his life according to his own requirements, and government is regarded only as an expedient for co-operation in some cases, and for settling discords in others—as an economical and time and trouble-saving

way of doing what the people would otherwise do somehow or other without it—in short, as a convenient division of social labor. Though this idea is very far from being thoroughly put into practice, still in many places the tendency is so much that way that the question of "whether the State conceived in a pure spirit and administered in the same, with due vigilance on the part of the public to prevent abuses, would not be a possibility and capable of existing along with practical freedom" is not so plainly absurd as it appears in those countries where government (national, municipal, or in private associations, and whether elective or otherwise) is considered strictly as a privilege. In so far, then, it is not necessary to be an Anarchist to entertain the sentiment of liberty and equality, and to carry it into practice to a very great extent, doing away with perhaps 99 per cent of the actual things which we feel to be even slight denials of freedom. Where, then, does Anarchy come in?

It comes in here: that in looking at the evils which exist we perceive that they have arisen out of one principal cause, namely that people have endeavoured to sum up right and wrong in specific rules, and to make those rules the test of conduct; whilst as a matter of fact a rule that would suffice as a true test or standard—if it did not amount to merely stating in general terms that right is right and wrong is wrong—would have to set forth in detail all the possible situations of all the possible individuals in all the possible circumstances, and the whole world would scarcely be large enough to hold the book containing it. In consequence of this fact, the rigid following out of a rule for the rule's sake—whether voluntary or compulsory—though it may most often be identical with what is right, or passably so, in the circumstances, yet will inevitably in some cases be the reverse.

This being so, it follows that the very freest state of society in which right and wrong are estimated by the words of rules, and in which peoples natural sense of expediency and justice is subordinated to these rules—which may be the case by the error of their own minds when there is no external tyranny to coerce them—unnecessary wrongs will be done; and as the knowledge of this is a temptation to persons whose moral natures are ill balanced, they will take advantage of it by shaping the outer appearance of their conduct to suit the law. In the course of time, there will be not only casual wrongs and hardships, but systematic abuses, or in short a privileged class will have grown up; and if there was no coercive Government before, one now becomes necessary to compel the observance of the wrongs in the interest of the vested "rights" thus created. Even if new rules are adopted to block these abuses, they are abused in turn from the same inherent cause as the original ones. Thus for example property, which was simply an attempt to reduce to an express rule the natural feeling of people with regard to possessions, namely the desire not to be plundered and the desire not to plunder, has become absolutely a means of plunder; for certainly it is not the fact of property, but the natural sentiment of respect for one's neighbor, that is the practical cause of people not despoiling each other, whilst the rule of ownership is the ostensible justification for all rent, profit, usury, and hardheartedness. And so on throughout; it is the self-same fallacy which transforms the supposed "servants" or co-operators of the people into their masters, their supposed counsellors and agents into their tyrants, and the merest whims and fancies of majorities into the abject slavery of minorities.

What Anarchy means, then, is the abolition of rules in the sense of laws whether adopted or imposed; in any association of people there might be some formal statement of the general lines they think well to follow, but then the fact of such a formal statement having been made would not bind anyone even in his own mind to go by those lines at all hazards, or to resent departure from them by another associate under no matter what circumstances. Nor yet even in going by them would he be bound, even in his own mind, by the strict letter of the formal statement.

We aim, of course, at the righting of the wrongs which have grown up; but what we specially want, as Anarchists, is to introduce this reform as a vital necessity for placing society on a sound and self-adjusting basis. For evidently when it is accomplished, although individual wrongs may still occur, there can be no such thing as abuses growing into a coercive and dominating system. Even the rule of non interference, non-compulsion, would as a rule in the above sense work out to the very opposite of its own intention, because it would be possible in some cases for people

who wished to aggress to do so without appearing to, and although the effect of their conduct might be obvious, it would be impossible to oppose them without breaking the rule in form; and also, because there occur cases in practice in which there must be a conflict of will and not to compel is to surrender, and it is impossible to define beforehand how or when these cases will arise; and yet again, because there are also cases in practice where we are glad enough to rally compulsion exercised on ourselves after it has been exerted, and it would be to deny our right to be saved from harm or kept from producing a result we do not wish for, if the idea of non-interference were carried above the general impulsion of human feeling. Consequently, if we cannot accept this for a rule, still less can we admit of any other, and the abolition of rules is shown as a necessity in order that human solidarity and intellect may produce, adjust and maintain the best possible results in society.

J. A. ANDREWS.

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Peasant Revolt in Russia.

A PEASANT revolt on a large scale has broken out in western Russia, but the Russian press dare not print a word about it.

The peasants who rent land in the estates of the count Mordwinow, have been having trouble for years with the administration of these estates about the payments of the rent. And when a brutal police officer tried to inflict corporal punishment on several peasants, while making collections for the administration of the estates, the whole village came together and prevented the execution of the punishment. Similar acts seem to have happened in other villages, then the governor of Witebsk was compelled to march with three companies of soldiers to the county of Melischsk, where several villages of the districts Scriteisk and Tschepelsk resist the authorities energetically.

The Russian people are certainly getting tired of being knouted by every government officer who happens to come along.

There have been signs, lately, of a growing revolutionary movement. May they not prove false, and may the so long and heavily oppressed Russian people soon break its yoke.—[Translated from "Der Arme Konrad" by C. D.]

Religion in the South.

In this "free" America of ours which, by virtue (?) of a decision of the United States supreme court in holy and lawful assemblage convened in October, 1891, has been judicially, officially and lawfully declared to be a "christian nation," it is pleasing to note that among the most fanatically, fantastically loyal states of the union is the truly pious state of Tennessee.

Indeed, the entire south seems to be as jealously religious as the inquisitors of the past.

This probably is the reason why lynching, and even burning at the stake are still in vogue in bigoted, religious "Sunny Southland."

Religion stalks abroad in Dixie land; aye, it beams on the faces of the whisky peddler and brothel keeper.

The "Lord God Almighty" is well provided with agents to do his "dirty work" in Tennessee. In this state, particular, it seems that he has to be specially protected by statute and ordinance. His honor and the sanctity of his revered names has to be carefully guarded, and how would this most laudable end be attained were there not a few sanctified "yaller" pups ready to sacrifice their own personal comforts in order to save their deity from being spat upon. Yet, it seems to me that a god who can't defend his own reputation is a damned poor deity to intrust the building of universes to.

One of these God-protectors has come forward to charge that on the Fourth of July last, one of the members of the Ruskin educational department did, contrary to the holy statutes in such case made and provided, take the Lord's name in vain, without the owner's consent. And this teacher, whose name is known and respected throughout America is held in \$1,000 bonds to appear for trial for the heinous crime.

Deponent does not say whether or not the offense was aggravated by having been committed on that holiest of American holy days, the anniversary of

our national swappage of masters. This is evidently an oversight. Our Fourth of July must be statutorily "perfected" as well as our helpless Jehovah, father of our "christian nation." But perhaps the justice (?) will attend to the matter, when the case comes up for trial. Let us pray.

F. A. COW

Things and Thought.

We are informed by Mr. Loveridge that seven men who signed the Call for the Freethinkers' Convention have uttered a lie when speaking of the American Sunday laws they said: "Will the American people submit to this, a more odious infringement of personal liberty and rights than can be found even in Russia today?" Mr. Loveridge is mistaken. It is true that there is no freedom of speech and of press in Russia, and it may be that, as Mr. Loveridge says, to utter such a paper as the Call for the convention would send the signers to the mines, but there is certainly more freedom on Sunday in Russia than there is in the United States. I speak from personal observation. There is a law compelling the people to keep their stores closed on Sunday during the church service, but when that is over, there is very little difference between Sunday and Monday, at least in the towns populated by Jews. The peasants who are busy on their farm during the working days come to the town on Sunday and go to church if they wish, and after giving to God the things that are God's, they give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's,—they sell their grain, buy groceries and, as the saloons are open, get gloriously drunk. Mr. Loveridge knows very well that we have no such freedom in this country. Let him therefore not be to hastily brand other people as liars.

I HAVE no great admiration for those freethinkers who rant over the "starry banner." The starry banner is a rag which does not inspire me with awe reverence, and I am perfectly willing that the state should be destroyed if it is a detriment to the freedom and happiness of the people. I pity the freethinker who fights the church and makes a fetish of the state with its wrongs and inequities. To me freethought stands for something higher than mere opposition to the church, but I am liberal enough to grant others the rights I claim for myself. A freethinker may believe in the state and yet oppose the God in the Constitution movement. As a matter of fact, the people if left alone would never send petitions to Congress asking to recognize God as the ruler of the United States. It is the clergy who are responsible for this work, and the freethinkers can consistently protest against such a movement. Let us learn to be charitable, and let us have good manners. Let us not cry, "Rats!" simply because other people disagree with us. Let us be liberal toward each other. If we accuse our orthodox and conservative friends of bigotry, let us not be bigots ourselves.

Is variety in sex relation right or wrong? My opinion is that women should have the deciding voice in such matters. If she loves the constant companionship of one man, very well; if not, I see no reason why she should be tied to a man for life. Take a woman who is financially independent and who has a sound mind and a body. Let us suppose that she wants to have a child, but has no desire to recognize any one as her lord and master. Is it wrong for her to have sex association with a man who in her opinion is able to endow her child with a good constitution? Must she consult Mrs. Grundy before she decides what to do? And if this woman wants to have two children, must she appeal to the same man to co-operate with her? I claim that this woman is under no obligation to confine herself to one man. But with man the case is different. As the consequences of sex association are not alike to men and women, no man has a right to associate sexually with a woman, unless she fully realizes what she is doing, and I certainly can praise no man who takes advantage of the weakness of a woman for the mere gratification of his passions.

CYRUS W. COOLIDGE

Oyster Bay, L.-I., N. Y.

The Sovereign Voters.

PRESIDENT Ives of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railway, on last pay-day enclosed a printed slip in the "pay-envelope" of each of the employes on his Railway System, notifying each man personally that should Bryan be elected to the Presidency of these

United States of Monopoly, said employe may lose his job or, if retained, his wages be reduced.

In "the land of the free and the home of the brave," at the close of the Nineteenth Century, this notice was written, signed and served upon so-called American Sovereigns!

"Is this the land our Fathers loved—
The Freedom which they toiled to win?
Are these the fields where—on they roved?
Are these the graves they slumber in?
And shall we crouch above these graves?
With craven soul and fettered lip,
Yoked in with marked and branded slaves,
And tremble at the drivers whip?—
Bend to the earth our pliant knees
And speak—but as our masters please?"

The object of this vigilance is quite obvious: to stamp out with iron heel every sign of independence that manifests itself in the breasts of us—their slaves. No wonder they tremble, for every spark, that so appears, lights a torch that leads to freedom; every voice raised against wrong rings the death knell of tyranny. Of this they are well aware, and president Ives voices the sentiments of the heartless, soulless, greedy, grasping and grinding corporations that feast and fatten on the life-blood of the people. His words are indorsed by every parasite that curses the earth—by every rich robber that pollutes the air of heaven!

Thus, we are forbidden to even manifest a desire to strike a blow for freedom, and death is the penalty for disobedience! "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live," is the language of Shakespeare. We are here told in words whose meaning there is no mistaking, how our masters can, by a single word, by a dash of their pen, deprive us of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Rights said to be inalienable!

Now suppose Bryan is elected,* and the Railway Kings carry out their threats, (the are capable of doing so) what then? This: toward the end of November an army of ragged, shivering, hungry desperate men is turned adrift upon the world, with no covering but the blue arch of Heaven, no shelter, but the surrounding hills. What will those men do? Starve to death, or take food and shelter where they find them unused! Will they stand as targets for Pinkerton rifles, or be clubbed to death by the blue-coated, brass-buttoned bulldogs that parade our streets? Or will they resolve to fight the devil with fire, and charge with "the dagger, the torch and the bomb" and all the destructive forces of revolutionary war-fare? Will they unfurl to the breeze of heaven, freedom's Sacred Ensign, the blood-red banner of Anarchy, inscribed upon whose crimson folds in characters of living light, is the immortal Sentence: "The tools belong to the toilers, the product to the producers," and end in on terrific crash, the cruel system that grinds them so?

If the Carnegies, the Rockefellers and the Vanderbilts will not settle with us in a peaceful manner along lines of justice, then our children and theirs will settle this so-called labor question, and in the manner referred to above!

"The time has gone forever, when people should be slaves,
For Freedom's course has land mark along ten million graves."

H. J. HUGHES.

Casco, Wis.

Let's go Ahead.

WHILE it is a well accepted proposition that "God helps those who help themselves," I am ready to do so with any producers of wealth.

The essentials necessary first, as well as last, are: a firm determination to get a hold of any and all means of production, such as tools and machinery, land and raw material. While restoration of these things cannot just yet be carried out, it will be wise to gather everything we need at every opportunity presenting itself.

He is entirely free, who controls the tools with which he does work. The sooner a man or woman quits working with other peoples tools, the sooner he or she bethink themselves to acquire their own tools, or get control over the tools with which they work, the sooner will they be free.

In conversation I am very often confronted with

* Before the election the great republicans assured the "intelligent" laboring men, that the election of McKinley would bring work and prosperity. But as soon as McKinley was elected the "Oregonian" of this city said in a sneering manner: "People that think McKinley can bring us prosperity will be fooled. If they want prosperity, they have to work for it." Very true, though I think the "work" that will give us freedom and prosperity would not quite suit the "Oregonian."

the impertinent question: "Where are you going to get the money?" I say damn your money. For, when we, all of us working people—the more the merrier—know what we want, than the sooner will we know how to get it.

There is more than one way of getting a thing that we have a hankering for. There are some ways of getting what we want "legally." Induce some friends, possessed with wealth to lend the money needed without interest, upon a mortgage on the articles bought with the money so loaned, returning the same at a rate of from 5 to 10 percent a year. Or get a number of friends to make weekly payments of from 25 cents to one or two dollars for which payments "Certificates good for Goods or Services," to the amount of one-dollar each are to be issued. These certificates to be honored for such goods or services which the association is able to furnish.

This last way is the most honorable one for the producers of wealth to get money, as this would prove in a most effective way that labor can get along without the capitalist.

All money received should be expended in the most economical way, which would be to buy only such tools and machinery as is absolutely necessary, and all needed raw material to produce articles for consumption; for which the reform element in society should be a good market, and all such means of production which, with the tools and machinery already on hand, could possibly be made, even if it takes more time to begin with for the want of better facilities. No harm can come when money is expended for raw material to which free access can not be had and it can be made use of by productive laborers. Second hand machinery can be bought very cheap now in a good many instances, that will answer the purpose as well as though it were new.

The trades most favorable to begin with are: All around metal work, such as machinist, locksmith, blacksmith, tinsmith, electrician, wireworkers, etc., and shoemaker, tailor, carpenter, cabinetmaker, painter and printer, etc. To begin with, a suitable building can be rented in which all the trades can be comfortably housed using one source of motive power. The only essentials necessary to begin with is for each one to be congenial, have some means and to be willing to live on hardtack if necessary.

Those in and around Chicago, able to come up to the above mentioned requisites and such as can offer any material aid in the procurement of land, raw material or other means of production and exchange, may send their names and addresses to my address.

To begin with, I offer my tools and machinery with which I conduct my business as an electrician and locksmith, with my services and what business I have. It is also possible to enlarge my business, so as to eventually take in all the above mentioned trades.

He who would be free, himself must strike the blow and not to be a slave—is to dare and do.

CH. L. BODENDYKE.
Chicago, Ill., 1140 Milwaukee Ave.

Note and Comment.

ALL groups and individuals, interested in the Anarchist convention to be held in New York City, January, 1st., should communicate with Miss F. Smirnow, 286 Worster Street, New Haven, Conn.

On account of the late demand for tickets of The Firebrand raffle, we have postponed the raffling till December 15th., that those who are selling tickets will have time to sell them and to return the unsold tickets.

COMRADE LOUISE MICHEL informs us that Pietro Gori had to go to the hospital, just when they intended to start for this country. She thinks that they will come next Spring anyway. We wish they would. A. I.

A NEW YORK paper notices the wail of a restaurant keeper over the fact that his customers have, to a large extent, taken to the habit of pocketing the unused portions of the meals they buy. He attributes this, very properly, to economy induced by the pressure of hard times. A careful investigation of the subject would probably reveal the fact that the practice referred to is becoming common throughout the cities of the country; especially so in the larger centers, as there the results of a false social system are more immediately and keenly

felt than in the more rural districts. But while the people are being forced to learn economy, they are not allowed to prosper by its practice. There must be a reason for this, and there is one. If you will but investigate the causes of the growing poverty of the masses the answer lies within your reach. But you will find that poultices of protection, free trade, free silver, single tax, etc., will not cure a vital wound. The present social system is stabbed to the heart in the house of its friends, Leeches may prolong, but they cannot save, the life of this patient.

F. A. C.

Correspondence.

The local "Firebrand family" will have a social entertainment Saturday Nov. 21., at our mothers place (Mrs. Wilson of the "Victor House," South E. St., between 19th and 21st street). Comrade Klemencic will deliver a lecture on "Individual Initiative." For music and singing will provide a quartet from the Tacoma "Saengerbund," assisted by other well known Comrades. In the dining parlors will be served free lunch to every one present at the intermission of dancing. Every Firebrander is invited to bring along his friends. Admission will be 15 cents a person, for the benefit of Anarchist propaganda.

A. K.

A Populist Governor.

The believers of "radical reforms" through "political action" will be disgusted once more in State of Washington. John R. Rogers, who promised to revolutionize the plutocratic machinery of exploitation, was in consequence elected as governor by the deluded toilers. The following is clipped from an interview of the Seattle P. L., November, 8.:

"But some of your own propositions have been very radical," said the reporter.

"In my book I was a propagandist. I said in the preface that I purposely use very plain and emphatic language. I did it to arouse the people. I believe I succeeded. But as governor I have other duties to perform, and I know the danger to be apprehended from those who have labored earnestly in a cause is not their lack of honesty, but their lack of judgement. We shall be sincere but we shall, I hope be prudent."

Is this not exactly what I predicted here in Tacoma? O friends, if you have really at heart the desire to better our conditions, keep away from the legislation and "good propagandists." Rogers was an educator as well as a propagandist, and will be a traitor as an officer in this struggle to establish a free Society of mankind in the North West. Just keep your eyes on the legislators. After they "arouse the 'dear' people," they divide the pie among themselves and you voters get the—soup.—

A. KLEMENCIC.

The Letter Box.

J. T., Brazil, Ind.—The amount was received, also two copies "God and the State" sent. We have sent them again.

Clara P.—We were delighted with your letter, and hope you will make a convert of the editor of that Swedish paper. It would be a great help to our movement. The Firebrand is sent to the given address. Our best greetings.

B. T., Ollis, N.C.—A man that appreciates the first copy of an Anarchist paper he ever has seen, will surely "catch on" very soon. Thanks for your promise.

Receipts.

Group "Svornost," Dillonvale, O.—\$4.00 Klir, 50c.

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We send out each week large numbers of sample copies, and for this purpose we ask friends to send names of persons likely to be interested. The receipt of a sample copy has no other significance than the hope of interesting you and securing your assistance in the work. The subscription price is nominally fifty cents a year, though in reality it is voluntary, for many friends pay more than the subscription price, and we send it to all who desire it, even if they feel able to pay only a few cents or nothing at all. If you receive the paper without having ordered it, do not hesitate to accept and read it, as no bills are ever sent out.

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Send orders to The Firebrand, Box 477, Portland, Or.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Omaha Progressive Club meets Wednesdays at 7 p. m., at 616 South Tenth Street, Omaha, Neb.

International Group Free Initiative meets at 64 Washington Square, New York City, every Monday at 8:30 p. m.

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

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

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