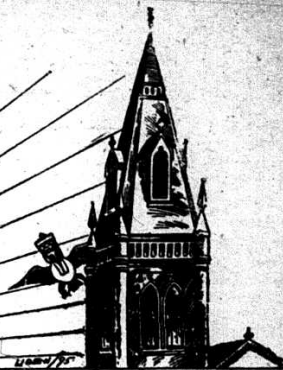


# The Firebrand

OF THE COMBUSTION 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 Cease to Exist, and that Communism Is an Inevitable Consequence.

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## THE FIREBRAND

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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.

### Gems from Shelley.

CULLED BY EMILE EDELSTADT.

Those gilded flies  
That, basking in the sunshine of a court,  
Fatten on its corruption, what are they?  
The drones of the community. They feed  
On the mechanic's labor; the starved hind  
For them compels the stubborn glebe to yield  
Its unshared harvests; and yon squalid form,  
Leaner than fleshless misery that wastes  
A sunless life in the unwholesome mine,  
Drags out in labor a protracted death,  
To glut their grandeur; many faint with toil,  
That few may know the cares and woes of sloth.

Whence think'st thou kings and parasites arise?  
Whence that unnatural hive of drones, who heap  
Toil and unvanquishable penury  
On those who build their palaces and bring  
Their daily bread? From vice, black, loathsome vice;  
From rapine, madness, treachery and wrong;  
From all that genders misery and makes  
Of earth this thorny wilderness; from lust,  
Revenge and murder.

And when reason's voice,  
Loud as the voice of Nature, shall have waked  
The nations, and mankind perceive that vice  
Is discord, war and misery—that virtue  
Is peace, and happiness, and harmony—  
When man's maturer nature shall disdain  
The playthings of its childhood—kingly glare  
Will lose its power to dazzle; its authority  
Will silently pass away; the gorgeous throne  
Shall stand unnoticed in its regal hall,  
Fast falling to decay; whilst falsehood's trade  
Shall be as hateful and unprofitable  
As that of truth is now.

Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower;  
Even in its tender bud their influence darts,  
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins  
Of desolate society.

MAN seeks for gold in mines that he may weave  
A lasting chain for his own slavery.  
In fear and restless care that he may live  
He toils for others, who must ever be  
The joyless thralls of like captivity;  
He murders, for his chiefs delight in ruin;  
He builds the altar, that its idol's fee  
May be his very blood; he is pursuing,  
O, blind and willing wretch, his own obscure undoing.

HENCE commerce springs, the venal interchange  
Of all that human heart or nature yield;  
Which wealth should purchase not, but want demand  
And natural kindness hasten to supply  
From the full fountain of its boundless love,  
Forever stifled, drained and tainted now,  
Commerce! beneath whose poison-breathing shade  
No solitary virtue dares to spring,  
But poverty and wealth with equal hand  
Scatter their withering curses and unfold  
The doors of premature and violent death  
To pining famine and full-fed disease,  
To all that shares the lot of human life,  
Which poisoned body and soul, scarce drags the chain  
That lengthens as it goes and cleaves behind.

THE man of virtuous soul commands not, nor obeys.  
Power, like a desolating pestilence,  
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,  
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,

Makes slaves of men and of the human frame  
A mechanized automaton.

### Ownership and Equality.

In a discussion with the Age of Thought, the Equitist, a Single-tax advocate, criticising the Individualists' occupancy and use theory, observes that "men cannot be equally free to contract unless they are equally free in their relation to the earth". I regard this position as unassailable, hence the Individualists' occupancy and use theory must, as is also pointed out by the Equitist, lead to, "to the forestaller belongs both the source of production and the product". Of course the ownership of opportunity carries with it ownership of the product, and vice versa. So that occupancy-and-use means that the first-comer, or the one successful in securing the most favorable opportunity in a community, thereby establishes a superiority over those who must accept the poorer opportunities, and equal freedom in contract is an absurdity. Thus far I agree with the Single-taxer: the first-comer is no more entitled to the benefits of the best land than is the latest arrival.

To realize this equality of rights, the Single-taxer would assess and collect the value of the best land above the value of the poorest land and turn it into a common fund; the State Socialist would delegate to the State the direction of all industry and the handling and distribution of the product. Both systems require authoritative administration, to which I object. History does not furnish a precedent on which to base a supposition that such administration would be any better or fairer than the governments of today. Yet the Individualists persist in telling me that if I do not accept their occupancy-and-use theory I do, despite my protests, believe in and advocate administration—some form of the State.

Because I object to authority, I repudiate contract of any and every sort. If contract have not authority—or force, which is the same thing, authority being based upon force—back of it, it is worthless. Objecting to the one, I would be a fool to waste my time with the other. What I do advocate is simply the removal of restrictions—an opportunity for the natural man to live a natural life. Restriction dwarfs man physically, mentally and sympathetically. Codes and creeds bias the sympathies of their devotees. If I believe in law, my sympathies are closed to the outlaw; if religious, I am callous toward the infidel; and on my sympathies rests the life that I live—they affect, and more or less prompt, those acts that affect my fellowmen. And since human sympathy to so great an extent directs human action, I want that sympathy unbiased by artificial restrictions.

Governments are simply machines operative according to the sympathies of the administrators. This would be true of Single-tax administration, State Socialism, the Individualists' voluntary police system, and every other form of the State. There would always exist the power and the opportunity to discriminate against an individual who

fails to enlist the sympathies of the administrators, and in favor of the one who was successful.

But it is a patent fact that opportunities are of varying productive value, and that not every individual or group can occupy the best. It is also certain that the first-comer, in the absence of any authority to interfere, will select the best, and that later arrivals must accept the less and less valuable, if a fight is to be avoided, notwithstanding the equal right of the last with the first. What will happen I do not certainly know. But I don't think anyone will be able or inclined to hold land out of use, and, without some authority to assure him of it, I don't think anyone will hold the idea that he has any special right to any particular area. There being no monopoly—and hence practically no want—possible, values, weights and measures will disappear, and the farmer, tailor, shoemaker, et al, after satisfying each his own wants in his own special line, would invite his neighbor over to help himself. Common warehouses for the storage of this surplus would be most economical, simple and convenient, and free men would certainly operate along the line of least resistance.

If voluntary action cannot secure men in the enjoyment of equal rights to natural opportunity, neither can government, for the reason that the governors are subject to the common failings of the race, and even to greater delinquencies, because of greater opportunities and temptations.

J. H. MORRIS.

### Marriage.

II.

WEBSTER'S DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE.—The act of uniting a man and woman for life; wedlock; the legal union of a man and woman for life. Marriage is a contract both civil and religious, by which the parties engage to live together in mutual affection and fidelity till death shall separate them. Marriage was instituted by God himself, for the purpose of preventing the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, for promoting domestic purity and for securing the maintenance and education of children.

This is accepted as correct and people act accordingly, and in all my studies I have never found a sentence showing the absurdity of such a proceeding as getting married. I am surprised that none of our Academicians have stumbled over such an absurd proposition as to expect a young man and a young woman, without any knowledge or experience upon the subject whatever, to contract for life!

Of course the young people engage to live together in mutual affection and fidelity till death shall separate them, because it is customary to do so, and if a young man desires to enjoy the amorous caresses of a young woman, he is obliged to do so not for the moment, but for life; and support her for life for allowing him to caress her. Whether they like it or not, after a short period, perhaps the first day or two, which does not concern those who maintain law and order, the young people are almost certain to lose their respect for each other. That they do so after the first experience, in consequence of ignorance, prejudice and the false education regarding sex matters, is nobody's concern. Let them fight it out if they can't live it out. And as to the children? Well, it is blasphemous to consider the rights of offspring wantonly put into this world of misery.

According to the tenets of the "old gentleman", children have no rights which the parents are bound to respect—only duties, to obey and be submissive.

If we never do for this to be otherwise, or else, as we are supposed to be "his" children, we might rebel against "his" law and order, and "his" mouthpieces, the sky-pilots, would have a hard time of it to make a living at their present occupation.

That marriage was instituted by God himself for the purpose of preventing promiscuous intercourse of the sexes accounts for its being a total failure in the promotion of domestic felicity; for promiscuous intercourse of the sexes can only exist where the women have no voice, no rights in the matter other than submission. And for securing the maintenance and education of children! Whose children—Mr. Rockefeller the oil magnate's? Well, he can afford to maintain not only his children, but the children of his slaves also. But if it refers to the well-digger, who has had no incentive to educate himself or his children, but has to maintain them on perhaps \$500 a year, if he is a first-class submissive slave? Well, then, marriage is not only a failure, but a legal institution for the promotion of criminal disregard of the rights of children.

Children have a right to be well-born in utter disregard of all ancient customs and modern superstitions. It appears to me that the marriage institution originated when the chief of a tribe had taken the best woman and claiming her for his own exclusive use, to pacify the other braves he allowed them to do likewise, thereby securing to himself the possession of his coveted prize. BODENDYKE.

### Mr. Hoback to the Front.

But, as I understand, one great purpose of providing punishments and enforcing penalties against crime, is to prevent people, who are vicious, from giving way to their inclinations, by keeping before them the fact of punishment to follow detections and conviction. Is crime then lessening, and is there less need for year to year for officers, courts and prisons?—No, this is not so, but perhaps punishment prevents the increase of crime. It seems there is just about so much anyway, but there would be a great deal more if there were not punishments provided.

Now, aside from the question of punishment, is there a constant and uniform attempt to bring criminals to justice, is there a general determination and purpose with officers to enforce the laws impartially?—I am sorry to say this is not so. All this must be left to men of course, who however carefully chosen are only men after all, and subject to failings of the same kinds that affect all others about them. A very small part of the violators of law are ever punished. Many convicted and sentenced to heavy penalties, placed under the odium of being deprived and vicious beyond the average of their fellows, forced to bear the stigma throughout their lives, if they survive the penalty, of having been imprisoned for crime, are no worse than many who entirely escape.

Well, well, how can this terrible thing be?—Why, it really depends upon the disposition of certain officers, and the influence brought to bear upon them, whether men shall be brought to justice or not. In many cases the direct sufferers from crime for some peculiar reasons do not care to prosecute, and if the prosecuting officer takes the case up he is persuaded not to follow it through. In other cases the offender has friends that have influence with the prosecuting officer, and are able to induce him not to do anything in the matter. In still other cases, even when persons are tried and convicted, the judge is influenced by some considerations that may be brought to bear upon him to inflict only a light sentence. It is very difficult, in many cases wholly impossible, to get a prosecuting officer to work effectively, if he is indisposed to, and there is no way known to our theory of government to make a judge do what he does not wish to do. The course of a criminal trial is such that a judge can direct it just according to his own inclination. If he bears down on an accused person that person can be convicted of almost anything with which he is charged, and if he is moved in favor of the accused he can generally have him set free.

I remember now in a conversation that you had with Mr. Cranch, and which he referred to in his article about our discussion, that you spoke about the Anarchist trial in Chicago, which I suppose took place some years ago, and you told him the judge made the law as it was needed in that case to convict those men. Now will you give me some of the particulars about that, tell me just how it was the judge went about it to make the law and convict the men then on trial?—Yes, I took a great deal of interest in that case, and

have always had a great admiration for Judge Gary who held that trial. He ought to be on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. The interests of business men, manufacturers and other employers of labor, men of wealth and respectable citizens generally, required that these men should be convicted, that their doctrines should be put down, and while the forms of law had to be observed, the law as it had been theretofore known would not meet the case, Judge Gary declared the law as it must be to convict.

Workmen had been preparing for sometime to strike for eight hours to be a day's work, and they began to strike May 1, 1886. Within two or three days there were about 50,000 men striking in Chicago alone, and the strike extended more or less all over the country. A certain little group of men in Chicago had been doing all they could for a good while to egg on the strike or something worse, telling the workmen they could not do anything to help themselves and ought to be ready to fight. The police had been laying for these men, especially Parsons, Spies and Fielden, trying to trap them into something that would land them in prison, and if possible to put an end to them altogether. On May 1st the Chicago Daily Mail denounced these fellows directly by name, exhorted the police to look sharply after them, and if there should be any serious trouble to hold them responsible at once.

McCormick's reaper works in Chicago shut down in February 1886, locking out 1,200 men. On May 3d there was a riot at the reaper works, caused by strikers attacking men who were willing to work. The police came up quickly by the wagon load, and began to fire at the cowardly wretches as they ran, killing five or six of them besides wounding many more. Then some people called a meeting at the Haymarket in Chicago, to make a kick about this killing of worthless foreigners. The Haymarket is a widening of Randolph street for two blocks, between Desplaines and Halsted streets on the west side, that is a little west of the Chicago river. The meeting was in fact held in Desplaines street, just around the corner from the Haymarket, on the evening of the next day, May 4th. There were nearly two hundred policemen gathered at a station less than four hundred feet distant, determined to get in there at the proper time, and catch the men they had spotted. Carter Harrison was mayor of Chicago, and of course he was at the head of the police force, although there was probably a chief under him. He was a fool and never would do as the better class wanted him to, nor let the police do it. But there was one of the officers of police who knew what he was about and would do what respectable people wanted, that was Bonfield.

Mayor Harrison attended this meeting, observed its proceedings and the speeches made, and was ready to have it stopped at once if it became disorderly, that is disorderly according to his notions. He went over to the station house to see the police two or three times, told them the meeting was peaceable and there would probably be no need to interfere with it. There had been some threatening of a storm, many people had left the meeting, the speakers had intimated they were about to conclude and Harrison started for home, telling the officers in command as he passed the station to dismiss their men as there would be no trouble. As soon as he got out of the way, however, the police started on a rush for the meeting with clubs and pistols in hand, fearing their men would get away and the meeting disperse before they reached it. On approaching, as a matter of fact, a captain ordered the few people that still remained to disperse, and just as he did so a bomb was thrown from some point not certainly determined, and burst among the police causing wounds from which seven died. The police commenced shooting of course and killed a lot of the scoundrels as they were in cowardly flight, but no count was ever made of how many.

No arrests were made that night, but the next day they began to pick them up, going first to the office of a pestilent German daily the Arbeiter Zeitung, where they cleaned out the whole shop, arresting editors, typesetters, and everyone else about the place. One of the stockholders happened along and began to look out for the property a little and they snaked him in too. During the next few days they made a good many arrests, no one will ever know how many, but they settled on holding August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, Louis Lingg, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Michael Schwab and Oscar Neebe. Spies was a highly educated German about thirty-one years old, editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung. Parsons was an Amer-

ican, born in Montgomery, Alabama; a printer, thirty-eight years old and editor of a weekly paper called the Alarm. Spies and Parsons had been more or less associated in general agitation, both had taken part in forming the International Workingmen's Association at Pittsburg in 1883, and Parsons had been nominated for President of the United States by the Socialistic Labor Party in 1884. Fielden was an Englishman, thirty-nine years old, and followed the humble pursuit of a teamster up to the very day of the riot. Lingg was a German, a little over twenty years old, was an active member of the carpenters' union and followed his trade up to within a short time before the riot.

Engel was a German, fifty years old, and carried on a little toy store. Fischer and Schwab were both Germans, Fischer being a typesetter and Schwab one of the editors of the Arbeiter Zeitung; Fischer was about thirty years old and Schwab thirty-three. Neebe was a yeast maker, of German descent, but born in New York city, about thirty-five years old, a stockholder in the association that owned the Arbeiter Zeitung, but had nothing to do directly with its management. They were all under arrest except Parsons who on the advice of friends left the city on the morning after the riot, and remained away in perfect peace and security at Waukesha, Wisconsin, until the trial was about to commence, although the detectives pretended to be scouring the country for him. He worked as a carpenter, very slightly disguised.

The authorities could not make up their minds for several days on what charge these people should be brought to trial, but eventually concluded to accuse them of the murder of Matthias Degan, one of the officers who had died from wounds caused by the bomb, and a grand jury specially summoned for the purpose began a formal investigation of the matter on May 19, returning indictments against most of them May 24. They were charged with the murder in connection with Rudolph Schnaubelt, he being the man who it was claimed actually threw the bomb, and who had at one time been under arrest. The police mistakenly let him go, and he has never been heard of since. The indictment was in sixty-nine different counts; that is, it charged the murder as having been committed in sixty-nine different ways, or under varying circumstances, so as to hold these fellows any way they might try to meet it, making their successful defense practically impossible. For instance, they were charged in part of the counts as associated with Schnaubelt, and in part as associated with an unknown person, and afterwards during the trial the judge held that whatever tended to show that Schnaubelt did not throw the bomb went to prove that it was thrown by some unknown person, and did not relieve them at all. So there they were.

Perhaps the Anarchists would have stood some little show if the trial had been allowed to go over for awhile; but the people of Chicago were bound to take things while they were hot, and the trial was formally opened on June 21, when, much to the amazement of the detectives, Parsons quietly walked into the court room and took his place with the others. Neebe, who had found friends able to bail him in the sum of \$30,000, also surrendered himself into custody, and from that time fully shared the perils of his fellow-accused.

The Anarchists in the first place asked for a separate trial, in which case every man would be held accountable simply for his own acts. They thought because they had not been closely associated they were certainly entitled to this. Some of them were scarcely known to the others, and had met them only as attendants at public meetings where speeches were made, and of course the speakers could not notice all individuals in their audiences. Judge Gary refused to grant separate trials, and in so doing made law for this case and settled the case of the men on trial. By putting them on trial all together everyone was deprived of the benefit of the testimony of the others in his behalf, for while every one of them might be called as a witness his testimony was discounted largely because he was swearing in his own case, which would not have been true if they had been tried separately. Some belonged to societies with which the others had no connection, and testimony was introduced of proceedings had in these societies when two or three of the accused were present, or perhaps when none were present, as evidence of course against the whole eight. Neither Parsons nor Fielden had any knowledge of the German language, but this did not prevent introducing against them as much as against any of the others articles in German published in the Arbeiter Zeitung, letters received by Spies



written in German, and books printed in German. Spies had nothing to do with the editing of the Alarm, but articles printed in the Alarm were put in evidence against him and the others just the same as against Parsons, its editor. Evidence was also introduced of speeches made by Parsons at a considerable distance from Chicago, a year or more before the riot, when none of the others were present. Evidence that Louis Lingg made bombs became evidence against all of them, while perhaps none of the others knew anything of his work, and it was not proved that any of Lingg's bombs were ever used at the Haymarket or anywhere else. All this was made possible by Judge Gary's law made for this case, that the men should be tried all together.

From June 21st to July 15th was consumed in getting a jury to try the case, nearly 1,000 persons being summoned and examined. In trying cases in court the regular way is to draw jurors from a list containing a considerable number, the list made up in a manner prescribed by law including persons of different trades and callings selected from the community at large, without regard to any other qualifications than the ownership of a certain amount of property or something of the kind. From this list a number are notified to attend a term of court, and if this number proves insufficient more can be notified from the list previously made up. When a case comes on persons proposed as jurors are examined by the lawyers on either side, and if they seem likely to be unfair in any way the lawyer who does not like them can move that they be excused, and this is a challenge for cause which the judge passes upon and determines whether the juror should sit in the case or not. Lawyers on either side have also a right to excuse a certain number, whether the judge approves or not, and this is called "peremptory challenge." In the Anarchist case the regular panel was exhausted some time before a jury was obtained, but instead of making up a new panel from the regular lists the prosecuting attorneys, as seems to have been the custom in Illinois at this time, asked for the appointment of a special bailiff to go out into the city and notify men according to his own discretion. This bailiff, like all the other officers in the case, knew what was expected of him. He called as jurors only business men, employers, merchants, or others in a wholly different rank of life from the accused and who would be certain to look upon them in a bad light, excluding all who might by any possibility have any sympathy with their position or views. By his rulings on the applications of the lawyers of the accused to have men excused for cause Judge Gary allowed men to sit on the jury who were quite clearly prejudiced, and thus made law in this case against the accused. He accepted men who might justly have been excused. Lawyers called the judge's attention to the fact that only men of certain classes were summoned, but the judge refused to direct the bailiff to pursue a different course. All the peremptory challenges, that were allowed to them, were used up by the attorneys for the Anarchists long before the jury was completed, and they were wholly at the mercy of the court in its ruling that such men as the bailiff summoned were competent to sit. At a later period, when the facts became known to them, attorneys brought before the court evidence of the specific misconduct of the bailiff but Judge Gary would give it no attention and the Governor refused to listen to it when he was asked to consider that the men had not had a fair trial.

The jury was completed July 15th, consisting of seven clerks and salesmen, a merchant, a bookkeeper, a schoolteacher, a traveling man, and a piano dealer. These had been thoroughly instructed by the papers of Chicago, by their employers and by their business associates during the period that intervened between the date of the riot and the actual commencement of the trial, something over two months, and were prepared to carry out their duty to society in accordance with the clearly expressed views of the better class of people.

The attorneys for the defence entered upon the trial on the supposition that the killing of Degan was all there was to it, as the charge was simply murder, and they supposed that if they could show that their men had nothing to do with the killing directly, or any association with the man who threw the bomb, they must go free. They began to object to some of the evidence offered by the prosecution, and here the noble judge came in again and made law for the case and showed them there was nothing for them but con-

viction. Although they had not been indicted for treason, or for a general conspiracy against government (as they probably might have been) Judge Gary gave them to understand in the plainest terms that they were to be tried simply as Anarchists. If they had gone about making speeches the tendency of which was to lead men to make bombs and attack the police, it was quite clear that he had acted on their advice and instigation, and it was not necessary to prove who it was, that he ever attended any of their meetings, was known to them, or knew them at all. If they made such speeches and such a thing was done, the man who did it must have been an associate of theirs and instigated by them. Indeed no real effort was made to prove who threw the bomb although some one did swear that he heard Spies and Schwab talking about it at the meeting, holding a conversation on this delicate subject in English! It was offered to show that these men (both Germans) commonly conversed in the German language, but the judge promptly excluded this. A good deal of argument was made in the case, by the prosecution, in regard to the responsibility of the various parties to a conspiracy for anything done by any of the parties in pursuance of the conspiracy, but no case was ever known before where men were held as accessories without showing any connection whatever with the principal actor.

Spies, Parsons and Fielden were at the Haymarket meeting and made speeches. Neebe was not at the meeting, nor was Engel, and neither had anything to do with calling the meeting or with its proceedings in any way. Fischer attended the meeting but took no part, while Schwab merely passed that way to see Spies in relation to another meeting in an entirely different place. Lingg spent the evening two miles or more from the meeting. Parsons who was charged with knowledge that a murderous outbreak might occur at any moment, took to the Haymarket meeting his wife, his two children, and an intimate lady friend of his wife.

The police had evidence that they could depend upon to stand by them. Some of the witnesses were among those who had been at first arrested and charged with being connected with the affair, and who would swear to anything required to clear themselves. One of these was Seliger, a man with whom Lingg had boarded. He was let go on his solemn promise to swear as required, and his family were supported by the police authorities until the trial was concluded. He swore to Lingg's bomb-making, but he could not swear that any of Lingg's bombs were used at the Haymarket, or anywhere else. The case was given to the jury late in the afternoon of August 20th, and it took them less than three hours to consider the sixty-nine counts in the indictment, and the testimony to which they had been listening for over a month. Indeed most of the three hours was consumed in determining what they would do with Neebe against whom there was no evidence whatever. They did their duty, as they were expected to, finding all guilty of the murder of Degan, and fixing the penalty of death in every case except that of Neebe, who was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. The case was heard in the Supreme Court of Illinois in the fall of 1887, and that court held all the proceedings in the court below correct. Strong appeals were made to the Governor of Illinois by friends of the Anarchists supported by thousands of citizens of all classes, for pardon or commutation, and some of the men asked for themselves, but Spies, Parsons, and perhaps one or two more refused to join in the petition. Proceedings were also had in the Supreme Court of the United States relating to the case, but nothing came of them. Just before the date fixed by the Supreme Court for the execution Governor Oglesby commuted the sentence of Fielden and Schwab to imprisonment for life. Louis Lingg committed suicide by means of a powerful explosive put up in a very compact shape which he took in a cigar. When the fire of the cigar reached the fulminate it exploded in his mouth, destroying the inside of his head and throat. Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer were hung, November 11, 1887.

Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe remained in the state prison at Joliet, Illinois, until June 26, 1893, when they were released on pardon by Gov. John P. Altgeld.

(To be continued)

The world affords no law to make them rich. Then be not poor, but break it and take this.

—(Shakespeare.)

—AND art made tongue-tied by authority.

—(Shakespeare.)

## Clippings and Comment

CONGRESS will never pass the bill introduced a few days ago by representative Shaffroth, but its mere introduction was valuable as showing the members that the people are just now in a mood to put a stop to official extravagance.

This measure provides that when the expenses of the government exceed the receipts all government salaries in excess of \$200 per month shall be reduced 25 per cent and all salaries below that figure and in excess of \$50 per month shall be reduced 10 per cent. This reduction is to remain in force until the receipts equal the expenditures.

The good points of this bill are apparent. There is no getting away from the fact that those who have the appropriating of public money are very apt to become extravagant unless their own purses suffer by the extravagance. Nor is there any disputing the fact that such extravagance would be checked by a knowledge on the part of the congressmen that a deficiency would in a large manner be made up from their own salaries.

If the Shaffroth bill had fewer good points it would have a brighter prospect of passage.—(Evening Telegram.)

Thus the Evening Telegram admits the Anarchist position on the question of official economy. Little by little the plute editors are forced to admit the correctness of our position on various points in spite of themselves. Of course if the Shaffroth bill had fewer good points its chances would be better, and so with every other bill. If it is bad it is sure to pass: if it tend to reduce expenditures it fails to pass.

\* \* \*

THERE is at least one so-called Individualist in this country who has sense enough to grasp and courage enough to admit, that the doctrine advocated by the "Individualists" is not Anarchism. In a controversy with an Anarchist in Lucifer of July the 28th he says:

"He confuses Individualism, a purely economic doctrine, with Anarchism which is a doctrine of no government. Anarchism means the entire absence of all government,—opposed to monarchy, democracy, etc. As an individualist, I define Individualism as the doctrine that, under equal privileges and opportunities, each person seeking his own personal welfare is most conducive to social progress,—opposed to communism and state socialism. One can be an Individualist and an Anarchist. Communism, when voluntary, is perfectly consistent with Anarchism also. Everyone but Mr. James can see this. He is not certain that individualists have any rights. He is not certain of anything. I know where I stand. I am and have been for fifteen years an individualist. If there were no invaders of the "rights of man" I would be an Anarchist also; but as people still invade, I am in favor of some kind of restraint. I deny that, under the present social environment, human rights can be secured without some rule or guide in conduct. I am an "eliminator." I work for the gradual elimination of all unjust and invasive features from our present social system, recognizing the fact that progress is a product of evolutionary change. I can not see the sense in one's being a thousand years ahead of his time."

Now if Matador could comprehend that there can be no Communism except it is voluntary, he would not oppose the Communists. A. I.

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FORMERLY when great fortunes were only made in war, war was a business; but now when great fortunes are only made by business, business is war.—(Bovee.)

ARISTOCRACY has three successive ages: the age of superiorities, the age of privileges, and the age of vanities; having passed out of the first, it degenerates in the second, and dies away in the third.—(Chateaubriand.)

## 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 others 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.

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**Communist Anarchism.**

THE FIREBRAND recently said: "Anarchist-Communists do not accept the principle" (organization of individuals, to be chosen by birth or ballot) "but have for their ideal" the principle of "free production and free consumption."

The meaning of this is more fully stated in a letter in the same issue from a correspondent who says: "It is a significant fact that in all plans for co-operation, organization seems to be an indispensable factor." "I early questioned the difference between government entered into voluntarily or compulsory. Organization seemed to me a government in miniature. If government is wrong as a principle, I must reject organization. The Firebrand advocates the only true, absolute liberty, I know of, Communist Anarchism. "The free association advocated by The Firebrand strikes me as being all that is necessary when men can divert their minds from the government idea. The various institutions which government has so long monopolized are thought, by many, to be impossible for individuals to conduct, but this is the result of dependence on authority."

The correspondent is at least logical. If government is wrong as a principle, organization must be, also. But we have never seen anything to prove that it is. On the contrary, there are some things which we consider essential to equal freedom which can only be accomplished by organizations. These are the security of exclusive possession of locations and the establishment and maintenance of highways. The correspondent does not realize that "absolute liberty" is possible only where there exist but one. As soon as there are two or more, the liberty of each is affected by the liberty of the other. It will be difficult for him to prove that there can possibly be any greater liberty for all than equal freedom. If any one has "absolute liberty," the rest must have considerably less.

So far we have been unable to ascertain how they intend to treat the land. All production involves the use of land. He who is free must be free to use land. Are all to be equally free to use locations, under Anarchistic Communism? If so, how is that equality of freedom to be secured, if not by some kind of organized action?

It is useless to talk about freedom in other things until man's relation to the earth is determined, for everything else depends upon that. And this, it seems to us, is the weak spot in all the variousisms which seek a solution of the social problem by starting anywhere else than with the land. It seems to us that they overlook the fact that motion follows the line of least resistance, and that, in man, this is shown in his seeking to gratify his desires with the least exertion; and that the first and ever persistent desire is for those things which sustain life—food, shelter and clothing. These are the result of labor applied to land. Not only the inventor, but the communist-anarchist who seeks to establish his "free association," is striving to find an easier way of securing these things. But so long as land is necessary to the production of these things and, by exclusive possession of locations, some can compel others to produce for them, they will do so. And nothing short of organ-

ized resistance can prevent them from monopolizing enough of the earth to enable them to continue to so live. So far as we can see, the only effective organization is such as will compel each exclusive possessor to compensate the excluded, and with this compensation to maintain the highways for the free use of all. This would automatically limit and holding to use and thus remove the primary cause of unequal freedom. If it will not, we would be glad to have some one tell us why.—[The Equitist.

The editor of the Equitist is fair in the above criticism, but seems not to have comprehended the position of the Anarchist-Communists. She says it will be difficult to prove "that there can possibly be any greater liberty for all than equal freedom," but at the same time denies the possibility of absolute liberty. That would indicate that our liberty is to be restricted but equally restricted. If such things were possible, then the restriction might be carried to any conceivable point and liberty still remain equal. But how can liberty be equal and not absolute? Is the person, or organization that restricts liberty possessed of a degree of liberty which is thereby denied the one who is restricted? We want liberty, that is equally absolute to everyone.

How we intend to treat the land is what the Equitist editor confessedly does not understand. That is a very important point. It is necessarily involved in the idea of free production and free consumption and the absence of authority. In a condition of Anarchist-Communism there will be no artificial divisions of land, and the land upon which any community, or group of individuals may live will be used for tillage, pasturage, factory-sites, or residence purposes as the natural conformation of the land, and other conditions point out as expedient. The results of tillage, pasturage and manufacture will be enjoyed in common—equally by all. The home building will be a matter of common interest and mutual agreement. There being no commercial advantage possible, locations will depend wholly on convenience and as all are equally interested in the convenience of locations, that question will far more readily and satisfactorily than can possibly be done by a "jeveler tax" which must be assessed and collected by men, men who will be as susceptible to "influence" and "pull" as the assessors and collectors of today. We repudiate all idea of property in land, either private or public, and look upon it as an essential to be used as freely as air or water. It is only a question of expediency, and when we have become willing to accord the same liberty to all others that we claim for ourselves, the choice of location question will depend wholly on topography of the country and such other conditions as soil and climate. Free association can accomplish all these adjustments, and being free leaves no room for imposition, as in all organizations. H. A.

**Literature.**

"SUITABLE FOOD, WISE SEX LOVE, AND IMMORTALITY" is the title of a small pamphlet by Sophie Lepper with a copy of which the author has kindly favored us. She claims to have discovered the secret of health, "wise sex love," longevity and even immortality, in suitable



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