

# The Firebrand

FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CONCEPTS 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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## 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.

### Song of the "Lower Classes."

We plow and sow, we're so very, very low,  
That we delve in the dirty clay;  
Till we bless the plain with the golden grain,  
And the vale with the fragrant hay.  
Our place we know, we're so very, very low,  
'Tis down at the landlord's feet:  
We're not too low the grain to grow,  
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go, we're so very, very low,  
To the hell of the deep-sunk mines;  
But we gather the proudest gems that glow,  
When the crown of the despot shines;  
And whene'er he lacks, upon our backs  
Fresh loads he deigns to lay;  
We're far too low to vote the tax,  
But not too low to pay.

We're low, we're low—we're very, very low,—  
And yet from our fingers glide  
The silken flow and the robes that glow  
Round the limbs of the sons of pride;  
And what we get, and what we give,  
We know, and we know our share;  
We're not too low the cloth to weave,  
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low, we're very, very low,  
And yet when the trumpets ring,  
The thrust of a poor man's arm will go  
Through the heart of the proudest king.  
We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—  
We're only the rank and the file;  
We're not too low to kill the foe,  
But too low to share the spoil.

—[Earnest Jones.]

### Education.

EDUCATION is of all subjects, perhaps, the one about which most has been written. The books, the works, the articles treating on it could be counted by the millions. Nevertheless, though its theory has been many times rehearsed and deepened, it remains in practice subject to the most reactionary prejudices, to the most pernicious ones to such an extent, that the resulting evils are of the gravest importance for the individual as well as for society.

This anomaly, this contrast between theory and practice, explains itself very easily, when you consider that, whatever the good will, the noble intentions of the parents may be, and the quality of their views concerning the method of education to be followed, they find themselves in practice counteracted at each step by educators, who are here judge and party, by natural egotism, which only an exceptional superiority of nature could extinguish.

Moreover, all the good dispositions of the parents towards the child are spoiled, vitiated by the prejudice of parental authority. However gentle, however benevolent they be, considerations of authority, distances to be observed, will always erect a barrier between parents and child, an obstacle to their full reciprocity and the mutual exchange of sentiments on the level of an absolute equality and confidence. However intimate parent and child may be, a veil of respect soils always its purity.

It requires, therefore, the exercise of a double influence over the unenlightened and thoughtless minds to destroy the feelings and prejudices, which are liable to check in the infants the evolution of qualities which, when they are grown up, will make them worthy of the name of men.

The hope to succeed by advice in suppressing in the parents their egotistic propensities, which subject the happiness of the child to their own wishes, is perhaps too optimistic. They consider it as a matter of personal morality; as the recognition of merely individual rights and obligations of others. The elevation of the individual from its moral situation is inseparably connected with a more favorable general modification of social conditions.

While this modification is going on, it is a duty of anyone seeing the dangers of education, its defects, as existing at present, to call attention to these dangers, and to make known, with his best energy, the results of his reflections and of his experience concerning the best method of education. We conceive of a grand social ideal. The principal obstacle to its quick realization is the servilism of the masses and their fear of liberty. Let us then prepare a self-respecting generation, liberal, resenting any yoke and repudiating any exterior direction: The attempt of such a propaganda is both beautiful and promising. The power of education in the preparation of future generations is indeed considerable. In this time of general abjection, corruption and universal superficiality, it is one of the most efficient means to raise mankind from its creeping situation.

To teach the child self-government, to encourage the development of self-initiative, to teach it to follow its own conscience, to avoid moral improprieties as it is accustomed to physical propriety, without desiring any reward but the enjoyment of a right mind; to impress it profoundly with its dignity and independence, to save it from the silly conceit of pedantry, to fill it with an equitable respect for the rights of the least fellow-being, is but a vision, but a grand one.

It cannot be reached by "authority". Can any presumption be queerer than to teach liberty by servitude? Servitude and independence, authority and liberty are contradictory terms, excluding each other. To keep the child in permanent tutelage, to accustom it to subordinate its will to yours, its initiative to your direction and its actions to your approval, does it not later on, lead it into the greatest inconveniences when left to itself in the social labyrinth without your support, depending on its own judgment alone? Will it not go astray in consequence of its inexperience in the midst of errors and gloomy fancies? Face to face with reality which, by your fault, it knows only by a deceiving prisma of imagination, it will not be able to understand it and will simply waste time and efforts, looking for it at the wrong place. The dreams of its infancy, so long suppressed by you, will at last take their course freely, and life will then first begin for him or her. But there is a conflict arising, almost as with a tornado, and the task will be twice as difficult—an endless struggle. For besides the enemies outside there will be those inside.

The dangers from authority are innumerable. Obedience, self-surrender, while it destroys personality, abases the character. Authority substitutes insensibly, but inevitably, by degrees, fear for affection, politeness for respect, flattery and commonplace for natural expansion, hypocrisy for frankness, mendacity

for truthfulness. The child, finding in you a master, a grumbling and severe spy, will, in your presence, watch very carefully over his actions, his words, his conduct; it will modify, change, falsify his personality in the feeling of having a duty to please you and to avoid painful admonitions. It will not be the child whom you see, but an artificial thing changing according to your caprice and the dread of your anger. In your absence it will return to its true self, but will take revenge for the dissimulation, to which it was forced in your presence. Its nature, suppressed in vain for a time, will break out and take freely its course, but in excess in consequence of the constraint endured. At this time then the fruits, which it did not dare to touch, will appear irresistible, and they will be enjoyed immoderately, for the idea does not interfere for a moment that you have knowledge of the misdeed. What criminal thinks of being caught? Placed again before you and questioned, he will not dare to confess and will lie, still thinking that you will never know the truth. Lying is caused by fear of punishment. And what is there meaner than lying, this cowardice, the denial of one's actions? But you have provoked it by your wrong method, your lack of a correct realization of the part which you have to play. By degrees you will destroy the affections of your child. Vainly doubling the emphasis of your commands, the soul of the child will close itself to you more and more, and all your efforts will but increase the evil you are fighting, but which you alone have caused. What then?

What is to be done? It would of course be arrogant to prescribe exactly this or that system of education. The fullness of the attributes which constitute the individuality is subjected to too many different influences, too changing to warrant the adoption of any fixed rules for it. The educator must get his inspiration according to circumstances from the child's particular character, keep account of its dispositions, its antipathies, and modify his method more or less according to results obtained or obtainable. When, however, the controlling influence in the midst of human actions is known, the line of the general conduct traces itself concerning the development of those qualities of the child which mark its superiority.

A liberal person's dearest ambition is to see in the future his or her children able to get along without any external direction, free from any authority; to see them, occupied with their consent only, inspired only by their plain judgment enlightened by right reason, sound and conscious of its rectitude.

Such beautiful result can only be attained, if full liberty is left to the child from its earliest age. The independent child accustoms itself to think, to compare, to judge and to act on its own responsibility; its mind is strengthened by this intellectual exercise. Being always in contact with reality it profits naturally from its lessons. Its experience increases with the lessons received, and its judgment becomes correspondingly more correct.

The influence of freedom is likewise a happy one from a moral point of view. Far from presenting good conduct as an irrational obligation or as a divine command, if the child is accustomed to habits of moral propriety, as it learns the propriety of physical things, it will, equally placed between good and evil, choose the good as a matter of taste by an antipathy against the evil, just as it will avoid the wrong way or a spot on the clothing. It will not know anything about any forbidden fruit, because it will have no inducement to break such a strange law.

Morality is a matter of habit, a custom to be learned. If the child happens to do wrong, the pain felt will be its chastisement. To look for any other would be excessive foolishness. The child thus raised in a habit of moral propriety will be sufficiently punished by the pain felt in its soul, just as it would not like to remain in a physically filthy state. All our attention in this case should be confined to giving friendly advice concerning the wrong and to removing occasion for it.—[Translated for The Firebrand from the French of Andre Girard.]

### Steps Toward Anarchy.

I READ a great deal and am often asked the news agent the Spanish and Turkish wars and sometimes as to the actions of the president and congress of our own country. My invariable answer is, I have not read altogether a column as long as my hand about any of them, and I will venture to say, I know as much as any one about them all that is of any importance to any one other than the monopolists of wealth and governments that protect the wealthy. I am a poor man, and why should I be interested? The rich in Greece, in Spain, in Turkey, in Cuba, in the United States, and in every other country, can take care of themselves, and the poor have no rights anywhere. The poor are starving to death here and in every country. The only difference as to the condition of the poor in different countries is owing to the density of population and the accessibility to natural opportunities to produce a living. In sparsely settled countries the extreme of poverty is not so great. All governments are alike in the interest of property and only protect life indirectly by protecting property. Those who have no property have no protection of their lives. They may die and be damned, so far as the state cares, in populous Europe or the wilderness of the West. The extreme of poverty is not so common in the provinces of Canada and Australia as in the more populous mother country. It is not that their governments are better. The poor of Cuba would be no better off if independent of Spain. The same landlords and capitalists would exact all but a bare living of them. England is said to be the workshop of the world, and buys most of her bread and beef and raw material from abroad. Yet it has been proven that England, populous as she is, could, if land were made free, produce more than enough to feed and clothe her population and give more steady work and better wages to her manufacturing operatives. The most glaring outrage of governments is the protection of the landlord in the exclusive ownership of the land, without which no man can live. Man, being a land animal, will give anything but his life for land to live on. The few who own the land dictate the terms of life to others. If the few, who own the land under governments, have a right to it, then the many, who have no land, have no right to life, and must live, so long as they do live, by sufferance, not by right. Those who by chicanery in cut-throat competition have accumulated the wealth produced by the poor, may purchase the privilege to live by paying rent to the landlord, if they have no land, but even the capitalist is beholden to the landlord. The poor, of course, are absolute slaves to the capitalist and landlord, who permit them to live so long as they can profitably utilize them. The master of the wage slave has no property in the person or life, but he has in the service of his slave, which he gets for less cost than if he owned him as a chattel and was compelled by law, as was the chattel slave owner before the war, to care as well for his slave as he did for his horse. No state is as considerate of the wage slave as it was of the chattel slave, for the reason that the chattel was property and considered wealth to the state, and the state exists only to protect property.

Freedom to live would be a long step toward complete freedom. Equal freedom to use land, without which no one can live, would be a long stride toward complete freedom. If every person, who monopolizes, excludes all others from a piece of land, should pay into a common fund for the use of all others an equal value for the privilege, for the extra life he enjoyed, or the extra means of providing for life, over the least valuable land or location, it would be in accord with the law of equal freedom. Under such conditions the man deprived of the use of land would get pay for the exclusion, which would enable him to live. But the result of such an arrangement would be that no one would exclude others from land, which he did not use, and all vacant land would be free. A further result

would be that all land now vacant in and near populous centers would be occupied and utilized by a dispersion from the overcrowded tenement districts and a concentration from remote districts to which people have been driven or exiled by monopoly of land and exclusion by owners. If the economic rent, or annual value of land, having a value, was paid into a common fund, there would be no need of fining or taxing wealth, the product of labor, for governmental purposes.

While Communist Anarchy is my ideal of absolute freedom and a perfect condition, I think the single tax, as it is called, is the nearest approach to mutualism, or Anarchy, that we can hope for in a lifetime. The single tax on land values is purely individualistic; it is at the same time communistic. Communism I regard as voluntary socialism—not State socialism, in which all are compelled by law to an equality. The paying of the economic rent would be entirely voluntary after a trial, inasmuch as it would be, in a sense, paying it to one's self for public uses, and if rightly expended for water works, making and lighting streets, etc., each one, as a unit in the commonwealth, would receive a great part of what he paid in as rent. The only compulsion there would be would exist the first year, at the introduction of the system. The landlords, whose principal income was from landless men for the privilege of living, might at first protest, but many would not, seeing the absolute justice of it. The elimination of the fine now imposed on industry, called a tax, would be a great relief to the producer. It would also eliminate the tariff and of course many officers.

Why not work for Anarchy along the lines of least resistance? Any law that will eliminate many other laws is an approach toward Anarchy. The single tax, labor exchange, free banking and co-operative colonies are all steps towards Anarchy. The labor exchange is especially independent of government. Single taxers are the strongest allies, and are composed of the ablest thinkers of any school of political economists, and they are doing more to emphasize the law of equal freedom and insist more on the Jeffersonian doctrine that, "those least governed are best governed." I repeat, single taxers are the ablest and best allies Anarchists have. J. C. BARNES.

I will not discuss the fallacies of the single tax with Comrade Barnes, but would like to remind him, that where there is authority used in establishing a system—no matter what system—, such authority has naturally the tendency to increase its power, as the history of all social movements shows very clearly. That the above is true is one reason why the single tax would not be, "a step toward Anarchy."

If the single taxers, "are the ablest and best allies Anarchists have," why then is the majority of them so bitterly opposed to Anarchism? Comrade Addis had a debate, last year, with the ablest advocate of the single tax on the Pacific Coast, and after Comrade Addis had shown all the fallacies of the single tax, Mr. Riggan, the Single taxer, turned red in his face, ran up and down the platform, and bursted out: "The worst government on earth would be better than none!"

No, Comrade Barnes, new and better conditions are not born painless and without convulsions, and the birth of freedom will be the most painful mankind has ever witnessed. A. I.

### What Happened When the Doors Were Locked.

The famous convention that framed the constitution of the United States was to have met on the second Monday in May, in the year 1787, at Philadelphia, but a sufficient number of delegates to form a quorum did not put in an appearance until the 25th of that month. George Washington was at once elected to preside over the deliberations. The members numbered 65, of whom 10 never attended, and 16 although in attendance, refused to sign the constitution when completed. The delegates were chosen under an act passed by the old Congress under the articles of confederation and their credentials gave them no authority to frame a constitution, but simply to devise amendments to the existing scheme of government. One of the first acts of the convention was to arrange that all its proceedings be kept profoundly secret.

The delegates showed the spirit animating them when they did this. As has been shown in the previous articles of this series, they were men who, with very few exceptions, disliked and distrusted the people, and they were afraid that if reports of their proceedings got abroad their design to create an un-democratic and illiberal government would be revealed too plainly. The propertied classes being alone represented, and the aim being to protect the rights of property from the growing power of the masses, caution was necessary, as the cat might be let out of the bag. So the journal of the convention was kept under guard night and day. No copy of any entry in the journal could be taken without special leave, and members only were allowed to inspect this awful record. Nothing spoken in the convention could "be printed or otherwise published or communicated" without special leave either.

In pretty nearly all deliberative bodies a few men insist on doing all the talking. In the present instance, Alexander Hamilton was one of these, and as there are Catholics more catholic than the pope, so was this lackey of special privilege more despotic than the privileged. He had been for some years the leader of the movement in favor of a new national government and had induced Washington to endorse the scheme. He not unnaturally looked upon the convention as his special creation. Before it met he prepared a memorandum setting forth what sort of a government was needed, and he presented this memorandum to the delegates as soon as he was given an opportunity. The president was to hold office during good behavior. He was to appoint the governors of all the states, to have an absolute veto on all laws and act as a general ruler of everybody and everything. The senate was to be composed of men chosen by electors and to hold office during good behavior. The house was to be elected by the people for three years. The judiciary was to determine everything. The militia of the states were to be absolutely controlled by the president, who could also annul any state law he pleased. When Hamilton laid his scheme before the delegates he proceeded to favor them with his opinions on various subjects. He said he felt diffident, "but it would be criminal not to come forward on a question of such magnitude." Then he said that "the British government forms the best model the world ever produced." [The doors were guarded and the journal was kept secret.] Colonel Hamilton added that "all communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second; and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they, therefore, will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy." These utterances were received with a great deal of approval. They accurately represented the views of the delegates with few exceptions. But they saw what Alexander Hamilton could not see, namely, that it was necessary to proceed with caution. To present Colonel Hamilton's scheme in all its nakedness to the states would have meant its instant rejection. So they made the President's term one of four years instead of a tenure during good behavior. They made Senators the creations of legislatures instead of electors and their terms six years instead of for life or good behavior. They went Hamilton one better in the judiciary by giving it absolute power, and they invested the general government with all the authority the Colonel suggested, excepting only a few reservations that would have made their pill too bitter to swallow. Alexander Hamilton was well pleased with the constitution when it was completed. It did not come quite up to his ideas of what a strong government ought to be, but it was as undemocratic as could reasonably be hoped and he, therefore, fought for its ratification with great energy. The series of papers known as "The Federalist" in which the constitution is defended was mostly written by him to induce the states to ratify it.

All the talkers enforced the points made to the delegates by Alexander Hamilton with the aid of arguments. John Rutledge of South Carolina wanted

representation in congress to be on a money basis and Pierce Butler warmly seconded him, for, said he, "money is strength, and every state ought to have its weight in the national council in proportion to the quantity it possesses." He illuminated this observation by observing that when a boy "he read this as one of the remarks of Julius Caesar who declared if he had but money he would find soldiers and everything necessary to carry on the war." What else Mr. Butler may have read when he was a boy does not appear for James Wilson of Pennsylvania got up and read a few remarks by Benjamin Franklin, who was a delegate but infirm through age. These remarks were that representation ought to be "in proportion to the importance of numbers and wealth in each state."

But of all the delegates who were worried on the subject of the rights of property, James Madison, of Virginia, experienced the most alarm. With the rest of his colleagues he agreed that wealth must be protected. But he was not quite sure how this was to be done. He made a long speech on the subject—he was always making long speeches to the convention—on June 28th. "The government we mean to erect," said he, "is intended to last for ages. The landed interest at present is prevalent; but in process of time when we approximate to the states and kingdoms of Europe—when the number of land holders shall be comparatively small, through the various means of trade and manufactures—will not the landed interest be overbalanced in future elections? and unless wisely provided against what will become of your government? In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of landed proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place. If these observations be just, our government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Land holders ought to have a share in the government, to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and to check the other House. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body and, to answer these purposes, they ought to have permanency and stability. Various have been the propositions, but my opinion is, the longer they continue in office, the better will these views be answered." To this Roger Sherman of Connecticut replied that the gentleman was needlessly alarmed about the land holders. A four year term for a Senator would give all the safety they needed. Then Alexander Hamilton struck in. "The difference of property is already great amongst us. Commerce and industry will still increase the disparity. Your government must meet this state of things or combinations will, in process of time, undermine your system. What was the tribunitary power of Rome? It was instituted by the plebeians, as a guard against the patricians. But was this a sufficient check? No. The only distinction which remained at Rome was, at last, between the rich and poor." To Mr. Gerry added the remark (he was from Massachusetts, where a rebellion against the sacred rights of property had lately been put down) that "demagogues are the great pests of our government and have occasioned most of our distresses." The outcome of all this exchange of ideas was that Senators hold office for six years, and, in view of the fact that today they are mostly attorneys and agents for great corporations, the rights of property are as well taken care of by them as even the framers of the constitution could desire. A side light is thrown on this subject of the protection of the rights of property by a letter written by James Madison to Jared Sparks in 1831. Sparks wanted to know how Gouverneur Morris had conducted himself as a delegate to the constitutional convention and particularly if he was in accord with Hamilton. Madison replied that Morris wanted a Senate for life "particularly," and a "government capable of protecting the rights of property against the spirit of democracy. He wished to make the weight of wealth balance that of numbers." It was this same Gouverneur Morris who wrote the final draft of the constitution.

The considerations which prevailed with the delegates in framing the clauses of the constitution relative to the judiciary, to the executive and to the general powers of the federal government varied in no respect whatever from those outlined above. Rarely has such complete consistency been manifested by a deliberative body. These fathers of the republic, these men whose devotion to democratic principles is assumed with so much unction, whose love for the rights of man has become proverbial, were, in their

own language, solicitous for the rights of property, eager to check the mob and anxious to keep the people in constant subjection to the wealthy few. What success they attained may best be inferred by the state of the nation today. If the rich are guaranteed security in the enjoyment of their vested interests, if the poor are in subjection, the framers of the constitution accomplished their ends. The results of their labors have been praised in various degrees. Some critics have ardently admired the Senate as an institution in which the highest type of political sagacity is evinced, if not in its membership, at any rate in its workings. Others have reserved their laudation for the Supreme Court of the United States as the most convincing evidence of the wisdom of the fathers. But, notwithstanding these encomiums, it may fairly be questioned if "the fathers" displayed their sagacity and acumen more unerringly than when they locked the doors upon their deliberations and placed the seal of secrecy upon the journal of their proceedings.—Twentieth Century.

### Note and Comment.

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

THE FRENCH call Debs a Communist. I protest. He might be a Communist if he understood the theory, but he is, as yet, a governmentalist, a mild authoritarian, and it is as incorrect to speak of an authoritarian being a Communist as to call him an Anarchist. Communism, as properly defined, admits of no authority whatever, for where one has any authority he is no longer on an equal footing with those out of authority. I would be glad to know that Debs is a Communist, but he is not.

Lots of women wear bloomers, divided skirts or breeches while riding a wheel, but Oh, how few have the courage to wear them at any other time, and yet they know how much more convenient they are, but custom holds them as in a prison. Is it not time for an Association for Emancipation from Foolish Customs? Some of The Firebrand readers are active members of said Association. An extract from a letter of one of them appears in this issue of The Firebrand. Let us hear from others.

NAMES are gradually coming in to be placed on our correspondence list. In order to make it thoroughly practical no names will be sent to correspondents until this list is closed, immediately after which the list will be sent to the address of everyone whose name appears on the list. The first list will close on Oct. 5th, so those who desire the names of those desiring radical correspondents should send in their names and addresses now. The list is sadly lacking in names of women. Are all of our sisters overrun with correspondence? If not, don't hesitate but send in your name to be placed on our list.

A MEMBER of the Association for Emancipation from Foolish Customs writes: "My bloomers created a big sensation in Winnemucca. At Ashland everybody stared and grinned, but in Winnemucca I had gone on the street but a little way when I heard a man in a place of business of some sort, ejaculate something, I couldn't understand what, and make for the door. He laughed and called to some one across the street, then it was, "Ha! ha! ha!" on both sides of the street by a number of men. I went on about my business, NEITHER SEEING NOR HEARING. I meant to have gone back on another street, for I wished to see the town, but for fear they would think they had scared me out, I went back as I came, and did it again the next day, too! Dr. Jones backs me up in my style of dressing and wished to introduce the publisher of the town paper to me, but the young man hadn't the courage to undergo it! I went to the depot one day, (a train is quite a curiosity, you know). Only a few saw me go in, but they told others, evidently, for occasionally a man would come and peek into a window. If he saw me looking at him he would dodge back! A train load of Christian Endeavorers stopped for some time. Notice of the "show" was passed around. One, two or three of the travelers would come into the room, walk to the stove, turn about face, look out of the corners of their eyes at me

and go on out to finish their promenades. After I had all I wanted of that, I went out and gave everybody an opportunity to see bloomers. Since my return, I have been laughed at in both Lake City, and Cedarville by children, but I am so accustomed to the dress that I feel indifferent now to ridicule. I have been wearing knee bloomers for a long time. I know of nothing that would induce me to wear skirts again. There may be some better dress than bloomers, but I see so many faults in men's clothing that I do not care to adopt them unless I can modify them to suit me, and I am no situated so that I can do that."

H. A.

A NEW YORK correspondent sends us a sad account of the starving to death of a girl, an orphan out of work, in that city recently, and adds: "The case of poor Mamie Mc Carthy is only one among thousands. But what is the cause of all this poverty? I would say private property and government. Yet the "World" upholds them and denounces Anarchy and Communism. I do not think any fair minded person considers the existing chaos of capitalist society as a condition of order which enables its members to pursue liberty and happiness."

WE have been receiving long articles on matters of small importance to the propaganda, some of a purely personal nature, and it may as well be understood, that with our limited space we cannot publish them. Not alone because "we" say so, but because it would be unfair to the supporters of the paper, who are interested in propaganda and not in personal criticism. Correspondents would not only save the editors much work and worry, but would best serve the cause in all respects, by observing the following common-sense instruction. Always compare the importance of the matter to be discussed with the limited space at our command. Don't imagine that because a matter is of interest to you it must of necessity be to all. We could serve many such special interests, if you would boil them down to the fewest possible words. It is not words, but sense, that makes an article appear well in print. The test we apply to all articles sent us for publication is, "Is it valuable for the propaganda?" If yes, and well written, we can generally handle it even if long, but the short article, other things being equal, always stands the best show. The importance of the matter discussed should determine the amount of space given it.

J. H. M.

### Things and Thoughts.

It sometimes seems to me strange how some editors, who for a time stand far in advance of the general run of people, will get stalled till the bulk of the thinking element catches up with and outstrips them. This thought was forced upon my mind by several recent issues of the Cleveland Citizen. In the issue of Aug. 7th, for instance, appears an editorial fired at the Equitist, a single-tax paper. The Citizen calls it a "single-tax Anarchist organ." Now, if the Citizen will tell us how, under Anarchy, a single-tax or any other tax can be levied and collected we may be able to understand what it means by "single-tax Anarchist."

The Citizen says the Equitist has a "column of analytical speculation that is typically anarchistic and chaotic as well." It can't be more chaotic than the Citizen editorial, which goes on to say: "The Anarchists and Single-taxers defend private property in land. . . . The Citizen editor knew very well when he penned that item that he was lying. He is not quite so ignorant of economic beliefs as not to know that Anarchists do not believe in private property in land.

The trouble with the paper mentioned is that it has strayed into the DeLeon fold and adopted the DeLeon disregard for facts. I recently notified the publishers that, as my subscription had expired, I did not care to renew, as it was getting too free with denunciations of all who don't fly the S. L. P. banner. The manager "deviated from his usual custom of not answering discontinuance notices" to mail me a wail, which wound up with the characteristic S. L. P. slogan, "Boodle," though I was unable to determine whom he charged with boodling. Now that the New York Hebrews have quit the S. L. P. in a lump, that organization will have to hire a crowd of clackers to yell "boodle" or it will get lost in the crush.

Then, the manager, to prove the quality of his Socialism, enclosed a letter he had received from F. Adams, editor of the New Time and author of "President John Smith," the inane and brainless "reform" book. I'd like to know where Adams got his first idea of Socialism. Certainly, since he wrote about his addled "President." At all events, I decline to recognize F. U. Adams as authority on anything but cheap fakirism. He understands how to work that game very well. The letter to the Citizen is a splendid specimen of fakirism, and it is still in my possession. And as long as the Citizen follows the lead of the arch-fakirs, DeLeon and Prescott, it should quit "exposing" other fakirs.

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

Correspondence.

G. F. CARNAHAN, Hempstead, Tex.:—I have received samples of your valuable paper, The Firebrand. It is the first Anarchist paper I have ever seen, and it certainly has changed my idea of Anarchism.

N. NELSON, Waterville, Wash.:—I like The Firebrand very much and I admire the noble souls, who publish it. The Firebrand is doing good work. It has burned away some cobwebs around my own mind. I was a populist up to the time I began reading The Firebrand, but I shall not sign the slave contract any more. The truth is found to force its way onward, as sure as this world is progressing and the average human being is a truthseeker.

J. L. TRUITT, Adin, Cal.:—The Firebrand has been coming to me regularly. I am sorry I have not been able to do more for a paper so full of common sense. I am convinced that if there is any class of people, which is absolutely right as to government it is the Anarchists, and Henry Addis, and either of many others I could mention, can answer to my satisfaction any objection to Anarchy. It seems that we have a very poor way of helping ourselves judging from the way our poor comrades have been treated in Spain, but, if I had the power, I would very soon have all the Anarchists, the Socialists and other good people out of Spain. The balance would very soon be playing on golden harps; for not one should ever be permitted to see the other country, where the Christians say Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and the Anarchists dwell.

MICHAEL COLE, Philadelphia, Pa.:—I send you 3 numbers of Vol. II, 27-30-44 - which are all I have of the numbers wanted. When I am done reading them, I give them to my friends, in order to convert them. I am in arrears for my subscription because I am out of work, but when I get work, I will pay up and some to spare. I am a new convert of a year's standing, through reading The Firebrand and hearing Comrade John Turner, of England, in Philadelphia in the summer of 1896. I recognise in Anarchy, Free Love the only free state of society—absolute individual liberty. I have thrown my citizenship support of government away. I have been a slave to the above long enough. Thanks to The Firebrand for opening my eyes.

J. E. TOWNSEND, Electra, Fla.:—Some one has kindly remembered Comrade T. F. Burns by sending him a bundle of Firebrands, the contents of which are being immensely enjoyed by us. In your special announcement, we find new life and encouragement for our little group. Neither have we organization, constitution, by-laws or rules to whip us into line. We are pleased beyond expression to see so much proof as to what can and is being done without a boss or master, as the publication of your excellent educator The Firebrand is. We feel we must always have it with us. Though we are money infidels, if you will put us on your subscription list, we will secure enough to remit for the first year in the very near future. We are trying to solve the problem of how to live without surrendering a portion of our products to the four hundred. We do not wish to exchange with them for their money, bonds and stocks, because we can not eat or wear them.

We wish we were near you; that we might assist you by filling your store house with our surplus product. So far we find our little commune both pleasing and agreeable, every one does his very best for all concerned. Though we are but three, He, She and It, we hope soon to be able to have other congenial friends join us. We also hope by fall to be able to

induce the community at large to organize a branch of the Labor Exchange, through which we hope to be able to dispose of our products direct to the consumer, receiving a remunerative portion of theirs in return.

In your issue of April fourth, in the comments of A. I., on the note in favor of the L. E. by A. L. W., you give the L. E. a very black eye when he or she says: "all the L. E. organizations have some excuse for refusing their own means of exchange."

We cannot help but object to the "ALL." Is it possible that within that roll of seven dollars you have a representative deposit check from ALL the L. E. organizations? If not why should you use the word "all"? Is not the principle upon which the L. E. is based right, just and equitable? And is it not in its infancy, just taking its first step? And are not these organizations made up of men and women, who are honest and in earnest in doing a grand and noble work in setting an object lesson to the blind, hoodwinked and "bunked" masses to a more just and equitable manner of distribution of their product, worthy of some consideration?—And do you not think, if you would be willing to accept such products as may be on deposit at some of the L. E., now indebted to you, that they would willingly redeem those checks now? We recognize your right to complain against any injustice, and it will cause us to investigate more fully, yet we cannot help but think you might have said too much. And we appeal to you in the name of justice to be more generous to this and all good movements, men and women, who are trying to do something to uplift and enlighten the suffering millions.

Correspondents Wanted.

Dear Comrades: The Firebrand was sent to my address beginning with No 115, until about a month ago. Intended communicating sooner, but had not the legal tender to pay for subscription, although I would be very glad to get the paper. It comes near my ideal as a radical publication. Would like to contribute occasionally. Freedom of thought and expression are necessary to development. Are you working collectively as a group? Do you know of any comrades wishing to join and help establish a community, having Liberty for its highest aim? If so, will you kindly put me in line with them, that we may communicate ideas. CHAS. HOPKINSON, Fulton, Lewis Co., Wash.

To the above we would say: We are working collectively but mutually and on individual initiative. Any of the comrades desiring to form a group or community with Liberty as its highest aim should communicate with Comrade Hopkinson. Perhaps the Anarchists can have Washington honeycombed with groups before Deb's Social Democracy gets control.

Propaganda Tour.

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

- Must we become Angels to Live in an Anarchist Society?
- Why I am an Anarchist-Communist. The Aim of Humanity.
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- Marriage.
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- 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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