

THE FIREBRAND

For the Burning Away of the Cobwebs of Ignorance and Superstition.

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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.

LIVING GHOSTS.

Not as ghost of Moloch dead,
But as ghost of Moloch living,
Speaks the State in accents dread,
Stone instead of lifebread giving.
Shall we falter, cringe and kneel
Neath its heavy iron heel?
On, on! drink unto the lees!
Martyrs led the way with pride,
Conquering death e'en when they died:
Parsons, Fisher, Engel, Spies!

O'er the graves of Waldheim's dead
When the spotless snow is falling,
Glare's above them Law's dread head
Timid souls with fear appalling.
See! take hope! to courage cling—
Yonder rises Louis Lingg!
On, on! spread on the breeze
The red flag, beneath whose fold
Stand the souls of leaders bold:
Parsons, Fisher, Engel, Spies!

Moloch! Christ! Mohamed! State!
Sword and fagot, cell and gallows!
Hath mankind no higher fate
Than what grim oppression hallows?
Up against the foulsome thing;
Call to aid the ghost of Lingg!
On, on! mankind dimly sees,
Neath the banner of the poor,
Opening wide bright Freedom's door;
Parsons, Fisher, Engel, Spies!
—[Dyer D. Lum.

The indigent unemployed is hedged about in a literal hell. He can't live and he can't die. He must not beg and he must not steal. Society, in its laws, has created a hell of far greater punishment for the unemployed indigent than the hell of fire and brim stone, and, strange to say, churches are far busier trying to save men from a hell that is problematical than from the hell that is ever present for some people, and from which every man, woman and child could be saved.—[Agitator, Garnett, Kansas.

Philosophy, wisdom, and liberty support each other; he who will not reason is a bigot; he who cannot is a fool; and he who dares not is a slave.—[Academical Question.

ANARCHISM.

THE Anarchists of to-day have entered into a war of utter destruction of the God idea. This fact is not to be considered of little importance, when this negation characterises the whole Anarchism.

Ludwig Feuerbach, the German philosopher, investigated the cause of the belief in God, and arrives at the following result:

"The conception of deity is nothing else than the reflex of the evolution of man itself. The ideas of God and service to God are conceptions which have flown out of the existence of mankind. In this way have they made themselves out of an idea, which originated within themselves, a master, a God; God was therefore not a power which stood apart from man. God was a conception."

Through this conception mankind is ruled; it is his master who exploits him. That much ascertained, the warfare between belief and unbelief came about. But it did not stop there. Once the independence of man from supernatural powers declared, the disciples of Feuerbach proceeded to investigate what the others might be which govern mankind.

We find then property, society and the state. We will not name any more since we will only consider these three in this article.

What is society? It is the association of many considered as an unity. But this unity is only a conception, born in the heads of the individuals. There is not a unity as long as every individual has a brain of its own to think, and a body to execute that which they have thought. Society is a fiction, a conception, but which is false. Society does nothing, thinks nothing, wills nothing,—is nothing. The individual alone thinks, does and is. Who therefore wants to be free, emancipate himself from the society idea, also from the God idea, and take only the individual into consideration, that is the I.

What is the state? The fiction society brought into stable form. The same error. In the end it is nothing else but a union of a few individuals to exploit the many. The form of the government shows the basis from which it sprung,—God in the beginning, and later on the people. The expression "people" is a fiction. In the beginning an imagined unity of rich people, in the fu-

ture of all individuals. The state shall then serve to satisfy the needs of all individuals: the commonwealth. Which is again an error.

What is property? It is where the inalienable is considered as alienable, the same as formerly God was put above man. Property received a definition when men gave it one. It then received the definition that property rules man; in this sense that every one should get as much as possible of the necessities of life, and be compelled through it to all sorts of deeds which he would not otherwise do. Property can be a means to sustain life, to enjoy much, to gain power, to get more property.

Since men have seen that property is a fiction and that through it and similar ideas man has been exploited, therefore must he make himself free from all such ideas, and the individual only is sovereign, absolute master of himself.

This is the most consequent Individualism. But it is a mistake to think that Anarchism is based on private property.

It is the negation of property what makes the Anarchists. The question is only this: do I desire to live? And if so, how will I live? In constant strife with all, or in peace with all, by making agreements with others with whom I come in contact?

I desire the latter, and agree that so many as are in contact with each other work with each other, and divide the product of their labor.

This will not be done by certain general rules, be they communistic, collectivistic or otherwise. It will depend on the desires of the individuals working together.—[J. v. A., in the Anarchist of Sappemeer, Holland.

Translated for THE FIREBRAND by

E. SLABS.

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TO-DAY.

Of mills of the gods or God, I am sure I
nothing know—
Nothing of their grinding—be it fast or
slow,—
But I know of mills that ARE grinding—
that never stop at all—
That are fed with men and women—and
grind exceeding small.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

RAVACHOL.

At the time of the execution of Ravachol, he was described by the plutocratic press as wild, bloodthirsty—a hyena in human form. Though late, it is not too late to do justice to the memory of the man, and the following is published to give our readers an idea of the sort of being it requires to take human life, well knowing that in so doing he gave his own, as a means of propagating an idea:

I have been requested by the comrades of the Torch to contribute some recollections of Ravachol, and as many do not understand the motives that prompted him to become such a thorn in the side of our bourgeois society, it may not be amiss for me, who for a time (alas, too short) was his personal friend, to give a short sketch of the man, and the impression he made upon me. This will help to remove misunderstanding, as but few comrades knew Ravachol, and have therefore formed their conception of him from the distorted and spiteful caricatures of the bourgeois press.

It was while lecturing in the east of France in 1889 that I first came across Ravachol, but it was not till a year later, when the exigencies of the struggle brought us together again, that we became closely acquainted and personal friends.

There are many men whose real character is so shrouded that a limited knowledge gives you a very different idea of them to what you acquire on closer acquaintance.

Such our Comrade.

On the surface he appeared cold and distant, his words were few and short, movements brusque, and, like many of us, especially those who have but a limited education, he found it very difficult to express his thoughts.

The first thing that arrested one's attention was the expression of his face. Never have I seen a face which showed more plainly that misery had long been its familiar; even when he laughed the sound would die away in melancholy sadness which time can never efface from my memory.

This cold and austere exterior was but a cloak which seemed to have grown round him so as to shield a nature which could not express a brutal world its noble aspirations; beneath it there beat a heart whose every pulsation was for his fellow creatures in distress,—a sincerity which never took into consideration the sufferings he had to endure, nor the difficulties in the path, for, impregnable in the fortress of his convictions, he always pressed forward for their realization, never seeming happy unless he were doing something for his cause.

His was a mind partaking of a woman's in sensitiveness, ever yearning for sympathy, yet so easily shocked that it recoiled from contact with others unless they were of a similar nature, when he would pour into their listening ear the sad story of the wrongs of to-day, or else inspire them by a recital of the hopes of the morrow.

From him have I heard that his boyhood was devoid of all those things that tend to make such years one day of gladness. For him there were no "happy days of childhood". Without a father to shield him from the monster of want, at seven years of age he was compelled to leave his widowed mother's care to enable him to tend sheep for a farmer, "and oft", he told me, "have I felt the keen pangs of hunger, and been benumbed by the winter blast, as alone at night I have tended sheep on the mountains." When a little older his mother placed him in a dye-works, where also the natural longings of boyhood were again and again dyed in the vat of misery in the weary struggle to fill an oft-empty cupboard, and to give a younger brother a better start in life.

Such was his debut in this world of needless strife, such his first lesson in misery; is it to be wondered at that civilized Savagedom having treated him so should have driven beneath the surface the true impulses of his nature, and made him in after-life the defender of the poor and oppressed, and fired him with that warmth of purpose that prompted him to do all he could to bring about a dissolution of this society, and made of him one of the most prominent figures in the Anarchist movement.

Previous to being a Socialist his sympathetic nature and desire for the well-being of his fellows drew him into the religious vortex, in which his yearnings found an echo in the sentimentalism of a better life in another world, which he tried to ensure enthusiasm and sincerity worth of a devotee.

Seeing the possibility of a better world here, through hearing an Anarchist speak he transferred his faith in the heaven above to the possibility of procuring one here, and henceforth became a rebel against the society of to-day, and an enthusiastic worker for the society of the future.

Too enthusiastic to be politic, and guided by the intensity of his feelings, he openly declared war against every injustice.

Thrown out of employment, and boycotted by the masters of St. Etienne, too proud to beg, too sensitive to accept help from others, he dragged out a miserable existence of misery and want.

These months of enforced idleness and starvation were the spur that prompted him to forge the gigantic weapons with which he afterwards attacked society.

Made desperate by his sufferings, and driven into the corner by want, he turned rebel, and the more he suffered the more deadly grew the blows that he struck at the oppressors. Throwing aside his scruples of "honesty", and subduing his prejudices, he determined to devote his life to the overthrow of society. He left our group and was one of the first to carry out the tactic of individual action, carrying our flag into the very citadel of the enemy, asserting the right to live and to defend a weaker brother.

In the smuggling of contraband goods he

robbed the government. By turning poacher he attacked private property. He swindled the swindling revenue by making base coin; and robbed the robber classes by taking from them by stealth what they had stolen by law.

Many are the comrades who escaped prison by his help. Many are the families that he has sustained during the imprisonment of the husband or father. He it was who oft gave an impetus to the educational propaganda by using the bourgeois' money to enlighten their slaves. By his audacity he struck terror into the hearts of the classes, and by carrying the battle into the ranks of the enemy he stirred many comrades to fight, and by his numberless attacks on the classes he showed inability to frustrate our plans and the helplessness of its legal defenders. When discovered and compelled to run away, he shortly returned, and, arrested by the police, he escaped from the legal grasp by the aid of comrades.

Those who speak disparagingly of Ravachol know not the man, those who would repudiate him have no idea of the nobleness of his nature. I remember walking with him during the winter of 1890 in one of the poorer districts of Lyons, when suddenly stopping he picked up a child, four or five years of age, that, ragged, shoeless and hatless was crying in the gutter. Staining it to his breast and with multitudinous kisses he warmed and soothed the little creature, and with tears in his eyes and voice affected by his emotion exclaimed: "Don't you think we are justified in the use of any means to destroy a society that compels its children to go ragged, shoeless hungry like this?" So overcome was he that he walked the remainder of the journey absorbed in thought.

A man who is moved by the sobs of helpless children, whose heart bleeds for the misery of his fellows, who repudiated orthodox moral because they drive countless numbers into the abyss of despair, is not a brutal character.

When such a man rises in his indignation and strikes (maybe blindly) at the cause of such misery, when he gives up everything that tends to his present comfort that he may hasten the dawn of the day

"When man to man the world o'er

Shall brothers be"

he is not a criminal, even though, to bring nearer that day, he commits deeds which are repulsive to our better nature.—[Gustave Mollet, in the Torch, London.

CLIPPINGS AND COMMENTS.

Justice Brown, of the United States Supreme Court, in a recent address to the Yale law students, said in part:

"There are certain perils which menace the immediate future of the country and even threaten the stability of its institution. The most prominent of these are municipal corruption, corporate greed, and the tyranny of labor. Bribery and corruption are so universal as to threaten the very structure of society. Universal suffrage, which it was confidently supposed would inure to the benefit of the poor man, is so skillfully manipulated as to rivet his chains, and secure to the rich man a predominance in politics he has never enjoyed under a restricted system. Probably in no country in the world is the influence of wealth more potent than in this, and in no period of our history has it been more powerful than now.

"Mobs are never logical, and are prone to seize upon pretexts rather than upon reasons, to wreak their vengeance upon whole classes of society. There was probably never a flimsier excuse for a great riot than that given for the sympathetic strike of last summer, but back of it were substantial grievances to which the conscience of the citizens seems to have been finally awakened. If wealth will not respect the rules of common honesty in the use of its power it will have no reason to expect moderation or discretion on the part of those who resist its encroachments."

Universal suffrage, so far from being a source of security to the poor man or preventing the tyranny of wealth, is simply an excuse for more reckless encroachment. If the poor man complains of unjust conditions, the reply is that he has the ballot—"the people govern." But when he has deposited his ballot he has, figuratively speaking, signed his own death warrant; he has simply placed in the hands of another the power to crush him. The remedy for the crushing process is, of course, another ballot—that is, a fresh turn of the screw!

If mobs are illogical, how far beyond this ballot-schooling, this teaching of plausible falsehood by judges and other professional governors, shall we seek for the cause? The fact that workers must resort to force for protection is a flat contradiction of this false political teaching, whether or not either teachers or taught are sufficiently logical to perceive it.

The German Socialist Congress opened at Breslau on the 7th inst. Among the motions which the congress will have to consider are a large number dealing with the agrarian program. Requests are also to be considered that the Socialists make good their claim to be represented on the presidential bench of the Imperial Diet; that they should bring in annually a motion for the introduction of an eight hour day and a minimum wage; that they shall demand State prohibition of wet nurses, in view of the advantages of sterilized milk, and that party officials and editors who are members of the Reichstag and receive a salary of 3000 marks and more shall not be paid for their parliamentary service.—[Ex.]

There was a time—before the leaders of the Social Democrats were prominent members of the Reichstag—when they very logically proved that under the present system all reforms are but palliative, and that the only excuse for taking part in parliament was the opportunity to vote No on all propositions, thereby entering their protest against the present system and all palliative measures. But when elected they could not resist the temptation to take part in the discussions. Compromising began then and there, and today the "eight hour day", "salaries" and "wet nurses" are the most important questions to consider. What next? A. I.

The judges of the Philadelphia, Pa., Court of Common Pleas recently donned gowns to "increase their dignity". This is only one instance of a current movement to substitute the form for the substance of government. A government which is dignified with brass buttons, horsehair and other fiddle-faddles has exactly the same claims to be respected by sensible citizens as a milliner's dummy has to be loved by a man in search of a wife.—[Coast Seaman's Journal.]

Rather, this is but an incident in the "progress" of government toward absolutism. The "substance" of government always accompanies the form thereof, and the more formal the more

substantial is it. And both form and substance increase as rapidly as the people are sufficiently subjugated to submit. It is natural evolution, and history fails to point an exception. M.

PEOPLE in Madison county, Ky., who have paid their taxes are entitled to be married free by the sheriff.—[Ex.]

If the politicians are not cautious they may have the sky-pilots arrayed against them, without whose assistance they would be in a sad plight. I should not be surprised to hear of a ministerial bull against tax-paying. M.

OUR friends from the peoples party did not seem very much concerned when comrade Isaak was arrested for speaking on the streets; he was an Anarchist you know, and the infringement on the right of free speech was of no importance to these reformers. But now a prominent populist agitator, Mrs. Hobart, has received orders from the police to discontinue her meetings on the streets. That, of course, is a horse of a different color, and we may expect a loud protest from the reform element in this city.

Brethern, lend me your ear and let me whisper you a secret: In the eyes of the police all who try in any way whatever to change existing conditions are considered Anarchists, and therefore treated alike. See. E. S.

THE ballot up to date has been a failure.—[Peoples Party Post.]

And will be in the future, brother. E. S.

ARE the swarming corporations greedy enough and so blind that they will goad the people into desperation? Indeed they are that devilish. They have committed monstrous crimes to get what they have and will not give up as long as they can hire anybody to fight for them.—[P. P. Post.]

No, they will not "give up" as long as we have a government of any form whatever. The government is the monster that defends the rich and oppresses the poor. A. I.

THE fact that the freeborn American men, women and children are scrambling with the Chinese, Japanese and dagoes for an opportunity to pick hops at a mere pittance is evidence that the jig is up with free born Americans. The poverty of the poor is the opportunity of the rich. The people have found republics and constitutions are no more enduring now than they were 2000 years ago. There would be some hope if the people would resolve they are slaves; they might then decide to free themselves. But instead they nurse Freedom, and hope and—starve.—[P. P. Post.]

Yes, they will hope and starve until they find out that "honest legislators," or even the "Initiative and Referendum" will not better their miserable condition. And when reform papers, like the Post, are advocating such measurements to attain liberty and equality, their conception of freedom is very limited and have no reason to complain about the subservience of the people. A. I.

PARTY politics are to some people, what change is to the hod-carrier, he shifts hod from one shoulder to the other, a temporary but not a genuine relief.—Dr. MAX NORDAU.

A GOOD LESSON FOR REFORMERS.

THOUGH through the press and by private conversation, men are perpetually reminded that when it has ceased to wield the new broom, each deputy governing power tends to become either a king stork that does mischief, or a king log that does nothing; yet more deputy governing powers are asked for with unwavering faith. While the unwisdom of officialism is daily illustrated, the argument for each proposed new department sets out with the postulate that officials will act wisely. After endless comments on the confusion and apathy and delay of Government offices, other Government offices are advocated. After ceaseless ridicule of red-tape, the petition is for more red-tape. Daily we castigate the political idol with a hundred pens, and daily pray to it with a thousand tongues.—[HERBERT SPENCER.]

THE CRISPAN DICTATORSHIP.

THE government of Francesco Crispi has sent the country back sixty years. By him and through him all the old instruments of torture are in use. Spies fill the cities, detectives scour the fields informers listen to speech, public and private; literary clubs and co-operative societies are arbitrary dissolved; packed juries condemn, venal judges sentence; military courts imprison civilians; civil courts judge homicidal officers; time-serving prefects deny the franchise to all independent thinkers and manipulate the electoral lists to suit their governments; lads as they come singing through the country lanes are arrested if the song is of liberty; little children writing on town wall are imprisoned for forty eight days. There is a reign of terror from Alps to Etna, the police, armed to the teeth, swarm everywhere, and the prisons are crowded with innocent citizens. The country has gone back to the darkest and worse days of Austrian and Papal tyranny, and the name of the tyrant is ostensibly Humbert of Savoy, in reality Francesco Crispi.—Ouida.

ANARCHISTS DO NOT HANDLE IT.

"Government is the tool, to obtain which avarice and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that one strikes and hits, and calls it governing. We shall constantly be struck and wounded, let who will wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself.—Dr. S. Englander.

It is all very well so long as you can delude men with your artificial land laws; but to investigate them scientifically you must drag out the skeleton and confront the truth that land is public property and capitalism is robbery.—BLACKSTONE.

The Letter-Box.

S. P., Stoughton, Mass.—The pamphlets ordered have been sent.

R. S., Chicago, Ill.—No, I am of a different opinion. I say, with Comrade Morris, associate, agitate, educate. We cannot organize without constitutions, by-laws, etc., thus placing a stumbling block in the way of progress. When all the producers have the same end in view they will stand shoulder to shoulder in the battle for liberty. It is ridiculous for Anarchists to talk about organizing under a radical plan or constitution. A. I.

F. E., Mystic, Ia.—Lack of time prevented my answering the questions (Mr. Holmes') to which you refer. I for my part never thought I possessed the whole truth when a Social Democrat; on the contrary, I always felt that my arguments had weak points, and never fought the Anarchists. In fact, I always thought they had the same end in view, but differed in tactics. And when an Anarchist offered me literature I did not decline, and had hardly time to sleep in my haste to read. The testimony of the comrades here is in the same line; so you see "intolerance" is unknown to us. A. I.

R. T. D., Columbia City, Wash.—Your article, "Friendship of Woman," is unsuited to the columns of a radical paper;—send it to the "Young Ladies Journal," or some other paper conducted on orthodox and sentimental lines. I might point out to you the fact that the lack of "muscular power," the larger "feeling and sensibility"—otherwise nervousness—and the rest of the differences between men and women, upon which you lay so much stress, are due wholly to the difference in their lives and habits, did time and space permit. Also, that the use of the word "endowed," implies an endower, otherwise, a creator or designer, which is the old argument that woman was created for a special sphere, which the priest, as a representative of the designer, undertakes to outline. Again, woman's "natural protector" has so often been proven not to exist that we wouldn't think of inflicting it upon our intelligent readers. I have only reached the bottom of the first page of your manuscript, but really I can't go on. M.

O. K., New York City.—In the middle of September we received \$1.00, and THE FIREBRAND was ordered to Station A. Your address is changed now. We accept payments in any form.

R. R., Oregon City.—Mrs. Squire is agitating the native intellect in the towns along the line of the Southern Pacific R. R., on the tour through to Los Angeles.

DER ARME TEUFEL.—You confounded Miriam Daniell with Viroqua Daniels; the latter is a farmers daughter and lives in the country.

S. P., Muscatine, Iowa.—"Anarchism is objectionable because it rejects the marriage institution." And you claim to be a "radical Socialist"? Listen what John Stuart Mill has to say about this "sacred" institution—who often is quoted by the reformers. He says:

"The case of two convicts, identical in realization, never seem to be doing something for

opinions and purposes, between whom exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them, so that each can enjoy the pleasure of looking up to the other, and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and of being led in the path of development, I will not attempt to describe—to those who can conceive it there is no need, to those who cannot, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinions, customs and institutions which favor any other notion of it, or turn the conceptions or aspirations connected with it into any other direction, by whatever pretenses they may be colored, are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and cultivation."

"Equal justice" can only exist in a society of unlimited freedom, and that is all Anarchists are trying to attain. And if the relationship between you and your wife is of such a character as described above, which I doubt very much, is it because your marriage was "sanctified" by the law or church? A. I.

HUMAN NATURE.

"Equitable society demands nothing impossible of humanity. It is human intercourse, only, that has to be scientifically regulated, and not human nature that requires (as priests tell us) to be regenerated. If human nature has any defect, it is that in the masses it is too good, too confiding, too generous—a knowledge of which weakness has enabled the cunning and unscrupulous few to tyrannise over and enslave the simple and credulous many."—(The Editor of Burke's "Vindication." 1859.)

"Wherever there is great property there is great inequality. For one very rich man there must be at least five-hundred poor, and the affluence of the few supposes the indigence of the many."—(Adam Smith.)

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