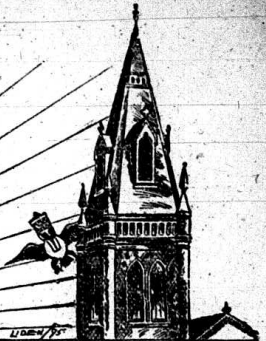
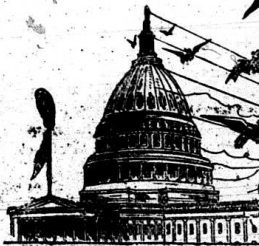


The Firebrand

THE ORGAN OF THE CONGRESS OF IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION.



An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order in the absence of a direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

Marseillaise.

Ye workmen, awake to glory,
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise;
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries—
Behold their tears and hear their cries.
Shall hateful tyrants' mischief breeding
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

CHORUS.—To arms, to arms, ye brave!
Th' avenging sword unsheath.
March on, march on,
All hearts resolved
On victory or death!
March on, march on,
All hearts resolved
On victory or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare,
Their thirst of gold and power unbounded,
To mete and vend the light and air—
To mete and vend the light and air.
Like beasts of burden would they load us,
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;
But man is man, and who is more?
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

O Liberty! can men resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts and bars confine thee?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.

—The White Slave.

Liberty and Property.

I.

In the old days of the Melbourne Anarchists a fierce discussion raged on the subject of liberty and property. The so called Individualists strenuously maintained that liberty was property and property was liberty. The Communists, on the other hand, thought that authority was property, and property was authority. The Individualists admitted that "legal" property was authority, because it violated their own idea of property. By "legal" property they meant the privilege of holding land idle, of acquiring rent, profit, and interest, and also of having the sole or any right to the use of products not made by the proprietor, and for which products he had not paid an exact equivalent in labor value. Their conception of property was, that every person had the sole right to his own products till it pleased him to exchange them, when he had the right to receive and own similarly an equivalent in labor value, neither more nor less. If he obtained more, it could only be at the expense of somebody else's property; if less, his own property suffered; but the right of property could not be impaired by these

violations of its principle, namely that every man ought to possess, exclusively, the precise amount he produced, and that nobody ought to have any products to a larger amount than he had produced. On this account it was gravely asserted that the man who consumed another's products without having given an acceptable equivalent, became the "property", himself, of the man whose products he had consumed. To day the old battle is being fought over again on other soil and by other combatants, through the columns of The Firebrand.

The idea of product-property is in its essence the same as that of "legal" property; namely, the denial that any other than one particular person can morally make use of certain things except as that one particular person permits. The only difference between the so-called Individualists and the upholders of legal property is as to how ownership arises and how it can be transferred.

The Anarchist-Communist idea is no property. We claim simple freedom, without privilege and subject to no limitation. And we should certainly be limiting our freedom of judgment and of action by admitting any principle to take precedence of the unhampered operation of the will, as aroused by needs and opportunities, in determining by whom and under what conditions any things whatever shall be used.

We desire to satisfy our own needs. We also desire (because we need each other to be happy) to passively respect each others' needs, and to actively assist towards the satisfaction of them. Accordingly, our conduct, actuated by free will—by will which is not hypnotised with a fetish of any kind—will be such as can best combine these ends in the particular circumstances before us.

According to our view of the case, the only valid reason, to me, for me to respect your wants or treat you with any consideration at all, is the fact that I want to do so. That fact may exist, or it may not. Where it does not exist there can be no social relation between us; unless it is absent simply by my ignorance of your existence, we are at war, or in a condition that will naturally become war as soon as the very least of my wants conflicts with yours. If, however the fact exists, and is moreover reciprocal, then we are capable of living in a condition of society. In order to do so, it is only necessary for us to know each other's needs as well as our own, to the extent that our doings and conduct can affect them, and for us to act, whether singly or jointly, according as circumstances give fitness and opportunity, in the way that will bring about the greatest amount of satisfaction to all concerned. Now, that we do wish each other to have pleasure and not pain is the fact in most cases, and it is upon this that the whole of morality turns. We cannot admit any principle to limit our conduct to peace where circumstances incline us to war, or to restrict our action in warfare. That would be to admit that our conduct should be actuated by something different from our own welfare. It would be suicidal. Moral questions arise solely where a portion of our own welfare consists in the satis-

faction of a desire for the welfare of others. A man feels that he has done wrong when the pain he experiences in recognising that he has hurt another by his conduct, outweighs the pleasure he has got or the pain he has avoided by the same conduct.

From this it follows that we cannot accept any principle which would fix our relation towards individuals as individuals apart from the question of our feelings towards them. We cannot concede that we ought to base our conduct upon the needs of those whose needs do not arouse our sympathy. That would be to deny ourselves the liberty of acting according—in the fullest sense—to our own needs.

Equally, in our relations with those who form society with us (which is a matter of actual mutual attitude and not of outward declaration) we aim at the satisfaction of our needs, and of each other's needs because their satisfaction is something we need. There is no need on my part to know that I have the exclusive use of products equal to the amount of my production, and that you have the exclusive use of products equal to the amount of your production. But I do need that my wants of activity, of leisure, of consumption, of sentiment, etc., and yours also, have the fullest, the most consistent, the most harmonious satisfaction. Therefore, we cannot see any more rational and suitable consideration to serve as the basis of our relation with others in society, than the direct consideration of needs and action with a view to their satisfaction. We consider it absurd to say "every one will limit himself in the first instance to so much (say the equivalent of his production) and when this end has been attained, those who like to alter the result for a better all round satisfaction can do so by mutual arrangement. In point of fact, the direct adjustment in view of needs cannot well result otherwise than in the greater number of people having according to their production. The departures from every average are necessarily of equal amount in both directions; therefore, the people whose needs of productive exercise are greater, in proportion to their needs of consumption, than is the case with average persons, must exactly set off those whose needs of consumption are in an unusually large proportion to their needs of productive exercise, and the average person must have in a broad and general way, if not from moment to moment, exactly according to his works by reason of each having according to his needs. But since this is so, it is unnecessary to aim at establishing the result "each according to his works" by limiting the right of each to the measure of his production, even were the general conformity of possession to production the end in view, which it is not—the fact that you produced something creates no motive in my mind for abstaining from consuming it, but the fact that you need it may be such a motive even if you did not produce the thing, whilst if you need it and produced it in view of that need, that knowledge on my part may add the motive of not disappointing you of the satisfaction you are relying on; but it is always your need in some form which

inspires me with the social desire to modify my conduct thus. Were production itself a motive for abstaining from goods the moral sentiment would require a dead man's possessions to be left untouched for ever. And it is not only unnecessary to adopt a system of limiting the economic rights of the individual—since the general resulting distribution thereby aimed at, with the precise exception recognised by the "Individualists" themselves, is assured without it—but also such a limitation of rights is nothing else but a limitation of the liberty of judgment. It does not make the least difference whether the individual sets out with a conventional belief that a certain particular way of action is alone proper no matter what the circumstances may render satisfactory or unsatisfactory, or whether that course is imposed upon him by some constituted authority, whose commands he conventionally accepts as alone proper to be the leading consideration in no matter what circumstances. Law is law, whether it be the unaccommodating vow of a single individual, the superstition of a multitude, or the product of an organised mechanism resting on the foundation of another such superstition. Law is not a product of constituted authority, but the parent of it, and governments were gradually instituted to enforce laws which had originally developed out of similar misconceptions to that which the so called Individualists are guilty of—the idea that certain things were the goal of morality, instead of being casually moral or immoral according to their bearing, for the occasion, upon the needs and satisfactions of people in society.

Like all other plans of doing good by limiting human rights, the alleged "Individualist" (but really anti-individualist) system defeats its own intention, as I shall proceed to show; and it will be seen that Communism is the only state of society in which there is any certainty of people in general having according to their works.

II.

The idea of reconstructing society on the direct principle of "To each according to his works," was easily conceived; but when the means of practice were sought for, a serious difficulty arose. If every man consumed simply what he produced,—there would be an end of the matter; but that not being so, what plan could be adopted for so regulating distribution that every one would possess the exact equivalent of his production? At first the Melbourne Individualists considered that the quantity of each kind of work performed in one hour by an average worker in that line should serve as a standard. The average amount of bootmaking done per bootmaker per hour would be exactly worth the average amount of bricklaying done per bricklayer per hour, etc., and upon this basis products would be priced. The man who succeeded in producing exactly the average amount of brickwork in an hour would receive a labor note for the value of one hour. The man who could lay half as many bricks again as the average would be remunerated to the value of one hour and a half, and the one who could only lay half the average quantity would receive a labor note for half an hour in return for his hour's work. The hours specified on the note would signify, not how long he had actually worked, but how much he had produced, expressed in the terms of the time an average worker in the same industry would have taken in producing it.

The averages were to be ascertained by competition, and would thus be determined for services which do not result in measurable products as well for those which do. A doctor, or a bootmaker, would begin by attributing the value of one hour to his hour's work. If he found that he drew more business than he could attend to in a convenient length of working day, he would conclude that he was charging too low; if, on the other hand, he was passed by, he would infer that his price was set above what it should be; and he would then raise or lower his charges until he found that he received about the same amount of patronage as other people around him who were engaged in the same kind of work. The same method would apply to the products of co-operative parties, in selling to the public; but within the co-operation it would be easy

to keep a record of each man's products, and divide the price received proportionately; as also in the exchange of products of different kinds between the members of a co-operative association, where the records would do away with the necessity for experimental price competition in determining the relative value of one member's work to that of another.

This view of the case did not last long, and the idea of exchanging hour for hour of actual labor was substituted—principally on the ground that the man who consumed goods was really consuming the life of their maker, and that he ought to give the same measure of time from his own life in return. Before passing on to discuss the equal time idea, I shall exhibit how the system first propounded is guilty of the charge which its advocates have brought against Communism, of "enabling the incompetent to live on the products of the competent."

Under this system, if the means for all kinds of production were equally accessible to all, and every one was also exactly as capable in one kind of work as he was in another, there would be no mutual incentive to the exchange of individual services. If I can only buy boots to the measure of my capacity as a brickmaker, and I can make boots as well and as quickly as I can make bricks, I have no occasion to make bricks when what I want is a pair of boots.

If exchange takes place, when the means for direct production are equally available on both sides, it is because one or each of the parties concerned is less competent to make what he wants than what the other one wants. Suppose it is a matter of indifference to your taste whether you make a coat or a table, and you are an average workman in both lines. In that case your hour at tailoring and your hour at joining are worth each exactly one hour value. You want a table. Suppose also that I am as good a joiner as you are, but it would take me three times as long as you to make a coat. I want a coat. Now, you make me the coat and I make you the table. It happens that each job takes eight hours to complete, and the values of our hours in the work we have done being equal, our account is balanced. However, you have gained nothing in comparison with making the table for yourself; whilst I have gained sixteen hours leisure in comparison with making the coat for myself. It is the same thing for me as if I had made one-third of the coat and then you had come along and done the other two-thirds free of charge. So far as I am concerned it is exactly the same as if I had done nothing for you and received five and one-third hours of your labor without paying for it.

I think this disposes completely of the boasted "inherent equity" of that system of exchange. Why, I have profited by your superior competency to the extent of two hundred per cent. above my own capacity to supply my want, and I have not given you the slightest similar advantage in return! Communism itself could scarcely offer a more infamous spectacle! It is really too bad!

J. A. ANDREWS.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

Observations.

IN a notification "To the Freethinkers of America" of the Annual Congress of the A. S. U. and F. F. to meet at Chicago, November 13th, 14th and 15th, I find a foolish misrepresentation or false statement. No cause gains by falsehood—at least in the long run. Regarding an absurd, tyrannical Sunday law, the paper says: "Will the American people submit to this, a more odious infringement of personal liberty and rights than can be found even in Russia today?"

Rats! The seven signers of the paper know the statement is wholly untrue,—know that in Russia, to utter such a paper would send the signers thereof to the mines; know that even mild protest would mean a living death; know all this, not being fools. Think of it!—the signers of this paper utter such a statement and rant over the "starry banner" at all their gatherings or conventions. The facts in a nutshell are: The people of New York state—the voters—sent a lot of politicians to Albany to legislate for them, a lot made up of asses and frauds, who had no more conception of liberty or love of justice than the sky-pilot of a wealthy congregation has,

who conjures with the name of a Christ neither he nor his flock believes in. Dyer D. Lum well said: "It is irony to speak of Russia."

Freethinkers who make a fetish of the State and believe in majority rule cannot consistently kick against the "three-in-one puzzle" if legislated into the Constitution. They believe in government by force—in being ruled by the majority; the medicine they advocate for others they themselves should ever take gracefully. That Freethinkers have got rid of one ghost, is no reason why sane men and women should not seek to lay the other ghosts they (the Freethinkers) still worship,—whether in the shape of tricky "materializations" or tyrannical laws and customs.

The Protestant Church banging away on its infallible Bible expresses contempt of the Scarlet Women seated on her Seven Hills and happy in her infallible traditions; and the latter returns the contempt with interest and anathematizes the infallible Book. Sane men and women turn away from the Christian Church, scorning the privileged-by-law robber. Sane men and women think that—however, it may not be wise to say just what sane people do think—even in The Firebrand; it might be too gentle to print.

On the other hand, many Freethinkers advocate a system of social slavery, as against which our present conditions offer golden opportunities for "better things".

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

The Sexual Organs.

THEIR INFLUENCE ON HEALTH.

THE divergent physical growth of the respective sexes caused by the influence of the sexual organs as explained in the preceding essay, if investigated fully with reference to its ultimate as well as proximate results, explains the phenomena of sexual attraction. The spiritual aura of two such distinct organizations must be correspondingly as unlike as their physical bodies. Before the age of puberty, and consequently before the testicles of the male begin to impart marked masculine characteristics, and the ovaries of the female the work of eliminating the coarser physical properties, the attraction between them is almost wholly platonic, and their mutual attentions and juvenile gallantries mainly in imitation of what they see going on between the older ones; but after arriving at puberty, and the machinery of sex begins its work in each; the delicately organized girl begins to feel like leaning against the broad shoulders of some favorite of the opposite sex, and absorbing from him the masculine magnetism which emanates from breath of lung and pore, and he, in return, drinks in her sublimated electrical aura, which his coarse physical organization is incapable of generating. All you who, blessed with health, "have crossed the line"—passed the age of pubescence—know all about this from experience, and I need not multiply words in any attempt to describe the desires, the emotions, the sensations which suddenly took possession of your whole being. I will simply remind you that the magnetism which emanates from a true representative of each sex, is as unlike in quality as the voice is dissimilar in sound. From which may be made the following deductions:—

First.—Women need the magnetism of men; it strengthens them; it supplies something their peculiar organizations are incapable of producing. No doubt, instances will arise in the mind of nearly everyone, in which young women in declining health have suddenly exhibited physical improvement when Madame Gossip began to rumor it about that this Miss Somebody had a beau.

Secondly.—Man needs woman's magnetism; without it his surplus masculine elements either petrify and make him intolerably coarse and boorish, or they drive him to solitary vice and ultimate decay of his masculine qualities, if not, in deed to final imbecility. When their pentup masculine elements have swept away the dam, carrying away, involuntarily not only the calcareous or earthy properties of their semen but the vital—I may almost say brain matter—which it possesses and which cannot consistently with health be expended thus wastefully.

Lastly.—The sexes need the magnetism of each

other not simply for the benefit resulting from the interchange, but because there is good reason to believe that the union of male with female magnetism actually creates magnetism. That is, this union of the two distinct elements reproduces magnetism as the union of the male germ with the female germ reproduces the human being.

I know this is a hypothesis which is not perhaps demonstrable, but it is a fact that may not have escaped the observation of some, and the experience of other readers, that two bloodless and unmagnetic persons of opposite sex, if congenial, emerge from social or sexual intercourse filled with a magnetic power and vivacity which they did not possess before. It is more apparent after the latter if the union takes place between persons temperamentally adapted. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the demands of nature, and the fiat of custom, are so widely at variance. Nature makes known her wants usually under the age of fifteen while custom in our (so called) civilization holds the sexes apart from six to ten years thereafter; long enough to make women feeble, normally apathetic, and disqualified to become satisfactory companions or healthy mothers; long enough to make young men coarse, rakish or imbecile, and in marriage the fathers of puny children.

Free social intercourse between the sexes would promote that exchange of magnetism between them so essential to physical development and sweetness of temper. Nature has however provided the true conductors of this interchange, which are as perfectly fitted for their function as the eyes are suited to convey to our minds the form and color of sun, the ears to gather up atmospheric vibrations and make us conscious of sounds; and our stomachs to digest the food which rebuilds our constantly decaying bodies. Nor are these organs in health and cleanliness, and under circumstances which permit their normal exercise one iota less beautiful, respectable, or less conducive to our enjoyment.

The rude caricature of them in ivory, stone, and pottery, as fashioned by the pagans of old, produced prejudice in the minds of our religious ancestry which have been transmitted by inheritance to us; in childhood thus prejudices are revived and are fed to us with our milk; in adult age they are quickened to activity by uncleanness, disease, and excessive sensuality.

Who is to blame—Nature, or her ignorant, erring, dissipated, and diseased children, diseased no less in mind than in body? When shall we free ourselves from these "unnatural, disgusting customs", open the windows of our minds to the light and laws of Nature and allow our understanding to become impressed with the true uses of things?

There are those who profess to believe that the human passions should be completely subdued, and if possible rooted out.

Now according to phrenology all the organic passions have their "bumps" behind the ears, and those who do not accept phrenology as a science, must admit that a large cerebellum denotes strong passions. Root out these passions if such a thing were possible, what would be the result to the physical man? A small cerebellum and diminutive lungs. As a rule you will observe that those having prominence in the intellectual organs without a fair development of the head back of the ears have contracted chests, while those who have large back heads have broad shoulders and large lungs; therefore, if it be possible to crush out the passions and succeed in doing so we shall find the human race reduced to a puny condition physically, and not only that, but to a mental condition devoid of propelling power, for these faculties are necessary to impart energy to mind and body. Look about you, analyze the developments and characteristics of your neighbors, and see if I am not correct.

Nature intended that these organs should be preserved, or they never would have been assigned a place in the human organization; as well talk of abbreviating the arms or amputating the limbs of a man in obedience to a supposed divine law, as to propose to dwarf the development, or paralyze the normal action of these faculties! All of them may be exercised without harming your neighbor; it is

the perverse use of them that leads to disorder, disease and unhappiness. Amativeness may be employed in developing and gratifying naturally the social and affectionate instincts; in imparting to woman the strong magnetism developed by man; in modifying the masculine elements of man with the electrical aura of woman; and in making both sexes healthier and happier. It is an escaped tiger from a menagerie when it takes on the spirit of selfishness, and seeks the gratification of its impulse without regard to the happiness and rights of others; and a monster without name when it leads to unnatural indulgences such as self-abuse, pederasty and connection with lower animals.

Philoprogenitiveness finds its most admirable exercise in prompting the production and sensible moral and physical development of children; it becomes disorderly when it willfully plants the germ of a new being in the womb of an unwilling companion, and verily cruel when it attempts to propagate children through the instrumentalities of sickly progenitors. Thus all the natural passions have their uses and abuses. There are some unnatural passions and emotions which have no distinctive location or "bump" in the brain, which must be rooted out. Prominent among these are jealousy and envy; and our private property marriage-institution is the mother of these troublesome twins. They are weeds of rank growth, and when they once get seated in the organs of thought and emotion they choke and dwarf the development of the natural moral and social faculties. Owing to the peculiar customs of modern society, females are the greater sufferers from sexual starvation. In the long catalogue of scientific cruelties there is hardly anything so painful to think of as that experiment of putting an animal under the bell of an air-pump and exhausting the air from it (I never saw the accursed trick performed). There comes a time when human beings—women, perhaps, more than men—begin to faint for the atmosphere of the affections they were made to breathe. Then it is that society places its transparent bell-glass over the young woman who is to be the subject of one of its fatal experiments. The element by which only the herd lives is sucked out of her crystalline prison. Watch her through its transparent walls; her bosom is heaving, but it is in a vacuum. Death is no riddle compared to this. How many have withered and wasted under as slow a torment in the walls of that larger inquisition which is called civilization!

Somewhere—somewhere—love is in store for them; nature did not intend to fool them so cruelly.
P. SMITH.

Paterson Letter.

The arrival of every number of The Firebrand is to me a moment of joy, which prolongs my confidence in its final success.

It is our first duty to awaken the people. Paterson, in a suburb of which I am propagandising, is considered by trades-unionists one of the most conservative towns in the East. The "Paterson Labor Standard", a weekly advocate of trades-unionism, has been published here for twenty years without any results. "La Question Sociale", an Anarchist semi-monthly published here, has its stronghold mainly in the Italian Group of this place. French are only a few, but they look forward with great hope to the arrival of Louise Michel, who will invade this county in a few weeks.

I expect to see many converts in this district the coming winter. The silk-industry, sustaining about 70 per cent of the entire population, experiences a depression never known heretofore, and at present the outlook is by no means promising. Youth and lack of education have prevented me so far from stepping into the public; but I have been zealously agitating among fellows of my age, which, I assure you, is a hard task; and have been successful in ridiculing socialistic efforts in presence of their supporters. I have been in true accord with The Firebrand management ever since I read it.

As to Mr. Byington's article in No. 26 allow me to make an objection. "Peaceful revolution" is, in my opinion, a contradictory phrase like "revolutionary government". When a new machine is put in operation, and 90 per cent of the workers of that particular trade are put on the street, our national-economists

term it "peaceful revolution". The "Dorr war", which Mr. Byington cites as an example, was no revolution, it was simply a projected change of the government-machine.

In fact, revolution is a misnomer, so far as history is concerned from an Anarchistic point of view. Is history of any value for practical purposes of argument? We Anarchists, I think, can use it only as an evidence of the futility of government in its various forms. Happily the existence of total Anarchy in the past is not invincible or we should know of results, I say "happily", because an institution of the past cannot be of any value. Only the good will last. And Anarchy, once established, will be adjustable to all times and ages. As to the casting of ballots, in order to show our strength, numerical strength, I presume, Comrade Addis has demonstrated that government will not let us disregard "the beast" out of existence. Government by the way of law and order is the aggressor and a violent revolution is inevitable. Kropotkin has so admirably analyzed this in his "Revolutionary minorities" and other pamphlets, that I prefer to stay in his shade.

THEO. R. WUENICH.

But we Must Have It.

Press censorship is not confined to Russia alone; we can show up a pretty fair specimen of the article in this land of the free. Early last May a judge of the United States court issued an injunction restraining the editor of the "Midland Mechanic" of Kansas City from "promulgating and issuing" any news pertaining to the striking employes of the Armour Packing Company. Of course, it was only "temporary", and conveyed with it the right of the editor to appear within three days and show cause why the interdict should not be made permanent. Within this stated time the editor did appear through counsel and asked for a hearing, which was denied him. From that time until now the editor has been unable to get any satisfaction in the matter. The judge has gone on a holiday, and the case is hung up until he returns. Meanwhile, the editor is restrained from giving any news of the strike; it is his business to do so, but the injunction steps in and says he shall not conduct business, especially if that business is to disseminate the knowledge of what kind of treatment the pork packer gives his employes.

This is press censorship of the worst kind, as well as an illustration of what can be done by injunction. If a judge can restrain a man from conducting a legitimate business in one case, he can in another, and no one is safe.—[Machinists' Journal.]

How Patriotism is Produced.

As a proof of the existence of patriotism people are wont to adduce its manifestation during great crises and festivities, as, for instance, in Russia during a coronation, or in France at the time of the declaration of war against Prussia, or in Germany during the celebration of victories.

But one ought to know how these manifestations are prepared.

The popular enthusiasm is prepared mostly artificially by those whose interests it serves; the degree of enthusiasm exhibited shows only the degree of skill on the part of the managers. This business is one of a long standing, and, consequently the expert managers of popular enthusiasm sometimes display a high degree of originality.

When Alexander II. was the heir apparent to the throne, and, as the hereditary custom was, commanded the Preobrajensky regiment, he happened to visit it one day in its-quarters. No sooner had his carriage appeared in the camp, than the soldiers came running out of their tents in their shirt sleeves and received their most august commander, as they have it in the books, so enthusiastically, that many of them actually made the sign of the cross as they ran at full speed after his carriage. All who witnessed the scene were deeply moved by this expression of naive loyalty and love on the part of the Russian soldier towards their Tsar and his heir, and by the apparently spontaneous religious enthusiasm which was exhibited in the soldiers' faces and actions, and especially in their making the sign of the cross.

Yet all this had been artificially prepared beforehand, in the following manner. After the regular review, on the eve of the foregoing occurrence, the Tsarevitch informed the brigade commander that he intended to pay a visit to his regiment on the morrow.

"When shall I expect Your Imperial Majesty?" was

the answer.

"In the evening. But make no demonstrations, please."

As soon as the Tzarevitch left, the brigadier called the company-commanders together and ordered them to see to it that on the morrow all the men should have clean shirts on, and that as soon as they perceived the Tzarevitch's carriage—which would be signalled to them—they should run out to meet him, one and all, with loud "hurrahs", and that every tenth man in the company should make, in running, the sign of the cross. Everything was done as ordered, and the impression of enthusiasm was complete on the Tzarevitch, as it was also on all present, on the officers, the soldiers themselves, and even on the brigade-commander who was the author of the whole proceeding. In this manner, although perhaps in not so coarse a form, patriotic manifestations are prepared everywhere.

Thus, wherever the authorities succeed, by a series of simultaneous and concerted measures, which are always at their command, in bringing the vulgar masses into an abnormally excited state, they say to us: Behold, this is a spontaneous manifestation of the popular will. Such manifestations as recently took place in Toulon and in Paris, or in Germany during the reception of the Emperor and Bismarck, or such as take place in Russia during all solemnities, only prove that the means of exciting the masses which are lodged in the hands of the authorities and the ruling classes, are so powerful that those possessing them can call forth at any time any kind of manifestation they wish, by simply appealing to the people's patriotic sentiments. But on the other hand, nothing proves so effectively the absence of patriotism in the people as just these tremendous efforts which are periodically made by the authorities and ruling classes for artificially exciting the patriotism of the people.

The method is to befool the minds of the people from infancy by every possible means—by the perversion of educational text-books, by the celebration of public masses, by sermons, speeches, books, papers, and monuments. They gather together a few thousand people by bribery or by force, further increasing their number by loafers, and when this mob amid the booming of cannon and the strains of music, blinded by all sorts of glitter, yells what has been suggested to it beforehand, they call it an expression of the popular will.

But, in the first place, it is only about one tenth-anth part of the whole population who do the yelling during such festivities; in the second place, out of all this mass, about one-half is gathered by some strong attraction, if not collected forcibly, as is done in Russia: in the third; out of all those thousands only a few score really know what is the matter, while the rest would yell and wave their caps just as frantically if something else and exactly the contrary took place in its stead; and lastly, the police are always present on such occasions ready to grab anyone who has the hardihood or misfortune to yell something different from what has been prescribed by the authorities.

The so-called patriotism of our time is, on the one hand, a certain mood, or frame of mind, which is being constantly aroused in the people and maintained by school, religion, and a venal press, to suit the wishes of the government; and on the other hand, it is a temporary excitement aroused in the lower classes—who are both morally and intellectually inferior—by the ruling classes, and then vaunted by them as the will of the whole people.—(Tolstoi, in Open Court.

Note and Comment.

All comrades in New York and vicinity will be interested in the announcement that the International Arbeiter-Liedertafel will hold a November 11th celebration at Clarendon Hall, No. 114-118 East 13th St. The comrades propose to charge a ten cents admission fee for the benefit of the Bergmann Rescue Fund.

A WHITE man, one of the unemployed, was recently sold on the block for six months to a farmer in a Kentucky town by order of a Kentucky court, and yet some people labor under the impression that slavery, involuntary servitude, has been abolished. But some people are so stupid they could be bought and sold themselves and not see any wrong about it.—[Appeal to Reason.

MANY people do not seem to know the difference between promiscuity and variety. They recognize a difference in these terms when applied to most things, but confound them when sex matters are under consid-

eration. Promiscuity implies without choice, indiscriminate. Variety, on the other hand, may be a matter of choice, of discrimination. If some of those who so bitterly oppose variety will take this into consideration, and will divest their minds of the thought of chaotic promiscuity, they may change their opinion somewhat.

WINTER is coming on and fearful suffering is predicted. The politicians use this as a ground for pleading for votes, promising that if their party is put in power times will grow better, the wealthy people will become more generous and much of this suffering will be relieved—but they know they lie. Much distress now exists and it will surely be intensified as winter comes on. I have no new suggestions to make. If you can combine and by production supply yourselves, do so. If not, then rather than starve, band yourselves together and take what you need, and the consequences.

H. A.

Among the Miners.

I HAVE handed The Firebrand to the few men who have a leaning our way, and they have promised to subscribe when they return to their homes this winter. They thought to receive it at the mine, but it might lose them their jobs. I have noticed that Anarchist ideas are in the minds of a good number of the miners, and some who express them denounce and despise Anarchists. I am not surprised at it. I might say I am glad, because it proves to me that our influence is felt unconsciously. The seed sown must ripen some day. This reminds me of a verse I read somewhere:

"And those who now despise us
And trouble all our way,
Will be the first to praise us
When comes the dawning day."

WM. STEACK.

Silver City, Idaho.

The Letter Box.

C. S., Omaha.—We can't sell any badges, as our supply is all in the rattle.

L. E. F., San Francisco.—Thirty tickets have been sent. Thanks for your efforts.

N. N., Philadelphia.—Addis has not yet determined the date of his start for the east, and cannot do so until the means have been secured.

DELNICKIE LISTY, New York City.—Thanks. Knowing how difficult it is to issue a radical paper, we appreciate your efforts highly. You will find the "Delnickie Listy" advertised in next week's issue, and hope that all Bohemian readers of The Firebrand will subscribe for it.

T. R., San Andreas, Cal.—Thanks for your appreciative letter. We certainly agree with you in all essential respects, and believe we are on the only practical road to the realization of the ideal you picture. Those who think otherwise are cordial y invited to point out our error. We should be pleased to hear from you again.

Receipts.

S. Press, \$1.25. Roser, Schwarz, C. S., each \$1.00. Bender, 50c. Hill, Fassett, Weiss, Crammer, Berndt, Albert, Johnson, Robinson, Klein, Meyer, each 50c. Cole, Bianchetti, Allen, Winitz, Oehlert, Aron, Weidenpesh, Helmann, Kinderman, Honsleib, M. Marcus, each 25c. Rathbun, Hennessy, Zaspel, Alprison, Simon, Gibson, each 10c.

TURN a thinker loose and you shake the world. Turn a monopolist loose and he shakes as much of the world as he can fence in.—[Sonoma Democrat.

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Previously acknowledged \$88 32
C. R., Philadelphia, Pa. 1 35
H. Meyerson, New York City 1 60

A LABORER turns a desert into a garden, and then we increase his taxes. The speculator turns a garden into a desert, and then we diminish his taxes. Verily, we are a great people.—[San Francisco Star.

Taxidermy.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE FIREBRAND.—For the benefit of this paper, I will send instructions for mounting and preserving any sized bird, from a hummer to an eagle, without skinning, to any one sending twenty-five cents to The Firebrand and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to me.
P. S.—After receiving 10¢, if your conscience troubles you for receiving so much for so little you can remit something to sender. Address, ED GORE WARREN, MINN.

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assistance in the work. The subscription price is nominally fifty cents a year, though in reality it is voluntary, for many friends pay more than the subscription price, and we send it to all who desire it, even if they are able to pay only a few cents or nothing at all. If you receive the paper without having ordered it, do not hesitate to accept and read it, as no bills are ever sent out.

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