

The Firebrand

OF THE CONCESSES 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 with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

The Ballot.

The Knave and the Fool and the Quite Bright Man Lived all by themselves on an island fair. And the very smart Knave formed a marvelous plan To own that same island and all the things there. So he said to the Fool: "I'm a man divine And a friend of thine; be a friend of mine."

And he then explained to the very dull fool The thesis of government good and strong, "Dame Nature herself," he remarked, "goes by rule, And, in order to peaceably glide along, We must have in future a codex of laws, With Justice and Honor in every clause,"

So he drafted a code that would go thirteen ways, And he read it aloud to the fool and the man. Referred to committee, reported with praise; And then on each section the voting began. A full referendum, a fair honest count, With courteous discussion to any amount.

They voted on this, and they voted on that; A two-thirds majority's certain to rule. The other man's head-peace from under his hat They voted they voted,—that Knave and that Fool. Thus ever. Whenever a freeman shall choose To shake the old ballot-box dice, he will lose.

—(William Walslein Gordak, in Liberty

Liberty and Property.

III.

THE theory of equal time exchange was criticised severely in Melbourne by the advocates of the equivalent production system which I have commented on. They declared the newly-favored plan to be false in principle, and tending to State Socialism in practice. Brookhouse, the champion of the older idea, argued that under equivalent production workers of all capabilities could exchange their products indifferently; whereas under the equal time system the producers of high capability in their respective industries would confine their exchanges as far as possible to among themselves, leaving those of low capabilities to form a world of their own. Thus, the result would still be the exchange of productive equivalents, the time standard having done nothing but to confine the circulation of products and services within narrower limits and to divide society into sections having little or no economic intercourse with each other.

Later on, I pointed out from the side of Communism how the time-basis labor note would easily lend itself to fraud and enable fortunes to be accumulated by speculators under cover of measured equity. According to the "Individualist" ideas, these notes would be issued by individuals or by co-operative associations according to one of two principles. They might be either simple promises to pay, or else securities upon goods, like the notes of the American "Labor Exchange" of today; but whilst the main purpose of these latter is to super-

seede legal currency, the Labor Notes would be for the purpose of ensuring "equity" in transactions.

I pointed out that this was precisely what they could not do. They might serve the purpose of facilitating exchange on the lines believed in as equity, but if the parties to a transaction departed from those lines, the Notes could do nothing but conceal the fact of the case. There was nothing more impossible about a thing being bought for so many hours and sold for so many more, than about its being bought for so many shillings, dollars, etc., and sold for so many more. I repeat here some of the illustrations which I then advanced.

Individuals issuing notes, these notes would be simply promises to pay; the character of security upon goods would arise when either the goods were deposited with a custodian having an interest in seeing that they were not sent into consumption except against notes to the value, or else the notes were issued by a productive association on a sufficiently large scale to assure stability and average honesty. Consequently, the notes of individuals would not circulate far, and would be passed chiefly through the large associations (or through special banks) in the immediate neighborhood, for clearance. This being so, the officials of these institutions would not be long in getting a knowledge of which among the unincorporated individuals were good or bad, quick or slow producers. Consequently, by always presenting the notes of the effective producers and receiving goods or services in satisfaction, and always paying out the notes of the ineffective producers in change or for what they bought, these officials could realise a profit of considerable amount in products, while in appearance, according to the transfers of hour value effected, they had realized none whatever. A bank or other institution handling the notes of different cooperative associations whose productive rates were unequal could do the same thing. The large handlers of notes would always be able to form a better idea of the products represented by an hour of any particular note issuer than could be formed by the public at large, so the fraud would be particularly easy. The only preventive which I could imagine, and the only one which the "Individualists" suggested, was to have but one issuer of notes—the collective community organized as a single cooperative association. But this would transform the "Individualist" society into a liberal Social-Democracy.

Furthermore, the system presented a dilemma of its own, even more striking than that peculiar to the Equivalent Production scheme. I reproduce from the Australian Radical, Feb. 9th, 1889:—

"The customer goes away. Some time afterward, he reappears, when Mr. Andrade offers to sell him a new spade, costing eight hours. But on looking at it the customer perceives a flaw, which reduces its utility to that of the second-hand one he purchased before. Again he offers four hours, but is met by the reply that it is the cost to the producer, and not the incidental value to the consumer, that is the measure of price. But as all customers object to pay eight hours for a bad spade when they can get double its value for the price, Mr. Andrade finds himself about to lose the whole of

the labor he has expended in making it, unless he can invent a moral way out of the difficulty. To get at least four hours' return for his work instead of nothing at all, he consults the scriptures again, and after much thought arrives at the ingenious conclusion that he has spent four hours in making a flaw, and four in making a spade. He cannot separate the flaw from the spade, and nobody would purchase it if he could, so he resolves to forfeit the flaw which he has produced at the cost of four hours' labor, and sell the spade for four hours.

"The next time, he studies up the art of spade making, and produces a perfect spade, which he offers for sale at thirty-two hours. Another customer comes along, and inquires why it is fixed at so high a figure. He gets the reply, 'It took me thirty-two hours to make it, because I did not know how.'

"But," says the customer, 'a spade maker can make spades at the cost of eight hours, and I fail to see why you should charge me with the twenty-four in which you were learning. . . . This knowledge will be distributed over all the spades you make hereafter, and you will find that on this principle the real cost of a spade is only eight hours.'

"No," says Mr. Andrade, 'the cost is thirty-two hours, for I have discovered a more congenial mode of employment, and do not intend to make any more spades.'

"In that case," says the customer, 'supposing that, for the mere curiosity of the transaction, I can be prevailed upon to take the spade at your price, I must ask you for a guarantee to refund me a proportionate amount if you should ever take it into your head to make another spade. Or, if I pay for your knowledge, you will perhaps admit that I have a right to use that knowledge, and that I can command you to make perfect spades for me (at the simple cost of your manual labor) for ever afterwards.'

Well, already it can be seen that this measured equity business is not all the simple straightforward easy thing it has been praised as. But we are not yet half through with the vagaries of "Individualist" property, though in mercy to the reader I shall only cite a few more.

IV.

All attempts at placing the property idea on a working footing consist of systems of Exchange, this latter being the only means of distribution consistent with the preservation of each individual's correct quantity of ownership. In Communism, distribution is distribution, and exchange comes in only casually as an occasional incident of the adjustment of resources to needs.

On paper, exchange may seem to be effective as a social method, and capable of application in the degree of universality necessary for regulating possession strictly according to work done. It will be admitted, however, by the most infatuated worshipper of exchange, that if some part of human affairs, wherein the work of one person goes to benefit another, etc., is not capable of being conducted on the principle of measured exchange, the application of this principle to the remainder will not suffice to correctly indicate what each person has done and is entitled to. I shall content myself with citing a few facts of the very commonest kind, to show that the exchange idea is not applied other-

wise than to a very partial extent, whether on a profit basis or on any basis of equivalents; and with asking whether its rigid application throughout these matters is either reasonably practicable or desirable. In each case I shall cite a contrasting fact, and I contend that the parallels condemn the exchange system as a means for practically deciding possession according to mere greed, no matter whether the capitalist or the "Individualist" basis of exchange be taken.

Two men scrape wood into axe handles. One goes his way, leaving the shavings for the first comer who may want them, or to blow away, as the case may happen. The other, who equally has no use for the shavings himself, sees a gatherer of kindling wood coming along, and sells him the shavings as produce.

One woman holds a child for perhaps a week in the aggregate throughout the year—a few minutes at a time—while her neighbor prepares dinner. Another goes to the mother and obtains a price for the same amount of time and toil, as nurse or cook.

One individual gives a word of information here and a moment's helping hand there, every day of his life, as a matter of course. Another opens business as miscellaneous adviser and doer of odd jobs, and adds the fees to his other income.

One man pays for erecting a screen to reflect the afternoon sunrays on to the east windows of his house. The man who receives payment gets as much or more benefit from the screen by growing strawberries in its shadow on the next lot.

One would pay heavily for stable manure; another would pay to have it carted away. It depends on the mere chance of events who of the two pays and who is paid. It is only greed that results in either of them being paid for what he would have paid for.

You need a table, which it is not convenient for you to make. I have leisure time which I have nothing in view for spending; also, joinery is a pleasure to me, and to dawdle about doing nothing is painfully tiresome to me. As a Communist, I make the table for you; I get pleasure instead of disgust, and you get a table instead of none. As a property worshipper, I either cause you to pay for my pleasure, or, if you do not wish to pay and there is nobody else to do so, I buffer the pain of loafing purposelessly about, when I might be getting enjoyment.

I exchange in Communism, when I give up the use of SOMETHING I NEED, AND WHILE I NEED IT, on the arrangement of receiving (whether from you or a third party) something else which I can make serve my purpose—doing this in view of the fact that the thing I give up can serve YOUR need, whilst the thing I receive cannot.

But "exchange" in the commercial sense—capitalist or "Individualist"—is parting with something I DO NOT NEED, BUT WHICH I MONOPOLIZE, giving it up to receive from you something YOU do not need, but which you monopolize. Possibly I need this, but perhaps I do not, and only obtain it in the hope of finding somebody who does need it, and from whom I can keep it back till he gives me something I need, for leave to use it. Commercial exchange is therefore easily defined:—It is a compromise between the celebrated dog in the manger and the ox on the bone.

J. A. ANDREWS.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

The Kaddish.

COMRADE LOVERIDGE's last letter on the Bible leaves the discussion where I am willing to leave it, except as to the allegation that the Lord's Prayer is copied from the Talmud. Since I challenged Comrade Loveridge to show his authority, and he has met the challenge fairly, I owe him an answer.

He quotes as his authority a chapter which the anonymous "Julian" contributes to the work of that supreme blunderer W. Steward Ross. In this chapter the prayer given by Comrade Loveridge in The Firebrand of June 7th is described as being the Kaddish, translated by Rev. John Gregorie.

So I went looking for the Kaddish. I found it in a New York rabbi's prayer-book and took a copy, of which I here give a translation. As it is in Aramaic (only the two quotations from Psalms are in Hebrew)

and I have no complete Aramaic dictionary, I am uncertain of two words.

"Magnified and hallowed be his great name in the world which he created according to his good pleasure, and may he cause his kingdom to reign in your life and in your days and in the life of all the house of Israel, speedily and in a near time. And say Amen."

(So far, said the Jew who showed it to me, is the Kaddish proper, what follows is the response of the congregation.)

"Be his great name blessed forever, and for ever and ever.
"Blessed and glorified and proclaimed and exalted and extolled and honored and lifted up and praised be his holy name. Blessed is he above all blessings and songs and glorifications and (graces?) of our (language?) in the world. And say Amen.

"Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth and for evermore. (Ps. 113. 2.)

"May there be great peace from heaven, and life, upon us and upon all Israel. And say Amen.

"My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth. (Ps. 121. 2)

"Maker of peace in his exaltation. He shall make peace upon us and upon all Israel. And say Amen."

It will be seen that this has less of the Lord's Prayer in it than either my Kaddish or Loveridge's. I was puzzled to find so many versions; and, as I was then leaving New York, I wrote to ask for an explanation from Prof. Gottheil of Columbia College, a Jew of great learning and a special student of Rabbinical literature. Here is what he tells me about it; I translate the Aramaic of the Kaddish.

"There is some difficulty in answering your question. There are two versions of the first part of the Kaddish current. The ordinary one which you have found in the prayer-book of Mr. Zinsles may be called that used in the German, Polish, Russian etc. rituals. Maimonides, however, in his Mishne Thorah-codification of the Talmudic decisions—has the following reading which I take to be the Spanish-Portuguese version:

"Magnified and hallowed be his great name in the world which he created according to his good pleasure, and may he cause his kingdom to reign, and may his redemption shine forth, and his Messiah come near and redeem his people, in your life and in your days and in the house of Israel, speedily and in a near time.

"Then follows the response, 'Be his great name blessed forever and forever and ever.'

"The last sentence in your version (The Firebrand, May 3rd) is not part of the Kaddish, but it is taken from another part of the prayer-book. Maimonides states further that some add (and I find this in some Ashkenazic (German-Jew) rituals), 'May their prayers be accepted, and their wishes and prayers be done, and the wishes of all the house of Israel, before their father who is in heaven.'

"The next paragraph in Maimonides reads slightly different to the ordinary version: 'May there be great peace and help and redemption from heaven upon you and upon us and upon the congregation of Israel. Amen. Maker of peace in his exaltation. He in his kindness shall make peace upon us and upon all Israel. Amen.'

"The Kaddish, as given by your opponent (The Firebrand, June 7th), is a curious mixture. It contains phrases from other prayers in our Tefillah (prayer book) and also some phrases which I do not at all recognize.

"The Kaddish is old. Some of its phrases are mentioned in the Sifre (the oldest Midrash to Numbers and Deuteronomy). It is mentioned under the name of Kaddish in one of the latest Talmudical treatises—Masseketh Soferim.

"The 'Lord's prayer' can be paralleled not from scattered passages in the Talmud, but from numerous and common passages in the oldest portions of our liturgy; and some parts of our liturgy go back to the service in the second temple."

There you have the full evidence. This is what it shows:

1. The Kaddish as quoted by Loveridge is a forgery, originated (so far as is known) by Rev. John Gregorie, and ignorantly propagated by Loveridge's authority, of whom Loveridge says "I do not believe the conclusions arrived at can be successfully refuted, or his historical facts disproved, or his splendid scholarship denied."

2. In my first quotation from the Kaddish I quoted correctly all of it that is at all parallel to the Lord's Prayer, except "their father who is in heaven." (The ascription of praise "for ever and ever" doesn't count,

not being properly a part of the Lord's Prayer; see Bible, revised version.)

3. Jesus did, in advising his disciples "how to pray", make up his recommendations (commonly called the Lord's Prayer) mostly of selections from good prayers already familiar to all his hearers. The selection and arrangement (matters of no small importance) are his own, and so, apparently are the words of a clause or two.

Comrades Loveridge and Radich are very positive that I am wrong about the date of the Talmud, and go on to inform me of such elementary facts as that there are two Talmuds. Why, not to speak of their ironical compliments to my learning, they must think that I pitch into a discussion of this sort without looking up even so simple an authority as an ordinary cyclopaedia article. Probably they judged me by themselves, for if they had looked up "Talmud" in a cyclopaedia they would not have said what they do about its date. Radich adds that the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds "must antedate the birth of Christ, as their names indicate"; evidently he does not know that the Jerusalem Talmud was compiled at Tiberias and the Babylonian Talmud at Sora.

It should be understood that the ancient Jewish prayers, are not a part of the Talmud, but are much older. Without doubt the Kaddish and many of the others were in common use in Nazareth when Jesus was born.

I never meant to deny that in isolated cases the absence of points in Hebrew causes ambiguity, but Comrade Radich has taken a very unlucky instance to prove it. Does he not see that the words "his heel" in the next clause remove all doubt whether we should read "he" or "she"? And, more than this, the verb "shall bruise" is in the masculine form; the reading "she shall bruise" would require a change in the first letter of this verb. It is not so easy to find ambiguities in an unpointed Hebrew Bible as Comrade Radich thinks.

STEPHEN J. BYINGTON.

Agrees with Mrs. Parsons.

I AM a strong advocate for improving our sex relations. The freedom allowed men has compelled me to be cautious. Now I find it is a question of importance in our general reform, and rightly so, because it is one of nature's needs, as well for our own present happiness as to propagate our kind. I do not know that I am quite an Anarchist, but I know we are far too much governed. I read in the issue of September 27, a letter from Lucy E. Parsons, which, as a woman and mother, I fully endorse. Our marriage and divorce law is disgraceful and barbarous, but in removing oppression we should guard against injurious excess. "Variety" does not exist in love. Young people allowed to choose the fitting mate of a lifetime will never seek variety. Instead of the brute in human form being made better, the man is apt to degenerate into an unfeeling brute. Such acts should never be spoken of as love. It seems to me more in common with the drunkard and glutton, who degrade by forcing a system opposed to nature's needs. Our best is much in danger of corruption, and love between a true man and a good woman is the best nature has given us. The first victory of real reform, economic freedom, must come from a clear understanding of sex relations.

Not variety as I understand it. I do not think any true woman will differ from us. Those who help this struggle for freedom are not given to intemperate excess.

Self respect for ourselves and our kind is the ruling motive. Love is a feeling above the common desire of animal, and nature has provided for this as well as all our wants; but we are taught to ignore instead of understand nature.

Florida, October, 96.

SHAY MAYFLOWER.

I am convinced that the objections to variety, on the part of both Mayflower and Mrs. Parsons, arise from a misunderstanding of the term. The demand and the need of variety today is such that even the tyrannical and unreasonable marriage and divorce law recognizes it. Those who oppose variety must, to be consistent, oppose remarriage after the death or divorce of a marital partner. Variety in sex relations is the choosing of more than one sexual associate, whether contemporaneously or at different periods in life. So far as "intemperate excess" is concerned, I know of no condition so conducive to sex abuse as the present system, in which one of the parties to the association is deprived of choice in the

matter. And since the basis of the present system is the very lowest ideal of sex relations—that is, entire subjugation of the female—it can only be displaced by a higher ideal, one in which the liberty of the woman is recognized, and liberty is the only remedy for excess in one line which does not give rise to excess in another and the worst possible direction—tyranny. Thus, in liberty the man cannot go to excess without the consent of his sex partner, while under the restricted association of the present he can, legally. Is it not plain to Mayflower that her necessary "caution" in guarding against men has its rise in the false idea of her own inferiority, which results in sex slavery? The man who believes in liberty desires no relation with any person which is not mutually agreeable; no woman is forced to be "cautious" on his account.

All that the "varietist" demands is the removal of restriction upon the association of the sexes. To confine by law the sex association to one man with one woman for life is just as absurd as if the varietist should demand a law to compel association in sets of three or four. The varietist is not such a fool as to make such a demand. When the varietist is free to practice his ideal, the monogamist will be free (not compelled as at present) to practice his. The question of variety is not the main question at present, but the question of sex liberty, which resolves itself into a question of economic freedom. When we are free to live our ideals in regard to sex association we will be in a position to determine the fittest form; but so long as we are born into a world full of prejudice and intolerant bigotry, and so long as our education consists in "Thou shalt not," not every one is capable of unbiased judgment.

J. H. M.

Communism Defined.

The real question is, how to arrive at the fullest possible satisfaction of our needs and natures; and the condition of things in which this can be accomplished by different people consistently with each other's realization of it, is the state of society we are looking for. Now some people profess that in order to realize this, it is necessary to aim at bringing about a condition in which everyone shall possess material wealth in the exact measure of what he has produced; others, in the measure of the time he has labored; some again, and these are the Anarchist-Communists, consider that what requires to be done is for people to aim directly at the satisfaction of their needs and natures, and directly at respecting and helping to satisfy each others' needs and natures where these are not such as to constitute an essential hostility—no matter what particular distribution of wealth, or what particular proportion between labor and consumption, may be effected as the outcome.

J. A. ANDREWS.

Note and Comment.

THE TOWNSVILLE (North Queensland) DEMOCRAT, a local paper in the Socialist interest, is publishing articles on Anarchy from the pen of E. Y. Lowrey, a believer in Anarchist-Communism.

The recent discussion in The Firebrand as to pleasurable and disagreeable occupations, shows that too many comrades have not yet realized that the division of persons into butchers, shoemakers, nightmen and so on is a result of slavery. A free man's occupation is the satisfaction of his needs. If it suits different persons to take up more particularly different kinds of work, outside their own requirements, and to leave some of the work they need done for themselves in the hands of others who are willing to do it, well and good; but in free society the work that anyone requires done and escapes doing will naturally be limited by the willingness of other people to do it for him, and, therefore, it is probable that most people will do their own share of any kind of work that is generally considered disagreeable. Similarly, if there is any work generally considered peculiarly pleasant, it is evident that most people will do their own share of that as they happen to have occasion for it; whilst other work, which is not intrinsically very much one way or the other, but which some people like and others find troublesome, will naturally go to those who like it, and what they pass by someone else will prefer. At present, work is task done for permission to consume the products of other people's work, this being also task work set by

the capitalists, but in Anarchy, the object of production being not to placate a master, but to satisfy known needs of oneself or someone else, there can be no difficulty, the producer (if not producing for himself) producing of his own accord at the request of the consumer.

In a recent number of The Firebrand a correspondent asked why, if the State is a power for evil, it cannot be made a power for good, since power can be turned to act in any direction.

Why cannot a ship moving north—mark, not the ship (which happens to be moving north) but the ship moving north (in that particular capacity as moving north)—be made a ship moving south? Or more simply, why cannot the north be made the south?

The power of the State is the power of the people who worship and nourish a falsehood put into practice. The State is the people going in a wrong direction. The people can make themselves a power for good by going in the right direction, but then they will no longer be the people going in a wrong direction. A capitalist is a power for evil. The man can become a power for good by doing good instead of evil, but then he will not be a capitalist. The capitalist is the man in the particular capacity of an evil doer in a certain way, and cannot operate as the contrary of that. Neither can the State, which is the people collectively in the particular capacity of lunatics and criminals.

The first settlers of North Carolina were neither governed from England, nor under the jurisdiction of any colonial government and had no government of their own. They had no "legal" title to the soil they occupied, or to their products, or anything else; they were absolutely outlaws. They became more prosperous than any of the surrounding populations, who began to flock into their midst. At this stage King Charles the Second presented the territory and its inhabitants to an aristocratic syndicate, and the bulk of the settlers dispersed further afield rather than submit to the terms imposed. Afterward, the settlement appears to have been again forgotten by the authorities, and much the same history was repeated. Some of the historians attribute to the influence of this state of affairs on the character of the North Carolina population, and other populations that had been for long periods without government; the origin of most of the disturbances that occurred during the colonial era. One of the earliest American histories of America, dating about the time of the war with England after the war of independence, is full of statements that this or that place was for such a time utterly without government, and that the evils which might have been expected to result did not take place, but on the contrary, things never went so well as during these periods. This history, which I read a couple of years ago in Sidney, contains more social information than any other I have come across. I do not remember the author, but the volume was a Scotch reprint, so the work was evidently well known in the earlier half of the century, and may be identified.

S. A. A.

COMRADES that are interested in our Raffle, will see that there are three more articles added to the list. They were donated by a friend in Buffalo.

A COMRADE in Philadelphia makes the proposition to investigate how many people in different cities will keep away from the ballot box in the coming election. He says he will give an exact account of the city of Philadelphia.

ANOTHER comrade contemplates to manufacture badges for Anarchists, which will be sold for the benefit of anarchistic papers and literature. He offers one dollar for the best and most appropriate design. Send your designs to The Firebrand.

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 18th St. The comrades propose to charge a ten cents admission fee for the benefit of the Bergman Rescue Fund.

THE Chicago Railway company has issued a circular to its employes concerning a McKinley parade on Oct. 9th, and concludes with: "If you do not march Oct. 9th, you will march Oct. 10th." I have received several circulars from railway employes that imply threat of discharge if they do not join "sound money" clubs. So much freedom here." [Appeal to Reason.

WILLIAM MORRIS, the great poet, artist and Socialist is dead. When the deceased was invited to the International gathering of Anarchists in London a few months ago he had to decline, to his regret, on account of sickness. We have written to London for a sketch of his life, and hope we will get it soon.

Not long ago Mr. Fulton, the editor of "Age of Thought," told his readers that the Anarchist-Communists were leaving their camp and becoming "Individualists." But it seems the increase of the Individualists has been very little, as Mr. Tucker, the editor of "Liberty," informs his readers that the paper will be issued in the future monthly instead of semi-monthly. How is that, Mr. Fulton?

"When will the wise manipulators of government learn that human beings are of more consequence than rent, interests and profits? When that is practically learned we shall have direct legislation."—(The Socialist, San Francisco.

Whenever that will be learned, Mr. Scott, you will neither advocate government nor direct legislation, but you will be an Anarchist. Legislation, direct or indirect, is incompatible with freedom.

THE Leadville strike has cost the Ibez Mining company thousands of dollars, and when the Chinese wall is completed it will mean several thousands more. The difference in wages demanded is just \$14 a day. The property is guarded at the expense of the state. Just how long the taxpayers will stand this kind of business it is hard to tell. John F. Campion, the manager, has just let a contract for the erection of an \$8,000 stable as an ornament to his \$50,000 residence in Denver, yet the poor man could not afford an outlay of \$14 a day in order to give a few human beings a chance to live decently. When a man considers his horses of more importance than a fellow being, that man's usefulness on this mundane sphere is ended and his demise would be taken as a special dispensation of providence. In other words if Campion should happen to play short stop for a 45-bullet, it would be a blessing to humanity. If the Leadville miners were as lawless and desperate as reported, Campion would have been the chief attraction at a first-class funeral, and the coroner's jury would read something like this: "In his desire to gobble up everything in sight he swallowed more lead than he could hold and died from lack of breath. He was all right, but he needed fixing—and they fixed him. May he shovel coal for 10,000 years.—Cripple Creek Prospector.

THE police in this country displays more brutality than in any other country on the globe. Lately a policeman of Chicago crippled a small boy for lifetime, and a little girl was clubbed and dragged for several blocks in the same city. The following shows another instance:

"Visitors who were in Kansas City, on Friday night, of the Carnival confirm the reports of police outrages. About 7 o'clock in the evening the streets in the vicinity of the grand arch were packed with people bent on having a good time. Chief Irwin, in order to clear the streets so that the department might give its display ordered the police to charge the crowds. Patrol wagons were driven through the helpless throngs, mounted brutes in blue uniforms crowded through and hundreds of men, women and children were ruthlessly and wantonly trampled, clubbed and crushed into place. It was an uncalculated and brutal attack on a crowd of peaceful pleasure seekers. By this one act Kansas City's arrogant chief of police has done an injury to his city that it will take years to overcome. Country visitors are naturally timid and they will not soon forget the clubbing they got last Friday night. Future carnivals will suffer as few will care to go to Kansas City to expose themselves to the brutality of their police. The slightest atonement and apology that Kansas City can make is the prompt impeachment of the responsible parties and swift retribution. Unless this is done, Pittsburg, for one, will give Kansas City future Carnivals the go by."—Pittsburg Kansan.

Why do we want Government? Of others outside of ourselves? As long as the ballot is sustained and upheld by the sword and the bullet, what advantage to useful people is universal suffrage? I see none and have not been able to see any, in fifty years observation.

A. J. FORB.

To the Poor Working People.

Armenians! Sovereigns of the United States of North America! I congratulate you that you are able handed and strong enough to hallow yourselves hoarse for either McKinley or Bryan—Gold or silver.

For I am aware that you will share neither in their honors nor the precious coins which they propose to interfere with to their advancement and enhancement of their grandeur!

It is an imposing sight, very instructive, to see you poor people of a rich nation taking a hand at financial legislation for the amusement of the rich people.

It goes without saying, that you will be beneficiaries of this grand and glorious agitation,—footing the bill. Your working time will be reduced to a minimum, and recompense advanced to the high way, tramping, and the soup-house,—woodyard attached there-to.

You will become the happy recipients and possessors of the crumbs as they fall from the rich man's table. No doubt you will be plentifully supplied with leisure to meddle with each others affairs and shortcomings.

Considered as civilized people you will stand on an equal footing with the rich—in idleness: they by choice, and you by force. You will also, undoubtedly share in all the fruits of civilization, unknown to the savages; such as almshouses, jails, penitentiaries, soup-houses, police stations, open air and freight car accommodations. But it is imperative that you "Keep off the grass." **BODENDYKE.**

Revolutionary Socialists of Armenia.

The daily papers have published from time to time accounts of the atrocities committed by the Turkish government against the Armenians, who have so far in vain struggled to free themselves from the yoke, placed upon them centuries ago. But that our ideas had gained a foothold in that far off country is news probably to the great majority of the readers of The Firebrand. "Der Socialist," Berlin, publishes two very interesting appeals of the revolutionary Socialists of Armenia.

One, directed to the International Labor Congress recently held at London, wherein they state the cause and object of the present uprising. The second one, intended for the revolutionary Socialists, is prefaced with the following remarks which we give in full:

"This appeal was intended for the Labor Congress of London, in case it had admitted the Socialists of all schools; if the contrary is the case it shall be furnished over to the meetings of those more liberal, which have taken the place of the congress.

"After the Anarchists have been excluded, this appeal is only intended for the libertaires, and for the honest man of all socialistic schools."

It says that they know that they need not expect any help from the so-called great powers, and therefore have to depend on no one else but themselves in this unequal struggle; and even then would be successful if all help in the way of volunteers and ammunition was not cut off by Russia.

It is not a war of deliverance which Armenia wages at present, but much more a struggle for existence, in the literal sense of the word. It closes with the following words: "But a last ray of hope still smiles on us.

Revolutionary brothers, Socialists of all schools, you fight also for freedom, for the deliverance of the working people; if the Armenian cause is left to itself, it is doomed without doubt—united with you we can hope everything.

In Europe and Asia the cause of the oppressed and exploited is the same, therefore do we call on you to carry high the banner of liberty; we appeal to your solidarity, to this international solidarity which has proven itself often effective in great struggles. Not platonic words of pity and sympathy do we demand of you—such has the bourgeoisie and even the clerical press given us plenty—but proofs of a real solidarity: arms, ammunition and also volunteers.

Our cause is your cause. It boils in the Orient; who can tell if not there also shall rise up the dawn of the social revolution to spread from there over all the world!

It is not surprising, knowing that our ideas have gained a foothold in that country, that the powers do not interfere, but consent to let the Turkish government exterminate the unfortunate Armenians. And

we, to whom this appeal is directed, from whom our Armenian comrades expect succor, what can we do? **C. DOERING.**

The Letter Box.

C. Pf., Chicago.—Yes. Pamphlets will be sent.

A. C. C., Bingen, Wash.—You will receive the ordered books from Chicago.

J. D. B., Liberty, Pa.—We shall take pleasure in complying with your requests.

J. S., Philadelphia.—Books are sent as ordered, and we will also send the paper regularly to the same address. One book is ordered from Chicago and will arrive a little later.

A. R. T., Dayton, Ohio.—We see you are getting interested in the questions discussed in The Firebrand, and if you keep on reading it, you soon will see that monopoly is not "a natural stimulant," but a means to enslavement. We mean "civil" and "natural" liberty.

W. S., Los Angeles, Cal.—That is all right, brother; we know you will pay when ever you are able. As to the "none-justification style" of The Firebrand we have no excuses to make, except that we save about 20 per cent of our time, and as we cannot yet devote our whole time to the paper, it helps us a great deal.

G. F. Leaper, Tacoma, Wash.—You will find a poem in this weeks issue, printed for the special benefit of your kind. We are neither looking for "respectability" nor will we vote for anybody, even if we should "get left," as you say. Should you live long enough you will find out that it is you that "got left." We might be prosecuted, but that would not disprove the principles we are advocating.

L. E., Jacksonville, Ill.—Contributions to our columns are invited, but it must be understood that in selecting matter for publication that which is best suited for the purpose of the paper is always chosen. An editor cannot accept matter from an unknown writer without an opportunity to examine it. Later, just received your article and is accepted with thanks. It might appear in the next issue, as it is a splendid article for new readers.

Wm. H., Ephrata, Pa.—We were really glad to hear that you appreciate The Firebrand. You will find in the present issue an article similar to yours, and that is why your objection will not appear. We hold that freedom will regulate the sex question, even if we have not all the necessary knowledge. In a condition of freedom a man, who is "governed by passion and ignorance," could only abuse himself and he would have to take the consequences.

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Bohemian group, New York City, \$3.00 Morwitz, C. S., each \$1.00 Hrdlicke, Halligan, Wolf, Dawkes, Kohlbeck, Woodruff, Gulen, Anderson, Sahl, each 50c. Feingold, 10c.

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P. S.—After receiving it, if your conscience troubles you for receiving so much for so little you can remit something to secure it. Address, ED GORE, Warren, Minn.

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