Vol. III. No. 16.

An Exponent of Anarchist - Communism:

PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY, MAY 23, 1897.

Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Ceanot Exist, and that Communism is an inevitable Consequence

WHOLE No. 120.

The Ownership of the Earth.

THERE'S a question now uprising
Deep affecting every hearth,
Sweeping on with speed surprising—
'Tis the ownership of earth;
And the sage man of letters,
Gazing on the future years,
Sees the falling of the fetters—
Sees the drying up of tears.

Men are learning now the folly
Of the claim of man at birth
Is a treepasser and wholly
Void of claim to Mother Earth.
Let no tyrant bind thy knowledge
In a cell so cramped and small:
Seek thy Lord at nature's college—
This fair earth was made for all.

Think ye that the God of nature,
When creation at its birth,
Dreamed that there would rise a creature
That would buy and sell the earth?—
Who should extort from his fellow
Grinding landlord's tribute high,
Ere on earth the poor may pillow
Aching head, drooping eye?

Pause and ponder, friend and brother;
'Tie a law of hellish birth
That one man must from another
Buy a right to dwell on earth.
But the mind of man is growing;
Soon the writing on the wall
To the tyrant will be showing
That the earth was made for all.

-[Ex.

Constructive Anarchy. II.

By J. A. Andrews.

A NUMBER of comrades wish to socialize their resources; to adopt a thoroughly Anarchist relation towards each other (their numbers and proximity rendering it possible to combine their everyday affairs without strain) and also as far as possible to include the general public without distinction, so as to draw the latter into their methods—in order, that is, that by having the same attitude extended to them and adopting it reciprocally towards the Anarchists, the public may easily extend it towards each other. What arrangements are to be expressed for this purpose?

The discussion of this question may serve to give the outside reader a better practical conception of Anarchist Communism. In assuming that the arrangements are to be expressed in a memorandum for the information of all whom it may concern, I do so for the purpose, firstly, of making existing conditions the point of departure in order to make the practical alterations more obvious; secondly, of illustrating by certain difficulties which would be present in this situation and necessitate a formal explanation, in advance, to avoid misconceptions, various points which on the basis of the informal Anarchy of a completely revolutionized country, would perhaps not be plain to the novice of today; and thirdly for the sake of emphasizing the distinction between such a written or printed memorandum as an Anarchist document, and any "constitution," contract or code of laws or rules.

Let us begin the consideration of the matters to be made plain, with the inquiry whether the land question ought to be treated of first?

I think not; we are hardly in a satisfactory position for considering the tenure and occupation of land until we know on what bases production and distribution are going to be organized. A property system in products, a commercial system, would necessitate at all events something like a provisional property in the land being used for production. With a general combination after the manner of State Socialism regulating production, the land would need to be controlled more or less by a central corporation and branch corporations; or under a system of private commercial enterprise it would be necessary to have the land privately owned, whether permanently, or temporarily under lease or license. As we aim at working on different lines our land system must be different, and we shall be half way through explaining it when we have explained first our industrial and distributive methods.

To begin, then, we should define our system of production and distribution.

For instance, here is the general principle:/

- 1. We lay our needs before each other.
- We consult together and decide by voluntary arrangement what each of us will do towards the carrying out of each or any of these purposes.
- 3. We do as arranged, and the products are distributed according to the needs and purposes for which the work was undertaken.

On these lines there is no question of buying and selling, hiring or being hired, nor yet of any authoritative regulation. Everyone is at liberty to apply his own efforts where and at what purpose he pleases, knowing at the same time precisely what benefit to expect from the action of others. It is in everyone's own hands to give or withhold effort in any particular direction; to what extent he will join with or hold aloof from any undertaking, and to what extent he will associate with or isolate himself from, or help or boycott, any other person.

Applying this principle to practice we should find several ways of working it. First there is the obvious grouping together of neighbors, or organizations following locality. In one such group, it would be ascertained for example what the food requirements of the comrades would be during the coming year, apart from what each proposed to provide himself with in any case by domestic cultivation, etc. Then knowing the state of the natural resources, the different sorts of soil, dryness and dampness, aspect and so on, the best way of providing for each requirment, combined with the convenience of those concerned, would be discussed and in a general way the part and manner of the work to be undertaken by each would be arrived at. This season the ground near the river might appear most favorable for wheat; last season that at a higher level; next season perhaps it would seem prudent to divide the sowing between two situations. These variations would to some extent modify the particular convenience of each person for particular divisions of the work; those who were nearest to the wheat would be best able to give the

current attention to it between seed sowing and harvest, and to take the lead in what was from time to time necessary. In like manner there would be certain carrying of tools, blacksmithing and so on anticipated and arranged for. When all had been as far settled as possible within the group, there would remain some needs yet to be met, for which other groups would be communicated with; and there would also be requests from other groups for supplies, which the people here saw their way to provide, arranging the work on exactly the same principle as that directly required within the group. Perhaps in some cases the assistance needed could not be offered positively, but only contingently upon certain special arrangements being completed; for instance in response to inquiries for iron a small group of settlers in the hills might write:-"There is abundance of ore here, but we cannot undertake to get it out in any practical quantity unless you can relieve us of our local agriculture and make other arrangements for the cattle and butter and cheese which we are supplying to another settlement. Or else, if necessary to obtain the iron from here, an increase of local population in the shape of mining volunteers will have to be effected." Or again this between two neighboring groups:-"We can come over and give the help you wish for in getting your crops under cover before the signalled rain, provided that we can obtain from elsewhere in the course of the day additional appliances to hurry on the completion of our reservoir. We are sending to such a place to ask if the necessary things can be spared from there, though in use, in consideration of the special emergency." And so on.

Secondly, groups not determined by locality. In a large centre of population like Melbourne (population half a million) there might be dozens of groups each formed of members living promiscuously all over the city and suburbs, the purpose of the group being to provide food by working a co-operative farm in the country, the members going up in turns to do the current work and together at special seasons. Or there might be distinct groupings composed of such a party of townsmen and certain people in the country. There might be a small scattered settlement containing, say, twelve households, and each of these in a separate group with some city combination. Then also, groups formed in view of such special purposes as the taking of concerted weather observations, or the obtaining of foreign table delicacies, or the providing of certain photographic materials.

Thirdly, federal and connective groupings; thus the people over a certain area might find it convenient to concert their efforts in certain respects as a single group, to save the perplexed cross-firing of arrangements; for the purpose of simplifying matters in regard to what is found to be practically the common business. To this end, a special group would be formed at a central point for the purpose of receiving communications from the local groups and transmitting them to these in a digested form, tabulating the wants and other information for the

whole general area. The people so associated on the large scale (while retaining their local grouping for the local working of the larger arrangements, as well as for purposes that remain purely local) may be said to constitute a federal group, and the helpers at the centre a connective group.

And fourthly the open list system already mentioned, conducted on the small and the large scale, locally and widely, in connection with groups of special purpose and generally; thus connecting the various individuals and groupings at all points and being to the group system what trade journals and primary advertising are to existing society.

In this connection be it remarked that it is a matter of perfect indifference, except as to convenience, whether goods are originally distributed direct according to the estimates of requirements upon which they were produced, any subsequent change of distribution being effected on the list system or by personal arrangement outside of the lists, or whether instead of being immediately divided they are stored in some convenient places, and taken out as required. In the latter case the only bookkeeping that would be needed, if any, would be a record showing the stock still in hand. and the approximate requirements of different persons against it, so that in case of the consumption differing from the estimate any necessary steps could be taken in time, and so that callers at the store would be in a position to understand whether they could take out what they wanted without injustice to other people who might be specially relying on the stock. In such cases the comrades in charge of the store would be relied on to use their discretion in endeavoring to conserve and procure the best satisfaction all around.

Now, having come to an understanding as to our economic system, we are in a position to consider putting it in operation, and the various matters subsidiary thereto. In the circumstances assumed, namely that the spread of Anarchist ideas has brought a sufficiency of material resources into the movement, there appears no difficulty so far a the comrades are concerned. Neither does there seem any trouble in the way of outsiders entering into the arrangements on the same footing; indeed, nobody being under any liability and nobody being positively entitled to anything from the rest, it would be difficult to draw any other distinction between an Anarchist and an outsider wishing to associate with us on these lines, than just what distinction he himself drew by his general conduct. For example, a bootmaker, a working producer, would be an acceptable associate on these lines to the full extent of the opportunity and of his pleasure, whether he were an Anarchist or not; but one who employed other men would make overtures in vain unless it appeared that he was scarcely their employer except in name-that they were really on about an equal footing with him not only in point of personal income but in his conception and intent were not his subjects but his comrades; if he showed this intent we could associate with him in the hope of developing it, and the best proof would be in seeing the employees recognize him as simply one of themselves. We should certainly boycott anyone who offered to associate with us for the mutual fraternal supply of needs meaning that we should help him, and his slaves should help us. In like manner the working bootmaker would be quite welcome to come and live on land that was part of our resources, in identifying himself with us economically, which means among other things that if he were the owner or holder of any other land, this would be available freely among the comrades of the movement; but if on the other hand he wanted to get a tenant to pay him rent for it, we would rather find someone else to associate with and have among us; no man should come on to the soil in our possession, to give himself the opportunity of getting rent for that which he occupied before, nor while he held an inch of land that he wished to lock up or claim tribute for the use of.

Things and Thoughts.

THE Christian, Morsch says in this issue, that Anarchists will kill those who do not think as they do, because—he says—they have done so in the past. Now if Mr. Morsch is willing to judge the Anarchists and Christians by their deeds in the past, then, indeed, the Anarchists are "sublime" when compared with the Christians. The record of the Christians is full of the most horrible bloodshed; wars, burning people at the stake, torturing of the most cruel kinds imaginable, imprisonment for life, etc., has most always been the argument of the Christians against those who did not believe as they did. And even at present the christian nations tax their dupes as high as possible in order to increase and improve their tools to kill their brother (?) Christians, and there are relatively very few Christians that refuse to join the army. And the more they kill the more they praise god for his help. When the Germans whipped the Frenchmen they praised God for helping them to kill thousands of Frenchmen, and when the Frenchmen whipped the Germans, their churchbells all over France would ring and the Christians glorified the "Almighty." Oh what a glorious past the Christians have!? How does this correspond with "love thy enemy"?

Now, Mr. Morsch, show us a single instance where an Anarchist has killed another man because he did not believe in Anarchism? There is not a single instance on record. True, some Anarchists have killed some of their oppressors, but only when they were driven to despair by persecution of various kinds and executions, hanging, torturing, etc., and all this was done by the Christians because the Anarchists did not believe as they did, and because the Anarchists do not believe in killing, because they do not believe that a few, who do not work, should own everything and that the real producers should starve, as is the case in all christian nations.

"AND with no government I cannot understand how our lives would be safe," says Morsch the Christian. This shows how little he reads his bible and I will tell him what the scriptures say of a condition without government: "In those days there was no king (or ruler) in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."-Judges, XVII; 6. "Then the five men departed, and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt carelessly, after the Zidonians, quiet and secure; and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in anything."-Judges, XVIII; 7. How, then, could the Israelites and Zidonians live secure without a government, Mr. Morsch? Or were the Hebrews and pagans at that time so much better than the Christians of today? Well, as soon as we get rid of the so-called Christians and those that uphold their morality, we will live in peace again without a king or ruler.

And how little confidence Mr. Morsch has in his God, and I think he is rather insulting him. He cannot understand how our lives would be safe. Well, what is God doing at present? "But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore: ye are of more value than many sparrows."—St. Luke, XII; 7. Don't you see that you are mistrusting "His" words and have more confidence in government officials who are in many cases not Christians at all? Next time I may quote something else from the scriptures for our friend Morsch.

THE Anarchists often ridicule the so-called Free-thinkers, because the latter defy God and the church, and at the same time uphold the morals and institutions which sprung up as a result of the god-idea and the church. But are all Anarchists rid of all those prejudices and superstitions? Not at all. Just observe how some of them raise their children and uphold arbitrary sex relations. The children are taught that to be nude in the presence of a stranger is a shame, and that they are not born but brought by the doctor or found somewhere in the woods. Man and wife, when once married, must love each other all their lifetime and nobody else. Does this differ from the teachings of a christian?

Some time ago I called a Comrades attention to this sad fact and he argued thus: "Shall I tell my children all about their origin and awaken their passions? they will find that out soon enough." Yes, they find that out as soon as they come in contact with other children and as such information is always connected

with mystery and filth, it is just what arouses their passions or rather their curiosity and what so often is detrimental to them. Nudity ought not to be considered a shame nor should anything be a mystery to the children.

"My wife is free; she can do as she pleases, but if she should fall in love with another man, I would not 'support' her any more," argues another comrade, who claims to be a "thoroughbred Anarchist." It seems as it has never struck him that his argument is the very same as that of his employer. "You may vote as you like to, and believe as you see fit, but you shall not work for me any longer." Is there much difference in the arguments? Why, a hired house-keeper has more freedom than a married woman. She will not ask her employer whom she may love; she may love two, three or four men at the same time, and still is "supported" by her employer!

A FRIEND from Chicago writes in a private letter: "I feel sad and disgusted seeing so much jealousy and unhappiness among Anarchists, simply because they stick to the moral code of the christians and because they are utterly ignorant in regard to sex nature. When I call attention to such sad affairs, the reply usually is: 'Well, they are not fitting and should separate.' But, then, the question about the children arises and it seems to me, if all those that are not always suitable to each other should separate they would nearly all have to separate." If the Anarchists only would realize that it is altogether impossible to love one and the same person with intensity all the time, and that variety in sex relations is as natural as variety in eating, associating, etc., they would live much happier and love each other much better than ever before. I speak from experience and observa-

Law Causes Crime.

No better illustration of the horrible effects of man's interference with Natural law by substituting his laws, in the restriction of the freedom of individuals, is afforded than by the tripple tragedy of Pearl Bryan, Scott Jackson and Alonzo Walling. When we add to the brutality of their deaths, the heart aches of their immediate friends, the cost of the litigation and the demoralizing effect on the mind of the public as it reads of the crime, trial conviction and execution of the boys, it should bid us pause to enquire for a cause for such tragedies. What did Pearl Bryan do that called for the unnatural crime of producing an abortion? Why did the boys try to produce the abortion? The remainder of the tragedy is a sequence. If an answer to the above questions can implicate others in the crime, then neither the girl nor the boys were individually so much to blame. Had not society conspired to bring about the tripple tragedy?

I arraign society and charge it with being the prime and major cause of the tragedy. Again I ask what did Pearl Bryan do that she should endanger her life to evade the penalty? It has never been proven nor can it be proven, that she did more than gratify a Natural desire on her part and the part of her paramour, and performed a Natural function of fecundation necessary to "multiply and replenish the earth." What did Wood, Jackson or Walling do? It has never been proven nor can it be, that they did more than gratify a Natural desire, a natural desire which if not gratified the population of the earth would become extinct. In the gratification of their desires and the exercise of the natural function of propagation, no one's rights nor freedom was infringed upon, but society steps in and by arbitrary law, not by any natural law or right, and imposes a penalty upon each. A fine or imprisonment on Wood and ostracism and disgrace upon Pearl Bryan. Their Natural actions in the gratification of their Natural faculties infringed not the equal freedom of any other person, and rendered no one else less happy, except the unhappiness imposed upon her friends by the conventional odium attached to a right act, by a perverted moral sense, fostered by an arbitrary statute law requiring a certain formal agre ment or promise to forever live together-a very arbitrary and unnatural requirement.

Natural law is stronger than man made laws. After they had obeyed a natural law it was entirely natural to evade a statute law that contravened it. Now comes in the responsibility of society for what followed in evading the man made laws. Society should never have imposed penalties for obeying Natural laws. Society should not attach any odium to obeying a Natural law. In order to evade man made laws, there was doubtless a mutual agreement to part of the

After a futile attempt to evade societies unjust, unnatural law, resulting in her death, society adds insult to injury by an additional double tragedy by hanging Jackson and Walling. Does the brutal murder of those boys goaded to crime by law, bring the girl to life? Does it make life more sacred in the minds of the people for society to murder the boys? Does it not tend to make life less sacred when society joins in to sanction capital punishment by law? No crime is committed that society is not largely responsible for. The conventional sentiment and restriction of liberty, in other words, the education and environments, has all to do with producing the crimes of the age. Laws restricting sex freedom, and the conventional odium growing out of such laws, has driven many otherwise affectionate, good mothers to infanticide and prostitution. Such restriction tends to degenerate the race. Children begotten in the bondage of marriage, are often begotten in hatred and grow up ill tempered villains because of prenatal influ-

A scandal is now burning in our village which may terminate in litigation and possibly a tragedy for no good reason, but only because of a perverted moral standard fostered by Church and State. A retired farmer's daughter with two small children whose husband abandoned her a year ago because of trouble with her father, lives alone in a cottage in the village. A nice looking intelligent young man of good stock who has also left his wife in Mattoon, has been visiting his sister, the wife of the village physician, for several months, and the grass-widow and grass-widower became so much enamored with each other that it is said now, they both occupied the same bed at the same time on several occasions. Now, neither of them had infringed the freedom or rights of anyone. It was no ones business but their own. But the father, being a very religious leader of the Methodist Church, was of course very arbitrary as his religion lead him to be. He believes in a strong government to tax peace men, like me, to pay him a pension. He, of course, believes in strict marriage laws and that prostitution in wedlock is all right, and ordained of God, and should be protected by the State, but that the exercise of a natural function outside of wedlock is a horible crime. He is, of course, very arbitrary and dictatorial in his family, and out of it as far as he can be. When he found that the young man visited his daughter, he ordered her to break him short off which she did through a letter informing him that her house was watched by a man with a gun. The young man then wrote to her for his contraceptics &c. which the old man got hold of, and their whole liaison leaked out. Now the whole family is in a peck of trouble about nothing. The whole trouble is generated by disobedience of natural law and the substitution of man made laws fostered by the Church and enacted by her twin sister the State.

I am more than confirmed in my belief that the only way to promote individual and communal happiness is for every one to mind his own business, and let others do as they please so long as they infringe not others rights. Every one should do as he pleases, limited only by the equal freedom of others. Let others do as they please so long as they infringe not my freedom. What a happy world we would then have and how much needless trouble would be averted.

The possibilities are, that if she has a child by him, it will be a love child-a bright child as most love children are where women are free to choose the father of their children as all women should be.

Instead of the freedom of the sexes, as a result of Anarchy, being an objection to it, it is one of its chief commendations to my mind. The greatest men and women of the race in all history were begotten out of wedlock. Let mothers, the builders of the race, select the time to conceive and the fathers to impregnate and then we can have a race of freemen. A race of J. C. BARNES. Anarchista.

Custom.

INGERSOEL has said many beautiful and true sayings, but nothing truer than, "Custom is a prisonhouse locked and barred, whose key is in the keeping of the dead." And so it would seem the key has been burried with the dead.

reason, and never weary of deploring the interference of the law in our private affairs, for it is deplorable, but how few, even of the Anarchists, ever realize how enslaved they are to custom. I have traveled about quite a bit and had considerable experience, for one of my age, and have time and again been impressed with the impregnability of the wall which custom raises between persons and free action; between different persons who are mutually attracted, and an innumerable number of other rela tions of life. We can violate the written law, and if shrewd, escape the penalty, but in cases where more than one is concerned, if one or more is a slave to custom, we find it harder to act than any prohibitive law can possibly make it.

Take the matter of dress. It is customary for women to wear skirts, and although it is senseless, injurious to health, troublesome, anneying and mud catching, filth holding and expensive, yet the women are so bound by custom that they not only stick to skirt wearing, but also resent any proposition to abolish them and adopt a more sensible dress. Of course there are some women who break away from this foolish custom, but how quickly the remaining women and many men ostracise them, or inflict petty persecutions on them. So strong a hold on them has this custom that while thousands of women recognize the foolishness and harmfulness of it, and often complain of and curse it, yet they go right on making yard after yard of cloth into skirts, costing lots of work and money, and perpetuating a custom they despise.

It is considered all right for two persons of the opposite sex to eat ice cream together, lunch to gether, ride out together, and associate together quite freely so long as neither one of them is married, but as soon as one or both get married all this is changed. No longer can they associate as before it is not customary. True, some have the courage to violate this custom, but it often calls out a wonderful amount of unnecessary attention from others, and the number who display so much courage are yet very scarce. It is customary for the women to keep their hats on in public meetings and for the men to take their hats off in public meetings and in "the presence of ladies," and the vast majority do so simply because it is custom.

I have been a rebel against custom ever since I can remember, and cannot, and do not sanction any custom that does not appeal to my reason, or seems to be best suited to the well-fare and happiness of those who follow it, but I have come in contact with so many who, while they can give no reason for following certain customs, which they admit are nonesensical, but who continued to follow such customs with a distressing tenacity, that I have often become discouraged and wondered if people would ever become sensible and courageous enough to discard old, enslaving customs and assert their right to act. speak, dress and conduct their affairs and live their lives as their judgment points out as best. The list of foolish customs is too long to be contained in one issue of The Firebrand, so I will refrain from going into further details.

At almost every turn we run up against a slave to custom whose obstinate adherence to said custom makes them an enemy, or at least an oppressor. when otherwise he or she would be a friend and co-worker. The sociably constituted person. plans for mutual enjoyments with others, but when those with whom they have planned these enjoyments are slaves to a custom that must be violated to carry out these enjoyments, then the planner must keenly feel the effects of the slavery to custom If we wish to be free, as we all claim to wish, then we must assert our freedom from customs that are distasteful to us. How many will join the "Association for Emancipation from Foolish Customs?" It costs nothing to join and there are no obligations er duties. You are, however, requested to send in occasional reports of the progress of the work in your vacinity: Any violation of foolish customs, in dress, in speech, in association. H. A.

Correspondence.

EMMA GOLDMAN LECTURES. It has happened "providentially" (for Providence)

City with her presence, and is likely to come again. After her ten days engagement for open air meetings at Philadelphia which will begin the 20th of May, she will hold a succession of "open air" meetings here.

Her last engagement at Providence began on Friday evening, April 23d when she gave a lecture before the Comrades in the German Language answering "What is Anarchism?"-Saturday evening following, she had an "open air" meeting on Crasston Square—and for two hours held her audience "spell-bound!" The multitude were slow to leave even at the close of her delivery, attracted, as they were, by her eloquent flow of words and logical conclusions. Then, too, with all her earnestness there is mingled with it, now and then, a touch of humorsome satire which will win the most unwilling listener.

It was "a venture" to give a Sunday morning address here but it was ventured—at 11 A. M. Olneyville Square. But, as the church people began to gather around her at the close of their services, with apparently more interest than they had previously displayed—the police thought that in the interest of both "God and State"—the "open air" service had better be brought to a close.

But our vigorous little Emma was slow to understand the gentle taps of the Chairman on her arm (!) and closed the meeting only when she had "said her say.

Afternoon lectures on Sunday 25th were given at the Headly's Hall,—both in the German and English languages on the subject "Is it possible to realize Anarchism," and with the usual result; -i. e., of causing all who listened to resolve to hear her again, if possible. Opportunity was given for questions, and, as all who come to these meetings are, naturally, of an "inquiring mind," the questions came and so did an answer everytime!" Long live Emma Goldman!

Providence, R. I.

BERKMAN'S RESCUE FUND.

I received:

List No 17 through Molok, New York . . From List No. 1
Collected at a meeting in Providence, R. I.
Emma Goldman

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\$127.43

Expenses:

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The Letter-Box.

- R. H., City-Yes, the order was received. Thanks.
- D. L., New London, Conn.-The Firebrand has been sent to Chesterfield as ordered, but we sent you the back numbers to your new address anyhow.
- A. T. New York,-The five dollars which was realized from the book you donated to the Group Proletariat were included in the \$7.25 credited to the group in No.14 of The Firebrand. Thanks and Greetings.
- L. H., Babylon N. Y.-The book was sent. Thanks. erally send sample copies to one and the same person for three or four months, because we think it most expedient. From one or two copies a man can hardly conceive what our principles are and what we aim at, if he has not read anything on Anarchism before. Often those sample copies are certainly wasted, but not always.
- The Patriots' Bulletin, Chicago, Ill.-We cannot comply with your request to club with your paper as we neither advocat;
 "good government" nor "patriotism." A "good government"
 is an impossible proposition and teaching "patriotism" is nothing but creating hatred. Get your eyes open, Mr. Harves and help us to bring freedom about, otherwise we are bound travel our own load without your company.
- A. P. Altavista, Mo.-We had the gall to believe that the cobwebs of superstition in our brain were all burned away but you tell us that there are yet many left and want the pap only after they are burned away. Now, you have put us in a difficult position. How will we be able to find out when our cobwebs are burned away if you don't read the paper in the meantime and tell us when we are rid of them? But I think you will bye and bye find out that you have seen the mote in our eyes, but were not aware of the beam in your own eyes.
- T. N. Marshall, Summerland, Calif.—If you "want The Fire brand regularly" for the simple reason to combat Anarchism, you will have to pay for it. Your challenge to discuss "absolute monarchy in which the monarch is the delegate viceory of monarchy in which the monarch is the delegate viceory of God, having absolute power over all his subjects so that neither debate ner hinderance will be tolerated is the ideal government. In The Firebrand would be an offense to any intelligent reader and therefore we modestly decline. We have enough on hand to combat, the less idealistic government "of the people, for the people and by the people." I would advise you to discuss that question with the Zulus in Artics, but before, have your head examined with the X rays, as there is surely "a

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

Third Avatar of Woman.

O BEAUTIFUL Mould of Man, thrice born, made fre O BEAUTIFUL Mould of Man, thrice born, made free, First flesh, soul next, and third, and now, a mind, Full-bloom of sense and heart with thought refined—'Tis thine, now, with thy brother equally To join, or fairly fight for victory;
Jealous of heart and sex and brain thine own To stand in gracious dignity, alone,
And lack no whit of human majesty Which consciousness of Selffulfilled can give To one who life untrammeled wills to live. To one who life untrammeled wins to have Defeat forever falls upon mistake, Life has but one great lesson learned at length, The weak who yield are worse than strong, who take, Strength is the all of virtue, and to know is strength.

—[J. Wm. Lloyd.

Is "Varietist Free-Love" Practicable Within the Present System of Society?

BY OSCAR LANDECK. *

I ANSWER this question with a conditional yes! and will in the following discuss in detail the necessary condition for the practice of variety in love. For the purpose of the possible greatest clearness on the principle in question I shall first characterize the main attitudes taken toward love, or the relationship of the sexes. One can classify men and women in this

respect into four great groups or categories.

1. The honest "Marriagists." These are theoretically and practically, strict followers of the prevailing religious system of morality, according to which moral sexual relations exist only within church or state licenced "marriage." The very small minority of persons who belong to this class either find naturally full satisfaction of their love desire in monogamic marriage, on account of their psychic and physical organization, or they submit to the compulsion of the marriage institution from various motives, as: Hatred of deceit, fear of discovery and the resulting disgrace. lack of opportunity and so on, suppressing in the latter cases, in everlasting self-torture, every natural desire for variety in love.

2. The Non-Principleists. These are if married-the adulterers from habit and opportunity. To this class belongs the overwhelming majority of men, and of course a certain percentage of women. The numbers of this group simply yield instinctively to their natural desire for variety in love, whenever they find an opportunity, without in the least philosophizing on the subject. With them there exists no ethical or intellectual principle or ideal whatever concerning the relationship of the sexes. These persons defend, as rule, publicly the so-called "Sanctity of Marriage" whose precepts, however, they are always ready to violate in secret. They make up, consequently, the great army of the sexual hypocrites of whom the world is full.

3. The Unitist or Exclusivist Free Lovers. These have emancipated themselves from the Church or State conception of the relationship of the sexesdemanding a "license" for the exercise of a natural right as represented by "Marriage." They consider the sexual partnership entirely a private agreement which can be dissolved at any time, at the wish of either one of the partners. They have, however, in common with the marriagists, that in their voluntarily and autonomously formed unions the sexual relation is an "exclusive one."

4. The Varietist or Radical Free Lovers. To this group belong those men and women who reject not only Church or State marriage as an institution of sex ual slavery, but also the idea of "exclusiveness" in love relations, which is virtually the artificial product of institutional marriage. The varietists claim from physiological reasons, ethical sentiments and inalien-

. This is the pseudouym of the author of the essay: The seres and love in freedom, which appeared some time ago in The Firebrand. He will for important reasons henceforth write under the above name. Readers of The Firebrand and especially the former critics of the contributor in question will please remember what is said here.

able personal rights, the absolute self-ownership of the into a "Union with Freedom." Others entered from individual at every moment of his or her life. They love and accept love, fully and wholly, whenever heart and nature urges to it on both sides, without granting exclusive rights, or demanding such. The varietist Free Lovers feel, think and act in self-conscious harmony with Shelleys beautiful utterance on Love:

"True love in this differs from gold and clay, That to divide is not to take away!

It is the love ideal of this last group of Free Lovers, in its practical application which will form the subject of this essay. From theoretical reasons, as well as on account of facts from actual life, I for one have the conviction that varietism is practicable within the present system of society. In my opinion the only absolute prerequisite is that the interested men and women fully believe in the naturalness, healthfulness, humanity and beauty of unrestricted sexual selection, and that at the same time the moral and intellectual maturity for this attitude exists on both sides; that, in short, its advocates possess the necessary character and sense of principle. The economic difficulties which are intimately connected with the institution of private property in the natural resources, and the machinery of production, are by no means the only oras I will prove later on-the greatest obstacle for practical variety in love. The moral prejudices as well as the anti-natural, and therefore false, notions concerning love and sex matters, which without doubt had their origin and nourishment in the ascetic christian morality, and private property, obstruct for most persons the road to a free and natural conduct with reference to sex life to a much higher degree than the material hindrances.

But from love of truth, and through reflection in consequence of personal experiences or observation, one can free one self of these false ideas and conceptions; that is, emancipate one self intellectually and as a result from this, afterward morally. If-after having overcome the at first often very painful minor conflicts-this intellectual and moral emancipation becomes, so to say, flesh and blood with one, if one finally, as it occurs to one with every new and proven truth or conviction-learns to love the "very Idea" of perfect freedom in love! If one at last has the good fortune to meet with congenials, in head and heart, of both sexes, then the economic circumstances will be found in many cases to play, relatively, only a small part. With this, however, I do not mean to say that varietism as a principle will become a general custom with the people before a radical change will have been made with reference to the present property system. But I wish here to prove the possibility of practical variety in love, for all those who feel themselves born practical reformers in this so very important field of life, and who consequently possess the necessary moral courage to be, in sex-life, the pioneers of free society. All those who have not gone through this emancipating evolution themselves, I would like to remind of the fact that there has existed in the United States of America a systematic and energetic radical Free-Love movement for more than 50 years. This movement is also in one sense or another in sympathetic contact with the international movement of the proletariat for economic emancipation, but its main object from the beginning was the enlightenment and propaganda for practical Free-Love, under the social conditions existing at the time being. This school of sex-reformers has made the relationship of the sexes a subject for unprejudiced and free study in all directions, as has never been done in a similar way by the international Socialists, or Anarchists as a body. The followers of this school also live in strict accord with their theoretical principles; and that with a satisfactory result for all concerned. One looks in vain among the varietists of this school for the assumed, and usually much feared, injurious consequence and effect of radical free loving conduct within the capitalist system of society. There are no destitute children, no deserted mothers, no unprincipled persons among the men or women, and last but not least, no act of tyrannical and brutal jealousy! To the extent I have personally come in contact with varietists of this sex-enlightened class I have allways found a relationship between the intimately associated men and women which left nothing to be desired with reference to mutual esteem and confidence, to sincerity, harmony, affection and true good fellowship—a fellowship which in this totality I have never observed between the partners of a legal marriage. Not a few among these practical and successful varietists were originally married couples, who after, attaining better knowledge, changed their marriage

the beginning into a home-comradeship agreement, with a community of economic interest, but with pre servation on principle of full and mutual personal freedom for other love relations.

Varietist Free Love is indeed not what the ignorance of the philistines or, the calculated slander of hypocritical and liberty-hating, and persecuting authorities in church, state and society would make it. An unconscientious and aprincipled wandering from one object to another, without regard for the psychic or material well-being of the loved one, without a genuine and deep interest in the person-what the register of sins of the heartless seeking nothing but the pleasure of the moment "Bonvivant" or "Libertine" consists in, from which varietism differs just as much as darkness does from sunshine! Varietist Free Love consists in the contrary; in the sympathetic regard for the needs of heart and body of all who long for "love" and whom we think worthy of our best, deepest, noblest and tenderest affections. It is the division of the love of one, being among several 'selected objects," and the sharing of several persons in the love of one object. All that with proud selfconsciouness, unreserved confidence and mutual voluntary consent of all concerned.

Let us now take up the children question, which naturally offers the main and greatest difficulty for most inquirers about variety in love. If one wishes to make woman truly and really free, that is, if one wants to grant her full equality with man, and give her the same opportunities for devoloping all her natural abilities, to engage herself according to gifts and inclination, if one with one word wants to render it possible for her to make of herself a self-relying and harmoniously developed personality, and individuality, one must also decide oneself not to leave any longer the propagation of the race simply to chance, as the lower animals do, but to let reason and intention rule here as in all other spheres of human life. If during the years of ability for work and enjoyment of life, let us say from her twentieth to her fourtieth year, one pregnancy follows the other, and then without an interruption worth the name 4, 6, 8, or even 12 children are to be nourished from out of her own body, if besides all the other care for the children, and in addition to all this the work in the kitchen and house rest on her-then, I ask, where shall she get the time, ambition and the necessary physical strength for any other occupation, which would educate her mind, give iov to her heart and a full content to her life? Why are most women out of the people after five or ten years of married life physically so exhausted, and so bare of that natural gracefulness and womanly charm which they often possessed as unmarried woman? Why do they walk about so oppressed and so indifferent or without understanding for all that is apt to arouse the mind and stir the heart? For the most part because they had been condemned to be in the main nothing but "Breeding machines!" Why on the other hand does one find among the more well-todo and educated so many women who have preserved themselves a certain youthful freshness and vigor of body and mind into their higher age? Mainly because they had given birth to only as many children as their mother instinct really wished for, and in such periods enjoyed as much physical rest as was compatable with their own health and their humanely perfectly legitimate demands for personal enjoyment of life! Nothing is, indeed, more common for women of the working population than to complain to each other, or their family physician, of their too great tamilies and to ask their doctor whether anything can be done against such unreasonable increase of offspring. Many women have no knowledge about preventive measures, consequently-resort to abortive remedies, often without the knowledge of their husbands, and in most cases thereby ruin their health. The indifference, or even antipathy to sexual intercourse of which many a married woman, after several childbirths, makes no secret, is also in most cases the natural result of their physical debility in consequence of too many pregnancies. The use of reliable and uninjurious measures for the prevention of undesired pregnancy is, therefore in the eyes of the unprejudiced and enlightened mind, for many reasons, a demand in the interest of a higher development of civilization and culture; of the health of the present and consequently of the coming generations, and last but not least an absolute prerequisite for the possibility of a real emancipation of woman.

Even the guaranteed provision for mothers and chil-ren in a more or less communistic society will not, by

After we have seen that prevention of pregnancy for one reason or another is largely practiced by many married people—the two children system of France being proverbial—and that the women of the coming free society will probably very seriously object to giving birth to one child after another, to as many as are willing to come, is it then not a matter of course that the rational prevention of pregnancy also solves satisfactorily the problem of undesired children for varietism in love in the present? All that is really and absolutely necessary is a thorough going information and knowledge about sexual matters.

in most women as regards intensity only second to

their natural desire for sexual gratification!

Rational motherhood naturally implies certainty of fatherhood. But should, in spite of all precautions. here and there a child be born into a home with freedom from a different father than the home partner of the mother, this will not destroy the love and harmony of true varietists! Do not even conventional men marry widow women with children out of a first or often enough a second marriage? If a man truely loves a woman he willingly takes her children into his home. Do not childless married people often adopt even entirely strange children to raise them just as if they were their own? Yet a "Union with Freedom," at the entering into which man and woman had mutually and on principle guaranteed each other full personal freedom for other love relations, whereby naturally both must have considered all eventual consequences-would have to fall at once to pieces and result into a chaos and misery because a child had a father different from the man who is the home companion of the mother! This is too absurd indeed. He who believes this has grasped the true nature of varietist Free Love just as little as he understands the mental and moral organization of those men and women who advocate it. I repeat here once more that just that true complete and unreserved friendship between a man and a woman which marriage "imagines" to be its Ideal is seldom, if ever, realized in it, but is a natural outgrowth of a "Union with Free dom."

Concerning parentage, I would like to add yet, that nothing is, in fact, more natural and proper than that a woman should desire children by different men, each of whom she loves deeply and truly for his peculiar personal merits. The same statement holds equally good for man in his relation to women whom he thinks worthy and well fitted for being mothers of his desired children. There is little doubt that the woman of free society will claim her natural right to, at all times, choose the father of her child, and that the free and enlightened man will recognize this her natural right; for free motherhood logically implies free fatherhood. They both together constitute ideal natural selection.

Let us now pay attention to the economic side of the subject under discussion. As the household and the care and provision for children of a varietist couple does not necessitate ampler means than that of a married couple on the same social plane, it follows that the economic possibility of variety in love and a varietist home goes just as far as that of conventional marriage and its family life. Given the necessary moral and intellectual maturity for the smancipated standpoint practical varietist Free Love will, among men and women of character and sense of principle, be a success in the present, and realize its Ideal which may be thus summed up: Fewer but better children—all of them welcome—healthier mothers, a higher type of womanhood intellectually, a more joyful, natural and mutually more benefitting sociability between the sexes through the liberation of the beautifying and vivifying genius of love, resulting in a true comradeship between men and women as it is never possible within the orthodox social world, for in the latter reigns throughout artificialty and sham in the place of naturalness and truthfulness.

Some Gems

FROM BUCKLE'S "HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION."

LOOKING at things upon a large scale, the religion of mankind is the effect of their improvement, not the cause of it.

WE hear too much of the necessity of protecting and rewarding literature, and we hear too little of the necessity of that freedom and boldness, in the absence of which the most splendid literature is altogether worthless.

EVEN in an advanced stage of civilization, there is always a tendency to prefer those parts of literature which favor ancient prejudices, rather than those which oppose them. And in cases where this tendency is very strong, the only effect of great learning will be to supply the materials which may corroborate old errors, and confirm old superstitions. In our time such instances are not uncommon; and we frequently meet with men whose erudition ministers to their ignorance, and who, the more they read, the less they know. There have been states of society in which this disposition was so general, that literature has done far more harm than good. Thus, for example, in the whole period from the sixth to the tenth centuries. there were not in all Europe more than three or four men who dared to think for themselves; and even they were obliged to vail there meaning in obscure and mystical language. The remaining part of society was, during those four centuries, sunk in the most degrading ignorance. Under these circumstances, the few who were able to read, confined their studies to works which encouraged and strengthened their superstition, such as the legends of the saints, and the homilies of the "fathers." From these sources they drew those lying and impudent fables of which the theology of that time is principally composed.

The great antagonist of intolerance is not humanity, but knowledge.

When the interval between the intellectual classes and the practical classes is too great, the former will possess no influence, the latter will reap no benefit.

EVERY great reform which has been effected, has consisted, not in doing something new, but in undoing something old. The most valuable additions made to legislation have been enactments destructive of preceding legislation; and the best laws which have been passed, have been those by which some former laws were repealed. In the case just mentioned [of the corn laws] all that was done was to repeal the old laws, and leave trade to its natural freedom. When this great reform was accomplished, the only result was, to place things on the same footing as if legislators had never interfered at all. Precisely the same remark is applicable to another leading improvement in modern legislation, namely, the decrease of religious persecution. This is unquestionably an immense boom; though, unfortunately, it is still imperfect, even in the most civilized countries. But it is evident that the concession merely consists in this? that legislators have retraced their own steps, and undone their own work.

THERE is no instance on record of an ignorant man who, having good intentions and supreme power to enforce them, has not done far more evil than good.

A Country that continue in its old ignorance will always remain in its old religion. Seeing, therefore, that the efforts of government in fayor of civilization are, when most successful, altogether negative; and seeing, too, that when those efforts are more than negative they become injurious it clearly follows that all speculations must be erroneous which ascribe the

progress of Europe to the wisdom of its rulers.

Ir would be easy to push the inquiry still further, and to show how legislators, in every attempt they have made to protect some particular interests, and uphold some particular principles have not only failed, but have brought about results diametrically, opposite to those which they proposed. We have seen that their laws in favor of industry have injured industry; that their laws in favor of religion have increased hypocrisy; and that their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury.

In the same intermeddling spirit, and with the same mistaken [Here Buckle makes the mistake of crediting governments with honest intentions F. A. C.] notions of protection, the great christian governments have done other things more injurious. They have made strenuous and repeated efforts to destroy the liberty of the press, and prevent men from expressing their sentiments on the most important questions in politics and religion. In nearly every country, they, with the aid of the church, have organized a vast system of literary police, the sole object of which is to abrogate the undoubted right of every citizen to lay his opinions before his fellow-citizens. On all implements of knowledge, and on all the means by which it is diffused, such as paper, books, political journals, and the like, they have imposed duties so heavy, that they could hardly have done worse if they had been the sworn advocates of popular ignorance. Indeed, looking at what they have actually accomplished, it may be emphatically said, that they have taxed the human mind. They have made the very thoughts of men pay toll.

These are many instances of nations changing their religions, but there is no instance of a progressive country voluntarily adopting a retrogressive religion; neither is their any example of a declining country ameliorating its feligion.

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

Note and Comment.

What Anarchist can call the attention of the police to the "irregular" acts of anyone and not feel mean?

IF you make the jurors and judge believe you sanction their verdicts and decissions you become accessory to their crimes.

ABUNDANCE is stamped on the face of mother earth, in every direction, but want and care show in the faces of men and women among the abundance.

How many that read this help to uphold existing conditions by giving their moral support to the verdicts of juries, decisions of courts and the actions of tax assessors and collectors?

The tendency of the times is shown by the fact that not nearly as many musicians are employed in the usual way as used to be, while strolling bands play on the streets and then pass the hat.

The intricate loveliness of present methods manifests itself in gorgeous splendor and horrible squallor. In wasteful luxury and scrimping penury. Present methods are no more lovely than intricate, and much of the attraction rests in their inscrutability.

I am informed that the recruiting officers cannot keep the Vancouver Barracks supplied with artillerymen. I know they have had a recruiting office constantly open in Portland for five years, and find difficulty in getting recruits enough to keep up the infantry. This is very encouraging. It shows a decline in patriotism, and convinces me that the "dont join the army" agitation that a few of us started six years or so ago has not been in vain.

Much has been said, by the political press, about increasing the army, and Congress has raised the wages of soldiers \$5. per month and authorized an increase in the standing army. An effort is being made in Portland to increase the number of soldiers stationed at Vancouver Barracks, Ft. Canby and the other posts near by. Two weeks or so ago fifteen young, strong men had put their names down to be mustered in. One of the comrades got one of them to have a talk with a couple of members of The Firebrus

Group, and, as a result, he went down and had his name taken from the roll, distributed copies of The Firebrand amongst the other boys, talked with them and induced thirteen more of them to withdraw their names. So you see, comrades, our "dont join the army" agitation is of some use. If fourteen-fifteenths of the prospective recruits can be kept out of the army everywhere it will soon go out of existence. How many will help us in this line.

THE calamity howler again appears, this time much enlarged, its name changed to The Commoner, and expressing the hope that its run will be longer than before. In its motto line we read "government ownership of all monopolies." "Direct legislation of the people." From this it seems that the boys have not yet got away from advocating slavery-have not learned that government and freedom cannot exist at the same time in the same place.

When young men who intend joining the army can be shown the horrors of war, and that they are going to defend their oppressors only, they wont join. If they dont join, the ranks of the army will decrease and the scheme to overawe any effort to gain liberty will fall through. New methods of dealing with the problems that arise will have to be tried, and if compulsory military service is resorted to, which will probably be tried, "lots of fun" can be had with the officials Try and keep the boys out of the army.

Don't borrow money or pay interest. Which is better to suffer hardships and fatten a parasite, or suffer hardship and leave the parasite to starve or rustle on an equal footing with you? How can bankers get rich if no one patronizes them? If you are a business man and must use money, or some medium of exchange, join the Labor Exchange, or help form a Mutual Bank, or devise some other way of supplying yourself with the neccessary medium free of interest. A determination to pay no more interest, if carried out by one fourth of those who now pay interest would cause a revolution in financial affairs.

. . . THERE is some misunderstanding among the comrades concerning comrade Wellenbrock. He is in the hospital but at our expense. He could not go to the hospital at the expense of the county as one comrade proposed for his home is in Washington. His home county is thinly settled and poor, and has not a hospital in it, and his attending physician, even if paid by the county did not understand his case, and could not help him. The best arrangments have been made in his case that could be made. It is a heavy load for us to carry, and we invite all the comrades who can to help us carry it. Comrade Wellenbrock was an Anarchist propagandist when Anarchist were few.

J. F. Duggan, of Carrollton, Wash., writes:

"We have 160 acres of good land that was valued a few years ago at \$4,000 and is today valued at from \$2 000. to \$2.500. The timber alone would bring \$1.500 at 50 c. per M, the present selling price, stumpage. Beside, there is 40 acres slashed and partly cleared, that is the stumps are not all dug out yet, and there are some old logs on a part of it.

"The place was deeded from the Government January 20th, 1880, and was settled on more than 25 years ago. Properly cultivated it would now support 25 or 30 persons, and if all the land was cleared could support 75 or 80. It has on it a good well and orchard and other improvements. \$2.000 would not pay 10c. a day for the work done on the place. It is 41 miles from P. Office, Railroad and River navigation, 34 mile to a good school: A good stream to run water power machinery. Now the idea is, struggling alone we would eventually loose our home anyhow, so if Co-operators can gain anything by redeeming it, we would much rather they would have it than the money lender, and we certainly believe there is a big bargain in it. Now this is the way it stands: there is a mortgage on the place that will take \$750, to clear up in full, or I can get a renewal on \$500. for five years, at six per cent interest, by paying \$250. on the debt and \$50 extra for making renewal. Now if you can get Comrades to raise \$300. cash, and accept the five years extension, or \$750. for full payment, and give us an equal share in the home of the Family, we will give a warrantee deed to the land, to the Association, and do our best to make it a success in every way we can. If there is any prospects of getting the money, sand down a committee to examine the land, deeds

and mortgage, and report to you about it. Of course it will have to be done shortly as the mortgage is already over due and I dont know how soon they may foreclose, but I think they would give us time to raise the money. It will not cost much to investigate this place if any comrade can raise the money. I would not ask money only I cannot give it without money.'

If any of the comrades wish to take part in a colony scheme, or the establishment of an Anarchist-Communist home, and can help redeem this landabout 45 miles from Portland, 75 cents round trip by boat-let us immediately begin correspondence looking to that end, so that comrade Duggan may induce his creditors to wait and give him a bit more time...

Clippings and Comments.

A corporation is a special privilege, and "no special privileges should be granted."—[Pittsburg Kansan.

All laws create special privileges, therefore to be logical the Kansan must oppose all laws. * * *

Our government has been so thoroughly bad that to government, for a little time at least, would be preferable to it. City, county and school matters have suffered so long from the cancer of mismanagement, incompetence, dishonesty, or worse, that no remedy is left but the knife. All the diseased tissue must be removed.—[Tacoma Ledger.

This is the assertion of a republican editor concerning republican administration. He was not an Anarchist, is not tinctured a little bit, but the facts and conditions that he had to face, at the time he wrote the above forced him to write as he did, but such expressions, even though forced, tend to disgust honest people with government and help our propaganda.

The railroads have been liberal in the way of judges. Of the United States judges, 52 were corporation lawyers before their appointment, and come from the Standard Oil Combany and the following railroads: Pennsylvania, 8; New York Central, 6; Baltimore and Ohio, 7; Atchison, Topeks and Santa Fe, 2; Boston and Albany, 1; Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern, 1; Pacific roads, 6; Philadelphia and Reading, 2; Savannah, Florida and Western, 1; Wabash, 2; Standard Oil, 16. These appointments were probably made on the principle that a corporation lawyer know just what a corporation wants, and that a corporation must have what it wants. So the account stands: For the corporations, 52; for the people, 0000—[Ex. The railroads have been liberal in the way of judges. For the corporations, 52; for the people, 0000.—[Ex.

And yet this is called a government of the people, by the people, and for the people!?!?!?

The Student-May I ask a question? I want to know if there is any exception to the economic law that taxes tend to distribute themselves?

Professor-That is a general law; it applies in all

The Student-I thought there might be exceptions, because I find it stated that the land where the town of Pullman stands has been taxed as farm land; and the Rockefeller rich mining lands at 75 cents an acre. and railroad lands at \$1.25 an acre, while farmers' lands, adjoining and of the same quality, are taxed at \$25 an acre. Does the economic law of distribution mean that taxes skip the rich and distribute themselves among the poor? If it doesn't mean that, it seems to me the facts rather upset the law. I don't know which to tie to.

Professor-Sir, whatever the tendency of taxes, your tendency is toward Anarchy!

We call this a free country and yet since March 4, 1895, sixty arrests of Seventh-day Adventists have been made, as follows: Alabama, 1; Arkansas, 3; California, 1; Georgia, 1; Illinois, 9; Maryland, 10; Mississippi, 2; North Carolina, 2; Tennessee, 22; Texas, 1; Manitoba, 1; Ontario, 7. Of these, thirty were convicted, serving terms of imprisonment ranging from five to one hundred and twenty-nine days were convicted, serving terms of imprisonment ranging from five to one hundred and twenty-nine days. These arrests and convictions were all for working on Sunday, by a people who religiously observe Saturday, as the Sabbath. Just how Mr. McKinley could say, as he did in his inaugural address: "It is consoling and encouraging to realize that free speech, a free press, free thought and the free and unmolested right of religious Liberty and worship are more universally enjoyed today than ever before," I cannot understand unless he is ignorant of these outrageous persecutions of an honest, orderly, and, in all other ways, law abiding people.—[Independent Pulpit.

That is to be expected, brother Shaw, while government lasts. What good is government if someone cannot interfere with another? . No government forming hove, and girls groups spoken of in last Fire-

no Sabbath law, no Sabbath law no persecution.

THE taskmasters of Egypt could scarce have been harder upon the Children of Israel than are the caual bosses upon the unfortunate beings who are forced to seek employment in the icy bottom of the great Erie Canal. The men are driven to their labors just as ferociously as was ever Israelite driven by hireling of Pharoah. Scarcely a day passes that several do not sink from sheer exhaustion and are carried off to the hospital where they become a burden for the county to bear while their starving families seek sustenance from the poor authorities.

It is a pitiable fact to record at the close of the 19th century, but it is nevertheless the case that many of the mea employed on the great public work of improving the Erie Canal are treated inhumanely. They are driven to the very limit of human endurance without the hope of redress and without one word of sympathy or effort for their protection on the part of the constituted authorities.

The above is clipped from a Detroit, Mich., daily. Comment unnecessary.

ALTHOUGH taxable values have risen and new and ALTHOUGH GARDIC VALUES have risen and new and very productive sources of revenue have been tapped in this State in the past year, the tax-rate is to be about the same, pernaps a little higher.

This should excite no more surprise than the morning appearance of the sun in the east. Legislatures, State and National, are assembled for two purposes;

1 To append monay.

 To spend money.
 To find money to spend. The first purpose is not necessarily dependent upon the second. Witness our Congresses that have increas the second. Witness our Congresses that have increased the appropriations in the face of an enormous deficit. The second purpose is perhaps more diverting than the first. In legislative slang it is known as "plucking the goose," the goose being, of course, the people. The test of real skill as a legislator consists in plucking the most feathers with the least squawking. Judged by this test, our State Legislature and our Congress have much to learn. True, they get a great many feathers—so many that the wretched goose looks as if for it the moulting season never ended. But, heavens, what a squawking!—[N. Y. World. But, heavens, what a squawking!-[N. Y. World.

How long, oh how long! are the people going to continue to play goose for the benefit and amusement of the politicians? Step out-from among them and cease to vote, do jury duty or belong to the military department ofgovernment.

Youth's Department.

"A TOUGH OUTFIT." THE first I remember of hearing anything about Anarchists was the time of the trouble in Chicago. imagined they were a pretty tough outfit. Everybody in our neighborhood condemned them and considered them a lot of crazy men who wanted the rich and well to do people of the country to "whack up" their well earned (?) riches with them, and I remember hearing my old uncle (who is a German) say; "py gully dem fellews ought to be strung oop." glad when we heard their sentence and somehow felt that the people and the country were safer. Of course we had not read the evidence and knew very little of the facts in the case but we knew (?) that they were a bad class of men and thought no punishment could be too severe for them. We read the sad and doleful accounts of the dead and dying policemen—of the awful anguish and suffering of their poor wives (of which we got vivid pictures in the Inter Ocean) and wondered how anyone could be so cruel and wicked, but we never dreamed that anyone but the Anarchists were in the wrong, and it was not until quite recently that I began to take a different view of them and to think that the Anarchists were not so very crazy after all. It was less than a year ago at a Populist club meeting that I first saw a copy of The Firebrand, and after looking at the mottoes on the first page, I had a curiosity to know what these crazy people had to say about themselves. Well, I read a little of them but was not very well satisfied, and paid no further attention to them until a subscriber stopped with us while last winter, and I got to reading them again. Finally I sent for the paper and received in addition several pamphlets on Anarchy which I read with interest and now each week finds me eagerly waiting for the coming of The Firebrand. I have not succeeded in clearing away all the mysteries yet, but guess I am drifting along in that direction. I like the idea of

brand and would like to belong to such a group.

WALTER E. MORSCH.

Julian, Calif.

Various Voices.

Caroline de Maupassant, Otter Lake, Mich.—A kind friend having sent you my name and address I have received your paper regularly for some weeks past. I found so many good things in it that I gladly send you the amount due for a year's subscription. *

Miss L. G., Berkeley, Cal.:—Enclosed you will please find 25 cents worth of stamps for which you will please send me The Firebrand. I received several copies from you as samples and enjoyed them very much and would be pleased if you could send me the last two numbers.

Dalmiro, N. Y. City:—I received the book sooner than I expected. I send a few cents which will not help you much, but will show part of my admiration for your noble efforts. Many a cobweb has The Firebrand burnt away in my brains, making of me another man. I only wish I had the ability that I see in you of putting all my thoughts into words and do my part in the propaganda.

Andrew Nelson, Moroni, Utah:—I am so hard run that it seems almost impossible to spare 25c. You cannot publish your paper for nothing, and I like to read it. I have never known what principles they were that were given the name of Anarchy before. You strike me close on a great many of my long treasured views. The opposition to truth and light in this world seems insurmountable. I am with you in all the good I can do.

Lois Waisbrooker, San Francisco:—Good for you, Comrade Isaak; I do not believe in asceticism any more than you do, but if I, my miner friend or yourself, choose to do without one thing for the sake of another, when both cannot be had, freedom gives us our choice

I believe with Stella that in Freedom there would be less sex variety than now, for there would be only what was natural and needed.

I cannot accept Comrade Barnes' passive resistance, unless there is no chance for active resistence. I should resist with positive thought anyhow.

Group Proletariat, New York City:— Enclosed you will find a money order for \$19.25. Twelve dollars and 50 cents are the proceeds of an entertainment, five dollars for a framed picture of our murdered comrades of Chicago which was donated by Comrade Rosenbaum, \$1.50 for sold copies of The Firebrand, and 25 cents for a subscription.

The members of our group are all poor, but the above shows that much can be done for the propaganda when the Anarchists have only the zeal and desire to spread our principles. The entertainment gave us a joyful time and left a considerable amount for the propaganda.

Some of the comrades have expressed a great sympathy for The Firebrand and appreciate its course of propaganda very highly and we hope to be able to do something more for the paper than we have done be ore.

Oscar Landeck, New York City:-Let me first congratulate you, and the other Firebranders, for the good speed with which The Firebrand is developing! I hope you will be able to keep it up in its present size, and above all in the manysideness of the subjects discussed!! Anarchism means more than the-of course all important-radical change of the economic structure and basis of society: It means free and natural development of all the forces and functions and manifestations of life, social as well as individual. But for such full and higher life the great majority of mankind has to be educated yet, and I think it is this education which should be furnished by our press. Do not, therefore, yield for a moment to the entreaties of those who would like to narrow the platform of The Firebrand. Let it be, as in the past, an exponent of life as it is aspiring and striving for higher conditions through the activity of the most progressive men and women.-

The sex question, for instance, is one of the subjects which some would like to rule out of all discussions. I think this has been done too long already, and it is

* This and similar letters show plainly that the "free love" articles don't scare people any more than the economic ques-

high time that this problem of life should receive the attention and study of earnest enquirers and reformers. Every careful observer must see that the prevailing notions on sexual matters, which underlie our monoganic marriage institution, are among the greatest obstacles if they be not the most powerful foe we have to deal with as Anarchists. I fully and entirely agree with your very good and timely article: "Sex and Anarchism" It contains the only correct and logical policy The Firebrand ought to follow in this very important matter of propaganda.

F. C. Morsch, Greeley Center, Nebr.:-In an issue of The Firebrand of April 11th is an article entitled "Making Anarchists," which contains part of a letter written by me, to my brother in California, whom I was trying to ridicule for his "sublime faith in Anarchy." And he becomes so anxious to convert me to the rash principles of the Anarchists, that he introduces me to the "inner circle" (Gideons Band) hoping that they in their "infinite wisdom" will use a superior club to pound Anarchist ideas into my head. The writer (H. A.) begins by asking. How does he know that Anarchists believe in killing those who do not think as they do? That no one's life would be safe if they had control of things? That they are friends of the devil? My friend, the way we have of knowing what they believe and what they will do, is by what they have done in the past. (1) They have a glorious (?) past. "A record of violence, bloodshed, and revolution."

I am informed by The Firebrand that they believe in absolute individual fiberty, and that they do not believe in Government of any kind. As I understand it, they wish to give to every person the right to do whatsoever they please. Or whatever their fancy might dictate. And with no Government I cannot understand how our lives would be safe, perhaps H. A. can explain this. (2)

I suppose they would adopt the old Feudal system, or something similar. (3) History informs us that from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries Feudalism was the prevailing system in all the civilized European nations. That it was a very rude and violent period. That the rudeness and violence of the time were modified by the rise of chivalry which was founded on respect for the gentler sex, and sympathy for her helpless conditon when exposed, without a powerful protector, to unrestrained insolence and passion. That the Feudal system held all the elements of society in suspense until the mighty forces (revived learning, the printing press, and a new commerce, an industry) were ready to take a prominent part in making it what we now find it-far superior to the old society. Now I will not call my friend (H. A.) a fool for advocating such à cause "For he that saith of his brother Thou Fool shall be in danger of hell fire," and because I wish to become better acquainted with some of you (especially H. A. and Zadnak The Dreamer) so that we may reason together. And I invite the comrades to write me personal letters on Anarchy and I hope that they will throw more light on the subject than H. A. has done so that I may be able to form a correct opinion of and not misjudge

[I am glad brother Morsch has stated on what he bases his opinion of Anarchists. He bases it on the same kind of evidence that the average Southerner based his opinions and ideas of Abolitionists, before the civil war: the testimony of their enemies only.

The Anarchists have a glorious record, when the length of time they have been propagating their ideas is taken into account. I am free to admit that blood shed and violence has accompanied the rise of Anarchism; it has accompanied the rise of every new theory that sought to subvert existing conditions; it accompanied the rise of modern commercialism, and has been a constant companion of industrialism. Rivers of blood, and deeds of violence too horrible to contemplate accompanied the spread of christianity over Europe. So we see that it is not Anarchists, that are responsible for this violence and blood that the brother charges against them, for that phenomena has appeared with every change of ideas and customs, and is due to the struggle and violence of the votaries of old ideas and institutions to perpetuate the old and suppress

 We want to give every person not only the right, but also the opportunity to live their own lives in their own way; to develope all their powers and

faculties to their fullest capacity, but it does not follow that any one would be less secure than now on that account. To say that life would be insecure in the absence of government is to say that men are worse than tigers, (except the few who get elected to office) and thirst for blood. Safety rests, not in the existence of government, but in the recognition of the fact that the safety of each one depends on the safety of all others. People do not abstain from killing others from fear of the law-see the killing done on account of family feuds in Kentucky and Texas-but because their own lives, happiness and peace of mind are the more secure. When one kills another that ones life and chance for enjoyment immediately becomes insecure. Then too, we find that over seven tenths of the killing that now occurs is traceable to quarrels over property, and as in Anarchy there would be no quarrels over property, seven tenths of the present killing would be gone, the incentive being absent. The next most fruitful source of murder is jealousy, and as soon as people recognize the right of everyone else to live their own lives, just so soon will killing on that account

3. Anarchists have no more desire to return to feudalism than has anyone else. Our present methods are leading back that way—witness our coal barons, railroad kings, factory slaves, and the miserable board of lickspittle retainers that swarm around the public officers, and the offices of great corporations. Freedom'and feudalism cannot exist in the same place at the same time, and Anarchy means freedom.

H. A.

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Those engaged in the work of getting the paper out have no other means of support than the receipts for the paper, as it keeps them busy to do the work necessary to its publication, and most of the contributors to its support are poor, therefore we appeal to all who can to contribute what they can to the propaganda fund, thus helping to increase the circulation of The Firebrand, by making it possible for us to distribute a larger number of free copies. All donations and subscriptions are accounted for in the propaganda fund.

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