A Liberal Gathering.

We's Autumn decks with gold and brown, And my nose green runs the ground With a carpet and canopy glorious; With a smile upon the bough.

Woo's to the woods; nor reckles the time, Made followers of old Mornes:

Some jolly men and ladies gay, A picnic drew together,

And dance upon the heather With song and launch the wild weds ring, And oh, repeat the glee With from the mountain top forth and song.

"The Mountains nap, sweet liberty." An | now a banquet forth is spread,

With ah, and wine and rose red, And joy and repast With wit and repose and all.

Each then, with toast, his views arrayed, In pursuit.

Up rose a man upon whose brow, That man was pierced.

He seemed to speak, but yet somehow The voice was much too clear.

Repeatability is no popular dream, And creeds alone alarming.

Some read of the freethought hosts, And away from God, away from ghosts, The mountainous hosts.

And damn its advocate.

We love the moosecornes thrall Political, government, and all.

And sing but after工商联, At early mass and late.

He ceased, a smile passed over the throne, But she went down.

Clearly a voice discordant here.

Freethought confused good aloud, Was, was, was.

He claims that he is an author now, And hence the smile and lack of cheer.

And I her husband stood.

Arose to take his part,

And there was joy and social ban,

He struck his form, insinuated his heart, His spade, and all around was still.

He picks it up now, and his words alight all himself cruelly.

It would not lead the freethought hosts, I’ve no extra nerve to try it.

And if perchance it pleases us, Beyond this life, my friends, I see.

Have I no proof, I would not preach.

This truth of men, let us study.

The way to live on earth below:

And this life, the matter of the soul.

Their health and happiness: all other things aside.

This truth I hold, all social woe we see.

Have still one source, they crying from slavery.

From mothers and free sons and daughters bright, Will address their cause, and show the right.

And creation, laws, God, Government and all.

That all the塞尔海湖 have to be left.

I plead for love, no restriction, free.

By child, I mean, true hearts united be.

To multitudes just and woman true, No fear in nature should be hid from view.

I plead for education, let every woman rise.

How to converse, or contrive the germ.

The pure in heart will view all nature pure.

That is the first thing to do, I shall work for it the same.

To remove from Sister Woman this burning hate, Bearing shame.

There are, some say, the states and setting Shame of our oppression.

I would join the last Knute, In his "grand and godlike vow."

"This despite the fangs of Custom and despite the churches Womanhood shall wield its scepter; Womanhood shall wear its crown.

She hath borne with man his cross, she hath worn with man his chalice; she hath suffered all his losses, she hath suffered all his blessings.

 организация?

Some persons ask how the railroads could be run without organization, and a central directing bureau, and many claim that organization is requisite to united effort, and that organization necessarily implies authority, and demand how united effort, such as is necessary to run a railroad, or carry on any extensive enterprise could be conducted in a condition of Anarchy.

I will admit that organization implies authority, for I notice that the most simple form of organization begins with the election of a presiding officer who is, by virtue of his election, vested with authority. Admitting this I am unavoidably brought into opposition to all organization. But I do not admit that organization is necessary in order to carry on works that require united effort. For organization it is only necessary to substitute association.

Let me illustrate the difference between organization and association. A number of persons meet in a room and begin to discuss a question. Each one says what is on his or her mind, and each respects the equal privilege of all the others to freely express their thoughts. As the discussion goes on, one after another is convinced that the position of a certain one is correct, and they put upon that conviction. All are free, have no cause of complaint, and are satisfied. This is association. In another room a number of like persons are gathered. They are discussing a certain proposition. A presiding officer entertains all motions, and either rules them in order or out of order, while a secretary takes them down. Every time a person wants to say something he or she must ask permission of the presiding officer, and so their only concern now becomes simply to get the recognition of the chair. If two, or three, rise at once they all yell "Chairman" and one who now are unsuccessful in getting recognition mentally damn the chairman for his partiality.

All questions are put to the vote and the minority forced to accept the decisions of the majority, no but because it has the largest number. Many are dissatisfied and none have a sense of having reached a conclusion as a result of fair and candid investigation and reasoning.

This is the difference between organization and association. The illustrations is very simple one, but the same results will ensue in all cases, no matter how simple or how complex the organization or association may be.

It is generally supposed that a paper cannot be printed and appear at regular intervals unless the work of getting it out is organized and a foreman, vested with authority, is in charge of the work. The Firebrand is an illustration of the fallacy of this. It has been issued under the most trying circumstances and conditions, and yet it has come out with a fair regularity, and that without any organization, formanizing or compensation to induce exertion. Some persons once pounced, some times another has set the type. The same is true of making up the forms of, editing copy, of mailing the printed papers etc., and yet the work has gone
on. I have seen the work on a farm done as freely and with as little exercise of authority. I have known the cattle men of a certain scope of country, its boundaries defined by natural connotations, to meet every other command of authority, lay out the work of the springs "round up," and each one recognizes what his work will be, "fly at it," and do all the work incident to a general round up, without any exercise of authority—simply by voluntary association. I have traveled over good roadbed made by voluntary associated effort in a region where the country roads, the roads built by authority and organization, in the same region, were impassable. I have seen people going and coming, passing each other, crossing paths and meeting in every conceivable way, unorganized, but associated, and the necessities that arise direct their actions.

Every student of human nature knows that some persons are qualified for some kinds of work, some for other kinds. With this fact in view, and the facts of association just stated, we can easily see how roads could be successfully operated without authority. If a railroad was organized, every railroad man could meet and lay out the work to be accomplished. The engineer will very naturally assume the task of running the engines and will form his own association in order to decide which one will run on this train, which one on that. The firemen and brakemen in like manner. The machinists, and others engaged in building and repairing the rolling stock, as well as those engaged in building and repairing the road bed, bridges, etc., will each one find his place in the work just as each one finds its work, and by counseling and mutual agreement they will reduce the expenditure of energy necessary to accomplish the work in hand to the minimum. If the problem of operation is left to be solved by those who are to do the work, that is the way it is done. The whole system will be self-regulated, as it were, by the laws of life, as it were, by the laws of association.

The high efficiency is always attained by those who love their work, and take delight in what they are doing. But suppose we admit the necessity for organization. If we have an organization it will be one from which anyone may withdraw at any time. That would rob authority of its power to enforce, and practically reduce it to mere association. Supposing, however, we form an organization, let us say, a railroad. Let us agree to a code of procedure and establish a central directing bureau. In that event everything would move on freely and smoothly as long as those doing the work willingly obey the directions of the central bureau. If at any time from which anyone may withdraw at any time, that bureau would become dissatisfied and refuse to obey orders than the central bureau must exercise authority, and inflict some penalty upon the recalcitrant, or the organization will fall to pieces. But let us take it, for instance, in the case of the association, and in order for the work to proceed voluntary association, founded on mutual agreement, must take its place.

The combination of association and of organization is very easy to the same extent, and for the reason, many persons fail to distinguish between them.

But the central idea is very different, and it is because of this that we take my stand for association and against organization. In association every one chooses which part of the work he or she will perform, and then goes ahead and does it, not from fear of penalty, or for hope of reward, but because the success of the undertaking depends upon their successfully carrying on the work they have chosen. If for any reason they become unfruitful, or unwilling to continue performing, the undertaking, another can be found who will undertake to do it. In an organization everyone is supposed to obey the laws of the organization, and if the law of the organization becomes paramount, and the wish of the individual, means for carrying it out fail, its logical conclusion is the life of the individual becomes a secondary consideration. In voluntary association the well-being of the various individuals is the end, the means being the means needed to accomplish the end. The individuals associate because they expect to increase their happiness, add to their comfort and contribute to their well-being generally. If the operation of railroads, or telegraphs, or any other enterprise will contribute to the general well being, and by so doing add to the well-being of each individual, this fact will be sufficient to cause the association of a number of individuals for that purpose, for that purpose, in sufficient numbers to carry it on successfully, and they will arrange the details so as to accomplish this in the best and at the same time in expeditions manner.

It is useless, therefore, to try to picture details of the future society, as to describe just how free people will act. It must be remembered that all association, and all the details of arrangement in such association, is utterly fitted to the conditions under which it exists, and must be in order to continue its existence, and for this reason it is impossible to say what form any association will take in the future. But of one thing we may be assured. Human beings having their desires for comfort, for enjoyment and for freedom, will, when they have learned to allow each other full freedom, find by experience the best and easiest method of gaining this gratification.

HEAR? ADAMS.

"Ireland" on Anarchists.

An American who has accepted Anarchy, or Freedom, must at once be pained and bewildered by the amount of "Mr. Grimes's" ink, and paper that is expended in periods devoted to the propaganda of Freedom, or life without State interference, in the United States; and by the fact that the fellowers of Freedom hold with another as to the uses of terms defining their ideas. For instance, one holds himself to be a Socialist-Communist, and not an Anarchist-Individualist; another proclaims himself a Vypartist, or a Free Lifeist. Another calls himself a Competitive-Anarchist, and so on. All these apparent differences arise from the want of a correct knowledge of the human mind.

To understand Anarchy, or Freedom, we must first understand man—not from the point of view of self-inspection, but from observation, not from reflection on our own particular consciousness, not from turning over our eyes in upon our own thoughts and feelings, but from turning them away from our fellow man. This can be done by the aid of Thalheimer. Dr. Gall's discoveries have shown us that the faculties of the mind, the essential principles, desires, and instincts which in their aggregate compose the human mind, are innate, inborn, and ineritable: that they exist in the brain alone, and that the proper organ of the body being possessed of any mental emotion whatever is the brain; that the brain, then, is not a single entity, but is composed of a number of organs, each being the seat of a special mental activity; that the brain, when considered, is a measure of power: that what is the brain as a whole is true of it in its parts: and that the strength of these parts differs in different individuals. Therefore there are not two individuals constituted alike, which accounts for the differences that exist in the human race, intellectually, morally and socially. Moreover, the length and weakness of most of these mental faculties can be estimated with a considerable degree of accuracy, by the skilled observer, from the study of the individual.

What are these faculties? Lack of space would prevent, on this occasion, the enumeration of all; let us, however, name as many as will illustrate the object of this article.

There are, then, deeply implanted in me, in different degrees of strength, Consciences, Fears, Love of Appearance, Love of Independence, Communality, or Group Independence, Personal, or Individual Independence, Distrustfulness or aggressive Independence, Aggressiveness, or defensive Energy, Caution, Secretiveness, Arrogance, pride, or the possession of energy, and so on; and this is enough for our purpose.

The doctrine of these faculties is larger than the others. The tendency is for it to take the lead, as it were, in the mental congress, and predominate in a certain direction. When, for instance, Communality or Individual Anarchism is large in any given individual, he, by a process of introspection, is apt to put too much importance on the communal state of existence, and calls himself an Anarchist-Communist. But if he has the power of writing well, he tends, by superabundance, to force his particular ideas on others.

All men, then, who are Anarchists are more or less Communists or Individualists, because the desire for a communal state of existence is more or less implied in all, as it is for all. There are persons who care for neither state, called heretics. There are also men who have no sense of communal friendship, but call himself Individualist. All these are agreeable to them, friends. If I be a state of freedom there will be roars for all, even the heretics.

Let any particular bias of mind turn your eyes away from your neighbor near and far, the aid of observation, not some particular school of thought.

The desire for communal, for individual existence is natural, but when we live in common, or with a few friends, our almost self-love, and independence becomes more or less preserved. It becomes more or less preserved. It becomes more or less independent, self-esteem will always keep us on a pedestal, or within a charded circle in which no one must tread, not even those that desire it.

How will men get on together in a state of freedom? By the aid of their self-esteem, independence, conscientious care of approbation. Some consider that this when we live in common, is called tyranny, prevails. We shall be encroaching on another's dignity, shall always be stepping on another's head, or trying to camp up to another's dignity, or raise his head, or "I'll take your hat."

But such a state of society could not exist under freedom. On the contrary to the constitution of the human mind. Our desires, opinions, our instincts of self-esteem, consciousness, and caution, our aggressive and defensive dispositions would always keep us from encroaching too far on one another's dignity or self-esteem; and especially as possession would be under reasonable conditions, and no natural pleasures would be the outcome.

Under our present absurd conditions of life, it is carried to the most ridiculous extent. Now a man can stand up before his fellow men and point to a tract of land, and say, "I'll take your land," or say, "This is mine." Practically it is the same thing, that is, brute force, forces him. He could not by his own power of thought have procured his so-called property. Self-esteem is carried to the same extraordinary extent, because he can purchase that, as it were, all the absurd amount of estimation that his misguided mind can wish for.

Anarchy will not, then, change the constitution of the human mind, but simply develop it, changing only the manner of life we live. Therefore an Anarchist-Communist and an Individualist are one and the same.

This is not, then, seek for definitions of anything, for we must each have our naturally more or less biased in certain directions.

Men have made the matter of their kind.

And think human is what they are trying to be.

--[Liberly, London.]

COMRADES, circulate The Firebrand!"
A Lament.

What they have made our brief life, alas!
Those meddling quacks who, not content to work,
Would thrust their noses up our nostrils
That for its flesh they might, like tiger, lurk.

How plain, how simple is our life indeed!
To work and to create.
In this not all and how we rage and bleed
With needless aims and striving infatuate!

—Rud. Dahl.

The Religion of Constantine,
EYES READ BEFORE THE BALLUSTON (Ober), LITERARY SOCIETY.

The taxeleschos of German scholars, pretty clearly demonstrated that the Synoptic Gospels,—Matthew, Mark, and Luke,—were derived from one common original, which enables us to trace the shadow of Mark from other than the others. As to who was the author of this original manuscript is not known "nor can we rely on the strict historicity of this source, for there are statements in it that are manifestly colored by the earlier tradition." This Gospel of Mark contains no statement of the miraculous births of Jesus; and in Matthew and Luke we have this contradiction, that while they assert that Jesus was not the son of Joseph, yet both gospels trace his genealogy through Joseph back to Adam. The Gospel of John is different.

It was written in the second century to refute the growing sect of Gnostics, who asserted that every man had within him the power of divinity, and that no man was ever a sinner. Matthew, Mark, and Luke are derived from the same original, and were an attempt to identify Jesus of Thelemach with the Logos or Word, the second person in the Trinity.

The fourth Gospel is the record of the life of Jesus as merely a preacher of righteousness, and Jesus as a redeemer for those who believe in his name and accept him in baptism. The Fourth Gospel has no part of it, so it is not surprising that the lives of Jesus can be saved. It is interesting to study the discrepancies between the pure ethical teachings attributed to Jesus in the Gospels of Mathew, Mark, and Luke, and the sayings and the doings elsewhere laid at his door. For instance, compare his emphatic charge, "I say unto you, resist not evil," compare this with his taking a scourge of small cords and lashing the money changers out of the temple. Compare also his teaching of the Gospel of love to all men with the doctrine elsewhere of an endless bell of torment for disbelievers!!

Now to my mind nothing is easier than to account for these things. The real teachings of Jesus, which are truths old as eternity, and may be found scattered through the Hebrew Kabbalah, and even in the old testament,—while there is nothing there but had been taught the Greeks, the Jews, and the Egyptians, and these teachings were essentially democratic and material. They recognized no distinction of rank or wealth,—"rich man, poor man, "seriousness be greatest among you let him be your servant," etc. They set forth the absolute equality of all men as children of the same Father, and the duty of complete sacrifice for our fellows. But when the adherents of the new doctrines became so numerous as to outweigh the followers of the old religion, the priests and politicians persuaded Constantine to adopt Christianity as the state religion of Rome. Now a state religion is emphatically opposed to equality. It is for these things. The real teachings of Jesus, which are truths old as eternity, and may be found scattered through the Hebrew Kabbalah, and even in the old testament,—while there is nothing there but had been taught the Greeks, the Jews, and the Egyptians, and these teachings were essentially democratic and material. They recognized no distinction of rank or wealth,—"rich man, poor man, "seriousness be greatest among you let him be your servant," etc. They set forth the absolute equality of all men as children of the same Father, and the duty of complete sacrifice for our fellows. But when the adherents of the new doctrines became so numerous as to outweigh the followers of the old religion, the priests and politicians persuaded Constantine to adopt Christianity as the state religion of Rome. Now a state religion is emphatically opposed to equality. It is for these things.

The strike lasted for three months, but the bosses stand on their old propositions, so it remains for the longshoremen either to accept the old conditions or "fight" by force for their rights. Here, again, the Social Democrat is split. On the one side we have the men to give up the strike and to submit, after three months misery and struggling against all privation. Under such conditions the majority lost their spunk. But the Socialists minority imported a fresh breath of life and sub misives, and the trouble commenced when one of the strike breakers fired a revolver at a striker, a strike fired and the longshoremen made the longshoremen change against the receivers. Then the strikers soon forgot the scabs and they all went against the police, and a regular battle ensued. Everybody got into a lather. It seemed as if we were to feel vengeance against "law and order," so the constables let fly bricks, stones, timber, old coal and so forth, in fact there was nothing spared to hurt the police, the husbands got off the work that they did not want to fly water to cool the heads of "Billy's watchdogs."

There was a whole lot of arrests made and one station
alone counted 56, with a large number of wound
ed from among the police as well as from among people. But that was not all. The fun recommenced the next day in great style in the seaport place, but there it was not a second police to take advantage against the demonstrators, as so many people soon got wind of that, they gathered around the place and refused to let the people be treated as they were, and with the police they were, and with the police. The city of the city makes up all the possible efforts to induce the bosses to compromise, but if they will succeed is another question. But here we must deal more with the strike and with the things we can improve our rights on the professional exploiters.

Dear friends, as to whether you should ever be implicated in strikes figure out that there is no way to "expiarate" the bosses, and if you use your brains to go on ahead with your own self-confidence, and that will surely settle it all right in a couple of days.

—A. KLEINROCK.

Host and Right.

"For one I heartily agree with Commodore Mala
it in suggesting that no one system of procedure
ually aware of, even when we have full liberty.
Some man will prefer one, another another, and, from the very fact that they are free, will they seek to gratify their differentiating tastes in the way which seems to them, as individuals, the best. The individual system can only be the best system; nor with the dogmatic distaste that but on way can be right and best."

With the sentence of Malatesta, the present writer can fully agree; but so, however, with the principle of the decree on freedom of religion; for it is the only way that the mind can become perfect one, for only one way can be right and best."

Everything parties declare, is right and best, provided nobody else is interfered with. Parties to any transaction, must be their own judges of what is right and best; and as conditions vary, so will modes of procedure differentate. Nature in all her combinations, is the only unlimited liberty, produces extensive variety. "Variety answers the variety of life." It is better for mankind that Byington should lead his own studious life, and that all others indulge their divergent tastes, that we should all prefer our "first love."

—A. KLEINROCK.

The Propaganda Fund.

In 1890, Propaganda referred to the secret society involved in the assassination of Pope Pius IX. In the context of the given text, Propaganda Fund is mentioned as a financial support for newspapers. It is not clear from the document what exact role it played in the strike or the longshoremen's protest. However, the document highlights the importance of such funds in supporting the causes of the working class.

—Portsmouth, 0.
Look to the End.

By the light of history's pages
Travel back to the past age;
Every word in the tragic tale
Tells us of the fates to engage.

Tortures, banes and toils of war,
Stained with blood of rich and poor.

When Egypt's Pharaohs reigned and ruled,
On earth, did the people have their due?

Is not of the world, millions doomed to wretchedness
From birth?

The world is ruled by millionaires,
Rulers of the skies and the seas.

Thorns but a blighting shadow everywhere:
The rulers claim all that is theirs.

The race must come up to the best,
Where the poor are ruled by the rich.

Lest of gold, of power, of birth;
This Man's history from the first;
Even since the written records began on stone or stone
Every man is made great in his death.

How the towers and steeples rise
Of churches mocking faint souls,--
But within does right and wrong ever greet the ear?
With every hour that flies.

The church all freedom of its denial,
The cross-crowned kiss, the holding priest—no prophet, poet, peer.

Ever chained by superstition;
Our old condition, ancient as the toilers of the world hold here on earth their chains
Seemingly without conflict;
Wits and sages are but the ring of the state's children's hands...

A Picture of Civilization.

Millions starving in India: 10,000 children dying for want of food in City in one year:
70,000 people suffering for necessities in Chicago:
3,000,000 laborers out of work in the U.S.: all laborers getting less than one third of the products of their labor:
15,000,000 children in the world are hungry:
400,000,000 people in the world are suffering:
2,000,000,000 people in the world are hungry.

Life and not to mortality or our relation to each other in this life.
The preacher is human and has to live or die, he cannot make the world consistent with the spirit of the age, -- and the competition.

He must work for the interest of his church by scaring as many as he can into the fold and then hyposhizing the members into an idea of the future security from future accounts of indebtedness that might come upon them, or he would lose his job. It is not the business of the preacher to work for the people, but to make them a church.

Oh no! he is not Jesus Christ, he is a human—he can't tell the people truths like Christ did. If he is in a discussion on a logical principle taught by his masters, he confers it into a sheet of infinite fatidity having no point nor pitch to it. He do not wish to be understood as exonerating the pretensions of friends among the mass. They are as jolly a set as follows of us. Some of them are real smart too. They have selected the ministry of the profession, to be employed for a livelihood, and it is their duty to follow that every Sunday just what is palatable to their employers. The poor do not employ them, but they are taken into the church the same as a rich man, which is very charitable in the jeth, and they are promised as good a position with as fine a toned harp in the bier as the rich man, yet. But the preacher enjoys them to be humble, submissive, patient and hopeful for the crown of glory that awaits them.

Now, if Christ had been employed by a colossus of rich Jews as priest and said he would not have said a rich man cannot enter the kingdom of God. He would have told the young man who had great riches, to "go and sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor" and have him go away sorrowful. The rich do not go from the church sorrowful if the preacher knows his business, except per chance from the funeral of one of his children. For it is the highest duty of a good brain to tell the parishioners that Christ did not condemn rich because, but only the worship of riches. That a man can with 10,000 a year live on that, and be so at one with his affections on and worshipping his little pile on the millions that gave liberally to the church, or as he put it, to the government. I heard a preacher give that same exegesis of Christ's condemnation of riches, and his rich parishioners went away glad that they were there, and landed the preaching of their preacher. Their principles were that they probably rephrasing themselves for doing too much on riches, as their minds had been occupied in deceiving how to raise the 400 cents a month.

When I think of God's poor, the devil's poor and the poor devil's, the latter class so largely predominating in numbers, yet nearly all of them asseenting to the conventional sentiment that the church is a good thing, the amount of education necessary to bring them to a sense of what hurts them is appalling.

I have attended a church a great deal in the last ten years, and I have heard a single truth emphasized by an orthodox preacher that could make any person a better citizen. I have heard much that was very demoralizing to my own principles and made up my mind and reinforced me, exercise only a negative influence for good by breaking down the superstitions of the age. Hitherto Hirsch of Chicago, seeing the distinction between fiction and morality, and that they did not necessarily exist in a church, and seeing the necessity for morality among the people, organized in his synagogues a Society for ethical culture. I have attended many of these churches not to be ordained by the Jews, also organized "Societies for ethical culture." But they soon died out. I found I am a single person there people there was cultivated, the less religion the members had, and the less hold the preachers had on their parishioners. For apathy on moral subjects, go to a church. The preacher never gets a great good out of a great evil. They never denounce war nor rich or wages. They favor government and more laws, oblivious of the fact that it is a Christian people; they call on government to abolish an evil, they relax their moral energies. There would be ten temperance workers where there is no but there was no prohibition laws against liquor. If you want to do the right thing, nineteen tenths of the people would be moral communists. Ten men would study ethical sociology where one does now. Two men and thirty would be dead to it, whereas now they are apathetic, depopulating on laws to keep people straight, by inflictions continually on their right.

The world has never trusted to its own moral strength. If a child is always supported, it never learns to walk. Man has never stood on the dignity of his own moral manhood. I just received a letter from a friend who said, "Absolute individual freedom, the Negro is now as free as the white man, and that fact is to its intellectual and morally developed men, will hardly apply to the underdeveloped savage." The same friend wrote a very able article some years ago advocating that every nation, because of the various differences of character, and of course, he argued logically that no one was deserving of serous or praise, and its individual justice. It is a question of whether the good works are to the people.

They think we have laws to restrain the 'products of the same.' I would remind him that laws imply punishment, and if no one is deserving of punishment, why punish him, that the ideal man implies according to his own argument, an ideal environment, or condition. Then, the evil exist and is the right for the wrong, alleviating and perpetuating evil, wrong, punishment.

Those who reason as he does, remind me of the old lady in 1812 who said:

"O mother may I go out to swim?"
"Yes, my darling daughter. Hang your clothes on a hickey limb, but don't go near the water."

The ideal man is in a possible state. The possible man implies a possible condition. A possible condition implies means to produce it. The ideal man is only possible and in their refreshments. We must all learn to swim. We must all go into the water to learn to swim. The only thing for the man that he must make his experiment and his face must go into the clear water of freedom to approach the ideal man.

Ciphers and Comments.

In France, the country of small proprietors, 66 per cent of the ovens is owned by landlords holding more land than 20 acres of land, or more than 100 acres. Since 1814 the number of individual holdings has increased by 160,000. The Revell social survey says the rural population has diminished in five years from 420,488. The same journal shows how in a single generation the number of the rich has increased by 15 per cent. Concentration of wealth goes forward in all countries. The above shows the fallacy of the claim, made by our populists and "reform" friends, that a large volume of money in circulation will secure prosperity and a heterogeneous state must go into the clear water of freedom to approach the ideal man.

Clipping from the New York Times. March 8.—Senator Launy and Assemblyman Braun have been requested to introduce into the state legislature a bill which provides for the placing under the supervision of state officials all the newspapers published in the state.

The measure provides that within 20 days after the passage of the bill, the governor shall order an investigation of all counties of the state having a population of 10,000 or more, same to act as censors of all newspapers published by said counties.

Any person writing or causing to be printed any article or statement that is not approved by the censor shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be liable to prosecution by the district attorney of the county in which the offense was committed, and shall not be guilty of any other punishment than a fine not exceeding five years or not less than one year, or a fine of $1,000 or $500, or both, upon conviction.

This shows to what desperate straits the ruling—class will go forced to allow. New York is called the Empire State and thus they are trying to materialize temporal powers. "Free America, oh!"

The following episode in metropolitan life should be noted.

A few days ago the employee of Solomon Anderson, the operator of the Hoffman, was charged with a short, thick-set man in front of the place. He

asked for a cent at the magnificent floral display in the window and then shook his head dolefully. The man behind him said:

"Extravagance, extravagance! a woman can not waste that for!" To satisfy the whim of some pampered society pet. Some ball, some theatre, some concert, by thousands are starving. Some dance while others die."

Then he was a bribe, an inside pocket and sent it crashing through the florist. "Oh God!"

Then he calmly folded his arms and walked. Some of the women raised at hit and asked if he was done? Demanded one of them:

"What is it, ma'am?" replied: "now have me arrest me."

Then policeman Schliottman was called and arrested him.

"What did you break the window for?" asked the officer.

"To call attention to my starving condition and the church." The man in the starving luss. He depends about twenty dollars per capita, and populus refers to this fact to prove that twenty dollars per capita would bring prosperity in the United States.
held for trial. The man's name is John Dolan.—(The People.)

Such episodes, such acts of rebellion against authority, must continue as long as men are not willing to wait for the politicians to provide for them, if they all accept the philosophy of the People and do nothing for the long, oh how long, will it be something to do better conditions?

Is 1850, when the population of the country was 31,500,000, or the ordinary expenditures of the government were $6,100,000, or 38 cents per capita, will in point of monopoly of free speech, all Anarchists, in what respect did the general government serve the people better in 1888 than in 1840? That is, was the excess of wealth and power for the government's use in 1888 for the extra $4.25 per capita of government expenditure? Even in 1819 the average man did not pay his own and somebody else's share of the expenses of the government, for in a period of science the science of shifting the burden from the corporations and individuals that are productive of the produce, had not yet been brought to the perfection it has since attained. But, according to the main question, will some one arise and say what more the people receive from the government that costs $5.48 a head, than they got from the government that cost only 75 cents a head?—(Common Cause.)

That is an easy enough question. The "average citizen" today has the knowledge that there are certain medieval societies always watching his acts, his mail, the pictures he buys, ready to pounce on him and have him fined or sent to prison. All this is not monopolized by the government, and that is the blessing of the age. It will not be his government that will monopolize by compulsion and that must be protected. These protections are paid for out of that $4.73. And in 1850 we had, and they are on the increase, a lot of petty interferences with personal liberty; the suppression of free speech and regulation of conduct and the like that did not exist in 1819, and all this is paid for out of the $4.73. And yet do all these add up to these fiscal things. Do you like them? If not why do you pay for them?

Note and Comment

The only power sought by Anarchists is the power to resist oppression, and to live their own lives in their own way.

The total cost of the U.S. navy during the civil war, 1861-1865, was $312,000,000. To say nothing of the destruction of life and property by it.

Switzerland has a population of less than 3,000,000, and in 1850 the government was a free one, and not called the model republic, and pointed to as an example for other nations to pattern after.

On July 1, 1866, there were 261,000 men serving in the navies of the world and if they were employed in conveying products from one region to another would be of great use. But now they only are an expense and a menace to peace and security.

On January 1, 1866, the armies of the world included 4,209,200 men. Enough, if engaged in production, instead of destruction, to feed, cloth and house 20,000,000 women and children instead of those of the expenses at the expense of those who work.

POLITICAL power is of necessity oppressive. It seeks to retain the income of all persons, settling bounds to their action in all directions, and enforcing a respect for those bounds by the infliction of torture on those who disregard those bounds.

Some persons are so fully convinced that a Constitution is necessary that they will not try to carry on a little government in the absence of a Constitution and by-laws. Such action indicates that the framers of the Constitutions do not believe the average person knows how to act.

The Constitution says, "Congress shall have power," and no one will deny that Congress has exercised considerable power. We bear constant complaints and roars about the crime of 73, etc., all simply the exercise of that power, and yet those who roar the loudest tell us that the Constitution is all right. Oh fools and blind!

At the present time all Europe is a well-armed camp and has been for more than a quarter of a century, and as long as the average man will continue to exist, or be drafted for the service of a defensive or offensive privilege will continue, and the workers will pay the expenses. When will the average man learn enough to refuse to join the army?

The "five nations of Europe" own 2,510 war ships, mounting 84,559 guns, all ready for immediate service, and make the workers of the "five nations" refuse to man these ships, or fire these guns, and they become harmless. But as long as they continue to do so, they will continue to have a sense of inferiority, and want, crime and misery will continue.

Drum up the great civil war, 60,526 men on the union side were killed-outright in battle, that the Union might be preserved. And we who now live wish the Union had perished. 60,526 men butchered outright in order that a robbing, murdering machine-called government—might remain united and strong. Where is the compensation to the widows, orphans and cripples that these figures suggest?

Some one may object to the radicals making changes "because they have the power," but let me assure them that with the changes they make. But they must, of necessity wait until they have the power. The reasons for changes are obvious enough: the government is not sufficiently, not sufficiently enough, but the use of power with no reason for its use but the fact of its possession is never justifiable.

A person writes that John Graham Brooks will give another course of lectures on Sociology on Saturday evenings at private houses. The first lecture will be at the residence of the Rev. J. W. S. K. 157, E. 57th St., and the fourth and last at Mrs. J. O. Goddard's 52 E. 57th St. The dates and subjects are as follows: March 13, The Real Meaning of the Social Question; March 20, The Old Way of Treating It; March 27, The new Way of Treating It; and April 3, The Real Issue of Poverty. (New York City.)

The clipping in The Firebrand of Feb. 21st, credited to "A Physician," should be credited to Patrick Edward Dowe, as it is a literal quotation from Dowe's "History of Human Progress." This work was first published about the year 1850, and was in far advance of its age; indeed, it is scarcely yet as fully appreciated as it ought to be at the present period. The circulation at its first appearance, and if I mistake not was surpassing as revolution. It found its way only to the hands of the enlightened and interested of the last century for attempting to practicalize an idea very nearly akin to his own, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to them for valuable suggestions. He said nothing about Dowe, and it may, perhaps, be true that he knew nothing about him at that time; but the fact remains that Dowe's work is not an exposition of what is known as Henry George's single tax theory—my mind at least—that does "Progress and Poverty" itself.

Dowe's book contains a logical and well worked out theory of human progress, and many of its conclusions are thoroughly anarchistic. Its most serious fault is in its theological bias. Dowe poises the record [of man at the creation as a self-evident fact, and he bases all the ignorance and misery due to had institutions throughout the world's history on this initial "disobedience." Progress is a process of overcoming the consequences of that disobedience—of regeneration, and reinstatement of human kind in the divine image. It comes by knowledge of, and obedience to, the laws which an omnipotent creator has established for the government of the world; and the times will eventually arrive when, knowing and obeying those laws, all of us will become fully regenerated and recover our original estate, thus arriving at a condition like unto that of the angels. A part from its theological idea, and this idea is not really essential to any of its conclusions, no thoughtful person can read the "Theory of Human Progress" without doing it credit therefore.

I want to endorse what comrade Daniels says of "The State," in The Firebrand. The result of all the barbarous concept of happiness through sacrificing self is one that is entirely proper to the present society, but it has no place whatever in a real society. The idea of the entire society calls for collective sacrifice; that is what makes it so intolerable. The intellect that imagines it possible for a society to be happy in peace or war in the same sense that the individual sacrifice on the part of its individual members has not grasped the true theory of life, and to imagine such a condition to be good is infinitely worse, by the following: The instincts of human kind have been stunted and repressed for thousands of years back, because of the existence of institutions that call for collective sacrifice of the individuals for the good of all. That is what kills us. Men have been unable to develop their personalities freely and naturally. They have been continually brought in contact with circumstances and conditions that compel a sacrifice of self, and have had to live in a state of continual rebellion. No true society can be founded on such an idea. The true society will develop perfect personalities, and, as Oscar Wilde truly says, "The note of the perfect personality is not rebellion, but peace."

The State like a marvelous thing, says he, "the true personality of man—when we see it. It will grow naturally and simply, flower like, or as a tree grows. It will not be an abstract thing. It will not be a thing we believe in, but a thing we like itself. It will love them because they will be different. And yet while it will not meddle with others in the least, it will be a mighty force in the world."

W. F. BORLAND.
necessary for the assessment rolls will remain tied up in the freight house until the legislature shall appropriate enough to defray the freight charges. Portland, Or., March 3, 1897.—H. R. King, Secretary of State.—Dear Sir: Our assessor, E. S. Greenleaf, is in a critical position, and is compelled to make the assessment roll for 1897, and he has asked me several times how he can furnish him the blank. I am sure you will please inform me when I may expect them and obliged. yours respectfully,

H. M. Service, Clerk.

Office of Secretary of State, Salem, Oregon, March 5, 1897.—H. G. Smith, Clerk of Multnomah County, Portland, Or.—Replying to your letter of March 6th, I will say that the papers for the Multnomah County are now ready for the cart which will be employed to take them from the office, and shipped to Salem, Oregon, where it now remains in the possession of the freight company. Other necessaries for the use of the state, are tied up in a warehouse waiting payment of charges. Other office supplies are in the hands of the Department of state, who are advanced money out of their own pockets to pay freight on the below mentioned articles which are two months old, and now become apparent that the legislature will not appropriate the money, and these officers do not and cannot advance any more money, inasmuch as they have not the cash available for the use of the state. I deplore the condition of affairs perhaps more than any one else, but am powerless to remedy it. As soon as the state legislature appropriates money or I can arrange with the railroad company for the freight the assessment rolls for Multnomah county will be ready, printed and bound as rapidly as possible, and immediately forwarded to you. Respectfully yours,

H. R. Kincaid,

Secretary of State, State of Oregon.

It will be interesting to watch the developments that are sure to result from this state of affairs. If Mr. Van Ornum is right in his conjecture, then we may expect a rapidly increasing tide of affairs which will go to Anarchy in Oregon. I have my doubts, however, of anything of the sort occurring. The officers will in all probability, "struggle the law to cover the case" and try to protect their salaries, and assess and collect taxes. It would be amusing and instructive to see some "tax payer," refuse to pay his taxes and demand that the legislature destroy the legality of the assessment. Even if no action is taken, I am inclined to think that everything will work out as usual, for the simple reason that only a small number of citizens will take advantage of the situation and institute a new social and economic arrangement.

I would like to see the administrative machine as completely stalled as the legislative machine was, and I would then urge all radicals to come and "take possession," while the opportunity is open. I am very much afraid, though, that the executive machine will grind on. Let us hope that all this will do much to disabuse the minds of the people of that false belief that legislation is necessary, as we have seen, a part of the law are working for the good of the people.

Henry Adams.

Thoughts and Things.

All the working people of the past and present of every color and color, have been and are helping one another to reach the state of freedom and equality, and are entitled to enjoy the common wealth they have produced instead of supporting millions of bulges and idlers in a way that enables them to live in extravagant luxury. How difficult would it be for one man to make a table, build a house, plant a garden, or do any work without the assistance of machinery! Take a machine to grind the wheat in my kitchen," said a friend when I stated the above. "Yes," said I, "but your knife has been made by other men. Suppose you had to make the knife that you use every day and you could not make the knife? How could you make tools without tools? If a little boy should stay away from his parents long enough, he could remain there living on berries and roots, and should create some world. If grown up to manhood in a case of this kind such man would be entitled to the wealth he had produced, but I don't think it is possible for any human being to live alone without becoming an idiot for all we know have learned from others and others learn from us.

All human beings in society are dependent on each and all working members of the society they live, in one is as useful as the other; one is nothing without the other. Consequently we should have equal opportunities.

All persons who do not produce anything useful, but consume, and appropriate more than they need, and those who protect a certain class of people in the destruction of the possession of ill-gotten wealth are the culprits of the cause of ignorance, misery, crime, and all kinds of mental and physical diseases.

Diseases of all kinds are the punishment of nature for violating its laws. Man may violate all man-made laws and remain healthy and happy, but one who violates nature's laws will receive punishment, (disease is more correct), just according to violation. But we are considered subject to violate nature's laws. Moreover, we are only beginning to understand a little, a few of nature's laws. I mean the working people who have been told by the clergy that all diseases are caused by sin from god, and when they can no longer torture they call to his aid de chump his satanic majesty—the devil. Yes, those peaks of the press have been successful in barring the road of progress, but they are gradually losing their power, and I hope their downfall is near at hand, indeed the road of progress is covered with blood, chains, gallows, and all kinds of instruments of torture. Cruelties are taking place at the end of this century which took place a thousand years ago, or more, when those priests were exerting their mental qualities to invent the devil's goatherd, sligt of land tricks, etc., by which they succeeded in exciting fear, superstition, and the most degraded submision.

With reference to nudity I like to say that nature does not provide us with clothing, and all the parts of our skin should be exposed to air, light and the fave of the sun. We are all comfortable when without clothing. No animal or plant can be healthy when deprived of sunlight. In a free society we will adopt everything that makes us healthier and happier.

Something I wish the working people would know; that we are all natural from the top of our skulls to our toes; that on the first stage of life in the womb of our mothers we were all alike. Our brains, or what the Christians call the soul, grows from the body from the simple to the complex, according to our environments, and it is the caprice of the nerve system, it cannot live without nervous electricity and must die without the body.

P. Smith.

Plain English.

COURT.—One who knows the law.
ATTORNEY.—One who has to be taught by the client.
BARRETT.—(State-Attorney)—One who has to be taught by the governor.
JUDGE.—One who has to be taught by the barrister.
JURY.—A body that is to be taught by the judge.
OATH.—A ceremony invented to save men of honor from the necessity of telling lies with their mouths and bodies.
RAIL.—An invention to save rich criminals from the grip of the law.
TRAFFIC.—A man who receives three pounds a week, and does harm for fifty.
LAND.—Almost the only property which gentlemen may steal without being transported or losing caste.
ANNEXATION.—A fine word for robbery of this character.
MISSIONARY.—The pioneers of annexation.
WORKHOUSE.—A prison for the working people.
HOSPITAL.—A workshop for repairing nature's workshop.
DUNRISESS.—The most pitiful vice that a chanceller of the exchequer has to deal with.
ABORTION.—A polite word always used to conceal the fact that an unmarried woman has kicked downstairs.
LAW.—A loophole.
PESTILENCE.—The most noble slave.
SPY.—An enemy in disguise doing everything in the interest of the rich.
COUSIN.—A body of men organized to break laws and make the laws.
SHERIFF.—Secretary (in politics).—An amateur legislator who has passed no apprenticeship.
ARMS.—Liberated murderers.
WHITE.—A fugitive from justice.
GOVERNMENT.—One who is paid by the people to serve.
PHILO.

MATRE.—An officer that sells privileges at private auction.
ALDERMEN.—A saloonkeeper in the council chamber.
COURT.—One that is a good judge of bargains.
POLICEMAN.—An attempt on the part of insolvent debtors to make the government pay their debts.
HISTORY.—One side of the question.
COMMITTEE.—A much abused person who wants only self-government.
John Hollingsworth.

An Ignoramus.

A great many good people who have not read extensively on economic subjects make no distinction between the Socialist and the Anarchist. They are birds of a feather who flock together. The total ignorance of men who would scorn to impress facts in ordinary affairs, but who somehow consider any method of warfare against what they esteem dangerous doctrines is legitimate.

A newspaper some time ago announced that Mr. Bigler, the novelist, "is a Socialist and almost an Anarchist." It might as well have said that Mr. Howell's "is as white as alabaster and almost black," or that he "is as comely as Abrahan, with the features of Markavanaugh.

Socialism and Anarchism are antithetical. The one exalts the state, the other would destroy it; the one seeks to control the individuals, the other seeks to control the will of men; the other holds that government is tyranny, and that the individual is independent, supreme.

Speaking generally, all Anarchists are bad, while on the contrary, all Socialists are good citizens. Take Mr. Howell himself, for instance, or William McKinley, who, while not so radical as Mr. Howell, is understood to be the direct anti-socialist of the United States.

Mr. Howell would apply the principles of Socialism so that they would benefit all alike—if they be virtuous in the same degree, wherefore he holds that State aid to certain industries would be insufficient. By it, the employer of labor would receive larges from the State and human nature is so generous, he would not deign to repay his charge with any services.

To quote from a recent publication, "President John Smith" there are today several schools and branches of Socialism, and among them are the Anarchists, but all Socialists agree on certain points. So do all Anarchists.

The Socialist believes that the greatest average good to the human race can be secured by a perfection of government; the Anarchists believe that these ends can be obtained only by the annihilation of government.

The Socialist believes in the perfection of law; the Anarchist believes in no law.

The Socialist believes in the absolute rule of the majority; the Anarchist holds that no majority, however great, has a right to override the individual. The Socialist, if he be honest and sincere, has in contemplation a government of the State, where laws were passed by a majority of the people, and he points to the post-office, the public schools and the war-office as familiar examples of legislation.

And yet Mr. Howells is "a Socialist and almost an Anarchist."

The Dispatch is democratic. It believes that all government rests in the consent of the governed, and that the voice of the people is the voice of God. It rejects nothing of worth because it is new, and clings to the faith simply because it is old. It believes in the people of today and that they are capable of solving and will solve the problem of government. It is all very well to respect the failure of the private citizen, and if it cannot improve on their work after more than a hundred years, we are decadent. If we are not progres- sive, we will be no longer. Inertia is impossible.

[Chicago Dispatch.]

In the above the editor shows his utter lack of understanding and knowledge of the terms Socialism and Anarchism, but worst of all he misleads those that most Socialists are good, while all Anarchists are bad. He offers no argument to substantiate his conclusions, but gives them out cold. All Anarchists are anxious to have people believe that "Socialism and Anarchism are antithetical," but every student of social evolution and philosophy knows that voluntary Socialism as far as it goes is identical with State Socialism is the opposite of Anarchism, and anyone who knows the history of government, and
The Firebrand correspondence.

The Firebrand and all the Anarchist papers and creators in the world were making full use of the fact that they are doing more than any of the instrumentality combined to prepare the soil for the future harvest of Anarchism, and the public do not realize that just by standing by I admit almost as much for you as 'The truth is that while the plutocratic press and Church and State were making full use of the argument that the honest and decent people are to the end of the line, they never threw the faintest ray of light upon that all important question of how human association can be made just and desirable. The argument was conducted by the plutocratic press, and Church and State do not teach the people that 'important question of how human association can be made just and desirable, and the reason, I presume, is that the plutocratic press in order to do this is driven to desperation, for there is no other way to get the great mass of human beings to think, and to think is the first step to take, and the reason why they have not done it is that they have got a piece of bread left in their lunch bucket, while the rich class is sick with indigence, and pass their lives in luxury and idleness. I am one of the New York, do we do all the people in the streets and crowd crying at their oppressor's doors for bread. Look here, dear workingmen, is it not revolting to see such a spectacle before us? You will still believe in the justice of that is told you at election times so that you will elect those who will be your masters, luxuriating in the pleasures of life, on your earnings, while you got a piece of bread left in your lunch bucket.

corning,
The Firebrand

space and time. It is not only a big, but an all-import-ant subject, that everybody should understand, for it lies at the very threshold of all human prosper-ity, welfare and happiness.

Solider

Soldier evidently considers his ideas and expres-sions a part of his duty, and I did not shirk him per-sonally, nor did I use his name, but simply used a few sentences from his pen, expressing ideas that I have often entertained myself, and which I consider erroneous. He now admits that the plutocratic press and the Church and State, are not making Anarchists, but only "preparing the soil" by legislating them. The conclusion of the article which we live the distrust and that the plutocratic press and the Church to overcome this distrust, and turn the aversion of the distrust to other subjects, and of the real "real" to be seeing by violence.

Twentieth Century, and paper of its time appeal directly to those who are already disgusted, and try to fasten attention on some sensible, some fallacy that after they have learned it, must be eradicated, thus leading away those that might other-wise become anarchists, and keeping them in the ranks of the authoritarians. It was not the insidious intro-duction of slavery that had disgusted the people of the North so that they upheld Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, but secession. A majority of the sol-diers went to war to stop the union, got to free the slaves. No one object to the "indirect method of making Anarchists," in personal propaganda, but it is impossible to apply this method in a newspaper. I am sure, then, in personal contact, with every news-paper, advancing the ideas before naming them, but it can be done in a paper. I am not yet convinced that an authorization can be cast the same time as an An-archist, or that papers which uphold government are propagating Anarchy.

It may seem to "Soldier" and some others that I have not answered his points. Perhaps I have, not because I fear to try, but because a few lines concerning a short extract from a private letter, "soldier" comes with the above, and an extended reply would wrongly misuse an overt page of valuable information, so I leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

H. ADDIS.

ADVERTISEMENTS

FLOWERS & SHRUBS

All persons who will send a donation of ten cents to The Firebrand, or who will subscribe to a three-cent annual rate will send four packages of bulbs, selected from my stock, which I send free on application, or four shrub plants.

This is a splendid opportunity to get some nice flowering plants and help The Firebrand at the same time.

Order of RENELDOW HOPKINS,

276 Glen St., Portland, Oregon.

The Plants will be sent to all the United States.

DR. FOOTE'S PAINLESS HOME TREATMENT

EXTRACTING MEDICAL COMMON Sense.

For the information of those who may be interested, I would call attention to the popular edition of this book, and to the fact that it was written, in general, for the use of the press. The people have been brought to meet the ability of the poor to buy, and to sell at the reasonable price of ten cents.

Order of The Firebrand.

THE FIREBRAND'S AGENTS.

The following is the list of persons who will receive and receipt for donations for The Firebrand:

Chicago, Ill.: C. F. Fisk, 202 W. Taylor Street.

Boston, Mass.: T. H. Knowles, 100 Tremont Street.

Buffalo, N. Y.-G. L. H. 29 Grove Street.


C. F. Fisk, 600 M. Fourth St. (No. 3 years).

Baltimore, Md.-J. M. F. Poon, East Lombard Street.


C. F. Fisk, 600 M. Fourth St. (No. 3 years).

The people have been brought to meet the ability of the poor to buy, and to sell at the reasonable price of ten cents.

Order of The Firebrand.

THE FIREBRAND'S AGENTS.

The following is the list of persons who will receive and receipt for donations for The Firebrand:

Chicago, Ill.: C. F. Fisk, 202 W. Taylor Street.

Boston, Mass.: T. H. Knowles, 100 Tremont Street.

Buffalo, N. Y.-G. L. H. 29 Grove Street.


C. F. Fisk, 600 M. Fourth St. (No. 3 years).

Baltimore, Md.-J. M. F. Poon, East Lombard Street.


C. F. Fisk, 600 M. Fourth St. (No. 3 years).