

The Firebrand

THE ORGAN OF THE CONGRESS OF IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION.



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

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WHOLE No. 111.

A Liberal Gathering.

WHEN Autumn decks with gold and brown,
And the Sweet South bestrewn the ground
With a carpet and canopy glorious:
When whispering beech, and singing pine,
Woo's to the woods: nor rocks the time,
Made hilloo by old Boreas—
Some jolly men and ladies gay,
A picnic drew together;
To air their views and have their say,
And dance upon the heather:
With song and laugh the wild woods rang,
And echo repeats the glee—
While from the glen came forth and sang,
"The Mountain nymph, sweet Liberty."
An hour a banquet forth is spread,
With viands and wines and roses red,
With jest and repartee
With wit and appetites allayed.
Each then, with toast, his views arrayed,
In perfect liberty.
Up rose a man upon whose brow,
The frost of age was seen—
He seemed to speak, but yet somehow
The voice was much too Green!
Respectability was his theme;
And creeds alone alarming,
Free thought made popular his dream,
And ever the church reforming.
Oh we would lead the freethought hosts,
Away from God, away from ghosts,
The heresy of free love roast—
And damn its advocate.
We love the monogamist thrall
Political, government, and all,
And sing but after Ingersoll,
At early mass and late.
He ceased, a smile passed o'er the throng,
But small applause waits on the song.
Clearly a voice discordant here:
Freethought confined to God alone,
Was freedom, the crowd would never own,
And hence the smile and lack of cheer.
And now another aged man,
Arose to take his part,—
Old Winters rage and social ban,
Had struck his form, untouched his heart,
He spake, and all around was still;
His eye retained the fire of youth,
His words sincere all bosoms thrill,
Humanity proclaims it truth.
I would not lead the freethought hosts,
I've no regard for God or ghosts,
And if perchance it pleases me,
Beyond this life my friends to see
I have no proof; I would not preach:
This truth of mine, let others teach:
To me 'tis more important to know,
The way to live on earth below!
And this my toast—The mothers of the race,
Their health and happiness: all other themes efface,
This truth I hold, all social wrongs we see,
Have still one source, they spring from slavery!
Free mothers: and free sons and daughters bright,
Will surely follow as the day, the night;
And custom, laws, God, Government and all
That interfere will surely have to fall.
I plead for love, with no restriction, free;
By this, and this alone, true hearts united be.
To outwaste just man and woman true,
No fact in nature should be hid from view.
I plead for education, let every woman learn,
How to conceive, or contracept the germ.
True education will render this truth sure,
The pure in heart will view all nature pure.
Tho' I never live to see it, I shall work for it the same
To remove from Sister Woman this burning, blasting shame:
To remove "the stark and stinging shame of sex oppression
now."
I would join the poet Kernan, in his "grand and godlike
vow,"
"That despite the fangs of Custom and despite the churches
frown,
Womanhood shall wield its scepter; Womanhood shall wear
its crown.
She hath borne with man his crosses, she hath worn with
man his chains:
She hath suffered all his losses, she hath suffered all his

pains—
She shall stand with him, co-equal, on the pure, exalted
plains!"
Thus ended he, and from the liberal throng,
Cheer after cheer arose to greet the song:
And ladies with one accord
Cried, he shall be our Moses and lead us thro' the sea,
Thro' the red sea of bondage to a land of liberty,—
And meet with his reward.
The next in order to take his place,
Had more of a composit face:
Yet certain features marked the man—
Apollo's form; the students gray position:
A working hero and a stern logician;
With easy grace he thus began—
Freethought, free speech is just the thing,
To advocate these busy days—
Its praise the press and pulpit sing,
But to forestall of course the ways,
Which logic might the subject bring,
Freedom alone, True freedom lays
Along the path marked out by God,
And dam'd be he who other paths may trod.
We all have hobbies and a way,
We think society should go:
But who's to really have their say
When doctors disagree. You know
We all have equal rights, and may
The authority of others overthrow,
Reforming society is bound to fade,
So many jockies, spoll a trade.
I'd sing of Individual Sovereignty,
The care of self the highest aim;
Reform begins at home. At least should be,
Do as you will; let others do the same,
All acts are right when from invasion free,
"Mind your own business" be the name
Inscribed upon our banners, then shall we
Rejoice to find ourselves in liberty.
Boycott all politics and quietly ignore,
The rulings of man in authority dressed
Combine in self interest, thus the more
Effectual your protest, you'll find it best.
A Martyr the cause may advance by his gore,
But excuse me, I'd rather be of the oppress'd.
Give me a live man to liberty bred.
I hold him far better than a dozen dead.
Let workers co-operate to exchange their produce,
That labor may receive the reward of its toil;
If money be needful arrange that its use
Be free to the trader: the usurer full,
Free land would soon follow, for rent is abuse,
And the user alone has a right to the soil,
For the world is so large and nature could give,
A plenty to all who like brothers would live.
And this is our toast, Equal freedom to all:
May Labor receive the wealth it creates,
May rulers confounded be and governors fall;
Humanity rejoices in fraternal estate.
Monopoly, poverty, and power may call
In vain to their straps, their just doom awaits
The acts of the free men who's banners shall wave,
"O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."
He ended the liberal throng,
Arose as one to greet the song
In loud and long applause:
With parting song upon the lea,
They pledged the nymph sweet Liberty,
To labor in the cause.
See the dying day made glorious,
By a promise richly spread,
May the Century before us
Be by rays of freedom led.
May the world of wealth and treasure
Tend to give each soul its share:
Mother Nature smiles in pleasure,
Grants her children generous fare.
Give us freedom, and no favor,
Let us clear the way before us:
Laws and creeds with tyranny savor,
Join with Burns and swell the chorus—
"A fig for those by law protected,
Liberty's a glorious feast,
Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest."

Organization or Association?

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 certain 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 act upon that conviction. All are free, have no cause of complaint, and are satisfied. This is association. In another room a like number of 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 soon becomes simply to get the recognition of the chair. If two, or three, rise at once they all yell "Mr. Chairman," and the one or ones who are unsuccessful in getting recognition mentally damn the chairman for his partiality. All questions are put to vote and the minority forced to accept the decisions of the majority, not because the majority has reason on its side, 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 illustration is a 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 belief. 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, formalizing or compensation to induce exertion. Some times one person, 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

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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 conformations, to meet in voluntary association, lay out the work of the springs "round up," and each one recognize what his work will be, "fly at it," and do all the work incident to a general round up, without any organization of authority—simply by voluntary association. It seemed strange to me at the time, coming as I did from a region where everything was organized, and under authoritative direction, but I could not ignore the facts, nor escape the conclusion. I have traveled over good roads built by voluntary associated effort in a region where the country roads, the roads built by authority and organization, in the same region, were impassable. Every day I see people going and coming, passing each other, crossing each other's path and mixing and mingling 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 sighted, we can easily see how railroads could be successfully operated without authoritarian direction, or organization. The railroad men can meet, and lay out the work to be accomplished. The engineers will very naturally assume the task of running the engines and will form their own association in order to decide which one will go out on this train, which on that. The firemen and breakmen 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 beds, bridges, etc., will each one find his place in the work just as each bee 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. The telegraph operators would take their regular turns at the instruments, and each train would be reported as to its whereabouts, just as it is now. There being no watered stock to demand dividends, life saving rather than time saving methods would be introduced, and all the precautions now known, or to be invented, which were practical, and expedient would be applied. Two parallel tracks could be laid, and the time honored custom of keeping to the right will continue as a safe guard against accidents.

All this, and in fact all the details of successful and safe railroading can be worked-out, elaborated, and put in practice by the voluntary association of those whose natural inclination leads them to work at railroading. This will lead to efficiency, both in operation and safety arrangements, by attracting only those whose natural desires lead them into this kind of work. The highest efficiency is always attained by those who love their work, and take delight in what they are doing.

But supposing 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 reduces it to mere association. Supposing, however, we form an organization, elect officers by majority vote, and elaborate 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 the workers, or any number of them, should become dissatisfied and refuse to obey orders then the central bureau must exercise authority, and inflict some penalty upon the recalcitrants, or the organization will fall into disuetude, as an organization, and in order for the work to proceed voluntary association, founded on mutual agreement, must take its place.

The modus operandi of association and of organization is very nearly the same, and for this reason many persons fail to distinguish between them.

But the central idea is very different, and it is because of this difference that I 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 they recognize that the success of the undertaking depends upon their successfully carrying on the work they have chosen. If for any reason they become unfit, or unwilling to continue performing their chosen function, another can be found who will undertake to do it. In an organization everyone is supposed to obey the laws of the organization, and in time the good of the organization becomes paramount, and the wish of the individual, and even the happiness, and, carried out to its logical conclusion the life of the individual becomes a secondary consideration. In voluntary association the well-being of the various individuals is the end, the work in hand the means used 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 who like that kind of work, 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 most expeditious manner.

It is useless for anyone to try to picture details of the future society, or 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 of necessity 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, seeking to gratify their desires for comfort, for enjoyment and for association will, when they have learned to allow each other full freedom, find by experience the best and easiest method of gaining this gratification.

HENRY ADDIS.

"Ireland" on Anarchists.

Any phrenologist who has accepted Anarchy, or Freedom, must at once be pained and bewildered by the amount of good brain work, printers' ink, and paper that is expended in periodicals devoted to the propaganda of Freedom, or life without State interference; and by the word-squabbles which the followers of freedom hold with one another as to the use of terms defining their ideas. For instance, one holds himself to be an Anarchist-Communist, and not an Anarchist-Individualist; another proclaims himself a Voluntarist, 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 process of self inspection, but from observation, not from reflection on our own particular consciousness, not from turning our eyes in upon our own thoughts and feelings, but from turning them away from ourselves and on our fellow men. This can be done by the aid of Phrenology. Dr. Gall's discoveries have shown us that the faculties of the mind, the elementary principles, desires, and instincts which in their aggregate compose the human mind, are innate, inborn, and ingenerate; that they exist in the brain alone, no other organ of the body being possessed of any mental emotion whatsoever; that the brain, then, is not a single organ, but is composed of a number of organs, each being the seat of a special mental faculty; that size of brain, other conditions being duly considered, is a measure of power; that what is true of the brain as a whole is true of it in its parts; and that the strength of these parts differ in different individuals. Therefore there are no two individuals constituted alike, which accounts for the differences that exist in the human race, intellectually, morally and socially. Moreover, the strength and weakness of most of these

mental faculties can be estimated with a considerable degree of accuracy, by the skilled observer, from the size and shape of the head.

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

There are, then, deeply implanted in our brains, in different degrees of strength, Conscientiousness, Firmness, Self-esteem, Love of Approbation, Love of Independence, Communal, or Group Friendship, Personal, or Individual Friendship, Distractiveness, or aggressive Energy, Combativeness, or defensive Energy, Caution, Secretiveness, Acquisitiveness, or the provident energy, and so on; but this is enough for our purpose.

When one 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 predispose the mind in a certain direction. When, for instance, Communal Friendship is large in any Individual Anarchist, he, by a process of introspection, is apt to place too much importance on the communal state of existence, and calls himself an Anarchist-Communist. And if he has the power of writing well, he tends, backed up by superstition, to force his particular mind bias on other people. Again, should the bent of his mind be towards Individual friendship and large Independence, he calls himself an Individualist-Anarchist. Thus we see how introspection leads us astray, and causes a vast amount of useless writing and contention.

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 implanted in all minds, as is that for the individual state. There are persons who care for neither state, called hermits. There are also men who have no sense of communal friendship, but call a few individuals whose society is agreeable to them, friends. In a state of freedom there will be room for all, even the hermit!

Don't let any particular bias of mind turn your eyes away from your neighbors, and study men by the aid of observation, not of some particular school of thought.

The desire for communal, as for individual existence is natural, but when we live in common, or with a few friends, our inmost self-love and independence will always more or less preserve our individuality. The organ of Independence will always keep us more or less independent, self-esteem will always keep us on a pedestal, or within a charmed circle in which no one must tread, not even those most dear to us.

How will men get on together in a state of freedom? By the aid of their self-esteem, independence, conscientiousness, love of approbation. Some outsiders think that when this state of existence, called Anarchy, prevails, we shall be encroaching on one another's dignity, shall always be slapping one another on the back and saying—"What cheer, old chap! give me your coat," and "I'll take your hat."

But such a state of society could not exist under freedom, as it is contrary to the constitution of the human mind. Our desire for approbation, our instincts of self-esteem, conscientiousness, and caution, our aggressive and defensive disposition would always keep us from encroaching too far on one another's dignity or self-respect; and especially as possession will be under reasonable conditions, and 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—at times three hundred thousand acres—and say, "This is mine." Practically it is his because the law, that is brute force, protects him. He could not by his own individuality protect his so-called property. Self-esteem is carried to the same extraordinary extent, because he can purchase, 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 conditions under which we live. Therefore an Anarchist-Communist and an Anarchist-Individualist are one and the same.

Let us not, then, seek within for definitions of anything, for we must each be naturally more or less biased in certain directions.

"Themselves men made the mirror of their kind,
And think nought is but what they find at home."

—[Liberty, London.]

COMRADES, circulate The Firebrand!

A Lament.

WHAT they have made our brief life, alas!
Those meddling quacks who, not content to work,
Would make of humankind one giant ass,
That for its flesh they might, like tigers, lurk.

How plain, how simple is our life indeed!
To be, to love, to work and to create—
Is this not all? and how we rage and bleed
With needless aims and strivings intricate!

BASIL DAHL.

The Religion of Constantine.

ESSAY READ BEFORE THE BALLSTON (ORE.) LITERARY SOCIETY.

THE researches of German scholars, have pretty clearly demonstrated that the Synoptic Gospels,—Mathew, Mark and Luke—were derived from one common original, which more nearly resembles the short gospel of Mark than either of 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 birth of Jesus; and in Mathew 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 a different affair. 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 he might develop this power by fasting, prayer and other exercises. The gospel of John admits this, but asserts that this power could only come through the mediation of Jesus of Nazareth—Chap. 1, Ver. 12: "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them which believed on his name." The Gospel of John, then, is an attempt to identify Jesus of Bethlehem with the Logos or Word, the second person in the Trinity. The Synoptic Gospels waver between the thought of Jesus as merely a preacher of righteousness, and Jesus as a redeemer only for those who believe on his name and accept him in baptism. The Fourth Gospel has no hesitation, and according to it, only they who look to Jesus can be saved. It is interesting to study the discrepancies between the pure ethical teachings attributed to Jesus in the sermon on the mount 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 dogma elsewhere set forth of an endless hell 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 Kabbala, and even in the old testament,—while there is nothing there but had been taught long before by Gautama Buddha—I say these teachings were essentially democratic and fraternal. They recognized no distinction of rank or wealth,—"give all thou hast to the poor" and "whoever would be greatest among you let him be your servant," etc. They set forth the absolute equality of all men as children alike of the heavenly 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 involves the idea of authority—some to command while others obey. It must have a head, supported by a priestly aristocracy. With this object in view the damatory clauses were inserted in the gospels—penalties for non-concurrence in the state religion. And these interpolations were clumsily performed by men whose last thought was the "higher criticism," in the days before the printing press, when parchment manuscripts were worth hundreds of times their weight in gold, and the masses could not read even if they could have had access to them. The idea of Jesus as a heavenly king was emphasized, and the Father was degraded into an avenging Moloch whose anger was terrible and relentless against unbelievers. In a word, Christianity went back to the Jehovah of the time of Saul, who orders a wholesale butchery of his enemies, and whose priest, Samuel, hews Agag "in pieces before the Lord!" Of the Council of Nicea, in the year 325,

which should and should not be considered Scripture, even so conservative a scholar as Prof. Max Muller has this to say: "As to the behavior of the bishops assembled at Nicea, the less that is said about it the better; but I doubt whether the members of the Chicago Council, including bishops, archbishops and cardinals, would feel flattered if they were to be likened to the fathers assembled at Nicea."

Now in view of these facts, is it not amusing to notice the conceit with which pulpit-pounders hurl at the heads of their audiences dogmas that were laid down by the corrupt and villainous priesthood of Constantine in the fourth century? I have heard this winter a man, who tried to spread the notion of his great learning, denounce in unmeasured terms that purest of patriots, and one of the most eminent of the fathers of his country, Thomas Paine! This, perhaps, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that the preacher is opposed to true freedom for the human mind—that he is a stern supporter of authority in matters of religion, and has an endless hell prepared for those who decline to submit to the dictum of the Council of Nicea, and that heartless fiend, John Calvin! For Thomas Paine's doctrine was this—identical with the unalloyed teachings of Jesus—"Every man my brother, every woman my sister, the world my country, and to do good my religion." And Thomas Paine's memory will live when the memory of your Talmages, and others, will have relapsed into the rotteness of oblivion.

But let us consider what were the real teachings of Jesus, the wheat sifted from mountains of chaff. "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." "If any man take away thy cloak let him have thy coat also." "Give all thou hast to the poor;" and "lay not up treasures on earth." His religion was emphatically a religion of works—four-fifths of the sermon on the mount was devoted to the second commandment—duty to our neighbor; not a word of redemption through the blood of Jesus. This latter was a dogma invented by the worshippers of Mammon to supply the place of their own failure to carry out the law of "love your neighbor as yourself." When the lawyer asked him what he should do to inherit eternal life, Jesus is reported to have said, "What is written in the law, how readest thou?" His answer was, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself." Jesus said, "Thou has answered right, this do and thou shalt live." He then showed him how the wayfarer Samaritan did good to his neighbor, when priest and preacher, as they do now, passed by on the other side.

Now, my friends, I have been accustomed to hearing heavy denunciations of infidels by men who failed to follow the very first precepts of Jesus. To this I have only to reply, Friends, don't let us be hypocrites. If we put in six days in the week in the service of mammon and devote an hour or two's lip-service on the seventh to a little thought of God, don't for heaven's sake let us call ourselves christians! The taking thought for the morrow, and the laying up treasures on earth, may be Constantinity, but it is certainly not Christianity. And I often think as I enter a church, and see the faces set in a settled conventional, churchified gravity, and hear hymns and prayers put together in the regulation form—I often think of what Jesus is said to have told the Samaritan woman: "Ye worship ye know not what." W. Y.

The Longshoremen's Strike at Hamburg.

THE readers of The Firebrand will probably remember where I called attention to the longshoremen's strike about three months ago.

The history of strikes repeats itself here, as far as the two fundamental principles are concerned, i. e. State Socialistic and Anarchistic. When the strike broke out there was quite a revolutionary disposition among the men on the basis of a general strike, which in my estimation is one of the precursors of the social revolution, so the State Socialists did not have many listeners when they advised the strikers to wait and abide "law and order." But it did not take very long for the flowery speakers of the Social Democracy to mesmerize the rebellious spirit of the discontented men. The result can be easily foretold by every Anarchist. It will not take very long to starve out the stubborn subjects.

* Arena, Dec., 1894.

W. Y.

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 Democratic authorities recommend to their 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 a large minority imposed itself against the submissions, and the trouble commenced when one of the strike breakers fired a revolver against a striker, a fight ensued and the police made an "open sabre" charge against the recalcitrants. Then the strikers soon forgot the scabs and so they all went against the police, and a regular battle ensued. Everybody took a part in it. It seemed to be a popular hate and vengeance against "law and order," so the combatants let fly bricks, stones, timber, old iron coal and so forth, in fact there was nothing spared to hurt the police; the ladies even went so far that they boiled water to scald 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 wounded from among the police as well as from among the people. But that was not all. The fun recommenced the next day in great style on the schaarmarkt place, but there it was a little too easy for the mounted police to take advantage against the demonstrators, so as the people soon got wind of that, they cleared the place and retired to the adjoining streets, where they desperately fought until one o'clock in the morning. The energetic disposition of some few men has now turned the whole strike into another channel. The senate of the city makes now all the possible efforts to induce the bosses to compromise, but if they will succeed is another question. But there is one dead sure thing, that only by violence we can impose our rights on the professional exploiters. Now dear friends, if you should ever be implicated in strikes figure out if there is some way to "expropriate" the bosses, and if you see your way through, go ahead with all your self confidence, and that will surely settle it all right in a couple of days.

A. KLEMLIC.

Best and Right.

"For one I heartily agree with Comrade Malatesta in supposing that no one system of procedure will universally obtain even when we have full liberty. Some men will prefer one, some 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 coming system cannot, then, be a perfect one, for only one way can be right and best."

With the sentence of Malatesta, the present writer can fully agree; not so, however, with the regretful comments on this state of differentiation; nor with the dogmatic distum that "but on way can be right and best."

Everything parties desire, 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 differentiate. Nature in all her transactions affording unlimited liberty, produces coextensive variety. "Variety makes the spice of life." It is better for mankind that Byington should lead his own studious life, and that all others indulge their divergent tastes, than that we should all be "cut over one last." T.

Portsmouth, O.

Propaganda Fund.

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III.

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

Look To The End.

By the light of history's pages
Travel back the past dead ages;
Ever find the tragic story telling just the same:
Man in bloodiest war engages;
Tortures, burns and kills the sages;
Ever stained with blood and crime and lust of power
and fame.

Who can answer, who can say
Man is wiser, now, today,
Than when Egypt's Pharaohs lived and reigned on
earth?

Does the State's or Church's sway
Offer any nobler way?
Are not countless millions doomed to wretchedness
from birth?

The world is ruled by millionaires;
The cross of Christ no message bears—
Throws but a blighting shadow everywhere o'er life:
The rulers claim all that is theirs
The toiler's harvest—all save tares!—
Where do history's pages show base robbery more
rife?

Lust of gold, of power aithirst,
This Man's history from the first—
Ever since the written record was begun on stone or
skin:

Ever making gods the worst
Reflect all his deeds accurst;
Showing by his worshiped gods how poor Man's life
has been.

High the towers and steeples rise
Of churches mocking fairest skies,
But within does right word spoken ever greet the ear?
And with every hour that flies
The Church all freedom e'er denies,—
The cross-crowned Church holds juggling priest—no
prophet, poet, seer.

Ever chained by Superstition;
Ever slaves to old Tradition,—
So the toilers of the world build here on earth their
hell:

Seemingly without volition;
Witless in self-wrought perdition,—
O, for this sad inanity be there word or spell!

Unnumbered slaves of every nation;
Old archetype lies their adoration;
It would not seem a grievous wrong their choice to
dwell in hell,—

But that the coming generation
May wallow in the same stagnation;
They suicide as well as ring the little children's knell.
CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

A Picture of Civilization.

MILLIONS starving in India: 10,000 children dying for want of nourishment in N. Y. 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: suicides have increased since 1890 from 2,040 to 6,520 last year, and murders from 4,290 to 10,652 in the same time, an increase of 270 per cent. in 6 years and the atrocities of the Spanish Cuban war: what an awful, horrible picture of society. Don't mock me by calling it civilization. Who can deliver us from the impending destruction? I go to the politician and he prescribes some mere palliative nostrum which implies an increase of laws, when we are already burdened with too much government, which I think is the principal cause of our troubles. I go to the preacher whose business ought to be, to rid the world of evil but he has no remedy at all. He says "The poor ye have with you always. There shall be famines and pestilences and wars and rumors of wars, but the end is not yet." He looks for a millennium to end evil, but does nothing to bring it about. It seems that he leaves the millennium business entirely to God, but thinks he can do wonders in the insurance business against fire in the future world that he knows as little about as the insured. It is not his business to make the world better, he is a sky pilot—one would think some of them were prosecuting attorneys for the Lord, whose business it is to convict as many as possible and send them to hell. Of course the preacher's vocation pertains to the unknown and the unknowable—theorizing about our relation to God and a hypothetical future

life and not to morality or our relation to each other in this life. The preacher is human and has to make a living—he preaches for a church and churches, consonant with the spirit of the age, are competitors. He must work for the interest of his church by scaring as many as he can into the fold and then hypnotizing the members into a soothing sense of security from future accounts of indebtedness that might come up against them, or he would loose his job. It is not the business of the preacher to teach morality, and to save the people here. Oh no! he is not Jesus Christ, he is a human—he can't tell the people blunt truths like Christ did. If he in a discourse stumbles onto an ethical principle taught by his masters, he hammers it out into a sheet of infinite platitude having no point nor pinch to it. I do not wish to be understood as censuring the preachers, for I have many friends among them. They are as jolly a set of fellows as I ever met. Some of them are real smart too. They have selected the ministry as a profession, to be employed for a livelihood and it is their duty to dish up 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 rich, and they are promised as good a position with as fine a toned harp in the hereafter as the rich man gets. But the preacher enjoins them to be humble, submissive, patient and hopeful for the crown of glory that awaits them.

Now, if Christ had been employed by a coterie of rich Jews as priest of their synagogue he would not have said a rich man cannot enter the Kingdom of God. He would not have told the young man who had great riches, to "go, sell all 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. The preacher to get a good salary must tell his parishioners that Christ did not condemn riches per se, but only the worship of riches. That a man with \$1,000, could damn his soul more by putting his affections on and worshipping his little pile than the millionaire who gave liberally to the church, or as he would phrase it, to the Lord. 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 lauding the profundity of their preacher. Their poor tenants went away probably reproaching themselves for doing too much on riches, as their minds had been occupied in devising how to raise the \$500 rent they had soon to pay.

When I think of God's poor, the Devil's poor and the poor devils, the latter class so largely predominating in numbers, yet nearly all of them assenting 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 church a great deal in the last ten years, and I have not 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. Even the "Liberal," broad minded preachers, exercise only a negative influence for good by breaking down the superstitions of the age. Rabbi Hirsch of Chicago, seeing the distinction between religion and morality, and that they did not necessarily coexist in a church, and seeing the necessity for morality among the people, organized in his synagogue a "Society for ethical Culture." Christian churches not to be outdone by the Jews, also organized "Societies for ethical Culture." But they soon died out. It was found that the more moral principle 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 preachers never advocate a great good nor denounce a great evil. They never denounce war nor riches. They favor strong government and more laws, oblivious of the fact that in proportion as people depend on government to abolish an evil, they relax their moral energies. There would be ten temperance workers where there is one if there was no prohibition laws against liquor. If there was no government, nine tenths of the people would be moral sensationists. Ten men would study ethical sociology where one now does. They would feel the necessity for it, whereas now they are apathetic, depending on laws to keep people straight, by infringing continually on their rights.

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, for the ideal man is all right. But rules applicable to an intellectually and morally developed man, will hardly apply to the undeveloped savage" etc. The same friend wrote a very able article some years ago on heredity and environment as the cause of all differences in character, and of course, he argued logically that no one was deserving of censure or praise, and its corollary, that no one deserved punishment nor reward. He thinks we should have laws to restrain "the products of the slums." I would remind him that laws imply punishment, and if no one is deserving of punishment, why punish? I would also remind him, that the ideal man implies according to his own argument, an ideal environment, or condition. Then, how are we to arrive at the ideal condition by advocating and perpetuating evil, wrong, punishment?

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

"O mother may I go out to swim?

O yes my darling daughters.

Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,

But don't go near the waters."

The ideal man is a possible man. The possible man implies a possible condition. A possible condition implies means to produce it. The ideal man is only possible amid free environments. We must all learn to swim. We must all go into the water to learn. The race must come up to the ideal man. The race must go into the clear water of freedom to approach the ideal man.

J. C. BARNES.

Hindsboro, Ill.

Clippings and Comments.

In France, the country of small proprietors, 66 per cent of the soils is owned by landlords holding more than 25 acres, and about 50 per cent by owners of more than 100 acres. Since 1848 the number of individual holdings has decreased by 150,000. The Reveil Social says the rural population has diminished in five years 420,495. The same journal shows how in a single generation the rent of a 50 acre farm rose 150 per cent. Concentration of wealth goes forward in all countries alike.—[Common Cause.

The above shows the fallacy of the claim, made by our populist and "money reform" friends, that a large volume of money in circulation will secure prosperity. France has a circulation of about fifty dollars per capita, and populist orators referring to this fact to prove that fifty dollars per capita would bring prosperity in the United States.

Buffalo, March 8.—Senator Lamy 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 act, the governor shall appoint in all counties of the state having a population of 10,000 or more, men suitable to act as censors of all newspapers published in said counties.

Any person writing or causing to be printed any articles or portion of any article not passed upon and approved by the censor shall be guilty of a felony, and the penalty for conviction thereof shall be imprisonment in the state penitentiary not exceeding five years or not less than one year, or a fine of \$1000 or \$5000, or both.—[Oregonian.

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

The following episode in metropolitan life should not be passed over lightly:

A few days ago the employees of Solomon Anderson, the florist in the Hoffman House, noticed at 5 p. m. a short, thick-set man stop in front of the place. He gazed for a moment at the magnificent floral display in the window and then shook his head dolefully. Passers-by heard him say: "Extravagance, extravagance! A wilful, wanton waste—and what for? To satisfy the whim of some pampered society pet. Some ball, some waste of money, while thousands are starving. Some dance while others die." Then he drew a brick from an inside pocket and sent it crashing through the florist's plate-glass window. Then he calmly folded his arms and waited. Some of the employees rushed at him. "What have you done?" demanded one of them.

"You have seen," he replied, "now have me arrested."

Then policeman Schlotzman was called and arrested him.

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

"To call attention to my starving condition and the condition of the starving thousands who are forced to depend on newspaper charity," he responded. He was

held for trial. The man's name is John Dolan.—[The People.]

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

In 1810, when the population of the country was (round numbers) 7,250,000, the ordinary expenditures of the government were \$5,300,000, or 75 cents per capita. In 1895, the same expenditures were \$388,900,000, or \$5.48 per capita. Now may it be asked, without danger of being set down as a crank or an Anarchist, in what respect did the general government serve the people better in 1895 than in 1810? That is, what had the average citizen in 1895 to show for the extra \$4.73 per capita of government expenditure? Everybody knows that in 1810 the average citizen did not pay his own and somebody else's share of the expenditure, as he did in 1895; for in the earlier period the science of shifting the burden from the corporations and individual plutocrats to the producers, had not yet been brought to the perfection it has since attained. But, sticking 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 meddlesome 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 authorized and paid for by the government. That is one of the blessings they did not have in 1810. Then too, it must be remembered that we have a rather complete monopoly of land and money now. In 1810 there was lots of free land, a whole continent, and the issue of money had not become a "science." Now the free land is all gone and the title owners must be protected by the government; the issue of money is monopolized by congress and that must be protected. These protections are paid for out of that \$4.73. And in 1895 we had, and they are on the increase, a lot of petty interferences with personal liberty, suppression of free speech, regulation of conduct and the like that did not exist in 1810, and all this is paid for out of the \$4.73. And it is the average citizen that gets all those 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 a standing army of 130,000. And yet Switzerland is called the model republic, and pointed to as an example for other nations to pattern after.

On July 1, 1895, 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 are only an expense and a menace to peace and security.

On January 1, 1895, the armies of the world included 4,209,000 men. Enough, if engaged in production, instead of destruction, to feed, cloth and house 20,000,000 woman and children. Instead of that they are supported at the expense of those who work.

POLITICAL power is of necessity oppressive. It seeks to regulate the intercourse of all persons, setting bounds to their action in all directions, and enforcing a "respect" for those bounds by the infliction of torture on those who disregard these bounds.

SOME persons are so fully convinced that a Constitution is necessary that they will not try to carry on a literary society, or debating club, or other association without 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 exer-

cised considerable power. We hear constant complaints, and roars about the crime of '73, etc., all simply the exercise of power by Congress, 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 so been for more than a quarter of a century, and as long as the average man will continue to enlist, or be drafted, this hocus-pocus, expensive defense of 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 2,310 war ships, mounting 88,209 guns, all ready for immediate service. Let the workmen 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 be slaves to authority, and want, crime and misery will continue.

DURING the great civil war 61,362 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. 61,362 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 will never be the reason for any changes they make. But they must, of necessity wait until they have the power. The reasons for changes are obvious enough. These reasons are justification enough, but the use of power with no reason for its use but the fact of its possession is never justifiable.

A FRIEND 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 Mrs. John Jay White Jr., 103, E. 57th St., and the fourth and last at Mrs. J. 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 Dove, as it is a literal quotation from Dove's "Theory of Human Progression." This work was first published about the year 1850, and was far in advance of its age; indeed, it is scarcely yet as fully appreciated as it ought to be. The book had no general circulation at its first appearance, and if I mistake not was suppressed as revolutionary. It found its way only into the hands of a few scholars, and passed entirely out of notice until memories of it were revived by the publication of Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." In his epoch making work Mr. George gives credit to Quesnay and the Physiocrats 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. But he said nothing about Dove, and it may, perhaps, be true that he knew nothing about him at that time; but the fact remains that Dove's work contains a much better exposition of what is known as Henry George's single tax theory—to my mind at least—than does "Progress and Poverty" itself.

Dove'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 its theological bias. Dove posits the storied fall of man at the creation as a self-evident fact, and he bases all the ignorance and misery due to bad institutions throughout the world's history on this initial disobedience to the divine command. Progress is a process of overcoming the consequences of that disobedience—of regeneration, and reinstatement of humankind in the divine favor. It comes by knowledge of, and obedience to, the laws which an omnipotent creator has established for the government of the world; and the time will eventually arrive when, knowing and obeying those laws in their entirety, man will become fully regenerated and recover his 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 Progression" without deriving profit therefrom.

I want to endorse what comrade Daniels says of self-sacrifice in The Firebrand of Feb. 28. 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 rational theory of free Communism. The present society calls for continual sacrifice; that is what makes it so intolerable. The intellect that imagines it possible for a society to be held together in peace only by a process of continual 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 absurd. All the better and finer instincts of humankind have been stunted and repressed for thousands of years back, because of the existence of institutions that call for continual sacrifice of the individual for the assumed good of all. That is what ails 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!"

"It will be 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 at discord. It will never argue or dispute. It will not prove things. It will know everything. And yet it will not busy itself about knowledge. It will have wisdom. Its value will not be measured by material things. It will have nothing. And yet it will have everything; and whatever one takes from it, will still have—so rich will it be. It will not be always meddling with others, or asking them to be like itself. It will love them because they will be different. And yet while it will not meddle with others it will help all, as a beautiful thing helps us by being what it is. The personality of man will be very wonderful. It will be as wonderful as the personality of a child."

W. P. BORLAND.

Will it work?

In his book, "Why government at All," Wm. H. Van Ornum proposes that men be elected to the legislature that will defeat all appropriations, claiming that without appropriations there can be no pay for the officers, and without pay the officers won't work, freedom result and a general readjustment take place. We now have a chance to see if his proposition will work.

The Oregon Legislature failed to do any business. The house of Representatives failed to organize, and so there were no appropriations. The result, so far can be seen by the following:

SALEM, Or., March 8.—State employees and those accustomed to furnishing state supplies are interested to know what sort of evidence of indebtedness, if any, the state proposes to issue and how much cash can be realized on claims. Secretary of State Kincaid has not yet fully determined how to treat claims presented to him. For the present, he is merely filing claims, making a list thereof, but issuing no receipts. The matter is still under consideration and the secretary may yet decide to issue receipts for claims filed in his office or adopt some other expedient as a matter of convenience to claimants.

How much can be realized on state claims is a matter of competition on money seeking investment and dependent upon the nature of the claims. Money will be readily advanced upon claims based on legitimate government expenses, while those of a doubtful nature may go begging. The banks here are disposed to advance money on claims, holding the claims as collateral security. Among those meeting with disfavor may be mentioned claims for services as legislators or clerks of the nineteenth biennial session of the legislature.—[Oregonian.]

The Governor has said that it is useless to call a special session of the Legislature, and it is only a question of time until the banks will have to discontinue advancing money on claims against the State that stand no chance of being paid for two years or more. But this is not all. It now seems that there may be no assessment as will be seen from the following:

The following correspondence between Multnomah County Clerk Smith and Secretary of State Kincaid, concerning assessment blanks for the rolls of 1897, is self-explanatory and seems to indicate that the paper

necessary for the assessment rolls will remain tied up in the freight house until the legislature shall appropriate money enough to defray the freight charges.
 Portland, Or., March 4, 1897.—H. R. Kincaid, Secretary of State.—Dear Sir: Our assessor, R. S. Greenleaf, is ready and anxious to commence work on the assessment roll for 1897, and he has asked me several times how soon I could furnish him the blanks. Will you please inform me about when I may expect them and oblige. Yours truly,

"H. M. SMITH, Clerk."

"Office of Secretary of State, Salem, Oregon, March 5, 1897.—H. C. Smith, Clerk of Multnomah County, Portland, Oregon.—Dear Sir: Replying to your letter of March 4th, I will say that the paper for the Multnomah county assessment rolls was purchased in the East and shipped to Salem, Oregon, where it now remains in the Southern Pacific freight office, being held for freight. The present legislature has failed to appropriate any money to pay freight and this, like much other merchandise needed for the use of the state, is tied up in a warehouse waiting payment of charges. Officers of this and other departments of state have advanced money out of their own pockets to pay freight on merchandise for more than two months, but it has now become apparent that the legislature will not appropriate money, and these officers do not and indeed cannot advance 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 anyone else, but am powerless to remedy it. As soon as the legislature appropriates money or I can arrange with the railroad company for the freight the assessment rolls for Multnomah county will be ruled, printed and bound as rapidly as possible, and immediately forwarded to you. Respectfully yours,

H. R. Kincaid,
 "Secretary of State."
 —(Oregonian.

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 to see a condition of affairs very analogous to Anarchy in Oregon. I have my doubts, however, of anything of the sort occurring. The officers will in all probability, "stretch the law to cover the case," and find a way to get their salaries, and assess and collect taxes. It would be amusing and instructive to see some "tax payer," refuse to pay his taxes and go into court to test the legality of the assessment. Even if no assessment is made, I am inclined to think that everything will move on about as usual, for the simple reason that only a small minority are mentally free to 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 was open. I am very much afraid, though, that the executive machine will grind on. But let us hope that all this will do much to disabuse the minds of the people of that falacious belief that legislation is necessary, and that the officers of the law are working for the good of the people.

HENRY. ADDIS.

Thoughts and Things.

ALL the working people of the past and present of all nations and colors, have been and are helping one another to make all the wealth of the world, and are entitled to enjoy in common the wealth they have produced instead of supporting millions of loafers 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 human beings. "I can cut a table out of wood with my knife," 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 first, and then the table, would you not need tools to make the knife? How could you make tools without tools? If a little boy should stray away from his home to the woods and remain there living on berries and roots, and should create some wealth when 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 see how it is possible for any human being to live alone without becoming an idiot for all we know we have learned from others and others learn from us.

All human beings living 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 possession of ill-gotten wealth are the culprits; the cause of ignorance, misery, crime, and all kinds of mental and physical disease.

Diseases of all kinds are the punishment of nature for violating her laws. Man might 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 constantly forced 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 and misfortunes come from god, and when he cannot do enough torturing he calls to his aid de champ his satanic majesty—the devil. Yes; those petticoated liars have been successful in barring the road of progress, but they are gradually losing 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 bible's ghost-stories, slight of hand tricks, etc., by which they succeeded in creating fear, superstition, and the most degraded submission

With reference to nudity I like to say that nature does not provide us with clothing, and all the pores of our skin should be exposed to air, light and the rays of the sun, instead of being covered with 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 toe-nails; from the first stages of life in the womb of our mothers until death. Our brains, or what the christians call the soul, grows with the body from the simple to the complex, according to our environments, and it being the capitol of the nervous system, it cannot live without nervo-electricity and must die without the body.

P. SMITH.

Plain English.

- CLIENT.—One who knows his case.
- ATTORNEY.—One who has to be taught by the Client.
- BARRISTER. (State-Attorney)—One who has to be taught by the Attorney.
- JUDGE.—One who has to be taught by the barrister.
- JURY.—A body that has to be taught by the judge.
- OATH.—A ceremony invented to save men of honor from the necessity of telling the truth.
- BAIL.—An invention to save rich criminals from the grip of law.
- DETECTIVE.—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 terminus for third-class passengers.
- HOSPITAL.—A workshop for repairing nature's slop-work.
- DRUNKENNESS.—The most profitable vice that a Chancellor of the Exchequer has to deal with.
- ABDICATION.—A polite word always used to conceal the fact that an unpopular monarch has been kicked downstairs.
- LAW.—A loop-hole.
- PRESIDENT.—The most noble slave.
- SENATE.—An assembly of councillors doing everything in the interest of the rich.
- CONGRESS.—A body of men organized to break laws and make debts.
- SECRETARY (in politics).—An amateur legislator who has passed no apprenticeship.
- ARMY.—Licensed murderers.
- NAVY.—Piracy on a large scale.
- GOVERNOR.—One who is paid by the people to serve Pluto.

MAYOR.—An officer that sells privileges at private auction.

ALDERMEN.—A saloonkeeper in the council chamber.

CHIEF OF POLICE.—One that is a good judge of burglars.

POLICEMEN

PANIC.—An attempt on the part of insolvent debtors to make the government pay their debts.

HISTORY.—One side of the question.

COMMUNIST.—A much abused person who wants only self-government.

JOHN HOLLINGHEAD.

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—tared with the same stick in the estimation of men who would scorn to misrepresent 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. Howells, the novelist, "is a Socialist and almost an Anarchist." It might as well have said that Mr. Howells "is as white as alabaster and almost black," or that he "is as comely as Absalom, with the features of Markanna."

Socialism and Anarchy are antithetic. The one exalts the state, the other would destroy it; the one is paternal and seeks to direct even the private affairs of men; the other holds that government is tyranny, and that the individual is independent, supreme.

Speaking generally, all Anarchist are bad, while on the other hand most Socialists are good citizens. Take Mr. Howells himself, for instance, or William McKinley, who, while not so radical as Mr. Howells, is the author of a tariff bill distinctly socialistic.

Mr. Howells would apply the principles of Socialism so that they would benefit all alike—if there be virtue in them—while the president-elect holds that State aid to certain industries would be sufficient. By it the employer of labor would receive largess from the State and human nature is so generous, he would no doubt divide his bonus with the employe.

To quote from a recent publication, "President John Smith," there are today several schools and branches of Socialism, and there are varying beliefs among 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 made perfect through wise laws passed by a majority of the people, and he points to the postoffice, the public schools and the waterworks as familiar examples of State Socialism.

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 it clings to no 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 fathers, but they were human, and if cannot improve on their work after more than a hundred years, we are decadents. If we are not progressive we will be reactionary. 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 asserts that most Socialists are good, while all Anarchists are bad. He offers no argument to substantiate his assertions, but gives them out cold. Some Socialists are anxious to have people believe that "Socialism and Anarchism are antithetic," but every student of social evolution and philosophy knows that voluntary Socialism and Anarchism are identical. State Socialism is the opposite of Anarchism, and anyone who knows the history of government, and

can think logically, will shrink from putting everything into the hands of the State. H. A.

Correspondence.

ADMIRATION FOR THE FIREBRAND.

Of late, and especially since the paper was enlarged, many have expressed admiration for it, who formerly would not read it. For my part I think it a splendid success. Nor is the brilliancy of the achievement in the least obscured by the fact that the honor belongs to the erstwhile much abused, and despised. "Woodchoppers and farmers."

Nevertheless I am sorry to say: that I propose to resign as your agent, as I find it interferes considerably with my movements, but I will try before I do so to get an enthusiastic comrade to take my place. Or solicit sufficient number of paid subscribers to ensure the continuance of the circulation so far attained.

J. L.

Cleveland, Ohio.

GOOD ADVISES.

I see with regret that the proletarian class do not seem to be very much interested by its rights and the progress of the events, for we see the poverty is growing deeper all the time. I very often see the children barefooted in the snow going to meet the miners, coming back from their work, to ask them if they have not got a piece of bread left in their lunch bucket, while the rich class is sick with indigestion, and pass their lives in idleness. At New York, do we not see Mrs. Bradley Martin, etc., who are going to spend the money of the poor workmen in organizing a masque ball, which will cost \$250,000 of money robbed from the producers, while there is in the streets a big crowd crying at their oppressor's doors for bread. Look here, dear workmen, is it not revolting to see such a terrible situation? But you still believe all kinds of trash 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 have got just enough not to starve. Will you have the courage to be interested enough in your natural rights to ask why such a sad condition exists? Come to us, Anarchists, and we will explain to you from where the ills, that you are suffering, come from. Do not fear the Anarchists, for they only want the happiness of the entire human family.

Now, will you always be such a beast as to listen at those black crows (preachers) or rather those black, poisonous sneaks, who with their god have so far kept keop humanity asleep, and filled the brain of the people with false beliefs. For instance one of those preachers was telling, not long ago, here at the opera house, that God's wish was the liberty of the people and that they could be happy. If you are waiting, workmen, for that god to bring us happiness, I believe that you can wait for quite a while yet. Those same preachers tell us that that god is our father and omnipotent, why then if it is so does he not establish the equality among his children? Why does he give all to a few of them and nothing to the others? Why does he let his children starve in the streets of the rich cities? If he is really omnipotent he can then arrange things so that they will be happy and if he does not do it, he is in consequence a bad father. The preachers tell us, too, that that god does not bother himself about the people, then there is no reason to bother ourselves about him. We should not even talk of that inhuman and unjust father, who has got no pity for his children. See here, Comrades, we had better not listen at all to these falsities, and keep our children from going in these cursed churches. It will be much better to teach them their natural rights, and at the same time it would be of benefit for us to teach one another before the great "chambad" which will chase the misery away, and all those venomous beasts who live on our back.

I hope that day will soon come. On that day we will look out for the authors of our miseries and sufferings. Hurrah for the revolution! Hurrah for Anarchy.

J. CAUMIANT.

Spring Valley, Ill.

TRIES TO DEFEND HIMSELF.

Will you allow me sufficient space in your paper to defend myself against charges you make against me in your issue of the 14th inst? I made the statement to Brother Pope of The Firebrand office in a private

letter that the plutocratic press, and Church and State, were making Anarchists a thousand fold faster than The Firebrand and all the Anarchist papers and orators in the world. No difference how much you ridicule and condemn that statement, I shall stand by it. I did not say nor mean to say, that the plutocratic press, and Church and State were making full fledged Anarchists at one bound, but what I mean to say is, that they are doing more than all the instrumentalities combined to prepare the soil for the future harvest of Anarchism, and I feel myself abundantly able to defend this position. You admit almost as much yourself for you say: "But the truth is that while the plutocratic press and Church and State may disgust honest people and drive men and women to desperation, they never throw the faintest ray of light upon that all important question of how human association can be made just and desirable," admit that 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 for a very good reason, they do not want to teach it. But you say yourself they are "disgusting" the people. Yes, and that is the first thing to do, to break their chains and set them to thinking even if it does "drive some 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 goal can then be won in time. It was so with the institution of slavery, and it is so with all great evils. President Lincoln could never have made his proclamation of emancipation stand for one moment if the rebels of the South had not first "disgusted" northern people with the institution of slavery and so made abolitionists by the hundreds of thousands. That was the first step, and the second step was, those abolitionists stood by Lincoln's proclamation. Everything must have a beginning and an end. The plutocrats are doing just what the rebels did, only the rebels made abolitionists and the plutes are making Anarchists. The rebels brought down their own building on their own heads, which crushed them into the earth and liberated the last slave they had, and the plutes are going to keep on until they bring down their own building on their own heads and are crushed into the earth like the rebels were, and the last wage slave is set free, and the wonder is that the editor of The Firebrand cannot see it.

If the present state of things did not exist The Firebrand could not make but few if any Anarchist and yet the editor seems to think he is making all the Anarchists. He talks about my inconsistency—what of his? He says I wrote to the Socialist of San Francisco, a statist paper, that I had been a Socialist for 40 years and expect to die one, and that Socialism was the only remedy for human poverty and oppression." Yes, I wrote that, and stand by it, for Socialism now in its truest and broadest sense, as employed today by our ablest modern writers, means any association of human beings in Co-operation and mutual helpfulness, and that includes Anarchy. I did not say that I was a State Socialist, and I am not, but I believe even that is better than what we now have, and Herbert Spencer thinks that will be our next step. The editor of The Firebrand and my friend, Brother Mr. Pope, are terribly down on the Twentieth Century, can see nothing good in it at all, and yet the Twentieth Century is exposing the corporations and trusts and money power with as great ability as any magazine in the world that I know anything about, and also advocating the Initiative and Referendum, and so in the end is preparing the soil for Anarchy, but these two brothers cannot see one good thing in it. To me they are just as unbending as a bar of iron, and just as short sighted and dogmatic as the man who can see nothing good in The Firebrand. You will not tolerate Anarchists unless they are made in exactly your way, in other words you would not eat potatoes if you were starving unless grown according to your methods. There was another Anarchist paper that took about the same stand. Tucker's Liberty, and I quit it. That paper could just as well have increased its subscription list ten to one as I believe, if Tucker had not tried to put every subscriber to it into a "straight jacket" and on his defined "plumb lines" of Anarchism, Tucker carries one of the best brains in our country, and while he has done, and is doing a great deal of good, yet he could have done a hundred times more, in my judgement, if he had not been so dogmatic, rigid and unbending, and it looks to me as if The Firebrand was going to follow in his footsteps. Hough O. Pentecost, while he was editor of the Twentieth Century was one of the ablest and best writers I read after.

No difference what his antagonists would say or do, he never failed to act the gentleman toward them all. Now, gentlemen of The Firebrand fraternity, you made this attack on me and you may not like my reply, and you may rule me out of the Anarchistic fold, but be that as it may, remember:

"When the general roll is called, I'll be there," all the same, no difference how often you rule me out. I thought in Anarchism we all had a right to work as we pleased, so we did not invade the rights of anyone else, but it seems not, for the "iron bedstead" is brought into this ism, as well as every other ism in this world, and we must be "spliced if we are too short or cut off if we are too long" to fit the bedstead, but like Penecost I throw the "ists" and "isms" out of my lexicon, in my general work, and I have made far greater success in my propaganda work since I have done so, but I do not ask others to do as I do; let them do according to their own judgement, and I want to do according to mine. Some of my friends say I am entirely too radical, and others say I am entirely too conservative: Now I am just as radical as the truth is, and just as conservative as the truth is, then how can I get any nearer right? In fact, I do not believe there was ever a more radical human being born on this earth or ever will be, than myself, but I do not talk radicalism to every body at first, for it often repels them and I am defeated. Our radicals do not seem to realize that liberty and radicalism were born in the womb of conservatism, and justice in the womb of injustice and wrong, and Anarchy in the womb of chains and slavery, and that almost all of us came up through orthodoxy and conservatism in one form or another. Then should we not have a little patience, well tempered with that divine quality of mercy for the blind and erring ones who are stumbling over the same stony road we ourselves have traveled? but both conservatives and radicals have but little patience with each other. Now the truth is, all roads lead to Rome, and we shall all get there by and by, but we may be able to help each other on our pilgrimage and ought we not to do so? Anarchists denounce and repudiate all papers and all movements except their own, see nothing good in anything except pure and simple "plumb line Anarchism," while the truth of the matter is, these intermediate agencies are all educating them on to the ultimate, as fast as it is possible. I presume my dear Brother Pope would conclude that this earth would dissolve and all go to pieces in a moment of time if he should deposit a ballot in a ballot box. I have no faith in ballot boxism as it is employed today, but believe it can be made a great agency of progress if properly employed to make temporary settlements without physical force or bloodshed. You may get some persons to travel almost a bee line to Anarchism, and when you can, so much the better, and by all means do so, but in spite of all that may be said or done, and regret it as we may, the great masses have got to go a long and a round about route to reach Rome. In their blindness they cannot do any better. Then shall we pass sentence upon them and execute it because they do not take the "short cut?" Have we not got to take human nature as it is? I have converted a number of both men and women to Anarchism here in the Home and elsewhere, who accepted it before they knew what it was, and when they found out what it was they would not go back on it. Had I told them first what it was, I could not have got in hailing distance of them, and never have converted them. I have tried both methods, the direct and indirect and I have made much greater success with the indirect method, then why may I not use it, and let others use whichever method suits them best? Why raise a Chinese wall of prejudice in the mind of a person you may desire to convert by first telling him or her that you are an Anarchist and want to talk about that "ism" to them. Why not talk about the deal state of Anarchism and tell them of the justice, beauty and harmony of such a state, and leave the name out until they have accepted the substance? My only object is to convert persons to Anarchism as fast as I can, and the above is the most successful method I have tried. Mr. Editor I will now close and not take up any more of your space, but the ground is not half covered as it could be done, if I had more

* No, Comrade Sollier, I do not think "that this earth would dissolve" etc., if I should deposit a ballot in a ballot box—I have done that several times; but it would make one unhappy to cast a vote for one who is a murderer of his fellow beings, and to me, all who make and enforce government are murderers.

A. J. POPE.

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

Soldier evidently considers his ideas and expressions a part of himself, for I did not attack him personally, nor did I use his name, but simply used a few sentences from his pen, expressing ideas that lots of others hold, 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 disgusting them. The conditions under which we live do the disgusting and it is the mission of the plutocratic press, and the Church to overcome this disgust, and turn the attention of the disgusted to other subjects, and of the State to "preserve order" by violence. The Twentieth Century, and papers of its class appeal directly to those who are already disgusted, and try to fasten their attention on some palliative, some fallacy that after they have learned it, must be eradicated, thus leading away those that might otherwise become Anarchists, and keeping them in the ranks of the authoritarians. It was not the institution of slavery that had disgusted the people of the North so that they upheld Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, but secession. A majority of the soldiers went to war to preserve the union, not to free the slaves. No one objects to the "indirect method of making Anarchists," in personal propaganda, but it is impossible to apply this method in a newspaper. I use the same method, often, in personal conversation, advancing the ideas before naming them, but it can't be done in a paper. I am not yet convinced that an authoritarian can beat at the same time an Anarchist, or that papers which uphold government are propagating Anarchy.

It may seem to "Soldier" and some others that I have not answered all the points raised. Perhaps I have not, 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 probably draw out a page of rejoinder, so I leave our readers to draw their own conclusions. H. ADDIS.

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Appendix: 1. Introduction. 2. The Criticism of a Leader. 3. The Charm and Beauty in Exclusiveness. 4. Woman vs. Man. 5. The Weakness of Woman. 6. "Calling Names." 7. Criticisms of Socialists and Anarchists. 8. Tolstoism. 9. A Paradox. 10. My Hopes and Fears. The price of this book is: Paper cover 50c. Cloth nicely bound \$1.00.

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