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## THE FIREBRAND

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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.]

### A KINGLY CORONATION \*)

They take some poor and stupid-ass,  
Annoint him with some royal grease,  
Then promise him a life of ease  
And straight there comes to pass  
A miracle in this chaotic mass

Called "Society."  
People quail beneath his kingly nod—  
Slaves die beneath his smiting rod—  
While all vie in ostentatious adoration,  
And lie with persistent and pious declaration.

Why all this from men of brawn and brain  
In every rank and station?  
Why should a mediocre ass  
Cause all these strange things to pass,  
What is the explanation?  
Simply because he is supposed to be  
Filled for time and eternity  
With a strange and sacred gas  
Called the "Divine Grace of God"—  
Alack-a-day, alas, alas  
That such "fool things" should come to pass.

M. S. LIDEN.

\*) Respectfully dedicated to Emperor Nicholas II, soon to be crowned at Moscow. L.

### BREAD OR POWER?

The present stir in political and economic fields of activity is rapidly becoming one of conquest. For years labor unions and working-men's associations of various kinds have sought to bind the toilers together for purposes of mutual assistance. Generally they only proposed to assist each other in time of need and to present an unbroken front when called upon to resist the encroachments of employer or scab. But in the evolution of industry, and the growth and intensification of present conditions, they have found that they must become conquerors, or be driven from their last refuge and made the abject slaves of their oppressors—their conquerors. Dimly recognizing this, the question of political action has been more and more noticed, and gained more influence among the various labor organizations as the years went by, and the necessity of a decisive struggle grew upon them.

Here was the politician's chance, and true to his instinct he saw it and began his operations to foist upon the workers the necessity of political action, never forgetting that he was the man best qualified to guide them in the attempts to conquer the powers of the State. "New Trades Unionism," as it is called, pushed on by the rulers of the S. L. P. appeared upon the scene, destined as its promoters believed, to take the place of the old trades Unionism. Its purpose is the same as that of the old style unionism—with the "conquest of power"

attached. Should the fond hopes of the promoters of this kind of workingmen's association be realized, the entire body of union men would be organized in a close corporation ready to march to the poles on election day with banners flying, drums beating, and deposit their ballots according to the dictates of their union—in other words for the Social Labor Party.

As industrial evolution has progressed the displacement of human labor by machinery, the substitution of child labor and woman labor in occupations once exclusively the occupations of men; the monopolization of all lands and all the machinery of production, as well as the growth of intelligence, has tended to point out to the more thoughtful that the conquest before them must be the conquest of bread. "Bread is freedom, freedom—bread" has been said, and many there are who recognize this saying as a fact and wish to conquer for bread, not for power. They see the hard struggle necessary to gain possession of the powers of the State, and the many pitfalls and snares into some of which the victorious politician, be he ever so honest, is sure to fall. Seeing that power can be upheld only by violence, and that the instruments of power must ever be a constant drain upon the products of those who toil, he turns resolutely away from the conquest of power and seeks only the conquest of bread, for when the freedom to produce and consume his bread in peace is secured he is conqueror of the ills which now beset him so thickly.

The populists have set out to conquer the powers of the State, hoping, Oh how fondly, but how vainly, to make use of that power in bringing about a betterment of conditions. With a zeal worthy of any cause, they began their campaigns of conquest and succeeded in conquering the powers of the State in Kansas, Colorado, South Dakota, and partially so in Nebraska, Minnesota and other states. What has been the result? One after another of those placed in power by this struggle of the producers have found themselves unable to remedy the present evils and given it up, or they have fallen a prey to the same spirit of "thrift" that has ever prompted office holders to "fix" themselves while they had a chance. Still the attempt to carry their conquest "on to Washington" and gain possession of the powers of the general government is continued, and while much of the revolutionary fire which characterized the early history of the party has died out, electioneering tactics like unto those of the old parties have grown up, and only the conquest of power is now their object. In the hope of catching votes they have become conservative, and the starving widow, the honest man losing his home and the denial of the young the chance to be and do on an equal footing with all others is lost sight of in the constancy of their gaze, fixed as it is upon the conquest of power.

One fraction in the great family of agitators, one fraction alone, stands out boldly advocating the direct and immediate conquest of bread. They see that all energy and time expended in conquering the powers of state is only wasted. They see that

it is only swapping masters and that the struggle is not ended by putting the lash into the hands of a new set of masters. The Anarchists alone taboo the idea of gaining freedom by the conquest of power. They it is that boldly proclaim for freedom; for bread for all, and in abundance. At first reviled and persecuted, represented as the enemies of labor and the paid tools of plutocracy, they have continued the propaganda which is so obnoxious to the selfseeking politicians, and little by little the beauty and sublimity of the conquest of bread is dawning upon the minds of the toilers, and they begin to see the uselessness and folly of conquering power for others to use; of wresting the lash for the hands of some and placing it into the hands of others, and as knowledge takes root and spreads amongst the workers, the power of the state will wane and the conquest of bread gains in strength and certainty of success.

Brothers! the struggle is on. We must sink in deeper depths of servitude or conquer the world for freedom. The history of our race shows all too clearly that all conquests of power have finally resulted badly for the useful classes; for those who labor and produce the necessities of life, as well as its comforts and luxuries. Power once acquired requires constant effort to be retained. In fact, so much effort is needed in maintaining it that there is no time left for anything else.

Time and again the downtrodden have arisen and wrested the powers of state from their oppressors, but in every instance where that power has been left intact, or some new form inaugurated, its possessors have made use of it to their personal advantage and its exercise has grown oppressive as of old.

Seeing then that slavery or conquest is before us, which will we try to conquer, political power or bread—freedom. Wisdom and all the lessons of experience show the futility of the conquest of power. Before us lies the world fruitful and abundant. The cool streams laughing and joyous are ready to assist us in grinding grain or weaving cloth, while the constant change of seasons insures abundant yields of fruit and cereals if our attention is turned to conquering the obstacles that lie between us and the free and untrammelled use of all these natural bounties and latent possibilities.

If "bread is freedom" then the greatest conquest of all time, the conquest which is paramount and most urgent is the conquest of bread. A conquest that will sweep away all forms of oppression and, giving full freedom to all, thrill the world with new life and send it onward to unknown realms of progress, peace and pleasure.

"Let the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing," but so sure as the rolling seasons bring their changes in the appearance of the earth's surface, just so surely will the Anarchist propaganda bring a change in social and economic arrangements. When we have conquered the powers of state we have only made masters of former slaves. The conquest of bread will rid the world of both masters and slaves.

F. L. LIDEN.

## "HOW ESTABLISH ANARCHY."

"Of course, co-operative efforts are foredoomed to succumb to governmental interference," says H. A. (1)

I wonder if H. A. regards "of course" as conclusive and irresistible; an end of the argument. If so let me make an equally effective argument on the other side: "Of course, co-operative efforts are NOT foredoomed to succumb to governmental interference." Voluntary co-operation is the one road now open for bettering the condition of men and women. And it is the direct road, indeed the only road to liberty. Yet many reformers refuse to take it on account of groundless fear of governmental interference, that can be sustained by no better argument than: "Of course." (2)

Is there any law against voluntary co-operation in industry and commerce, in production and exchange? If not, then, that is almost conclusive that there will not be, for the fact is that laws are becoming less oppressive each day. (3) There is evolution in government as in anything else. Some very good people, who are called Revolutionary Anarchists, have worked themselves into such a frenzy against government that they almost refuse to eat or drink till all governments are destroyed. To such, "of course," government interferes with every good and is the cause of every ill. But I challenge any reasonable argument against voluntary co-operation, or that there is any obstacle to it except the ignorance of man. (4)

The difficulty is within us and not outside of us. Man has so long been looking to God and government for every good and of attributing our errors to the Devil that it seems very difficult for him to look at himself. The Salvation Army is fighting the Devil and the Anarchists are fighting the government. Each are trying to destroy the source of evil. They both are fighting an ideal that has no substantial existence. (5) The only living being is man. (6) The best way to improve him is to educate him. There is no use to tear down the institutions he has builded and protects, for he would at once rebuild them. (7) The only successful revolution is the evolution of man himself.

Use what knowledge and liberty we have and trust to future growth for more. (8) All error cannot be abolished at once—indeed we cannot abolish any error by force, we can only teach the truth, and when it is recognized error no longer exists. (9) I believe it is admitted that the future ideal society is voluntary co-operation. Those who see that and desire it can establish it now. There is no unsurmountable obstacle in the way. (10) The Devil and government have never blockaded the road to voluntary mutual assistance. In the nature of things they cannot. (11) Many co-operative societies have long existed without governmental interference. The Quakers and Shakers are prominent examples. It is not logical to assume that the stronger and more numerous co-operative societies become the more liable they would be to be crushed. (12)

By peaceful and educational efforts every good can be established. That is Anarchy and the road to it. All other roads are indirect, wandering in the wilderness. The goal can only be reached by at last taking the direct road. (13) U. F. SARGENT.  
Georgetown, Mo.

## REPLY.

1.—Come bro. Sargent, be fair. Your extract does not give the sense of what I said. Comrade Hesse wrote: "Co-operation wont do the work, for as soon as the office-seekers see the people trying to live without supporting or playing at a 'sure thing game' they will speedily make a law to force the people to pay in some indirect way enough to keep the parasites in plenty." It was only as a matter of agreement with this, not as a positive and final argument that I said: "of course." What I really said was: "Of course, co-operative efforts are foredoomed to succumb to governmental interference, UNLESS ALL CO-OPERATORS STAND TOGETHER AND RESIST SUCH INTERFERENCE." Quite different indeed from the way brother Sargent quotes it.

2.—I don't know these parties. If I am counted one of them let the accuser read the history of THE FIREBRAND, in No. 5 of this volume. It has been voluntary co-operation of the purest and simplest type that has made the publication of the paper possible. Instead of voluntary co-operation being the only road to liberty, it must have liberty as the condition of its development if it is to attain complete success.

3.—There is no law directly prohibiting co-opera-

tion, but the laws giving monopoly in land, patent laws and legal tender laws—all interfere with it, and when these are insufficient a court injunction proves all sufficient. If laws become less oppressive each day it is because people fail to uphold them, or resist them. So far as the enactment of laws is concerned that grows more oppressive and cruelly vindictive year by year—witness the vagrant laws, anti-tramp laws, laws that provide twenty years imprisonment for chicken stealing, etc.

4.—Of course there is evolution in government. Government is coercion and the coercion grows and differentiates and increases, and just for that reason all government, no matter how simple or "good" it may be, is sure to become intolerable.

Will brother Sargent please mention the names of those revolutionary Anarchists he refers to? I'd like to make their acquaintance, and meet some good argument against voluntary co-operation myself, but as to obstacles! Paper titles, patent rights, jails, guns, clubs, etc., etc. In a word, monopoly created and upheld by government.

5.—Refuse to pay your taxes, or assert your right to go fishing on Sunday, or to take possession of unoccupied land to use in co-operative production, and see whether the government has any substantial existence or not.

6.—What about the bed bugs, are they not living beings?

7.—Just what I think, that is why I take more interest in spreading the idea of a free society than in trying to patch the present one. Present institutions are decaying and people need to see their uselessness so as not to build others like them. We are toiling and suffering in order to get people out of the notion of rebuilding present institutions, and it gives us great pleasure.

8.—Just exactly what we are doing.

9.—Again we agree, and I have never denied that proposition.

10.—I have never said there was any UNSURMOUNTABLE barriers, but tried to point out how to remove or surmount all barriers, and usher in a condition of universal voluntary co-operation.

11.—If the Devil and the government have ever been partners I don't know it, but do know that the government has blockaded, and does now blockade the road to voluntary co-operation and mutual assistance, both directly and indirectly. In this city the police went so far as to refuse to allow a generous woman the opportunity of assisting a woman who was the mother of a new-born babe, and was destitute.

12.—True, many small, exclusive, religious and authoritarian co-operative societies have existed, and were not interfered with, because of their exclusiveness, etc. On the other hand the Oneida Community was broken up by a special law passed for that purpose. Kaweah Colony was deprived of its land by special act of Congress, and its members prohibited from working together by a detachment of U. S. Regulars detailed for that special "duty." These were missionary societies and attracted public attention. Just in proportion as co-operative efforts attract attention and tend to subvert established institutions the beneficiaries of present institutions will try to have such co-operative institutions crushed. The stronger and more influential a voluntary co-operative effort becomes, the more surely will the government try to crush it. It is simply a struggle between the present order and the oncoming order—between privilege and liberty.

13.—By peaceful and educational efforts every good can be established in a condition of Anarchy, but the road we must travel before we reach that condition is beset with untold dangers, and is rough and rugged, beset with innumerable barriers that must be removed. Thought and action are the means of removing the obstacles. The direct road is the abolition of government. The best method to abolish government is another question. One thing is evident, however, and that is that no method can be "Anarchy and the road to it" at the same time. The most direct road I can see is to stop advocating or supporting government, and do what we can to curtail its power. One thing is sure: we cannot destroy government by upholding it.

H. A.

## FROM PROVIDENCE.

Comrade Brown, of Providence, R. I. writes us that their massmeeting on Mar. 21, which was addressed by comrades Most, Edelmann and Mowbray, was one of the most successful meetings ever held in Providence. He thinks a series of massmeetings there would start a very active and effective movement.

De Leon, the great champion of the S. L. P. lectured in Providence on the 29 of March, and when asked how people were to be paid in the future society, instead of answering the question, said you could not expect logic from Anarchists and began abusing the Anarchists in general, charging that they had come there to break up the meeting.

Comrade Brown proposes: First, that comrades all over the country make raffles for THE FIREBRAND at five cents a ticket. All money so raised to go to a fund for THE FIREBRAND, to assist it to print an appeal to all comrades of this country, explaining the necessity of having a paper of regular size printed on better paper. "I will contribute \$1.00 for this purpose, and can collect \$3.00 more," he says.

Second: To arrange a tour over the country for comrade Henry Addis, as that will greatly assist the movement and help THE FIREBRAND. If all the comrades could understand that the propaganda in the English language is the most important THE FIREBRAND would have a larger circulation, and be a larger size. Let these questions be discussed in the paper.

## Comment.

The raffle proposition is a very good one, and if the comrades show a desire for it we will make the proposed appeal. I think the present shape of THE FIREBRAND a good one, and think if the size is to be increased it should be by making the paper six or eight pages. It would be both nice and advantageous to print it on better paper.

As to the second proposition, I would have been in the field as a lecturer all winter if I could have been spared from the shop. Until some one can take my place in shop, read proof, edit copy, answer correspondence, etc. etc., I cannot make a propaganda tour.

Dr. Smirnow of Bridgeport, Conn., has offered \$5.00 toward a fund to get speaker to the New England towns. My propaganda work as a lecturer has so far proven quite successful and very cheap. Could I have been spared from the shop, I would have gone on a tour without any previous arrangements having been made. But right there is the point. Until some one can be found who will take my place in the shop, or other arrangements can be made so that I can be relieved from the work that now devolves on me, I cannot go anywhere.

Let the comrades consider the propositions made by comrade Brown and send in their opinions, or make any offers or suggestions they may wish.

H. ADDIS.

## Literature.

### LUX

Is the title of a four paged weekly paper published at Lincoln, Neb., at 50 cents per year. It champions revolutionary Socialism as against utopian Socialism, and the one copy that has reached our table was free from partisan politics, and was quite vigorous in style.

### STURMGLOCKEN

Is the name of a new Anarchist paper printed in the German language, 735 Milwaukee Av., Chicago, and is edited by Max Baginski, formerly editor of the "Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung." It is an eight paged weekly, price \$2. per year. No. 1 is a good paper, fearless and independent, vigorous in tone and clear in logic. We extend our congratulations and wish it success.

### THE WHITE SLAVE.

A new Socialist Labor Paper, published at 203 South 13th street, Omaha, Neb., comes regularly to our table. It is a neat eight paged weekly, championing the S. L. P. but using very much the same style of "argument" as the average political paper. Here is a sample: "I'm a democrat—whoop." "Why?" "Damfino." And: "Thank God there'll be no democrats, or republicans or even populists in heaven, nor even in h—ll." Price \$1. per year.



## A FUTURE THOUGHT.

When o'er my cold and lifeless clay  
The parting words of love are said,  
And friends and kindred meet to pay  
Their last fond tribute to the dead,  
Let no stern priests with solemn drone  
A formal liturgy intone—  
Whose creed is foreign to my own.

Let not a word be whispered there  
In pity for my unbelief,  
Or sorrow that I could not share  
The views that gave their souls relief.  
My faith to me is no less dear,  
Nor less convincing and sincere  
Than theirs, so rigid and austere.

Let no stale words of church born song  
Float out upon the silent air  
To prove by implication wrong.  
The soul of her then lying there—  
Why should such words be glibly sung  
O'er one upon whose lively tongue  
Such empty phrases never hung.

But rather let the faithful few  
Whose hearts so close were knit to mine  
That they with time the dearer grew,  
Assemble at the day's decline.  
And while the golden sunbeams fall  
In floods of light upon my pall,  
Let them in softened tones re-call

Some tender memory of the dead—  
Some virtuous act some word of power,  
Which I, perchance, have done or said,  
By loved ones treasured to that hour.  
Recount the deeds which I admired,  
The motives which my soul inspired,  
The hopes by which my heart was fired.

Mrs. M. GENTIS.

Hillsboro, Or.

## TOO LAZY TO WORK.

The keynote to this misconception, for such it is, lies in the mistaken idea that the primary object of life is work—productive labor. Nothing is farther from the mark, for if such was the case we would not see clergymen, politicians, millionaires, businessmen and tramps loafing in the city and country as they do.

There is only one reason, and that the only plausible one—the pleasure which the individual may enjoy while living. No one can assign any other reason, in justice to himself and his fellowmen. Then, if pleasure is the aim, work can only be the means of one's existence, in course of which the individual will perform only so much of useful labor as he finds pleasure in doing. The proof of my assertion can be found in the fact that the above mentioned parasites do not perform any useful labor whatsoever, leaving such performances to those whom they can by sheer necessity and suasion compel to do for them, the only exception being the tramp, as far as compulsion is concerned. He has been deprived of all positive means of maintaining a useful life. His life has been embittered by the action of all the useful, but principally the useless members of society. Useful, productive labor is drudgery—slavery at the present day, and has been such ever since spiritual advisers made it a profession to advise people and lived at the expense of their dupes, by levying tithes—taking the tenth—or taxes.

In all history we find the priestcraft and the sacrifice of their dupes predominant, to wit: Cain and Abel sacrificing of their products. By the way, here is one of the slickest tricks the priests have performed; that is, that they make it appear in the Bible that Cain and Abel, as a matter of course, did sacrifice from their own incentive, which proves one of two things: Either, Cain and Abel were members of the priestcraft, or else they were dominated by a member of that craft.

But to come back to our theme: Productive labor has always been made as irksome as possible by the dominating classes, with the result that perceptive minds shirk it wherever they can. These will make use of their brain-power to the best of their ability, and with more or less success live at the expense of the useful; living better and enjoying more pleasures than the producers are able to.

It is perhaps an excessive accusation to say that the useful members of society, working for wages in the factories, on transportation lines and in distributive storehouses, are morally guilty of criminal industriousness. This industriousness prevents them from developing their brain-power for their benefit. It is an open question which one of the two is the more criminal—laziness or industry. The facts show that lazy people are more intelligent as regards public questions than the industrious ones. It is also the lazy man that will sit and think how he can make the shovel move without

his exertion. That the consequent invention is bought by the employer and used for exploiting the other industrious workers must be laid at the door of the latter, in allowing such damnable, contemptible, capitalistic wage system to exist.

Any man who expresses it as his opinion that because the longer working time and inferior tools were suitable for his great grandfather, ought to consider them so for himself, which, by the way, is based on the prevalent notion that the old folks knew it all—should be punished for contempt of court, on the ground that our courts know it all; in consequence of which no one outside of these can know as much. **BODENDIECK.**

## PRACTICAL POLITICS.

It has been a favorite argument (?) by the current press that Anarchists wanted to blow things up, destroy property, etc., and acts and threats of violence are dubbed Anarchy. But only when such acts or threats come from workmen.

On the second of this month the republican party held its primary elections. In this city that kind of action which our plutocratic friends love to call "anarchy" held full sway all the afternoon, while the voting was going on. At Second and Glison streets, in Larry Sullivan's Sailor Boarding House was one polling place. The County Central Committee had, of course, appointed judges of election who would favor those voting for the delegates that would support the present organization. The Mayor Frank, District Attorney Hume and Chief of Police Minto faction demanded that part of the judges be appointed by them. When the judges refused to "come off", District Attorney Hume grew furious and threatened to blow the house up if his demands were not acceded to, and went so far as to urge "his men" to tear the house down. Sullivan, who is a big brawny tough, was acting as special Deputy Sheriff, and the only way to get the judges out of the house was to get him away. This they tried to do. One Police Captain and two patrolmen trying to drag him to jail. He shook them off and got his gun and held possession in spite of the frantic fury of the opposition. I heard one man demanding that the militia be called out against him.

Another polling place was at Fourth and Oak, and Jim Lotan, formerly boss of the republican party, threatened to have "his men" pull the building down on top of the judges if they did not give him the privilege of appointing a judge or two, in place of some of those on duty. His threats were so violent and "his men" so demonstrative that the judges yielded. In the fifth ward the police tried to force an entrance into the polling place and arrest the judges, but the crowd would not let them. In the tenth ward, under the instruction of the District Attorney the police raided the polling place, arresting all the judges and clerks and taking them to the city jail. Their places were filled by men of District Attorney Hume's choice. But in spite of all this the old ring came out on top and still controls the republican machine.

The convention on Saturday the 5th, I am told, was little better than a free fight. ex-U. S. Senator Dolph got a black eye and State Senator Simon was knocked down. But the old ring, with the meek-eyed little Hebrew (Simon), came out on top, nominating the entire ticket, and now the new ring, the Lotan, Frank, Hume and Minto gang threaten to go over to the Populist camp and help defeat the republican ticket. The pops have never worried of calling these men liars, corruptionists, etc., but they will accept their aid in the coming election. Such is politics. **H. A.**

## CLIPPINGS AND COMMENTS.

• Miss FLAGLER, a Washington society belle and daughter of a prominent General, was sentenced to three hours' imprisonment and five hundred dollars' fine, for shooting dead a little colored boy who was "stealing" fruit that had fallen from the tree and would have rotted on the ground. A friendless and moneyless man, by a judge in the same place, was sentenced to 5 years' hard labor in the penitentiary for stealing a goose! Such is justice—from a "legal standpoint."—[THE STAR.]

WE WOULD suppose ourselves living in the dark ages,

when we hear that a short time ago, at Portsmouth O., a nine year old orphan girl was condemned to ten days imprisonment and a fine of \$5.50 because she had—whispered in church! And in order to deliver this child to the jail, she had to be transported 22 miles over the country in a dreadful storm. There might soon be a bill to burn witches introduced in Congress. A veto of Cleveland could hardly be feared.—[VORBORE.]

THE Railroad Employees Association of Switzerland has won a great victory over the strongest money power of that country.

After the corporations had declared their intention under no circumstances whatever to treat with the workmen, or even listen to their complaints, the railroad employees used all means possible in order to begin the strike upon all lines in the night from the 1st to the 2d of March. No locomotive would have been fired, no switch touched, and not the foot of a workman would have touched the main depot on the 2d of March at Zurich; the latter would have been a dead town. With the exception of the knights of the money bag, the whole of the Swiss people sympathized with the courageous railroaders.

In view of the danger threatened to commerce, the council of the federation at Bern was compelled to hold a session and debate over the ways and means to prevent the conflict. As soon as the corporations saw the determined attitude of the workers, they weakened and declared their willingness to treat with their employees. They signed an agreement by which they acceded to the demands of their employees. Their wages were raised, the mode of employment made more just, and the most important of all, their organization recognized by the corporation. Of course, the social question has not been solved, but where is the Socialist who will blame the Union for standing up so manfully for the betterment of their condition.—[VORBORE.]

THERE will always be a government of some kind. Even if the people seek to exist without a government, they will have to meet and collectively say what they will do—that will be government. Socialism will greatly simplify the laws, and wipe out thousands of useless acts.—[GRANDER AGE.]

This assertion is the last argument (?) of authoritarians when they feel themselves defeated on every other proposition. They are too obtuse to perceive the difference between agreement and compulsion, and seeing that people will always associate they use this assertion as a justification of government. Government is necessarily compulsion, and to assert that "there will always be government" is another way of saying I want to force others to do as I wish them to do. The defence of government has no other foundation, for its defenders never want some one else to compel them to do what they don't want to do.

What assures us that "Socialism will simplify the laws," especially in view of the fact that they propose all manner of intermeddling laws—"inspection of factories, houses etc." I know of no instance in history where the laws have been simplified, but on the other hand all history shows that once law making is begun it grows greater, more complicated and oppressive until revolution puts a stop to it. State Socialism would pile up such restrictive laws, and so hedge us about with spies and officers, that such tyrants as De Leon and Wayland could hold sway far easier than Grover now controls. Independent thought and action would be crushed out, if possible. **H. A.**

## Correspondence.

### WHY IS IT?

Please tell me why there are so many Essayists in this Republic of ours covering acre after acre of paper on the rights of man, on liberty and other topics, and scarce one of them who will not persist in conditioning to such an extent that you can hardly perceive that man was born with even one natural right. Their definition of Liberty are a literal mass of conditions. In defining love, they surround it with a lot of ceremonies and conditions to such an extent that it ceases to be love or anything related to it. It seems impossible for the most profound lawyers to take any one ethical line and elaborate it pure and simple. Honesty is colored according to their purse or their particular social level. I take THE FIREBRAND because your kind of liberty comes very near my own definition: Utter

and entire freedom in all life's relations, granting all that I exact without force in any sense, controlling none, neither am I controlled. Meeting my fellow on the level and parting with him on the square, without compulsion, without pledge.

Please answer my first question. \*)

Enclosed find half a dollar. I wish it were forty halves, but wife and I are poor devils. We are free lovers and freedomlovers, and know what persecution and ostracism, on account of our too free expression and means.

As soon as we get able we will send another half if you will keep the Liberty Ball rolling and the red Cap of Liberty on the head of your Flag Staff.

Lurena G. & John M. Logaon.

Shelby, Michigan.

#### PROPAGANDA IN EAST LONDON.

With a view of arousing some enthusiasm and increased activity amongst the American comrades I write these few lines to show how one or two speakers in London have been able to wake up the sleepy, plodding Englishman to a realization of the truth of our principles, and receive with open arms our speakers, and subscribe liberally to our propaganda fund.

At Bockton Road, Canning Town for eighteen months we have never missed holding a meeting on Sunday, rain, hail, snow or blow, with sales of literature of 4 or 5 quires of papers and pamphlets, and collections of from 50 cents to six dollars, and this in the poorest part of East London.

Also in Barking, Victoria Park, Mile End Waste, Thatford, Deptford and all around we hold meetings that eclipse the Bible Bangers and Social-Democrats put together. The speakers have been Turner, Quinn, Banham, Presburg, Kitz, and Leggett who has spoken for sixty four Sundays at one place, Beckton Road, with little or no opposition. Hyde Park, Regents Park, Wimbledon, Kentish Town and Hoxton Church are kept going every Sunday, with the result that our papers "Liberty," "Torch," "Freedom" and "Anarchist" get plenty of readers. We also see "The Firebrand" and "Rebel" and other American papers, and make use of them when referring to the workers in America, and read extracts from Father Gavroche's "Secret Address," which I find very much appreciated by the majority of the crowd, but hated by "Christian Evidence Manufacturers."

In the Commemoration meetings of the Chicago martyrs, or the Paris Commune we can get no large halls anywhere, even if we pay in advance, as the capitalists recognize the danger to them in the growth of our ideas, and, what with the lying penny-a-liners who report for the press, and the attempts by the police to frighten any hall keepers who are likely to let us have a hall for one night and the ridicule showered upon us by some of the comic papers, we have enough to put up with. Not only that, I, myself, have been discharged from a dozen jobs on account of my opinions alone, and by being somewhat notorious for riding second class on the rail with a third class ticket, keeping a dog without a (\$1.00) licence, refusing to pay rent etc., which is the only practical way to make our opinions known and, felt by our masters. Our success is assured if we but only have the courage of our opinions, and show the world like our comrade Louis Michel, Cipriani, and others that in spite of imprisonment, and persecution we are determined to fight for the emancipation of the workers of the world.

With my old comrade Mowbray, Kelly, Gori and others in North America, Dr. Creagh in South America, Dr. Macdonald in Australia, Merlino in Italy, Sebastian Faure in France, in fact comrades all over the world working hard for Freedom for all we are bound to win if we only work shoulder to shoulder with the war cry of neither God nor Master, but for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

EDWARD LEGGATT

London, England

#### TEMPORARY RELIEF.

Comrades,—I hope that those who are able to chip in and help to keep the Brand a burning will do so

\*) As near as I can judge of the question you ask, the reason is this: We have been taught that we are free, but every one who thinks at all knows that is not true. As a result there is a constant kick at present conditions and query why we are not free. This gives a market for the essayists products. The majority of these essayists have but little or no conception of liberty. The great papers and magazines are owned by men who are opposed to liberty, and so the essayists have to conceal their ideas, if they have anything like a clear conception of freedom.

H. A.

now since they know the extent of the struggle you have had, I have been and still am one of the prime movers and active workers in a little band of co-operators on the Tennessee River, in Middle Tennessee and can sympathise with you in your desperate attempt to keep THE FIREBRAND afloat. We were forced by the grinding conditions to which so many thousands of workers have been reduced, to pool our efforts in order to escape the road in quest of a job that will-o-the-wisp that so many have chased to their destruction.

The hardships and discouragement to be met and overcome by pioneers in associative industry would make interesting reading for those interested in reform work, and when the proper time comes to give the inside history of what some of our membership have had to contend with I shall write it up for publication. At present we are too busy sowing and planting, and striving to convince doubting comrades that co-operation can be resorted to now to keep the wolf from devouring us, even under existing conditions. The stock argument of our comrades who oppose co-operation ahead of time, or before the revolution, is the fear that the producer will make the discovery that he can manage to keep soul and body together by uniting with others—that he will grow sleek and fat and forget to fight for the common cause. To all such I would say that I think their fears groundless. Men and women who are driven into co-operation through sheer desperation and hunger are not the kind of people to forget their oppressors as soon as they succeed, by dint of hard work and privations, in providing themselves with something to fill their stomachs and to cover backs, and if they can save themselves from the last ditch—tramp life—they may be able to keep up the agitation for better conditions. Perhaps some of the comrades, however, think that I would be of more service to the cause of liberty as a veritable tramp; that I would furnish an object lesson which would speak louder than words. Perhaps I might, but I seriously object to that particular kind of martyrdom. I draw the line at a board shack, between whose cracks old "boreas" whistles through my whiskers, cow peas, corn bread and sorgum. All this and much more have I endured, but for the enlightenment of those who are always on hand with a wet blanket to throw over every movement that does not square with their preconceived ideas, I will say that the board shanty, and corn dodger period of our existence has already passed. We are better housed now, and have added graham flour and potatoes to our bill of fare, and hope springs up in our breasts every time we take a peep at the young vegetables which e'er long will be added to our list of edibles. We are planting enough garden seed to grow vegetables to feed a largely increased membership.

We would be glad to hear from Advocates of liberty who are tired of waiting to put co-operation into effect until after the revolution. The State will rob us and the privilege class will see to it that we don't become plutocrats, but they can't squeeze us as effectively if we are united in a productive association as they could by taking us one at a time, or singly. Come and help us to make history for publication in a future and larger edition of THE FIREBRAND.

J. ALLEN EVANS.

Husburg Tenn.

#### The Letter-Box.

Clinton Loveridge, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Certainly we will accept your articles on monopoly.

R. G., Chicago, Ill.—THE FIREBRAND will be sent to your good neighbors, trusting they may be interested enough to subscribe.

W. N. S., Encinitas, Cal.—Copies of 2 & 6 sent you. Glad you like the paper so well, and hope you may get some few around Encinitas interested in THE FIREBRAND.

N. Klotz, Allegheny, Pa.—THE FIREBRAND was ordered for you four months ago by one of your friends. Didn't you know sooner that you "had no time to read it"?

T. D., Denver, Colo.—Received 25 cents for a photograph of "the Firebrand Family," but cannot send it unless enough orders come in to pay for having them taken.

W. P. A., Poplar, Cal.—The copies of the Enterprise received. It is gratifying to see the editors admitting discussions on Socialism and Anarchism, and find such able champions of Anarchism ready to present our ideas. E. O. Wiener champions State Socialism, but is not liable to make many converts among intelligent people. We would like to see Mr. Miles article on Socialism.

C. McK., Mechanicsburg, Ohio.—THE FIREBRAND Library is sent to you, excluding two pamphlets which

you will get a few days later. We don't know of any community where you could exercise individual liberty—including "free love." We don't find any fault with the L. E. when advocated as a temporary relief for its members, but when it is advocated as a means to an end, without repudiating our present system of robbery, and all forms of authority, then we can only pity its advocates and their dupes.

N. M. W., City.—S. P. Putnam has done good work in destroying faith, but we have reached a period where the economic struggle is paramount at present. Ingersoll, Putnam, Charlesworth and the other "Free thought" lecturers use pretty words and say nice things about freedom, but they continue to howl for the upholding of the Constitution, and while ridiculing the christian religion advocate the same system of morals as the church. Freedom of thought is of no avail unless we can express our thoughts in action.

#### RECEIPTS.

Workingmen's Educ. Ass., Allegheny, Pa.—\$10.00. A friend, State of Washington, \$1.50. Bodenlos, Morwitz, Brees, Poppers, each \$1.00. Sharp, Herwing, Cook, Maisel, Leonard, McKinney, Hogan, Silberman, Giles, each 50c. Brown, 30c. Austin, 25c. Borland, Wherry, each 10c.

#### SAMPLE COPIES.

We sent out large numbers of sample copies, and if you are receiving the paper without ordering it, it is an invitation to investigate our principles. If you want the paper, let us know and you shall have it, and you may send in such amount on your subscription as you can afford. If you can't pay for it and want to read it, you shall have it anyhow. If you get the paper and don't want it, please be kind enough to have it stopped. If you have been getting the paper without paying for it, and can afford to send us some money, please do so, as we are sadly in need of it.

Labor Exchange Certificates, "Labor Tender" or other paper that will procure the necessities of life, will be received in payment for subscription. We also accept all kinds of farm products.

#### FIREBRAND LIBRARY.

Bases of Anarchism; Historical, Philosophical and Economical, by Wm. Holmes	5c
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