

The Firebrand

OF THE CONSEQUENCES 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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PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1897.

WHOLE No. 112. 1

My God.

At times, I too, the child of hell,
Deny not God's existence.
Yet what he is I could not tell,
Nor vouch for his subsistence.

My god has neither head nor tail,
Nor form, nor face, nor features.
He is the new, the old, the stale,
The queerest of all creatures.

BASIL DAHL.

Complaint.

How many think that they are thinkers,
And wear a proud, omniscient air,
And are indeed but babbling stinkers,—
I beg your pardon, sir!

How many fancy they can swaddle
All nature in one paragraph,
And in their volumes really huddle
Together trash and chaff!

How many fancy they are doctors
Who work and toil for mankind's weal,
And are indeed but dull concoctors
Of drugs that do not heal.

How many fancy they can shackle
With words the passions of mankind,
And are themselves too weak to tackle
The thoughts of their own mind!

Alas, poor fools! I wouldn't abuse them,
But rather smile at all their tuzz,
But I can never, ne'er excuse them
The suffering they cause!

BASIL DAHL.

The Wave of Prosperity.

SILVER tongued orators, with an endless flow of words, and more lung power than brain power, poured forth their streams of gilt-edged descriptions of the vast wave of prosperity that would engulf the country and bring songs of gladness to the lips of hundreds who were wont to complain of suffering and privation, if the sovereign voters would but march up to the polls on election day and deposit their ballot for McKinley and the gold basis.

Caught by the glowing descriptions thus poured into their ears, contrasting them with the conditions which prevailed around them, they voted for the wave of prosperity. The air was filled with their shouts of exultant rejoicing when the news of the election came in. Smiles wreathed for the mouths of the shaven, while the beards of those who wore whiskers shook like tall grass in a wind storm. Oh! yes everything was going to be prosperous, everybody happy.

Yes, everything was going to be lovely. But the loveliness has not appeared. Bleak blow the winds of adversity, and before them have tottered many of the banks which contained the hard earned cash of mechanics and artisans. The snows of oblivion lie upon the promises of the politicians while the workmen stand out in the cold, longing for that wave of prosperity that, like a "chinook" wind, is to temper the industrial atmosphere and start the buds of hope swelling. They wait in vain.

Since the election last fall, and the triumph of the "honest" moneyites, banks containing hundreds of thousands of dollars of poor peoples earnings have suspended by the score. Wages have been

reduced. Hours of labor have been shortened and various industries closed down. Thousands of people have frozen to death and for the want of fuel and deaths from starvation are too shockingly numerous for contemplation. A condition of universal unrest, despair and pallid want maintains throughout the land, and every day witnesses scenes that would make angels weep, if such things existed, and Jacobs ladder was still stretched from Earth to Heaven.

Elegant ball rooms glisten in the light of a thousand incandescent lamps. Soft music, swelling to voluptuous fullness, and again dying down so as to most powerfully affect the emotions, fill the room as gay maidens and matrons, and gallant guests display their jewels and costly draping. Sports grow more numerous and more costly. Lavish expenditures for public and private entertainments are heralded in the news papers, and the various members of snobocracy vie with each other in their efforts to make the greatest display of their wealth.

Keen ears catch the wail of agonizing mothers mingled with the strains of high-priced music, and the moans of those who die of want come mingled with its echo. Each diamond sparkles with the luster of a million tears while the sapphires glow with the life blood wrung from the bodies of those who toil from year's end to year's end with no hope but the grave. "The heaven of the rich is built on the hell of the poor."

Side by side we see the most horrid squalor, and the greatest display of luxury. If the wave of prosperity has swept across the continent no one has found it out. The coal miner, smeared over with the black from the mines has not been lifted one inch out of his previous condition of privation, and, in fact, has had to stand a reduction of wages. Those who run the trains, man the ships, till the soil, card, spin, weave, bake, saw and hammer find it as hard as ever to supply themselves with the necessities and comforts of life, and the vast army of the unemployed constantly increases. This vast array of out-of-works endangers the security of those who have work, causing the man with a job to hate and dread the man who has no job, while the one who is out of work hates and envies the one who is so fortunate as to have employment. The smile that wreathed the mouth of the gullible voter when McKinley's election was announced has turned into a look of disappointment and of rage.

Would it have been otherwise if Bryan had been elected? No! Bryan would have been as powerless to alter the conditions, or to make any noticeable changes as is McKinley. While monopolization of natural sources of wealth remains; while politicians squander the peoples money in appropriations; while special privileges last, and working men are fools enough to uphold them by their votes, and by force of arms, so long will all the horrors of our present day life continue, and grow more pronounced. The disease of poverty and squalor gnaws its way toward the vitals of society, and must eat on like a cancerous affection until society is destroyed unless the cause of poverty is removed.

No presidential election, the success of no political party, nor yet the act of Congress or of the legislative bodies of the States can cure the disease that is killing all that is grand and noble in humanity, and slowly but surely undermining the very constitution of civilized society. It is a desperate disease and requires heroic treatment.

Ignorance, prejudice, folly: these three foul spirits of the dark past hold the minds of the people in bondage, and it is only by driving them forth, and forbidding their further influence that the people may hope to rid themselves of the oppression that is crushing out their lives and blasting all hope of future betterment.

Learn the cause of your sufferings, all who complain, and laying aside all sectional, national or religious prejudice join your efforts in trying to overcome the difficulties that beset your path.

Once united the great wealth producing element will be all powerful, and find but little difficulty in over turning all institutions that are detrimental to them, and ushering in a regime of "liberty, fraternity and equality." Nothing in the line of social readjustment is impossible to the wealth producers as soon as they have ceased to listen to the delusions of political and religious hypocrites, and recognize the unity of their interest, and the value of united effort.

HENRY ADDIS.

Legislation.

THE country has witnessed another siege of the legislation foolishness. I have already written of the action—or non-action—of Oregon's legislature, and to illustrate the folly of all legislative bodies I clip from a few of the papers of the northwest. Of course, most of it is written as though the fault was the number of populists in these bodies, but in other years, when the republicans had majorities in the legislatures, the populist and democratic papers spoke of them in the same manner that they now speak of the populists. The truth is, it is not because they are populists, republicans, democrats or fusionists, but because they are legislators, i. e. men who are trying to make rules to control others.

The "Rev. Dr." I. D. Driver, state senator from Lane Co. of this State, said to the supreme judges, when they asked him if the men who refused to organize the house of representatives had any rights, "Yes, they are rebels, and rebels have just two rights: one is to be hanged, the other is to be damned." This man is the "reverend" who claims to have met and vanquished Ingersol. He is known to be an infamous liar, and this shows him to be a tyrant, and he is the sort of people who seek to be and often become, legislators.

Let us give thanks. The legislature has adjourned and our populist brother hasn't succeeded in fastening the imperative mandate, and a few other idiosyncrasies, upon a long suffering and almost bankrupt people. We should be satisfied that the legislature has not been as corrupt or as foolish as it might have been. —[Gazette, Colfax, Wash.]

Why be satisfied because things might have been worse, why not stop all such corruption by ceasing to send men up to the State capitals to be foolish and corrupt?

It has cost the state about \$25,000 to have Warner, of Snohomish, in the Legislature. The session cost something like \$50,000, and the house spent a good, round half of its working hours listening to the gabble of the Snohomish man.—[Chgalis Nugget.

Every fellow is for economy until it strikes his section or his friends.—[Olympian.

It is too early yet to summarize the mischief done by the reform legislature, but it may be confidently believed that there is less of it than most people feared there would be when the session opened. The mischief-makers have been willing enough, but their ability has fallen far short of their expectations.—[Tacoma Ledger.

The first populist legislature of the State of Washington has finally adjourned, and to the relief of all who have had an intelligent interest in the welfare of the state, it has done so without having matured into a statute a single one of the radical measures advocated in the populist platform, and proclaimed upon the stump as being in the populist program. That this happy result has followed has not been by reason of the deliberate purpose of the populist majority in the legislature. It has been because of the utter incapacity displayed by the dominant faction in the legislature to intelligently frame the legislation to carry out their radical ideas, and because of the bitter personal jealousy and distrust with which each populist member has viewed all of his co-workers in the same party.—[Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

All this shows the futility of reform legislatures. The State of Washington has a populist governor, and the populists had a clear majority in the legislature, yet they did very little, as the above clippings show. No better chance to do something could be asked for than the "reform" forces had in Washington, but they, like all other legislatures, did nothing of benefit to the people of the State. But what the administrative members, of the machines views of the same "reformers" are, can be seen by the following:

A few days ago the Spokesman-Review disclosed the fact that county officials and employees were converting the courthouse into a hosiery. It is now developed that the commissioners are charging up their board bill to the county. Both practices are unique. No one ever heard of a courthouse being converted into a lodging place; no one has ever before heard of a regularly salaried official boarding at the public expense.

Upon that line of the law which says the commissioners shall be paid "\$800 per annum and necessary expenses" a preposterous construction has been laid, which enables the commissioners to put in a monthly board bill. Nothing of the kind was ever contemplated by the legislature.

The absurdity of the claim that the commissioners should charge up their regular monthly living expenses to the county becomes still more apparent when the application is made to a commissioner who might reside in the city with his family. If a commissioner from the county or an unmarried commissioner from the city is entitled to public payment of his board bill, the married resident commissioner would be as fairly entitled to charge up his household expenses to the county. One is as much "necessary expense" as the other.

Nothing is as essential as food. The commissioners wear out clothing in the transacting of public business. Will they contend that the people ought to buy their suits of clothes, their shoes, their hats, their neckties? Probably they will. After recent revelations along this line the people are prepared for anything.—[Spokesman-Review.

If the board and lodging of the county commissioners is to be paid out of the county treasury, and their clothes bought with the same funds, which under a strict interpretation of the law they can insist upon, why should they not do so. This would be State Socialism, as far as it goes, and I am inclined to think that those who have to pay for it will kick, and in all probability the Socialists themselves will kick hardest. But the Solons at Olympia said that "the county commissioners shall be paid \$800 per annum and necessary expenses," and as long as the people of Washington continue to empower some men to make laws, they must stand the consequences. Of course there must always be something to kick about, if there was not there would be no need of contending parties, and the people would be spared the annoyance of election campaigns, but that would not suit the politicians.

The fourth session of the Idaho legislature will be remembered for what it did not do more than for what it accomplished. It refused, for instance, to pass a reapportionment bill, which was demanded by public interest. It was shown that the house of representatives was too large, when composed as this one was. If we had a majority of the right kind of men, there should not be delay because of the size of the body, but business was held back and defeated by the fact that the house was unwieldy, partly by reason of its size and partly by reason of its make-up. A smaller

house would have resulted in a saving to the people at the next session, and would have contributed toward better legislation. The third session accomplished much more than the fourth, notwithstanding the fact that it had a senatorial contest on its hands throughout its entire existence.

The late session also refused to pass a treasury law. A bill was put through the house. It was crude and needed amendment, but no effort was made to put it in proper shape and pass it. The bill in question was passed through the house under the influence of the scare caused by the Bunting failure, and was made more stringent than correct business principles warranted. It should have been amended so as to cover the points upon which legislation was demanded.—[Boise States-man.

In other words the Statesman might as well have said that the Idaho legislature, like all other legislatures, was a failure. But of course, it is always the fault of the party in power, or something of that kind, according to the reasoning of the political press, but all who look at these things calmly and dispassionately know that it is an inevitable result of the very fact of attempting to legislate—to govern others by law. Year by year, the fallacy of legislation and foolishness of paying taxes to keep governmental parasites in power is becoming more apparent, and it is to be hoped that the wealth producers will soon see it clear enough to withdraw their support from it all, and refuse to obey the laws or pay any heed to them, except when they are violently forced onto their notice by an officer, when it may be well for them to "have a settlement" with the officer, and one that will not be apt to induce him to call again soon. HENRY ADDIS.

Thoughts and Things.

J. WM. LLOYD says in "Lucifer" that "Jealousy will be an unnatural and contemptible crime in the true society of the future." In that case crime will cease to be, as jealousy will cause violence and bloodshed long after all other crimes have disappeared—else I do not read aright the outcroppings of passions.

The world of men is composed of three great classes: Socialists and Individualists, each of which demands liberty, though they would apply opposite rules of economics; and the authoritarians, who seem to think, or think they think, that they cannot eat or sleep unless some of their majority or minority-made laws, based upon ballot-and-bullet force, decree that they may comply with natural laws. Some of this latter element dub themselves Socialists, though they do not intend that the social fabric shall in any way be social—but authoritative and arbitrary. These are the most malignant of all enemies to progress.

A BILL was recently before the Tennessee legislature to prohibit the issuance of railroad passes to public officials. One senator voted against it, saying, "I never rode on a pass and never intend to. I do not think such a small thing would influence a senator's vote." The next senator voted against the measure, with this declaration: "Unlike my friend, I never paid a cent of fare, and I never intend to." Now, that is what I call telling the truth; that senator knows what a political office is for, and he knows that every one else knows, so he don't try to shun, even if he does coolly sell out those who elected him, and fetter those who did not consent to his election.

As I was thinking tonight of the condition of the American proletariat, I called to mind one of the largest printing houses in America, in fact, it is probably the largest exclusively law-publishing house in the world. I thought particularly of the superintendent of the establishment, who was a long-legged and wabbly gaited coot, as thin as a shadow's shadow, and dubbed by the office "devils" as "Spider." How appropriate that title was, in more ways than one. He was commonly reputed to have been a "nigger driver, before the war."

As a labor chrusher he was onto all the ropes, and pulled them freely. When I first knew him the Printer's Union in that city was powerful enough, and the intricate work required skill enough, to win all strikes, but it's different now. The machine came, the union wained and the men now left (mostly lickspittles) are hopelessly cowed.

Years ago "Spider" began to practice putting in machines. At first the cost of the machines made the company groan and swear, and the machines were of an inferior kind, but "Spider" knew his business. It

was machines or his resignation. Inside of six months he told the union to lower its scale, and it obeyed.

Then began a careful weeding out of all who would not meekly submit in all things to the boss' dictators; it was scarcely observed at first, but in a gold-bug parade last fall about 80 of its employees meekly fell in line. Not long ago the company gave notice that the scale must come down, for the fourth time in four years. The men offered to accept a 25 per cent reduction, but the superintendent scorned such a trifle and said he'd make it 50 per cent, and I believe he'll keep his word.

About the time the machines came he had fences built around the stairways and locked out all who came late, and later on built wire cages around those operating the machines. Once at work, there they stay till the whistle blows, for the "nigger driver" of anti-bellum days now drives white slaves—not with a blacksnake, but with the wage system. The slaves have twice previously accepted reductions proposed by the driver, but their union would not consent to it. Were they free, think you, when they reached that condition? And the Union is now crushed.

Yet this is only a sketch of actual occurrences; only a picture of commercialism. How do the wage slaves like the picture? And how do our commercialist friends like it.

The prisons and graveyards of America today yearn for the men and women who dare to think and act. And government is paving the way to satisfy and even surfeit that yearning. Are you one of the prospective victims; are you a man or only a mouse?

MEN in name must be men in reality, and not the slaves of redtape else freedom cannot exist; without freedom no civilization is possible.

We demand free and unlimited Socialism, without waiting for the consent of any party or party boss.

St. Louis Socialists (of the statist variety) held a city convention with 36 delegates in attendance and placed 22 candidates in nomination; of the 22 all but three were delegates to the convention. Talk of your "mutual admiration societies!" Can you beat that? Of course they are not officer seekers. And yet a rash correspondent of the Cleveland Citizen says a liberal application of S. L. P. ointment will cure "office itch." But perhaps he meant "cause" instead of "cure."

BALLOTING for reform is merely throwing paper wads at solid masonry from the top of which frowns down the cannon of Monopoly and Superstition.

Some people wonder why it is that though 18 measures have been introduced in congress looking toward restoring the telegraphs to the postal system none of them ever reached a roll call. A story is told of a young lawyer who, a few days after admission to the bar, joyfully announced the settlement of a will case that his sire and grandsire had been carrying on for many decades. His father exclaimed: "Great God! you've ruined the family! Why, we've lived off that case for three generations!" That's the situation in congress. The solons are living off the great corporations who have their pension disbursers (lobbyists) in the halls of the national capitol.

ZADUAK THE DREAMER.

Two Schools.

THERE is a school of libertarian thought which, starting from the position of the single or alone man, declares that nature knows no right but might, that a man's rights are co-extensive with his powers, and that social rights originate only in contract whereby each man agrees to limit and restrain his might for the benefits of association.

Logically this school affirms that human beings too young to understand contract, or too weak minded to understand it, or too stubborn or unsocial to contract have no rights whatever. The too young are the property of their parents, or of those to whom their parents convey them, and the others may be captured and made property by any contract-man who has the might, or robbed, or killed to get them out of the way. And the word "property," as here used, implies all that has ever been meant by chattelship of human beings.

Logically this school affirms that if any contract-man defends a non-contractor against the invasions or

cruelties of the associate who claims ownership, such defender is guilty of crime and must be effectually restrained; because, first, those outside of contract have no right; second, a man cannot invade his own property; third, to interfere with an associate's disposal of his property, as he pleases, is invasion.

This school denies that there is anything back of or superior to the might of the individual or the contract between individuals.

Logically this school is favorable to formulated laws, provided they agree with the contract.

There is nothing in the logic of this school to forbid theft, arson, torture, rape, slavery, murder, cannibalism, or any other possible outrage, toward non-contractors.

While this school affirms the expediency of equal liberty between contractors, there is nothing whatever in its logic to forbid a man, who has the might, or wit, or subtlety to dominate his fellows, (and is willing to take the risk) from setting up as an autocrat and ruling all whom he may.

There is nothing in its logic to forbid the strong and subtle of the earth from contracting together to defend each other's equality, and then enslaving the weaker and less wise remainder of mankind.

There is nothing in the logic of this school (as it affirms that children and fools are property) to forbid the deliberate turning of normal children into fools, by surgical process or otherwise, or the deliberate breeding of a race of fools for the purposes of slavery.

In brief, the logic of this school justifies government to all who have the might to make it expedient.

It is therefore not what it claims to be, "Anarchistic," for Anarchism is no-government, non-invasion, equal liberty, and that only.

* * *

There is another school of libertarian thought which, starting also from nature as a basis, affirms that the rights of the individual man are synonymous with the conditions and relations which in the nature of things are necessary to his normal development and happiness.

That these rights exist altogether irrespective of his might to possess them.

That human society, like everything else in the universe, has its natural laws or necessities of success, the chief of which is the liberty of each human being equally with every other.

That these natural social rights, by which alone the order and harmony of society as a unit, and the safety and happiness of its individual members, can be secured, are inherent in the nature of things, and have no relation to human contracts.

Contracts may rightly enough explain and affirm them, but if in any way they deny them, crime, disorder, and misery will at once follow.

This school denies the right of any man, no matter how mighty, to use force toward any other human being whatever, except in self defense, and then only to the extent absolutely necessary.

This school affirms that children, fools, cripples and hermits have exactly the same rights as the strongest and wisest and most social of men.

This school affirms the right of every human being to defend any other against invasion under any and all possible circumstances.

It is opposed to formulated laws and denies their necessity.

It denies the possibility of rightful property in human beings under any circumstances.

As it denies that one individual can rightfully govern another, or make laws for him, and as it affirms the equal liberty of all as an inherent, natural right, its logic is altogether Anarchistic.

It is Anarchism pure and simple.

But as Anarchism is a title of confusion in the popular mind, and a synonym of disorder, and especially as it has for a long time been used by the contract-men as their distinctive title and cannot now well be dissociated from them, and again as this non-contract school desires to have a positive as well as negative side, whereas Anarchism is a purely negative term, it has been decided not to use Anarchism as a name but to use the title "Free Socialism" instead.

On its constructive side it affirms the possibility of immediately and peacefully reorganizing society, and proposes a Free Society whose salient features shall be equal liberty, mutual employment to secure economic independence, and reciprocal insurance against helplessness, danger and loss.

Its two great features, then, are Equal Liberty and Voluntary Reciprocal Co-operation.

But while the foregoing constitutes Free Socialism in the special sense, in the general sense any one whose ideal is a state of humanity in which every individual is uninvaded is a Free-Socialist, and may harmlessly be included in Free Society, even if he declines all Co-operation.

And even any contract-man, who denies the logic of Free Society, may safely be admitted to its membership if he will contract to respect equal human liberty and accept that for the fundamental working principle of his social life.—[The Red Heart In The White World.]

In the above Mr. Lloyd shows his complete disconnection with the Tucker school of thought, but he hesitates to discard the prejudice against Anarchist-Communists that Tucker has implanted in him.

The ground he takes as to natural and inalienable rights is identical with that of the champions of Anarchist-Communism, and yet he carefully avoids mentioning them. Should he hold closely to his position, and try to formulate a plan of social arrangement logical with his premises he would find himself forced to stop before a conclusion is reached, or to adopt the plan of the free Communists.

H. A.

The Police Plague.

For the last few years one can observe a striking increase of power on the part of the police authorities. Not only in Turkey does the Police organize to murder by the thousands defenceless women and children; not only in Russia is the liberty, the safety, the honor, and frequently the very life, of the best citizens given over to the arbitrariness of spies, the mercenary police, and to a rudely ignorant gendarmery, but also in constitutional and republican Europe did the police succeed in putting itself above all laws, charters, and parliaments.

The police in Italy arrests and banishes whoever and whenever it thinks fit. In Paris we saw the police beating the deputy Baudin, brutally ill-treat the Anarchists of Levallois-Perret, bands of drunken police kept in a state of siege the peaceful inhabitants of the Quartier Latin for a whole week, killing the defenceless visitors of the cafes, assaulting the women and children that happened to come in their way. That same police of Paris, when it comes into their head, throws into prison scores of people without any legal proceedings. To the question of a Royalist reporter, "Why the police arrested, before the arrival of the Tsar, about thirty people?" he received the reply of the prefecture: "Because we, the police, regard them as Anarchists and as dangerous people. To watch them while they are free is not so convenient for us as when they are in prison, under lock and key!"—"Perhaps for the police it is convenient... but the law, the rights of the individual." "The police," replied the impudent prefect, "can arbitrarily arrest half of Paris under the pretext of the safety of its other half."

And the police arrests whomsoever it wants, keeps them in prison for months, for years. They even found the means to keep people life-long in prison under a pretence for madness. After arresting a man, the police calls to aid miserable dregs of science—the jesuitical and police school of charlatans a la Lombroso, Bertillon, Hamel, and others, and these pensioners of the police budget and secret funds are bidden to declare the arrested man a madman, and there is an end of it: the mercenary representatives of charlatanism, for an additional hundred francs, are always ready to corroborate the order of the police. More than that, the police exhorts these their servants to defend its right of imprisoning people for life, and all these Ferris, Bertillons, Lombrosos, and Hamels are using all their powers in order to prove that every Revolutionist, and especially every Anarchist, is a madman and maniac whom the police can keep and leave to rot in the prisons.

Just such tactics have been adopted by the once free Switzerland. The public has not yet forgotten the slaughter of workers at Zurich, the repeated arrest of an American tourist. But what is not known to the public at large is the actual suppression of one of the fundamental laws of the Swiss Constitution—the law of asylum. If you, a revolutionary Socialist, have escaped by flight from the persecutions of the police of your country, then the land of Tell will not deliver you... oh no! However, the police finds your sojourn not quite convenient, and consequently asks you to leave. If, within 24 hours, you have not left the

country, the police will accompany you to the frontier. What frontier? O, the police is very humane; it will never bring an Italian, a Frenchman, or a German to a frontier where one does not speak their native tongue, always to their native one, their own, and even informs beforehand the police of his native country, in order that the man should not remain without guardianship; and so he is delivered from hand to hand.

"Shame! The violation of habeas corpus! The trampling down of the law!" the English reader will exclaim. "That means that on the continent the police has become all-powerful, but here—" And here too the police, especially the spies—i. e., that scum of humanity to whom no honest man will extend his hand—these have become the absolute managers of the honor and liberty of everybody. Those men condemned at Walsall by means of the dynamite conspiracy organized by police agents; the case of Tynan, Bell, etc., as well as the disgusting confessions of the spy Jones as to the provocations to explosions and bloodshed... all these are the work of the secret police, which has become international and powerful.

One of the most remarkable cases of their acquired power we saw in the recent political scandal of Berlin, in which ministers and ambassadors found themselves caught in the trap of the secret police. These administrators of the affairs of "great Germany" were found to be the victims of the intrigues of their own agents—the spies. Thanks to the energy of Marschall, this affair meanwhile ended there with the exposure of the scandal; but it is likely that the secret police of Germany will have an energetic revenge.

Who of us, whether rich or poor, whether private people or public agitators, even among the members of both Houses, who is it that can say with certainty that he is safe in his own house from the intrigues and violation of the police? Who can guarantee that the agents of the new Jesuitical order, invested with power, supported by the government, and whose ranks are filled by the dregs of all classes, that the agents of this brotherhood do not, in the role of servants, commissioners and so forth, ransack their houses, taking copies and photos of the most secret documents, of the most intimate correspondence with their beloved ones? Nobody and nowhere. Without exaggeration, can it be asserted that even the aged Gladstone is not swarmed, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan and with the assent of Said Pasha* and his international colleagues, by some disgrace of humanity of the type of Jones.

Some time ago, not so very long, all honest and thinking people in Europe carried on an open and energetic fight against the absolutism of monarchs. It was by means of revolutions that our ancestors limited the power of kings, submitted to the law the right of military interference with the private and social life. On the ruins of absolute power, on regulated militarism grew up the shameful arbitrariness of the international and local spies. Our forefathers had to fight the arbitrariness of militarism. But in the army there are men of talent, education, honour—and yet the arbitrary power has been limited.

Men of talent, education, honor, will you consent to become spies? No! And our generation has transferred the old arbitrary power of militarism and absolutism into their hands, and to all appearance, we did not even take into consideration how fatal their power threatens to become to civilization and the social development of European mankind. They restored the Inquisition in Spain, the lettres de cachet in France, they are poisoning our intellectual and moral life.

But this is not enough that we will refuse to become spies. People of all parties and social positions should take measures for the protection of the honor, freedom, and life of the citizens. Otherwise the spy system will crush us.—[Freedom, London.]

"A small number of robbers devour the multitude, and the multitude suffer themselves to be devoured!"—[Volney.]

Literature.

THE Plaindealer comes to our table regularly. It is a sixteen paged, but small paper, devoted chiefly to juvenile literature. It contains much of the same matter as the Little Free-thinker. It is published weekly, at Hastings, Mich. by Francis Graves, at fifty cents per year.

* Minister of Police in Constantinople.

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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.

Exaltation.

I HEAR afar the martial trumpets sounding,
I hear the pulses of the warriors bounding,
I hear the struggling time's imperial call;
I glow with fierce, unvanquishable vigor,
I must away to fight the war with rigor
Until the battlements of bondage fall.

Fierce as a threatening, tempestuous torrent
The slaves descend upon their lords abhorrent
To wrest from them their long-subjected lands.
I hear the movements of their force gigantic,
I hear their war-cry and their curses frantic—
Shall I remain at home with folded hands?

Far in the freedom of future ages
I see a world of laborers and sages,
Women and men with strength and wisdom rife,
And on the tide of light and renovation
I'm borne away in god-like exaltation
To the resplendent shores of love and life.

BASIL DAHL.

London Items.

HERE'S the end of February, and winter gloom melts in glad sunshine, but social gloom hangs round with the same old murkiness. The propaganda of Anarchy is the only known remedy for that.

CHRISTCHURCH HALL, Whitechapel, is the scene of a big Anarchist meeting every Monday. On February 15th, Bert Stockton voiced some good thoughts and provoked plenty of discussion. Kenworthy of Croydon drew a large crowd there on the 22nd, and held it chained whilst simply but effectively he spoke on "Tolstoi and Anarchism."

SOCIAL disorder is based upon force; by force is supported law and government. Quit using force yourself and down crumbles the hideous fabric, misnamed society.

GOVERN not; that ye be not governed. Let liberty and love begin.

YOU of the Socialist Labor Party, what do you think of these words of Tolstoi: "As long as reforms rest upon a basis of force they are not reforms." And—"Government must go."

AN epoch making lecture will be that of Kropotkin's on March 8th on "The Role of the State." This is the English translation of the lecture which he was forbidden to deliver in France, last year.

POLITICS is a sick man's game.

ANY clear sighted observer can see that in England, parliamentary reform has had its day. Its place is on the rubbish heap along with serfdom, feudalism and the flat earth theory.

IT'S a good job for the mediocrities though—parliament is such an easy way of getting "famous;" of getting your name "in the papers." There is nothing left for them now but homicide or a hold-up, and the politician hasn't enough courage to hold a gun steady. "Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do," would be a good prayer for politicians by the charitably disposed.

OH, about Will Banham. He isn't such a diabolical rogue as those American comrades who read the last number of the London "Liberty," might have thought. In that note, what wasn't insinuation was untrue and what was insinuation was also untrue. The English comrades concerned in the affair repudiate all concurrence with that editorial mud-chuck. And Will is working away.

WHAT a funny thing is civilization. Especially here in "Yurrrup." Scores of men are tortured in a satanic manner, tortured so horribly that the wardens and judges are sickened, and not one of the "Great Pow-

ers," lifts a finger to protest. But when the little Greek nation interferes to aid their Cretan kindred to gain local autonomy from Abdul the damned, all the Great concerted Powers mass their flotillas and beat the war drum. Ah, well! the time will come.

WE Anarchists have got a good big job before us and little enough time to do it in. Every year that passes by under the old order is a year lost to the time of good fellowship.

WONDER what Benjamin Tucker thinks of The Firebrand in its enlarged form? And those croakers who designated Anarchy a foreign product unaccommodatable in free America, where there are no classes and no poverty?

THEY call Great Britain a tight little island, but it isn't the workmen who've got it tight.

LONDON, Glasgow, Liverpool, Edinboro', Dundee, Aberdeen, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Norwich, Leicester and Derby have Anarchist groups and there is promise of a good, vigorous summer's propaganda that will loosen things a bit.

WHAT a pity that suggested conference of American Anarchists fell flat. It seems to me that conferences are so much in accord with the principle of solidarity that they should be fostered wherever and whenever possible.

JUST watch the mother-country. We hope to carry out a national Anarchist conference next Easter, and it is being pushed on the initiative of the "Freedom Group." If any American comrade can spare two cents for a postal card or five for a half-ounce letter let him take this as the only intimation. Need I say more?

IT is possible that Earnest Young, one of our London speakers will emigrate to Canada next June. If he does there should be a time of propagandist motion in the Dominion.

TOM REECE.

19, Ifield Road, London S. W.

A Misconception.

WHILE in close sympathy with those calling themselves Anarchists, (inasmuch as they teach the most important lesson reformers have to learn, viz. the impossibility of establishing Justice by ordinary legislative methods,) I still believe they make a great mistake, and almost annihilate their usefulness, by the use of the word Anarchy. Translating Anarchy to mean no rule, or authority, I would ask, how is such an ideal to be realized? In my opinion, Anarchy is a pure myth and consequently misleading to the last degree,—to say nothing of the unnecessary prejudices it creates. When the law of cause and effect is suspended we may reasonably look for Anarchy, but until we have evidence that a single condition can arise, not subject to some other condition, to speak of the absence of authority seems frivolous. Anarchists, themselves, very generally admit, I believe, that organization involves authority. The absence of authority means, then, disintegration and final disorganization, which of course is an event inconceivable. A true law, I take it, is susceptible of indefinite extension.

All nature gives the lie to Anarchy for every atom of life, so far as we know, is organized, and the more complex the organism the greater its capacity to assimilate and express intelligence. As I see things we have no argument with authority, per se, but merely with the terms of authority. Let us remark here that the desire for authority is simply a phase of that eternal law which finds expression everywhere in the desire to get as much as possible for as little as may be given in return. It is natural, therefore immutable and withal, very good, for it has led to all invention (discovery of natural laws). But precisely because the law is natural so therefore it has another pole, for all natural laws are dual in action,—a pole which declares for equity, demands that as much shall be given as received. (Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself). We spend years and split words indescribably fine talking of our rights, only to run up against that eternal (and natural) Must.

It should not occupy much of an Anarchist's time to satisfy himself on these points for the proof is to be had on every hand. Steam serves only when set free. Electricity the same. Both eternally demand a circuit

(Justice). The human organism itself is replete with evidence of the same nature, and I might remark, parenthetically, a very good source from which to derive knowledge of natural laws, as witness the late deduction, by analogy, of a method of converting the carbon conveyed in the blood into electric energy, without the intervention of mechanical aid.

Our conflict, then, is not with authority, nor its reverse service, or competition, (or Anarchy, if you wish). No, our effort must be bent toward harmonizing both authority and service, for one without the other means hell on earth. In a word, governments themselves must serve, i. e. be subject to full competition, for if there is any other force than service, or competition, which is capable of producing and sustaining harmony (Justice) it has never been demonstrated. No doubt this line of argument will seem, to many, to lead back to the strife now existing between majorities and minorities, and it must be admitted that to find balanced the exact point where Justice is between authority and service is a task that has puzzled many a man. Proof of this we have in the almost-universal division of reformers into authoritarians and Anarchists, (so-called,) one at either extreme. All will admit that justice is the great desideratum, yet almost all go to one or the other extreme to find it.

The conclusion I am driven to is this, that authority must be subject to full service, or competition, and that competition, involving organization and authority must be equally subject to order, so that a balance, or Justice may prevail. Thus it would seem that God and the Devil are twins. Between the two we work out our salvation.

Further, as I have no knowledge of a natural law having been discovered or applied by numbers, so I presume it will be impossible for numbers to set Justice in motion, for numbers tend to discord, whereas harmony is Justice and can only exist in the absence of discord.

Consequently, it seems to me that both authoritarians and Anarchists mistake cause for effect, in supposing that Justice is, or can be the result of either authority or Anarchy, and if I am right, then Injustice can be the result of neither, i. e. of course, as a fixed law or principle. That it intervenes, temporarily, we all know.

Hence I conclude that Justice is ever at the service of Intelligence and believe there is always a way to do right, even in the presence of what may seem an overpowering authority,—or its reverse. God (Good, Justice,) rules; it is the formative principle, while authority, or service, (or Anarchy if it were possible) are the mere outward manifestations of the life within,—the bark of the tree. Equly is the law, authority and service the outcome, only.

JAS. T. R. GREEN.

Des Moines, Ia.

Mr. Green's reasoning is somewhat short, but none the less vague, when he says, "When the law of cause and effect is suspended we may reasonably look for Anarchy," thus indicating that Anarchy does not take cause and effect into account. The truth is, Anarchy is the only school of thought (in the realm of sociology) that fully and unreservedly recognizes and builds its philosophy on the idea of an endless succession of causes and effects. So far as organization is concerned, it becomes unnecessary as soon as the idea of association, voluntary and mutual, is recognized and acted upon. If, as Mr. Green contends, every atom of life is organized, and it works in a definite and immutable manner, the result of cause and effect, then all legislation is presumption, interference with the natural order, and doomed to destruction because of its inharmony with natural processes. He brings out the same old chestnut about desire for gain stimulating inventions, when every well read person knows that nearly all great inventors have died poor; have been impelled to invent for the mere love of inventing. Authority, the imposing of one's will on another, or others, tends only to retard, not to advance progress. The command to love is as useless as the command to have black hair. If the conditions are not such as to produce love, all the commands to love, in the universe, cannot compel it. Yes, we run against an eternal must, and we must quit imposing our will upon others, and allow every one to live their own lives in their own natural way, if we would secure peace, happiness and harmony. Justice is the great desideratum for which reformers strive, and they hope to attain it by forcing some to do so, and others

not so, but the Anarchists see a higher ideal than Justice, unless a new meaning is given to the word, and strive to realize a condition where all shall be free to enjoy life in the most natural and easy manner. In such a condition justice and injustice will not be thought of. Anarchists do not suppose that justice will be the result of Anarchy, but, as before stated, that a condition of Anarchy will be one in which the conception of justice will be wanting because its antipode, injustice, will not exist and justice, as a contrast, will not be apparent. If justice rules, then please excuse me from further justice. The ruling I have had to put up with, up to the present time, is not to my liking, and about all the pleasure, happiness and joy I have been able to get out of life has been the result of rebellion, never of submission. If Mr. Green had sufficient knowledge of the subject he has presumed to write upon (Anarchy), to write intelligently thereon, it might be worth while to argue the question further, but under the circumstances it seems useless, so I submit his article and these few comments to our readers for their consideration. H. A.

Our Attitude.

"To be, or not to be;
That is the question."

WHETHER The Firebrand shall continue to run as a free and fearless exponent of the philosophy of Anarchy, and champion of complete freedom, or be brow-beaten by those who fear free discussion, and curtail its efforts to a mere howl for freedom in so general a sense that no one will know what it means by freedom is the problem that confronts us today.

We have toiled and struggled. We have suffered and deprived ourselves of many coveted comforts in order that one paper might exist in which the fullest and freest expression of opinion might be had. We have taken up the gauntlet of conservatism and bid defiance to Comstockism.

So far we have not been attacked by "the powers that be," or interfered with by those who oppose our ideas, but some within the fraternity; those who claim to be radical; to have been many years in the movement; the pioneers of liberty, demand that we shall stop discussing certain questions and confine ourselves to the propagation of "Anarchism." What is Anarchism? It is Freedom! Freedom, not only of access to natural sources of wealth and the tools of production, but of thought, speech, press and action! Can we teach Anarchism and stop short of demanding absolute individual liberty? What kind of an "Open Court" would it be that ruled out the discussion of religion and love? We claim that The Firebrand is an Open Court, and yet we are advised and warned to let religion and the sex question alone, and the strongest objection presented is against the sex question, and by those who for years have boasted of their radicalism.

What kind of a radical is it that gets scared at the presentation of a subject, when those who are only students, mere beginners in the work of propaganda, feel no horror or fright at it? Yet, that is the condition that confronts us. The new adherents enter into the spirit of free and fearless discussion, while the old timers shrink back, or in horror cry: "Indecent, immoral, away with it!" What a spectacle. Are we to be deterred in our discussion of all questions that relate directly to personal liberty, or pertain to human development? Are we to rule out all things that do not conform to, or advocate some fixed idea or plan? Never!

We will eat our bread without butter, as we have done in the past. We will continue to live hard and go without many things we may desire; endure the same hardships we have endured, if need be, but we will not submit to the censorship of anyone, nor curtail the freedom of expression that is now carried on in The Firebrand. The Firebrand was started for the purpose of giving an open court, a place for the presentation of any and all opinions, on any and all subjects, and as long as the paper continues to appear it will continue to discuss all questions freely and fearlessly.

"Unto the pure all things are pure." It is on this idea that we present all questions to our readers. We consider all questions pure and legitimate, and discuss them with no other purpose than that of getting at the foundation, and learning what will bring the greatest joy and happiness to all concerned. We are

opposed to all forms of repression; of prohibition of investigation and discussion, and expect to remain opposed to them, and to show our opposition by freely, fearlessly and unreservedly discussing any and all topics of interest, and of uncompromisingly championing the fullest, most complete liberty of thought, speech, press and action. THE FIREBRAND GROUP.

Putnam Again.

I DO not wish to speak of Miss Collins for I did not know her, but Mr. Harman has reason to say he did not know that Mr. Putnam was particularly interested in the sex question, for when Mr. H. was in prison the first time S. P. was the means of tabling a resolution of sympathy presented to the Secular Convention held in Portland, Oregon, and I had the satisfaction of telling him publicly that I was ashamed of him. Yes, it did me good to speak out and I informed Mr. Harman of Mr. Putnam's course. But you see, people change their minds.

Three years afterwards at a Convention in Chicago Mr. P. enthusiastically supported a similar resolution.

But, because he defended Mr. Harman's rights, it does not prove that he defended Mr. Harman's ideas. People who do not know how to reason are very apt to blunder here. For instance: I once was opposing the using of street language in speaking of sex when a comrade straightened himself up and said: "If people say I shan't say so and so, then I will." My reply was: "If people say you shan't roll in the mud, you go and do so to show your independence." Now, I would defend a man's right to roll in the mud if he so desired, but that would not be advocating a practice of rolling in the mud. The right to do a thing and the advisability of it are two things, so Mr. Putnam's endorsing a resolution of sympathy for Moses Harman did not make him a free lover.

LOIS WAISBOOKER.

Echoes from Foreign Countries.

GREECE. The prosecution of the Anarchists ended about three weeks ago. John Manganaras was condemned to five months imprisonment; Evangelos Marcantonatos two months, and three others to one year's confinement. The accusation was on the ground that the convicts were insulting the laws in criticizing the government in their periodical. Our comrades announce at the same time the resurrection of their paper "Forward" in the next few weeks. There you have it! What good does this prosecution by the Hellenic government do? It only gives more spunk among the righteous thinking men, and shows the cowardliness of the legislators and executors of law and disorder.

BOHEMIA. There were several meetings of the unemployed in Prag; also some demonstrations on the streets, and as there were some boys a little more cute, desired a society where every one will be allowed to work if they want to, commenced to yell, "Down with slavery!" and "Hurrah for Anarchy!" but such expressions don't fit very easy in the boots of the Austrian defenders of the golden calf and so the noisy ones got pulled, in order to teach them to speak a more refined language and to respect the customs of their native country. Sprysil was sentenced to twenty one days, Tichovsky to fifteen days, and Vajek six weeks and Stepanek one month.

If a man has a too strong desire for bread in Austria, and if he has his gall enough, as the above four boys, he can get it all right in jail.

CRETE. Well, my friends, this is another unfortunate pearl in the earthly paradise. Anyone that is not acquainted with this island may ask, "What is the matter with it; is the soil of a barren kind, or is it draught, or continual earthquakes, or are the inhabitants too lazy to take advantage of the natural opportunities?" No, there is nothing of this kind; I will stay by my former name for it is a natural paradise, abounding in everything that can increase human comfort and happiness. The trouble is simply this; the Ottoman bank is an institution under Turkish "laws," and is owned by French and English capitalists who uphold "law and order" as far as robbing is concerned. They hold the bonds of the Turkish Empire, and the Sultan himself is nothing but a lackey

for them. The bonds are payable in produce and in such an amount that the people cannot satisfy the Sultan, and the plutocrats at the same time.

The poor people, are struggling, for the last hundred years, for their independence which of course would not amount to any more than the independence of Greece. It would be to trade one government for another, which is just as bad, but in having more constitutional liberty the developments would take more of a free course. So now then, the trouble in Crete and the rest of the Turkish possessions, is their degrading poverty and ignorance on one side, and the desire for betterment on the other side, and not so much on the religious subject as the only difference between Turks and christians is, that the christians are more imposed upon, because the muselmans are "handling law and order," of course, always to their own benefit, just like the politicians over here. The little Greek paper, the "Forward," is making a very good propaganda of education among the more intelligent Greeks and Turks who can read and write Greek. So you see the intermingling of the foreign powers is only to keep up the licensed robbery perpetrated by the vampires who are spending millions of dollars to print bibles, and to bring the heathens in to the folds of the everlasting glory and happiness over here—no, beyond the grave. That is why Matjalis picked out the right man in picking out a banker for public execution.

A. KLEMENCIC.

The Trust Government.

The Government of the Trusts for the Trusts and by the Trusts is now entrenched at Washington. All departments of the Government, Executive, Legislative, Judicial, are now in possession of a clique of politicians, backed by great and powerful monarchical interest with headquarters at Wall street, and branches in all the great cities of the country. According to their spokesman, President McKinley, the first move of fastening their bloody clutches on the tendons of American labor will commence promptly. On the 15th of March the Congress will assemble in extraordinary session for the purpose of giving formal assent to a policy which, for months, has been cut and dried by the aforesaid Trusts and great Manufacturing Interests.

It is given out by these plunderers and liars, through their talking automaton, that the rising of prosperity's sun cannot be, until after the financial affairs of the National Government are settled. Therefore, a tariff for Revenue is promised which will also, to use the President's words, "be so generally beneficial and helpful to every section and enterprise of the people."

The Machevalian treachery of this declaration is apparent when we remember that McKinley is a Protectionist for Protection's sake and that all the crew back of him here in New England and elsewhere are the same. They cannot be considered to be very solicitous about the Revenue of the Government, for we do not forget that these same people went down to Washington with their highpriced attorneys and with a wail of woe that echoed from our Cod-Fish Bay to the Golden Gate to protest against that income tax which the people believe was a veritable palladium of their rights. And a Supreme Court, which tradition declares immaculate and infallible, bowed in servile submission to these lean and hungry lawyers. No! It is not the Revenue that troubles these people. The Wilson Bill and the Income-Tax provided for that. Their purpose is to establish an Oligarchy of highly protected Manufactured Trusts, which must be paid for by the toil and blood of those who labor with their hands. The condition of the United States Treasury is not entirely connected with the prosperity or the adversity of the people. Even if the Government was bankrupt it would be quite possible for the people to be at the high tide of prosperity.

And we are perfectly aware that at the present time, with one hundred and fifty millions of gold in national vaults, that the people are suffering unusual distress.

We would have more respect for President McKinley if he had stated what we all know he felt. The President knows full well that the increase of public revenue is the only excuse left for Protection that will bring him any kind of support. And so now he and his henchmen are now Protectionists principally for revenue, with the very meek and humble hope that it will be beneficial and very helpful to the people.

And what then is promised? In vain we look over his inaugural address for the auguries of Prosperity's dawning.

Nothing but tariff. The same old McKinley bill. The people must be robbed to make them prosperous.

The money question is glossed over in the vaguest manner, and in the most ambiguous language. He claims to be a bimetalist. Oh! No! He was a bimetalist, and a free silver man before he knew the damning touch of gold, or felt the itching of the Presidential bee. But this is another McKinley—A Hanmanized McKinley—hand in glove, cheek by jowl, with the enemies of our country's institutions.

It is not a pleasant prospect which we see before us—an agricultural population in deep distress, our cities filled with the evidences of concentrated wealth and yet containing a pauper population of ever growing proportions. We cannot refrain from quoting the words of that great economist, Oliver Goldsmith, who, although he could not regulate his own money affairs, accurately told the story of a nation.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath hath made,
But a bold peasantry, a country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."
—[Boston Traveler.

And so it must ever be while governments last. Those in power will use the power for their own interests and the interest of their friends. H. A.

Attention.

We have had so many orders for pamphlets, that we could not fill on account of our inability to get them from London fast enough, that we concluded to buy a job press on which we could print pamphlets, as soon as we could possibly do so. We accordingly hunted up a suitable press, that could be had on monthly installments, and have made our first payment on it. It will push us to keep up the payments, and we will be very grateful to all who have expressed a willingness to help us buy a press if they will kindly remit to us what they feel disposed to send in, so that we can keep our payments up. As soon as possible we will begin the publication of pamphlets.

Love.

FREE LOVE! How could any noble mind ever come to hate these beautiful words! Was there ever a bard who sang in praise of enforced love? Is there in all the poetry of the world a single beautiful idyl of love which does not tell of free love? And yet, alas, what a strange reception the world has given to the theory bearing this name!

A great poet sings of the beauty of love and boldly declares that this sweet and powerful feeling is altogether too noble and vital to be subject to the tyrannical compulsion of priest and legislator. He finds many enthusiastic admirers in the crowd, who rave about his glowing strophes, but when it comes to acting in the spirit of his affirmation, they promptly draw away trembling for the "sacredness" of their marriage-institution. Instead of practically accepting freedom they prefer to make "exceptional laps" for great poets and artists!

Through sad experiences in wedlock or the study of the many unhappy marriages everywhere observable, a man or woman has come to the conclusion that an institution which is the cause of so much dreadful misery should be abolished; because he is opposed to marriage he calls himself and is called a free-lover—and every person who yet feels somewhat comfortable at his own fireside promptly condemns the "destroyer of home and family!"

Another argues thus: The satisfaction of the sexual impulse is a pleasure tyrannically denied to many at present. Give to every one a chance to enjoy this pleasure and it will be equivalent to an increase of the total of human happiness—and then "civilized society," in which a truly beautiful enjoyment of this association is a very rare exception, failing to appreciate the value of this argument, fights as before for its marriage institution, which it must believe to be endangered.

Quite a number of men and women have come to the conclusion that the greatest possible freedom of the individual, not alone in love but in all other affairs, is not only the best but the only means for the eradication of existing evils—but these are Anarchists! and that word alone is still sufficient to cause such a confusion in the brains of the majority of the people, to produce such vague but horrible images of blood, dynamite, and torch in their thoughts, that sound

reasoning is utterly impossible in their controversies with these "extremists."

And so it comes to pass that, in spite of their many irrefutable arguments, the Free-Lovers can boast of but little success, and those beautiful words, "Free Love," have been brought into almost general disrepute.

In order to understand what these words imply it is necessary, first of all, to answer the question: What is love? Our eminent poets and authors give us the following answers: One of them declares that "true love" means "the spiritual longing for an harmonious chord to your own scale of feelings and sensations;" for another it is "the passionate appreciation of the truly good and the truly beautiful in man or woman;" a third thinks mainly of harmonious mental co-operation; for the fourth it is simply "an inexplicable something, which must be felt but cannot be described;" a fifth will admit that only that affection is worthy to be called love which includes all the foregoing, and Mantegazza tells us that love is neither more nor less than "the power which brings about the union of the ovum with the semen."

Here we have quite a variety of explanations from which to select. No wonder therefore that people have yet to come to an agreement as to what should constitute the ideal love, which would properly fit into their ideal marriage. No wonder that there are so many different kinds of "Free Lovers."

Several years ago I read a curious little German book entitled, "Psychology of Love," which advocates as a distinct theory for agitation an idea which seems to be in the minds of a great number of our American reformers in a rather vague and indefinite form. The author, M. K. Ferdinand, deprecates the fact that human beings manifest so much sensual of sexual love which is not combined with spiritual love. The only way which he can see for bettering the condition of human society, is to educate the race up to such a standard that "harmony of souls" alone will be able to cause sensual affection, so that no sexual impulse will be apparent in any man or woman until he or she has found a being "who is able to dissolve the discords of his soul into beautiful harmony." Of course he promptly admits that "many a generation will pass away" before this goal can be reached.

It seems very strange that an intelligent man can believe that such a state of affairs could ever be attained; still it might be hard to prove that it would be eternally impossible. His theory becomes simply ludicrous, however, when you perceive that, although he plainly sees the dreary prospects, the sad disappointments, the hopeless misery, which it would bring to the present and following generations, yet he deems it unnecessary to test the value of this ideal love and ideal marriage for which we are asked to make such tremendous sacrifices.

Well, as he is a christian he may be excused, but I can see no reason whatever why we Freethinkers should torture our hearts with the ungrateful task of trying to force ourselves and our progeny to accept an ideal which was born in the brains of tyrannical and nature-hating priests. As we have no other aim in life than to gain the greatest possible happiness on earth, we simply have to investigate what desires the different kinds of love will cause and then try to find a way in which all of these desires or as many as possible of them can be satisfied without lessening the happiness of any human being.

With this object in view we will now define love and its desires:

Every normal and healthy human being after reaching maturity feels a longing desire for sexual intercourse. Each needs to associate a person of the opposite sex, and at first (in the case of a man) his "affectionate inclination" is towards woman in general; any sexually sound person of that sex could fully satisfy his physical desire. But, in looking around for a partner, he promptly finds that many persons are so unsympathetic to him that the pleasure of intercourse with them would be vastly less than with others more complementary to his nature. Finally he perceives that one particular person has such a charm for him that he decidedly prefers this one being to all others for the satisfaction of his natural impulse. We call this natural affinity or—sexual love. As it means the preference for a physical or sensual pleasure it is also called physical or sensual love.

We know that this love may often be entirely independent of any "soul-harmony;" that it may suddenly grow into an ardent passion without the least knowledge of the mind and character of the chosen one; that for the young men and women of today it is that

"inexplicable something" which draws them together with irresistible force in spite of unsympathetic spiritual qualities and the contra-argumentation of reason.

"I ask not, I care not
If guilt is in thy heart;
I know that I love thee,
Whatever thou art!"

Any fervent attachment of one human being to another, which is deemed worthy to be called love, and which is not due to the desire for sexual intercourse, is generally termed spiritual love to distinguish it from the former. This may seem incorrect, as such love may also be but the result of the appreciation of physical qualities, but perhaps it may be justified by the following considerations: It is generally acknowledged, and I see no reason to doubt, that sexual love is due to a great extent to "instinctive feeling" (that is, it is not caused by intellectual weighing of qualities), while all other love may be traced to some reasoning of the mind or impulsion of the aesthetic nature. As it will not prevent a clear understanding and may even facilitate it, we will be satisfied for the present with this distinction. Hence we find that mental or spiritual love may originate in either of the following ways:

1. Reflections such as these: How good, how beautiful, noble, courageous, refined, wise, or powerful he or she is!—These real or imagined qualities may cause such an ardent admiration and appreciation of one person by another that the wellbeing of the former is necessary to the happiness of the latter. The greatest joy of the lover consists in giving joy to the beloved. This so-called unselfish love may also be caused by long and intimate co-operation and association of interests (as in the family), or by the continuously potent influence which one human being has on the development of another (as in the relation of the parents to the child, of the guardians to the ward, of the foster-parents to the adopted child), or by the feeling of gratitude (as of the child for the parent).

2. The human being feels that for a happy life he absolutely needs to co-operate and co-enjoy with others, be it in music, song and dance, walks and talks, in games and sport, in reveling in poetry and literature, in the study of art and science—or in sexual intercourse. He discovers that in any one of these labors or recreations the co-operation of some persons is far more agreeable to him than that of others and in any one of them he may prefer one individual to all others. If this refers to pleasure or work which is exceptionally important to him, or if he prefers the same person for several of these enjoyments, a passionate love may be the result.

It may be in order to remark here that those "grand moments" in our lives, when the highest exaltation of joy or the terrible depression of grief, when bright hopes or imminent dangers, or the spontaneous enthusiasm for a great cause, stir the souls of two human beings simultaneously with mighty force and passion, are very likely to bring those two very near to each other and to give to each of them a priceless value in the eyes of the other as a partner in future co-operation and co-enjoyments.

3. In naming in the foregoing a few examples of objects of co-operation, I left out some of the most important, that is all those in which the object in view is not so much the direct enjoyment of the co-operation in itself, as a mutually beneficial joining of forces in the acquisition of the means for enjoyment (commercial and industrial associations, professional unions, joint households with mutually advantageous division of the necessary labor, etc.) It may appear a little queer to some readers to designate as "spiritual love" an affection which is simply the result of the appreciated usefulness of another person in co-operation in the acquisition and utilization of material things, but it cannot be denied that such appreciation has often caused even passionate attachment. As we cannot possibly call it sexual we shall have to let it stand under the title of "spiritual love."

Our observations show that the desires of love are manifold and varied, but it may be truthfully stated that they all refer to some kind of co-enjoyment or co-operation, and that the object in view is not so much to find "image of self" as to gain the best possible counterpart. Therefore it follows that, as woman is the best counterpart of man—not only in sexual intercourse, but in almost all enjoyments and labors, "spiritual" love is more frequent between men and women than between persons of the same sex.

Wherever spiritual love exists between a man and a woman who are both sexually healthy it is very liable to cause also a mutual preference for sexual intercourse, or, in other words, sexual love. This is due to

he fact that the pleasure of the sex-act does not consist in physical lust only, but also in the sympathetic pleasure of giving joy to another. It is self-evident, therefore, that the pleasure must be greatly enhanced by spiritual love for the participant, as that adds so much to the intensity of that essential part of the delight, the happiness of giving happiness to others.

On the other hand, it may be asserted that sexual passion causes all the qualities of the beloved to appear in such an embellishing radiance that a kind of spiritual love may result therefrom. If, confiding in this, intimate association of interests shall follow (as in the case of modern marriage) then the situation will become decidedly dangerous; full satisfaction will promptly extinguish the embellishing light, coolly and critically practical reason will investigate, and the resulting disappointment will terminate in the opposite of spiritual love. If, however, the full satisfaction of the sexual passion brings no servitude, no duty, no responsibility to either, then the memory of that "grand moment, in which the highest exaltation of joy made two hearts beat in perfect unison," may develop a lasting spiritual affection between the two in spite of a thousand unsympathetic qualities, which may exist, but with which the lovers are not asked to contend.

—[From The Old and the New Ideal.

A Generous Donation.

COMRADE A. J. POPE has donated one hundred and eight copies of Lois Waisbrooker's splendid book, "The Wherefore Investigating Company," which is one of this noted author's most powerful and thrilling works. It is written in story form, and uncovers the horrors that attend land monopoly in a masterly manner. It is a splendid book for missionary purposes. The regular price is fifty cents, but we have concluded to sell them at twenty-five cents per copy. Let the comrades order a few copies and loan them around among their story reading acquaintances. It will set the thoughtless to thinking; arouse the indifferent, and cause a general stir among the readers.

Every copy purchased of us is that much help for The Firebrand, and the purchaser will be getting a fifty cent book for twenty-five cents, and one that is well worth the money.

Open Letter to E. F. Ruedebusch.

I THINK Mrs. Parsons is right, i. e. under the conditions with which we have to reckon at present. Should we be free in every respect the question of free love and variety will appear in a different light. But so many people (I think mostly men) want to carry these ideas out at present when the majority of the men are not able to support the children of one woman, and not even able to support a woman without children.

Love neither feeds nor clothes us, and you men cannot expect us women to clothe and nourish our children alone, as the majority of women are diseased and not able to work hard after they have given birth to three or four children. In regards to what a comrade once wrote in The Firebrand that it was a pleasure and satisfaction to men to support the children of one or more women, I must say if there is such a man he must be a white raven. I, for my part, don't believe they are such men, not because I have not enough confidence in them, but simply because it is impossible for them to do so. According to my views "free love" can only be carried out in a free condition or when the parties concerned are able to prevent procreation. Before you advise free sex relations or variety you should give the woman knowledge of how to prevent pregnancy first.

Now, there is nobody who hates marriage worse than I do, and oh! how I would like to be young again and lead a different life, but since we are in the bondage of marriage and have brought children in the world, you will not tell me that either my husband (who takes the right to practice variety) or I have a right to practice variety?

To make myself understood, I will tell you my life story in a few words. My husband and I were radicals before we married. About 20 years ago we went ahead and lived together without asking anybody or having any ceremony performed. But soon we were compelled to get married. Children came one after another (we had eight and four are alive); soon my "old man" commenced to kick for having so many children, telling me that I was only there to deliver children, and that other women were lots

sharter because they knew how to prevent pregnancy. For his sake or rather to please him I tried to be smart too, but was so unfortunate that for six months I was in bed between life and death and will have to suffer for it all my life. In spite of that I tried to be smart anyhow, until about four years ago when my husband couldn't avoid paying the doctor bills or rather had to work for the doctor. Then he thought the "pleasure" was too costly for him and he left for Chicago, leaving me and the children alone. My oldest son was 15 years old only earning \$2.50 a week on what we had to support ourselves.

And my husband? At first he sent us once in a while a few dollars, but the last two years he has not sent as much as to feed one child. He knew in what miserable circumstances we (his family) were living, but at the same time he thought he had a right to practice free (?) love and variety whenever he had money. He tells me that I have the privilege to do the same, knowing that I was sick and have no desire for any man or else he would not have granted me the same freedom. In the same time I don't think he is a bad man; he tells me that he loves me and the children, but being more egoistic he thinks first about himself.

You see now what a life I have to lead. I am not old yet, 37 years; I am of a jolly disposition and like to associate with liberal minded people, but as there are very few of them in Omaha I live with and for my children. But oh, sometimes I feel so lonesome and forsaken that I can't help but cry. And when I read in The Firebrand that "The Firebrand family" was in need of women, I wished so anxiously to go there, make myself useful and enjoy the company of radical people, even if I had to live ever so poor, but what about my children? I will be compelled to live with my children until they grow up and if they are not able to support me I will have to go to the poor house. And that would be my reward for a life of hard work, misery and suffering. I often envy the christians, seeing them walking to church together; they don't always like each other, but in their ignorance and stupidity feel happier than I do in my loneliness.

I don't think theories or ideals will increase our happiness very much as long as we have in practice to deal with conditions unessential to a natural conduct.

Omaha, Neb.

The Letter-Box.

J. N., Stoughton, Mass.—The Firebrand will be sent regularly to the Library. "The White Slave" died several months ago.

S. Y., Chicago, Ill.—Yes, the names were received and The Firebrand will sent to be them for trial. The amount was credited in No. 7.

R. B., Chicago, Ill.—We never refused to send the paper to anybody on account of not being able to pay. We will send you The Firebrand anyhow, if you did not refuse it on account of having "too much free love in it," as one reader expresses himself.

H. S., Philadelphia, Pa.—Thanks for the contribution. If every reader would give a little the "Proganda Fund" would soon be well supplied, but, as it is, we are constantly "busted," especially when we keep on improving our shop, so as to be able to issue books and pamphlets.

E. B., Boulder, Colo.—We were glad to hear that you learned to appreciate The Firebrand so soon, but we cannot comply with your request. The women we are acquainted with would not be willing to make a contract to stay with any man for a "lifetime." If they knew you personally, there probably would be some among them that would be willing to co-operate with you, preserving the right to leave you at any time she would feel like doing so. The old fashion of marriage has no charm for the women or girls that like to read our paper.

F. D. W., Markham, Wash.—The paper is sent beginning with Vol. 3, No. 1, but you will not find the "Triumph of Freedom" finished. The copy was sent to us as far as we have published it and we thought that the continuation would reach us in time, but we were badly mistaken. The author is on the road to Portland and we will therefore be able to finish the article soon. If you as a socialist should not agree with the contents of The Firebrand, a criticism will be welcome.

K., Chicago, Ill.—If you had "roasted" us for having patent medicine advertised we would not have been a bit surprised, as we were disgusted with it ourselves and felt "guilty," but when you threaten to withdraw your support because we have "too much free love" in our columns, we are simply astonished. Anarchists are opposed to all censorship, or at least claim to be, and we are very indignant when we hear that Comstock censored certain books in the New York book stores that he considered immoral, but we see now Comstockism exists even among the Anarchists. The government authorities have so far not found anything in The Firebrand too obscene or immoral, but we find Comstocks among those who profess to be Anarchists; among those who believe in free speech, free press, etc. The contents of the poem "A Woman Waits for Me" are immoral? I don't know what your definition of immorality is, but you must be an "immoral" and "nasty" man if you find the poem so. Whitman is considered one of the best poets of this coun-

try; his book is sent through the mail, consequently not considered obscene by the government, but we find objections among Anarchists. "To the pure everything is pure" and vice versa. You may do as you please and we will do the same, as The Firebrand does not recognize censors nor bosses. If too many withdraw their support we will suspend, but not submit to the dictations of censors or bosses.

Note and Comment.

THE Legislatures of the various States have wrangled, drawn pay, squandered the peoples money and gone home, and what has been accomplished that will be of general benefit to the people of the various States?

COULD there be any better proof of the uselessness of United States Senators than the fact that some of the States failed to duly elect Senators, and the Senate has decided not to seat those who were appointed by the governors of these States?

ALL the old maids and old batches seem to regret that they are not married, and all the married people seem to regret that they are married. The regret of the single ones is based on a desire to experience something as yet unknown. The regret of the married ones is based on experience.

In the cold weather a firebrand often brings cheer and comfort. In the gloom of our present social and industrial winter carry, The Firebrand into the houses of your friends, your enemies and your neighbors. Thus shall you help to bring warmth and comfort to otherwise cheerless households.

It cost more to collect the United States revenue in Alaska than the revenue amounts to. Some innocent person may ask, "why then does the government bother to collect the revenue?" Because, a number of politicians have jobs as government employes in the revenue collecting department and if this revenue was not collected these jobs would not exist. If these jobs did not exist there would not be so much "pie" to distribute, and the big politicians could not make so many promises, and could not induce so many suckers to work for them.

A CORRESPONDENT writes: "I do think if all reformers, Liberals, Freethinkers, Socialists, Anarchists—All would in these terrible times, this awful struggle, lay aside their little differences and work for the common good of a common humanity, we would gain the victory much sooner." To all of which I assent, but I have been unable to find any way of getting them to do so. If the sister can induce them to do so, she will render a service to the cause of freedom for which we will all be grateful.

EVERY year some new government jobs are created, to put pets to work, but the expenses of these jobs are paid for by means of special taxes. These taxes drive some men out of business, and other jobs must be created for the out-of-works who have influential friends. This necessitates an increase of taxation, and so it goes. The government creates no wealth and so every government employe must be paid out of the products of others. Thus the burden of taxation grows constantly heavier, and its weight stimulates the very process that increases it.

THE Oregon legislature having failed to make any appropriations, Judge Northrup, County Judge of Multnomah County, now refuses to turn over, the tax money collected in Multnomah County, to the State Treasurer, for that reason. He states that had it been known that there would be no appropriations the tax levy would probably not have been more than one fourth what it was, and that by not turning over the State's share of the tax about \$1,000 per month will be retained by the County and can be used in taking up outstanding warrants. How many "tax payers" will see the folly of taxation from this lesson?

WORKHOUSES, with rope walks, or other industries attached to make them self-supporting, have been proposed by well meaning, but deluded individuals. What would be the result? Every tramp, or every man applying for a job, would be given work, and his product would go to pay the expenses of the workhouse. The product of the workhouse would come in competition with the "free" laborers, and they would be thrown out of work, and finally find their way to the workhouse, and swell the product of the workhouse, and thus more men will be thrown out of work, and have to go to the workhouse for a job. How long

112.

Do these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Firebrand? If so your subscription expires with this number.

would such a process take to reduce all working men to workhouse slavery? Lawrence Gronlund constantly calls for "State productive employment for the idle."

Correspondence.

DEFINITIONS.

Permit me to protest against your correspondents using the word "variety" in speaking of animate objects. The word is horribly misused.

MRS. CULBERTSON.

Just why Mrs. Culbertson should want to rule all animate beings out of the category of things, I can't conceive.

"Intermixture or succession of different things; that which is various; a number or collection of different things; something varying or different from others of the same general kind; diversity; difference," and the definition of a thing is: "Whatever exists, or is conceived to exist, as a separate being."

Now when it can be shown that human beings do not exist, as separate beings, we will quit using the word variety in connection with mention of them.

E. A.

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- 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.

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