Freiligrath's Poem "Revolution."

And tho' ye caught your noble prey within your hawgman's woodland shrine,
And tho' your captive was led forth beneath your city's rampart wall,
And tho' the grass lies over her grave, where at the morning's early red
The peasant girl brings funeral leaves—I tell you all
she still is free!

And tho' from off the lofty brow ye cut the ringlets flowing long,
And tho' ye've mated her amid the thieves' and murderers' hideous throng,
And tho' ye gave her felon fare—bad foul garb for her liberty be,
And tho' ye set the cask at last—I tell you all
she is still free!

And tho' compelled to banishment, ye hunt her down tho' endless land;
And tho' she seeks a foreign heart, and silent "o! its ashes stands,
And tho' she bathes her wounded feet where foreign streams seek foreign seas,
Yet—yet—she never more will hang her harp on

Ah! 'tis she strikes it very strong, and hides her
lend defance swell,
And she marks her yellow soil, she mocks your
banishment as well.
She sings a song that starts you up astonished

Until your heart—your craven heart—with terror beats!

No song of plaint, no song of sighs for those who perish unknown,
Nor yet a song of irony at wrong's fantastic interlude—

But the beggar's opera that ye try to drag out thro' its lingering scene,
Tho' moth-eaten the purple be that decks your
court, and then of

O! not the song those waters bear is not of sorrow,
or dismay—
'Tis triumph song—victorious song—'tho' means of the
future's day—

The future—distant now more no—her prophet voice is sounding free.
As well as once your Godhead spake: I was, I am,
and I will be!

Will be—and lead the nation on the last of all your plots to meet.
And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, I'll plant my strong, resolute feet.

Anger still she is not dead—red battle on my
pathway hurled,
Stretch forth my slanty arm till it revivifies the world.

You see me only in your cells; ye see me only in the
grave;
Ye see me only wandering lone, beside the exile's

Ye fools! Do I not live where ye have tried to
pierce in vain?
Beasts not a nook for me to dwell in every heart and
every brain?

In every brow that boldly thinks, erect with manhood's

Does not each bosom shelter me that beats with
honor's generous tide?
Not a desert land of woe, not every but that
harbors grief?

I am I not the Breath of Life, that pants and struggles for relief?
I therefore will be—and lead the people yet your hosts to meet,
And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, will plant my strong, resolute feet!
It is no boast—it is no threat—thus history's iron
law decrees.
The day grows hot, O! Babylon! 'Tis cool beneath thy willow trees!

"The Accursed Thing Voluntary Effort."

RECENTLY MR. HUGHES, a Socialist Labor member of the New South Wales Parliament, came over to Melbourne to work out the salvation of the people he left behind him by playing in a game of cricket against the Victoria legislators. Whilst here he took occasion to inform a public assemblage that the capitalists were much more intelligent than the workers, and these intelligent capitalists did not rely on their voluntary efforts to keep the people in subjection, but on the law; therefore the people ought not to rely on voluntary efforts for their emancipation, but on the law.

Voluntary effort was utterly useless, and could only play the people into the clutches of the capitalists; the idea of people being able to help themselves by voluntary effort was a degrading superstition, and he hoped that they would repudiate and sternly close of that "Accursed Thing Voluntary effort."

There are some people so simple as to be imposed upon by the "socialist" assertion that the capitalists are a highly superior kind of beings. At all events these simpletons are wiser than the said capitalists, because they are evidently aware of their own ignorance, while the capitalists, equally ignorant of positive truth, imagine themselves to be the possessors of all knowledge. Here is it, that they are fairly represented by their "socialist" admirers.

The existence of a capitalist class is certainly not due to any superior intelligence of its members. It is due to the fact that the fallacious conceptions of people in general, and their resulting attitude and conduct towards each other, constitute a system which necessarily gives capitalist privileges, and if there is any "superiority" on the part of the capitalists it is only in point of either selfish greed which has impelled them to take advantage of the opportunities thus presented to them, or at most the sort of intelligence which will skill, and which is largely a matter of training, which has enabled them to do so, and which is no more than the superior "intelligence" of the carpenter or bootmaker in his particular occupation. Here and there we may find a carpenter who is favored as a carpenter by mental superiority, here and there a capitalist who is similarly favored as a capitalist. The working class is forcibly encumbered with those who for actual lack of intelligence are unable to get or hold the position of capitalists; but there are very few, even for the favoring opportunity it present it takes no higher degree of intelligence to milk people than to milk cows. In the course of a few generations or even only a few years the majority of workers and their descendants, indeed become capitalists any more than they become car-


ters, but the majority of capitalists and their families are brought to the position of the proletariat, and new people from the ranks of the workers occupy their places. This is proof, it would be

needed, that the capitalists are not a class set apart by superior intelligence, but become or cease to be capitalists according to the varying influence of their surroundings. In times of depression especially, we see that while the central aspect of society remains the same the distribution of capitalist interests is almost wholly transformed in the course of a few years. Old businesses are owned by new men or broken up to make room for new firms, and the new possessors are either past wage earners or people who were capitalists in a very small way, usually less capitalists than workers.

If the persons who are capitalists for the time being volunteer that other people are in subjection to them it is only a result of the inevitable unequal incidence of the subjection which every one is in to everybody else, according to the very essence of the property institution.

If the capitalists owe their sovereignty over the people to the influence of law, it is inasmuch as law (including property) stands for the fact that in consequence of false ideas, the people have cast off and abandoned voluntary action except in those forms which constitute the capitalist system. It is not in the power of anyone to give the force of law to anything which the mass of the people will not act according to, or which any considerable minority decline to follow. Thus, though the penal clauses against Sunday liquor selling have the force of law as regards fines, etc., on persons who are caught by the police, the prohibition of Sunday liquor selling has not the force of law, because sellers intend to sell, and drinkers intend to buy, in spite of the penal risks. Similarly, the "abolition" of negro chattel slavery in the United States had not the force of law in the South, and it required the "voluntary efforts" of Northerners in the shape of brute force, contrary to law according to Southern acceptation of legality, to establish the abolition. If the South had won, which might have been the case, the idea would probably be held in the South that the victory was due to having law on their side. Law is simply the expression of the voluntary effort of certain people to act according to certain rules, and does not necessarily intend to do the same; their voluntary resignation to imposed orders.

The people have sympathised with the idea of which capitalism is the logical practical development, and consequently whether in the particular effects or not they quite consistently submit to and support all that is based on that idea. Any other set rule would produce results similar in kind, if the voluntary action of the people were to do the same; their erroneous conceptions, were according to it; and it is only the voluntary action of those who agree to it that can impose it on those who do not. This is a very good reason why the capitalists do not rely on their voluntary efforts to hold the people in subjection— they could not hope to succeed. They rely upon
Religion is naturally despotic. There are some religious fanatics who imagine themselves Christians who would make everyone be religious. Their argument (72) is about like this: 'This is a Christian Nation, therefore, we must make it a Christian Church. This is not a Christian Nation, therefore we must make it one by law.' 'Christianity is a voluntary submission and consecration to the will of Christ. That is what we should do.'

The straight line of voluntary action of the people in the contrary sense to capitalism, would be the abolition of capitalism. If in their own thoughts they created a new code of legality and illegality they would soon have a new artificial system responding to new needs; that is the reality of human needs, purposes, and welfare. If they did not do so, they would resolve to live according to realities, instead of according to necessarily more or less inappropriate abstractions, they would have a Socialist-Communist.

All social conditions are the product of the voluntary conduct of the masses, and those who tell them to beware of voluntary effort to reform their conditions of life are simply appealing to them to leave things as they are. 'Have no will of your own; be our obedient slaves; pledge your will to us, let it be worked out by our dictation and not by your perceptions; believe that it is superfluous to do anything at all.'

Religious Bigotry.

What presumptuous audacity in mortals who their God away when the proper study of mankind is man and the knowledge of the claim that any man should pretend to believe in an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipotent God, to enslave and intone false as though He needed assistance to think that they can serve your needs at all the voluntary actions and you want us to be your playing things. There are plenty of lunatics in the asylums who could tell us that we are more or less the same, and that it is necessary for our salvation that we should make it our only will to do their will. But since the weakening of religious credulity lunatics are hardly accepted at their own salvation—except in certain cases, which it would be superfluous to further indicate.

J. A. ANDREWS.

Echoes from Foreign Countries.

HOLLAND. Last Christmas the Dutch Socialists held their annual convention at Amsterdam, Holland. As the masters of the Firebrand know, the bulk of the Dutch Socialists are opposed to parliamentary action, and their organization "The Socialist League," maintains a perpetual propaganda amongst the efforts of Catholic and Democratic politicians to catch the labor vote under the enlarged sufferage system of this year. Two years ago when the S. L. for the first time took part in the parliamential action, knowing by the experience of other countries how useless it is for a small body of men, above a dozen in number, to call themselves into "Socialist Labor Party." To make no mistakes about the Labor movement in Holland we deem it necessary to state that S. L. P. has, until now, absolutely failed in gaining any influence among the Dutch toilers. Even the money sent by the Social Democratic fraction of the German Reichstag, apparently to pass along the cause of Socialism, but actually to fight the S. L. in the comministic propaganda, did not seem to be sufficient to inspire the minds of the Dutch workingmen, with a belief in the blessings of such a government. The following resolution adopted by said convention, shows about the prevailing spirit among the Dutch Socialists.

"The Convention of the Socialist League assembled on the 25th and 26th of January, 1899, taking the anti-parliamentary point of view: Resolved, that neither the League nor its branches will take part in elections; declare further, that the members of the Socialist League are individually at liberty to utilize the ballot either to propagate in electoral clubs for certain candidates or to nominate themselves."

The Convention, is of the opinion that the public fighting of the committees of the League and of the Dutch labor unions, by which this ought to be conducted in the various districts during the coming elections, ought to be left to the members of the League individually."

"SOCIALISM," as seen by our papers how the "cause" is progressing in these countries, but I may add that as far as Scotland the question of a large general strike.

We are also looking forward to the visit of Comrade Kropotkin who is to deliver three lectures on Anarchism. On the other side, our friends, the enemy, name of Individualist, is thus described by the correspondent for the "Old Age of Thought") at their head, tried to run a series of indoor lectures, but they were a mis-

J. G. BARNES.

SPAIN. "Juan Morales," captain of cavalry and member of the "war council," which was holding the anarchists in Barcelona committed suicide. Such was the news received by cable from Barcelona, with a remark attached, "The cause of suicide not known." It would be vain to expect from the rest of the people who eat as judges, to do the thing, they are too much absorbed with the "barrack-life" and hence lost novelty of the scenes. But in the absence of mothers, father, brothers, sisters and friends, which I expect not far."

RUSIA. The Russian "Official Messenger" of Dec. 18 is a very interesting issue, and it gives the organization of the Russian students. The students are composed of (some say two hundred) countrymen from the universities of Moscow, for example: "Orel," "Ukraine," "Krasno," etc.

Some years ago they founded societies for mutual help, but they changed very soon, into political self-education. Two years ago they formed a "social council" with a central treasury; the last time it had over 1500 students from different localities. About half of the students belong to the universities of Moscow, to the French students "despite, in the view of a free nation, toward the representative of absolutism."

When the students got the news of a strike in Kon-}

FRANCE. Some of the Socialists got their way through the glass factory of Albini, the one that was built by subscription in favor of the strikers. They put up "rules and regulations" which are as bad, or even worse than that of a factory"

Art. 2—Any one that provokes quarrels or disputes in the shop will be laid off, from one to eight days; in case of repetition he will be expelled. Art. 5—Any worker who, by disobedience, enmity, or anything analogous, refuses to work, or does not work in a proper way, will be laid off, from one to eight days; for the second offense he will be expelled. Art. 7—Any worker who quite refuses to work regularly, again in a day, all workers who more than five minutes late will lose half an hour.

There is now the same trouble between the authority and the laborer nation, employed in the factory as in the state; the Socialists are trying to boss a-a "Bismarck" system, which will be opposed by the Anarchists.

CIRCULAR THE FIRSTBRAND, Circular the Firstbrand, Comrade.
Children fear Death.

Some time ago a writer in the Fortnightly Review said: "The fear of death in fact, which is so deep-seated, the fear of the unknown future, has contributed to the downward pro-
gress of the individual, by making death more horrible because of the greater uncertainty of the future beyond the grave."

What wonderfully profound deductions the pious writer of the above did draw. Far more profound than normal.

A Freethinker who has cast aside all superstitions twaddle has no fear of the after death whatever it may be. He has no store for, he has no need of the hell hallucination of purely human devils to terrify those who might otherwise refuse to be controlled by the Church and State.

I have no authentic case where a Freethinker had any terror of death that a religiousist would not have. On the other hand, I have known of Christians who die as much from sheer fear of this future as from any other cause.

It may amuse some Firebrand readers to read a personal experience I once had when a lad of 12 years.

As I give no names, not even my own, no objections can be raised if I mention that it is the death of my stepmother.

During a heart illness I was called up one night to rock a troublesome baby occupying the same room.

It may be as well to mention that both she and my father were "baptists" of the namby-pamby kind.

Well, at one time she woke up, shrieking with terror and told my father that she had dreamed she had died and said, "everything seemed so dark and heavy!"

Father and doctor then ran up to her room to see if she were dead. Of course, this, had she had a dream, would have been employed in a drug store, then as book keeper, but for four months had been unable to work, and being entirely out of money, and too proud to beg, he took refuge in the meagre existences in suicide.

But yet we are told anyone can make a living who wants to.

We are glad to learn that the Grandee Age Colony at Co-opita, Mississippi, has taken a step forward. The members have set up their Co-operative, the Co-operative Age, that they are without constitution or by-laws. Not more than a year ago the editor of the Grandee Age was ridiculing Anarchists, now they are quite Anarchistic. One thing however, shows a spirit of dedication, and that is the prohibition clause in the deeds to property they transfer to joining members.

The Lord Hill, its author claims, is calculated to reform the official in the Postal Department. But according to Mr. Lord's own calculations this defi-
cit is $3,127,088.44 of which $7,558,415.12 is the cost of handling the government's mail. This includes the cost of mail and newspaper campaign literature, and other "franked" political material sent out free, and it is now proposed to cripple the circulation of really educational matter, in order to lower the deficit.

But it looks like a scheme to put the circulation of campaign literature into the hands of the Congressmen more completely than ever before.

A Woman friend writes us among other things, "By the way, what is the matter with Byington? Do you know? I wish he would dry up about that Talmud business. I can't see that particular difference it makes to The Firebrand readers who wrote the Lord's Prayer, as there are none of us who care.

And that about "selling" your private property in books. I don't think that under Communist anyone would want that trash, and if they should, why, some one would be no more avaricious and at liberty to reprint Zola's dictionary, even if the demand be small. He is talking about things under Communism, and measuring them by present conditions."

A Comrade writes:

"I admire Comrade Roodbeck's book, but can not indorse two or three points. First he wants too d-- much various subjects in a readable degree, but his plug would leave no permanent friendship between the sexes.

I more strongly object, however, to his proposition that the friend of a woman having a child by another man would be the father of the child. Now, that is d--r not. And it is against nature."

I can't see that the plain proposed in the Old and New Ideal would lead to too much variety. It would give complete freedom in sex-relations and make any amount of variety possible, it is true, but so what? We are all socialists and do not practice variety beyond a normal and healthy amount, simply because there will be no reason to practice it beyond normal craving. It seems to me that a social plan not too far removed from the normal of intemperate friendship, for it would remove the causes that now destroy such friendship between the sexes.

I think, too, that a little thought on the nature of the personal attractions, their intensities and interdependences, will convince almost anyone that the position taken on this point by comrade Roodbeck is correct. Let us have a little book, not carrying any prejudices with him, and I think he will agree with it fully. H. A.

A Non-Resistant.

"Shall thou love thy neighbour as thyself?"

What is the love one should have for one's self? Upon the answer one gives to the "love for self," depends the wisdom or foolishness of "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." I think the love for self should be at the most holy, pure, complex, marvelous and wonderful thing in existence, capable of progress and growth indefinitely. The love I give myself is to remove everything that retards its growth; and strive for everything that promotes its progress and growth.

"Try all things, prove all things and hold fast to that which is good." But if I have been proven good to me, not to resist force by force, but talk quietly, kindly and lovingly to the one using force against me, by so doing, I have spread the doctrine and reclaimed the one using force against me. I cannot comprehend what advantage Anarchy will have over the existing state of things, or how Anarchy can be found better, when it must, by the omission of physical violence, of coercive govern-
ment, in society. Men like Wm. Morris, Kropotkin, and Tolstoi are pointing toward the complete complementarity of life and perception of social truth, by declaring that a new and true morality is necessary to us, as the finance of widening and carrying on the true art of life and free and abiding human society shall be ended. I am consistent. Readers here you have the views of two profound Anarchists, one of them from the Friends of Labor, the other from the Mennonites. You can form your own opinions.

The above is supposed to be an answer to my little article, "Who is Consistent?" The readers will see that Comrade Pope does not answer one single point. I was accused of not being a consist-
ent anarchist for expressing myself against the Spanish inquisition. I have shown that Com-
rade Pope is as inconsistent as anybody else. Instead of answering the points I have made, he turns round and tells us to deal with force, and of the conduct essential of free society. I have nothing to say in that respect as I have never made the claim, that people will free themselves as humanity are worshiping the Spanish inquisition. The question is, can we consistently carry out our principles or not, and he fails to answer the very question we disagree upon. He fails to prove that the tax and rent collector can be converted by a "sell us of experiences." He fails to show us how we can conquer the government, monoply, etc., by a "talk" and if force used against force will not bring about freedom, as my opponents say, will it especially increase the烈or that deprives mankind of everything, and when we are all tortured to death like it is done now in Spain?

There is no choice between Comrade Pope and myself. The Anarchist principles are the same all over the world, but it is a matter of consistency, at the present and I contend that he is as inconsistent as I.

We cannot make a paradise in one corner of hell. We will live more in harmony when conditions will be more favorable, but not until then.

Z. D.
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Anarchy—A social theory which regards the union of men into the state, or the establishment of political and personal freedom, as conditions of individual liberty. (Century Dictionary.)

"We are all Brethren."
Wears shall we look for brotherly love? But brethren, what is "brotherly love"? Cometh it down from the "realms above?"
Drawn by magic of Aaron's rod?
"We are a preacher's fitted, and
To his audience in silks and furs.
"Our bodies may by some by doth live the thing. Which is he of their community, an
Unheeded the starving, grey-haired age,
The telling, half-savage prime.
The youth grows up on the devil's own page,
And the baby whose birth is a crime?
"Oh, what of this!" the vision
Who "went about doing good!
Are these his followers, selfish and keen,
Seeking the thing that was theirs before?
The "pillar" in broadcloth, the dame in her silk,
In the twos-thousand-dollar bell
Or the not Phalaric bell
With whom Truth has sought to do?
For Christ they ignore, that they Maimmon may make
All unheeded the warning plea—
"They shall be judged by the light of these
Ye did it likewise unto me."

THE TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM.
BY J. A. ANDREWS.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE STREETS OF SYDNEY.
The old System of Society, had worked out to a deadlock. Steadily through boom and depression, the virtual ownership of land, houses, machinery, businesses, warehouses, goods, had gone on fluctuating in the hands of a few successful financiers, whose control of the currency placed the smaller "independent" capitalists, no less than those who traded upon borrowed money, helplessly at their mercy. Lately they had begun on the large scale to transform this virtual feudal ownership. Throwing out the middle men, they were assuming direct control of all resources, and ordering production to the sole ends of their gratification.

When man was always one, and had been seeking after everything necessary for his purposes, he had no occasion to trouble himself with speculation in order to command the resources that he required for his occupation or enjoyment. Ever since the institution of slavery, and for the sustenance of the workers whom the task occupied. He had simply said to the producers, "I will allow you so much time, to produce with my resources the things you desire. Whatever such a thing as I think fit that you should have—and for the rest of your time you must be at my command to labor for my gratification." Capitalism was, in short, evolving back to the directness and simplicity of the ancient nobility and servitude.

In this condition of things, some of the financial Kings were closing down all industries equal to so far as these ministered to their personal enjoyment, and turning thousands of people shrift much as the Scotch lords before. It was not only the dream that the resources were the necessities of the completeness of the wages and for the sustenance of the workers whom the task occupied. He had simply said to the producers, "I will allow you so much time, to produce with my resources the things you desire. Whatever such a thing as I think fit that you should have—and for the rest of your time you must be at my command to labor for my gratification." Capitalism was, in short, evolving back to the directness and simplicity of the ancient nobility and servitude.

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time immemorial, the assembled people began to push and hustle the police, and try to separate the prisoners from them. So much the better—yet so much the worse for the prisoners who Chance not to be secured; for that, in the mind of this crowd, there would be no reasonable doubt. Some were rescued, and might betake themselves to places of safety; but a couple of the remaining prisoners, in the course of the meeting, passed the night in the lock-up cells of the Water Police Station.

Assumptions of Reparation.

Anticipating a public demonstration at the close of the trial, the police have arranged for a show of force in the court house. A chance incident creating a misapprehension on the part of the officers, they shout "Arrest the crowd," which is startled and terrified into action. A long and drooping battle ensues, the troops at the court house, and all until his aid, and being met by a more active right, and some additional forces establish themselves as a "terrorist" a depository of anarchistic ideas, the anarchists are arrested, and sentenced, with others, taking refuge in the country. The show is quite a noisy one, under the influence of the General Strike. The people make various attempts at committing popular mistakes, in different places, and gradually a condition of Anarchy is established in the city.

(Turned to last page.)

The Prospects.

Wrote this issue we state the best manner's exist-ence of the Firebrad. What the year will bring forth is impossible to predict. We have seen a new departure, by abolishing all subscription rates, and by giving to all who wish to read the paper, or to see it succeed, to contribute as much toward its support as they feel inclined, and an effort. So far we have had the first attempt of the sort that has been made by any Anarchist paper published in the English language. It may be well to state a few facts concerning the publication of The Firebrad, in connection with the announcement of this change. We are not operating a milk route, and we find out a lot of hard work, and early rising, and a lot of time and money. That leaves us dependent on the contributions of those who wish to see The Firebrad, and the English language, and those in the world, but in position to do a publishing business, to bring out pamphlets, and do job work for the comrades, such as printing letter heads and envelopes, etc., we could do far more for the propaganda, and also help support The Firebrad. We will begin this volume with a circulation of three thousand (3,000), and much would send in ten cents, it would give us three hundred dollars to work with. That with the contributions that will come in from the comrades, from our friends in the working classes, that we will make on the sale of books and pamphlets, would make us possible for us to bring out an eight page paper, the native pages as this is now. We want to take out a number of radicals, of both sexes, who wish to eradicate, in every day life, as near as possible, the idea we all are working to eradicate. We also have to act as a way of life, and other occupations, as well as printing, but the central object, of course, is the publication of The Firebrad. The next thing of importance is a job office in which to print pamphlets, leaflets, letter heads, envelopes, etc. But we would like to add various productive enterprises, among which would contribute directly to the supply of daily news, the first issue, as evening, fruit raising, grain growing, clothing making, etc., for instance, and other enterprises afterward. Thus we can see how form and substance of our new system of individuals who produce within themselves the necessities and comforts of life, and enjoy the association of other free individuals. We cannot predict, with any certainty, how much of this desire may be gratified, but we hope that a fair start may be made and that this will be allowed for and against any particular kind of ammunition."

He was interrupted by a rough grasp on his shoulder. "Are you the man who was talking to the police. Several of the speakers of the meeting, who had remained standing close by, were sharing the same fate and the same feelings as the speaker. Instead of passively looking on, as Sydney crooked had been accustomed to do in such circumstances from good, and it looks to us as through the greatest need at present is willing workers, and the ballot lack not for workers, but must needs put forth great efforts to get listeners. We, on the other hand, shall do all we can to supply the demand for workers, for literature, etc.

For our part we will continue to meet the demand for political and social information to the best of our ability, and will also endeavour to make new and ever increasing demand, and we invite all who have the same spirit to join their forces with ours, either directly or indirectly, in such a manner as may seem best to all concerned."

Henry Aden.

Who is Consistent?

"As long as there is no revenge, and brutal resistance, you are not an Anarchist, no matter who you are or what you are doing," this was told me by a comrade, after he had read a state in which I expressed the hope that no mercy will be given the imitators of Spain who are now present are torturing the anarchists in the most cruel manner imaginable.

I admitted that when I practice force or revenge, I am not an Anarchist, but we should not forget that we are not yet living in a state of freedom, and if we should not give the idea of non-resistance to its logical conclusion we could not consistently speak or write against the brutalities and outrages in our present state of society. There is no difference between resistance of our pen, mouth or fist, at least it has not yet been shown by those who advocate non-resistance where the line is to be drawn. Our sincere efforts, by which we denote and defy the authoritarians, are as much or more powerful to those who faithfully believe that the present social system is being maintained by a divine power, as it is to resist with our fist or our pen. Or is it "respecting other people's feelings" when we don't put one foot off in a court room? Certainly not, but at the same time those who make such a dash of this law, tell me that I am not an Anarchist when I advocate violent resistance."

Portugal is the target for other people's feelings excluded me from being an Anarchist, then, in order to be consistent, I must take my hat off whenever my covered head is invaded by the feelings of others. I must not speak against our present wrongs to those who believe that the wrongs we speak of are divine rights; we must not write anything that might hurt the feelings of others, and yet, the advocates of "respecting the feelings of others" are doing it constantly, either with their pen, mouth or actions.

I am not an Anarchist, because certain expressions I have used violate our principles. Now let us see if those who claim to be consistent Anarchists would have no ideas of property, no ideas of taxes, sell land and take profit, eat their regular meals, when there are millions starving, etc. etc. All this to me is a contradiction according to their logic—they are not any more an Anarchist than I am. They might answer me that we cannot help using our principles in this respect and that we have to do what we can. Well!! We can only do what we can with principles them neither, simply a question of expediency and convenience.

Count Leo Tolstoy is one of the most serious advocates of non-resistance; he is opposed to land monopoly, profit, etc., etc., and lays much stress on the idea, "that we must love one another," Does he or did he ever consistently carry out his ideal? He holds great estates in Russia and sells the products to the highest bidder. His way of living and his actions were very displeasing to his family. He was perfectly successful. He did best to lead him back into the circle he has left, but he resisted and preferred to live his own life, thereby gaining on the feelings of those around him. And he proved thereby also, that he "loved" himself more than those that were opposed to his arguments and, doing just the same thing that any violent Anarchist does—pleasing himself.

Anarchists should get rid of that religious notion called moral that is not a true basis for actions of men. As long as there is an incentive to kill and to resist violently, so long will it be done, no matter what our moral code may be. Let us then remove the cause of these things, let us be absolutely and unconditionally independent, and that necessity will prompt them to act anarchically. To accuse each other of inconsistency under our present system, is
simply a play of words, because one is as inconsistent as the other.

But heaven keep us from becoming non-resistantists! For we see where it has led the followers of Buddha to the most degraded enslavement among all nations.

A. I.

Some Figures for Vienna.

The famous and often-quoted Mr. Hyningly is anxious to know if under Communism all our wars could be satisfied. Prof. Th. Thek, Vienna, Austria, in his work "Laws of Social Evolution" gives some figures in regard to the Austrian people's ability of producing all the necessities of life, which, I think should satisfy Hyningly's curiosity. The Professor says:

"I have investigated what labor and time will be necessary, with our present machines etc. to create all the common necessities of life for our Austrian nation of 22,000,000. It takes 10,500,000 hectares of agricultural land, and 2,000,000 of pasture for all agricultural products. I then allowed a house to be built for every family consisting of five rooms. I then found that all industries: agriculture, architectural, building, flour, sugar, coal, iron, mechanical building, clothing and chemical products, need 615,000 employed 11 hours per day, 200 days a year, to satisfy every imaginary wants for 22,000,000 inhabitants. These 615,000 laborers are only 12 per cent of the population able to work, excluding all women and all persons under 20 years, or over 50 years of age. All these latter to be called not able. Should 5,000,000 able bodied then be engaged in work instead of 615,000, they only need to work 26 days every year, producing everything needed for the support of the population of Austria. But should the 6,000,000 work all the year, we say 200 days, which we think is too much, to keep our factory fresh in every department, each one would only work one hour and 21/2 minutes per day. To produce all the luxuries in addition, it would take an additional 390,000 per year to be classed and assorted as above, or only 20 per cent of those able, to produce everything imaginable for the whole nation, in two hours and 120 minutes, for every worker, per day. But should they shift the work in proportion to the remaining 83 per cent of able bodied workers, all male members, every able bodied worker would have 1230 minutes per day for only about two months the whole year. The remaining time could be spent for educational purposes, etc., recreation, and the whole nation would have everything a cultured people wants and needs.

"In other words, if every able bodied worker chose to work every day, 200 days a year, to satisfy

Jena, N. J.

Abundance in a Condition of Freedom.

When you argue with governmentals on the question of Freedom, they say: "If you should adopt such a system, everybody would live around and do nothing."

I do not think that this is so. Even if they would not need to work, they do or they haven't the leisure for every man, woman and child. In such a state of Society there would not have to be as much work done as there is now. And, besides that, not only are you the half of the men at work, and of those that do work not half of them are wealth producers. The capitalists do not work for they are too lazy. And the ones that are called tradesmen do not work because they haven't the leisure for it.

Let us look at some of the things that would not have to be done in a state of freedom, that are done now. First of all let us exclude the tax-collectors, and all other men connected with the government. And then we wouldn't need any Comstockers to go from one Post Office to another to peek into somebody's letters and say that they have written something that is against the "Law." There would be no money makers, and men would not have to bother their heads to see if they couldn't invent some "loss of art" or "similar fraud." Then we wouldn't have to be half the farmers built that now are. We wouldn't need any Judges or Juries to try some men that have committed crime, how long should they go to prison and on and on. Then we wouldn't have to build any penitentiaries and then have some men stand and watch these "criminals" as they are called. Now don't you think that all of these men would be interlined workers, and the others who now can't produce because they cannot get the opportunity to do so, there would be an abundance of work for every man, woman and child all over the world. And that there would not be near as much done as there now is! There are a great many other things that I could point out, which are done now that would not have to be done in a condition of freedom. I know that every man would work two or three hours a day from choice. And if every man, woman and child would do a little every day, that is those who are able—there would be abundance for all, clothing, and every other thing they may want. There is no use in fearing about there not being enough to eat and wear, or the want of freedom.

A little Anarchist.

Reform.

No one can hope to be an effective reformer unless, he, or she, is ready by principles, resulting from deep, keen and careful study of the vital questions of the day, and fearless speech and prompt action are the prime factors of reform. Conservatism, as the name implies, is the defense of the status quo.

There was a timely and forcible article in a late issue of The Firebrand on the subject of "Crime and Punishment." Every thoughtful and benevolent person should read this article. I for one, consider it the best I have read in this line of thought. I believe, without exception, that every criminal, murderer, highwayman and the general all-around "tough," is himself the victim of his forefathers' sins. In the "tough" is a culmination of the compound sins and general "cussedness" of a whole line of ancestors. It is a solemn and generous law of Nature that the child has no choice, of its progenitors, or relations. The embryonic entity is helpless in regard to the mental and physical conditions which are thrust upon it. If one idea could be injected into the brains of the parents it might be led to understand that the hanging of a murderer, is simply duplicating the criminal's sin, under what is termed the protection of the law.

We cannot allow rapacious wild beasts to run at large, whether they be bipeds or quadrupeds. There should be safe and commodious places of seclusion—prison schools, in fact, where mental and physical forces could be developed, but in every case I would urge that, by castration, every accursed criminal should be debarred from propagating his kind.

Society, political and religious life is a mass of rottenness. From long, analytical study, I have come to this conclusion, that only when progress can be made in the way of general reformation of the masses, when we can sweep away the glamour of the so-called Sacred Paper Idol (the Bible) and the superstitious New-Age Hasen (the Churches). The deception, the falsehood, the lust of priest-craft, pales the power of the reformer and rolls back the tide of evolution. Think it if the war of John Wannemacher is done. We cannot count on the onset of obscurant mercy through the U. S. mail, at the same time, being church Missionaries, they were making sure of just this same fate in the land of the free. There should be a Holy Bible.

There has never been, nor ever can again be foisted upon the people, such a baseless, blustering, contaminating, nasty publication as the Old Testament.

"A little Anarchist." is only 14 years old, and as is his class eon near the verge of juvenile delinquency.

I have studied it with suffocating disgust, so that I might use it as a battle-axe against the licentious, deluding, pernicious evangelists who are always eager among the young to sow the seeds of crime. The idea advanced in my previous articles was that the best remedy for crime was the abolition of the conditions that invite to crime—the abolition of the State and of all forms of monopoly—and I still contend that such abolition is absolutely necessary to the disappearance of crime. All such propositions as castration are rank nonsense. One only of worthy of the attention of Wannemaker and Comstock.

H. A.

Clippings and Comments.

PERFECTION is more prevailing than violence; and many of the most effusive and throaty efforts are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little.—Flaubert.

The West Point Academy for training professional land-bustards, and the public schools, as army officers, costs the workingmen of the United States $50,000 per year to support. It is about time that item of government expense was cut off entirely.—(Knights of Labor.)

"The cost of all the army expenses is better used in paying the officers and soldiers; and why not cut off the expense of those other parasites, known as legislators, executives, attorneys and judges, while about that business?"

The Christian world has to support a standing army of over three millions, and it costs $41,000,000 to keep Europe in peace. The prayer to give peace in our time, good Lord, may be uttered in faith all right, but they evidently believe in keeping the powder dry.—Syndy Worker.

And all this enormous cost must be paid of the products of labor, and yet the producers have not learned to teach their children not to fight. If the wealthy producers would train their boys to stay out of the army they would save themselves all this expense and much more.

The conditions of the coal miners in the United States is on the average even worse than those of Europe and other countries. According to a recent report of our country the cost of production of coal in the United States is lower than in Canada, England and Belgium. The cost in these four countries averages 65% cents, $1.054, $1.10 and $1.25 per ton. The wages are in the United States 76, in England 78, in Canada 84, and in Belgium 86 cents per ton.

It is a fact that the work of the coal miners in the United States is far more intense than in other countries and that he is compelled to produce more coal in the same length of time than the miners in other countries, and also lots more to pay for the necessities of life, especially in rent, explosives, etc.

The American coal miner is relatively and absolutely worse treated than the coal miners in the most advanced countries of the world.—Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung.

We refuse to become a race of sheep over the proposition of General Miles to increase the standing army to 35,000. As long as we have any army at all it is better that it be large, than that it be small. It's the principle that is wrong, not the number. When we abolish the military system we'll be on the right track.—Pueblo Courier.

The last sentence in the above is correct, but I cannot agree that it is no worse to have a lot of a few. It is much more than to curtail the number. Evidence of the danger of too much of a bad thing is given by the same paper in the following:

"A little Anarchist." is only 14 years old, and as is his class eon near the verge of juvenile delinquency.
The writer of the above is undoubtedly, by nature a noble woman, but her life has been made a failure by the cruelty of circumstances. She makes one mistake; that is, she marries a man who finds doing his own living if she knew how. Thousands who do know how, find no opportunity to do so. Every man who burns up a fancy without striving to better the economic condition is responsible for the same sort of mistakes.

H. A.

OLYMPIA, Jan. 22—Here we have been in session for eleven days with a populous majority, but the corrupt silver republican candidates of the Senate have so demoralized the party, that it seems impossible for them to elect a senator of straight Populist principles. If we do not elect a straight Populist senator at this session, the party will surely turn all at the next election, and all the hopes of the reformer must be abandoned.—P. L., Seattle, Wash.

Yes, my dear friend, your hopes will soon be abandoned, and then you will join another political reform party, the Socialist Labor Party for instance, but all your hopes of bettering your condition will be in vain. Rely upon yourself and strive to abandon all kind of representations and all forms of government, and your labors will soon be realized.

A. K.

"A law and order" machine, called the "McKinley," has been constructed by an eastern inventor. It is a man-of-war on wheels, and is to be run on electricity, or a 25-horse power electric motor. The "McKinley" is 7 feet wide, 12 feet high and 37 feet long, and is furnished with a double row of port-holes with a very heavy door. If the man in "advances of prosperity" does not arrive and break the riots and industrial disturbances occur, cities can purchase a "McKinley" and feed the hungry upon cold dead fish which, as a general rule, is very effective."—Trotsky Advocate.

What about the fools who will "man" the instrument of death, and those who fire the furnace that creates the terror? What will happen when the working men get sense enough to refuse to use such diabolical arrangements against their fellow towns?

H. A.

THE LETTER-BOX.

O. H. Chicago.—Your address is corrected and you will receive the paper regularly from now on.

P. J. F., Dayton, O.—The plants have been sent and you have received them by this time. You are too much in our debt. Greely, Greely.

J. C. C., Chicago.—The Alarm is only temporarily suspended. The pamphlets will be sent as soon as we receive them from London.

P. C., City, No.—We have not given up the idea of trying a press, but given the matter more serious consideration, we are getting ready to publish a weekly, and would like to buy a second-hand press, and all things that would increase the circulation of our representative systems of society, but that we are aiming to remove both. "Shut up your mouths" is a "just money", but it does not mean that we are not to explore the means, howsoever, the "unit of value" may be fixed; and that is why we object very emphatically to any kind of money. And as long as we have some men to represent your interests, just so long will you be interleaved.

REV. A., Dayton, O.—You should have tried this in 1883. The "New Look" is a "good money," and is not the same as our "national" medium. You are confusing our representative systems of society, but that we are aiming to remove both. "Shut up your mouths" is a "just money", but it does not mean that we are not to explore the means, howsoever, the "unit of value" may be fixed; and that is why we object very emphatically to any kind of money. And as long as we have some men to represent your interests, just so long will you be interleaved.

LITERATURE.

We are in receipt of "Wealth Against Commonwealth" by Henry D. Lloyd, and of "Vital Force," by Albert Chavannes, both of which will be reviewed as soon as possible.

No. 2, Vol. 2, of Our New Humanity is on our table. It contains many interesting articles, among them an article on "Woman's Part in the New Children," which is a fine criticism of the effeminate St. George Mivart, but it abounds in typographical errors. There is also a fine poem by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, called "A.

There are many other things of interest in it but limited space prevents a comprehensive review of the magazine.


1904 W. Congress St., Chicago, III.

We are in receipt of the Febuary—April number of The Hesperian, a Western Quarterly Magazine. This is an unusually good number. Its frontispiece is a good likeness of William Morris. In the table of contents I find the following: "The Return of Mr. Heaviside," by Humphrey, Ward, In Hubbel's Bar, Should the Poor Man? William Morris, Mrs. Field's Author—Friends and the Literary Way-side, which contains a photograph of Charles Street. Published by Alexander N. De Molen, 7th and Pine St. St. Louis, Mo. Price 5c.

H. A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

An Appeal.

When I saw the announcement in No. 40 of this Vol. that The Firebrand, when enlarged with the beginning of No. 41, will have to demand from all readers of the paper to pay their subscriptions in advance, I felt very sore at heart, for so Comrade Addis's statements which appeared in No. 39—although giving the very unpleasant intimation that the much desired enlargement of the paper may again have to be postdetermined—were of some relief to me. I wish therefore now to make an appeal to all comrades whom this may reach, on behalf of our only newspaper in this land, that The Firebrand with its "Experiences" and "Experiences" from all interested in Anarchist propaganda in the United States. If in its first two months has shown the value of more liberal subscriptions and even succeeded in gaining a circulation of wide areas and furnishing copies gratis where desired, will we not then, when the paper is better established, with a more manifold growth, now its size will be enlarged. Besides becoming a brighter and more interesting journal than ever by giving above all adequate means of organizing. Thus, for instance, since and unsatisfied principles in methods could be generally and thoroughly discussed and generally be also save the expense of Annual Conventions or at any rate make them more truthful. And I think it is certainly a pity if the word "Firebrand" is the Firebrand should have to abandon its motto "Give drink to the thirsty, free to those who sought have." Now, according to Comrade Addis's accounts, the propaganda in its present size of publication required about ten dollars weekly to cover its expenses, and when the proposition was made to enlarge the size of the paper, the publishers declared that that would not greatly increase the cost of publication, provided a printing-press was obtained. It is certainly very much to be regretted that the donations to the press fund should have so emancipated the weekly income of the paper. But could nothing be done to secure the improvement of the propaganda, it would be the duty of the publishers to increase its existence, without sacrificing one of its best features, that of gradually offering its pages for reading. And right here let me say that I fear the Firebrand's name is not of the life of The Firebrand, for if it is yet doubtful, I think, whether in this country an Anarchist-Communist weekly can exist and prosper on "regular subscription" alone.

This is what I now wish to offer for consideration—and for execution, if it means practicable. If, in all cities and towns where The Firebrand has a considerable circulation, groups were formed for the financial support of The Firebrand, then the publishers could be assured (requiring on average about 20 cents weekly from each group, that would be twice of twenty of these, or more, or less accordingly) and thus be able to have an apparatus based on a sound footing. And might we not even hope, beginning in this way, to realize in time, the publication of all Anarchist literary and other communications in the United States, which all, I think, will agree is a very vital necessity.

And now I am going to say something (for I do not mean of much method of but action) by asking The Firebrand to send me a list of all the addresses to which it is mailed in this city, and I will personally endeavor, to secure necessary subscriptions for The Firebrand here who are interested in its welfare, to be of constant support to of it. *

*) The comrades completely misunderstood my meaning. I had no thought of intimating that subscriptions could be raised for the paper, but was only hoping to see what could be done to save the mutilation of The Firebrand and make it more practical.
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