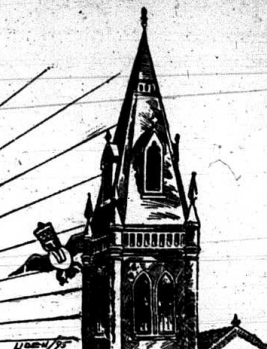


The Firebrand

FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS 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.

VOL. III.

PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1897.

No. 1

Freilegrath's Poem "Revolution."

And tho' ye caught your noble prey within your
hangman's sordid thrall,
And tho' your captive was led forth beneath your
city's rampart wall;
And tho' the grass lies o'er her green, where at
the morning's early red
The peasant girl brings funeral leaves—I tell you
—still she is not dead!

And tho' from off the lofty brow ye cut the ring-
lets flowing long,
And tho' ye've mated her amid the thieves' and
murderers' hideous throng,
And tho' ye gave her felon fare—bade felon garb
her livery be,
And tho' ye set the oakum task—I tell you all—
she still is free!

And tho' compelled to banishment, ye hunt her
down thro' endless land;
And tho' she seeks a foreign hearth, and silent
'mid its ashes stands,
And tho' she bathes her wounded feet where for-
eign streams seek foreign seas,
Yet—yet—she never more will hang her harp on
Babel's willow trees.

Ah, no! she strikes it very strong, and bids her
loud defiance swell,
And as she marked your scaffold erst, she mocks
your banishment as well.
She sings a song that starts you up astounded
from your slumberous seats,
Until your heart—your craven heart—with terror
beats!

No song of plaint, no song of sighs for those who
perish un subdued.
Nor yet a song of irony at wrong's fantastic in-
terlude—
The beggar's opera that ye try to drag out thro'
its lingering scenes,
Tho' moth-eaten the purple be that decks your
tinsel kings and queens.

O, no! the song those waters hear is not of sor-
row, nor dismay—
'Tis triumph song—victorious song—tho' peans
of the future's day—
The future—distant now no more—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 hosts to meet,
And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, I'll
plant my strong, resistless feet!
Avenger, Liberator, Judge—red battles on my
pathway hurled,
I stretch forth my almighty 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
sullen wave—
Ye fools! Do I not live where ye have tried to
pierce in vain?
Rests not a nook for me to dwell in every heart
and every brain?

In every brow that boldly thinks, erect with man-
hood's honest pride—
Does not each bosom shelter me that beats with
honor's generous tide?
Not every workshop, brooding woe! not every hut
that harbors grief!
Ha! Am I not the Breath of Life, that pants and
struggles for relief?

'Tis therefore I will be—and lead the people yet
your hosts to meet,
And on your necks, your heads, your crowns,
will plant my strong, resistless 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 steer clear 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—that is, if 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 capitalistic 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 we call 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 boot-maker 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 these are very few, for once the favoring opportunity is 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 do not, indeed, become capitalists any more than they become car-

penters, 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, if proof 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 general aspect of society remains the same the distribution of capitalistic 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 find that other people are in subjection to them it is only a result of the inevitably unequal incidence of the subjection which everyone 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 capitalistic 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 acceptance 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 limitations and force others 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 they like 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, owing to 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 own efforts to hold the people in subjection—they could not hope to succeed. They rely upon

law, which is the voluntary subjection of the people themselves, or at any rate the voluntary participation of a sufficient number of voluntary subjects in whatever is necessary to enforce obedience on people who decline to submit. People use their will to limit their will by placing limits on their judgment. They hold false ideas, and consequently their will is false too, and commits them to take a false view even when in itself obviously repugnant to them; then these false views reproduce false will and make everything false in practice. People start out bound to think and act according to a particular form, and, naturally, with all the consequences.

If it were the will of the people—that is, their voluntary conduct—not to have capitalism there could be no capitalism unless at the same time it were still more the will of the people to have something from which capitalism naturally springs, or which can be used against them—by reason of their inconsistent will—to maintain capitalism. The straight out 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 no better than the present to the reality of human needs, purposes, and welfare. If they did not do so, but resolved to live according to realities, instead of according to necessarily more or less inappropriate abstractions, they would have Anarchist-Communism.

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 by our dictation and not by your perceptions; believe that it is supremely necessary to do as you are bid, to conform to certain rules, to treat certain views as if they were necessarily the proper views for you to take. Be fools, in short; abnegate your brains; hypnotize yourselves so that you will only be able to will as we will you to will—and you will be saved. But if you have any other will than ours, be assured that you will be damned!" What the Parliamentary god really means to say is this: "It is a degrading superstition to think that any voluntary effort except the voluntary doing as I bid can serve your needs if the slightest; all voluntary effort except the voluntary effort to obey me, is an Accursed Thing!"

This, O "socialist" lord god, is exactly how the capitalists rely upon the law; there is no difference except that they want us to be their working tools, and you want us to be your play things. There are plenty of lunatics in the asylums who could tell us that they are divine, 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 valuation—except in certain cases, which it would be superfluous to further indicate.

J. A. ANDREWS.

Religious Bigotry.

WHAT presumptuous audacity in mortals who their God assay to scan when the proper study of mankind is man. What presumptuous inconsistency in man who pretends to believe in an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent God, to assume to dictate and interpose laws as though He needed assistance. How puerile and how like the childhood of the race to suppose that God needs the assistance of man or a hedge around Him, as though He was of glass that might be broken. Why not let Him govern the world by his laws we call natural? With all our meddling we mar the beauty of Nature.

Why not let every faculty of man have free exercise? No one would care to infringe the freedom of another under free conditions. Every individual has a right to keep the Sabbath or not as his conscience dictates. He in no way infringes the equal freedom of anyone by doing either.

Religion is naturally despotic. There are some religious fanatics who imagine themselves Christians who would make laws to coerce others to be religious. Their argument (?) is about like this:

"This is a Christian Nation, therefore, we should make it a Christian Nation by law." "This is not a Christian Nation, therefore we must make it one by law." "Christianity is a voluntary submission and consecration of one's life to Christ, therefore we should coerce all into submission to Christ's reign." "My Kingdom is not of this world, therefore this world should make laws for the Kingdom of Heaven." "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's; therefore we should make stringent laws compelling every man to render what he has of Caesar's to God." "Do unto others as you would they should do to you; we do not desire to be governed relative to religious matters, therefore we favor stringent Sabbath laws and a recognition of God and Christ in the Constitution." "Judge not that you be not judged, but Christians should judge everyone." "Christ's weapons are spiritual; therefore we should supplement and assist Him with carnal weapons of coercion." "This is not a Christian Nation, therefore we demonstrate that it is by putting God in the Constitution." "God has preserved and blessed this Nation above all others without a recognition of Him in our organic law, therefore we should put Him in the Constitution." "All other nations that were religio-political, and that were purely religious, have degenerated, therefore we should promote a union of Church and State." "Spain is a religious state, therefore our country should be."

The logic of the above profound arguments cannot fail to elicit the signatures of every "Christian Endeavorer, Epworth Leaguer and every Sunday School scholar in the U. S. to the 60,000 blank petitions that have been sent out broad-cast over the U. S. to Congress to carry out the purpose for which the National Reform Association and the National Christian Citizenship League exist, viz.: to reveal Jesus Christ as the savior of the State and Nation as well as the individual," by incorporating God in the constitution and Christianity into the laws of the Nation, States and Schools.

J. C. BARNES.

Echoes from Foreign Countries.

HOLLAND. Last Christmas the Dutch Socialists held their annual convention at Amsterdam, Holland. As the readers 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 against the efforts of Catholic, Liberal and Social Democratic politicians to catch the labor votes under the enlarged suffrage system of this year. Two years ago when the S. L. for the first time decided not to take any part in parliamentary action, knowing by the experience of other countries how useless it is for a small body of men, about a dozen in number, to found a new organization, and call themselves "The Socialist Labor Party."

To make no mistakes about the Labor movement in Holland we deem it necessary to state that this 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 push along the cause of Socialism, but actually to fight the S. L. in its communistic propaganda, did not seem to be sufficient to inspire the minds of the conscious Dutch workmen, with a belief in the blessings of parliament. 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 December, 1906, taking the anti-parliamentary point of view:

Resolves, that neither the League nor its branches will take part in elections; declares 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 enemies of the League and of the Dutch labor movement and the manner in 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.

SCOTLAND. You will see by our papers how the "cause" is progressing in these countries, but I may add that as far as Scotland is concerned we are making

great progress. When I tell you that all the pamphlets and books that you sent us were sold in a day or two in Glasgow alone, you will be able to judge of the great desire for literature displayed by the public, and I may say that all the pamphlets I have ordered in this letter are bespoken.

The Anarchist Communist Idea is fairly in the air. When ever we hold a meeting we have a good attendance and very encouraging results.

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, namely the "Individualists" with Gilmour (correspondent for the "Old Age of Thought") at their head, tried to run a series of indoor lectures, but they were a miserable failure.

I think there are about six Individualists in Glasgow and as for the other towns and cities of Scotland no Individualist exists in them. So you see that there are more than the State Socialist party, a party off "Bounce" Wm. DUFF.

SPAIN. "Juan Morales," captain of cavalry and member of the "war council" which was judging the Anarchists in Barcelona committed suicide." Such was the news received by cable from Barcelona, with a remark attached to it "the cause of suicide not known." It would be vain to expect from the rest of the officers who sat as judges, to do the same thing, they are too much absorbed with the "barrack-life" and hence lost to all sense of humanity; they are left for the vengeance of mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters and friends, which I expect is not far off.

RUSSIA. The Russian "Official Messenger" of Dec. 17th contains a very interesting document about the organization of the Russian students. The students are composed of (zemlyatschestwo) countrymen from their respective localities, as for example: "Orel," "Ukraine," "Ryazan," etc.

Some years ago they founded societies for mutual benefit only, but they changed very soon, into political self education. Two years ago, they founded a "federal council" with a central treasury; the last time it had over 1500 students from 45 different localities. About half of the students belong to the university of Moscow. Two years ago they demanded the expulsion of a professor that was incompatible to their views.

During the "fetes of Soixou" (the last visit of the Russian navy in France), the federal council expressed, in the name of all the students of the university of Moscow, to the French students "their despite, in the view of a free nation, toward the representatives of absolutism."

When the students got the news of a strike in Kostroma they issued an appeal to the comrades for financial help, which resulted in 425 francs from the collection.

FRANCE. Some of the Socialists got their way through at the glass factory of Albi, the one which 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 boss; for example:

Art. 2—All the workmen are obliged to notice all rules and regulations coming from the members of the administration and strictly obey all orders from the M. W., who is conductor of works. In case of refusal or insult, by any one of the workmen, he will be laid off for eight days; for the second offence he will be expelled. Art. 4—Any one that provokes quarrels or disputes in the shops will be laid off, from one to eight days; in case of repetition he will be expelled. Art. 6—Any workman who, by disobedience, enmity, or any other procedure disturbs the harmony or working of the factory, will be laid off from one to eight days; for the second offence he will be expelled. Art.—Any workman who quits work for any cause can not go to work again that day; all workmen who are more than five minutes late will lose half an hour.

There is now the same trouble between the authoritarian and libertarian element employed in the factory as in the state; the Socialists are trying to boss a-la "Bismark" system, which will be opposed by the Anarchists.

ARGENTINA. The great railroad strike is almost at an end, except at the shops at Sola. The struggle was fierce for some time, but the leaders bargained with the directors and a repetition of the Chicago deception was the result. Workmen when will you mind your own business without leaders? Have none to master you? It is quite time to see to that.

A. KLEMENCIC.

Christians fear Death.

SOME time ago a writer in the Fortnightly Review said: "The decay of religion, which is so widespread a feature of our times, has contributed to the downward progress 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 truthful.

A Freethinker who has cast aside all superstitious twaddle has no fear of the after death whatever it may have in store, for he knows that the hell theory is an invention of purely human devils to terrify those who might otherwise refuse to be controlled by the Church and State.

I know of no authentic case where a Freethinker had any terror of death that a religionist would not have. On the other hand, I have known of christians who have died as much from sheer fear of the 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 well be raised if I mention that it is the death of my stepmother.

During her last 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 "hardshell" baptists of the narrowest kind.

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

Father said, "But you have nothing to fear. Aren't you sure Jesus is waiting for you?" "Yes, I know but everything seems so awfully dark."

After much of this kind of talk she finally quieted down some, but continued to moan in an agony of fear.

She died the next day, and the funeral was hardly over before my pious father began telling all unbelievers, especially woman, all about that dream. But he told it as only a religionist could. His story ran thus:

"Fanny woke up the night before her death and told me she had dreamed of dying, and she said 'it seemed that I had died and saw Jesus reaching out his arms to meet me, and everything seemed so bright,' and then my worthy christian father went on to tell how happy she seemed and rung in a few angel songs.

When I heard such gross lies and deliberate perversion of the truth told by my own father for the purpose of filling the minds of emotional women with a superstitious belief in the "reality" of religion I became so disgusted with all religious talk that I began studying religion from another standpoint than that of the church; nor have I ever believed in the happy death bed pictures of the christians, for I know that the christians are the very people who fear hell, and if their doctrines were true, most of them would have good need to fear it.

Now there are many so-called, "Christian Socialists;" but I want to say that no Socialist will ever reach the inner temple of Socialism unless he leaves his god outside to keep company with the policeman, politician and soldier. Socialism has no place for superstition of any kind whatever.

Z. D.

Political Evolution.

BY DE MOLINARI.

We publish this for the benefit of those who worship government and are endeavoring to place all the industries in its hands, that is State Socialism.

"The origin of political states and permanent governments has followed the development of agriculture. During nomadic periods, when every individual needed all his time to procure food, the business of government could not be made profitable. But from the moment when the production of food gave a surplus over and above the maintenance of the producers, it became profitable to outfit military expenditures for the capture of territories best fit for agriculture as well as the stock of men and animals which formed their equipments. These exploiters could then, with the least trouble, derive a revenue far in excess of that which they had been able to obtain by the ordinary practice of periodical invasions and plunder. But how could this revenue be collected? The best and simplest method was to reduce the conquered people to slavery, train them to agriculture, if not already so trained, and absorb the surplus products above a bare sufficiency to maintain life. In fertile regions where the population was numerous, industrious and docile,

the enterprise proved most profitable. In countries less fertile, where the population was sparse and of an independent character, the conquerors were compelled to oversee the enterprise and sometimes take part in the work themselves. Such was the case at Athens and at Rome. But in all cases the corporation, called government, arose in wealth and power to a degree never known in nomadic periods of the race."

Do not State Socialists believe that human nature has since changed? Do they believe that a government or any other corporate body will ever undertake to do other wise than to increase their power and revenues to the detriment of the governed? The only difference between those former governments and ours is in the means to the same end. Former governments used brutal force. Modern governments use legal contrivances. But the result on producers is the same. If proof is wanted, listen to the universal outcry against taxes and oppression.—(Labor Exchange, Independence, Mo.)

Note and Comment.

ACCORDING to the "Socialist," Comrade Pietro Gori, who made such a telling propaganda tour of this country, among the Italians, last year, became sick in London, and found it necessary to return to Italy for his health:

Upon his arrival he was arrested, but no reason for his arrest is given.

A COMRADE sends us word of the death of comrade Lazarus Kraft, Jan. 23d. He was an active and energetic worker in the cause of Anarchism, although but twenty-one years of age. He had previously been employed in a drug store, then as book keeper, but for four months had been unable to find work, and being entirely out of money, and too proud to beg, he took refuge from further privations in suicide.

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

We are glad to learn that the Grander Age Colony, at Co-opolis, Mississippi, has taken a step forward. Its members now announce through their organ, the Co-operative Age, that they are without constitution or by-laws. Not more than a year ago the editor of the Grander Age was ridiculing Anarchy, now they are quite Anarchistic. One thing, however, shows a spirit of domination, and that is the prohibition clause in the deeds to property they transfer to joining members.

THE Loud Bill, its author claims, is calculated to relieve the deficit in the Postal department. But according to Mr. Foud's own calculations this deficit is \$8,127,088.44, of which \$7,558,415.12 is the cost of handling the government's mail. This includes the tons of "educational" gold and silver campaign literature, and other "franked" political matter sent out free, and it is now proposed to cripple the circulation of really educational matter, in order, it is claimed, to reduce this deficit.

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

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 what particular difference it makes to The Firebrand readers who wrote the Lord's Prayer, as there are none of us who use it. And then all that 'bosh' about his private property in books. I don't think that under Communism anyone would want that trash, and if they should, why, some one would be willing and at liberty to reprint Zulu dictionaries—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 Ruedebusch's book, but can not indorse two or three points. First he wants too d—d much variety. I don't object to a reasonable degree, but his plan 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—d rot. And it is against nature."

I can't see that the plan 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 no matter what the opportunities may be, people will not practice variety beyond a normal and healthy amount, simply because there will be no reason to practice it beyond normal cravings. It seems to me that the plan proposed would foster permanent friendship, for it would remove the causes that now destroy such friendship between the sexes.

I think, too, that a little thought concerning the psychological and prenatal conditions, their intimacy and interdependence, will convince almost anyone that the position taken on this point by comrade Ruedebusch is correct. Let the comrade carefully reread the book, not carrying any prejudice with him, and I think he will agree with it fully. H. A.

A Non-Resistant.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor 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 consider a human being as 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 or has been proven to be good." It has 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 conquered the force principle 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 founded to last, if the Authoritarian spirit in men is not changed. I have not for one moment ceased to believe that freedom, the freedom essential to humanity, can only come through the cessation of physical violence, of coercive government, in society. Men like Wm. Morris, Kropotkin, and Tolstoi are pointing us onward to the complete complementary half of our conception of social truth, by declaring that a new and true morality is necessary to us, as the means of establishing and carrying on the true order and free life of society when coercion shall be ended. I am inconsistent. Readers here you have the views of two professed Anarchists, one of them from the Friends or Quaker society, the other from the Mennonites. You can form your own opinions.

A. J. POPE.

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 consistent Anarchist for expressing my feelings toward the Spanish inquisitors. [I have shown that Comrade Pope is as inconsistent as anybody else. Instead of answering the points I have made, he turns around and tells us of experiences in dealing 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 long as they are worshipping the spirit of authority. 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 "conquered" by a "quiet and kind talk." He fails to show how we can conquer the government, monopoly, etc., by a "kind talk." And if force used against force will not bring about freedom, as my opponent says, will it come about by not resisting the force 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, as 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 am.

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. A. I.

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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.

"We are all Brethren."

WHERE shall we look for brotherly love?
Does it dwell in the "church of God?"
Cometh it down from the "realms above?"
Drawn by magic of Aaron's rod?

"We are all brethren," the preacher saith
To his audience in silks and furs,—
In the slums near by scowls the living death
Which bears for all men a curse;

Unheeded the starving, grey-haired age,
The scowling, half-savage prime,
The youth growing up the devil's own page,
And the baby whose birth is a crime!

O, what of the gentle Nazarene
Who "went about doing good?"
Are these his followers, selfish and keen,
In surplice and monkish hood;

The "pillar" in broadcloth, the dame in her silks,
In the two thousand-dollar pew!
Or are they not Pharisaic hilks
With whom Truth has nought to do?

For Christ they ignore, that they Mammon may
please;

All unheeded the warning plea—
"Forasmuch as ye did to the least of these
Ye did it likewise unto me."

YATES.

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 lands, buildings, machinery, businesses, warehoused goods, had gone on accumulating 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 into actual ownership. Throwing out the middle men, they were assuming direct control of all resources, and ordering all production to the sole end of their own gratification.

When one man was absolute owner of everything necessary for his purposes, he had no occasion to trouble himself with speculation in order to command the materials requisite for the execution of his whims and for the sustenance of the workers whom the task occupied. He had simply to say to the producers, "I will allow you a certain time, to produce with my resources the things you need among yourselves—or such 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 serfdom.

In this condition of things, some of the financial Kings were closing down all industries except in so far as these ministered to their personal enjoyment, and turning thousands of people adrift such as the Scottish lords had evicted the Highland crofters. Having the resources and a sufficiency of servants to minister to all their wants and whims, what need had they that other people should produce and consume, enjoy life, or live at all? Others, however, charitably permitted people to work, produce and exchange the necessities of life, and common luxuries of the poor; but all affirmed the most absolute sovereignty over everyone to whom they were allowing the use of their possessions. Thus, in some cases, the time during which the producers might toil for their own benefit was strictly limited; in others, the things which they might do on their own behalf were only such as might be approved by the proprietor of the resources; in all cases, if their conduct did not conform with his fancies, he could turn them away destitute and practically outlawed. As yet, the process of concentration was not complete; but at the rate at which things were going, it appeared only a matter of months for a syndicate of

financiers and two or three isolated millionaires to divide between them the sovereign control of the whole country with all its inhabitants.

In Victoria attempts had been made from the commencement to limit by legislation the power of the plutocracy over the people; and in so far as these enactments represented the self-will of the people in mutual sympathy, they had been successful; on the other hand, the letter of the law often failed to answer, in particular circumstances, to the spirit of the intention. As enactments, they would have been worse than futile, as was evidenced by many instances in practice; most of them, indeed, would, like other legislation, have speedily assumed the character of mere burdens upon the people; but for the present, public opinion stood higher than the law courts, and public action (which gave to public opinion that supremacy) not slow to decide how things should be in this case and in that. Consequently in the Victorian community, an effervescent turbulence was the order of the day—the order, too, in a most orderly sense, to which the apparent disorder was the means.

In Queensland also, such effervescent turbulence was the order of the day, but oppositely, being the disorder of all parties. For there the State had virtually ceased to exist; Parliament and the Cabinet were fooked upon as being only what they were only, indeed; mere titular companionships, like orders of Knighthood say that of Saint George. *) Already the plutocracy ruled ostensibly, as well as practically, the people whose resources they owned; it was no longer a question of what was said or done in Parliament, which had given up all notion of considering itself seriously, but of what was said and done in the committees of the Associated Proprietors, who had openly their own private police and soldiery, and their own private magistracy, lock-ups, warders, flagellators and even hangmen, for "dealing out justice," as they said to the workers. Of the latter—notably among the bushmen—many were in open revolt, waging such warfare against the bands of the plutocracy as, formerly, the black man against the white; lately, indeed, on more nearly equal terms.

But here in New South Wales, and especially here in Sydney, things had, as it were, rotted stagnantly, with the Government like a dense coating of blue mould over all—blue of a dark and dirty tint being indeed the color of police uniforms. A lack of self-assertiveness, of moral stamina, in this population, had let the System take its own course without either the masses, or the plutocracy, displaying any particular energy or determination for or against. The former were not to be aroused quickly by sufferings or by shame; the latter had not sought to force the course of events, or apply drastic measures for which there was no occasion, for the mere pleasure of manifesting their sovereignty. It had been sufficient for the plutocrats to take measures to prevent the inflection of the people's minds through the press, or by agitators; these last had been much persecuted, for fear of their influence with the public, which persecutions the public did not at all resent—the agitators being representatives, not of the public, but of their own particular parties, minorities whose very existence was scarcely perceived.

Latterly, however, there had been signs of an awakening of the people; not, indeed, as yet, to a dangerous extent, being manifested only in sound, and no very revolutionary sound at that. Still, the fact remained that the public had taken to assembling in thousands and tens of thousands at frequent Indignation Meetings, so called; with which the habitual agitators had little, if anything, to do. At which Indignation Meetings, certainly, there appeared more of sorrow than of anger, so that they were by the more seditious agitators contemptuously termed Weeps, and also Prayer Meetings, since they commonly ended in the signing of petitions to Parliament. One of these meetings was just now in progress.

The usual speeches were made, the usual resolutions carried, and the chairman declared the meeting closed. Before the crowd could commence to disperse, however, a young man who had been conspicuous during the proceedings by neither applauding nor voting, came forward and called out that he wished to say something.

"Who is it, do you know?" asked one man of another standing by.

"Yes," answered this one, "It is South, the Anarchist. He will speak a little differently! But the

*) This distinction, commonly called "C. M. G. ship," is as ordinary and means as little in Australia as "colonel" is in Australia at least) reputed to be and means in America.

people! In a few hundred years perhaps—"

He ceased abruptly as South began his address. The crowd closed in eagerly, to listen, for there was something in the voice which now rang out that compelled attention.

"I have waited till now to speak," said South, "because I had no wish to obstruct you in what you came here to do, precisely as I should wish you not to interrupt a meeting that had assembled to hear the principles of Anarchy expounded; when that business was over, if you thought my hearers were misled, the same good feeling that caused you to keep silence before would impel you to try and set them right. In the same way, because my sympathies are with you, I should be false to myself if I did not tell you at once that you are acting the part of criminals against Humanity—that is, against yourselves—which is not what you wish to do.

"There is only one way in which you can free yourselves from plutocracy, and that is to come to your senses! You are not enslaved by a handful of millionaires, but by yourselves! What power but that of the people can hold the people in subjection? It is because you are fools enough to sanction, deep in your own minds, the false rights against the effects of which you are protesting; it is because you acknowledge and respect them, and force each other to respect them, that you are suffering. It is because you are fools enough to believe that you have no right to dwell on the earth, to use the resource of Nature, and those which you and your fathers have built up, or, in short, to live and satisfy your wants—that is why one man has the dwelling places and means of subsistence, the purposes, the destinies, the lives, of thousands of people at his disposal. None of what you contemptuously call the 'lower animals' are so foolish; they are perfectly confident that they themselves are their own right to life and the means and pleasures of living. Slaves! you are less in your own estimation than the very maggots, for you do not conceive it to be their duty to take themselves away at the proprietor's bidding, or to pray—and pay—for his permission to crawl! You do not think it necessary for the maggots to select a few among themselves, and crawl round them begging the gift of rights, as you do to Parliament. If these things have their rights in themselves, and you have not, what are you?"

"Do you not see that the right or wrong of an act depends, not on what the act itself is, but on what its consequences are, or at any rate on what consequences could reasonably have been foreseen for it in the circumstances in which it was performed? That the sole end of our existence is to satisfy our needs, in the largest sense, and that the only true reason for society is that we respect each others' needs and help them to be satisfied, in due measure with our own, because we need each other to be happy; and that whatever works out nearest to this end is right, whatever works out against it is wrong? Does any man really need that another should not be at liberty to use the resources Nature provides—to live his own life in his own way? If so, they are natural enemies to each other, and there can be no question of social right or wrong between them, but only of war. Does any man really need that mankind in general should not be at liberty to use Nature's resources, and to live their own lives in their own way? If so, that man is the enemy of society—the enemy of ordinary humanity. Does any man need the freedom to use what the world contains, for the purpose of satisfying his wants in helpful harmony with his fellow men? Then his fellow men need him to do so, and to be free to do so. But what needs are you favoring? Those of your enemies! What needs are you repudiating and acting against? Your own and each others'!"

"Oh! fools! you have adopted rules, settling what each should do or not do, have or not have, without any regard to the way in which human needs might be affected. You have suffered and forced each other to suffer the gravest hardships, you have given your support to the grossest wrong, when it happened that they answered to your rules, which you call Law and Property. To these blind unreasoning rules, you have confided your destinies; and behold the result! You are ruled off the face of the Earth!"

"Cease your worship of rules, and come to facts! Let every man make his own will free, so that he may shape his own conduct in view of the actual circumstances and the results he wishes for, and not in view of what some rule is or what some ruler says. Come away from rules and go by facts; come away from rulers, and rely on yourselves and one another to do the best for your safety and welfare. In place of all

laws by which to form your own conduct or judge that of others, take as your aim and standard the satisfaction of the needs and purposes of each with equal regard to those of his fellows. To satisfy your own wants, to respect those of other people, and also help actively to satisfy theirs, with no thought of Property or any other rule, but wholly and solely of living Humanity—that is simple enough, easy enough, natural enough, and it is the direct and only way to the best satisfaction of everybody, the harmony of life, and the prosperity of the community.

"If you want to free yourselves—if you want to have lives of your own to lead and a world to lead them in—start doing this at once! Start treating yourselves and each other as free men and women; start treating the land, the buildings, the machines, the goods, as things unowned, existing only to be used, and which it is right for any of you to use for the satisfaction of his needs, without any further consideration except the needs of other people. Refuse to serve the plutocracy—though you will be ready to help them as free men when they abandon their claims as plutocrats and join you as simple comrades. As to money, you know by this time that it is simply a token of ownership, a ticket of leave to consume. You know that it is useless; you can see, if you understand aright, that it is also a badge of slavery, for it can only be required where a man is thought to have no right to use anything that he does not hold a metal or paper ticket of admission to. Treat it the same as you have always treated what you have known to be false money: refuse to do or give anything in exchange for it; and it will cease to have power. Treat the ownership claimed by the plutocracy as you would treat the claim of ownership set up by a lunatic—and the plutocrats will have no power left but that of their own brains and muscles. Liberty is not privilege, neither is it permission; it is will shown in action; it cannot be begged, it must be taken, or rather lived.

"And now," added South, "if anyone wishes to ask me any questions before I go, I will try and answer them briefly."

"I have a question to ask!" said a stern featured man pushing himself forward through the crowd. "Are you aware that you have been inciting the people to violate property, and break law, and defy authority?"

South gave a glance around and then replied—"I hope they are aware of the full meaning of what I have said."

"Do not your remarks imply," proceeded his interlocutor, "that the people should resort to force, to resist lawful authority, and to take possession of what does not lawfully belong to them?"

"My remarks imply," said South, "that the people should do whatever is necessary for their own and each others' welfare. It may not be necessary to use violence against persons; that depends on whether violence is brought against us or not. If it is force to remain in occupation of resources, or to enter upon and use them freely, with due respect to any one else's need of using them for purposes not hostile, then I have certainly advocated and do advocate force. As to lawful authority, and wealth not lawfully belonging to them, I have recommended the people to abolish law, lawfulness, and unlawfulness, and to adopt a better way of thinking and acting."

"You believe in dynamite?" demanded his questioner.

"As to what has become known in the past as the Dynamite Policy," said South, "I have always been against it, for the principal reason that, as I have pointed out, the people collectively are responsible for the absurd and iniquitous condition of things; and the plutocracy, in the ordinary way of business, are simply a minority of the people, relatively profiting by the error of the whole. Where the mere following of the property system ends, and wrongs are committed for which individual plutocrats are personally responsible, it would be equally unjust to avenge their acts upon their class indiscriminately. When the people condemn the system and not merely the effects, then, if it becomes a question of revolutionary warfare, I am not prejudiced for or against any particular kind of ammunition."

He was interrupted by a rough grasp on his shoulder. The next moment he was being carried away by the police. Several of the openers of the meeting, who had remained standing close by, were sharing the same fate. And now an extraordinary thing happened. Instead of passively looking on, as Sydney crowds had been accustomed to do in such circumstances from

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 chanced not to be rescued; of that, in the nature of Law-and-Order, there could be no reasonable doubt. Some were rescued, and might betake themselves to places of safety; but a couple of the rescuers, with South and the convener of the meeting, passed the night in the lock-up cells of the Water Police Station.

SYNOPSIS OF REMAINDER.

Anticipating a public demonstration at the trial of the prisoners, the authorities conceal troops about the court house. A chance incident causing a misapprehension on the part of the officers, they cause the troops to fire on the crowd, who are startled and terrified into valour. A long and desperate battle ensues, the troops at the court house, and all sent to their aid, are destroyed; the government takes flight, and some ambitious Socialists establish themselves as a "benevolent despotism." Naturally, before long, the Anarchists are interdicted, and South, with others, takes refuge in the country, where great changes are taking place spontaneously under the influence of circumstances. The Socialist Government has also to take refuge, being driven out by a new Government set up by the plutocrats. This in turn succumbs, under the influence of the Permanent General Strike. The people make various attempts at constituting popular Socialism, in different places, and gradually a condition of Anarchy is established as the outcome.

(To be continued.)

The Prospects.

WITH this issue we start upon another year's existence of The Firebrand. What the year will bring forth is impossible to predict.

We have made a new departure, by abolishing all subscription price, and leaving it for all who wish to read the paper, or to see it succeed, to contribute as much toward its support as they feel inclined to, and can afford. So far as we know, this is 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 Firebrand, in connection with the announcement of this change. We are not now operating a milk ranch, we tried it and found only a lot of hard work, and early rising, and loss of time and money. That leaves us dependent on the contributions of those who wish to see The Firebrand, and the English propaganda succeed. Were we 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 Firebrand.

We will begin this volume with a circulation of three thousand (3,000), and if each 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 groups, from entertainments etc., and what we will make on the sale of books and pamphlets, would make it possible for us to bring out an eight paged paper, the same size pages as this is now.

We want, too, to gather around us a number of radicals, of both sexes, who wish to actualize, in every day life, as near as possible, the ideal we all are working to attain. In order to do this we would have to work at other occupations, as well as at printing, but the central object, of course, is the publication of The Firebrand. 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, such as would contribute directly to the supply of our immediate wants first, as gardening, fruit raising, grain growing, clothes making, etc. for instance, and other enterprises afterward. Thus we may form a nucleus of a society, or group, of free 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 in that direction. This is only possible by the coming together of those who want to see the propaganda increase and grow more powerful, and who are mentally free from all desire to dominate or control the actions of others, are willing to overlook the peculiarities of others and work with them for the attainment of a common object, on such plans as they can mutually agree to. It is well to make such experiments, even though they fail, for the future society, the society for which all strive, is to rest upon the foundation of mutual agreement, and that necessitates mutual regard for each other.

The outlook for finding listeners to our theories is

good, and it looks to us as though the greatest need at present is willing workers. The advocates of the ballot lack not for workers, but must needs put forth great efforts to get listeners. We, on the other hand, lack not for an audience, but have not help enough to supply the demand for workers, for literature, etc.

For our part we will continue to meet the demand for Anarchist literature and information to the best of our ability, and will also endeavor to create a new and ever increasing demand, and we invite all who have the same object in view to join their forces with ours, either directly or indirectly, in such manner as may seem best to all concerned.

HENRY ADDIS.

Who is Consistent?

"As long as you advocate force, revenge, and brutal resistance, you are not an Anarchist; you are an Authoritarian." This I was told by a comrade, after he had read my note in which I expressed the hope that no mercy will be given the inquisitors of Spain who at present are torturing the Anarchists in the most cruel manner imaginable.

I admit that when I practice force or revenge, I am not acting Anarchistic, but we should not forget that we are not yet living in a state of freedom, and if we should carry out the idea of non-resistance to its logical conclusion we could not consistently speak nor write against the brutalities and outrages in our present state of affairs.

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 speeches, our writings and actions, by which we denounce and defy the authoritarians, are as much or more painful to those who faithfully believe that our present social system is managed by a divine power, as it is to resist with our fist or other weapons. Or is it "respecting other peoples feelings" when we don't take our hat off in a court room? Certainly not, but at the same time those who boast of such acts, tell me that I am not an Anarchist when I advocate violent resistance.

If the disregard for other people's feelings excludes me from being an Anarchist, then, in order to be consistent, I must take my hat off whenever my covered head hurts the feelings of those present; 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.

Again, 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 carry out their ideal at present. They pay rent, pay taxes, sell land and take profit; they eat their regular meals, when there are millions starving, etc., etc. All this violates our principles, consequently—according to their logic—they are not any more an Anarchist than I am. They might answer me that we cannot help violating our principles in this respect and that we have to submit. Well then it is not a question of principles with them neither, but simply a question of expediency and convenience.

Count Leo Tolstoi 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. No! 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; they have tried their best to lead him back into the circle he has left, but he resisted and preferred to live his own life, thereby inflicting pain on the feelings of his relatives. And he proved thereby also, that he "loved" himself more than those that were opposed to his sayings and doings, and he is just doing the very same thing that any violent Anarchist does—pleasing himself.

Anarchists should get rid of that religious notion that certain so-called moral teachings direct the actions of men. As long as there is an incentive to kill, to rob 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 evils, let us seek to bring freedom about, and then not only those who are acquainted with our theories, will act consistently, but even those that never heard anything about it. The condition will prompt them to act anarchistic. 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-resistants; we see where it has lead the followers of Buddha to: to the most degraded enslavement among all nations.

A. I.

Some Figures for Byington.

In No. 36 of The Firebrand Mr. Byington is anxious to know if under Communism all our wants could be satisfied. Prof. Th. Hertzka, 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 Byington'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 lands, and 3,000,000 of pasturage 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: agricultural, architecture, building, flour, sugar, coal, iron, mechanical building, clothing, and chemical productions, need 615,000 employed 11 hours per day, 300 days a year, to satisfy every imaginable want for 22,000,000 inhabitants. These 615,000 laborers are only 12 3 per cent. of the population able to work, excluding all women and all persons under 16 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 36 9 days every year to produce everything needed for the support of the population of Austria. But should the 5,000,000 work all the year,—say 300 days, which they would likely have to do to keep the supply fresh in every department, each one would only work one hour and 22½ minutes per day. But to produce all the luxuries in addition, it would take in round figures 1,000,000 workers, 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 12 minutes per day, working 300 days a year. But should they shift the work in proportion to the remaining 80 per cent. of able bodied workers, all male members, every able bodied worker would work only two hours and 12 minutes per day for only about two months in the whole year. The remaining time could be spent for educational purposes, or in recreation, and the whole nation would have everything a cultured people wants and needs.

"In other words, if every able bodied worker would choose to work every day, 300 days in the year, he would have to work one hour and 22½ minutes to produce all common necessities and 26½ minutes to produce all the luxuries, which makes a total of one hour and forty-eight and nine tenths minutes per day."

Now apply these figures to the United States, where we have more improved machinery and the result will be still more favorable. And when we take into consideration, that machinery in a condition of freedom will be greatly improved, and the waste of labor in producing useless articles be abolished, then there is no ground for any fear left.

J. H.

Jers y City, N. J.

Abundance in a Condition of Freedom.

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

I do not think that this is so. Even if they would not do quite as much as they do now there would be plenty for every man, woman and child. In such a state of Society there would not have to be near as much work done as there is now. And, besides that, now there are not even 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 tramps do not and cannot, because they haven't the opportunity.

Now 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-collec-

tors, and all other men connected with the government. And then we wouldn't need any Comstock to go from one Post Office to another to peek into somebody's letters and see if 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 lock or safe which burglars couldn't enter. There would not have to be half the fences built that now are. We wouldn't need any judges or juries to tell some men that they have committed crime, how long they shall go to the penitentiary, and then we would not have to build any penitentiaries and then have some men stand and watch these "criminals" as they are called. Now don't you see that if all these men would become wealth producers, and the others who now can't produce because they cannot get the opportunity to do so, there would be an abundance for every man, woman and child all over the world? And that there would not have to 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 all the food, clothing, and every other thing they may want. There is no use in fearing about there not being enough to eat and wear in a condition of freedom.

A LITTLE ANARCHIST.*

Reform.

No one can hope to be an effective reformer unless he, or she, is radical. Strong convictions, resulting from deep, long, and careful study of the vital questions of the day, and fearless speech and prompt action are the prime factors of reform. Conservatism is not closely allied to reform.

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 make a bold and decided movement in this matter. I believe, without exception, that every criminal, murderer, highway-man 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 choosing of its progenitors, or relations. The embryonic entity is helpless in regard to the mental and physical conditions which are thrust upon it.

If once this idea could be injected into the brains of the people they 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 are bipeds or quadrupeds. There should be safe and commodious places of restraint—prison schools, in fact, where mental and physical forces could be developed, but in every case I would urge that, by castration, every atrocious criminal should be debarred from propagating his kind.

Social, political and religious life is a mass of rottenness. From long, analytical study, I have come to the firm conviction, that no rapid progress can be made in the way of general reformation of the masses, until we can sweep away the glamour of the so-called Sacred Paper Idol (the Bible) and the superstitions pertaining to the "Joss Houses" (the Churches). The deception, the false-hood, the lust of priest-craft, palsies the power of the reformer and rolls back the tide of evolution. Think of the war of John Wannamaker and Anthony Comstock upon the sending of obscene matter through the U. S. mails, at the same time, being Church Missionaries, they were making sure that every home in the land should be possessed of a Holy Bible.

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

* The "Little Anarchist" is only 14 years old, and as it is his first contribution, the readers will bear this in mind when criticizing.

I have studied it with suffocating disgust, so that I might use it as a battle-axe against the lacious, driveling, perennial evangelists who wander to and fro seeking whom they may devour. Cut the hawser of old Superstitions, and let the people drift with the tide of free thought. Let them think for themselves, and they will soon see who it is that "chastens" and "scourges" them. It is the Golden Calf of Capital. When told to trust in God and He will save them, they will be able to reply that "trusts" and monopolies have brought them to where they are. Teach them that a "Poor Man's Plaster," for a suffering brother's back here, is of more importance than a crown in Heaven when you have no head to put it on.

"The brotherhood of man" for one motto and, one world at a time. "ICONOCLAST."

The brother is as far wrong in the proposition to castrate criminals as the one who proposes hanging. Castration would be a crime—an act of tyranny, or aggression, and would not contribute one iota toward eliminating crime. The idea advanced in my previous articles was that the best remedy for crime was the abolition of the conditions that insite 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 and only worthy of people of the same mind as Wannamaker and Comstock.

H. A.

Clippings and Comments.

PERSEVERANCE is more prevailing than violence; and many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little.—[Plutarch.

THE West Point Academy for training professional loafers, cut-throats, and would-be aristocrats, known as army officers, costs the workmen of the United States \$500,000 per year to support. It is about time that item of government expense was cut off entirely.—[Knights of Labor Journal.

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 £141,000,000 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.—[Sydney 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 wealth 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 the Statistician 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 average 95½ cents, \$1.06½, \$1.16 and \$1.32½ per ton. The wages are, in the United States 79, in England 78, in Canada 84, and in Belgium 85 cents per ton.

It is also a fact that the work of the coal miner 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 foreign co-workers. He has also lots more to pay for the necessities of life, especially in rent, explosives, etc.

The American coal miner is relatively and absolutely worse situated than the coal miner in the other civilized countries of the world.—[Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung.

WE refuse to become excited 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 the number be large than small. It's the principle that is wrong, not the number. When we abolish the whole 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 bad thing than to curtail it to a small amount.

Evidence of the danger of too much of a bad thing is given by the same paper in the following:

Just think of it! A carpenter going to his work was arrested last week as a vag! The man was compelled to go to the expense of getting witnesses and the man he was working for to get him out of jail. When the "deputies" get as desperate as this we are forced to the conclusion that the number of prisoners in the county jail must have run low.

* * *
The following definition of the word "socialism" given by the leading dictionaries of the world will assist in showing the difference between "anarchy," which means no law, and "socialism," which means better law.

You might cut this out and show it to the next upstart lawyer or dry goods box politician that you hear ranting about "socialists and anarchists."
—(Chicago Express.

The editor then gives the definition of Socialism as it appears in the Century Dictionary and others. Why was not the editor honest enough to give the Century Dictionary's definition of Anarchy? It is evident that the editor of the Express is very much in the same mental state as the "upstart lawyers or dry goods box politicians" he refers to. "Oh, consistency, thou art a jewel."

* * *
Express and railroad managers have sent to messengers and train guards orders to shoot, to kill in each and every case where robbery is clearly the intent of any one who interferes with the running of a train, and a cash reward of \$500 is held out for each robber shot, but not killed, and \$1,000 for each who is made to bite the dust.

A general change of shooting irons has been under consideration for some time. The most improved patterns of repeating rifles and revolvers have taken the place of older styles. Cars are also being built with an eye to resistance against the onslaught of train robbers. Floors and sides are reinforced with iron plates and doors made heavy with fastenings.—(Freeman's Labor Journal.

This shows how much more valuable property is considered than life. The authoritarian spirit has grown until now humanitarian ideas are well nigh crushed out. The government makes it impossible for the majority to earn an honest and comfortable living, instills the idea of taking by force, by compulsory taxation, confiscation of goods etc., and then allows its pets to defend the legal privilege to rob by all manner of murderous means. Cruelty, force, murder: these are the three dominating ideas of the powerful and ruling class.

* * *
The Loud bill (H. R. 4566) which passed the House by a large majority in its favor will go to the Senate Jan. 7th. Should the Senate pass it, reform papers and periodicals will have had hard sailing in the United States, directly, (before spring, likely.)

It is a measure ostensibly to reduce postal expenses, but its real object is to exclude the enormous quantity of literature that reformers, actuated by generous impulses to help their fellow men, send to them as sample copies by mail.

The plutocrats don't like this, and naturally they are looking for a means to cripple the ability of reformers to reach the public cheaply, knowing that they are too poor to do it at much expense or higher rate of postage.—(Independent, Vineland, N. J.

But yet our socialistically inclined friends point to the Post Office as the model institution. We may expect much tyranny, in the coming few years, from the postal authorities, as tools of the central authority. We are bitterly and uncompromisingly opposed to the Loud Bill, but recognize that, as Printers' Ink states, it will eventually exclude nothing. It will cause much trouble, engender all manner of disputes, and lead to interminable entanglements, but will not reduce the deficit in the revenues.

* * *
"I'm about to be married," writes a girl to this office, "and instead of receiving congratulations I am aware that I need a defense and take this means of making it. I am 27 years old—old enough to know and do better, but I have no choice. The man is a widower with one child. He liked his first wife better than he does me. I liked a man years ago better than I like him, so we are quits on that. He wants a housekeeper; I want a home. I was brought up to sing a little and play a little, but have no trade. My parents will be glad to see me settled. I would be happier earning 5 or \$6 a week and taking care of myself, but I was not taught how."

"There are thousands of women in my position. Every man who brings up his daughters without starting them with the means of earning a livelihood is responsible for just such a mistake as I shall make next month."—(Atchison-Globe.

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 of supposing that she could make her own living if she knew how. Thousands who do know how, find no opportunity to do so. Every man who brings up a family without striving to better the economic condition is responsible for thousands of such mistakes. H. A.

* * *
OLYMPIA, Jan. 22.—Here we have been in session for eleven days with a populist majority, but the corrupt silver republican candidates of the Senate have so demoralized the Populist organization, 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 people will surely turn us down at the next election, and all the hopes of the reformer must be abandoned.—(P. I., 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 representatives and all forms of government and your hopes will finally 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 electric railways or by a 30-horse power electric motor. The "McKinley" is 9 feet wide, 12 feet high and 37 feet long, and is furnished with a double row of port-holes with six pounders peeping through. If the "advance agent of prosperity" does not arrive and bread riots and industrial disturbances occur, cities can purchase a "McKinley" and feed the hungry upon cold lead diet which, according to the New York Tribune, is very effective."—(Troy Advocate.

What about the fools who will "man" the instrument of death, and those who fire the furnace that creates the electricity to run it? When will the working men get sense enough to refuse to use such diabolical arrangements against their fellow toilers? H. A.

The Letter-Box.

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

F. J. F., Dayton, O.—The plants have been sent and you surely have received them by this time. You are too much in a hurry. Greetings.

J. S. 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 buying a press, but since the subscription is voluntary, we credit every amount to the "Propaganda Fund." Should the income supersede the cost of issuing The Firebrand, then we will try to buy a press, issue pamphlets, etc.

A. B. T., Detroit.—You should have found out by this time, that we are neither trying to reform our circulating medium nor our representative system of society, but that we are aiming to remove both. "Sound money" or "just money" is all rot; money is nothing but a means to enslave the masses, no matter how the "unit of value" may be fixed, and that is why we object very emphatically to any kind of money. And as long as you have some men to represent your interests, just so long will you be misrepresented.

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 Duty" to Bear Children," which is a fine criticism of an effusion of St. George Mivart, but it abounds in typographical errors. There is also a fine poem by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, called "A Brood Mare."

There are many other things of interest in it but limited space prevents a complete review of the magazine. Price 25cts. Order of Our New Humanity Pub. Co. 1304 W. Congress St., Chicago, Ill.

We are in receipt of the February—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 we find the following titles of articles. Mrs. Humphrey, Ward, In Bluebeard's Hall, Should the Poor Marry? William Morris, Mrs. Field's Author—Friends and the Literary Wayside, which contains a half-toned portrait of Carrie Shaw Rice.

Published by Alexander N. De Menil, 7th and Pine Sts. St. Louis, Mo. Price 15c. H. A.

Correspondence.

AN APPEAL.

WHEN I saw the announcement in No. 48 of this Vol. that The Firebrand, when enlarged with the beginning of next Vol., will have to demand from all readers of the paper to pay their subscriptions in advance, I felt very sore at heart, so that Comrade Addis' statements which appeared in No. 49—although giving the very unpleasant intimation that the much desired enlargement of the paper may again have to be postponed—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.

I think that The Firebrand with its "History" and "Experiences" deserves first and foremost attention from all interested in Anarchist propaganda in the United States. If in its first two suckling years it has shown the valor of making headway against hardships and even succeeded in gaining a circulation of wide area and furnishing copies gratis where desired, we should then surely expect its importance to become manifold greater now, when its size will be enlarged. Besides becoming a brighter and more interesting journal, it could then (I would say above all) be made a veritable means of organization. Thus, for instance, disputed or undefined points in principles and methods could be generally and thoroughly discussed in it; events of general import to Anarchism—timely communicated by it; and actions or undertakings of propaganda involving universal or extensive co-operation, successfully ushered in through it. It would also save the expense of Annual Conventions or, at any rate make them more fruitful. And I think it would be a pity if with this advancement in view, The Firebrand should have to abandon its motto "Give drink to the thirsty, free to those who ought have."

Now, according to Comrade Addis' accounts, The Firebrand 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 emaciated the weekly income of the paper. But could now nothing be done to secure the improvement of The Firebrand, and at the same time insure its existence, without sacrificing one of its best features, that of gratuitously offering its pages for reading? And right here let me say that I fear this departure from its methods may endanger the life of The Firebrand, for it is yet doubtful, I think, whether in this country an Anarchist-Communist weekly can subsist and prosper on "regular subscription" alone.

This is what I now wish to offer for consideration—and for execution, if it seems practicable.

If, in all cities and towns where The Firebrand has a considerable circulation, groups were formed for the financial support of The Firebrand, thus I think the sum of ten dollars a week could be easily materialized (requiring on the average 50 cents weekly from each group, should there be twenty of these formed, or more or less, accordingly) and the issuing of the paper placed on a sound footing. And might we not even hope, beginning in this way, to realize in time, the publication of all Anarchist literature (in the English language) in the United States, which all, I think, will agree is a very vital necessity?

And now I am going to set an example, (I do not mean of method but of 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, if possible, to get those readers of The Firebrand here who are interested in its welfare, to be of constant support to it.

* The comrade completely misunderstood my meaning. I had no thought of intimating that subscriptions must be paid in advance. See our present plan of no subscription price. H. A.

I now close, hoping that this appeal will receive prompt attention from all comrades. A. C. B. Philadelphia, Pa.

A WOMAN'S VIEW.

My mite (50 cents in stamps) may be of some help. I really do not know who sends the paper, but I enjoy reading it. True, I do not agree with all the writers, but I do not agree with all our Christian writers. Presumptuous bigotry is quite as unbearable as presumptuous blasphemy. One claims he is a public educator, another asks any who may think differently to state what they believe. I agree with the latter. No one can educate another. We must put into practice what we believe to be right. We get too much advice, too much theory; we want to see results. What we have is a failure, and it is humiliating. To abolish all forms is not desirable. We are so apt to rush into extremes. I am sure there is enough good sense to rule the world wisely if we would seek and use it wisely, but the Christian gathers up her drapery with her faultless nose in the air, if Anarchy is near, while Anarchy scoffs at all the Christians profess.

Women are honored for steadfast love, and degraded for the same cause. The only difference is whether the man is worth loving. I would abolish everything that tends to prostitute woman. Her education up to the last few years has been exactly fitted to make her an easy victim, and men have been encouraged, rather than checked, in taking advantage of this disgraceful method of training. Both have been to blame, and ought to help each other to find a remedy, as each have suffered from it.

We cannot prostitute one half of the people and exalt the other half, especially if the less responsible half be the victims. Lest some one may find space for a sneer let me remind the men that women have not been rulers and law makers.

A Woman.

The fact that women have not been rulers and law makers (they have as queens) has unquestionably saved them from the same disgraceful record that men have made as law makers.

M. A.

WILLING TO HELP.

Find inclosed an old maid's "mite." It is the best I can do now, but will try to send the balance of the subscription before the year expires.

I am glad The Firebrand has the prospect of an addition though its four pages generally contain more sense than most of the other reform papers of twice its size. I hope some competent one will volunteer to take Mr. Addis' place so he will be enabled to go on his lecturing tour.

If old nature had been a little more lenient in the distribution of brains, when my turn came I would have offered my service. It is hard on me to want to do something for humanity and lack both brains and financial means.

RUBY COOPER.

Sentinel Prairie, Mo.

Propaganda Fund.

C. S., Phil., \$5.00. Headquarters, San Francisco, \$3.00. Anna Marcus, \$2.50. Berteaux, Halman, Park, Orcut, Hyland, Pledge, each \$1.00. Krieger, Franklin, Massay, Westrup, Wehmeyer, Cohen, each, 50c. Lieske, Cooper, Uffner, Tannenbaum, Heywood, Truit, each, 25c. Pyburn, 20c. Krieger, 10c.

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Appendix:

- 1. Introduction. 2. The Criticism of a Leader.
3. The Charm and Beauty in Exclusiveness. 4. Woman vs. Man. 4. 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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Poisoning People because they are sick is going out of fashion, in spite of it being the law.

Reason, which is higher than the constitution, demands that they should be cured, not killed. The many one idea methods, mental and physical, that profess to cure and which sometimes relieve pain, is evidence of this. The Philosophical, Scientific, Psychological & Physiological Method cures after these chance methods have failed even to alleviate. This method is all that its name implies, it cures all forms of disease, of either male or female, from whatever cause arising, including the so called incurables. Free trial. Write now. R. G. Lamont, 68 St. James Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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