

# The Firebrand



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

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## The Spider and the Bee.

(A Tale for the Times.)

He had closed his volume of theorie;  
He rose from his restful reverie—  
"The world must be saved by sympathy."

He wandered forth in the summery air  
Not much he knew of the stress of care  
And nothing at all of the thing—Despair.

Pain was "pain," and four letters long;  
And "force" five letters and always wrong;  
"Sympathy" said so 'twixt song and song.

In a rose-bush a spider's net spied he,  
So neat, so clever, so orderlie;  
And, lo! in its meshes a honey bee.

The spider was large and her web was tough;  
She watched till the bee had struggled enough  
Before it was worth her while to be rough.

But a hole in her institution, you see,  
Must never be made by struggles of bee;  
Oh, preposterous thought! Oh, catastrophe!

So she rushed, and she clutched, and she bit, and  
she wove,  
As spiders will weave whose ancestors thrive:  
And vainly the bee in its agony strove.

And he who stood by felt his sympathy  
Enlisted for spider, enlisted for bee—  
"I wish you may both—survive (?)!" said he.

O grand old Nature! who gives reward,  
And honey to busy bees doth afford,  
And honey and bee to the spider's hoard.

Oh, poor bee! buzzing in vain, in vain,  
I sympathise, too, in your arduous strain!  
May bees of the future escape such pain!

To free you by Force were a serious wrong,  
For spiders have lived in that way so long  
They "work" at their nets, so neat, so strong.

Besides, Coercion!—so wicked, you see!—  
To compel that fat spider to set you free  
Were "in principle" evil, for you and for me.

Be sure I am sorry; perhaps some day  
Spiders will cease to subsist on prey,  
Or honey bees fly no more in their way.

So the sun went down, and the spider fed  
On the agonised honey bee not yet dead;  
And sympathy sighed, and went home to bed.

What of the tale? Well, it isn't exact;  
Yet it hints at an ugly and pitiful fact.  
"Philosophy" severing language from fact—

Sympathy's name is a shibboleth spoken;  
Dreams of web-spinners be speedily broken!—  
This story one tiny superfluous token.

—[L. S. Bevington.]

## Propagandising.

WHEN we look around us and see the appalling ignorance of the vast majority of fellow humans, and the tremendous hold on the public mind that popular superstitions and errors have, one is apt to ask himself or herself, is the "game worth the candle?" Is not the task all out of proportion to the results which may reasonably be hoped for? That many earnest workers have asked themselves this question and answered it against further work of propaganda is shown by their dropping out of the ranks and becoming disconnected with all propaganda efforts.

If we but look at one side of the question, taking into account the forces at work against us, and comparing that to what influence we can exert, person-

ally, then we have reason to become discouraged and give up the fight, unless possessed of an immense amount of egoism and hopefulness, a combination of which can pit one person against every other person in the world with perfect assurance of success. Very few persons, however, are possessed of such a mental make up, so they cannot look at the work to be done and then at their own powers alone without becoming pessimistic, as some erstwhile propagandists who having tried their strength against the dead weight of inertia, which prevents any rapid changes, and having failed to make the impression they hoped for, have gone and grown pessimistic and indifferent.

Some hasten to have a realization of their hopes, and grow eager in their work, and expectant. Days glide by; weeks and months slip away and they grow more and more in a hurry to see something happen; they cannot wait. They know that in their immediate vicinity there is a vast majority who have never professed to agree with them, but they are quite confident that lots of them, large numbers who they themselves don't suspect, are ready and anxious for the change, for a sudden and sweeping change, and they look with the utmost confidence to the other quarters of the globe for an immediate and radical movement, but their zeal and their sanguine disposition combine to give them too roseate a view of affairs, and the weary years drag by and the expected changes don't come. Legislatures meet and act more foolish than ever, and yet nothing happens, and their enthusiasm oozes out and they drop out of the work discouraged and disgusted. Others become less enthusiastic, and their vision clears, and they work on not looking for an immediate realization of their dreams of peace, prosperity and freedom, but sanguine as ever that by and by it will be realized.

When viewing conditions from a standpoint of inquisitiveness, and taking in, as nearly as possible all the factors, both for and against, that wield an influence in the remodeling of society, all these views are easily discerned, and it is easily seen why some persons should take such views, and act upon them, but, owing to the partial survey of the field of action of those who hold these views, they cannot see and understand the mental attitude of the one holding as different a view of the question as a pessimist does from that of an optimist. But to one who takes a comprehensive view of the situation, the attitude of the optimist and that of the pessimist are both explicable, and an understanding of conditions gained that prevents the errors into which both the pessimist and the optimist have fallen. And it is quite necessary that these errors be avoided if the work of propaganda is to be carried on successfully.

The work of Anarchist propaganda is a herculean task, to all who undertake it, and it is well enough for propagandists to realize this fact, for if they do, they will not expect too much all at once. It is immense, and the effort of one person isolated from all others would have but little effect.

Equal efforts by a multitude would quickly make the work effective. No one works absolutely alone, but it is useless to expect to unite a multitude of workers, for they are scattered all over the world, and are so conditioned that knowledge of each other, and an understanding of the peculiar conditions under which the others labor, and their opportunity to work in any given way, thus precluding any possibility of united and uniform work. Taking all these considerations into account it goes without further question that the methods of action and states of mind before described, are not securely based, and that some foundation other than personal desire and optimistic enthusiasm, is essential to an abiding faith in the ultimate success of our efforts.

To correctly estimate the effect of our propaganda work we must not only look for the results, but must also compare our work, and the expected results with the processes of destruction and reconstruction going on in nature all around us. We see that social conditions and governmental powers depend largely upon the mental state of the persons living in these conditions. We conclude then that it is very essential that the opinions of those who differ with us must by some means be changed. We see that it is a big job, as we have a thousand editors, pulpit pounders and teachers endeavoring to inculcate and perpetuate present notions and beliefs. But the very fact that so many are required to foster beliefs that we are all taught from childhood betrays their inherent weakness, so we have no reason to despair of finally overcoming them. So far as overwhelming numbers are concerned, that is not an insurmountable barrier; any more than is the immense number of trees in a forest to be cleared. The woodsman chops down one tree at a time, and tree by tree the forest falls. We lead one poor soul to the light and immediately begin work on another. From among the converts some propagandists are sure to develop, and they in turn begin to clear away the prejudices that stand in the way of a realization of freedom. It is as if some of the trees of the forest became axmen and began felling other trees.

So far as unity of action is concerned, those who deem it necessary to have conformity in order to have unity have ever tried to organize all the adherents of their school of thought into a "compact body," hoping thereby to accomplish uniformity of methods, believing that to be the only method of securing unity of action. As before stated this is impracticable and undesirable, as well as unnecessary. When any number of persons are working for the same end, hoping for exactly the same results, they are working unitedly, and their work will be influenced largely by the conditions under which they labor. If a new region is being brought under cultivation those living on the plains will "prairie break," while those who settle in the woods will "clear land," and the dwellers in the arid strips will construct irrigation ditches, but the result of it all will be the turning of the wilderness into a cultivated area. Just so

in the work of propaganda. We cannot all work at the same particular propagandistic undertaking, but each one can do his or her part of the work according to conditions by which they are surrounded. Because we are scattered is no reason to be discouraged or to slack our efforts.

Most of the great changes in the organic and inorganic world have come about bit by bit. Worlds have been formed by the slow accumulation of cosmic dust. The steady dripping of water will wear away the hardest stone, and a few cheese mites though placed at opposite sides of the largest cheese will in time destroy it. Thus in propaganda we know that while we are doing a little in our locality some one else is doing a little in theirs to destroy superstitious reverence for the government, and if we destroy it in the minds of a few, and some of them begin the work of destroying it in the minds of others, it is only a question of time until we will have destroyed it all. Little by little old notions give way and if the propagandist is ever ready to present the new and beautiful ideal of Anarchy there is no question as to the final outcome.

Gradually, as the prejudice against our theories gives way practical experiments can be made, and the experience gained thereby will be very valuable in throwing light upon reconstructive efforts as greater freedom from old ideas is gained. Viewing the working of propaganda in this light there is no reason to despair, to cease or slacken our efforts, nor yet to expect any sudden or immediate realization of our ideal. Little by little we can destroy the mental barriers to liberty, and little by little institute conditions more in conformity to our wishes. Some day the upholders of government will find themselves unable to longer force their fetich upon others and the thing will go out of existence. Its dying days will undoubtedly be marked by violent and spasmodic efforts to maintain its existence, but as surely as the propaganda of Anarchy has grown and spread until its theories are understood generally, just so surely will its end come, no matter how much violence it may exercise in its effort to perpetuate itself.

On with the propaganda, no matter how insignificant our efforts may seem. Every effort adds that much to the total, and in the end our aim is accomplished.

HENRY ADDIS.

### Things and Thoughts.

LABOR UNIONS have been howling for anti-trust laws and denouncing class legislation all in one time and two motions. But having got their anti-trust laws they now eagerly seek some one to "help them let go." The Cleveland Central Labor Union recently passed a resolution with a "whereas" which stated that "fool legislatures are grinding out laws making combination in the industrial field illegal," etc. They have also discovered that such laws "mean to interfere with combination, which is every American citizen's right, be he capitalist or laborer."

Yes, and the fact also applies to non-citizens. I will go further, and say that this is true of ALL laws.

AND yet law, in and of itself, like money, is useless and harmless. The power of both money and law—equally created by fiat—is that these fiats are backed up by force and fraud. Being wrong in intent they could not, of themselves, last for a day if the force behind them were to fail—and were the people freed from reverence for rotten custom. For law is the expression of the bully. It is, like a lie, irresponsible, not to blame for its existence; the fault lies with the liar and the lawmaker, who may make of both law and lie instruments of evil. A law that could not be enforced could not hurt a fly.

I seem to have brushed comrade Addis' fur the wrong way in insisting that the plutocrats and authoritarians were making more Anarchists than are the Anarchists themselves. But Addis, in replying, makes two serious mistakes. First, in assuming that I assert that the Nebraska man, Marsh, is an anarchist in embryo. I do not. I am well aware the bulk of the Populists and Socialists(?) are not all Anarchists, but authoritarians. What I do insist is that

those who are insipient Anarchists have, for the most part, been impelled toward Anarchy by plutocracy and authority. Addis then overlooks the fact that though Marsh has not been made an Anarchist by either plutocracy or authority, neither has Addis and The Firebrand made an Anarchist of him. So Addis scores nothing against me on that, and I will cheerfully allow him to put it that the forces I mentioned "only prepare the soil." A close reading of the paragraph he criticised will show that I practically said the same, as I stated the seeds planted needed cultivating by Anarchists. And I say that until the soil is prepared and seeds are planted no amount of cultivating will produce a crop. That was what ailed Marsh. He has not been squeezed enough by Shylock yet. Addis cultivated him without planting seeds or tilling the soil beforehand. \*

"THE enactment of the Ten Commandments into statute law appears to one of the profound legislators of Kansas to be a pressing need of these degenerate days. Accordingly, in apparent good faith, he has drawn up a curious bill which begins as follows:

"Be it enacted by the legislature of the state of Kansas—

"Section 1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

"Section 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," etc.

Thus the law runs on until the Decalogue is finished, and then come the penalties:

For having another god, fine, \$1,000.

For making a graven image, one year in the penitentiary and a fine of \$1,000.

For taking the name of the Lord in vain and for not observing the Sabbath day, fine, \$500.

For not honoring father and mother, six months in the penitentiary and a fine of \$500.

For committing murder, hangin g-by the neck until dead.

For adultery, penitentiary for life.

For stealing, fine or imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

For bearing false witness, imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

For coveting thy neighbor's house, his wife, his servant, his maid, or his ass, fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

The idea of religion that seems to have suggested this law is not, we grieve to say, altogether new, tho we supposed it was by this time obsolete. History is full of cases where the adherents of a religion have supposed that the proper thing to do with those whose religious notions were different was to club them over the head, or hang them, or burn them. Mohammed and his followers are not the only ones who have thought that the right way to open a man's heart to the light was with the edge of a sword. This is evidently the philosophy of the Kansas legislator. If a man has any other god, fine him \$1,000 and make him thereby change to the right God. If he covets his neighbor's blessings, put him in jail and thereby fill his heart with goodness. This Kansas man has plenty of precedents in history, and if he makes a speech for his bill can quote in it some impressive authorities, Protestant, Catholic and Mohammedan. Thank the Lord the world has grown so far out of that miserable old condition that a man who proposes even a mild form of the method that bishops and chief justices and sovereigns used to consider necessary, is looked upon as a freak—which he is, if he is not a first-class humorist."

The above apparently liberal-minded article was taken from the New York Voice, a prohibition organ. You see its liberality stops with a jerk when another man's right to decide whether to take root beer or bock comes up for discussion. Queer critics of intolerance. Something like the Anarchists(?) who oppose free thought and free love.

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

### Variety.—A Woman's View.

I have long intended to respond to the request to write a few lines in defense of variety in the sexual relations, but have put it off from time to time, until reading "Athenia's" article on that subject, which has quickened the impulse, and I will wait no longer. It is strange that men and women who boast of being free from religious superstition, cling so tenaciously to this one remaining relic of a barbarous religious code.

\* The Dreamer must have dreamt that I had "cultivated" Marsh as the note referred to shows that Marsh addressed his brother, who had sent him a copy of The Firebrand.

They say to the Christian who criticises their peculiar unbelief, "Oh! we do not accept your superstitions, but we are just as moral as you are." Granted, we are. Yes and more so. But what constitutes true morality? We do not "bear false witness against our neighbor." We do not steal. We do not maliciously injure any one. We do not cheat in bargains. We do not gossip to the injury of our neighbors. We pay our debts just as far as we possibly can. All these pertain to morality. But the religionist ignores all these virtues, all this essence of true morality, and asks, "But what about your sexual relations? You may be exemplary in all else, but if you transgress our holy (?) laws regarding sex, you are the vilest of the vile. You are more immoral than he who robs, lies, cheats, or even murders. The robber or murderer may repent, or there may have been mitigating circumstances, and society may overlook his crimes, but a sexual outcast can never be restored to respectability. It would be encouraging 'sin' if we condoned such offences." My answer is: You have nothing whatever to do with my sexual relations, so long as I do not infringe your rights. If I am an honest, conscientious neighbor; if I practice the Golden Rule as far as practicable, you have no more right to meddle with my sexual affairs, than you have with my private business matters, or my personal habits in eating or dressing. You have no more right to say with whom I shall, or shall not consort, than you have to say what brand of flour I shall purchase, or what style of dress I shall wear. That is a purely personal matter and concerns no one but the persons immediately interested. It is none of society's business whether my child belongs to Tom, Dick, or Harry. That is my affair, and that of the one who assists me in the support of the child, provided I need such help. If I do not, then it is solely my own affair.

It is being demonstrated, daily, that there is a natural law which impels both men and women to disregard this law of "God and Grundy" which binds a woman to one man for a lifetime. And so-called "Freethinkers" should be the first to investigate all these evidences of humanity's needs, and see whether or not there are scientific reasons for these transgressions of social laws. They, who have discarded the theory of total depravity, should not attribute these outbreaks to "pure cussedness."

To the good christian, their religious views are as shocking as the freeloader's are to them. Why not make a study of the scientific principles of sexology, with all its different phases of temperament, magnetization etc., and resolve to stand by the truth, no matter where it leads. Truth cannot err. If it can be demonstrated, scientifically (and it can!) that variety in sex intercourse is as necessary to the health and happiness of the race, as variety in food, work, or amusements, then the honest freethinker must revise his code of morals to fit the newer education, for his aim is to secure the good of humanity here and now. We do not expect anything better of the christian, for, at his first step in advance he "bumps up against" a "thus saith the Lord," and what are humanity's needs to him in comparison to the saving of his own little soul? One who can consent to become a full-feathered angel and twang a harp in the New Jerusalem while his father, mother, brother, sister, or child roasts in Hades cannot be expected to take any risks for the sake of the race. But we have a right to expect more consistent consideration of the question on the part of the freethinker. Not long ago, the man who indulged in profanity was considered immoral. In fact he is still so considered by good christians. But free thinkers know that, while such language may denote lack of refinement, it has nothing to do with morals. It is singular that they cannot see that violating the seventh commandment, if impelled to do so by natural law is no more an immoral act than violating the second. And honest investigation, with a desire to establish the truth, will show that there is no natural law that demands monogamy, any more than there is a natural law that makes it wrong to eat several different kinds of food, or to enjoy several different varieties of games, or styles of dress. If we go to a party and select one partner for the dance and stick to that one the whole evening we are laughed at. If we learn one song and sing it on every occasion we bore our friends, and they wonder at our taste. If we go to see a certain play every time that particular troupe visits our town, and refuse to see any other, our friends will think us foolish, bigoted etc. They deplore our want of sense and regret that our lives are so narrow. They beg us to go once, at least, to see their favorite play, then if



we don't like it we need not go again. But they know we are not competent to judge of a play if we have never seen any other. Now, why should we be so exclusively constant to one sexmate regardless of every natural law, while admitting the benefits, and necessity of variety in everything else? Just how much variety, or just what form it will take must depend on individual temperament and environment. What we need is liberty to investigate, to experiment if we so desire, in order to arrive at the exact status of our real needs. And it is my honest opinion that under freedom there would be less variety in full sex union practiced, than there is with so many prohibitory laws that do not prohibit. And one great gain would be the lessening of the number of hypocrites who must now resort to every device to escape the condemnation they would receive from society, were their real lives laid bare.

STELLA STARRBRIGHT.

### Love and Passive Resistance Again.

In The Firebrand of April 11, comrade A. I. assumes to criticize my article in the previous number where I say, "What right have I to cause pain to any one by thought or action?" I may have been careless in the use of terms to express my thoughts in what I have written, presuming too much upon the understanding of my readers.—Language is so imperfect a medium through which to communicate thought that diversities of opinion are prevalent even among comrades aiming at the same great end—freedom. How many attach the same meaning to the terms Communism, Socialism, or even Anarchy—even among Anarchists? I have learned to be tolerant, charitable and void of acrimony towards others whose language, if culled by a captious critic, might be construed to differ from me.

I repeat, "What right have I to cause pain to any one by thought or action?" Thoughts may be things. I may injure a person by thinking evil of him or by hating him. Considering that had I been organized, educated and environed just as any other person, I should have thought and acted just as he did and I would be very inconsistent to intentionally cause pain to him; just as inconsistent as the man who wants to govern others, but complains if his freedom is restricted.

For the reason that I deny the right to hate another, I the more persuade by word and pen. As I have said, the more faith people have in physical force to rid the world of evil, the less they exercise reason, persuasion and love. I am persuaded that under Anarchy moral force would be ten times as powerful as now.

If I incidentally pain some one's mind by exercising my natural right to think and express my thoughts, when I infringe not the equal freedom of any one else, it is not intentional, and I am doing to others as I would have others do to me. I am tolerant and hospitable to strange thoughts as well as strange persons. (1)

A. I. says he never observed that evils spring up in the place of evils abolished by force. The idea was not original with me, but I have observed it ever since I read in Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics." The "onus probandi" (the burden of proving) rests with A. I. to show a single instance where good came by force—evil. It is contrary to nature. To say that good can come of force is to acknowledge just what authoritarians claim. It is questionable whether our forefathers in their revolutionary struggles, notwithstanding they acted on the defensive, did any permanent good. England and her provinces are as free as we are so far as government is concerned. The people of her provinces are a little freer for the reason that more free land is accessible. The Negroes were freed from chattel slavery but plunged into a greater slavery to the landlord, the capitalist and to government. (2)

Intemperance is mitigated by force of law, but perjury, stealth and litigations are more frequent because of the law. A. I. asks me to "point out where and when slaves got rid of their chains through love and peaceful means." I do not know that love has ever been tried by slaves, but slavery was abolished in Hayti, Brazil, and some other countries without force and serfdom in Russia was abolished without force, but by the natural evolution of the sentiment of freedom. (3) I would ask A. I. to point out where and when slaves got their freedom through force? (4) As an Anarchist I look for no redemption from government except through evolution by education as one of the factors. The sooner we dissipate the false impression that Anarchists propose to exercise physical force to overthrow government, the more susceptible will

the peoples minds be to the great truth of Anarchy. (5)

A. I. leaves the impression that he favors at some time a forceful resistance to government. Passive resistance to government is admissible, but forceful never. (6) J. C. BARNES.

1. Be consistent and logical, comrade, and the English language will be quite sufficient to be understood. First you deny the right to cause pain to anybody, making no proviso, and then you make a proviso by saying if you do cause pain it is not intentional, as you only exercise your "natural right" and "infringe not the equal freedom of others." When you attack the church or our present institutions you are well aware that it will cause pain to a sincere church-member or upholder of our government, consequently you do so intentionally and are inconsistent. On the other hand, when certain individuals or society infringe my freedom and I happen to have enough spirit of independence to throw those that infringe my freedom "overboard" by force, if they would not let me have freedom otherwise, I simply "exercise my natural right," and "I am doing to others as I would others should do to me." I, too, have learned to be tolerant towards others and understand why they act as they do, but that does not imply that I most not hate the deeds, or that I must not resist by all means when they try to inflict cruelties upon me. I can understand why a tiger would choose to take me for his dinner, but I would hate his choice and not hesitate a moment to resist by force. Whenever the oppressed have used force they acted in self-defense—exercised their "natural right."

2. I have never claimed that "good could come from force," but I do claim—most emphatically—that the oppressed will free themselves through force as soon as they recognize their natural right. I still insist on my statement in my comment, that the slaves did not fail to free themselves because they used force, but because they were too modest in their demands, being ignorant of their "natural right." Certainly there is as much or more liberty in England than there is in America, but how much blood has there been shed to gain even that much? But the people in its provinces are more loyal than are the people at home. Comrade Andrews in Australia was imprisoned for printing pamphlets and Canada is afraid even of the harmless Truth Seeker.

3. In Brazil chattel slavery was not abolished "by the natural evolution of the sentiment of freedom;" it was purely a matter of commercialism. The slaveholders could not compete anymore with those that hired Italians and this fact strengthened the "sentiment of freedom" very rapidly. On the other hand, the death-rate among the cruel and tyrannical masters had become so great that the more prudent considered it advisable to get rid of that kind of quiet passive resistance. Don Pedro was simply urged by the slaveholders themselves to issue a proclamation for the reasons given above. But it is still worse to say that Russia has abolished serfdom by peaceful means. O sacred simplicity! Does Comrade Barnes know how many young and noble men there were hanged and sent to Siberia for advocating the liberation of the slaves? The serfs rebelled and rioted here and there, but such acts of despair were suppressed by the government in such cruel manner that the serfs thought it prudent to resist in a more quiet but more effective way. They would visit their masters at nights—being disguised—and tell them to treat their subjects more human, etc. If such warnings had not the desired effect, Mr. So and So would be found in the morning with his feet and hands cut off, his abdomen slit, or castrated. Such deeds became so universal that Alexander II. was urged by the serfholders to liberate the serfs.

4. The masses have never fought for complete freedom, as far as I know, consequently have not attained it. But in many instances they got what they demanded. That the changes which revolutions brought about had not the looked for results is due to the fact that the cause of the evils was never removed.

5. I, too, look for redemption through evolution, but the course of evolution is by no means always peaceful, nor is it always progressive. For instance, if the sentiment of not resisting invasion by force

should become more or less universal, we would soon be in the same condition as the people in India.

6. I do not favor forceful resistance to government at some time, but I like to see it practised all the time rather than to see people endure everything with a spirit of submissiveness and resignation, void of all sane hopes and manhood. What divinity is there invented anew to bring the rebellious slaves to time with and to suppress even the last spark of the spirit of independence? Is there again a heaven ready for us after we have patiently endured all the tortures and miseries forced upon us? What absurdity! Nobody will deny the beast the right to defend itself, but man is denied the right. It is a very easy matter to advocate passive resistance at a full table, in a comfortable room and in a tolerable dress, and then resistlessly complying with all the demands of the government. But what about those who have nothing but starvation, misery and degradation before them? Shall they patiently wait for another Jesus Christ, or till the secure take a notion to bring them relief by passive resistance? I fear the relief would never come.

True, Anarchism does not mean force, but neither does it mean submission—it means freedom. But Comrade Barnes seems to forget that we do not live under Anarchy yet. A. I.

### Correspondence.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO.

As my Tacoma friends are anxious to know of my doings in the western metropolis I feel obliged to them and give them a small sketch of what I see in my surroundings. My time is very limited, as it is just now the busy season in my trade, and beside this I have also to pay some attention to my lady companions which is harder, of course, than to take care of myself, but I suppose, that I will be settled down soon. Our comrades have a regular meeting place for propaganda which is situated in the middle of the Italian and French part of the city, and is visited by quite a good lot of determined men and women. Mrs. Gaffe is a very forcible and logical speaker, especially in French and Italian, but also in English. She is well received and appreciated. Comrade Jerovich is a man of devotion to destruction of wrong and reconstruction of right; he is of a juvenile vigor in spite of his advanced age. I have spoken regularly every Saturday night since I came here, and also went, on an invitation, to the State Socialist temple. It seemed that I got the right to speak only for five minutes, and as I spoke six and a half, as later on some friendly socialist remarked, the chairman give the order to his sergeants at arms, or better, "gendarmes," and six of them jumped to push me out of the temple. The trouble is they are not through with me yet. The unemployed got quite noisy here lately, but the masters threw a bone to gnaw, and so they get a chance to work on the boulevard, to earn enough to pay for "soup". Our old comrade and tireless struggler for truth and justice Mrs. Mary E. Squire, is also here. She is now dreaming day and night how to start in the Golden Gate city another periodical of The Firebrand colors.

The Anarchist Headquarters at comrade Wenzel's deserve well the above name, as it is the center of friendship, especially of the German speaking comrades. It is a true home of every sincere and honest man who is struggling for the regeneration of human society in its manifold arrangements. A. KLEMENCIC.

### The Letter-Box.

J. H., San Francisco, Calif.—Letter and money received Thanks for your encouraging words.

E. L., Harrisburg, Ore.—The book has been sent. Dont forget to come and see us if you should come to Portland.

E. G., Dundee, Ore.—Criticisms are always welcome, no matter how hard the blows may be. Thunder and lightning purify the atmosphere.

A. S., New York.—The 50 cents are now credited in the book to Slapak, but it was too late for the "Propaganda Fund." I hope this statement will be sufficient.

E. M., Baltimore.—We cant tell where "The Speech of Ravachol before the Court" could be had. Your request may urge some of our readers to send us the speech for reprint. The address of "Der Sozialist" is: Wilhelm Spohr, Frankfurter Allee 105, Hof I, Berlin, O., Germany.

E. G. A., Fall River, Mass.—We have sent you the paper and in "The Firebrand Library" you will find the pamphlets and books we have on hand at present. Anarchists have neither fees nor a platform. Their aim is complete freedom, and if you are striving for the same end, you will help the propagand along as you see fit. State in what language you would like to read an Anarchist periodical and we will give you the address.

# THE FIREBRAND

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

## I will do What I Can.

Who takes for his motto "I'll do what I can,"  
 Shall better the world as he goes down life's hill,  
 The willing young heart makes the capable man.  
 And who does what he can oft can do what he will.

There's strength in the impulse to help things along,  
 And force undreamed of, will come to the aid  
 Of one who, though weak, yet believes he is strong,  
 And offers himself to the task, unafraid.

"I'll do what I can" is a challenge to fate,  
 And fate must succumb, when it's put to the test;  
 A heart that is willing to labor and wait  
 In its tussle with life ever comes out the best.

It puts the blue imps of depression to rout,  
 And makes many difficult problems seem plain,  
 It mounts over obstacles, dissipates doubt,  
 And unravels kinks in life's curious chain.

"I'll do what I can" keeps the progress machine  
 In good working order as the centuries roll,  
 And civilization would perish, I ween,  
 Were not those words written on many a soul.

They fell the great forests, they furrow the soil,  
 They seek new inventions to benefit man,  
 They fear no exertions, make pastimes of toil,  
 Oh, great is earth's debt to "I'll do what I can."  
 —(Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

## "The Psychology of Anarchist Conspiracies."

In a recent number of the Westminster Review appeared an article under the above title, by Dr. Olindo Malagodo, and reproduced in the March number of "Self Culture," to which I take the pleasure of replying. It may be argued that such slanderous and virtuperative articles, which are bound to appear from time to time, are best left unnoticed and unanswered, were it not that it would give them a convincing sort of attitude, and would make their authors feel a malicious sense of satisfaction at their being unchanged and unopposed in their work of malefaction.

The author begins by intending to show some definite and positive psychological principles upon which he may base the "menacing and destructive" work of the Anarchists, and to which he can point as the cause for "Anarchist Conspiracies," and he does that by making the startling and false statement that there is an "especial psychology peculiar to these curious Anarchist associations, which," he says, "take root here and there like destructive parasites in the interstices of society." We may note that this author ascribes himself to the school of Criminal Sociology, where, he says, "during that quick, serpent-like gliding of Anarchy through France and Italy," he studied this subject in company with Lombroso, Ferri, Ferrero, and others. This will give us a clew to the secret motives of the author, and his incentive for this odious invective against a large and rapidly growing faction of intelligent and earnest social reformers. Were I at liberty to amend the name of the above school I would simply reverse the terms and make it read, School of Sociology Criminals, which would be more suggestive of the aims and purposes of its students. These men, if men they may be called, belong to the highest and most virulent class of criminals, who condemn a large number of self-sacrificing people, and bring down upon them the bane of persecution, merely because they earn their subsistence thereby. They corrupt science, avoid the truth, distort facts, and fabricate evidence. They invent theories of their own, propound new laws and make scientific principles come up to their own methods of thinking, and all for the purpose of framing certain pernicious ideas and opinions relative to Anarchists, their "organizations and conspiracies," so that the latter may still be persecuted and exterminated by the government and its faithful agents. These men are far worse than the ordinary criminal, for the latter only commits one crime, may it be theft or murder, against one or two individuals and quite as much against his own conscience and good-will, which he very often repents and feels deep contrition for, whereas the former commits crimes against a large number of individuals by con-

stantly decrying and misrepresenting them, and ever picturing them before the public as murderers, assassins, and conspirators. Those men have no conscience; they are not troubled by any sense of righteousness; their guilt never torments them and they forge the chains for the innovators and revolutionists with a deep sense of satisfaction, at the same time exciting class hatred to the highest pitch, feeling assured that it is a good paying business and that it will in time advance them to a respectable governmental position,—either state detective or spy.

"From the observations," continues Malagodo, "which I then gathered and which were afterwards confirmed by other facts collected by friends in different places, it was possible to draw some original and interesting deductions, which I now briefly epitomize. If one had to judge the danger of these conspiracies by their aims," he says, "to measure the danger threatened to society according to the plans and intentions of the conspirators, society would not merely occasionally awaken in a paroxysm of terror. Anarchic fear would become a chronic disease, because those vast projects of brutal and universal destruction, revealed by the police now and then in some specific case, are of very common growth in the Anarchic world and of unlimited fecundity. One of the most prominent characteristics in the psychology of the Anarchists, as well as in that of the conspirator in general, is the extraordinary predominance of the visionary imagination over all other faculties, including that of critical judgement and of reasoning."

What a grand idea! How truly original! "Hyper-trophy of the imaginative faculty," which, he says he, has observed in all the Anarchists with whom he came in contact. The one of the causes which "produce in the midst of our orderly social system the Anarchist type of individual." What wonderful originality! Who would ever have thought of such an excellent idea? Truly it takes a student of the school of Sociology Criminals to discover such great truths as these. No one else could ever have stumbled upon such living facts, and we may thank the starry heavens that Dr. Malagodo's parents chanced to meet some time ago, and gave to the world such a light of criminal Sociology; else how would the world have fared without such beneficent discoveries as these? He fairly spills light by the bushel, and dazzles our eyes with the brilliant effulgence as he tells us that "in these Anarchic assemblages reciprocal excitation exercises an extraordinary influence, and leads the whole group to [high] grades of visionary intoxication, and paroxysms of imagination." And he further shows his high degree of intelligence and disinterestedness by making the gentlemanly statement that "from the gatherings of these generally half-mad, half-imbecile, half-criminal individuals, from obscure clubs met for drinking and chatting in suburban public-houses, there arises a continuous misty cloud of terribly grandiose plots against society, grotesquely impracticable, perhaps, but besides which the most sensational revelations of the police seem inspired."

The question will probably occur to every thinking person,—why do not the police ever discover the less inspired plots, or these terrible huge projects of which the author speaks? In the author's very statement the negation is implied; to wit, the most sensational revelations of the police are insipid, or insignificant, in comparison with the others of which the author speaks,—which have never been discovered or revealed. Furthermore let us note, that the author makes an indefinite provision for other Anarchist crimes and plots always to be on top of those that have been, or are being discovered,—for "the most sensational revelations of the police seem insipid" besides the others. The author's own words will condemn him, and his breach in logic will point out his breach of character,—unless indeed we want to accept his "yarn" about some Anarchist plots in Italy, for the purpose of contaminating the drinking-water of several towns with the typhoid and cholera bacilli, of which, he says, he was well informed but the police knew nothing about.

But all this glibness of plots and conspiracies is a gigantic lie, and nowhere among Anarchist circles are they ever thought of or heard of. It is simply the invention of rogues and worthless rascals who make their living by preying on others, and who wish to show to the government and society that there is a constant need for their services, and that they have to be well paid in order to keep the imaginary murderers from murdering and the assassins from assassinating. This ignominious lie and fraud is exemplified by the

late Fenian-Nihilist-Anarchist conspiracy and combine that was got up and landed by some sensational newspapers of London, but which soon proved too gigantic an invention for the public's credulity, and it fell through—a complete failure. In the year 1887, eight Anarchists, five of whom are now martyrs for the cause, were charged with conspiracy and tried in the courts of Chicago. Everything possible was done in order to convict them, but despite all unfair and fraudulent proceedings; despite the packing of the jury, bribing of witnesses, and false evidence; despite the open bias of Judge Gary, and the virulent prejudice of State's attorney Grinnell; despite the venomous hatred of the police and the wild fervor of the excited and spurred mob—the People—; despite the despicable denunciation and false charges of the press, these noble men were not and could not have been convicted of conspiracy. Their speeches were always public, their writings open and free. All that was charged against them was the propagation of their ideas through print and speech, but this was always public, always open for inspection and criticism, and no sane person could ever call this conspiring. No secret meetings, no secret writings or any private arrangements between these men were even attempted to be proven by the prosecuting attorneys, and secrecy is always indispensable to conspiracy. And the closing words of Judge Gary, whose hands will forever remain stained with innocent blood, were such as do not convey any idea of conviction, per se, as he said that "somebody not known," had committed the act—the act of which these eight men were accused—at the Haymarket. This very statement by the court itself,—"somebody not known" committed the crime, is enough in the eyes of all sane men, to establish the innocence of the accused for the simple reason that their connection with that unknown person could not be traced,—since he is not known, and it cannot be ascertained whether he was influenced by their advice or not. But was that the case? Not so! The men were convicted and executed, and thus history's laden pages were still more steeped in the blood of martyrs. This, therefore, shows that there are some men that have a particular interest in keeping up disturbance and riot, and they do all they can to create riots so that they would have constant employment and fair remuneration. Their great aim seems to be to keep the public in constant terror over something or other and thus they set up Anarchist-Conspiracy as a scare-crow, which serves their purpose admirably. And this seems to be the object of our worthy friend, Malagodo, who has written such a learned and ingenious essay on the "Psychology of Anarchist Conspiracies." The latter charges the Anarchists as being dreamers and opium-smokers of the social problem. This is as true as all the rest, and it proves the author's absolute ignorance of the theories and ideas of the Anarchists,—which therefore disqualifies him as a writer on that subject. The Anarchists deal with positive facts, they obtain their information from existing circumstances, they know the condition of the people from actual observation on the street, and in the slums and palaces. And they draw their conclusions that this system is unjust and iniquitous because their logic and reason prompts them to, and not because, as our friend Malagodo seems to think, they have a special psychology of their own that makes good things appear bad to them, and the just and righteous as the unjust and wrong.

After a man works ten hours daily at hard labor, year after year, and when he comes home evenings his emaciated haggard wife, as dear to him, perhaps, as the fashionable madam is to her husband, treats him to a supper of herring and potatoes, he finds his stomach craving for more food but he quenches it by retiring on his half-broken bed; and when trying to sleep there, either on some rags or a hard straw mattress, many little parasites—which are not the less troublesome than the class to which Malagodo belongs—begin to torment him and slowly drain his blood; after spending thus a restless night he hurries off early in the morning to begin again the same routine as the day before, with hardly enough time to soothe his weeping children or bestow a kind glance on his faithful wife. After observing this sort of life among the majority of working-men,—and this is no imaginary thing—after seeing many poor creatures picking their food from the garbage heaps; after seeing the alms-houses and mad-houses constantly enlarging and so rapidly filling up with inmates; after reading the monthly reports of 300, 400, or 600 suicides in a given place; after observing reeking poverty in the houses



of millions of people; after seeing the human family going to smash in this fashion it would be criminal and high treason to humanity if none would stop to reflect. And after observing the waste and extravagance by another class of people, who, by the way, do nothing whatever to replenish the market; after observing such willful waste as the Bradley-Martin ball in New York, at which \$300,000 were expended by the hosts alone; after seeing a national expenditure of \$75,000 simply for the installation, inauguration or coronation—it is all the same—of a president, as was the case lately, after observing this on the other hand, then it were high treason to humanity if no one would stop and denounce this sort of thing as iniquitous and improper. Most of those that do not stop and reflect owe their indifference to an atrophic or undeveloped state of mind, especially that part of it which has to do with criticism and judgement,—excepting those of course that neglect or willfully overlook the subject. But Dr. Malagodo terms this an "orderly social" system as already quoted (being apparently well pleased with it), hence he proves himself to be one of those who suffer from an atrophic or undeveloped condition of mind, and for this reason the fully developed, vigorous mind of the Anarchist appears to him to possess hypertrophied qualities.

Those that see things as they really are, and feeling an interest in the affairs of mankind, at once begin to think and look for the causes of all things, and, being guided by Reason and Justice, they soon reach definite conclusions. Here we enter upon a wide field, but limiting ourselves to the Anarchists alone, for the present, their conclusions are reasonable and logical. If all men, they find, should occupy themselves with useful work, each according to his taste and liking, work would be justly distributed and would then constitute a pleasure as men would only need to work on an average of three or four hours a day. Again if all people were to share equally of the stocks and commodities there would be a vast field of trouble and grief exterminated from the face of the earth, and an infinitely vaster field of happiness and joy introduced. The demand would then be met by the supply, because work would be a pleasure and all would feel it an honor to contribute to the world's wants. The demand will be met by the supply because there would always be enough people to work a few hours daily, knowing that they will not be cheated, robbed and exploited,—knowing that as they work to supply the wants of others, others work to supply their wants,—and tools, machinery and raw materials are always plenty. Work would become infinitely less and easier, because machinery would be more extensively employed, and new devices and new machinery would always be introduced, because the people will then feel that it is for their advantage, and does not, as in the present day, throw them out of work and simply increase their misery. In short if that heinous commercialism and exploitation would cease, people would come down to equal rights and equal opportunities, which would result in equal liberty, or liberty for all.

Finally the Anarchists believe that under the above conditions no government would be necessary, there will be no thieves to be imprisoned, no murders to be hanged, no felons to be punished, no swindlers, no gamblers,—for there would not be that trade-convenience, or rather inconvenience, called money through which one could transfer property, life, and everything else,—no criminals or aggressors, hence no judges, no jailors, no hangmen, no lawyers, et al. The government and the state would fall therefore, purely for the reason of their uselessness, while all transactions between individuals, groups of individuals, towns and cities would be through mutual understanding, agreement and good-will. This, in short, in a very few summarizing words, constitutes the Anarchist's chief ideas and theories, and surely they do not appear so terrorizing and infernal as to bring down the wrath and odium of so many men. But, some one will ask, do not the Anarchists conspire and plot, and make attempts at murder and dynamite explosions? I say no! decidedly and emphatically no! Read their literature, their many tracts, pamphlets and books, go to their meetings which are always free and open to the public, and learn for yourself whether these things are ever thought of or dreamed of among them.

True, some individual Anarchists have committed deeds that will appear prominent in the history of the evolution and revolution of society, but they were individual acts springing from an unusually keen sense of sympathy for the suffering masses, and prompted by unenduring impatience and despair;

quite as often, perhaps, on account of personal deprivations and misery in general. They are isolated individual acts generated by personal feelings and emotions, perhaps not infrequently by a sense of revenge or avenge, and always on that individual's own responsibility and free-will. He does not consult his comrades in a matter like this, and always keeps it a secret till the attempt is made. Some of the Anarchists, perhaps, approve of his act when they hear what he did, many do not; but in no wise is he counseled, instructed or advised for the same. But where, in the history of mankind, do we ever see changes in the life and condition of people without blood being spilled; without kings being deposed and despots banished? It is a lamentable fact, but nevertheless true, that in every country, among all peoples, and at all times, killing, murdering and assassinating, rebelling and protesting had to be done before any changes could be brought about. And can we blame people if they think that such must be so even to this day? But to charge a vast body of men that now prevail and rapidly multiply all the world over, with constantly plotting and conspiring for the purpose of murdering, assassinating, and blowing up buildings and public edifices, is both absurd and senseless. And, moreover, to slight a vast body of men who earnestly and zealously apply themselves, at the expense of a great deal of personal inconvenience and discomfort, to the discussion and consideration of the social problem, and denounce them as conspirators and assassins is willful malice and worthy of a rogue and bandit.

"Anarchists are egoists," says Malagodo, and "it is the hyperesthesia of their personality which forces them into their conflict with society." And on account of their egoism, he thinks, they do not carry out their threats, so that they may escape the real dangers of action. Likewise he says, "every new, grander, and more terrible project kills the one before it, and puts off indefinitely the necessity for action, leaving these cowards in life the comfort of taking their ease and dozing on the pillow of idle dreams." Malagodo here makes a valuable admission,—that the Anarchists' plots are never carried out, and the deduction that there are really no plots or projects to be carried out is easily reached if it is considered that the Anarchists, like all Revolutionists of the past, are no cowards, and are not wanting in energy.

And in conclusion I wish to warn all people against those who take great pains to pose as a particular friend and benefactor of humanity, and advise them to turn their eyes upon him,—for in him they will always find an enemy, a traitor a calumniator.

SMIRNOW.

### Remarks and a Reiteration from London.

KROPOTKIN's much-looked-forward-to lecture on "The Role of the State," never came off. A bad cold caught in Glasgow (perhaps Wm. Duff will explain) prevented his speaking and a crowded audience were grievously disappointed.

The gap, so hard to fill, was given into the hands of the inevitable Jack Turner at the unexpected moment, and right well did he render account of his "talent." For an-all-too-short a period he spoke of "Modern Tendencies," and showed how that in all spheres of modern thought and action authority and centralism were being replaced by liberty and the federation of autonomous beings.

We are going in for melody at our meetings here, now. The tedium of waiting until the audience assemblies is beguiled with the singing of revolutionary songs, and the piano emits sweet sounds under the expert manipulation of women comrades. For tomorrow's meeting at Christ church Hall, Whitechapel, William Wess the indefatigable organizer, has obtained the kindly offices of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' brass band.

DAVID J NICOLL spent ten days in London recently and spoke frequently. He seems to be doing a lot of good work amongst the parliamentary labor organizations in the provinces. His kindly tolerance and keen, pleasant humor are especially suitable for winning the hearts and brains of opponents.

THE Commune commemoration nearly came cropper this year. At the last moment Earnest Young pulled the fat out of the fire and organized a meeting at the Club Union Hall, Clerkenwell. While in no way to

be compared in size, enthusiasm or publicity, with the splendid "Chicago Martyrs" demonstration of last November, it was still enlightening and no doubt of great use in opening the eyes of some who were still blind to the noble truths and inspiring lessons of the eventful months of 1871.

There were about 500 people present. The speakers were Ted Leggatt, Jack Turner, D. J. Nicoll, Y. Parris, Carl Quinn, and others. The collection realized about ten dollars and there was, perhaps the best sign of all, a remarkably brisk sale of Anarchist literature.

How hollow are some reform parties. For a number of years the London Anarchists were the only people to demonstrate their solidarity with the workers of other countries by an out-door procession and a mass meeting in Hyde Park on the first day of May. The parliamentary and authority loving reform organizations simply paraded on the first Sunday in May, which being a regular holiday required no very great socialist fervor for its utilization in that manner.

THEN at last the blush of conscious shame mantled the political reformer's cheek and he resolved to go to the park also on the first day of May, even though it did seem a bit revolutionary. For the last two May Days he has been content to share the public park with the ever-so-unmentionably-vile Anarchist, and the spectacle was seen of the politticker moving wordy and ponderous resolutions about eight-hour days, adult suffrage, and other cheap and tawdry ware, in one section of the grass platte, whilst the smaller numerically but overwhelmingly larger logically Anarchists were telling people of the crime of government and the futility of politics, a hundred yards away.

This year the suffragiotator has altered all that. The park bye-laws only allow one demonstration to occupy the park on any given day. The politicians have captured the park and refused to share with the Anarchists and so the wheel of fate flings off its jokes. But some things come as warnings. Good often comes out of seeming evil:

I never is wise to play the boss  
If you're not quite sure of your prey  
For many a budding Caesar's loss  
Has happened about in that way.

We shall probably hold our demonstration in Victoria park in the East-end.

We are promised Dr. Saverio Merloni's personal confession in the May Day number of Keir Hardie's "Labor Leader." All manner of strange rumors have been percolating through to this town about our old comrade and something definite will indeed be a welcome change.

THE Independent Labor Party here are going to try and raise \$5,000 by means of a bazaar and fancy fair this Easter. They will hold their fifth annual conference at the same time and have hired three of the biggest halls in London for three propagandist meetings on Easter Sunday.

In England the I. L. P. represents the tolerant and more hopeful side of the parliamentary labor movement. Their delegates at the meetings of the "First of May" committee, were mostly in favor of giving the Anarchists a platform in the demonstration but they were borne down by the opposition which largely centers in the Social Democratic Federation, a body answering to the S. L. P. in America only more acclimatized.

THE S. D. F. is almost absolutely controlled by a small knot of men who are in turn dominated by the personality of H. M. Hyndman. The chief characteristic of this knot is their unwavering hostility to Anarchism, amounting even to hatred.

THE influence of the S. D. F. on the general labor movement is non-existent as will also be the S. D. F. itself ere many years have passed. It lacks that joyous vigor and breadth which the crusade against poverty and domination demands.

ANARCHY possesses all the requisites but is sleepy and indolent, but,—when she awakes!

TOLSTOY's story "Ivan the fool," has been dramatized and was produced at the Lamworth Road hall, Croydon, on March 29. The parts were played by

members of the Croydon Brotherhood, who are largely Anarchistic and in many individual cases convinced Anarchists of the Tolstoyan type. The story is of absorbing interest and the dialogue sparkles and flames with revelation and denunciation of domination and exploitation.

The devil, masquerading as Signor Discordiose, endeavors to tempt the people to struggle and compete and tries to defend the present system but has finally a bad attack of the sorrows and disappears from earth.

The slump in Anarchistic activity will probably adversely affect our proposed conference but this kind of altho most come to an end shortly. Meanwhile London waits.

The Fourhyn strike or lock-out still drags its weary length; the Indian Famine agitation has had its brief career; Crete and Greece are getting dimmer on the screen of public opinion here; the Commission to enquire into the Jameson raid grows dull; Inter-University boat-races and prize-fights provoke but sporadic interest. We're an ennuï people or any low I am.

TOM REECE.

### Monopoly Upholders.

NORTH-Western Washington has just been visited by one of Uncle Sams patriots, with a big pension, looking for "freeze outs." A hungry wolf gathering up the remains of once prosperous households, where the mortgage has eaten at the trunk and destroyed the manhood of the owner. I want a "freeze out" said he, and he is finding plenty of that class, but a number are not willing to accept his terms, so he will wait until they do. The poor mortgaged people have been carting this man over the country, feeding and entertaining him, with the idea that if he will only buy their places they would be once more free men. This man, as I said before, is one of the '64 Patriots. He is buying land with pension money. The people are making the knives to be used in dissecting their own bodies. When, oh when, will the people call a halt and throw off the yoke? It is the ten thousandth part of a ghost of a chance of "making a state" that nurses them on. Hold your land a little longer and perhaps the Mississippi valley flooded farmers will come and buy at a good price. These same people are howling about monopoly and in their blind ignorance do not realize they are contributing indirectly to maintain all of them and directly upholding their chief monopoly—land monopoly. Perhaps some of the readers will take exception to my calling people who are holding 160 acres land monopolists. If a person holds 160 acres and uses it I make no objection, but the farmers in this section have their hundred and sixty acres and use probably on an average fifteen or twenty, while hundreds of people in the Sound cities would be glad of an opportunity to use ten or fifteen acres. Any dog in the manger is a monopolist, and such are our anti-monopolist farmers of Western Washington.

They say there is yet Government land to be had, but where? There is plenty on maps, but a visit to it will convince any sane man it is fit only for wild beasts rather than men. Yet some are so desperate that they have taken up some of this land and are either buried in the woods or forced to hunt game for food.

Although there are no extremely large holdings in our immediate section, compared with California and other older states, yet there are several once good homes laying idle, the property of a mortgage company. Only last year the Government ejected the people from the military reserves. Poor devils who had no place upon which they could stay, and no money with which to purchase land, had squatted upon these reserves and had been allowed to remain until they had made quite a lot of improvements only to be routed by a company of Uncle Sam's Soldiers, and those who resisted were dragged to prison. These reserves were not needed by the Government, and never will be. It was hard to see these poor wretches leaving their late homes, with tearful eyes, to seek a place to again settle, probably as tenants.

All these outrages, however, are but lessons and forcibly impress one with the necessity of free land. Governments were established for the protection of the weak from the strong—this Government at least—and have been dismal failures to say the least. Let us learn what is right to all and educate ourselves to a new order of things. If the people demand, their

demands will have to be granted, for the people are the power—not the government. Official's threats would be harmless if the people did not carry them out. It is the people who make the guns, and it is the people who fire them. If the people refuse to make guns, and to fire those that are made, nobody will be hurt.

The nations are at play now, making steel plates, no gun will shoot through, and will turn around when they are completed, and make guns to pierce those plates. Rats! You who send your boys to Annapolis and into the Navy and Army ought to train your boys as you train your girls, and leave the army and navy dry up.

SAM SMALL.

### Note and Comment.

COMRADES of the United States who are in debt to the Group Proletariat of N. Y. are requested to settle up as quickly as possible.

ANY comrade knowing where we can buy a good German-English Dictionary cheap, will confer a favor by letting us know where, and at what price. We need such a book badly.

A LEVIN, asks that any comrades who may know of the whereabouts of comrades Schiff, of St. Louis, and Heilig, of Chicago, to please make it known in The Firebrand, as it is important to know, for their benefit.

ONE of our Philadelphia Comrades, a girl, has generously paid our box rent in the city, and will pay it quarterly for us. We got our old box, number 94, back, and letters or papers addressed to either Sellwood, or box 94, Portland will reach us.

COMRADE Wellenbrok is now in the Hospital. He grew so much worse at our house that we were compelled to put him in the Hospital. He was admitted at "charity rates," \$4.20 per week for which we are responsible. Can you help us, Comrades?!

TWENTY-SIX more of the poor, tortured comrades who have been so horribly treated in Spain, have been sentenced to death. We published a letter in The Firebrand of April 25, in which one of the tortured prisoners told a most pitiful story, and claimed that the government wanted to force them to sign a statement that they had not been tortured. It is evident that all those who would not sign such a statement are now sentenced to death. This is not unexpected.

THE grand jury charges the district attorney with protecting the "gambling trust," in Portland, and he, in turn, accuses them of extending their protection to the gamblers. There can be no doubt but that both of them state plain facts, and speak truthfully of the other. It simply shows that all that the laws against gambling amount to is to put a club into the officer's hands to coerce the gamblers to "pay up," or go out of business. These fights are quite edifying, as they expose the rottenness of the whole legal machine.

IN New York a split has accured in the ranks of the Social-Democrats. Political ambition, and a quarrel over the distribution of jobs in their Zeitung association, which has control of their "Abend Blatt," (a Hebrew paper). From the 22d. of April the secession wing of the association expects to publish a paper of their own, called Vorwaerts. It is to advocate Social-Democracy and oppose the other faction of the S. L. P. Thus we see that the same tactics are already in use in the S. L. P. that have been denounced so much by that parties leaders, in other political parties. Such must ever be the history of political parties.

MAY-day passed off quietly all over Europe, as far as now reported, the only disturbance being caused by the interference of the police with the manifestation of the workmen at Budapesth, Austria. This is a signal victory of persistence against repression, for it shows that the governments have well-nigh given up their attempt to prevent May-day celebrations. It now remains for the work people to make May-day a real, live, international labor day, or not, as they see fit. There were between 40,000 and 50,000 person in line in the May-day parade in Vienna. In England, France, Portugal, Germany, and Barcelona, Spain, the May-day celebrations passed off unmolested and quietly. This shows very clearly who have been the creators of

the disturbances on previous May-days—the authorities. We have no May-day report from any city in the United States except New York where a Socialist parade of three thousand is reported to have taken place.

A MINER writes to comrade Lois Waisbrooker as follows:

"I have never considered myself a very heavy smoker; late years I have evolved out of it. Every Sunday I put 25 cents into a tin box; that is what the weed cost me, and when I get \$3.00 I send it to you for books."

She thinks it would be a great help to The Firebrand if some of its readers would do likewise, in which surmise she is undoubtedly correct. One of our readers lately sent us fifty cents, and stated that he went without butter on his bread in order to help the cause along, although he is not long an Anarchist. We often eat our bread without butter, in fact quite a lot of the time lately.

H. A.

OUR readers, who have read Comrade Waisbrooker's note, may think that we are advocating asceticism—an outgrowth of religious fanaticism—which is not the case. I think we should enjoy life as much as possible. But if people find more satisfaction in helping along the spread of Anarchism than in smoking or eating butter, they will look for the greatest satisfaction without being urged to it. In short, everybody should please himself about it. The aim of Anarchism is not continence and abstinence but the greatest enjoyment attainable.

A. I.

### Master and Slaves in "Free America."

IF there are any who thought that the defeat of Anthony Comstock in the New York Special Sessions Court in re Gabriele D'Annunzio's "Triumph of Death" would seriously check the encroachments of the Vice Society's agent, such optimistic persons may be undecieved by reading the following paragraphs which appeared in the Sunday "Journal" of April 18. Speaking to the reporter of the sales of "The Triumph of Death" since his firm was acquitted, Mr. George H. Richmond said:

"The American News Company, curiously enough, have sent no order, and the Baker & Taylor Company have cancelled theirs. What does this mean? It means, I believe, that the American News Company, who are friends of Mr. Comstock, and the Baker & Taylor Company, who fear him, have been warned not to sell "The Triumph of Death."

"I cannot prove this. But the circumstantial evidence is startling. If you interview the booksellers they will tell you of the rumor which credits the American News Company and the Baker & Taylor Company with precise information that the war against Gabriel d'Annunzio's book is not at an end, and that the suit against it is to be brought again by the secretary of the society for the Prevention of Vice in some other court through another arrest.

"I have instructed my attorney, James M. Fisk, who is not afraid of Comstock, to bring suit against him for damages to my business."

The reporter continued his investigations:

"Anthony Comstock was asked if he knew that he was to be sued for damages in the case of "The Triumph of Death," and replied:

"I have nothing to say."

"He was asked if he had warned the American News Company and the Baker & Taylor Company not to sell the book, and replied:

"I have nothing to say."

"Have you abandoned your war against Mr. Richmond?"

"Mr. Comstock replied: 'I have nothing to say.'"

"Mr. Dean, of the American News Company, said: 'Mr. Comstock is my friend, but I have not seen him for three months, and I cannot tell you if he has warned us not to sell The Triumph of Death. I am not at liberty to give you any information on the subject.' General Manager Farrelly, of the American News Company, said pretty much the same.

"Mr Baker, of the Baker & Taylor Company, refused to tell whether Mr. Comstock had warned them not to sell the Triumph of Death.

"At Brentano's, Mr. Butler, who has charge of the book department, and is an eminent member of the Bookseller's League, said: 'I have heard from various



sources that Mr. Comstock has warned his friends, the American News Company and The Baker & Taylor Company not to sell The Triumph of Death, and that is why we do not sell the book as freely as we sell other books. I know that the decision of the three Judges in Special Sessions is in favor of it; I know that Mr. Comstock ought not to be sustained against the courts, but I know that he has the power of a despot. He can come here at any time, if he wishes, and arrest any young man or any young girl who sells any book that he does not like. The courts rebuke him, but that does not matter much. Think of the humiliation of appearing before the public as a vender of obscene books. The public does not understand Mr. Comstock yet.

"I hope that the Booksellers' League, which now comprises two hundred and fifty members, will be strong enough some day to settle the question of Mr. Comstock's censorship. Meanwhile we can do nothing but fear him like a plague."

It is not strange that the American News Company is believed to have been warned by Comstock not to handle D'Annunzio's work, for it is well known that that monopoly is dominated by the most narrow prejudices and stands like a rock in the way of radical propaganda. Farrelly is a bigoted Catholic and the Company will not put Freethought and other outspoken reformatory works on sale.

Mr. Butler, of Brentano's, evidently does not expect any measures of relief from the law-making and law-enforcing powers—he looks to the Booksellers' League, a voluntary association, to stand some time between the dealer and the Censor, who would be wholly powerless for evil if it were not for the state. Comstock serves in the double capacity of agent of the priest and of the legislator. He who runs may read the lesson. E. C. WALKER.

### Majority Rule.

It seems passing strange, in this age and day of the world, that majority rule has its advocates. Furthermore, these advocates claim to be "reformers."

It only demonstrates what a tenacious hold a false education can have on the human mind.

With these people it is not a question of right, but a question of numbers; of might over right: Nothing more or less. What have numbers to do with individual right or choice, I should like to know?

The superstition of majority rule must be abolished before people can talk of reform with any consistency. One would suppose that a little thought would readily convince one that majority rule is a fallacy. The pollution of power handed down for ages, lives in majority rule. The voice of the majority has crucified its thousands. It has silenced its best and wisest.

Let reformers be ever vigilant for the right, regardless of numbers. ANA PURKIN.

Cleveland Ohio.

## Youth's Department.

### THE RULING CLASS.

In an article called "Things and Thoughts," of this week, Zadnak has quoted a bill which was introduced in the Kansas Legislature. From this it can be judged to what extreme religious fanatics would go, if they had the power.

One law after another is made. Each one, or nearly every one, takes away the workingman's privilege, to a certain extent. Slowly they are taking away our rights and our privileges, until at last they will stand upon our heads. Boys and girls, when we get to be men and women, let us not be trodden upon! Be not satisfied with the privilege to vote! Rule yourselves! Let everyone rule oneself, and then the long looked for Freedom will be here.

In Kansas the legislature passes laws that do the people no good, but rather harm them, and they are paid for it. In Oregon they did not pass any laws and some of them were paid for doing nothing. So it is. People pay a lot of "smart men" as they call them, to make laws to deprive them of their rights to consume what they produce. We (that the workers) produce everything and then carry our products to the rich men's tables. We get a little money for them, take the money home and store it away and when the time comes go and carry the money to the rich men.

What a beautiful system it is that we are living in! It is enough to make one sick only to think of it. And

yet if ever any trouble arises between two classes of rulers the workingmen are foolish enough to go to war and fight their battles for them. This is the main point. Boys, (in this case) if ever these men come to you, when you get to be men, and ask you to come and fight their battles for them, refuse to do it. Let them fight their own battles, and kill each other, and then the working class will have their freedom; have the right to enjoy life; the right to please themselves; the right to consume what they produce, etc.

There are a great many people who are afraid of Anarchy. These people would not want to live in Anarchy. For my part they would not have to. But what I want is to live in Anarchy. If they want to be robbed, all right, but all I ask of them is to let those who want to live in Anarchy do so. They will take the responsibility.

That is what Anarchist would do if they had the say so of conditions. Let those that want government have it, and those that do not want government do without it. Is not that fair enough? I am inclined to think those that would have government when others were living in Anarchy would soon drop their governments.

The church is another obstacle in the way of progress. The priest and preachers beg money from the poor and then teach them false ideas. They are loafers and paupers and yet they howl at those that do not work. They keep the people in superstition. They howl at the street car men that work on Sunday, and yet they go in the cars and ride to and from church on Sunday. Marriage is another obstacle that keeps people from progressing. You have to ask either the judge or preacher before you can live in one house and sleep in one bed with a woman.

Marriage usually puts the woman in the worst condition, and therefore the women should refuse to marry. It is selling her body forever; selling her services. And she must also sacrifice her name when she gets married. It binds the man too, to a certain extent, but he takes the advantage of the woman in most cases, like in the case of Mrs. B. of Omaha, her husband left her and now she has to support her children by herself. Girls, when you get old enough do not give yourselves to men for board and clothes.

Boys should not enlist in the army, for as long as the war spirit exists we will not have happiness. Abolish government, and thus take away the power from the ruling class, and then will come the looked for "Peace on earth, and good will to men".

A LITTLE ANARCHIST.

## Literature.

ASTRAL WORSHIP is the title of a new and comprehensive work, by J. H. Hill, in which he shows the origin and rise of astral worship, and its development in the various parts of the world into the religions peculiar to the people of these various regions. He traces the establishment of the various festivals of the church, their origin and significance, and finally shows the origin of Christianity, its early history, its spread, and its influence on the parts of the world where it became dominant. It is the most comprehensive and concise book on the subject that I have ever seen, containing in its 128 pages more information than many books of five times its size. It is printed on fine book paper, in large clear type, bound in cloth, having a movable Zodiac in the twelve months and four seasons, and showing the four cardinal points in the march of the seasons, and is handsomely illustrated throughout. Price \$1.00. Published by The Truth Seeker Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York, N. Y.

BASIC Elements of a New System of Life, designed as a hand book of sociology, is a new pamphlet, by James Madison Allen, that has reached us. It is a hand book of a plan for the reorganization of society on a voluntary basis, but contemplates a general mental condition for its attainment that does not now exist, and which, when reached, I am inclined to think will make unnecessary much that is in it proposed. His system is based on the system followed by the bees in their honey making existence, and elaborated to suit human association. The pamphlet will be of especial interest to the spiritualists, as Mr. Allen is a spiritualist lecturer. I met him in Springfield, Mo., in 1892, and found him a liberal, well read and progressive man, with but

one serious obstacle in the way of his broadening and progress—early ecclesiastical training. But this work indicates that he has well-nigh outgrown it all.

Price of book 25c. Address James Madison Allen, Springfield, Mo.

No. I, Vol. I, of the Library of Liberty and Progress is entitled The New Life; Thomas Paine, the Author Hero. It is a brief and eulogistic history of Paine's connection with the American Revolution, and arraignment of the priestly lies that have been circulated concerning him. The object of the book is patriotic education. The author hits priestly and monarchical institutions some hard raps, but stops short of showing a desire for full and complete liberty, and, in fact, indirectly advocates "republican form of government."

No. II of the same Library is called The Dead Hand on America's Liberties Unmasked. It is a vigorous and strong arraignment of the Catholic Church, and were it not for the authors basing his argument on the danger to "American freedom" and "republican institutions," it might be commendable. If the author would point out that the delegation of power gives opportunity for the abuses he writes of, and warn his readers not to delegate any further power, but to withdraw that already granted, thus making abuses of power impossible, the educational value of his work would be of moment, but as now written I am inclined to look upon it rather as a matter of false education, as his support of "republicanism" tends to convey the idea that a republican form of government is compatible with liberty. The Library is published monthly, in uniform pamphlet form. Subscription price one dollar per year, ten cents a copy. Address: W. D. Richner, 819 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

### Propaganda Fund.

From an Entertainment in Philadelphia, \$15.00. Group Letariat, New York, \$7.00. Group Forward, New Haven, Conn., \$2.50. Notkin, 1.50. Janin, Forkman, Cohen, each \$1.00. Street, Schuetz, Kohlbeck, Melners, Niskoh, Phillod, Morwitz, Pusch, Moore, each 50c. Karpas, Caumiast, Preiker, Wende, Hecht, Baginsky, each 25c. Keller, 20c. Metzkw, Lang, Banduhn, each 10c.

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