A Dream of the Future.

I've had a dream. Do all reformers dream? A chronicle of one, perhaps. Occasionally indulging in, it may seem
To vary the monotony, when we've got
A little mixed with rippling streams.
Of small talk, not unmixed with rot,
Altho' the dreamer as a rule
Cannot escape the shafts of ridicule.

And yet 'would seem, unfair to hold
To strict account, a man by fancy fed.
A dream is but a fancy, still when told
May wake a thought, to practice bred;
And from the summer extract the gold.
From speculation, a blessing prove instead.
As I tell my dream, let others she.
Some better road wherein reform may go.

I thought I stood upon a country lane,
A gravel'd walk, heath, shady trees;
A brook, and orchard, and a field of grain;
A cottage in the distance, the hum of bees
Was in the air; the cricket chirped'thain.
And summer with its seductions ease,
Lulled all my soul in comfort, and then
Seemed to breathe with numerous spirits of men.

A song bird lit upon a twig so near.
I could have touched him had I raised my arm;
He sang his song without a note of fear,
A squirrel at my feet with no alarm
Chattered a challenge of my presence here,
Or were of care, a charm
Pervaded my being; has man resigned his claim
to empire? that birds and beasts are tame?

Then I moved on; perchance I may
Learn more of this strange world.
The lane
Led through a wood, and on a broad highway,
Macadam'd and smooth, and plain.

Straight as an arrow. The land that lay
On either side, bespoke the gain.
Of cultivation high, and labor well disposed.
Science, order, beauty, a master mind teach'd.

'Twas evident that I, one man alone
Must own it all. No fence or line
Divides the lot. Yet buildings wood and stone
On every hand. Still fortune's face is fine
To indicate the master, one who's done
Rose high above all others, who's design,
Suggests a college, or a hall of state,
Where officers, town, and county, legislate.

Approaching now the cottage I had seen;
I paused in admiration to behold.
The charming flowers, amid the foliage green;
The harmony and beauty of color manifold.
On either side flowers stand, a terraced walk in view.

With dining rooms o'er the porch and sweet climate bold.
A man sat on the porch where flickering sunlight play'd
Inhal'd more perfume, enjoy'd the cooling shade.
As I drew near his cheering voice rang out
"Wally right in my connex take a seat
Our dinner hour has passed, still I don't
If you've had yours, you owe us to eat
Our humble fare, and now I'll right about
The table to rest." "Say! nay!" it is not meat
For which I hunger. I starve and thirst to know
The cause of your excellent condition your statesmanship and laws.

He looked at me in strange surprise
"Law! statesmanship!" he cried "we have none.
Whence came you? Did you tumble from the skies?
Or did you land on Winkle's green meadow:
Throughout the revolution?" "In vain, can I surmise,
How could I know?" But tell me, how you won
The battle. As I remember now 'tis clear,
It should be '87 and early in the year."

"I see," he cried "the 19th century had not pass'd
And still political parties held the sway.
Republican, Democrat, and Populist at last,
Each, all, in turn, the people would betray.
Then Socialism sought to claim us fast
In State, but liberty had made too much headway.
Even organizing Anarchistic Association
Became at last a useless occupation.

"For we were in that political age,
Discussing questions, prohibition and the single tax;
The tariff, anathema. But the pig tax
With all his favorite nostrums, the Doctrinaire would war.

Strong in pride, the people to assassage,
And keep them all from thinking or pondering on the facts,
That commercial greed was using them, as the monkey did the paw
Of the car in the aisle, to satisfy the monopolistic maw.

"From party, to party the people rushed pell-mell;
And put into their lives a life of blood.
And still the times grew hard, and prices fell,
And monoplistic greed the people feed.
The monopolist alone was doing well;
Even mortgages, no longer proved the best
Investment-vehicle of the city and longer was the tax,
A loss of interest fell upon the mortgagee.

And during all the hubbub incident,
An undercurrent of protest went along.
The principle of government, and the monumental Greed of commerce, alike were voted wrong.
And property rights, quite inconsistent with the fundamental
Rights of man were recognized, in short the throng
Was gradually, but surely brought to see
That hapless manufacturers and beasts are tame."

Then I moved on; perchance I may
Learn more of this strange world.

"Mean time the country land became so low,
And markets dull, they could not pay their help, and scarce their taxes, and so
Worked what they could, and let the balance lay
Unworked. The mortgages his claim let go.
The land, you mean, is forced free.
The taxes they were shifted onto lands in use, which increased export.
The farmers kick'd against, and organized defence.

Then came a rain of pamphlets that tell
The excess of the population, a calamity.
The uselessness of legislation that compel
Expense and troubles, and proves itself a thief.
To steal the wealth of the people, and so
Relief of farmers and mechanics. Why barren belief
In the efficacy of laws, when the general record made
Proves fraud, injustice, outrage its only stock in trade.

"Then was co-operation on a very different plan
Then hereafter are we going, nothing new,
Based not on profits but the needs of man—
Every failure co-operation in the past sustain'd it.
To the grab game of business. Its promoters began
to prove co-operators were fore ever true,
To principle just, with every soul creates beside
Are stores sufficient, every need could be supply'd.

They first began in cities to learn,
The unemployed, how to subsist
Without the aid of charity. They discern
How light and heat electricity consists.
And how, despite the patent laws may earn
Their watch and light, and how they may exist.
One thing they need not buy, and a system of exchange
Gives all the labor products a wide range.

"And from the city now, an ever increasing commerce;
To the lands left vacant in the country they swarm;
The farmers now, and less men, less the expense.
By helping build their habits, raise, but warm.
The exchange of labor products amply recompense,
By a knowledge of the land, and the farm, and the farm.
And producing all the food, and apparel to be worn,
Which thus are the monopolist to scorn.

"Pay no taxes, these became the city;
Drive the tax eater from the public bone.
Let them, to their own resources apply;
We have enough to do to satisfy our own.
And never more will we, on statesmanship rely;
And for our wasted energies hereafter we'llstone.
By bending all our effort, on co-operation's plan:
To build anew society, to advance our brother man.

"Once more the anvil rings throughout the land;
Once more set up the spindle and the loom.
Once more hand labor in is good demand,
But never more shall priest or king consume
The fruits of Labor's toil. A social band,
Co-operation forms with ever widening room;
Wherein production, is carried on to serve
The wants of all the members without reserve.

"It takes an age to outgrow a superstition;
And more the convention of societies; a charge,
Died hard, but labor exchange creates a new condition.
By boycotting all 'tear.' Money arranged
A money of their own, during the transition.
To complete cooperation; money passes from the range
Of human wants, but to a conventional tender,
That price so glimmering, among things that were.

"The days of business, with interest, rent and profits
Have passed and gone, and Industry's day.
And Poverty, despite the scriptural injunction saw fit
To take its hand, and Industry's day.
And Monopoly, as last returned to Tophet;
And Government, that all these evils bear,
Hope, as a shaking off of these woes,
And Love, and Labor, sing a pean to Liberty.

"And then came an end to all organization;
For independence had grown so few, so late.
Men would not labor unless free in association,
And the full reward of all that they create.
For land was free, and the elements at their dictation,
Its sustenance yielded to ample compensate;
No more of renting all and degradation.
Labor has grown a source of health and recreation.
A loss tremendous monopoly sustained;
Great source of profit, or the trade.
Machinery was wasted but liberty regained;
And Labor longer bore the web of the town.
Of Profit, and Power, has never complain'd
Of the soil entail'd, by machinery's rest.
For greater, more and better than the soil.
When all men were laborers, and willing to toil.

"Theo' great was the loss, humanities gain
Was greater still, this triumph consummated;
In toil, and mool, the scramble and the pain.
Of gathering riches, which the few enjoyed so.
The' cities are deserted the countries remain,
To bloom in greater beauty, being devoid
Of all the blessings that wealth can bring.
Who jestle in life's highway, futility to persevere.

"True happiness became the pole-star now,
With Self as helm, invention sought
To make life's journey safe, and slow how
Each man may have his ample fortune caught;
And ercombe labor sav'd. Electric currents plough
The soil, and turn industrial wheels, and wrought
Miracles of useful beauty; which proves,
What man will do when love the motor moves.

Men who've genius moved their inclination,
To toil for the soil, naturally led this work;
All labored, not to produce simply degradation;
And more and more the destruction of a change.
And so it was in every occupation;
Leaders are developed 'entirely' genius lacks.
With no competition, or rules of majority,
Genius was recognized, as the only authority.

A life of employment, needs such a guide;
And coulds were straighten'd to reclaim the land;
And forests planted, and all without ado;
All by the manorial mechanics.
Of feudal hearts, their wives and sweethearts too
Aided the toil. A life of so much service.
With flowers and fruit, and song and music gay.
Love laughter with Labor, the fleeting hours away.

We live, we love, we labor, to create
The happiness of man, each true
To enjoy in his own way his own estate;
Occasion in Society was best to lead.
His voice began to fail, his form diilute;
Disaurting in a mist, it seemed to be;
And when, to realization clear,
It still was '97 and early in the year.

Porterville, N. Y.

A. L. Ballow.
Constructive Anarchy.

IV.

By J. A. Andrews.

Let us now consider the application of our principle as affecting our relation with certain classes of outside individuals, who are not merely unconscious followers of the system enveloping them, but have positive ideas of what society should be. It will be sufficient to consider here the two schools of so-called "Individualist Anarchists," as they represent, economically, the Socialist sects which also have all the valid reason to be called "Socialist" and not merely political. The one party, with a minority of "Socialists," believes in regulating individual consumption by individual production; the other, with a majority of "Socialists," believes in regulating individual consumption by duration of individual toil.

As a matter of fact we are nearer to the Socialist majority in that the form and mechanism of property with them is not an ideal, but only an expedient, a means of holding the best for the benefit of a positive end, and—putting the rabid governmentalist aside—they do not aim at any greater development of authority than is logically necessary as the accomplishment of their economic system, by reason of their reverence for the principle of property. Therefore they would be likely enough to fall in with us on our own lines. The others, who are called Anarchists, certainly would not—being divided from us no less than the rabid governmentalists, by a difference of positive ideas—throw themselves into the throng, but there are some of these so-called "Individualist Anarchists" who wish to subordinate the individual to a property-idea under the impression that Property is the individual; that some of them perhaps have formed groups side by side with ours; and that occasion arises between these persons or groups and us for some combination of effort to provide for wants on our side and on their side. What is the nature of the relation that can subsist between us?

Supposing in the first instance that they call on us for help, will their system or ours apply to the transaction?

It appears to me that we should do well to say, "We help you because in this case we have capabilities corresponding to your needs. According to your doctrine you may be morally bound to render us a certain service, or to perform a certain amount of your time, in return. That is not our view. We expect you, indeed, to be no less ready to help us if we have occasion, but if you start out with any preconceived idea to govern you in the amount of work you do give us, that is a matter of your own minds and not of ours. We do not admit that we acquire a positive and definite title to a particular quantity of your goods or of your time. We do not intend to accept your Labor Notes, but we may at any time, without reciprocal actions or not, as you please. You can help any of us besides the ones who actually gave the help to you; you can be helpful to no matter whom; or you can do anything you like to dispose yourselves of the supposed "equivalent" of our aid, according to your own views; but we have no intention of putting in a claim to any particular aid as a privilege due to us by virtue of what we have done for you. Every time that we have occasion to seek your assistance we shall do so without considering the help we may have been given you, or which of us performed it. Every time that you want our assistance we shall simply consider the apparent state of your needs relatively to ours, and to the capabilities for meeting them. It will be entirely your own matter if on your side you choose to hamper yourselves with a law.

Similarly if we have occasion to enlist their efforts. They say, "Yes, but you know that according to our ideas it is essential for us to receive the same quantity of products, or the same length of labor time, from you as you gave us.

"Well," we reply, "that is no concern of ours; we are ready to help as we can when occasion arises; we do not issue documents condemning other people to a certain limit of help from us, and condemning ourselves to yield help to that limit as a sacrifice of our own privileges; if you want to traffic among yourselves on your expectation of help from us, you can keep what accounts you like and allot them among yourselves as you please. For our part, you have only to let us know when you have helped yourself, and we shall be bound neither whether you got help from the particular persons who had help from you, or from some others; no matter whether the particular ones among you who got your help were those who had any of us, or not. We have no idea of only helping ourselves, of giving help to others, of receiving help from others, or of keeping any balance. And let your willingness stand on your own reasons, and on our on reasons, as they really exist in our minds for each particular occasion.

"If he accepted the proposal, he would be able to work with the man himself, for the reason that he would be helping his friends, and without expecting anything in return; and that helpfulness according to needs and capabilities, or at his option to balance his gifts with his receiving on some artificial conception of "requirements"—time, products, the outside scale of values, or any other standard, without working into his calculations, and without being cramped by any mechanism external to himself. He could even make a point of getting more help than he gave, but he could not control him; he could give constantly more than he received, but he would be under no obligation to do so, or any of the dissatisfaction could always take the step of standing aloof from those who were dissatisfied with.

I conclude, therefore, that it would be eminently possible for the people of the other economic schools, combining to put their ideas into practice among themselves, to work harmoniously with the Anarchist-Communist; at all events to a great extent. Would it be possible for the partisans of the two so-called Individualist schools to work as readily with each other?

On the one side productivity; on the other, labor time; on neither side simple willingness as a possible system for the adjustment of diverse ideas.

1. "If we do anything for you it must be because we have received or are going to receive the equivalent of our production."

2. "If we do anything for you it must be because we have received or are going to receive the equivalent of our time."

Some special and very cumbersome device would be necessary to admit of these deals among the two schools, and among them with other people, without otherwise committing ourselves to a principle they regarded as false. At the simplest, if a sufficient bulk of transactions averaging alike on both sides could be relied on, some collective or clearing house system by which the payments of the time men, based on the equivalent of time received, would be distributed in products among the Productivists according to their skill.

Our method on the other hand admits of the free contract and association of all people—the free competition of all ideas in practical life, without the machinery to crystallize those ideas into a compulsory or into a rule of thumb system. Everyone can seek to admit of these deals among his friends, and to his relation to others without their committing themselves to it; they can accept the results of his ideas so long as they care to do so, without accepting those ideas themselves or any mechanism based on them. There is no incentive, or any form of compulsion to be surrounded in that order as individual may pass from the practice of one conception to that of another if it is not actually legalitarian in relation to other people. The practical working out of the transacted according to our products, or time of toil, or according to what other people enjoy, or according to the greatest possibility of the most agreeable satisfaction all around, is sufficiently provided for by the simple means of working out the idea, or by the individual mechanism in the individual, who is infinitely more elastic and accommodating than any single idea or contrivance based on it, inasmuch as he can be
adequately satisfied in a thousand different ways whereas the patent "system" can only be satisfied in one.

The free competition of ideas in practice, without conservative mechanism, must necessarily lead to the lapsing of those which are inappropriate, at least, to the work entertained as dogmatics and not in consequence of some individual idiosyncrasy, or peculiarity of temperament. They will come up again, not as systematic doctrines but as corrective ideas in case of any incursions excessive in an opposite direction, and thus become simple expressions of the automatic righting power of the race in a condition of freedom. Thus it may be judged, I think, with safety, that the organization of Anarchist society within and among ordinary society, would from its very commencement be a powerful transforming and evolutionary agency, and that the efforts of all other reform parties at voluntary transformation would, in contact with it, add to its strength and themselves take the same direction.

Objections to Anarchist-Communism.

I read The Firebrand with considerable interest and find many views expressed in its columns with which I agree. But I cannot approve of what I understand to be the cardinal doctrine of Anarchist-Communism, namely that the government or nearly every one of all property. I will briefly state, and I would be glad to have any reader of The Firebrand answer my objections.

Man is naturally selfish animal. He cannot be otherwise. All his acts are self-regarding. Altruism so-called is based on egoism. All voluntary acts are performed for the sake of reward, even if this reward be merely self-satisfaction. Even so-called self-denial, when it is voluntary, is for self-satisfaction. There must be a stimulus, therefore, for every voluntary act, and that stimulus is a sense of reward, even if it be only a sense of self-satisfaction.

Now when all property is held in common and each takes from the aggregate store just what he needs or desires there is nothing to stimulate production of man"s" labor. The best way to test Anarchist-Communism is to put it into practice. As it is impossible just at present to do that on an extensive scale, the next best thing is to suppose it put into practice. Suppose the government of the United States abdicates to-day and the people agree to give Anarchist Communism a trial and no longer to recognize such a thing as right or private property.

The selfish nature of man would still remain, for that is essential to man's existence. At a result those men who are engaged in distasteful labor would quit it if they could obtain the right to make it of their own avocation. Ninety-nine out of every hundred miners would leave the coal, iron, copper and other mines to seek more congenial employment. In a short time their number would become so great that there would be no coal, iron, copper or other mines to work. As a result wages would be so high that printers could not possibly be hired to print The Firebrand or write letters, because work in a papermill is not so attractive that a sufficient number of men would engage in it to supply the demand for paper. So it would be in other factories. And even if there were enough volunteers to work the factories it is likely that there would be a scarcity of iron to make the machinery. It could hardly be expected that a sufficient number of men would unite to work in foundries and rolling mills. In a few years locomotives, steam engines, bicycles, wagons, and all sorts of machinery of iron, wood, and canvas would cease to be manufactured.

The firebrick manufacturing process, type, tools, pencils, needles, pins, and thousands of other articles which few persons would care to do without would become so scarce that there would be almost unobtainable. Even bread and vegetables in their natural state would be an emigration of humanity to the torrid zone every autumn.

Almost every Anarchist-Communist will admit that every article is the enjoyment of all persons which are now the luxuries of the benefactors of labor. But could he get them under Anarchist-Communism? Let us take pianos, for instance, still supposing Anarchist-Communism is established. There is already a piano factory for a piano, and I find a crowd of several thousand other men and women there. Most of them under government were not, perhaps, for which they were now engaged, but have been taken in the natural state, and are paid for the labor.

The idea of the right of private ownership is inherited and robbery. I am willing to be convinced if I am wrong, and I shall anxiously await answers to the objections to Anarchist-Communism above set forth.

Jonathan Mayo Crane.

Chicago, Ill.

Man is inordinately selfish. He is a miser. I call on my objector to show that the self-sufficiency of man will not lead the people to gratify every desire in a condition of freedom—an impossibility now. If persons can take from the common product what they desire, and if the supply depends on production, the strongest incentive to production exists—the assurance that after production the results can be enjoyed.

Our objector asserts that in a condition of Anarchist Communism no man could make a living without a government. Let him prove it, at least, by bringing some little evidence in favor of his assertion. Is there any reason to suppose I will bring abundant proof to the contrary but until such evidence is forthcoming I do not deem it necessary.

The claim that fuel would become scarce is utterly ridiculous, for no one is going to go cold when they can help themselves to fuel. The trouble with the objector is that he carries the ideas that are capable of present conditions over into conditions that would be impossible of attainment and acting as if they do now. Just as with the possession of pianos. How does he know, when the chances for enjoyment of music will be abundant, that every man who has been half a man will maintain a pianola in freedom? And right here let me say that it is impossible to imagine that the government can or will stipulate at once, or that those who are half-starved to-day will be living in a state of Anarchist Communism tomorrow.

We must pass through a period of mental evolution, and of economic and industrial revolution and reconstruction, and when these periods have passed people will not, cannot and act as they do now, but must think and act in accordance with the conditions then prevailing.

When Brother Crane has brought some evidence to sustain his assertions then will be time enough to speak of other objections, and when the present objections have been sustained or answered I will endeavor to fairly and squarely answer other objections.

H. A.

New York Tailors Strike.

The workers in the sweat shops of New York are out on strike. Their organization numbers 38,000, and many of the members have sought for months to have some redress of their distress but have an executive board and officers whom they must obey. So the weary workers dragged on and on, and weeks and months went by and the condition remained the same. Finally they could endure no longer, and one bright May morning five thousand of them rushed into the streets, and finding their "leader" (what mockery to call these parasitic union office holders leaders) begged him to order a strike, but the union officer said "wait." By May 31st, 3,000 were out and had formulated the following demands: 1. Fifty nine hours to constitute a week's work. 2. Wages to be paid every Friday, for work done up to that date. 3. The manufacturers to be responsible for their wages. (They are working for "sweating contract"") 4. Abolition of the task method.

They are hired by the week, but are given a task, and a very heavy one at that, and if they do not finish it they are docked for that. I shall not mention how much that a tailor has worked from 16 to 18 hours per day for 6 days in the week, he will often only be credited with 4 or 4½ days, and is lucky if he is not docked at all. They are paid "rebates" from the manufacturers for the work done, and "skip the city," leaving the poor tailors to mourn for their lost wages. This is made possible by the manufacturers finding new factories and new machines, for then they have nothing to lose, and they are very irresponsible parties.

One state of affairs is it not, when the very clothes we wear represent blood and tears of those who made them? When 1,000,000 of people in a few years get very few goods, cruel men are enabled to wring the products of the toil of thousands from them, and leave them and their families to suffer and starve.

Some tailors have suggested that they would be in "glorious civilization" and of a "wave of prosperity." So far the strikers' cause looks favorable, but even if they should win and their demands be granted, far from being in a condition even of fair living, much less of comfort. It would be scalded if they would refuse to work except on the best of conditions—short hours, high wages, clean and airly shops, or better still, they would call on all producers to join them in a grand universal strike, one that would not be called off until all parasites had climbed down off their backs and joined the ranks of the workers.

Some demagogues will undoubtedly exhort these tailors to vote the ticket of their political party, promising them, if their party succeeds, shorter hours, better wages and better conditions generally. As a result of the carrying out of their schemes of free coöperation, currency inflation, factory inspection, governmental monopolies etc. This time of unrest and fever heat excitement is when this kind of flimflam effort endeavor to capitalize on these unfortunate men. Should either the silverite or Socialist politicians succeed in getting these poor tailors to support their political parties how much would they gain? Would it be to their advantage that the politicians cannot help them, and have little or no use for them beyond getting their support at the polls, and that a final settlement of their difficulties means the solution of the economic question. As this is not possible immediately, and as these men's needs are immediate, something short of the final solution is imperative. If they can hold out, and get other trades to assist them, both morally and financially, they can either compel the manufacturers to give them better pay and better conditions, and by mutual assistance they may be able to get possession of machines and take contracts down from the manufacturers, and thereby get the sweaters away from them. If a number of them can rent a room and a few machines now, and make a dinner with the manufacturers, it will very materially help in their struggle, and that the public will quickly condone the modest demands now made, rather than see their business slip away from them.

Let all the comrades give these poor men our moral support, and encourage them to hold out. They can supply the sweaters, by dealing directly with the manufacturers and by co-operative shops, and warn them against falling into the snares of the politicians.

B.A.

"There is no foundation in nature why any set to words on parchment should give any dominion of land."—Judge Blackstone.

"Our laws have no more right to sell land than he has to sell his mother, for what is land but the nursing parent to us all."—The Word.
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Argentina—A soft, yielding people, the victims of all selfish government of man by man as the political phalanx; individuals: liberty.—Century Dictionary.

WAR.

So long as savages were addicted to cannibalism and slavery, warfare for the sake of obtaining food and slaves was its natural antecedent. The practice of European cannibalism and slavery had been unknown for centuries previous to the nineteenth. The murderous herdsmen who, under the name of armies, every now and again, were ready to inflict, or even to be capable of inflicting, execrable misery, wanton and unmixed with any return of value, were all for nothing at all. A study of the causes that led to the wars that disgraced the nineteenth century shows that they were caused by the accumulation of profit, the progress of the factory system, and the growth of population.

These were the results gained by this war, of which some of the incidents form about as ghastly reading as any in history. One eye-witness reports that in the long railway-trains filled with wailing French soldiers, writhing in the agonies of typhoid fever, and left thus to die, bleeding piteously for water, but with no nurse or doctor to help or relieve them.

The report in the Times of the battle of Sedan has the following: “Let your readers fancy masses of colourless ragged bodies as blood and brain, and pictures of ghastly tattooing—men wounded, extending for miles, not very thick in any one place, but recurring perpetually for weary hours; and then they cannot, with the most vivid imagination, come up to the sickening reality of that butcher-sher.

Inconceivably horrible as were the battle-fields, they were not the only, probably not the worst, of the horrors of war. For one killed in battle, ten or more were killed by cholera, by wounds, by disease, and privation. Add to this the sum of misery as all the widows and orphans of the slain, and then only a few of the most palpable results have been taken into account.

Among all the wars which disgraced the nineteenth century, it is difficult to determine which deserves to be included in this category. But if we consider the American Civil War, 1861-5, appears to rank as the vilest exhibition of savagery on record. Among European nations centuries of warfare had accustomed the people, and especially the rulers, to look upon war as the natural and proper way of settling their differences. The same cause had engendered mutual hatred and distrust between all nations, in which a breach was the naturally

The mutual hatred and distrust of the nations was the cause that they were all armed and kept constantly ready for war, and, therefore, always ready to break bread with the most provoking acts at the smallest provocation. Also constant war, or preparation for war, had, in fact, already strangled the Governments, with almost unlimited power over their subjects; and the press, books, and constitutions were biased in favor of warlike methods. None of these palliatives of the situation could be advanced in favor of the Americans. Custom had not rendered them capable of regarding the income of war, and the losses to the community of men, as a source of revenue, no previous defeat: to be wiped out between the States. There were no huge armaments, no great preparations, no large sacrifices. No people, and no nation, was so poor as to be willing to have to blame for this, one of the most sanguinary wars that was ever waged.

Although a war among brothers, men of the same race and kindred, it was, from the commencement, war to the death, and only terminated when one of the States was practically annihilated. In four years the Northern lost 300,000 and the South 110,000 soldiers, killed, wounded, or captured. In these 1,100,000 men had to be swept aside, more than half of them being killed or maimed. Comparing these losses with the population of the States, we find that these losses equalled nearly the whole of the young men of the period of the war.

It is impossible to realise the misery thus inflicted; but the following scene closely resembles the oglądaćeną przez autorów, a war between brothers, A vast Northern army blew up a body of 3,000 Confederates by means of a mine in which 14,000 pounds of gunpowder had been placed... The Northern troops then rushed into the mine and tore up the flesh and organs of the bodies in the mine. The frantic man/create and struggled like demons; hand grenades were tossed in, and, as they exploded, the fire would send up into the air. The Confederates suffered at the saddle and stopped. The North lost more than 4,000 in the crater that day; it was choked with dead.

With slaughter carried on in this wholesale manner, the цифры указывают, that cost of this slaughter was about $1,000,000,000, equating the rate at $17.50 per corpse. This tremendous sacrifice of blood and treasure by no means represents the sum of man-made losses.

The effects of withdrawing 2,000,000 able-bodied men from productive industry, and setting them to the work of slaughter, was disastrous to agriculture, manuf actures, and all the other resources of the States, especially in the districts traversed by the armies, the crops, the houses, and everything valuable were destroyed. Another consequence of the war was the destruction of the foreign trade of the United States through privations of price of goods.

This destruction having taken place, the Americans were prevented from building up and rearing up a great ship-owning nation by the incredible folly of the States in taxing imports—a system rendered possible by the heavy taxation required to pay off the debts and expenses of the States. It was impossible even to enumerate, much less to estimate, the evils inflicted by this war on the communities, and they were not the only sufferers. All Europe suffered by disorganized political conditions and by the failure in the distribution of food stuffs—totaled at least 100,000 of the working population of Europe out of employment; and three or four times as many had to suffer privation and want from the wasted working force, and the cost of living. The evils inflicted on mankind by this one war were innumerable and incalculable. The resulting benefits can be seen in the present condition of the world, they may be summed up in four letters, x, y, z.

The causes which led to this disastrous result seem to have been some of the paltry political disputes and jealousies between the States. The Northern men who took part in the question of negro slavery was imported into the quarrel. As the most favorable view of the question, it may be assumed that the North carried on a war against the South, a war which we have to admit to have been a disgrace to a so-called free nation. But even then the inequity of the war is not perceptibly diminished, for, had men been really free, the men who sought to have been seen that the cause of freedom had been infinitely greater. The war in the latter years, the introduction of war among the American States than it had to gain the suppression of negro slavery by a single best of the best of our years. Taxation by the States for the purposes of the States, the South may have been needed for the poor and the sick of the people... The Southern States, and the Southern States were at the mercy of any successful general or dictator that chose to go against them. The South was in danger of losing its chance of bringing down the United States to the level of the continental Europe or South American savagery, every possible method of settling the dispute without resort to the terrible horror of the war that had been brought to a trial by those who depended for their living on it. It would have been just and generous to offer to bear part of the war, for the loss of the slaves; it would also have been much cheaper.

The American civil war is classed as the most atrocious crime against civilization, because the constitution of the States was adapted for the purpose of the American States, and a little too much and good feeling on either or both sides would have prevented it. Otherwise the invasive and barbarous actions of the English army would have been the first place in the order of infantry. England, like man-eating tiger, had acquired a taste for human blood that had to be appeased. For centuries she had been engaged in war, and by her means, and by her means, she had been one of the first, ever she had a chance. She had eagerly rushed into every continental war, apparently for the pure love of the sport of murdering and being murdered. By her invasion she was safe from the attacks of other people; but she was never happy if she did not contribute men and money to some or other of the wars that constantly raged in Europe. From the days of Dr. Johnson, it had been fighting in all parts of the continent of Europe, for not any gains to herself, but with the unadulterated love for fighting for fighting's sake. In all these adventures she had developed a large and insignificant military caste, the whole people had been more or less inoculated with the passion for war. The ideas of life of the people and of the government were adapted to warfare (carried on in other countries).

After the Napoleonic wars, which had cost some two and a half million lives, in order that one in a hundred might be emperor for a few years, all Europe was exhausted and sick of war, and there was peace in Europe for nearly half a century. During this time England had been carrying on a war-dance anywhere on the continent until, weary of this injustice, she provoked a war with Russia. It was a perfectly disinterested war on her part; she wanted to get her hands on a vast territory which consisted of 25,000 men and 700,000 of money. Napoleon III. of France took a hand at the game, because he suited
his political programme. The French losses were under 100,000 men, and under £20,000,000 of money. Among many savages a youth is not considered to have attained the rank of manhood, nor permitted to take a wife unless he be man. On some of these grounds the principle the kingdom of Italy, which was, at that time, hardly recognized as one of the great powers in Europe, joined in the man-hunt just to prove its prowess. It had expended £200,000—perhaps, but sufficient to prove that the new kingdom was as reckless of the lives and property of its subjects as any of the older Governments, and, therefore, deserving to be knocked up immediately.

These three Powers joined with Turkey in making war on Russia. The net results of this war were, so far as the Turks are concerned, the loss of 10,000 men in the French army, 2,181 in the English army, 2,194 in the Italian army, 35,000 in the Turkish army, 30,000 in the Russian army—a total of about 750,000 men killed in battle or died of disease. The cost of the war was of about £240,000,000. This was one of the cheapest wars in the nineteenth century, and cost less than £500 per corprae. With the progress of science the cost of making corpses increased rapidly.

Another beneficial effect of this war (from the military standpoint) was that it led the way to continuous increase of armaments among all the European nations. As has been said, the career of Napoleon I., and other great kings and emperors were marred by jealousy of the great glory and honor according to France from this career of буржувові банди і дії були формально критерій від яких з російської європи був найбільш успішний.

The revolting sentiments current in the nineteenth century, and so much influenced from them, came to be despised in the darkest chapters of savage times. And there is very little to plead in mitigation of this verdict, except that the infant sentiments preserved, by the natural outcome of preceding history and surrounding circumstances. It must also be remembered that the more civilised ideas on the subject of war were slowly, but surely coming into existence.

Carlyle, writing in 1831, said: “What, speaking in such unofficious language, is the net purport and upheld interest of war? The end of war, there dwells and toil in the British village of Dundridge usually some five hundred souls. From these there are successively selected, during the French war, thirty able-bodied men: but at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood; and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another can saw, another can stand under stone finds. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red, and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or, say, only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted. And now, to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar men, and they, too, are trained like manner; weeding, till at last, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and—thirty stands facing thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Suddenly the life of the man is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and, in place of that, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury and ane up; hence the wars. The Devil is not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the strongest; nay, in a wide universe there was even unconsciously, by some, mutual hatred between them. How then? Simpleton! his governor had fallen out; and, instead of shooting another, had the cunning to make these three. Writing twenty years after, he said: “Of European wars, I really hardly remember any, since Oliver Cromwell’s last Protestant or Liberation war with Lepizig, anti-Chris- tian Strike war, since at that time, of which I have no personal knowledge, I think like manner weeding, till at last, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and—thirty stands facing thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Suddenly the life of the man is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and, in place of that, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury and ane up; hence the wars. The Devil is not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the strongest; nay, in a wide universe there was even unconsciously, by some, mutual hatred between them. How then? Simpleton! his governor had fallen out; and, instead of shooting another, had the cunning to make these three. 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hours for the wage slave.

It is thus evident that the colony must supply its own material wants, and until this is done the sufferings of the farmers will be increased, and when it is done little cash will be needed.

Purchase of land for site, construction work and other pioneering, such as clearing land (and perhaps irrigating it), planting orchards and vineyards, while each is absolutely necessary, and of great ultimate value, do not yield immediate returns, they must be borne.

But while for a time both labor and cash will be on the wrong side of the ledger; faithful adherence to the work will eventually realize their reward; perhaps not in gold, and yet in increased knowledge, happiness and fraternal blessings.

Former influences upon the lives of members restrict the fullest play for individual talents. But such are the conditions of the young men, their lives are at the rising generation, educated in the Socialist school and trained to co-operative effort will possess less of the spirit of selfish greed than their parents. But at no time will an ideal state be attained. The ideal of today may be the fact of tomorrow, but it can never be the ideal of the future.

The colonist may not only educate his children in the Socialist school, but he may himself be assured of permanent employment and a home; the latter, in fact, must be the colony's first care.

Since the colonist is free, or has the material at hand to secure freedom. To hold his job he need obey no party boss, nor maintain subservient silence. He may vote if he chooses, and as he chooses, and he need not worry about not being able to sustain a horde of parasites of any party color.

Certain politicians, calling themselves Socialists, denounce colonists as "idlers," yet offer no substantiated evidence of the profession of superior honesty on their own part. Plausible, as all politicians are, they will do well only by themselves. Till they get office the people may suffer; to them the individual is of importance; to the colony, on the other hand, it is seen that the whole society is composed of individual units and the welfare of all is limited by an injustice to one.

There has been one good result from such denunciation: Sympathetic leader-worships have not dared offend the party whip-cracker by joining a colony. It is in an individual that the colony is interested, not as an individual, as they do not possess requisite stamina and intelligence to think for themselves, nor moral courage to put their belief to the test; they also, as authoritarianists, seeing no incapacities for self-control, yet desire to govern others, who are capable of self-government. Without these mental and moral weaknesses there will be a great self-sufficiency of incompatibilies which will brook with colonies.

Some time ago a writer sent to a Socialist party paper for publication a communication stating that "there is no such thing as co-operative society; we don't dare stay out in the fight." Before he closed his letter he said: "In speaking of Socialism in this place I don't dare speak above a whisper." His name and address were given to the colony, F., Ala., and he emitted a war like he found it difficult to collect some rents with which he wanted to feed his partners' barns! Brave, valiant, rent-collecting (Social?) yells "Coward!" to still the trembling in his bowels.

In what way can Socialist colonies secure more freedom for their members than can political action?

In all ways! Politicians become nothing for the laborer, but advises him to do nothing "until you first get offices for your partners, then, if you still live, you will have something but politics, which will rest in the soul." Politicians are of so many shades and hues (and, so far as labor is concerned, has no way of blending these inharmonious tints) that no two political parties can agree to toter through the ballot box though it drain his pocket for the benefit of the party parasite.

Will colonies succeed?

Surely, if there is but. If founded on truth and justice and properly conducted (which includes a sufficiently large admission fee and care in accepting members), and a colony may seem broad, but it is not yet heard of a sad day this country which secured freedom for its members, and the renters would all be glad, I suppose. If the Dreamer would tell where there is one. As long as conventional and majority politics dominate in the colonies, its numbers are to be from being free. The little colony of our comrades in Lake Washington, Wash., is the finest I know of; but we cannot expect full freedom in the midst of a government.

A Note and Comment.

"Civilization makes laws, and not laws civilization."

"Labor cities are large scree on the bloody policy."

"It were better to be a savage freeman than a civilized slave."

"We, the people," is the style of all the platforms, but just who the people have never been determined.

"If one were to be kind enough to point out just what the present legislature has done we will be glad to give it such publicity as we can."—The Antonomist, Houston, Texas.

Throughout this long year of our readers were sent copies of "Socialism in Danger," part I, but not part II. If those who have received them thus far, will notify us we will send part II to them, thus making the pamphlet complete.

Comrade Wellenbrock is slowly improving, but it is hard for us to pay $4.90 per year as long as the expenses are greater than this. We expect to raise funds from every comrade, that is able to spare it, will help bear the necessary expenses while he is recovering.

And any of our readers have strawberries and pitty at the same time they will furnish The Firebrand with a few boxes. We need something of that sort to enrich our blood. If you like to read The Firebrand remember we like strawberries.

Do you want to belong to the Association for Emancipation from Usurious Customs? It don't cost anything and you'll be in good company.

Comrade says the men must take their hats off in public meetings and the women keep their hands in. How many women will ignore this foolish custom by removing their hats when it will be more comfortable to them to do so?

I started an open air meeting once, with my hat on. Some one suggested that I take my hat off. I said I would every in the audience would, but as a comfort for we all kept our hats on.

A Boston Comrade wants me to "look nice" when I go out on a lecturing tour. A woman must be neat and nice, but I like comfort better than fashion or custom and as a member of the A. E. F. C. I will utterly fail to decompromise myself, or cause myself annoyance just in order to please anyone in particular. Of course, on this question I can say with Vanderbilt, "the public be damned."

It is customary to lie to children concerning the facts of where the babies come from, and to keep them in ignorance of their origin, and of their sex natures. This custom is not a mere carelessness, but is an entire lack of knowledge, and the result appears in ignorance and misceiney. Join the A. E. F. C. and help break this custom down.

How can anyone hope to become free economically and socially, while they are subject to custom? Act as you think and feel, not as you have been taught, or as custom dictates, and soon you will feel more independent and fearless, and can look the boss in the eye in a manner that will impress him with the thought that you want not to do fool with. If you don't fear custom, you won't fear a boss.

Many times persons feel strongly drawn to each other, and desire to express affection for each other, but Madam Grundy—custom—says, "Ah, my dear, you campshore dies away a grain of bitterness takes its place."

Comrades Hold and Bauer, who were sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, for distributing literature and "creating disturbance" in Homestead, were discharged on May 28th. These men were victims of Puck's viciousness and official villainy. True, they distributed litera-
POVERTY AS I SEE IT.

Looking at the miserable streets, alleys, courts, and passages of the East-end of London, one can only see wretched stalls, not for dogs to live in, and thousands of overworked, ill-clad men, women, and children, going back from their working dens to these stalls.

What about those who have not even such a wretched home to return to, but walk about in the streets all night being allowed to sit down on a door step? Such are the scenes that can be witnessed day after day, hour after hour, and minute after minute, not only in the East-end of London, but wherever the people have taken some of our modern so-called civilization. "Good old civilization!"

Last week while walking down Whitechapel Road, I saw an old man sitting on a door step. A policeman came to get away from him upon which the man began to cry, and said he had been walking about in the streets all day, without having had anything to eat or drink. I went up to him gave him a few pence, and told him to get something to eat and a night lodging. "God bless you," was the poor old man could utter, and after this he went into a baker's shop. What will become of old men like this? How long will he be able to live like this? The man is simply wasting away by inches.

Some time ago, I read in the "Daily News" the following paragraph: "At half past nine, last night a man was found dead next to Spitalfields Church. On being taken to the hospital the doctors declared that the man had not hung himself. Yet we are told that there are many places of charity, and if a man dies of hunger in the streets, it is his own fault. There are the workhouses, where he would be taken care of. Why not go there? It needs but one glance inside those workhouses to know the reason why a man or woman would prefer a death of starvation rather than go there.

Such is the charity that these people boast of. I have no hesitation in boldly affirming that when the rich give back a small part of the plunder, they have forfeited to do with it, thus giving an oath to lie them to sleep on the bosom of contentment, they do it not for the love of the poor, but for the fear of the poor. After a man or woman has worked hard for about 30 years, their most usual finish is to go to the workhouse, die in the streets of starvation, or commit suicide.

How long will you, oh workers stand by and look calmly on such a system? How long will you till for others to consume? How long will you produce wealth of which you are allowed to touch only the most inferior sorts? Fellow workers, join with us! Cease to trust in those who say they will act for you, or who advise you to delay. You the working men and women are the stronger, dare to strive for better conditions. Join with us, and together let us fight for our rights.

Rochelle Zoleman.

10 Fire De Lis Street.

Special Announcement.

This publication of The Firebrand is carried on by a few individuals, aided by a number of radicals everywhere, for the purpose of spreading radical ideas. We have no organization, no constitution, no by-laws, rules, officers or dues. Each works at what he or she is most competent to do. The Firebrand has no editor in the ordinary sense, and we invite everyone who has anything to say to send in their "copy." Those engaged in the work of getting the paper out have no other means of support than the receipts from the subscribers, as it keeps us from doing the work necessary to its publication, and most of the contributors to its support are poor, therefore we appeal to all who can to contribute what they can to the propaganda fund, this helping to increase the circulation of The Firebrand, by making it possible for us to distribute a larger number of free copies. All donations and subscriptions are accounted for in the propaganda fund.

We want anything we can use in payment for subscription. Any one wanting the paper can have it sent to them regularly by writing for it. If you can pay nothing now, we will credit you. If you are disposed to do otherwise, please send us the money you have, so that we may carry on the work.

R. B. WHITHE, Proprietor.

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The German Group, Chicago, Ill. meets every Friday, 6 o’clock P. M. at 356 Blue Island Ave.

Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 425 Polk St. Open every evening from 7 to 9 P. M.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Tuesday, 7:30 p. m., at 2034 Mission St., San Francisco, Cal.

International Group Free Initiative meeting Tuesday, July 23, at 7:30 p. m. at 2034 Mission St., San Francisco, Cal.

Raymondari, the Little Firebrand, which is a monthly free literature, is now being published. The price is ten cents a year.

The New Era, an advocate of the principles of Anarchism, or absolute freedom of the individual, in all things, is published monthly. Address: Lake Bay, Wash.

H. W. S. Philp Edwards Educational Club will meet every Monday, 5 p. m., at 46 Winter St., New York City.

The Little Firebrand, the only magazine published for the young that is free from superstition and bigotry, and which teaches the young to know and to do right, is published in New York. An excellent magazine in English, German and Hebrew languages can be had at the meeting.

Dobin's Aide is an eight page Anarchist weekly paper, published in the Hebrew language at New York City, 425 E. 70th St. by the Hebrew Anarchist Association of America. Send for sample copy.

The San Francisco Anarchist Club, Head-quarters of the North American Anarchist Federation, announces weekly agitation meetings every Saturday evening at 6 o'clock in the Universal Hall, 302 Mission St., San Francisco.

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