

# The Firebrand

OF THE CONCESSES OF IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION.



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

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WHOLE No. 122.

## A Dream of the Future.

I've had a dream. Do all reformers dream?  
A harmless occupation is it not?  
Occasionally indulg'd 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 'twould seem, unfair to hold  
To strict account, a man by fancy led:  
A dream is but a fancy, still when told  
May wake a thought, to practice bred:  
And from the glimmer extract the gold,  
From speculation, a blessing prove instead.  
And so I tell my dream, let others show,  
Some better road whereon reform may go.

I thought I stood upon a country lane,  
A gravel'd walk neath 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 chirp'd amain.  
And summer with its ostentatious ease,  
Lull'd all my soul in comfort, and then  
Seem'd to rebuke the ambitious strife 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  
Chatter'd a challenge of my presence here,  
Or welcome to his haunts; a charm  
Pervades my being: has man resign'd 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 out into a road, a broad highway,  
Macadamiz'd and smooth, and plain,  
Straight as an arrow. The land that lay  
On either side, bespake the gain  
Of cultivation high, and labor well dispos'd,  
Science, order, beauty, a master mind disclos'd.

'Tis evident thought I, one man alone  
Must own it all. No fence or line  
Divides the lot. Yet buildings wood and stone  
On every side I saw. But none so 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 pause in admiration to behold,  
The charming flowers, amid the foliage green;  
The harmony and beauty of color manifold.  
On either side rare flowers stand, a terraced walk  
between;  
With climbing roses o'er the porch and sweet climatic  
bold.  
A man sat on the porch where flickering sunlight  
play'd  
Inhal'd the rare perfumes, enjoy'd the cooling shade.

As I drew near his cheering voice rang out  
"Walk right in my comrade take a seat  
Our dinner hour has passed, still I doubt  
If you've had yours; your welcome sir to eat  
Our humble fare, and now I'll right about  
The table to reset." "Nay! nay! it is not meat  
For which I hunger. I starve and thirst to know  
the cause  
Of your excellent condition your statemanship and  
laws."

He turned and looked at me in strange surprise,  
"Laws! statemanship!" he cried "we have none.  
Whence came you? Did you tumble from the skies?  
Or did you sleep as Rip Van Winkle done?  
Throughout the revolution?" "In vain, can I surmise,  
How it could happen. But tell me, how you won  
The battle. As I remember now 'tis clear,  
It should be '97 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 chain 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, taxation, free silver all the rage;  
With all his favorite nostrums, the Doctrinaire would  
wax  
Strong in his pride, the people to assuage,  
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 cats' in the addage, to satisfy the monopolistic  
maw.

"From party, to party the people rushed pell-mell;  
And put in turn each question to the test,  
And still the times grew hard, and prices fell,  
And money rose, as did political zest:  
The monopolist alone was doing well;  
Even mortgages, no longer proved the best  
Investment, for the land no longer worth the fee,  
A loss of interest fell upon the mortgagee.

"And during all the hubbub incidental,  
An undercurrent thought was swept along.  
The principle of government, and the monumental  
Greed of commerce, alike were voted wrong.  
And property rights, quite inconsistent with the fun-  
damental  
Rights of man, were recognized, in short the throng  
Was gradually, but surely brought to see  
That happiness, demanded liberty.

"Meantime 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 mortgagee his claim let go.  
The land not worth foreclosure. The taxes they  
Were shifted onto lands in use, which increased  
expense  
The farmers kick'd against, and organized defence.

"Then came a rain of pamphlets that tell  
Of co-operation, and its multifiform relief.  
The uselessness of legislation that compel  
Expense and trouble, and proves itself a thief,  
To steal our manhood, and our sustenance. Rebel  
O' farmers and mechanics. Why harbor belief  
In the efficacy of laws, when the general record made  
Proves fraud, injustice, outrage its only stock in trade.

" 'Twas then co-operation on a very different plan  
Than heretofore considered, something new,  
Based not on profits but the needs of man—  
(Every failure co-operation in the past sustain'd is  
due  
To the grab game of business). Its promoters began  
To prove conclusively great Nature ever true,  
To principle just, with every soul creates beside  
A store sufficient, every need could be suppli'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 warmth and light, and how they may exist.  
One thing they need not buy, and a system of exchange  
Gives all their labor products a wide range.

"And from the city now, an exodus commence;  
To the lands left vacant in the country they swarm;  
The farmers need their aid, and lesson the expense  
By helping build their habitations, rude, but warm.  
The exchange of labor products amply recompense,  
By a knowledge of the city and the farm;  
And producing all the food, and apparel to be worn,  
Which enables them to laugh the monopolist to scorn.

"Pay no taxes, these became the cry;  
Drive the tax eaters 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 statemanship rely;  
And for our wasted energies hereafter we'll atone,  
By bending all our effort, on co-operation's plan;

To build anew society, to advance our brother man.  
"Once more set up the spindle and the loom;  
Once more hand labor is in 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 money and the mechanism of exchange,  
Died hard, but labor exchange creates a new condition,  
By boycotting all "legal tender" they arrange  
A money of their own, during the transition  
To complete cooperation; money passes from the range  
Of human wants. Invention such facilities confer,  
That prices go glimmering, among things that were.

"The days of business, with interest, rent and profits  
Have pass'd, and Competition's fitful lever's o'er;  
And Poverty, despite the scriptural injunction saw fit  
To take its leave, and be with us no more;  
And Monopoly, at last returned to Tophet;  
And Government, that all these evils bore,  
Have pass'd away, and Nature now is free;  
And Love, and Labor, sings a psalm to Liberty.

"And then came an end to all organization;  
For Independence had grown so stout of 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 amply compensate;  
No more of routine toil and degradation;  
Labor has grown a source of health and recreation.

"A loss tremendous monopoly sustained;  
Great source of profit crumbled to the dust;  
Machinery was wasted but liberty regain'd;  
And Labor no longer a slave to the lust  
Of Profit, and Power, has never complain'd  
Of the toil entail'd, by machinery's rust,  
For great were the harvests, and luxuriant the soil.  
When all men were laborers, and willing to toil.

"Tho' great was the loss, humanities gain  
Was greater still, think of the time employ'd  
In toil, and moil, the scramble and the pain,  
Of gathering riches, which the very few enjoy'd.  
Tho' cities are deserted the countries remain,  
To bloom in greater beauty, being devoid  
Of all the hustle, bustle, ramming, jamming, crew  
Who jostle in life's highway, filthy lucre to peruse.

"True happiness became the pole-star now,  
With Self at helm, invention sought  
To make life's journey safe, and show how  
Havens may be made, and comforts caught,  
And erksome 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's genius moved their inclination,  
To labor in the soil, naturally led this work:  
All labored, not to produce was simply degradation;  
And no one dar'd the opprobrium of a shirk;  
And so it was in every occupation;  
Leaders are developed wherever genius lurks.  
With no compulsion, or rules of majority,  
Genius was recognized, as the only authority.

"And civil engineers made roads anew;  
And creeks were straighten'd to reclaim the land;  
And forests planted, and all without ado;  
They make a pastime of their work: A band  
Of jovial hearts, their wives and sweethearts too  
Accompanied them. Each day a picnic plan'd,  
With flowers and fruit, with song and music gay,  
Love laughs with Labor, the fleeting hours away.

"We live, we love, we labor, to create  
The happiness of man, each free  
To enjoy in his own way his own estate;  
Co-partners in Natur's generous fee."  
His voice began to fall, his form dilate;  
Dissolving in a mist, it seemed to be;  
And I awoke, to realization clear,  
It still was '97 and early in the year.

Porterville, N. Y.

A. L. BALLOU.

## Constructive Anarchy.

## IV.

By J. A. ANDREWS.

LET US now consider the application of our principle as affecting our relation with certain classes of outsiders—those who are not merely unconscious followers of the system environing 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 also which have any valid reason to be called "Socialist" and not merely political. The one party, with a minority of "Socialists," believe in regulating individual consumption by individual production; the other, with a majority of the "Socialists," believe 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 in the absence of a better conception, and—putting the rabid governmentalists aside—they do not aim at any greater development of authority than is logically necessary as the accompaniment of their economic system, by reason of their views on the morality of possession. 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 are the rabid governmentalists, by a difference of positive ideal.

We will assume, then, that 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 one side or on both. 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 amount of products, or 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 help you are to 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, because they stand for evidence of a positive title—and a positive disentitlement outside of it—on our part which we do not admit. We shall call upon you for help if and as we have occasion to do so; you know what we have done for you, and you can reckon it up to govern your 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 dispossess yourselves of the supposed "equivalent" of our aid, according to your 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 exact amount of help we may have 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 accord-

ing to our ideas it is essential for us to receive the same quantity of products, or the same length of labor time, from you."

"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 matter of their privilege; 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 occasion for our assistance, and no matter whether you get help from the particular persons who had help from you, or from some others; no matter whether the particular ones among you who get our help were those who helped any of us or not. You can balance it up as you like among yourselves, if your conscience requires. If one of you has helped us, and on your system owes something to another who has had help from us, he can let our help stand against his debt if he pleases; the one who has received our help can credit us with it to some one who has helped us, if he wants to; or each of you can ask and offer help from and to any of us—no matter whom—till he is satisfied. Limit your own choice of what help you will seek from us and offer us, and to or from which of you it shall ultimately come, just as your ideas lead you; but all that concerns us is to know what help you want, when we can give it; to let you know what help we want, when you can give it; to see what help you will give us when we need it, and to show what help we will give you when you need it."

We should not thus be imposing any disturbance whatever on their system. In point of fact, a great part of their own affairs among themselves would always be regulated by mere accounts without the passing of Labor Notes from hand to hand. We should simply be declining to participate in their system, and leaving them to work it out for themselves in their dealings with us. If they wished to apply it to these affairs as well as to those which were strictly between themselves, they would take cognizance of help coming from our side as well as that going to us and account for it among themselves in their clearances, their idea being, let us remember, as much to avoid having more as to avoid having less than the "equivalent" of their production or time spent in producing. We, by declining to participate in a system which circumstantially enforces this idea, leave them to take their own means of acting according to it if they wish to do so, or to depart from it or act without reference to it, if they cease to think it absolutely essential. We simply say, "You can limit the help you ask from us to the 'equivalent' of the products or time you have supplied, or intend to supply us with; and you can limit the help you offer us, to the 'equivalent' of the products or time you have got or feel confident of getting from us; but we have absolutely nothing to do with that or with the mechanism of it. We do not act on that principle, and we cannot adopt it towards you; it is for you to see that your transactions with us coincide with it, if you so desire, by cutting your own actions to fit in with it, and not for us to apply your system for you."

It is the same as if we said to a person under the ordinary system:—

"We are willing to help you, and may also want help from you, but we are not proposing to sell or buy. If you are prepared to give us any help, you can also rely upon us to help you to the best of our ability. If you like to leave the matter on that footing, well and good; if on the other hand you have any idea about the exact balancing of the help given and received, keep an account and see to it for yourself how much you think fit to do, and how much you ask us to do; only we do not enter upon any formal bargain, there will be no actual indebtedness on either side; you are at lib-

erty to give only what you think you are getting, and to give as much as what you think you get; to ask for and accept as much or as little as you think you receive; but if you think that way it will be a matter for your own conscience and not for any mechanism to be jointly adopted between us; because that idea will be solely on your side, therefore it is for you to work it out for yourself if you want to practice it, or leave it alone if you prefer; we are not proposing to fix a why and wherefore for asking help or for being willing to give it; our proposal is that you, in your need, appeal to our willingness and we, in our need, to your willingness, and let your willingness stand on your own reasons, and our on our's reasons, as they really exist in our minds for each particular occasion."

If he accepted the proposal, he would be able to work with us on lines of broad open mutual helpfulness according to needs and capabilities, or at his option to balance his givings with his receivings on some artificial conception of "requirements"—time, products, the outside scale of values, or any other standard, without calling us 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 command it; he could give continually more than he received, but he would be under no obligation to do so. The dissatisfied could always take the step of standing aloof from those they 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 parties entering into dealings with each other without respectively committing themselves 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 apply what principle pleases him in 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 inconvenience, no obstacle to be surmounted in order that an 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 wish to enjoy according to one's "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 this last idea, for the reason that the mechanism is 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 where 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 where entertained merely as doctrines 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 incautious excess 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 the moment of 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, the communal or common ownership 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 a 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 that 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 the hope of reward.

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 many necessary products.

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 to private property.

The selfish nature of man would still remain, for that is essential to man's existence. As a result those men who are engaged in distasteful labor would quit it; for every man would have the right to choose his 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 it would be impossible to get paper on which 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 run the factories it is likely that there would be a scarcity of iron to make the necessary machinery. It could hardly be expected that a sufficient number of men would volunteer to work in foundries and rolling mills. In a few years locomotives, steam engines, bicycles, wagons, plows, looms, printing presses, type, glass, pens, pencils, needles, pins, and thousands of other articles which few persons would care to do without would become so scarce that they would be almost unobtainable. Even fuel would be so scarce that there would be an emigration of humanity to the torrid zone every autumn.

Almost every Anarchist-Communist will admit that every man is entitled to the enjoyment of many articles which are now the luxuries of the exploiters of labor. But could he get them under Anarchist-Communism? Let us take pianos, for instance, still supposing Anarchist-Communism is established. I go to 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 poor, scarcely half-fed and half-clothed. But now all are equal, each wants a piano, the supply at the factory is limited; nine-tenths of the workmen have quit to seek occupations

more to their liking; it would be unfair to distribute the pianos in the factory, for that would be giving to a few the luxuries which all who desired it could not enjoy.

So it would be with bicycles, type-writing machines, and thousands of other things.

Transportation is demanded by social beings, but many who desire to ride over a good road would be unwilling to assist in keeping that road in repair. They could not be forced to do disagreeable work, for that implies the existence of a power having the right of coercion—the very thing Anarchist-Communists oppose.

Nor could a voluntary agreement be reached, where-by some men would do the disagreeable work. Some inducement would have to be offered and if there were no private property no inducement could be offered. They could not be exempted from other work, because the right to exempt presupposes the power to compel.

These are only a few of my many objections to Anarchist-Communism. I would be glad to have some one answer them fairly and squarely without evasion.

I contend that none of these objections can be urged against Anarchist Individualism. In my opinion the abolition of the right of private ownership is invasion 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 a selfish animal or nothing. I call on my objector to show that men's selfishness will not lead them to gratify every desire in a condition of freedom—an impossibility now.

If persons can take from the common product what they need, knowing that 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 the production of paper, bicycles, wagons, ink, pens and thousands of other things would cease, and I call on him to prove it, or at least to bring some little evidence in favor of his assertion. When he brings some evidence to support his assertion I will bring abundant proof to the contrary, but until such evidence is forthcoming I do not deem it necessary.

The idea 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 dependent on present conditions over into conditions that would not admit of anyone thinking and acting as they do now. Just so with the possession of pianos. How does he know, when the chances for enjoyment of music will be abundant, that every one who has been half starved in government will want a piano in freedom? And right here let me say that it is impossible to imagine that the government can or will abdicate 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 think 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 action taken to relieve their distress, but they have an executive board and officers whom they must obey. So the weary hours dragged on and on, and weeks and months went by and their condition was unimproved. 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 20th, 18,000 were out and had formulated the following demands:

1. Fifty nine hours to constitute a weeks work.
2. Wages to be paid every Friday, for work done up to that time.
3. The manufacturers to be responsible for their wages. (They are working for "sweating contractors.")
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 accomplish it they are docked on their wages so much that when 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 gets paid for that, for often the contractors collect 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 contractors hiring instead of owning machines, for then they have nothing to lose, and they are very irresponsible parties.

Fine state of affairs is it not, when the very clothes we wear represent blood and tears of those who made them? When by shrewd manipulation a few greedy, 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. Yet we hear much of our "glorious civilization" and of a "wave of prosperity."

So far the striker's cause looks favorable, but even if they should win and their demands be granted, yet how far they would be from a condition even of fair living, much less of comfort. It would be splendid if they would refuse to work except on the best of conditions—short hours, high wages, clean and airy shops, or better yet if 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 coinage, currency inflation, factory inspection, governmentalization of monopolies etc. This time of unrest and fever heat excitement is when this kind of parasites endeavor to fasten themselves upon these unfortunate men. Should either the silverite or Socialist politicians succeed in getting these poor tailors to support their political parties how much better off would they be? None. We know that the politicians cannot help them, and have but 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 can get other trades to assist them, both morally and financially, they can either compel the sweaters to give them better pay and better conditions, and by mutual assistance they may be able to get possession of machines and take contracts direct from the manufacturers, thus eliminating the sweaters entirely. If a number of them can rent a room and a few machines now, and make a dicker with the manufacturers, it will very materially help them gain their strike, for the sweaters will quickly concede the modest demands now made, rather than see their business slip away from them.

Let all the comrades give these poor men their moral support, and encourage them to do all they can to supplant the sweaters, by dealing directly with the manufacturers and by co-operative shops, and warn them against falling into the snares of the politicians.

H. A.

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

"ONE has no more right to sell land than he has to sell his mother. Indeed in selling land he sells his mother, for what is land but the nursing parent to us all.—The Word.

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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.

## War.

SO LONG as savages were addicted to cannibalism and slavery, warfare for the sake of obtaining food and slaves was comparatively excusable. But in Europe cannibalism and slavery had been unknown for centuries previous to the nineteenth. The murderous hordes that, under the name of armies, every now and again massacred each other had not even the miserable excuse of necessity or hunger to palliate their crimes. Of the thousands killed in battle not one corpse was eaten, or put to any useful purpose. So far from receiving any benefit from the murder of their fellow men, the sport used to cost the murderers or their backers thousands of pounds per corpse.

No words can paint, no imagination can picture, the real horrors of war as carried on in the nineteenth century. Its mere money cost cannot be estimated. But the most astounding thing to a civilized man is that this frightful destruction of life, this wanton infliction of pain and misery, this incredible waste of wealth, were all for nothing at all. A study of the causes that led to the wars that disgraced the nineteenth century leads to the inevitable conclusion that the causes were paltry and contemptible. In 1870 the Emperor Napoleon III. provoked a war with Germany merely to serve some political aim of his own, with no more scruples than one player would have in challenging another to a game of chess. The Emperor of Germany accepted the challenge with equal indifference, and without the smallest attempt to ascertain the real cause of dispute, if any, still less to settle it by peaceful methods. Those two great nations plunged into a war which cost about a quarter of a million of lives and a thousand millions of money directly; the indirect cost was incalculable. The benefits conferred on mankind from this expenditure were nothing, or, rather, infinitely less than nothing—ill-feeling, jealousy, increased armaments, throughout Europe. 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 great square of Metz he saw 320 railway-trucks filled with dying French soldiers, writhing in the agonies of typhoid fever, and left thus to die, raising piteous cries 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 coloured rags glued together with blood and brains, and pinned into strange shapes by fragments of bones. Let them conceive men's bodies without heads, legs without bodies, heaps of human entrails attached to red and blue cloth, and disembowelled corpses in uniform, bodies lying about in all attitudes, and skulls shattered, faces blown off, hips smashed, bones, flesh, and gay clothing all pounded together as if brayed in a mortar, 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 butchery."

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 slow torture, by wounds, disease, and privation. Add to this the sum of misery of 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 classed as the most infamous; but taking all things into consideration, the American Civil War of 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 the nations, so that a foreigner was regarded naturally as an enemy. 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 in a condition to spring at each other's throats at the smallest provocation. Also constant war, or preparation for war, had evolved strongly-centralized Governments, with almost unlimited power over their subjects; and, by their nature, origin, and constitution, biassed in favor of warlike methods. None of these palliating circumstances can be advanced in favor of the Americans. Custom had not rendered them callous to the evils of war. There were no old wrongs to avenge, no previous defeat; to be wiped out between the States. There were no huge armaments, no great and preponderating military caste to precipitate armed strife. The armed condition of one part was not a standing menace to the other. They had no crowned despot to push them into war for his honor and glory. The people themselves, through reckless savagery, were alone to blame for this, one of the fiercest and 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 side was practically annihilated. In four years the North enlisted 2,656,000 and the South 1,100,000 soldiers, and before the South could be conquered 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 the Southern States sacrificed nearly the whole of their young men of the period.

It is impossible to realize the misery thus inflicted; but the following scene casts a lurid light upon "glorious war":—"At Petersburg, U. S. A., the 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 vast chasm or crater thus formed; but the confederates rallied to revenge their dead comrades, and poured shot and shell on the Northerners." An eye-witness wrote: "Shattering volleys were fired into the seething abyss till it became a perfect hell of blood. The frantic mass heaved and struggled like demons; hand grenades were tossed in, and, as they exploded, you could see heads and arms and legs go up into the air. The confederates sickened at the carnage 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, exact estimates of killed and wounded were not attainable; but from those that can be found we learn that 800,000 men were killed in battle or died through wounds and disease, and the direct cost of this slaughter was about £14,000,000 sterling, being at the rate of £17,500 per corpse. This tremendous sacrifice of blood and treasure by no means represents the sum of human misery inflicted by this barbarous war. The effects of withdrawing 3,000,000 able-bodied men from productive industry, and setting them to the work of slaughter, was disastrous to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. In the Southern 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 mercantile navy of the United States through privateers and the fear of privateers. This destruction having taken place, the Americans were prevented from again taking their place as 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 responsibilities of the war. It is impossible even to enumerate, much less to estimate, the evils inflicted by this war on the combatants; and they were not the only sufferers. All Europe suffered by disorganized trade in general, one incident of which—the cotton famine—threw 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 diminished work, less wages, and extra cost of living. The evils inflicted on mankind by this one war were innumerable and incalculable. The resulting benefits can be easily numbered and calculated; they may be summed up in four letters, none.

The causes which led to this disastrous result seem to have been some paltry political disputes and jealousies between the States. After the rupture had taken place 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 the war with the object of suppressing negro slavery, which we admit to have been a disgrace to a so-called

free nation. But even then the iniquity of the war is not perceptibly diminished, for, had men been really zealous for freedom, they ought to have seen that the cause of freedom had infinitely more to dread from the introduction of warfare among the American States than it had to gain by the suppression of negro slavery. Nations in a state of warfare were obliged to disregard not only the rights of their enemies, but also of their own subjects. The condition of the people on the continent of Europe ought to have been sufficient demonstration of the inconsistency of warfare and liberty. The conscription, which was general throughout Europe, made all the male youths absolute slaves to the State for some of the best years of their lives. Taxation made all the people partial slaves all their lives. The South American Republics afforded another example of the antagonism between war and freedom. Having adopted from Europe the custom of fighting among themselves, the lives and properties of those who inhabited the South American States were at the mercy of any successful general or dictator that chose to govern and plunder them. Before running the risk of bringing down the United States to the level of continental Europe or South American savagery, every possible method of settling the dispute without recourse to the infernal system of wholesale butchery ought to have been tried. England had freed itself from the shame of slavery by buying up the slaves held in the colonies. With this example before them, the abolitionists ought to have offered the slave-owning States compensation for the abolition of slavery, as the institution had grown up under the sanction of the law. Those who disapproved of it ought not to have expected any great self-sacrifice on the part of those who depended for their living on it. It would have been just and generous to offer to bear part or the whole of the loss; it would also have been much cheaper. £160,000,000 sterling would have bought up every man, woman, and child held in slavery in the States; while the war cost to the Northern side alone about six times as much money, without counting the innumerable other expenses and the 800,000 lives. Men professing to be rational human beings ought to count the cost of their actions; but men in the frenzy of the war never did, hence the wars. It is doubtful if eight men could have been found in the States willing deliberately to sacrifice their lives either for the abolition or for the continuance of slavery. We may be perfectly certain that 800 willing sacrifices could not have been found; yet, when once the evil passions of mutual destruction were let loose, 800,000 were found ready to sacrifice their lives apparently for no other purpose than to indulge the insane love of slaughter.

The American civil war is classed as the most atrocious crime against civilization, because the constitution of the States was adapted for peaceful evolution, and a little tolerance and good feeling on either or both sides would have prevented it. Otherwise the invasive wars of the English would have deserved the first place in the scroll of infamy. England, like a man-eating tiger, had acquired a taste for human blood that had to be appeased. For centuries she had been roaming about the world slaying and robbing wherever 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 insular position she was safe from the attacks of other people; but she was never happy if she did not contribute men and money to some one or other of the wars that continually raged in Europe. From the days of Marlborough to those of Wellington, England had been fighting in all parts of the continent of Europe, not for any gain to herself, but with the unadulterated love of fighting for fighting's sake. In the course of these adventures she had developed a large and influential military caste, and the whole people had been more or less inculcated with the passion for war. The ideas of the people and the organization 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 miscreant might be Emperor of France for a few years, all Europe was exhausted and sick of war, and there was peace in Europe for nearly half a century, during which time England had no opportunity of performing a war-dance anywhere on the continent until, weary of this inaction, she provoked a war with Russia. It was a perfectly disinterested war on her part; she had nothing to gain by it, and only lost a trifle of 22,000 men and £70,000,000 of money. Napoleon III. of France took a hand at the game, because it suited

his political programme. The French losses were under 100,000 men, and under £70,000,000 of money. Among many savage races a youth is not considered to have attained the rank of manhood, nor permitted to take a wife, until he has killed his man. On some such 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 spent 2,000 lives and £2,000,000—not much 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, deserved to rank among the full-grown man-killers. These three Powers joined with Turkey in making war on Russia. The net results of this war were, so far as can be ascertained, the slaughter of 95,615 in the French army, 22,182 in the English army, 2,194 in the Italian army, 35,000 in the Turkish army, 630,000 in the Russian army—a total of about 785,000 men killed in battle or by wounds or disease, and the direct waste of about £340,000,000. This was one of the cheapest wars in the nineteenth century, and cost less than £500 per corpse. 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. Napoleon III. was led on to imitate the career of Napoleon I., and other great kings and emperors were maddened by jealousy of the great glory and honor accruing to France from this career of bloodshed. Many national duels were fought to ascertain which of the nations was the most successful among the man-slayers. This rivalry produced a series of wars in the latter half of the century of first-rate magnitude, which quite compensated for the inglorious peace of the first half. From the Crimean War to the end of the century about two and a half millions of men were slaughtered at the direct expense of about £4,000,000,000 of money, or at the rate of about £1,600 per corpse.

In the great continental wars of this period England was unable to play any important part. On the occasion of each of them she increased her armaments, and stood ready and eager to intervene if she got the chance; but, with the improved appliances of these days over earlier periods, wars were commenced and finished in less time than it had formerly taken to settle preliminaries, and most of these wars were finished before England could make up her mind on which side to fight. She had, therefore, to be content with murdering and robbing insignificant Asiatic and African nations or tribes. The Abyssinians, Ashantees, Boers, Afghans, Egyptians, Soudanese, Burmese, and such like small deer, were the only game she hunted. Although these marauding expeditions appear to us to be exhibitions of dastardly cowardice, a great nation like England sending forth expeditions armed with all the resources of science—repeating rifles, machine guns, and other engines of destruction—to murder unarmed savages and annex their territory, seems to us as dastardly as for a strong man to murder a child for the sake of stealing its toys; yet to our ancestors of those days a successful invasion of the territory of some savage chief was looked upon as an act of heroism for the nation to be proud of. Rank, titles, and fame were showered upon the successful commanders of these expeditions.

Of course such wars required a certain amount of skill in the officers, courage and endurance among the men, and a considerable sacrifice of life on the part of the troops, chiefly through disease and privation; and, according to the curious code of honor then current, the men who made these sacrifices received the same honor, whether their cause was just or iniquitous, noble or infamous. Had the English troops been fighting in defence of their own homes and fatherland, they would have been entitled to the honor and gratitude of their fellow citizens; and they received the same mead of praise when they were outraging the homes of other peoples and slaughtering those who defended their homes. In those days it was considered honorable to fight in any cause, be the cause good or bad. It is not easy for us to understand how such a sentiment could be held; but until we realize the fact that it was generally held we shall never understand the readiness, even eagerness, with which every opportunity for engaging in war was seized on.

The following prayer, ordered to be read in all the churches on the occasion of sending out an expedition from England to invade Egypt, is an example of the

sentiments with which war was regarded by our pious and respectable ancestors: "O Almighty God, whose power no creature is able to resist, keep, we beseech thee, our soldiers and sailors who have now gone forth to war, that they, being armed with thy defence, may be preserved ever more from all perils, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of all victory, through the merits of thy only son, Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

This was not a prayer for forgiveness for the crime against humanity which was about to be perpetrated. On the contrary, it took for granted that the deity would look with approval on those who had "gone forth to war," and boldly claimed supernatural defence (over and above the armoured ships and other engines of war taken with the expedition) for those engaged in this antique fashion of "Glorifying God." It is hardly credible that any of these joining in this prayer had any doubt as to who would be victorious in a struggle between England and the Egyptians. Their prayer for victory looks like a piece of barefaced hypocrisy; but we must remember that the people proved their sincerity, to a certain extent, by giving along with their prayers a considerable amount of money—some four millions over and above their already heavy burden of taxation—without hesitation or grumbling.

The revolting sentiments current in the nineteenth century, and the bloody wars which resulted from them, cause that period to be classed in the darkest chapters of savage times. And there is very little to plead in mitigation of this verdict, except that the sentiments and actions of the time were the natural outcome of preceding history and surrounding circumstances. It must also be remembered that more civilized ideas on the subject of war were slowly, but surely, coming into existence.

Carlyle, writing in 1831, said: "What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these there are successively selected, during the French war say, thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge, 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 build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. 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 French artizans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at last, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and thirty stands fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire!' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and, in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers—nay, in so wide a universe there was even unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot." Writing twenty years after, he said: "Of European wars, I really hardly remember any, since Oliver Cromwell's last Protestant or Liberation war with Popish, anti-Christian Spain some two hundred years ago, to which I, for my own part, could have contributed my life with any heartiness, or, in fact, would have subscribed money itself to any considerable amount. Dutch William, a man of some heroism, did indeed get into trouble with Louis XIV. . . . a little money and human enthusiasm were due to Dutch William. Illustrious Chatham also . . . assisted Fritz of Prussia, a brave man and king (almost the only sovereign king I have known since Cromwell's time), like to be borne down by ignoble men and sham-kings; for this let Chatham, too, have a little money and human enthusiasm—a little, by no means much. But what am I to say of heaven-born Pitt, the son of Chatham? England sent forth her fleets and armies; her money into every country; money as if the heaven-born chancellor had got a Fortunatus' purse; as if this island had become a volcanic fountain of gold, or new terrestrial sun, capable of radiating mere guineas. The result of which—what was it? Elderly men can

remember the tar-barrels burnt for success, and thrice immortal victory in the business; and yet what results had we? The French Revolution, a fact decreed in the eternal councils, could not be put down. The result was that heaven-born Pitt had actually been fighting (as the old Hebrews would have said) against the Lord; that the laws of nature were stronger than Pitt, of whom, therefore, there remains chiefly this unaccountable radiation of guineas for the gratitude of posterity. Thank you for nothing—for eight hundred millions less than nothing!"

In the writings of Herbert Spencer we find war, except when absolutely necessary for self-defence, denounced, not merely in detached passages, but persistently and consistently throughout his works. He never missed an opportunity of holding up to scorn and hatred the ferocious sentiments that inspired the foreign policy of England. In our estimate of the nineteenth century we must never forget that subsequent generations have merely built up the structure of civilization on the foundations laid by that one commanding genius. Among those who, in spite of surrounding circumstances and current traditions, arrived at rational conclusions with regard to the war system, must be mentioned two men, Richard Cobden and John Bright, the latter of whom opposed, with the noblest courage and the truest wisdom, the iniquity of the Russian War, receiving as his reward the hatred and contempt of nearly all his contemporaries, at least of all politicians.

Even among statesmen and soldiers, those whose personal ambitions and gross stupidities were the main causes of war, faint glimmerings may be found of the consciousness that the war system they supported was an atrocity unworthy of human beings. Earl Russell, writing in the nineteenth century, said: "On looking at all the wars which have been carried on during the last century, and examining into the causes of them, I do not see one of these wars in which, if there had been a proper temper between the parties, the questions in dispute might not have been settled without recourse to arms." The same might have been said with equal truth in the twentieth century. The marshal, Duke de Bellisle, said: "To the shame of most crowned heads, it is a certain fact that, of all the wars that have been waged since this dreadful scourge was first known among men, there has not been one which might not have been avoided if the parties concerned would have sincerely endeavoured after an accommodation." Lord Brougham said: "I abominate war as unchristian. I hold it the greatest of human crimes. I deem it to include all others—violence, blood, rapine, fraud, everything which can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man."

While, then, the nineteenth century is blackened by some of the vilest crimes ever committed against humanity in the form of sanguinary and wanton war, still the sentiments which have since rendered war as obsolete as cannibalism were then germinated, and were slowly but surely displacing the barbarous creed that at that period swayed mankind.—[The Dawn of Civilization.]

### Colonization and Politics.

CONSIDERING the means of freeing labor from capitalistic exploitation, we find that the adherents of two methods dispute first rank in availability. Of course there are many other plans, but we will not here consider them. The two disputants are Colonization and Politics. By colonization I mean that plan of practical Socialism—co-operative work and co-operative life—which prefers while teaching Socialism to also practice it, so far as possible, in preference to eternal preaching without attempt to realize and prove its own doctrines.

No sane man will say that while there still exists a competitive system extending over the major part of the so-called civilized portion of the world Socialism in its fullness can be realized, for competition is based upon protection by government in the work of forcing upon all society the idea that "what was good enough for our forefathers is good enough for all ages to come; that suits us, as we know no better; and you must abide by it." And as this system must for some time surround Socialist communities, it must also hamper them to a large extent, for if the colony attempts manufacturing clothing for the market it must compete with sweat-shop labor; if the manufacture of machinery and tools is tried, the most expensive improved machinery will be required to do the work or hand labor must be put against machine labor, and the shorter hours of the co-operator against the longer

hours of the wage slave.

It is thus evident that the colony must supply its own material wants, and until this is done the coffers of the community will not be overlaid with cash, and when it is done little cash will be used.

Purchase of land for a site, construction work and other pioneering, such as clearing land (and perhaps irrigating or reclaiming the same), planting orchards and vineyards, while each is absolutely necessary, and of great ultimate value, do not yield immediate returns, yet their expense must be borne. But while for a time both labor and cash will be on the wrong side of the ledger; faithful adherents to the work will eventually realize their reward; perhaps not in gold and silver, but in increased knowledge, happiness and fraternal influences.

Former influences upon the lives of members restrict the fullest play for individual talents. But such influences will gradually lose their strength, and 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 "bread is freedom," 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 submissive silence. He may vote if he chooses, and as he chooses; if he does not choose he need not vote to sustain a horde of parasites of any party color.

Certain politicians, calling themselves Socialists, denounce colonies as "fakes," yet offer no substitute save glittering promises and 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 nothing. With the colony, on the other hand, it is seen that the social whole 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: Sycophantic leader-worships have not dared offend the party whip-cracker by joining a colony. It is letter so; their presence would be highly detrimental, 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 authoritarians, concede their incapacity 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 sufficiency of incompatibles who will "try their luck" with colonies.

Some time ago a writer sent to a Socialist Party paper for publication a communication stating that "those who join colonies show cowardice; they do not dare stay out in the fight." Before he closed his letter he said: "In speaking of Socialism in this place I dare not speak above a whisper." His name and address were given as "N. G., F., Ala." Then he emitted a wail because he found it difficult to collect some rents with which he wanted to feed his party bosses! Brave, valiant, rent-collecting Socialist (?) yelling "Coward!" to still the trembling in his own boots!

In what way can Socialist colonies secure more freedom to the workers than can political action?

In all ways! Politics secures nothing for the laborer, but advises him to do nothing "until you first get offices for your party bosses, then, if you still live, we'll give you everything but political power, which will rest in the boss!" Politics are of so many shades and hues (and, so far as labor is concerned, has no way of blending these inharmonious tints) that no real reform or evolutionary party can assist the toiler through the ballot box though it drain his pockets for the benefit of the party parasites.

Will colonies succeed?

Some will, others won't. If founded on truth and justice and properly conducted (which includes a sufficiently large admission fee and care in accepting mem-

bers, for to succeed they must harmonize) they will. If not—they will stop and solve a few problems, not the least of which will be Harmony.

To one not acquainted with the animus that moves the party bosses to deride the colony movement the attack may seem strange. But the party supports him; his tactics keep liberal and able men out of the party, thus assuring him a steady job; if he told the truth his dupes would abandon him and strike an effective blow for economic freedom; do you wonder that he is a ready slanderer?

Taking a party so absolutely dominated by one man that when he lays down his program and says, "In-dorse that by referendum vote or I will read you out of the party," he is obeyed, we do not wonder that at the last national party convention he declared a boycott against a score of party papers (which taught the principles he professed to teach) for the sole reason, apparently, that his own corner of capitalism was in danger of being undone by a more socialistic aggregation of papers. And when we see the blind adherence party slaves give to the dictates of the boss in his narrow selfishness, we also see how little hope there is for labor to ever contrive a political party that shall not be run by a self-seeking fakir, or by a set of knaves who first look to it that they as individuals are well provisioned ere venturing a blow for principle on behalf of the mass of the party supporters.

But granting the feasibility of a labor party that shall by some improbable means secure the political power in this country, and yet not fall into the hands of knaves, we get no farther than a government by a class unused to the exercise of power. Such men will prove of weak moral courage in resisting the atmosphere of corruption which surrounds political power. Else they will go to the other end of the balance and become despotic. Even if they still remain honest in intent, the exercise of intolerance makes them more dangerous to society than are the knaves. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," says: "The great antagonist of intolerance is not humanity, but knowledge." And: "If you can impress any man with an absorbing conviction of the supreme importance of some moral or religious doctrine; if you can make him believe that those who reject that doctrine are doomed to eternal perdition; if you then give that man power, and by means of his ignorance blind him to the ulterior consequences of his own acts, he will infallibly persecute those who deny his doctrine; and the extent of his persecution will be regulated by the extent of his sincerity." To "moral or religious," had Buckle been acquainted with modern American politics, he would doubtless have added "political and industrial doctrines."

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

Variety—Another Woman's View.

I AM a mother, and wife, and as such desire to say a word in answer to one of your correspondents some time ago, who wanted to know if there were any women who believed in or practiced variety in their sex relations. I want to say yes! most emphatically. My husband and myself are in perfect harmony on this point, and can see no more harm in having an exchange of partners in the sex relation, than in having variety in food, clothing, or friends. Who could be happy in this world if only permitted to enjoy the companionship of one individual? Who loves flowers? Does any one love but one kind of flowers? Is any one healthy who is confined to a single article of food? Is there one single thing in this life that is enjoyed without variety outside the sex relation? If there is name it, I know of nothing. If this be so, then who can give a sensible reason why the sex relation should be confined without variety? I have a happy home, am loved devotedly by my husband and my children, my health is better than when I had other views, and, in fact, I cannot see a single reason nor have I ever heard one given why we should not share our pleasures, whatever they may be, with those who are dear to us, especially if those pleasures tend to increase the happiness of those mutually interested.

There is a vast difference between variety and promiscuity, and many confound the two, hence arises the opposition of some to variety, who would not oppose it if they really comprehended it in its full meaning. I believe in the home in its strictest sense, I believe in training children to love their home, and assist in making it the one great paradise to them on earth. I think if parents would do more to make home attractive there would be fewer cases of children leaving home, to go out to the temptations of our

cities, hence I say that if this subject can be once fully and rightfully understood, we can eradicate many evils which now stand in the way of true happiness.

WILDA HOMEFIELD.

Nebraska.

Note and Comment.

"Civilization makes laws, and not laws civilization."

"LARGE cities are large sores on the body politics."

"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 are has never been determined."

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

THROUGH a mistake to some of our readers were sent copies of "Socialism in Danger" part I., but not part II. If those who have received them thus, 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 \$4.20. per week as long as the expenses are greater than the income. A nickel from every comrade, that is able to spare it, will help bear the necessary expenses while he is recovering.

If any of our readers have strawberries and pity at the same time they will furnish The Firebrand Family 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.

DON'T you want to belong to the Association for Emancipation from Foolish Customs? It don't cost any thing and you'll be in good company.

CUSTOM says the men must take their hats off in public meetings and the women keep theirs on. 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 to address an open air meeting once, with my hat on. Some one suggested that I take my hat off. I said I would if every one in the audience would, but as comfort forbade we all kept our hats on.

A BOSTON Comrade wants me to "look nice" when I go East on a lecturing tour. Well, I like to look 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 discommode myself, or cause myself annoyance just in order to please the fancy of the "public." On this question I can say with Vanderbilt, "the public be damned."

It is customary to lie to children concerning where the babies come from, and to keep them in ignorance of their origin, and of their sex natures. This custom has caused untold suffering and misery. 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 slaves 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 wont do to fool with. If you don't fear custom, you wont 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, nay, and as the sweet impulse dies away a grain of bitterness takes its place.

COMRADES Nold 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 25th. These men were victims of Frick's viciousness and official villany. True, they distributed litera-

\* A colony may secure bread, but I have not yet heard of a colony in this country which secured freedom for its members, and our readers would all be glad, I suppose, if The Dreamer could tell where there is one. As long as ostracism and majority rule are dominant in the colonies, its members are far from being free. The little colony of our comrades in Lake Bay, Wash., is the freest I know of; but we cannot expect full freedom in the midst of government. A. I.

ture, and advanced ideas that were calculated to cause thoughts and actions which were not at all pleasing to Frick, but had not Frick caused actions that were not pleasing to them? It only shows that government is for the many, but in the interest of the privileged few.

COMRADE LUCY E. PARSONS writes us that "The Life of Albert Parsons" is now out of print, all copies having been sold. Take notice and do not send us any more orders for them. Copies of "Anarchism" by Albert Parsons can be had at the old price: cloth and gilt 30c, paper 15c.

If any of our readers have back numbers that they do not wish to keep, we would like to secure the following numbers of Vol. I:

1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 28, 33, 35, 37, and 47.

If you have any of these numbers that you can spare it will be a great favor to The Firebrand if you will send them in. A comrade is willing to pay 10 cents per copy for the above numbers. Also the numbers 42 and 45 of Vol. II.

A FEW days after President Boyce of the Western Miners Federation made the suggestion that the miners arm themselves with the most improved weapons, at that organization's convention, in Salt Lake, some men—supposed to be miners—up in Idaho, looted an armory of the Idaho National Guards, carried off all the guns and ammunition, and succeeded in getting away. It is supposed that they acted on Boyce's suggestion. Probably so, and it is to be hoped that he will suggest they cease fooling with politics, and simply hold possession of their product.

THE cause of the Greek and Turkish war is now known. King George had a financial agent on the stock market who bought and sold under telegraphic instruction from his majesty, the king. With each victory or defeat of his army the price of Greek bonds went up or down, and now George counts \$5,000,000 profits on his speculations, thus showing pretty clearly that the King had "an eye to business" when he stirred up the war. His doctor has advised him to change climate—to save his life we presume.

## Youth's Department.

### 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 slums, not fit for dogs to live in, and thousands of overworked, ill-clad men, women and children, going to, or returning from their working dens to these slums.

What about those who have not even such a wretched home to return to, but walk about in the streets all day and night, not 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 tasted 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 up and told him to get away from there, 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 all the poor old man could utter, and after this he went into a bakers' shop. What will become of this poor wretch? 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 died of hunger."

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 great care of. Why not go there? It needs but one glance inside these

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 to the poor a portion of the plunder, they have forcibly taken from them, thus giving an opiate to lull them to sleep on the bosom of contentment, they do it not for love of the poor, but for 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 on calmly at such a system? How long will you toil 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 workingmen and women are the stronger, dare to strive for better conditions. Join with us, and together let us fight for our rights.

London E., England.

10 Fleur De Lis Street.

## Various Voices.

J. W. H., Lawrence, Wash.—Enclosed find 50c in stamps—please send me a copy of The Wherefore Investigating Co. The remainder is to help the sick Comrade—hope he is recovering ere this? I would like to send more, but I've a sick comrade nearer by to help. I cannot save money by leaving off tobacco or intoxicants, for I've never used them!

I cannot take the stand some Anarchists seem to, that Government is the cause of all our social ills. (1) It seems to me Government is an effect as well as a cause—it has its foundation in the minds of the people as now constituted, and simply "abolishing" Government, supposing it could be done now, would not, as some seem to think, remove the cause of the wrongs we suffer from, which have their cause in human nature, (2) and the latter must be changed by education, experience mostly, then, when the change has gone far enough, government will be as powerless for evil as any outgrown custom or idea. I have no kick against showing up the evils of our present system, but I do object to the "whole hog or none" policy of some Anarchists who refuse to acknowledge that government is an evolution, and may be gradually evolved out, and who refuse to see it may help our cause—the cause of right—if we accept a necessary compromise, if done under protest and all the time trying to show a better way. Who will say the present system could have been inaugurated in this country had not the belief in the right and justice of commercialism been in the hearts of practically all the people? That then is the cause of such government, and it will fall when propaganda shows and experience teaches all that commercialism is wrong. So it seems to me we need not condemn all attempts to "improve" a thing we must keep and use for the present, just because it must eventually be outgrown.

No candid person can deny for a moment that municipal ownership is an improvement over private ownership of natural monopolies, (3) yet some Anarchists, if I understand them, would not help to bring that improvement because it is imperfect and must give way to a better one! No, comrades, I believe in evolution. In walking over the ground, not in trying to jump as far as we can see, and wanting everyone else to "jump" too. Let us talk in favor of what we believe will come true, but let us work for what is possible now, (4) never teaching or accepting it as a finality—there is no finality in human affairs! I think Stella Starbright's article in No. 118 is right to the point and good.

1. I THINK brother Heritage mistakes, or misunderstands, for no Anarchist that is clear in his ideas believes that government is the cause of all ills, separate from the ideas of people, or that government can exist unless the superstitious idea that it is a necessity is prevalent among the people, that is why we constantly make war on the idea of government, or domination.

2. Human nature needs not be changed, but its expression will and must be in accordance with its

environment. It is not human nature that needs changing, but ideas, and with the change of ideas will come a change in institutions; in other words, government will disappear. Now, we find a great many people do but little cogitating, and their ideas depend on what they see around them, so that the environment must be changed in order to change the idea of these people. That leaves the real conflict between those who are interested in maintaining the present system and those who wish a change. If we can destroy reverence for a useless and hateful institution in the minds of those who wish a change they will then cease to support it, will even help to destroy it, and those who's ideas are dependent on institutions must then change, and so we will gain liberty.

3. The assertion that municipal ownership is superior to private ownership is based on theory and not on facts. Our Socialist friends point to Glasgow to prove that assertion, but comrades in Glasgow say that the city is as greedy and unsympathetic a monopolist as any individual or private corporation ever was. Here in Portland we know something of municipal ownership, and know it to be a grand humbug, and a very expensive one. Private corporations are harmless when the legal privileges back of them are removed. Land monopoly exists only on account of legal title.

4. We are not trying to jump, or to get others to jump. We expect to plod right on, step by step, but we do not admit that it is necessary to walk in the opposite direction in order to reach our goal. The increasing of government is the opposite of what we want—the abolition of domination.

H. A.

### Propaganda Fund.

The Group in Dillonville, Ohio, \$4.00. F. Reisinger, \$2.10. J. Bauer, \$1.85. M. Schneider, \$1.00. Helfman, \$1.00. Aronberg, Tropp, Dollusky, Sch-op, Gibson, Kohlsbeck, Kucharick, Holt, Halpern, Jaeger, Koedel, Schuhl, each 50c. Wm. Myer, 75c. Through Sebald, 65c. Wichman, 30c. Bordigoni, Aumer, Earle, Appel, Griffiths, Mason, Stillman, Plath, Mentzel, each 25c.

### Wellenbrock's Relief Fund.

Previously acknowledged, ..... \$17.00.  
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Those engaged in the work of getting the paper out have no other means of support than the receipts for the paper, as it keeps them busy to do 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, thus 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 accept anything we can use in payment for subscriptions. 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 disabled, or otherwise prevented from paying for the paper you can have it free. We gladly accept any contribution to the propaganda fund, from a 1 cent stamp up, or anything to eat or wear.

The receipt of sample copies is an invitation to read, and to state that you like the paper. If you want it you need not fear to take it from the post office, as you will never be dunned to pay for it.

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122.

The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

Miscellaneous.

The possession of power tempts and tends to the abuse of power.

The crime of inquiry is one which religion has never forgiven.—Shelley.

It is on the ruins of religion that sound morality must be founded.—Helvetius.

"Darling, did you sing any pretty songs at Sunday school?" "Yes, mamma; we sang a lovely one about Greenland's icecream mountains."

"That Miss Wood, the bicycle rider, is a Theosophist, isn't she?" "Yes, she says she used to walk a treadmill in the time of Sesostris."—Clevel. Plaindealer.

A DEFINITION.—"What is the Social Party League anyhow?" "A number of men and women whose happiness consists in finding impure things.—N. Y. Sun.

Mental Science Enthusiast—"All disease comes from the fear of it." Disputant—"But children have no thought of sickness." "Oh, they are surrounded by an atmosphere of anxiety. Children would never be sick if it were not for their mothers worrying about them." "Yes, I see. Then please account for a recent epidemic of scarlet fever in an orphan asylum."—Life.

Tyrants, knowing full well that their power arises from ignorance, are most careful in maintaining it; for to overthrow all their card castles but a breath of reason is necessary. They protect superstition, because superstition stultifies men, and takes away their courage and energy. So long as his head is filled with tales of Angels, ghosts, and images of the devil and of hell, he will have no thought of the real hell—the hell of slavery. Hence, the greatest crime, in the eyes of despots, is to preach truth and to talk reason.—Hebert.

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Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 1232 1/2 Folsom St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7: 30 p. m. at 1927 E St., Tacoma, Wash.

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International Group Free Initiative meets at 144 West 28th St., New York, on Thursdays and Saturdays at 8.30 p. m.

Radical literature of all kinds, including English periodicals, can be found at the news stand of comrade I Rudash, Cor. Essex a Division Streets, New York City.

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