



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

VOL. III.

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No. 2

Over-Production.

THERE'S an over-production of cotton,
An over-production of corn;
Too much of everything is grown;
Too many people born;
A surplus yield of wheat and bread,
Of potatoes, oats and rye,
Beef and mutton, ham and eggs,
And home-made pumpkin pie.

Too much to eat, too much to wear;
And cattle on too many hills;
Too many agricultural tools,
Too many plows and drills.
There's a surplus now of clothing
Of every grade and kind;
Too many books and papers,
Too much thought and mind.

Too many men to do the work,
Too many women to weep;
More daylight than the people need,
Too much night for sleep;
Of benedicts a surplus;
An over-supply of wives;
Too many birds and blossoms,
More bees than there are hives.

More sunshine and more shadow
Than is needed for the dell;
An over-production of grave-stones,
More coffins than we sell;
An over-production of ignorance,
A sight too many schools;
Too many poor, too many rich,
And lots too many fools.

—The Chump.

Beauties of Anarchism.

BEFORE it is worth while trying to expound the philosophy, or describe the beauties of Anarchy, it will be necessary to dispel many of the vague ideas that are now entertained by most persons concerning the intent of Anarchism, and the personae of Anarchists.

Perhaps there is no word in the English language that has been used so much and understood so little as Anarchy. It has been used as a scare-crow to frighten the ignorant and gullible. It has been—and is to-day—used as synonymous with disorder, bloodshed, violence and war. And yet all this is the antipode, the antithesis of what Anarchy really contemplates.

The funny papers have never wearied of depicting Anarchists as fierce men with unkempt, shaggy beards; with wild and fiery eyes, enormous appetites for beer, and with no idea or hope save that of making explosives and reeking vengeance on imaginary enemies.

At present much of this has given way to a less vicious but none the more correct idea. During the late campaign Bryan was called an Anarchist, Altgeld was called an Anarchist, and the silver movement was dubbed anarchistic, and the adherents to that party were dubbed Anarchists. So persistently was this carried on that many who worked for the success of Bryan accepted the title of Anarchist, and have since proclaimed themselves such. All this is deplorable, for the simple reason that it causes confusion in the minds of many, and prevents an investigation of the claims and proposals of the Anarchists.

In this paper I will try to point out the real meaning and true aims of Anarchy so clearly that

the average person will not thereafter confound formulas for making dynamite, nor yet the advocacy of the free coinage of silver with Anarchy. In the fewest words that can be used to define it, Anarchy is defined thus: No authority. This contemplates a condition of society where rulership is unknown and legal power undreamed of. To many this means horror, for they are so accustomed to look upon the law as some mysterious power that regulates everything and prevents calamity, that they immediately begin to picture to themselves a period of calamities such as is now inconceivable. It is this superstitious reverence for the law; this worshipful attitude of mind for government, and a groundless belief in its necessity that makes it possible for the politician, the editor and the stump speaker to stuff the public with their misrepresentations of the aims and objects of Anarchy.

What is the law? It is merely the enactment of the czar, the sultan or a legislative body, and is constantly being changed, is never stable and operates more or less faithfully in proportion as it is rigidly enforced. Of itself it is nothing. Take the jails and prisons, the armies and militias from behind it, and it is as powerless as though it did not exist. Thus we see that it is the brute force behind the law and not the law itself that gives it power. Is this elaborate and costly machinery of the law, called government, necessary? Are some men so wise that they can enact rules of action that are calculated to benefit all other persons, and all the others so foolishly wicked that they will not obey these rules unless compelled to by fear of the law, i. e. of the jails and other methods of torture? In other words, are people so foolish as to constantly wish to hurt and injure themselves, and so find it necessary to choose some who are wiser and set them to guard and care for the balance? Nonsense! If people are so foolish as to not know how to care for themselves, then they are too foolish to make rules for their own government by direct legislation, or to choose others to make rules of action for them, by the representative system.

Government is force; organized force. It is an elaborate system of repression and compulsion, answering the double purpose of creating and maintaining class distinctions and of despoiling the producers of their products. The first proposition is too apparent to need pointing out if we but look at the strict rank distinctions in every department of government from the chief mogul at the center of government down to the common soldiery or in the city stables in our large municipalities. The second proposition may not be so apparent to many. But whether the producer sees how it is done or not, he is constantly despoiled of his products. This is why producers stay poor while non-producers roll in luxury. This is accomplished through the operation of the law; by means of the power of the government. In the first place the government produces no wealth, and as it constantly expends wealth these expenditures must be met in some manner. Taxation is resorted to, to meet the expenses of government, and so duties are levied on

imports. The amount paid out as import duty is added to the price of the goods imported, and so the producer gives more of his products to secure what he needs, than he otherwise would. All kinds of taxes must be paid in money, and our law makers have told us what we may and may not use as money, and so the producer must obtain a given amount of that particular commodity—legal tender money—every so often, and finds that in order to do so he must give up a much larger portion of his product than he otherwise would have to do. Then again the government has given absolute title to certain portion of the earth's crust to certain individuals. Some of this land they hold out of use, thus creating an abnormal demand for other parts, and so collect high rents. This is charged into the price of goods, services, etc., and is finally taken out of the products of the producer. I might multiply such examples indefinitely, all showing that in the final analysis that the spoliation of labor is traceable to government, and depends wholly upon it for existence.

A condition of Anarchy, then, of no government, would make it possible for every one to retain his or her products, or dispose of them as they might see fit.

Human beings are gregarious. They associate with each other as naturally and irresistibly as do a herd of sheep or band of horses. Granting human association to be spontaneous it stands to reason that it carries with it a sense of certain requirements. People instinctively know that their own personal safety lies in maintaining the good will of their fellows, and the very desire of self preservation, the most fundamental of all human desires, prompts all men to a certain fairness toward, and consideration for others in their intercourse with their fellow-men. This has been illustrated again and again in every newly settled locality in the United States.

We have reached a point in production and distribution where we are absolutely interdependent. No man liveth unto himself nor can he. We all contribute something to the general stock of the world's goods, and partake of the result of the toil of many others. This increases the necessity of good fellowship with each other and reduces the desire for conquest by making the supply of all human wants and needs much easier and safer by peaceful production than by conquest.

With these facts in view the Anarchist boldly and unhesitatingly calls for the abolition of the government with all its costly implements of destruction, its swarms of non-producing, parasitic office holders and its defence of self-created privilege. With no government titles to land, use and occupancy would become the sole and only claims to it, and unused land would be free for anyone wishing to till the soil. No legal tender would be required, no taxes collected, and the interchange of products would be accomplished unhindered by tariffs, license laws, interest and rent paying. Profits would disappear and the toiler would then be enabled to enjoy the full benefit of his labors.

Mutual agreement would be the rule of action

between all persons in their social and industrial intercourse, and when no one else was directly concerned, everyone would act as he or she saw fit—would seek happiness in such a manner as they chose. Thus, every individual would be thrown on his or her own responsibility, and the desire for the approval of others and of their own approval would be incentive enough to induce them to refrain from any unwarranted or uncalled for interference with their fellows. Then an injury to one would be the concern of all, and instead of people putting off all interest in the public welfare, expecting the officers to look after it, each and every one would take a lively interest in everything of a public nature, and voluntary, and I might say spontaneous, Co-operation would provide all necessary public utilities and erect such safeguards as might become necessary to preserve the public health or prevent any public calamity. And all this without the expensive, cumbersome and uncertain machinery of government.

Production and distribution being free, the necessities, the comforts and the luxuries of life would be produced in such abundance that every one could have all they needed or desired. There being no non-productive parasites, government officials, lawyers, soldiers, real estate agents, brokers, bankers and the swarms of other non-producing consumers, it is evident that such an abundance as was never dreamed of, would immediately result from turning this energy in productive channels, and into productive channels it would go, for there would be nowhere else for it to expend itself. With such a super-abundance of all the necessities of life in existence the fear of want would vanish from the earth, and with it all the crimes which result directly and indirectly therefrom, and that comprehends seven-tenths of them.

Under such conditions, with no fear of want or privation to drive men and women into fierce struggles with each other, art would regain its ancient splendor. Music would be cultivated by those who are constituted so as to become most perfect in its creation, and poetry would be rescued from the gross commercial spirit that now dominates everything, and would charm and thrill with its illuminated descriptions of natural beauty.

The mind of man to-day cannot conceive of the progress that would be made possible by the abolition of government.—Anarchly.

—[Henry Addis in *Freemans Labor Journal*.

Attitude of the Church.

The attitude of the church on the question of discontent and extravagant ostentation is very aptly put forward by Dr. William S. Rainsford, of St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, when he says, in the *New York Journal*:

I believe that the giving of lavish entertainments by the rich is at this time politically, socially and ethically unwise. I do not wish to be understood as condemning any persons or warning against any particular entertainment. I speak generally, and because I believe that those who have wealth should not at this time give the demagogues assistance in spreading the feeling of discontent among the poor.

The political importance of New York is threatened by the attacks which have been made upon her in the West, and ostentatious entertainments and extravagance would furnish fresh texts for further attacks.

I think the commanding political importance of New York has decreased in the last fifteen years, and I think the time has come for something to be done that will check, instead of increasing, this loss of influence. A large part of the country's population is crying out against existing social conditions, and ostentatious display here in the East would only widen the breach between this section and the West.

Never were the lines between the two classes—those who have wealth and those who envy them—more distinctly drawn. No longer ago than November 3 more than 6,000,000 persons expressed their convictions that the existing conditions were unsatisfactory.

Whether we like it or not, it is an incontrovertible fact that a large portion of our population is discontented, and does not hesitate to express its feelings.

Extravagant entertainments draw attention to and accentuate existing social differences and to the widening chasm between the rich and poor.

With want on every side, contributions to charitable societies decreasing, and applications for aid increasing, it is most unwise now to offer texts to social demagogues and political extremists by ostentatious display.

I believe in social entertainments; but there should be a reasonable limit to display and a reasonable time chosen for it. Money is not the root of evil; the love of money is. That text is directed against the envious poor man as well as against the selfish rich man. To gratuitously increase discontent by accentuating the poverty of the unfortunate in such days as these is an action greatly to be deplored.

Not one word of condemnation for those who revel in the life blood of the toiling wealth producing poor, nor for the methods employed to transfer wealth from its creators to the parasites. No, No! But advice to be careful not to expose their wealth to view lest the robbed ones see and demand a cessation of the robbery. Such is the attitude of the "Church of God" toward "His children." And then christians bemoan the decadence of religion and the lack of attendance of the people at church. All that grieves me in this matter is that there are yet those who believe that the Church is a friend of the poor.

In commenting on this protest the editor of the *Journal* says:

Nowhere in Mr. Rainsford's protest does there appear any sign that he holds the existing social system under which the widest extremes of wealth and poverty are encouraged as in any degree faulty. On the contrary, all he fears is that such an extravagant display of the pleasures of wealth may lead to an amendment of that system. Over six million people expressed their disapproval of it at the polls, he says, and therefore we ought to strive to conceal its operations just at present. "It is an inopportune time for such a display of wealth and fashion." "Such a lavish display will serve to widen the chasm between the classes." "With want on every side, with discontent rife among the lower orders of society, it would seem unwise to offer texts for demagogues and political extremists." In these three quotations lies the sum and substance of Dr. Rainsford's arraignment of the proposed bal-masque.

The *Journal* applauds Dr. Rainsford's protest, but questions the propriety of the grounds upon which he bases it. He has narrowly missed taking a great, an historic position, but the miss, though narrow, is complete. The bitter destitution and the unexampled luxury of the age are the results of common causes. Whatever calls attention to both at once, vividly, emphatically, will draw attention to the causes and perhaps aid in the discovery of a remedy. In this way the coming ball may prove of public service, and yet, if Dr. Rainsford has been correctly quoted, he opposes the festivity lest it perform that very service. He does not deplore the social conditions which make it immoral, but fears lest it may call attention to those conditions and give demagogues—i. e., those who hope the future has better things in store than the present—a text.

On with the dance! Let joy be unconfined—that is, except to its proper sphere in our best society.

The *Journal* editor sees that "something is wrong," but speaks of discovering a remedy, thus admitting that he does not know any. Let him read Anarchist literature and learn.

H. A.

Why We Wear Clothes.

THE FIREBRAND has contained several discussions of the reasons why it is considered necessary, for modesty's sake, to wear clothes in public. Having given this subject some special study, I think I can contribute some valuable facts. The recent article entitled "The Cause of Their Disgrace" is worthless because the author had not studied the customs of savage tribes in this respect. The facts are succinctly as follows:

Almost everywhere in the world we find it considered disgraceful for the sexes to see each other without more or less clothing. The amount of clothing varies all the way from the Mohammedan woman, veiled face and all, to the narrowest band or scantiest apron that can serve as a covering; but it is always required

that the organs of sex be covered—that is, of course, in those tribes which require any covering at all. For a tribe to wear any clothing and leave these parts uncovered is the rarest of exceptions. In most countries the rule applies to both sexes alike, in a few only to the women, in fewer still, I think, only to the men. In many countries it is disgraceful to expose the person even in the presence of others of one's own sex. The extreme case is the Ainu woman, who must not undress even when she is alone except in the dark, while the men of her nation need not wear any clothes at all.

In many countries it is considered quite as necessary to be covered behind as before; in most, I think it is not.

The intensity of feeling on the subject varies greatly, and has no relation to the amount of clothing used. In most countries where clothing is customarily worn, nakedness is considered very disgraceful indeed, and this is as emphatically true where only a narrow bandage is worn as where the whole body is covered. In some countries it is as easy for the traveler in search of curiosities to buy a respectable woman's clothing off her person as to make any other bargain. In certain West African tribes a certain amount of cloth must be worn by women, but if a woman is so fat that her aprons of the regulation size (one on each side) do not quite meet, but leave the middle of her person exposed both before and behind, she is nevertheless respectably dressed.

Some tribes which now wear no clothing have customs which seem to show that they once did.

There is no observable general difference as to sexual morality between the tribes which use clothing and those which none, nor between those which use much clothing and those which use little. In one place the clothed are more moral than the naked, in another the naked more moral than the clothed. As to civilization there is a difference; much clothing generally accompanies any considerable degree of civilization. As to refinement of feeling there is no difference except what results from the difference of civilization.

In many countries it is customary to punish some forms of unchastity in a woman by publicly exposing her person. This was even a part of the law of the Christian church in Europe during the middle ages. It was also a usage of the ancient Hebrews, recognized as proper in the Old Testament. Some tribes expose the naked body of a fallen enemy as a disgrace.

As to the theory or sentiment on which the idea of the necessity of clothing is based, there are two leading ones. Among primitive peoples (including ancient nations, except possibly the Romans, and modern savages) the theory is that this is a matter of personal dignity, and that nakedness is a disgrace to the person seen naked, but is no injury to others, nor to public morality, except so far as public morality may be injured by any one of the tribe's losing his personal dignity. The theory of modern civilization is just the opposite. According to this theory, everybody has an interest in maintaining the chastity of his own thoughts and the public has an interest in the maintenance of general chastity of thought. But the sight of the sexual parts of the opposite sex tends to excite unchaste thoughts, and therefore is an injury to the spectator personally and to the public at large.

When the clothed and the unclothed meet and mingle together for some time, the results vary. In general, the clothed man, if he holds the primitive theory about the nature of the evil of nakedness, retains his feelings against it; but if he holds the modern theory, his practical aversion to it wears off, unless he is a missionary. His theories on the subject may not change. The unclothed man will probably put on clothes if he finds the clothed man laughing at him, or otherwise showing contempt, and if it is in the clothed man's country, where he has a right to dictate etiquette. But he does not tend to develop any feeling that clothing is intrinsically necessary, or any habit that will lead him to go on wearing it when he is safe out of the clothed man's company, except as a result of missionary instruction. Of course if he is compelled to wear clothing constantly through a long term of years, that forms a habit in him; but even this does not seem to get well fastened (except in missionaries' pupils) till the second generation brings men who never knew an unclothed state.

Among clothed races we frequently find a spontaneous movement toward the abandonment of clothing, sometimes sweeping away whole tribes, at other times appearing as the eccentric idea of an individual here

and there. I do not know where to find a case of even an individual in an unclothed tribe developing for himself the idea that clothing was needful, without being taught it by a foreigner. But the comparative rarity of altogether unclothed tribes, the fact that they usually have clothed neighbors, and especially the fact that we never know anything about them till they have associated with clothed foreigners, that is, with us,—all go to make it impossible to draw any argument from what we don't see them doing.

Those who already wear some clothing do, however, under the influence of their own religion, but without discoverable foreign influence, develop for themselves the demand for a more complete concealment of the body.

In the United States, under present conditions, the sight of the unclothed or half-clothed female figure does have a certain tendency to excite unchaste thoughts. I do not mean that it excites such thoughts in all men, or that some men would not have plenty in any case, but I mean that in men who are ready to have such thoughts such a spectacle is a cause tending to bring them up. Neither do I mean to assume the orthodox, or any other, definition of unchastity; I take it to be true that we all admit that some things (including some thoughts) are bad in sexual life, and I think it safe to make the broad assertion that these sights help to produce all thoughts that anybody considers bad. I understand, however, that this effect wears off very promptly when one goes to a country where he sees naked figures constantly. I do not know that this effect is produced by the sight of the sexual parts more than by the sight of the rest of the body.

American public opinion, among those who are reasonably familiar with the circumstances, does not in general condemn the exposure of the person, in private, for any moderately important purpose that cannot possibly be served otherwise. Instances, artists' models and consulting a doctor. Where a tolerably well-informed opinion does condemn such things, it is usually traceable to the bias of preconceptions. But the general opinion would condemn such exposure in the presence of the other sex for any purpose that could be less conveniently served without it,—instance, learning to swim. Japanese opinion is contrary; it allows public exposure of the person for a very slight degree of comfort or convenience, but strongly condemns any such thing where practical convenience is not the motive,—where there is nothing to do but be seen. So a man may sit and read on his front porch in summer wearing nothing but his spectacles for coolness; and a woman bathing in her house may run out on the city street, without stopping for dress, to see a strange sight passing by; but they are shocked at our nude art and undressed theatrical exhibitions. It strikes me that they are more logical than we. Among us a certain kind of exhibition is considered shameful if it is incidental to our ordinary life and not for the purpose of being seen; but when it is for exhibition's sake alone, on the stage or in the ball-room, the fact that its sole purpose is to be seen makes it all right in Mrs. Grundy's eyes. Bear in mind that the Japanese are a highly refined nation, surpassing white people in their care to preserve the person from insult or rudeness. The Japanese government has passed laws to enforce conformity to the white man's standard of clothing, but it finds the customs of the people hard to change.

These are the notable facts, presented as impartially as I know how and as fully as I can in a small space. My conclusions are as follows:

The desire to conceal the person is not an instinct born in man, but a thoroughly artificial growth. The feeling of this desire is no evidence of refinement or purity; on the contrary, it originated in a morbid indecency of mind, but has been transmitted to the purified by education. Its association with civilization is to be explained not by supposing that civilization tends to awaken this desire, but that it makes us better able to bear the inconvenience of it; civilized men can in all respects bear the restraints of an artificial way of living better than savages.

The concealment of the sexual organs does not help to maintain chastity either of thought or action. Man is made to have a certain legitimate amount of sexual appetite, and he will have about so much in such intercourse with women as he is accustomed to, whether he sees their whole body or any part of it, or only a shapeless veiled figure. Improper sexual actions or obscene gestures can increase the habitual sex-

ual excitement to an unwholesome extent, but the mere habit of regularly seeing women as nature made them cannot. This is equally true of both sexes.

The fact that so-called indecent exposure does among us commonly lead to undesirable thoughts is due to its being unusual, and to its being associated in our minds with bad scenes. Then the custom of wearing clothes, furnishing an additional and unnatural means by which indecent thoughts are accidentally or purposely excited, increases the amount of morbid sexual excitement and debauches the public morals.

Modern society feels the primitive sentiment on this subject to be indefensible, a mere unreasoning savage taboo. So, feeling bound to defend its established usage, it sets up a theory utterly at variance with the real ground on which that usage, was established,—at the same time appealing in support of the usage to a supposed "universal instinct" which, if it exists, can be nothing else but the primitive theory. This is in itself a reason for suspecting that the whole thing is unsound. The idea that the Bible commands the use of clothing is an amusing and instructive instance of the universal habit of supposing that the Bible supports whatever is considered orthodox. The Bible, as a primitive document, gives altogether the primitive view, according to which clothing is not a matter of morality at all, but of decorum. And even its necessity for decorum is not expressly enunciated in the Bible, but is merely referred to as a thing established in public opinion, just as is also the case with the idea that it is disgraceful for a man to have his beard shaved off (Old Testament) or that it is disgraceful for a woman to have her hair cut (St. Paul). In fact, Paul lays down the latter doctrine, and the necessity of veils for women as an inference from it, much more positively than any Bible writer lays down the doctrine of clothing. Beyond question Paul believed that we should all wear clothes, but he has nowhere stated this as he has stated that women should wear veils; so that a woman would obey the Bible's precepts regarding modesty more literally by going out on the street with her face veiled and the rest of her body bare than by appearing with her face unveiled and the rest of her body clothed. And even Paul, who is the greatest stickler for decency in the Bible, seems to have regarded clothing as a matter of decorum rather than of morality; at least his figurative use of the idea in the 5th chapter of 2d. Corinthians is hardly to be explained on the latter theory.

If we reject the current doctrine that the demand for clothing is born in man as an instinct, it is our business to offer, if possible, some hypothesis to account for the existence of so very general a custom. I think I can do so. I believe, in the first place, that the idea of decency as connected with clothing arose first among those who were already wearing clothes for protection against the weather. They wore clothes through the winter, and when spring came it seemed awkward to leave them all off. There were two main reasons for this. In the first place, man as a maker and user of tools learns to feel that he is not quite himself unless he has about him those labor-products in which his power lies. But, to one who is accustomed to clothing, the condition of nakedness is an especially vivid realization of this incompleteness of man without his artificial helps. Thus people came to feel embarrassed at being found naked for about the same reason that the Zulu feels embarrassed when he has no weapon. This feeling might get a special application to the male organ of sex from the fact that in naked man this is the most conspicuously unprotected and exposed to injury of all the important parts of the body. In the second place, since clothing is removed for sexual intercourse, those who had the habit of wearing it for warmth would get such associations with the idea of nakedness that one who appeared naked would seem to be inviting lovers; and one would not wish to present himself to the public as promiscuously inviting lovers. I think I see traces of minor influence supporting these, but that these must have been the main ones. The reasons for concealing the sexual organs all apply more directly to man than to woman; but when the matter once became associated with the thought of chastity, the fact that women are generally expected to be more chaste than men is cause enough for the application of the law to women. The explanation of the last-mentioned fact is familiar, but belongs to the general discussion of the sex question. The law once established, other causes would combine to make it harder for woman, when she found her clothes uncomfortable, to emancipate herself from them, as men have done on various occasions.

The view of the author "The Cause of Their Disgrace," that the demand for clothing results from the opposition of Semitic monotheism to phallic worship, has not a leg to stand on. It is contrary to all the facts. A much likelier guess would be that it is a survival of phallic worship itself, the sacred thing being hidden out of reverence, just as the images of the gods are kept hidden in many religions. I know of nothing to support such a theory, but at least it would harmonize with the fact.

I find also that the wearing of clothes injures the health in many ways; that even when they must be worn for warmth they do a great deal of harm to make up for their usefulness, and that the custom of wearing clothes when not needed for warmth is about as injurious to the health of the people as universal filthiness would be.

An interesting appendix. According to law-books, treating of what constitutes indecent exposure, it is not legally punishable for a man or woman to "run in the public street naked to the waist." This statement is based on court decision a century and a half old, and binding in both England and the United States; the question has never been carried to a high court since. But I doubt whether one would get much comfort out of this law if he tried to act on its license, unless he was ready to carry the case through on appeal to a court of last resort—and not then in some states.

STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.

Words of Wisdom.

Labor includes love, which is therefore a secondary virtue, but love does not include labor. Love is hidden in work; work is the house love lives in.—[Bourdareff.]

We are accustomed to see men deride what they do not understand, and snarl at the good and beautiful because it lies beyond their sympathies.—[Goethe.]

All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it; a playing with right and wrong—with moral questions—and betting naturally accompanies it. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority.—[Thoreau.]

I make little account of glory—nothing is so stupid as to vanquish; the real glory is to convince.—[Victor Hugo.]

Oliver Wendell Holmes compares the dawning of a new idea to the turning of a stone in a field. After describing all the blind and wriggling creatures which live beneath the stone, he says: "But no sooner is the stone turned and the wholesome light of day let in upon this compressed and blinded community of creeping things, then all of them which enjoy the luxury of legs—and some of them have a good many—rush around wildly, butting each other and everything in their way, and end in a general stampede for underground retreat from the regions poisoned by sunshine. You never need think you can turn over any old falsehoods without a terrible squirming and scattering of the horrid little population that dwell under it."

Imagination and Mind.

In the Jan. 17 issue of *The Firebrand* appears a statement, attributed to the royal attorney of Spain, to the effect that Spanish officials in dealing with Anarchists "have to close their eyes to reason."

This only additional proof of Buckle's assertion that scenery affects the character of man. He gives Spain as one of the countries principally affected by the grand scenery it contains. It inspires the people with awe which develops into superstitious reverence, particularly for antiquity in any form.

Peculiarly appropriate in this case is Buckle's further observation:

"Not only in literature, but also in religion and art, this tendency is supreme. To subjugate the understanding, and exalt the imagination, is the universal principle."

Particular point in this case is given by the close connection in Spain between Church and State.

"Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries; and it is precisely there that superstition is most rife, and the superstitious classes most powerful."

F. A. COWELL.

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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.

Freeman's Call.

TUNE—"The Morning Light Is Breaking."

AWAKE! ye sons of freedom;
Come at your country's call
And rescue with your labor
A nation from its fall.

CHORUS:

The plutocratic minions
Will do their masters' will;
They'll shoot if you don't rally,
Your manhood's rights to fill.

The conflict now is on us;
Choose you which it shall be,—
Your labor or the bullet,
To make your country free.

CHORUS—

Serfdom will be your portion,
Your homes no longer be;
Because, when you had power,
You chose not to be free.

CHORUS—

The earthquake shock is coming;
The cyclone's roar you'll hear,
But the wave of human passion
Is what you'll need to fear.

CHORUS—

Arouse! ye slumbering people;
Declare that you'll be free!
Work for your homes and loved ones
And for humanity.

CHORUS—

—C. L. PENHALLOW,

In Porterville Enterprise.

The Triumph of Freedom.

BY J. A. ANDREWS.

CHAPTER II.

Stormlight.

On the morrow, the city was filled with a new unrest and earnestness. The spirit of the people appeared to have undergone a remarkable change in the few hours that had intervened. Everywhere, men were swarming about, gathering in little groups and passing from one to another; everyone was hurrying to meet every one, and discuss (in no mood of idle curiosity) what had just happened. The morning papers had brought the news that the prisoners were to be tried together for seditious conspiracy, with other charges of conspiracy murder, incitement to murder, and attempted murder. There was nothing extraordinary in these charges to account for the unprecedented way in which they were absorbing public attention. For many years it had been the recognized law of New South Wales that a policeman was entitled to arrest anybody at will, and that the least resistance constituted an attempt to murder; it had also been practically established that a policeman was privileged to shoot anybody dead and justify himself by alleging that the victim had endeavored to evade arrest, so that what had now taken place was a mere trifle in comparison with what people had long been accustomed to think nothing of. But the temper of the crowd on the previous evening—perhaps developed somewhat by South's speech, but certainly not chiefly inspired by it—had been a symptom of awakening; and now the awakening was come.

It was not of South that the people were thinking, but of the promoters of the meeting—men who were not Anarchists or party agitators, but plain every day persons. It was there that the iniquity of the charges was evident; the people could identify themselves with these men, and felt that they were themselves being attacked in them. This was the fact presented to them on their awakening, and which kept them awakened.

Among the parties also the contact with this new spirit stirring in the public, aroused fresh vigor and activity. Anarchists and Socialists of all shades of opinion were reviewing the situation, and scarcely considering the state of the case as one that it was neces-

sary to be resigned to. At the rooms of the Social Reform Club—a general combination of Anarchists and Socialists lately formed to secure permanent quarters for meetings and party business, in order to be less at the mercy of the millionaire proprietors,—there were many quiet conversations, the tone and manner of which evidenced, not confident expectancy in the ordinary acceptance of the phrase, but a "matter of fact" understanding (as if it was too obvious to be worth stating) that the era of decisive action had arrived.

By the evening, this feeling had become general through the city. People were asking each other, "What are you going to do?" in the tone which takes it for granted that not only the person questioned, but everybody, is as a matter of course going to do something. As yet, indeed, there was in the public mind nothing definite except a sense of necessity for self-assertion, with some kind of consciousness that the general condition of affairs was to be altered. As to precisely what was to be done, or what could be done, most people had little idea; but they felt instinctively that they should be prepared to do anything, however serious, and informed each other of their determination to be in readiness for events, and to join in when some body should happen to commence action in any way that appeared feasible for demonstrating to the Government and the plutocracy that they were no longer the meek slaves they had been of old.

In some quarters, however, the case was being considered in more particular fashion, and plots, of various magnitudes and degrees of ambitiousness, were being discussed and arranged. According to what one gathers from published memoirs of different persons who have related their reminiscences of this period, there must have been at least three separate projects of way-laying the prison van next evening on its journey back with the prisoners, after the day's proceedings at the Water Police Court, to Darlinghurst Gaol. It was proposed by some in the Social Reform Club and elsewhere to convene public meetings and take such other steps as might be necessary for the purpose of declaring at least the use of lands, buildings, machinery and materials, the inalienable right of the people—leaving to the proprietors, for the present, an income in products and services, to be provided by the community collectively; if the Government refused to give this declaration the sanction of law, other steps would have to be taken. To the question, "In what way should things be conducted afterwards?" the replies were not so much to one effect. Lilly, Socialist agitator; Hopper, another; Gulraud, Socialist M. P., (Member of Parliament) leaders of their parties in the Social Reform Club, were for State organization of everything; the general Labor Party outside would leave industrial matters to the people individually, reserving legislation for special problems that might arise, and State administration for such things as railways, main roads, leading post and telegraph services, etc.; a third party would have everything, outside these State works, organized municipally. The Anarchists—at least, those known as the Extreme Party, who refused to sanction any compromise with the "errors of Evolution"—stood aloof from these schemes; except that those of the Club were concerned in a conspiracy formed there for the release of the prisoners.

Morning again arrived, and the unrest of the city was more manifest than ever; Hamilton, a close comrade of South's, went down early to the Water Police Court, but could hardly get in on account of the crowd; another comrade, Greenhill (who was one of the conspirators) arriving later, was not able to reach the building at all, the road in front being blocked with people. He returned to the Club, and in consequence of what he reported, towards noon a group of the plotters, numbering about half a dozen, kept place in Hyde Park, opposite Elizabeth and Market Streets, anxiously awaiting news from the Court. It was feared that on account of the crowd, the case might be called early and remanded, in which event the prisoners might be smuggled back to the gaol at once; Wilson and Collier, the originators of the conspiracy, had hurried off with what aid they could master at the moment—the former toward the court, the latter to the Hyde Park waiting-place as the most central position to suit communication and the various possible emergencies. Raynor, one of those who accompanied Wilson, was to come back at once, with the first news that could be gotten on the general appearance of affairs, and whatever immediate instructions Wilson thought necessary.

Getting impatient, Greenhill, who was with Collier's party, went ahead to reconnoiter. He had not gone far before he met Raynor running up with the infor-

mation that troops had been placed against the Court; probably the prisoners would be sent back under military escort—so Wilson thought.

The two had scarcely reached the Park again before the crash of a volley was heard.

"They have brought the prisoners out," said Collier "and the crowd have tried to get them free. I wish we knew which way the fight is going; we don't know whether to go down there, or whether we shall be needed directly somewhere else, or what to do."

"There was no crowd there," said Raynor, "Except what might be inside the Court."

"What is it, then?" cried Collier, "Damn it, they can't be shooting the prisoners!"

"By god! If they have!" said Greenhill savagely.

"Well," said Collier, "We had better go down carefully and see. It's no use waiting here, because, whatever it is, it's something not on the programme, and we don't know what we're doing."

They advanced together as far as the corner of King Street, where they encountered a number of terrified people, who told them that the audience had been driven out of the Court by soldiers, and shot down by others as they reached the street. Directly afterwards, Wilson came up white with excitement.

"What are you doing down this way?" he cried hoarsely. "Come along out of the way; we must do something."

"I don't know how it commenced," he informed them. "The case, I found, had not been reached, and directly I came away it happened."

What had actually taken place was this.

Anticipating a public demonstration outside the Police court, the Government had during the night, secreted troops in the Court building, and in the tram yard a little higher up the street, with instructions to reveal themselves and commence firing should there be the slightest tumult in the Court or street, or should any attempt be made to hold a meeting. The crowd, however, seeing the impossibility of gaining entrance, soon dispersed quietly, without knowing what preparations had been made against them. Towards mid-day, the officer in charge at the tram yard, receiving orders to prevent any new gathering, drew out his men and marched them in front of the Court.

By this time most of the petty cases had been disposed of. The last was now called: John Brown, drunk and disorderly. Brown pleaded not guilty, and the police gave their evidence; the magistrate without waiting to hear Brown's version of the matter, was proceeding to pass sentence, when something struck him on the face—a crust of bread which had been in the prisoner's pocket.

The magistrate, in a fury, sentenced the prisoner to a flogging. Brown, determined to have some satisfaction for his skin, drew off his boot and hurled it at the magistrate's head. The police in Court rushed upon the prisoner, who defended himself with his other boot, using it as a club. The audience rose to their feet, and the magistrate hastily ordered the Court to be cleared. At this moment, the officer in charge of the troops within the building, attracted by the noise, appeared at the Bench door, but was met by one of the officials, who explained that the only disturbance was that made by a disorderly prisoner. The people, however, assumed that they were to be shot down for what had happened—that being strictly consistent with the established order of things—and fled panic-stricken into the street.

The troops there had just been drawn up in a diagonal line across the road in front of the Court house, to cut off access from above and command the building and the part of the street which was below. The officer in charge, hearing a noise in the building, and seeing the people come rushing out, concluded that they had commenced to riot and were fleeing from the attack of the troops within. He gave the order to fire, and a volley rang out. Several of those who were leaving the Court fell. The soldiers inside, at the sound of the firing, came into the street and cut off the retreat of such of the people as might have succeeded in getting past the building to the cross street below. The crowd surged back into the Court, and through to the cells in less time than it took the troops who had sortied, to see that there was no struggle going on in the street, the entrances were closed and barricaded. By this time, the commander of the detachment that had been inside understood what a mistake had been made, and, all agast, explained the situation to his brother officer, who, however, was not disconcerted, but replied, that it was an unfortunate error for which nobody was to blame, except the pris-

oner who had behaved insubordinately; in this view the other conquered, but feared that the consequences would be serious.

After a short consultation, they agreed to communicate at once with the authorities, who telephoned back instructions to withdraw the troops; adding that the officers did not appear in any way to blame, though, as a matter of form, that might have to be the subject of an inquiry; and that, after all, the occurrence, though regrettable, might prove a blessing in disguise, as it would undoubtedly have taught the people a salutary lesson. As, indeed, it had; but in a very different way from what the ministers thought of just then.

The people barricaded in the Court building, in the meanwhile, had struggled with and overpowered such enemies as they found shut up with them, including the Government Prosecutor and the magistrate, besides policemen and officials. No other plan seemed proper or even feasible, in the desperation of the moment, but to kill them; as soon as one of them was secured, his throat was cut and when all had been thus gotten rid of, the bodies were, on the suggestion of somebody or other, flung out through the window; one man crying to the soldiery, as the last of the corpses struck the ground, "No mercy, but justice, since there is neither justice nor mercy for us!" When the two officers returned from the telephone, they thought the situation sufficiently changed to ring for fresh instructions. The reply was, that the officers should summon the people to give up the "murderers" to be immediately shot; upon which demand being satisfied, the other persons would be permitted to surrender themselves for civil trial. Failing compliance, the troops were to storm the building, and deal summarily with its defenders, according to martial law.

These terms being made known, the besieged answered, that if they wished to give up the actual slayers, it would be impossible for them to do it; but if it were possible, they would not, inasmuch as they had killed the magistrate and his companions out of necessity, being urgently pressed with the defense of their own lives against a wanton murderous attack, by which some of them had been killed and others wounded; which attack the magistrate had directly ordered, and the Government had obviously premeditated. In view of the attitude of the authorities, moreover, they might just as well give themselves up to martial law as for civil trial: and, were it only demanded of them to come out of their shelter and go free, they would not believe but it was intended to massacre them, so long as those murderers remained ready armed in the neighborhood. Therefore, having nothing offered to them, virtually, except death, they were resolved to defend their lives to the utmost of their power.

This said, they strengthened their outer defences, having meanwhile fortified a stronghold to retire into in the last extremity, and now they waited the onslaught—nerved to heroism by mortal terror, which makes men deadlier foe for foe to grapple with than any who fight in contempt of danger and death.

(To be continued.)

"Why I Want Property."

I AM pleased with Comrade Byington's a ticle with the above caption; glad to find him mentally so well balanced when he is not engaged in penning "sweeping dogmatic denials" against fully proved (in my opinion) or, at least reasonable affirmations made by the best and most pains-taking scholarship of the dead and the living. It is pleasant to find Bying'on reasonable and open minded outside the realm of theological fiction, myth, fable, dream and nightmare and obscurity in general, only backed up by dogmatic unreason.

Byington's claim to private property are most reasonable, I think, and wholly in accord with equal freedom and justice, however little benefit he may have derived (in my opinion) from his pet theological works, Zulu dictionary, etc., and he is as fully entitled to ownership of the same as he is to letters he receives, the clothes he wears, the furniture he uses and, the privacy of his own rooms or plot of ground and home-site. He is also entitled to the full ownership of all the products of his own labor, be it chair or table he makes, or, a coat, pair of shoes, a work of art or any other thing he may make to keep or to exchange for, that which he most needs.

Comrade Byington has, to a large extent anticipated that which I was intending to write and done the work much better than I could have done.

It seems tiresome to go so much into detail but it seems more necessary to do so all the while. Not only voluntary Communism but Individualism—Anarchism in short—is so grossly misrepresented by the press, the clergy and by State Socialists that the tiresome work must be done.

And so, I would grant Comrade Byington not only the private ownership he asks, but much more,—enough, certainly, to keep him as poor, cold, hungry, and generally miserable as he would elect to be in any free community of whatever school of thought he might choose to join, or, outside one and all.

Not only equal freedom; not only the death of Monopoly is needed to build up happiness, to find ourselves in a "world new built." A large measure of Altruism would, it seems to me, have to enter into our daily lives; in other words, a wise selfishness is needed to win the New Day.

The Firebrand is doing good work in the way of education and all its readers (all who can do so) should it seem to me, give their "mite" to help the little paper. We may be traveling different roads and working by different methods, but I am sure we all desire happiness, peace and plenty for all of earth's children—of every race and clime. To-day, it seems only possible to work by propaganda; to-morrow a sufficiently large minority may win the beginning of the end by means of passive resistance; and whether or no, the work of to-day and the to-morrow fails and red revolution comes, the more widespread be education as to equal freedom and personal liberty, the better and more worth the winning will be all results.

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

The Root of all Evil.

EVERYONE who is an earnest investigator of our present social system will, or has, come to the conclusion that it is rotten to the core. Both Church and State are savage institutions. The Church, because it keeps the toiling class in ignorant fear, submission, or mental slavery. The State, because it protects the privileged class (to which all the government officials, of all the governments belong) against the oppressed in their wild scramble for pelf. "White intelligence is light—ignorance is darkness."

The more man advances in civilization the more irreligious he becomes. All savages are worshippers; civilized people do not imitate savages. Even the step by step, dancing, full-bellied, ballot-box-idolizing, self-infallible-promoting no-misery-feeling leaders of the social democracy, are inclined to imitate savages.

As long as we are under the merciless control of leaders we shall be slaves: for each leader has one mind, to satisfy his own interest, or the interest of his friend. Every man or woman has his or her likes and dislikes. When one has the power to rule he or she will please, satisfy, or favor his or her friends, but will oppress and hate the enemy; and it is very easy to become an enemy of those rulers. You have but to disobey them, criticise or disagree with them, speak the naked truth, claim your freedom, or consider them useless parasites.

But I am inclined to think that all human beings are selfish, which will always prove to be the root of all evil under authority and competition, but when we, the oppressed, will finally have gained absolute freedom—Anarchist Communism—it will prove to be the root of harmony and happiness.

P. SMITH.

Should the Poor Marry?

IN The Hesperian for April, Lady Cook, of London, has an article on "Should the Poor Marry?" She goes on to show what qualities men and women should possess before seriously contemplating marriage, in order to be happy, and then concludes that the poor ought to marry, in the following language:

"Should poor people marry?" As well ask should the course of labor stand still? Should the grass grow in our streets, and the cobwebs rot on the walls? Should the land lie untilled, and the seas unploughed? Should the shuttle cease, and the anvil be silent? In a word, should famine and pestilence, hunger and fury, desolation and death sway as of old? For all these would happen were the sons and daughters of labor to cease breeding the workers of our industrial lives. Let none despise labor, nor be ashamed of it. It is the foundation of all dignity, all goodness, and all true happiness. It is only idleness that is contemptible.

And if, in the great battle with and against the forces

of nature, thousands, enfeebled by fight, or folly, fall out of the ranks as paupers, the workers must not on that account be discouraged, nor despise their lot."

This is the philosophy of the parasitic class, couched in good language, and concisely. If the poor cease to breed slaves, no one will administer to our wants. Of course the poor should marry; should continue to bring children into this world to toil, to produce, to contribute to the luxury of the rich, and if in the struggle they become feeble, fall out of the ranks as paupers or die of starvation in the midst of plenty, those who can still work must not complain or despise their lot, but marry and bring some more children into the world to take their places; to toil, to produce wealth, to drop out as paupers and starve in the sight of an abundance which they have helped to create.

Workers! how do you like such philosophy? How long will you, by indifference, by the ballot and military force, continue to uphold such conditions? Where will you learn that your poverty is due to your support of privilege—of the State, with its pets and its violent methods of enforcing the privileges it grants to its favorites? Away with poverty creating conditions, and such nonsense as Lady Cook has written will not disgrace the pages of literature.

H. A.

The Barcelona Anarchists.

THE horrors of the Barcelona trial surpass everything known in the history of Anarchist—nay, of almost all other—persecutions since the days of the Holy Inquisition. About 300 Anarchists were arrested, most of whom will be transported to African islands without trial. Eighty-seven were tried during last month, and the Government prosecutor demanded the death sentence for not less than twenty-eight of them.

From a Spanish daily paper we gather that the method resorted to by the prosecution is to make the whole of the members or of the attendants at meetings of a workmen's club, the "Centro de Carreteros," responsible for what could evidently only have been arranged (if so) by a very small number of persons who might or might not, accidentally, have been members of this society as well—namely, for the bomb explosion in the Cambios Nuevos street, when the religious procession passed. This absurd accusation is based on the evidence of three men—the chief accused—Thomas Ascheri, Antonio Noguea, and Luis Mas: and how this "evidence" was obtained is clear to those who have followed the analogous procedure resorted to in 1894, when after the manifestly individual acts of P. Pallas and Salvador Franch scores of comrades were in a similar way brought to trial—seven of whom were executed, after having been tortured in the most incredible way (see El Proceso de un gran crimen, summarized in an article published in Literary in the summer of 1895). Similar witnesses are coming forward now; so says a letter to Rochefort (published in Intransigent of Paris, by one of the gaolers in the fortress of Montjuich—where all this takes place—says: they were flogged, their nails torn off, their genital parts compressed until the agony of suffering led these three men to sign whatever the inquiring judge wanted them to say. Among the other methods used are the feeding on salt fish without any water and the privation of sleep, the prisoners being forced for days and nights to walk along their cells; if they drop to sleep they are beaten until they rise again, and after reaching in that way the highest point of nervousness they are interrogated. And yet some are said to have resisted all these tortures—Jose Molas, F. Faner, J. B. Oller, and others; many also made spirited declarations before the court martial.

There is yet another innovation; this time not even the sentences were made public after the trial finished; only a week afterwards we hear that eight have been sentenced to death; forty to twenty years and twenty-seven to eight years penal servitude! One thousand and sixteen years of penal servitude, every day of which means life in a hell upon earth.

Those who would disbelieve even these accounts I refer to the Pall Mall Gazette of Dec. 19, where an extract from Prince Bismark's German paper is reproduced—the paper which, of all, is the most bitter enemy of Socialists and Anarchists, and often recommends measures against them which do not fall very short of torture. It is a communication from Manila, in the Philippine islands, where, like in Cuba, the inhab-

itants have risen against Spanish rule, which benefits them by infesting their beautiful country with hosts of greedy officials and zealous priests. After telling how 50 prisoners perished in a black-hole, it goes on to say: "The instruments of torture from the time of the Inquisition, which were still preserved here"—(the priests evidently understand to bide their time!)—"were made use of. Thumbcrews, Spanish boots, and all such inventions of the Middle Ages, are again the order of the day."

And what do we hear by Reuter's telegrams—not from New York, which might seem to be coloured in favor of Cuba, but from Madrid—about Marceo's death (see the Daily Chronicle of Dec. 11): After a skirmish [if not a treacherous ambush, as has since been maintained] the body of a wounded Cuban was found. "The guide [of the Spanish column] pulled a ring from the finger of the wounded Cuban, who thereupon pressed the guide's hand and asked him: "Are you a Spaniard?" The guide replied by snatching away his hand and firing a revolver at the mulatto, which finished him. Lieutenant Acha . . . tried to bring the bodies away. He tied them to the tails of two horses," etc. And the news of this was received with rejoicing all over official Spain, the Queen-regent congratulated the wife of the officer chiefly concerned, and adopted his son, etc. After this, we recommend her to adopt the children of the torturers of the fortress of Montjuich and of the Manila blackhole as well.

But the bow seems to be overstrained; many victims will still fall, but in the West (Cuba), in the far East (Philippine islands), official Spain is at last attacked, and these movements will inevitably find an echo in the country itself.—[Freedom, London.

An End to War.

In commenting on the refusal of Van der Weer, a Hollander, to join the National army, Leo Tolstoy says:

"The immorality of militarism (like that of American and Russian slavery in the sixties) is so clear and manifest that its destruction is only a matter of time. As was the case with slavery, it is only human inertia that keeps militarism on its legs. The little drop is at work, and the little drop of water has been known to bore through strong dykes and undermine houses and cities. . . . When the number of Van der Weer's imitators increases, we shall find that those who yesterday were the defenders of militarism will tomorrow change their tone and proclaim in a loud voice that war is the fruit of ignorance and immoral in its essence. When that comes to pass armies will speedily disappear and leave behind them nothing but a poor memory. That consummation is now not far distant."

Van der Weer begins his letter of refusal by quoting "Thou shalt not kill," and then continues:

"I do not make any special profession of Christianity, nor claim to be any better than the generality of Christians, but I understand that the commandment which I have placed at the head of this letter is one that is agreeable to the reason and nature of man. I renounce the military profession, which from a boy I have learned to consider as the science of murder. I abhor the idea of killing men in obedience to orders, without having any desire or cause for doing so—a proceeding against which my conscience revolts. There is not to my mind, a meaner thing in the world than to take up the profession of killing and wounding one's fellow creatures. I have even become a vegetarian, so great is my repugnance to taking life in any form; and now, should I be obliged to turn soldier, I should be compelled, in obedience to orders, to shoot my inoffensive fellow men; for I know that a soldier is not taught to handle a gun merely with a view of practising upon the leaves and branches of trees.

"You will perhaps reply that a national army is necessary for the preservation of national order. Sir! I do not wish to preserve the existing order of things. If society were well-ordered, in other words, if society were in a healthy condition, without any injustice in it; if it were impossible for one man to be rolling in luxury while his neighbor is in want of bread, then society would preserve itself.

"As things are now, what reason have we for killing each other? Do you not know, sir, that the army exists quite as much for the purpose of protecting the rich from the lawful claims of the poor, as for preserving order in the state? A few days ago there was a riot in Rotterdam and, as you know, the national

army was unlawfully used to protect the property of the capitalists against the threats of their laborers. Can it be for one moment maintained that it was reasonable to murder the workmen for asserting their own rights, and to employ the army for upholding those men who for their own purposes are striving to increase the enmity between labor and capital! Were you so blinded that you could not see the great principles involved in this dispute? Was it necessary for you to complicate the matter still more? Have you any further reason for wishing me to become a soldier than simply out of deference to the law?

"For the above reasons, and especially because I detest committing murder in obedience to orders. I deliberately refuse to be enrolled as a soldier of the national army. You need not therefore trouble to send me uniform or arms, as I am resolved that under no circumstances will I submit to military service. May God bless you. J. L. Van der Weer."

This shows a healthy growth of sentiment, and when a considerable number of men, of all nations, act as wisely, the dawn of the day of freedom will be at hand. H. A.

Note and Comment.

MACHINES are being placed in Western mines. Each one will do the work of eight men. The machines are a success, and the miners are taking a holiday.

HAMBURG capitalists imported sixty Chinese coolies to take the places of the striking dockers. When the Chinese found out what they were hired for they quit and joined the strikers.

It now turns out that the Boston street railway strike was started by emissaries of the company in order to break the backbone of the union, which was becoming too powerful. The scheme of the bosses worked successfully.

A MACHINE, invented at St. Paul, is creating consternation in the ranks of the coopers. It is a hoop-driving apparatus and is a pronounced success. It has a double action. It drives the hoops and kicks skilled mechanics into the streets, only a few common laborers being necessary to watch the machine. —[Machinests Journal.

ACCORDING to the associated press the strikers of the Anina Mines in Austria, were attacked by gendarmes and eight of the strikers were shot down. Among the dead are some women who had taken part in the fight. Everywhere the same phenomena: when the producers ask for bread, the government gives them bullets. When will the miserable slaves, called soldiers, learn to turn their guns the other way, instead of shooting down their fellow workers.

THE "Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung" finds fault with The Firebrand for having long and tedious articles on the question "What will be done with criminals under freedom?" and says that expediency will settle the question itself in a condition of freedom. How wise! The worthy editor seems to forget that those articles were not intended for Anarchists, but for those who have only commenced to study our theories, and they have a right to question mere assertions. Or does the editor think that men ought to accept our theories without any question or argument?

A COMRADE says in a private letter the following: "I have just glanced through the book 'The Old and the New Ideal.' I should be glad to review it in The Firebrand, but can't say when I can do so. Ruedebusch is not out of the woods yet, I think. He believes in an inviolable contract for the purpose of raising a family. To my mind that is just as silly as a contract to love each other for life! I am opposed to any contract. That is the cornerstone of so-called Individualism. If a man makes a contract and conditions subsequently developed that makes the terms of the contract enslaving to him, a slave he must continue to be, for as Byington says, that is a part of his works! An inviolable contract is slavery. Ruedebusch's method of free lovers avoiding the law is pure rubbish, too. His challenge to Free-thinkers is fine, as well as many others of his ideas." We would be much pleased if the comrade would review the book more thoroughly. A. I.

"UNITED we stand, divided we fall," is a good motto for Trades Unions. But the trades unionists should bear in mind that the "we" includes the scab, as well as the brother unionist. Fees and dues of the Union, however, exclude many, and instead of cultivating their friendship and good will, the unionists have been in the habit of carrying a sneer, a club or a brick-bat for the poor fellow who could not pay the fees of the Union. Let all workers learn that they are brothers, that their cause is one: that the security of the unionist depends on the security of the scab.

A FRIEND of mine met me on the street the other day and remarked: "I am delighted with the 'Old and New Ideal,' although the author pitches into my pet idea (continence). But if he is right about intercourse being beneficial to health, then it should be begun much earlier in life than it now is." She doubted if people reached a stage of development where abstinence except for procreation would be universal, it would result in the physical wreckage he depicts. I pointed out that if attained by repression, by self-torture, it would so result, but if attained by evolution in freedom it would not. She saw the point, and said that the uncompromising demand for freedom was one of the chief charms about the book. That she was delighted with the book was apparent.

COMRADE Lucy Parsons writes:

"The Firebrand has had a good deal from the men in favor of variety, and I would like to see something from the women readers in favor of variety showing wherein it is going to redound to the happiness of women."

Now we would like some of our readers—our sisters who are free—to state their opinions on the question. You need not sign your name unless you so desire. From personal correspondence I know that some of our readers have enjoyed variety and can tell where in it was beneficial. I am an advocate of freedom. If freedom leads some into variety I cannot object; if it leads others in voluntary monogamy I am contented. Let come what will, but give us freedom.

A CORRESPONDENT writes:

"You little dream, as I see it, that the plutocratic press and Church and State are making Anarchists a thousandfold faster than The Firebrand, and all the Anarchist papers and orators in the world, and it seems you would not accept that Anarchism because it was not made according to your methods. You condemn the Twentieth Century and it is making Anarchists much faster than The Firebrand."

This would not be worth noticing were it not a fact that many others still delude themselves with like views, and expend half, or more, of their energy in building up something that with their remaining energy they attempt to tear down. If the plutocratic press is making Anarchists so fast we are foolish to work and deprive ourselves as we do to publish The Firebrand. If the Church and State are such wonderfully wholesale creators of Anarchism, then the propagandists who go to jail, work and struggle for freedom, and act as they now do, are little better than idiots. But the truth is that while the plutocratic press, and Church and State, may disgust honest people and drive men and women to desperation, they never throw the faintest ray of light upon the all important question of how human association can be made just and desirable. On the other hand they constantly obscure all light on that question, turn attention to questions of no importance, and instil ideas of authority and violence into the minds of young and old and do all that is in their power to maintain the present order. No! we cannot accept as Anarchy such "anarchy" as is produced by the plutocratic press and the Church and State, for that frame of mind created by them is not Anarchy. So far as the Twentieth Century is concerned, it is an untiring enemy of freedom, and upholder of authority, and if advocating authority makes people Anarchists, then The Firebrand had better discontinue. But such assertions are utterly ridiculous, illogical and unwarranted. In the same letter he claims to be more of an Anarchist than The Firebranders, but

in a letter to the Socialist, a stateist paper published in San Francisco, he claims to have been forty years a Socialist, and says he shall remain one to the end of his days as "that is the only remedy for human poverty and oppression." That shows his clearness on these subjects.

H. A.

A COMRADE in Brooklyn writes:

I want some extra copies of last Firebrand, date Jan. 24th, and enclose stamps for same. Should it so happen that you have not got them, keep the stamps just the same. I am glad to see some counter-irritant applied to the sickish, sentimental plaster, in the shape of "respectability" which Eugene, George, Mendum, Walker et al., have been putting on so thick to cover up the Putnam-Collins tragedy. To my mind it would have been far better to have been honest about it, and not used so much hysterical effort to try to show that "they were both dressed," etc., etc.

Heavy snow storm to-day. 26 men came at the dinner hour alone to get the job of cleaning off the walk!!! As it was snowing fast, I could not employ any of them.

A FRIEND of The Firebrand writes among other things:

"Comrade Addis' article about the Putnam-Collins affair was the only noble and courageous utterance about the affair which appeared in print so far as I know. The "Truth Seeker" of course was simply disgusting in its cowardly creeping before the morality of the priests, even "Lucifer" was extremely careful to remain on "neutral ground" and "Der arme Teufel" (a paper which I love and admire) has really shocked me with the inexcusable action of printing the coarse and vulgar allusion to the tragedy by a correspondent (who reminds me of a certain orthodox washerwoman of this place) without any condemning comments of the editor who claims to have stood for "Free Love" for the last 15 years! Ah, what a splendid chance (for those who called the victims "dear friends") this tragedy would have offered for proud and noble utterance, for thoroughly shaming the priests and their Jark and dreary "morality" which actually demands the proof that there was nothing but cold indifference between the two—or a certificate of mutual possession! But, no, they prefer to offer a physician's "certificate of purity," to anxiously scream: "Although we are Freethinkers we are just as moral as you are!" (or in other words "Although we ridicule your leaders, yet we humbly bow to their lash")—yes, even the "Free Lover" trembles lest the world find out that those two were very far from hating each other and that it is quite probable that the last moments of the esteemed "Freethought leader were made blissful by a woman's love—and they leave it to the far-off "Firebrand" which, I believe has no reason to feel particularly friendly towards the deceased, to print the only words about the affair which are worthy of a Freethinker!"

Revolution.

ONE day a savage's fingers ached, as he sat down to rest, after digging for roots.

He noticed a stone which was sharp at one end, with a hole in the other; he looked at the stone a long time, then he got up, and broke a stick and fitted it into the hole in the stone, then he began to dig for roots; he found this method much easier and more expeditious than using his fingers.

He had discovered a labor-saving device. He got through with his root digging much sooner than formerly, and had time to think, thus ran his thoughts. "Suppose sometime in the dim, far-off future, man will become intelligent enough to invent tools, whereby they can tear up the bosom of mother earth with them and be able to sow his seed broad-cast.

What a magnificent harvest he will reap! and then, too, he may learn to harness the beasts of the field to his instruments of production and make them labor for him. Oh, how rich he will be! and maybe some people will learn to make beautiful coverings for themselves; then they will not be the coarse, ugly looking creatures that I am. This thick skin and coarse hair can be discarded, because then they can cover their bodies with nice, warm clothes. Then how happy

they will be! The savage let his imagination soar to loftier heights; said he: "Why, they may discover some hidden substance in those solid mountains whereby they can discard the beasts of burden and build for themselves motor power, who's strength shall be boundless, and who's muscles shall be tireless and with these beasts they can sow and reap, spin and weave; they will span and bound the continents; plow the mighty ocean's breast, and make neighbors of the most distant peoples and climes." At this moment lightning flashed. "Why," continued the savage, "they may even become intelligent enough to steal the smiles from our Gods! and make them the subservient slave at their command. Then there can be no human slaves on earth."

Thousands of years afterward this savage's spirit wandered back to earth. He saw that his wildest imaginations had been realized. The iron horse was here, snorting over mountains and plains; carrying people wither and thither, plowing, sowing, reaping, spinning, printing, and doing a thousand other things.

"What a grand world this is to live in, would that I could have lived in this age; I would never have known what want was. See the abundance of wealth on every side; elevators fairly bursting with food; stores, warehouses and shops filled with goods, great cities and grand palaces. There can be no room in a world like this for misery to dwell in.—These people must be very intelligent," Thus spoke the savage. "Tribune!" yelled a news boy. "I will just buy a paper," said the spirit, "and see how this great people live."

Imagine the reflections of the savage's spirit, as he read the following tales of woe:

"There is never a time when there is not need of charity in many places in Chicago. But the thousands on thousands of half-frozen, starving poor who have been discovered in the course of but one day's relief work simply pass all estimates.

"I have been out driving around from station to station," the chief continued, "and have found the poor in a state of abject destitution which I would not have believed a possibility. Over in the Maxwell street district are thousands starving. The 16th ward is full of suffering: The Larabee street district is in a terrible condition and there is any amount of misery in the streets and alleys around Desplains street station."

"Reports of Death through Cold and Hunger.

"The following cases of death were reported to the coroner to be investigated this morning:

"UNKNOWN MAN—Found frozen to death outside of the village of Tinley Park, two stations south of Blue Island, on the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific.

"CHILD—2 days old, of the name of Halm, found dead in bed at its home, 6821 Ada street.

"PEARL BINNS—2 months old, 2816 Armour avenue, died this morning without medical attendance."

"What!" exclaimed the spirit, "do my eyes deceive me? or is this city cursed for some great crime which its people have committed?"

A little investigation, soon convinced the spirit, that the same condition of affairs existed to a more or less degree all over the world. Wherever the robber class roosted, they plucked the industrious wealth producers of their all, save barely enough to enable them to go on producing more wealth.

"What do these people need?" said the savage.

"Not intelligence, they have that. They have not the low projecting forehead and dull eyes that people had in my age, save where they have been made dull and heavy, by pinching grinding poverty. I know what they need," said the spirit, "'tis courage! courage!! they lack. I will supply the want, I will turn the frozen tear upon the innocent babe's cheek into a tear of blood upon the cheek of the despoiling class, I will answer the despairing mother's prayers, as she weeps for a crust of bread to keep her darling little ones from starving. It will not be the cold crust of charity, but the abundance of industry. I will arouse those thousands of seeming men, who are sleeping upon cold flag stones, and in police stations, and carrying cast-off clothing to their loved ones. I will inspire them with the spirit and courage of their forefathers. I will bring new hope to their sinking spirits. I will breath into their cowardly, cringing lives the spirit of manhood. My name is Revolution, I have a slept and awakened and bestrode this fair earth many times; when I am wanted, I return again. I give men courage, hope strength, life and Liberty!

"I am needed now at the end of the 19th century, and I have come. The capitalist class, with their trusts, syndicates and monopolies, have stolen nature's free gifts from the human family. I have come to redeem them. The capitalist class have sown the wind, and they will reap the whirl wind. I will pass through this

world like a hideous cyclone, driving the landlords, money-lords and all other lords before my onward stride. This beautiful earth, then, for the first time in thousands of years, will belong to its rightful owners—the people. Then will peace and plenty come as the heritage of all. I will lift up the fallen, turn the prison into the schoolhouse, and replace the hangman by the professor. Then indeed will the poets dream be realized when he wrote:

Where the doomed victim in his cell
Had counted o'er the weary hours,
Glad school girls, answering to the bells,
Came crowned with flowers.
Through prison walls, like heaven-sent hope
Fresh breezes blew and sun beams strayed
And with the idle gallows rope
The young child played.

"My name is Revolution!" Lucy E. PARSONS.

Correspondence.

TACOMA.

In view of the fact, that a modern inquisition exists in Spain and the colonies under the yoke of modern Loyola's and Torquemada's, every lover of humanity should protest against such barbarous proceedings.

The Independent Educational Club feels it a duty to express sympathy towards all the unfortunate individuals who are under the rule of the Spanish vampires.

There will be a mass meeting of the people of Tacoma to bring forth an address to the Spanish "Premier" who calls himself Canova, setting forth the feelings of this community and protesting against his cruel and inhuman conduct.

A. K.

As this meeting will have taken place before we go to press, we omit the notice of the time and place of meeting and the speakers.

A. J. P.

An Appeal.

We appeal to Student Byington in the name of suffering humanity not to afflict us again. We confess under torture that we are "fools;" we grant him all he asks! Yes, the Libraries of the world shall be his—anything O, Byington for a rest. If he be wound up with another nine columned solid Brevier wind and must needs let go or suffer dismemberment, we beg, plead, implore the publishers to mix chloroform with the ink.

ED GORE.

The Loud Bill.

It seems to me that a great many people think that in the United States the people make the laws. That idea is false. The people don't have any thing to say about making laws. The politicians are pretty slick. They let the people vote and then tell them that the people always have the say about making laws and who shall be their rulers, etc. Yes of course, the people vote, but the politicians make the laws. If the representatives choose to make a law, they do it, and do not ask the people anything about it, whether they agree to it or not. Now, take the Loud Bill for instance, you will not find very many people that are in favor of that. They say that is to decrease the Post-Office deficit, but I don't believe it. They say so, because it would seem too ridiculous to say that they are afraid the reform papers are doing too much propaganda work to suit them. They know well enough that if the people open their eyes and ears, it will be a little harder for them to make the people believe in them, trust them as wise people, make them obey, in short, they would not have their own way about everything. That is what they are afraid of, and not that they do not want the Post Office to draw out of the United States Treasury. They want to pass this law to decrease the circulation of the weekly papers, so that there will not be so much propaganda work done. O, I tell you, Anarchists are gaining right along and I hope the day will soon come when we will be free. I do not mean that the day shall come when we will overthrow this government and put another in its place.

What I mean is, I hope the day shall soon be here when every person will govern himself, instead of being governed by some one else.

That is what these men fear. They know that the people are getting on to themselves. And so they want to decrease radical literature by making such a law that no weekly paper can send sample copies through the mail as second class matter.

You see if the people get too much radical literature the schemers fear that the day will soon be here when they will have to stand on an equal footing with all men.

That is not what they want, they want to be put up as a higher class of men than a worker. They (the capitalists or so-called upper-tens) will struggle to keep the people ignorant, and we (propagandists) will struggle to educate the people, and the results are yet to come.

Boys and girls let us help along the cause for which our parents are working, to throw off the great chain of wage slavery; instead of playing foot-ball, trying to break our arms and legs and then giving our parents trouble instead of helping them.

A LITTLE ANARCHIST

Sample Copies.

To all who receive The Firebrand without having ordered it we would say: Your name may have been sent in by a friend, and we will continue to send it to you for a reasonable length of time. Our subscription is voluntary, i. e., all who read it can send in as much or as little toward the support of the paper as their means and conscience will permit. If you wish to read The Firebrand, and can not send anything toward its support let us know, and you will receive the paper just the same. After sending the paper to anyone a reasonable length of time, if we do not hear from them we will discontinue sending it. We want every one to have the paper who desires to read it, but we cannot tell whether you want it or not if you do not let us know.

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WM. WHITTICK has kindly donated to us ten copies in paper of his splendid book "Bombs," and five copies in cloth. Anyone sending us fifty cents will receive a copy in paper, or for seventy-five cents a copy in cloth. It is a very appropriate present for friends who love to read. It will also be a great help to The Firebrand.

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Appendix:

1. Introduction.
2. The Criticism of a Leader.
3. The Charm and Beauty in Exclusiveness.
4. Woman vs. Man.
5. The Weakness of Woman.
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