



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. 124.

Barcelona.

Dost hear those cries that chill the blood
And rend the midnight air,
As victims tortured wild with pain
Hopeless cry in mad despair?
Barcelona, stay not thy hand,
Build prisons high and hatch thy plot;
Put victims to the rack and chain,
Make flesh recoil with irons hot!

There comes a time in man's domain
When such foul deeds are weighed
As so much ballast in the scale,
Marked down as debts unpaid.
Kings then shall be as common flesh,
When that time comes, as come it will,
Shall ye unflinching face the rack,
Undaunted stand, thy part fulfill?

Think ye will greet the rack and cell
Without a cry of pain,
Shall ye to thy tormentors plead,
Then shall ye plead in vain.
Look then to cannon and thy troops
That bloomed and blossomed 'neath thy care,
To this breed look with pleading eye
To save thy callous meat, so rare.

Ye creeping vipers of the soil
Who murder, rob, and plan;
Ye monsters dyed in crimes untold—
Foul beasts in shape of man.
Ye who placard the earth and sea
As thine by right of gift or creed,
Ye yet shall pay this crimson debt
Of Barcelona's damning deed.

Barcelona, thy act unfolds
A chapter to the world
That brings the danger line more near
Than 'fore that bomb was hurled.
Though hope be chained to endless time
A settlement for that shall come,
As surely as the night foretells
The rising of to-morrow's sun.

Distinguished those whom thy hand slew,
They all fill martyr's graves;
They fearless died as heroes can
Rather than live as slaves.
Their love of right was deep expressed,
Their march to death was hero born
With fortitude, till flesh gave way,
They met the foeman's hate and scorn.

Within those Spanish dungeon walls
Wild brutes with cruel tongues
Tore from the living flesh the nails
To force confession on.
Corruption drunk with beastly hate,
This titled blood of tiger hue,
Urged on the guards to such foul deeds
As imps of hell would blush to do.

In constant dread of added pain
Our comrades trembling/slept,
Sore need of rest, yet when night came
A dark chill horror crept
At thought of guards with irons hot,
Oh crime of law ye gods behold!
Their flesh burned deep to make them yield
A secret which they did not hold.

Does there yet live with girth and span
Some men that dare to lead,
E'en to the gallows and the rack,
And brave this harlot breed?
Rise men of courage, rise and dare!
Throw off thy serfdom, crushed and bowed,
As Spartacus of ancient Rome,
Like him be free, or weave thy shroud.

The waiting grave so terror bound
Is but the weakling's fear,
Death comes without our call or will
Each setting sun more near.
Shall free men be content with words
While heartless despots ply the rod?
Shall we now christ-like rest on faith,
Or cast aside such wormwood god?

Play not the coward mid this breed
That feast on blood and spoil;
Let's not sink lower than the low
And from their threats recoil—
Stand forth as men in man's array,
Let this black crew that justice mocks
Learn that we live not slaves for hire—
Nor justify such paradox.

Oh liberty, thou boastful dame
Where sleeps thy truant nurse
That brutes can live in man's abode
Without a freeman's curse?
Can we be sovereigns of the will
And serve as tools to ape and knave?
Awake from this Van Winkle sleep
And gain ye freedom, or the grave!

L. S. OLIVER.

Maywood, Ill.

Zadnak's Reply.

A FEW ANSWERS TO A MAN WHO "WANTS TO GET BETTER ACQUAINTED."

They have tried in vain to rule us; in vain to direct have tried;
Not wholly the fault of the ruler: not wholly blind the guide;
Perhaps there needs not a ruler: perhaps we can find the way;
At least they have ruled to ruin; at least they have led astray.
—James Jeffrey Roche.

As in No. 120 of The Firebrand a populist "brother" invites a closer acquaintance with H. A. and myself, and as Addis has ventured an answer to some of the statements made I'll try to accommodate as well. But in this article, while I shall, for convenience, adhere to the personal, I want it understood that I hold no ill feelings against "Bro." Morsch, but against the systems of Church and State which he upholds.

Mr. Morsch, in a letter of his quoted in No. 114, said that Anarchists "believe in killing everyone that dont believe as they do." (1)

I would advise you not to send any more of those papers. (Firebrand) It's against the postal laws. If you send me any more I will send them direct to the postmaster general. They are treason to any kind of government! (2)

"An Anarchist is an enemy to law and order; a friend of the devil; a person who does not believe in God; an extremist whose common sense is missing; a vicious person who ought to wear chains (log-chains); a thrower of bombshells; (3) any one who upholds the single gold standard. (4) An Anarchist is a dangerous animal to be running loose. They ought to have a rope halter with a slipnoose kept around their neck." (5)

In No. 120 he says of the Anarchists:

They have a glorious (?) past. "A record of violence, bloodshed, and revolution!" (6)

And with no Government I cannot understand how our lives would be safe. (7)

"I suppose they would adopt the old Fendal system, or something similar." (8)

"Now I will not call my friend (H. A.) a fool for advocating such a cause "For he that saith of his brother Thou Fool shall be in danger of hell fire." and because I wish to become better acquainted with some of you (especially H. A. and Zadnak The Dreamer) so that we may reason together." (9)

1. Addis challenged you to prove this false and wholly excuseless statement. Please do so. You have so far failed. I as an Anarchist, do not so believe, nor do I know of an Anarchist who does. More than this, the very theory is repugnant to Anarchist doctrines. You plainly uphold the church but you cannot deny that the church has done (and would repeat the performance today if

she dared) just that with which you charge us. So has the State!

Can you find in any book, pamphlet, document or speech of any Anarchist any advocacy of force or of killing save as a means of resisting invasion? Is not self-preservation a natural law and higher than any law made by man? Can you name any government now in existence or that ever did exist which does not or did not depend upon "violence and bloodshed" for its very existence? If these factors were happily unused they were still a standing threat or menace. Cannons are not used to plant corn, nor soldiers hired to harvest wheat. Courts and sheriffs are not kept well-fed solely to amuse the people. All these and many more factors are first, to intimidate or imprison, and when these fail, then to kill. Name an Anarchist who indorses them or any of them!

2. Here you make a strong threat to try and suppress a free press because the Anarchists do not believe as you do. You would not kill them? Suppose they stood on their natural rights in case the postmaster general refused to permit The Firebrand to use the mail service? You would have them arrested? But here again they are entitled to liberty and might choose to defend it with their lives! Your laws are useless if not enforced, so you would say "kill them if they resist!" For what? For not agreeing with you! Who is guilty of desiring the blood of those of opposing beliefs, you or the Anarchists?

3. Some Anarchists may have thrown bombshells, but in doing so they acted wholly upon their own initiative and were not practicing Anarchy, unless the bomb was thrown in self-defence. If in the latter case I have no excuse to offer. A poor man cannot carry a gatling gun on his shoulder to protect himself from police thugs, and only a coward would refuse to protect himself.

Perhaps you refer to the Chicago affair. If so, and you mean to say the bomb which killed the policeman was thrown by an Anarchist, then, with the exception of the man who did the deed, you know more about it than all the rest of the world. All the power of human fiends were put in operation by the hell-hounds of Chicago to prove that such was the case and they failed to do so! John P. Altgeld, ex-governor of Illinois, in granting a pardon to Neebe, Fielden and Schwab said he did not believe the bomb was thrown by an Anarchist, but by some individual whom the police had brutally treated but a few days previous, at the beginning of the reign of "the white terror," when policemen, defenders of your sacred "law and order," clubbed, right and left, peaceable citizens. Evidence has shown (see "Altgeld's reasons for Pardoning the Anarchist," an official statement) that merchants were attacked and clubbed in their places of business, drivers of delivery wagons knocked out of their wagons and their goods stolen, etc., etc. Did you speak of violence?

Only a day or so before the bomb throwing half a dozen men were murdered by the police at McCormick's factory, near Chicago. And on that

fatal night the chief of police and mayor of Chicago both attended the Haymarket meeting and afterward testified that it was orderly and peaceable, yet they had hardly been gone from the scene for 10 minutes (see "Anarchist Speeches Before the Court") before the police suddenly charged upon the audience. An eye-witness in speaking of the affair once told me: "It was purely a labor meeting in which the eight-hour movement was being advocated. All was peaceable till suddenly the police began charging into the crowd, clubbing everybody they could reach. Blood was pouring down the faces of gray-haired men and young children. Suddenly the bomb exploded, and though it may have been thrown by an Anarchist, if I had had a bushel of bombs I'd have used them all if necessary to wipe out the murdering hell hounds of the law. I swore then, and I'll keep my oath, that if a policeman ever puts his hand on me I'll kill him if the Lord will let me."

That was the effect the bomb-throwing and police brutality had upon an eye witness. Suppose you had seen the same sight?

Altgeld's statement shows that on the streets of Chicago at that time, no man was safe from brutal and murderous assault by the upholders of "law and order." Indeed, this is a matter of history.

Or if you refer to Barcelona, all the hell of the Spanish inquisition could not prove that any Anarchist was connected with the bomb throwing, but it pleased the daily liars to put it that way and you parrot the lying howl.

4. Your statement here is wholly without any other foundation than that your party boss told you that "Anarchist" was the proper term to use. Cut the string and refuse to be the mouthpiece of some scheming "pie hunter." The gold-standard is based upon government protection, hence is self-evidently the very reverse of Anarchy.

5. Did you say the Anarchists want to kill anyone who don't believe as they do? Now you say they ought to have a rope halter with a slipnoose kept around their necks. Worse intolerance never existed in any Dark Ages. What right have you to accuse others of wanting to kill?

6. Ah! what a choice morsel you have got rid of now! It must have sparkled as it rolled off your pen, but you let loose to much ink and made a great big blotch.

You speak of what the Anarchist have done in the past. Well, what have they done? You do not know or you would have maintained a silence so thick that an axe could not cut it.

I have referred to Chicago and shown who committed the violence and bloodshed up to the time the bomb was thrown. After that the police terror ran riot and a court and jury packed and picked to convict innocent men and send them to the gallows earned their pieces of silver by doing so. The desire of your "law and order" for bloodshed and violence was gratified.

And in Barcelona, after five men had been murdered by the government 26 more were sentenced to death for refusing to sign a statement that they had not been brutally tortured. Spanish law and Spanish government is impotent to determine who is guilty, so the question is settled (sic) by wholesale murder and tortures of the most horrible kind. Of whom? Anarchists! By whom? Church and State, twin monsters of evil! Law and order! The law of death and the order of the grave!

These are but beggarly items after all. What are a few thousand men and women burned at the stake, thrown to wild beasts, broken on the wheel, torn limb from limb, etc., etc., by the holy Church and sacred State? Only a molehill on a mountain side of "law and order."

Take the record of wars of this century (or a few of them, for I don't even include the Cuban, Abyssinian or the present Greco-Turkish war, in which latter the Greeks have 200,000 available killers and the Turks 700,000 of the animals.) Here is partial record of the killed, and the century not yet ended: Crimean War, 750,000 men;

Italian War, 45,000 men;
Danish War, 3,000 men;
American Civil War—Northern states, 280,000 men;
Southern states, 520,000 men;
Austro-Russian War, 45,000;
Franco-German War France, 155,000 men; Germany, 60,000 men.
Turko-Russian War, 250,000 men;
South African Wars, 30,000 men;
Afghan War, 25,000 men;
Mexican and Cochín-Chinese expedition, 65,000 men;
Bulgarian and Servian Insurrection, 25,000 men;
Total, 2,253,000 men.

Did you really mention a "record of violence and bloodshed?" Are you not proud of the "glorious" record of governments?

And you object to revolution! Read these extracts and note the source from whence they came:

"The revolution is a work of the unknown; call it good, or bad, as you yearn toward the future or the past."—Victor Hugo.

"Cæsar would not be a wolf if Romans were not sheep."—Shakespeare.

"Only by making the ruling few uneasy can the oppressed many obtain relief."—Bentham.

"No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of revolution."—Buckle's "History of Civilization."

"It is unfortunate that the tree of liberty must be manured from time to time with human blood, but while we weep over the means, let us pray for the end." And, "God forbid that we should ever be 20 years without a revolution."—Thos. Jefferson.

"A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than the philosopher forging a learned apology for his chains."—Kosuth.

"Every line in our history, every interest of civilization, bids us rejoice when the tyrant grows pale and the slave rebellious."—Wendell Phillips.

While I know of no advocate of violence (except for self-defence) in the Anarchist ranks, an Anarchist book ("The Red Heart in a White World") just to hand outlines a proposed form of Anarchist society, in which occurs this agreement, to be voluntarily made by a joining comrade: "To use no military weapons, dynamite or other violence in resistance to laws and states; or, if I think right to do this, I will first resign and leave this group, forfeiting all monies paid in, except for insurance not realized.

"To protect and defend the life, liberty and property of every comrade, so far as he wishes me to do so, etc."

This is, of course, only an individual opinion, but under Anarchy every man would have a right to entertain any opinion he chooses.

And with government in existence I know our lives depend wholly upon chance. Our lives are not now safe! Turks murder Christians and get into a war with Greece, whereupon the "powers" of Europe antagonize not Turkey but Greece. Does that teach you no lesson? What "protection" do the Armenians get from their government? Death! What kind of protection does the workingman or farmer get from any government on earth? The government owes it to no laborer to secure him in possession of means whereby to make a living. But let the plutocrats inaugurate a war for financial reasons, or to check a general revolt, and the producing class does the fighting and dying. If enough fool volunteers shoulder guns, well and good. But if not, then comes the draft, and though government has done nothing for you it will demand that you offer up your life to defend its sanctity.

But this might not be necessary. You can "go down into your stocking" a la Grover Cleveland and fish up \$300 for a substitute. But if you haven't got the sum? Then die for a government that renders you no protection!

But you are protected?

If that be true, it is because you are possessed of something that the government respect more than it respect mere citizenship—GOLD! Two incidents out of millions will show how this works.

Two years ago Miss Flagler, daughter of Gen. Flagler, professional murderer, shot and killed a young negro in Washington, D. C., on an alleged offense of stealing a couple of pears—or rather of

"intending to do so"—though this was never proved. At first the coroner's jury acquitted her, but the public outcry was too great, so she was "tried" for manslaughter and fined a few hundred dollars and given three hours in jail, which time was "spent in pleasant converse with the matron and friends." And note this: The exact amount of the fine was placed in an envelope ready to pay the fine, before sentence was pronounced! That is what you call protection! That is how our lives are safe today! Suppose the boy had shot the social parasite, Flagler, for stealing two pears from him. Would he have been allowed to escape with his life? No! The case would never have reached the trial docket. Supporters of "law and order" would have lynched him.

Broker Chapman, a representative of the Sugar trust stood on his right and refused to testify to a committee as to certain business transactions. Just to make a display of "equality before the law" and protect the majesty of the law he was sent to jail for thirty days. He is there now, and this morning's press dispatches say he is suffering from too much rich food. Sunday religious services in the jail are mentioned. All the prisoners are forced to attend. But the dispatch says: "Mr. Chapman, of course, will not be required to attend them."

Were he a poor man locked up on a charge of drunkenness "of course" he would have to eat the jail slop and obey the jail regulations in regard to attending services, no matter how idiotic or repulsive the services might be. Peculiar protection, you admire!

8. As to your opinion on this point, Addis has answered it, though it is an opinion for which no Anarchist can be responsible. Yet we do not deny your right to hold and express any opinion you see fit. But you would repay our tolerance by suppressing our papers and our speakers. Yes, your government has MURDERED the latter. But a California doctor says: "If anything is true it cannot be a matter of opinion." Your opinion is not susceptible of demonstration.

9. You won't call us fools because you fear hell fire; but for that admission we might have supposed it was due to delicacy of feeling. You want to "reason together"? Then lay aside your religious blinkers and use reason—don't mistake fossilized prejudice for reason.

What you call "God" may be the same power that I call Nature, though we attach different attributes to that power. Your "God" is changeable and revengeful, and has a hot fire to toast all who dare to think instead of credulously following some priest or parson. My nature keeps all cosmic forces in motion according to fixed laws of her own, and a violation of these laws bring their own punishment. No distinction between rich and poor! She don't need any man-made laws to help her run the universe. Your God does!

You offered to answer any questions. I have none to ask you, for I know your position. On the other hand, you can afford to investigate mine.

"Whatever skeptic could inquire for, For every why he had a wherefore."—Hudibras.

I may not do as well, but if I can't, I doubt not some of the Firebranders can. So come on with you ???

I have forwarded you a copy of Malatesta's "Talk on Anarchist-Communism." A perusal of that may save some questioning. You also have my address. But if my answers to your queries are worth your perusal they will be worth perusal of others and will be sent to the Firebrand. But don't ask too many at once.

Now I will digress somewhat and note that the killings by war which I have mentioned only include the principle wars of this century to date. All told the total will pass the 3,000,000 mark, or 30,000 per year on the average. If we include all other murders, direct and indirect (such as slow starvation and suicide) caused by government which is the embodiment of force and violence,—

then the figures given are but a bagatelle.

All men have to die sometime, but it is one thing to die on demand of government, perhaps after long years of misery, and quite another to die a natural death after having lived a free and natural life and enjoyed the rich fruitage of liberty and happiness. Your Church indulged in needless cruelty when it invented a hell for the hereafter, as it and its running mate, the State, have provided plenty of hell right here for millions and billions of us poor devils.

I do not believe in the abolition of either Church or State by physical force if that can be avoided. But understand me, if it cannot be avoided, then I don't believe in any half-way measures.

The abolition should come through a power superior to physical force, and one more lasting—that of Reason, which alone can eternally abolish Superstition, the cornerstone of Church and State. Reason is the great iconoclast, the certain destroyer of idols of all kinds. True, she operates slowly for she has to move a very dull mass—the average human brain, for evolution can reach no higher than a general average of the sum of all human intelligence.

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

War a Curse.

I do not suppose for one moment there is any necessity for me to write, to give a detailed account of the success of May-Day, here in London, Hyde Park. This year, I may mention, from all platforms the Anarchists were in full force with the Parliamentarians, but as may be expected none of our comrades had anything to say upon any political questions—although mixed with the political factions and speaking from the same platforms (12 in number.) As I have already stated above it was not my intention to give a full account of May-Day, but on the contrary, with your permission, to pass a few comments concerning an article that appeared in The Firebrand of April 11, "Who needs War?" After a careful perusal of the subject, it clearly demonstrates that even in America a war which would plunge the whole nation into extreme poverty and misery and cast an extra burden of taxation on the people for this generation, and generations to come (for war is most expensive) is advocated by those who control the press and pulpit. But do these inklingers and bible bangers do any of the hard fighting? No! Certainly not, they simply agitate, hold meetings and howl from the reptile capitalist press; somewhat in the same manner as the Nonconformist has done in this country over the Turko-Greek war. This Nonconformist Clique were foaming from the mouth complaining of the barbaric action of the Heathen Turk, but not one syllable from them was uttered in defense of our Spanish Comrades who were being tortured by the Jesuit element. These tortures were not committed by Turkish Heathens, but by Spanish Christians. I think that anyone would prefer death at the hands of the Turks than torture by the Christians. Now that the Turks are victorious they are clamoring for an appeal for the Greeks. After it is over does the result,—the effects—justify the cause? or does it even prove that War is a necessity? Not for one moment will it be doubted that the workers of any nation are any better off for its being victorious.

It has been my fortune, or rather misfortune, to work in The National Bomb Factory. The scenes of vice, squalor, and wretchedness to be seen within the immediate vicinity are too horrible in some cases to relate. Woolwich is not only noted for its Arsenal but also its Garrisons, which, as one may imagine, does not add beauty to the town. About one mile from this bomb factory a most beautiful heath and wooded hills named Boetal Woods and Heath were bought by the people to be their own public property for ever. But now steps in the Military Authorities who lay claim to both wood and heath thus robbing the people of their own. This alone ought to convince them of the rottenness of Municipal action by which it was gained and bought. But the Authorities have let them know that "Ever" is a part of "Never."

Within the walls of this Arsenal 18,000 men and boys are employed; several thousands out of the above number are men employed at hard and laborious work for the noble sum of \$4.85 and \$5.00 per week. In addition to this the major portion of these poor

wretches have a wife and family to support. In this part of London rent is very high; for an ordinary dwelling with about 3 or 4 rooms for \$2.00 to \$4.50 is charged, so one may imagine that after rent is deducted these poor laborers have but very little to eke an existence from week to week, and all commodities are proportionally dear. No doubt one of the causes why they receive such extremely low wages is due to their apathy and total indifference to their environments, not a tithe of them are organized or belong to any Trade's Union of any description. They all view each other with petty jealousies, each is expected to be at another's bidding who may be in receipt of 25 cents more than the other. To speak to them of Trade Union effect is all out of the question.

They appear lost to all sense of independence and as if all manhood has been denied them. They hope against hope, slaving, cringing, tale-bearing to curry favor with the Foreman with the intention at the end of twelve months to gain an extra 25 cents rise per week. As has been repeated to them before, unless they become organized they cannot expect any concessions from the Government, as a Model Employer, as it classes itself, whether it be Tory, Liberal or Coalitionist. Just imagine you are standing by my side watching the men rushing from the gates, of which there are three, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile from each other. To begin with the men start work at 8 o'clock and work until 1 o'clock, when they are allowed one hour for dinner. They again enter at 2 o'clock and finish at 5:40. In the first instance you will see scores of poor, neglected children, half-clad, half starved, stock-inged and bootless, crying and screaming at concert pitch and actually fighting each other for scraps of dinner that may be left in the workmen's tins and baskets. It is one continuous din and shout of "Give me a bit of bread, Sir!" These poor mites sometimes relieve themselves by selling a few papers. Here we have another cry of the "Correct Results and Winners of all Race Courses." Again, young men, to old men of 70 years of age, can always be seen begging for pipes so that they may be enabled to get unsmoked tobacco in them.

Eight public houses, one church, and a pawnshop are but a few steps away from the main gates of this hellish factory. Here and there may be seen men smartly rigged in the latest fashions taking monies and papers from ill-fed wretches, who have the misfortune to be employed within these walls. No doubt they are driven to this, to supplement their wages; if they are not successful there are 8 dramshops for them to choose from. Yet in the face of all this the government will persist in displaying in vivid colors "The advantages of the Post Office Savings Bank." When slackness takes place these are changed for "The advantages of The Army." What a mockery! What a farce on our boasted civilization and Freedom which Britishers claim to have! Now if the "Greatest Empire the world has ever known," as is often thrown out, has nothing better to offer its workers, but only that which has been portrayed by the foregoing, I would certainly say that "War is not needed" and war is not a necessity, but an unnecessary evil like all other evils. War is the outcome of government, and government only. I for one not only look forward to the time when war will be unnecessary but impossible.

J. MARCH.

London, England.

Organization not Necessary.

It is a significant fact that in all plans for co-operation, organization seems to be an indispensable factor. Even one who still professes to be an Anarchist though leaving the Tucker school because he thought it unjust or containing too much government comes out with a plan for co-operation with more organization than some State Socialists hold as their ideal. Born and reared as I was in one of the "Old Guard, Plumblin, Philosophical Anarchistic" families, I early questioned the difference between government entered into voluntary or compulsory. Organization seemed to me a government in miniature. If government is wrong as a principle, I must reject organization. The Firebrand advocates the only true, absolute liberty, I know of, Communistic Anarchism. It holds that in trading knives with another person I am not obliged to hire a third party to watch the trade.

My Free Socialistic friend informs me that it is invading no ones rights if they form an organization so long as any one can secede at any time. That may be so, but supposing that this organization becomes so

extensive as to monopolize opportunities, the seceder finding his occupation gone would be compelled to join or starve? He replied that they might be put to a great deal of inconvenience but they would not be bound by the organization just the same. That is it. Employers often tell their men they are free to leave when they choose. It is leave and starve or stay and be abused. For one I cannot see the difference between "stay or starve" or "stay or I'll blow your brains out."

The free association advocated by The Firebrand strikes me as being all that is necessary when men can divert their minds from the government idea. The various institutions which government has so long monopolized are thought, by many, to be impossible for individuals to conduct, but this is the result of dependence on authority. Let the people once realize that they can tend to their own business, and they will find some way to run the post office, to make their own money, if necessary, etc.

Government is only necessary to keep in power and pursue the pot house politicians and continue

"The low dull strife that makes men mad
The tug for wealth and power."

And I welcome Anarchist-Communism, as the only true remedy for the wrongs we suffer.

PERRY A. BALLOU.

Wellesley Hills, Mass.

Police Justice.

A VERY fine illustration of what is called justice, at the police courts, and the "chance to lead a better life" that is given the victims of "law and order" occurred on May 30, at Pittsburg, Pa.

The Anarchists had a picnic at a farm near Hazelwood, and according to the account given in the Pittsburg papers everything went off quietly until the police interfered. There was no disorder, quarrelling or other disturbance. Every one was in a good humor, and the women were spreading dinner just as the "guardians of public tranquility" swooped down on them. The event had been advertised in the local papers, and the police went out before any complaint had been made, and raided the picnic without cause or provocation. The reason for this disorderly conduct of the police is found in the fact that Henry Bauer and Carl Nold were at the picnic and that the picnic was given as a "benefit" to them. The men had just been released from prison and must not be given any opportunity to enjoy life, get a start in the world, or again take a place in society. Oh, no! That would never do! So the police were ordered out to raid a quiet pleasuring-making, the proceeds of which were to go to help these men start life anew. Such is police justice!

The police knew so well that the contemplated arrest was wholly unwarranted that they, according to the Pittsburg Post, were well supplied "with maces, handy-billies, and other convenient weapons which they carried in the raid, to be prepared for any resistance the people might make" as they marched their prisoners down to Hazelwood.

A charge of disorderly conduct was put against the prisoners, although the police were the only ones that had been guilty of such conduct. This shows what slender straws the "powers that be" will grab at to check the growth of ideas that may in time become inimical to their perpetuation, and the absolute danger to liberty that unchecked police power is. And yet our State Socialist friends would extend this power so as to include "inspection of shops and homes," and our supporter of present conditions justifies it on the grounds these incidents will occur occasionally, but that the police system is a necessity. The fact that the police feared the people, and went armed to fight them is a good sign, and I hope their fears were well grounded, and that the sentiment against police interference will become so strong that such outrages as this cannot occur. Let every workingman bear in mind that every time he votes, or in any way gives his support, moral, physical or financial, to the political machine, or any part of it, he is upholding and abetting just such outrages.

HENRY ADDIS.

A farm paper which advocates the gold standard, can always get plenty of support—from Wall street.—The Commoner.

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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.

Opportunities.

MANY of our readers have inquired about co-operative homes, colonies, etc., and of chances to establish such. I now have some definite information to give.

In our issue of May 23. Comrade Duggan stated that he had 160 acres of land, with some improvements on it, which he would give to the comrades if they would save it from the money lender. I have since visited his place and carefully examined the land, location, improvements and natural opportunities of the place.

The land lies up in what is called Shanghi Valley, and is well surrounded by hills. The soil is of the character peculiar to the territory along the lower Columbia, and is quite productive. With careful cultivation it will produce abundant crops of grain, vegetables, grasses and fruits of all sorts, that grow in this climate, and become more fertile. The climate is practically the same as that of Portland: Rainy winters with but little cold weather, and very little wind; cool but bright summers, with no rain during July, August and the first half of September, except our annual 4th of July rain, and sometimes a slight drizzle in August.

The place is about 200 feet above the level of the river, which is tide level. It is four and one half miles from Carrollton, a railroad station and boat landing but not a town, and the road is far from good, but can be made fair, but never first class as it is uphill and down all the way. Numerous boats ply the river and there is no lack of transportation.

There is about 120 acres of timber on the place, comprising not less than 3,000,000 feet of red and yellow fir, some scattering alder, hemlock and maple, and some 2,000 cedar trees that are worth from \$1.00 to \$3.00 each. It is only one mile from the place to the Coweeman river, a stream that is used to float logs to the Columbia, and only one and one half miles to tide water on the Coweeman. Fir timber, in saw logs, brings \$3.50 to \$4.00 per thousand feet, and enough timber can be cut on the part of the place nearest the Coweeman to fix the place up. The remaining timber can be marketed as time goes on and the land be brought under cultivation. Much of this timber can be worked up on the place by damming a creek that runs down across it, and putting in a mill.

The land is rolling but not too steep for easy cultivation, and is well adapted to fruit growing, poultry raising etc. Blackberries, salmonberries and huckleberries grow in profusion in the woods, and Mrs. Duggan put up 19 gallons of blackberries for their own use last summer—richer flavored, finer berries I never tasted—for a family of six. Let the sun shine on the ground anywhere in this country and a species of blackberry peculiar to this region, a fruit that is unsurpassed for healthfulness and nutrition, springs up and bears abundantly.

On the Oregon side of the Columbia river, some 4 or 5 miles down, is the town of Rainier. Seven miles out of Rainier is another place that is free for the use of comrades. It contains in all 240 acres, all in timber except perhaps four acres. It lies about 500 or 600 feet above tide level and is, as roads now run, seven miles from tide water. There is no debt on this place and, if a sufficient number of comrades can be interested in it, might make a fine home for a goodly number of those who are tired of the strain and squabble of these days. The soil, climate, products, etc., of this place are practically the same as those of the other place. Buildings suitable to the needs of the comrades would have to be erected.

On the Duggan place there is about 40 acres under the plow, two barns and a hay press, and a small house. The best of water is abundant all over the

country along the lower Columbia.

The erection of buildings is a small item, as can be judged from the fact that one man in this region built a \$700.00 house and it cost him only \$15.00 in money. He exchanged logs and shingles for everything he needed.

If a number of comrades who have no ambition to get rich, or to "make money," would get together on one or both of these places, for the purpose of building a common home for themselves; of being out from under the domination of bosses, and the exactions of landlords, and of enjoying the companionship of fellow radicals, there is no reason why they should not succeed. The opportunities are great, and if a sufficient interest is taken I will show them up.

HENRY ADDIS.

Propaganda in Scotland.

"CREEP into thy narrow bed,
Creep, and let no more be said!
Vain thy onset! all stands fast.
Thou thyself must break at last!

Let the long contention cease!
Geese are swans and swans are geese.
Let them have it as they will,
Thou are tired; best be still.

They out-talked thee, hissed thee, tore thee;
Better men far thus before thee;
Fired their ringing shot, and passed,
Hotly charged—and sank at last.

Charge once more then, and be dumb!
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body near the wall!

—M. Arnold.

I have no reports of a sensational character to furnish you with; in this country we have settled down to a course of "Public-speechmaking," "Selling of Literature" and "Conversational Propaganda," and you may be sure that we allow no opportunity to escape, if we can utilize it, for the spreading of Anarchy. So our propaganda is of a quiet but nevertheless effective description.

The propaganda during the winter season consisted of indoor lectures, etc. In writing about the "preaching of the word" in Scotland, ABERDEEN comes first, for in the "Granite City" we have the stronghold of Anarchy. The comrades there have been actively engaged in propaganda and the following is a record of work done. The indoor lectures started on the first Sunday of Oct., 1896, and were carried on right through the winter season, one lecture every Sunday. On Sunday Oct. 25th a concert was given when several concerted pieces were contributed by the "Group Choir."—November Chicago commemoration, lectures and concerts throughout the season; but in addition to the usual Sunday lectures, there was a successful series of Wednesday evening lectures conducted in Liberty Hall, the idea of these meetings being to hear all sides. That the comrades succeeded in their endeavour can be seen from this program which included lectures on Mormonism, Humanitarianism, Vegetarianism, Anarchist Propaganda, Anarchism an adverse Criticism, Mental Philosophy, Why I am a Social Democrat, Musical Night, etc. From the above no one can doubt the enthusiasm and energy of our comrades in Aberdeen, and such enthusiasm is sure to have beneficial effects on the spreading of Anarchism.

BLANTYRE. Although there is no Anarchist group, (strictly within the meaning of the act), in existence here, yet there are Anarchists, and this is the town of individual initiative. The result of persistent propaganda that has been carried on here will soon be apparent. The comrades though realizing the good work done by speechifying and the like, think that they can work for the Cause more effectively by giving an object lesson in mutual co-operation for the production of the necessities of life, and therefore, they are going to start a self supporting Home. The desire of the comrades is to try and benefit from all the experiments that have been tried in this direction in the past, and not commit any of the mistakes that brought about their failure: That they will succeed is the earnest hope of all friends of freedom. I will go more into detail on this matter later on.

COATBRIDGE. Having no speakers here the comrades are sorely handicapped, but whenever they get a visit from a speaker there is always a good meeting; but here the comrades depend more on conversational propaganda and the distributing of literature, and as comrade Dignon thoroughly Firebrands the inhabitants every week, and Freedoms them every month, I have

no doubt they shall arise.

DUNDEE. Here there is very little lecturing done, but still the comrades put in a lot of good work, considering all the circumstances arrayed against them. If they only had one or two good local speakers, Bonnie Dundee would soon make great progress towards Anarchism.

EDINBURGH. With the indefatigable W. K. Hall, Doris and others the propaganda here during the winter season has been fairly humming. Starting their indoor lectures on Oct. 4th with a lecture on a Reply to Merrie England, followed by lectures every Sunday during the season, when such subjects were spoken on as Anarchist-Communism and Social Democracy, Anarchist and Atheist, Gods, Devils and Men, Mutual aid among Animals, Comrade Guyou of Paris on Communism and Individualism. This was a most valuable paper. The speaker pointed out the foolishness of quarrelling over what neither have any business with, our real work being the abolition of monopoly; which, when accomplished, will settle all questions. On March 5th Kropotkin lectured on Socialism, its Aims and Methods. This was a record meeting; our comrade was in good spirit and delivered a splendid address. As far as Edinburgh is concerned all the comrades are working with a will to bring about the abolition of monopoly.

INVERNESS. The comrades have run a series of indoor lectures here during the season. Lecturing, literature distributing and discussions is what the propaganda is composed of. In March they had a debate on, Is Socialism Desirable, at Beauty, also discussion at Nairn; on both occasions the largest halls, in the respective places, were packed. Although this is far North, yet the people are very far advanced on socialistic lines. They at least will not suffer the parliamentary fakirs at any price; their position is, let us have Socialists before Socialist M. Ps.; if the people cannot be educated outside of Parliament, then it is a hopeless case, for it will be an absolute impossibility to convert them from the inside.

GLASGOW. After having a good summer propaganda we tried to get up a series of indoor meetings, but failed, as we have financial difficulties lying on us and until they are removed we cannot do much indoor work, but we did the next best thing by getting a number of the comrades to deliver lectures to other associations, and in this way we kept ourselves before the public during the winter. In November our Chicago commemorative meeting was held on Sunday the 13th. It took the form of a social evening, with songs, speeches, etc.; the attendance was large and the meeting a great success. In March our Jewish comrades had a visit from Comrade Kaplan who held a number of large and enthusiastic meetings. On March 4. P. Kropotkin lectured under the auspices of the Glasgow Lecture Association on the subject, "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." He said that his subject needed no special introduction in these times. Do what they liked they were bound to recognize that Socialism was the leading force in the development of the second part of the century. It was vague at its beginning; it searched for a way without easily finding it, but it gradually took possession of the countries of Europe, and wherever there was a political question they would find that some social-economic question was at the bottom of it. Even the struggle that was going on in the East between the Christians and Musselmans was an economic question at the bottom. The developments of socialism were such that continually they were putting into the background the old political parties. They saw the time coming when European societies would have to consider the question, when every one in these societies would have to decide for himself this question: Was he going with the movement of the masses towards raising a new state of society, better guaranteeing the existence of everyone, guaranteeing the better well being of the masses; or would he side with those who preferred to maintain the old order of things, and fight against the masses coming to the front? Everyone therefore was bound to have an opinion as to what Socialism was, where it was leading, what methods it could adopt for promoting its purposes, and what they must strive to realize,—the sort of well-being which they were dreaming about. Among the many remedies which have been advocated for the present unsatisfactory state of society was cooperation. Cooperators said, "Let us suppress the middleman and have cooperative societies." That was a splendid idea, but what would they probably realize by it? So long as the land was kept by a small number of people and the community lived on imported

food middleman would increase, and if they compared the beginning of cooperation 30 years ago with the present time they would find that the number of middleman had grown notwithstanding all the efforts of cooperation. Very many people joined the Radical party hoping to change the political institutions of the country, and so influence the economical system. Certain countries had more liberties than others, but when ever it came to an economical struggle between the rich and the poor all liberties were forgotten. If good was done in one direction an evil was created in another. Socialism said, you have tried labor legislation, you have tried cooperation, you have started land nationalization societies, you have started societies for education, and philanthropic societies: All these are but little aspects of our great question. Socialism summed up the aspirations of the land nationalizer, of the trade unionist, of the cooperator, of the radical, and of every moralist who was working, be it in the name of the Christian religion or for any other ethical principle. Socialism said that so long as they tried to work separately with the several aspects of this great question, they would realize a certain slow progress in different directions. Very often they would interfere with each other, very often what was realized in one direction would result in regression in another direction.

The essential question was this: Why was it that everything which was required for producing necessary things were taken possession of by a few individuals? The taking possession, in the name of the community, of all belonging to the community, and utilizing in their interest and not in the interests of separate individuals was Socialism plainly stated. At the present time Socialists were divided into two branches, the Social democratic and the Anarchist branch. The first was more inclined to consider the future organization of society by going from the top to the centre, while we Anarchists were more inclined to consider the future organization beginning with the simple and proceeding to the compound, beginning with the small unit and coming to the federation of units. "I am persuaded that every Socialist must make up his mind as to which he intended to work with, just as every middle-class man is bound to have an opinion as regards Socialism. The methods he would employ would depend entirely upon the aims which he set himself. If he imagined that a Parliament could set a law, according to which all the land could be nationalized, let him try to get into Parliament and there endeavor to obtain what he wishes." For his own part he could not imagine that that was the manner in which to produce the change. Much more depended upon what every individual in every group, in every association to which he belonged, was ready to do on his own initiative. Let everyone take the responsibility of what he intended to do.

From this short report you will see our comrade made a capital speech, and when I state that this association is a bourgeoisie society and the audience was mostly bourgeois one can understand the many difficulties the lecturer had to face, but all went better than well. Before and after the lecture we sold an enormous quantity of our comrade's pamphlets. Let us hope they will be the harbingers of much good.

Ament the Walsall Anarchists, and the brutal and cowardly torturing and murdering of our comrades in Spain, throughout Scotland all the groups are keeping up a persistent agitation. We have held a number of meetings, and have been successful in getting an inning on some of the capitalist newspapers. We are not losing a single opportunity of bringing before the people this long list of the most demoniacal and hellish crimes that ever was perpetrated on suffering humanity. In this agitation we have men and women from all advanced schools of thought assisting us.

WM. DUFF.

Note and Comment.

We wish to thank the comrades who sent in the numbers of Vol. I that we called for, and will be much obliged for copies of number 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52 of Vol. II, as the comrade who furnished most of the copies of Vol. I wants them in exchange, in order to fill out a complete file of Vol. II. We are yet in need of number 32 of Vol. I.

"EX-PRIESTS are now running over the country exposing the confessional and other flumderies of the catholic church, stirring up hatred among the people on the question of religion and keeping them

apart on economic questions. The priest hood is a gang of hypocrites, frauds and scoundrels anywhere you find them, and a "reformed" priest—an apostate from his church who seeks to arouse popular hatred against it while pretending to still be a christian—is as much a villain as any of them who still remain, the willing slaves of the Bishop and tyrant of his flock.

We are in receipt of the following: "Wanted: Lady correspondents by several comrades of various ages. Object; an exchange of ideas and whatever may follow in the way of good fellowship, friendships or love. Address Cor. Sec. L. C. A., Hutsburg Tenn." Also: "Why dont the faithful give us their addresses so we can get to know each other." J. B. Beel, 153 36th Place Chicago, Ill.

These are good suggestions, and we will gladly publish a list of names and addresses of those who desire radical correspondents, and will forward letters to any of our correspondents whose names, but not addresses, may have appeared in The Firebrand, if sent to us in a stamped envelope.

THE man that risks his life, when trying to save a child from a burning house, is the most selfish man in the crowd, although the deed is considered "altruistic." The sight caused him such pain that he would rather risk his own life than to endure the horrible sight. In short, all the so-called "noble and good" deeds which we commit towards others and of which we often are very proud, are but the result of self-satisfaction, consequently nothing but "gross selfishness."

ZADNAK says in his reply to Cohen that, if his premises are correct, "The Firebrand group were guilty of gross selfishness in going to the relief of Comrade Wellenbrock." So they were and are yet guilty of gross selfishness, brother Zadnaek. It caused us pain to know that the comrade was suffering and liable to die on account of lacking the means to have proper treatment, and so we were very anxious to be relieved from this pain, the attempt of which will probably, as it seems now, relieve the sufferings of Comrade Wellenbrock also.

Happenings in London.

LABOR Day basked in the sweet smiles of those uncertain mesdames, the elements, and all was milk and honey. The combined Trade-Union, Socialist and Anarchist contingents from each part of the metropolis gathered themselves together, along the Victoria Embankment, and, when the appointed hour came, they set off for Hyde Park to the blare of trumpets, the roll of drums and the whistle of the pipes.

SEEN from the top of one of the undulations of Piccadilly the marching mass was a sight to be remembered as it spread its length of vigorous humanity over the hollows and elevations of that historic thoroughfare. The pavement, too, was crowded with people, all with the same objective, and as the banners rustled in the breeze, and the steady stride of men and firm steps of women sounded in unison, there arose spontaneously from the hosts, the century song of revolution, the "Marseillaise." Up in the windows of the Piccadilly clubs the haunts of the aristos, brainless wealth, lounged and sneered, but below there were the blossoming hope and the undying faith of the bondsmen—decadence and renaissance.

In the park the twelve platforms were positioned round, crescent shape, and each had a large crowd round it. The seven Anarchist speakers were distributed on the same number of platforms, the only change from the names given in my last letter being the replacement of Malatesta by Louise Michel. Jack Turner spoke to the biggest crowd in the park—speaking at the platform of which Tom Mann was chairman and made splendid use of his opportunities. The only other two of "our fellows" that I managed to hear were B. Stockton and Joseph Perry and both made big impressions on their crowds. In each case the Anarchists spoke only to the first resolution and not to the second—the palliative one. Next day in the same park near the famous "Reformers Tree," Nicoll, Perry, Turner and some others held a meeting to demand the release of the political prisoners and a fair crowd assembled.

Tuesday, the 4th of May, was the day of the bloody slaughter of Barcelona, the horrible end of months of awful torture. The five men shot will live, in the history which will one day be written, as irrefutable

accusers of the foul and fiendish structure called "law and order". The following couplets of William Morris tell their story as they tell the story of many other martyrs:

Nothing ancient is their story, e'en but yesterdy they bled,
Youngest they of earth's beloved, last of all the violent dead.
E'en the tidings we are telling, was the tale they had to tell,
E'en the hope that our hearts cherish, was the hope for which they fell

In the grave where tyrants thrust them lies their labor and their pain;
But, undying, from their sorrow springeth up the hope again.
Mourn not, therefore, nor lament it that the world outlives their life;
Voice and vision yet they give us, making strong our hands for strife.

The Spanish Atrocities Committee has arranged a great demonstration in Trafalgar Square for May 30th, circulating thousands of handbills and manifestoes spreading the news of the meeting and particulars of the tortures far and wide. Nearly \$40 have been collected towards the expenses at the time I am writing.

THE last two lectures at Christchurch Hall, Hamburg Street, E., were "The Crack of Doom" by Lathrop Withington, and "Michall Bakunin's Nihilist Philosophy," by Touzeau Parjia, on April 26 and May 3, respectively.

LATHROP WITHINGTON's speech was the finest piece of oratory uttered during the entire series and gained a splendid reception. Withington was one of the early English Anarchists having been active in the movement when Henry Seymour was publishing the "Anarchist" in 1886 and 1887. His speech on the Chicago Tragedy, delivered at the time, was a monument of emotional eloquence and has been frequently reprinted from the report in the "Anarchist." It forms part of the miscellaneous articles included in Wm. Whittick's "Bombs." He has lived in America for a number of years and returned to England last year.

"God and the State," was the book which Touzeau Parris dealt with in giving his exposition of Bakunin's philosophy and right worthily was the subject done by him. Parris has evolved from a religious Minister to an Atheist and Anarchist and seems all the better for it. His was the last lecture of the series.

THERE being a debt on the meetings, a "concert and dance" was organized for May 10, at the same hall, which was well attended and extinguished the debt. Charlie Morton did most of the accompanying on the piano not to mention the song he sang. A number of comrades "obliged" with songs and mandoline solos, and Rochelle Zolzman recited. William West circumambulated the room on his organizing excitement but beamed refulgently on one and all. I don't want the earth for a dollar, but I do wish there were a few more Anarchists with the painstaking and tireless energy of W. W. We should see things then.

THE Legitimation League are still carrying on their propaganda here. Their object is to legitimize children born out of "holy wedlock" and also to encourage free marriage—marriage without the sanction of State or Church—based solely upon a declaration of the intention of the parties concerned of living together.

APART from the extremely scanty work done by the above organization there is no real "Free Love" propaganda being carried on in this country whilst in the land of the stars and stripes it seems to have attained colossal proportions. I cannot agree with those carping critics who think the space in The Firebrand badly spent when used for "Free Love" matter. A proper understanding of a subject like this necessitates an entire readjustment of an immense mass of ideas and inevitably takes the enquirer on the highroad to complete mental emancipation and joyousness.

THE furriers are on strike here for a rise in wages from seven dollars per week to nine, and are winning hands down. Two-thirds of the men have had their demand conceded and the remainder, a thousand or so, will soon be after them. The furriers employed at the Queen's News at Buckingham Palace are amongst the strikers and Buckingham Palace is picketed, which same is distinctly curious.

TOM REECE.

GROVER CLEVELAND was the first man that ever became a millionaire by catching fish; we guess he made his million by catching "suckers."—Er.

Clippings and Comments.

"The word "Socialism" first came into general use in 1835. Professor Shaffie says that the alpha and omega of socialism is the transformation of private and competing capital into a united collective capital. The Anarchists and the Socialists formally separated in 1872. Bakunin led the former, Marx the latter." Ex

The Anarchists represent that phase of Socialism that would allow the widest personal liberty, while the State Socialists, or Marxists, would deny personal liberty, reduce individuals to automatons and erect the State as a supreme, all controlling power. Which kind of Socialism do you like best?

Though over half a year has gone since the three Anarchists were arrested in Denmark on account of some counterfeit saving stamps, they have not softened yet, but are still denying and insisting as hard as ever upon their innocence and ignorance of the case. If the police had not found under the roof of the Proletar's editor's house a package of stamps it would have been impossible to convict them. But they will in any case get a severe sentence on circumstantial evidence.—Translated from a Danish paper.

So we see in Denmark the officials stoop to the same low down and villainous methods of manufacturing evidence against Anarchists that are practiced in this and other countries. It is a universal complaint amongst them all. Their "brief authority" is threatened; they grow desperate. Spying a noble soul who is shedding a light that brings out in bold relief the hideousness of their accursed trade, they put their wits to work to concoct some nefarious scheme to put him out of the way. So all the world around we see this same spirit displayed by those in authority.

ELEVEN years ago shortly after the Chicago Hay-market troubles, E. S. Dreyer, the banker, was foreman of the grand jury that indicted the Anarchists. Not only was he foreman of the grand jury, but he was said to be one of the most active members of that body in recommending their severe punishment. Now, when five of the seven men who were sentenced to death are in their graves and the other two leading honorable and useful lives, Dreyer finds himself the object of as scathing an indictment as ever came from a jury of his peers. If it is true which is charged against him, he is guilty of swindling, fraud and robbery of the most criminal and contemptible nature. Fortune is indeed fickle; and Dreyer, offender of the law, who eleven years ago posed as its champion and defender, knows it.—International Wood Worker

The Wood-Worker should not be astonished at this, for the simple reason that, were the wrapping of social standing and public estimation torn away from most of our "successful business men," they would be seen equally vile and corrupt.

"UNABLE to pay rent and provide bread for themselves, W. H. Gage and wife of Chicago last Wednesday concluded to end the struggle for existence and, after making all preparations, took chloroform and quietly laid down, side by side, and passed away. He was a skilled mechanic, but could find no employment. Just think of this, you who try to uphold the present goldbug, monopoly system. Is this right? Should such things be? Ought not there be some method of some kind by which everybody who is able and willing to work for a living could do so? Are not our resources bountiful to provide for all? Is there any sensible reason that one man should be cut off from an opportunity to earn an existence just because another man wants to pile up riches and flaunt a vain and useless power? No! It is a shame, and every man who upholds such a plan—be he banker, preacher or farmer—is partially responsible for these sad results. Yes, the blood of W. H. Gage and his sainted wife is on your heads. You may try to evade the stigma by scriptural quotations, by reference to history and by citing our laws; but you are none the less guilty, just the same."—Farmers Tribune.

If those "who uphold such a plan are responsible for these sad results," the editor of the Tribune is also responsible, for he upholds authority and restrictions—the cause of such sad results. Under freedom poverty will be unknown, and freedom is the only method to prevent poverty.

AT the Miner's Convention, in Salt Lake City, Utah, May the 10th, Edward Boyce, President of the Western Federation of Miners, among other things said:

"The constitution should be so amended as to declare all members of the National Guard ineligible to membership and withhold our patronage from all companies and individuals or organizations when any member of the National Guard is employed or admitted to membership."

He further said:

"Corporations are constantly reducing the wages of their employees, fastening upon them a bondage from which there is no escape. If they object they are easily suppressed by the courts of the country—these august tribunals that stand ever ready to execute the will of their corporate masters before whom labor has no rights that capital is bound to respect, or be shot down by the \$13-a-month murderers that compose the National Guard."

This is a good sign. When workingmen get over that foolish idea that the army and militia should be partially made up of workingmen they will be on the road to emancipation. Every militiaman and soldier is only a tool of the oppressors of the workingmen.

A Reply to Cohen.

IN No. 119 of The Firebrand is an article purporting to answer my query as to why certain Individualists seem to have as their principal stock in trade abusive epithets against altruists.

But my critic—a leading writer for cut-and-dried, orthodox, one-man Anarchy—makes several mistakes.

First, I have not claimed to be an altruist, so his feeble sarcasm of the "noble-minded" stripe fails to reach me.

Second, because I am an Anarchist, as much as I respect Kropotkin, I retain the right to differ from him. I do not have to follow a "plumb line," but the dictates of my reason.

Third, his quotation from Kropotkin does not show that Kropotkin indulged in the abusive tirades characteristic of a certain Anarchist Editor whom I had in mind when I wrote the queries which my critic essayed to answer with cheap sarcasm.

Fourth, Cohen will not add to his reputation as a thinker and writer by resorting to such tactics as vulgar sneers.

Fifth, I did not defend extreme altruism as wise, though it may be well-meant and sincere.

Cohen quotes Kropotkin: "Here is a man who snatches the last mouthful of bread from a child. . . . Here is another . . . who shares his last bit of bread with the hungry," etc.

Both men may act naturally, in which case we cannot well blame the first man, but I must say that such a man has plainly not evolved above the hog-plane, and I do not admire hogs. The second man has evolved above and beyond the Cohen plane, and for that I must admire his conduct, even if I do not emulate the example.

Again Cohen errs in "betting" that I would not ask Kropotkin to explain his position—did the opportunity present itself. I am no more a worshiper of Kropotkin than of Tucker. So far as they posit that which I can believe to be good and just I will accept their opinions as good—and no further. This, without regard to the praise or condemnation of "plumblers."

The man who cannot or dare not do his own thinking, accepting that which seems to him good and rejecting that which seems to him bad is a poor specimen of an Anarchist.

If Cohen's premises are correct then The Firebrand group were guilty of gross selfishness in going to the relief of Comrade Wellenbrock. If Fulton's preaching is correct, they were fools or lunatics. I do not know if The Firebrand comrades claim to be altruists, but that act was altruistic, and no cheap sneer can place it on the same plane as "plucking the last mouthful of bread from a starving child."

THE pope of Individualism when told by Dyer D. Lum that the Chicago Anarchists would not be lying in the shadow of the gallows had they been more theoretical, retorted in the fashion of a cowardly schoolboy who dares not accept a challenge, that he

did not see the desirability of being placed in the shadow of the gallows. Neither do any of his self-seeking kind. Much as they prate of liberty, no government needs fear them, nor does it.

I do not mean by this to say that the situation was a desirable one. But I do mean that the valor of Individualists seems to consist wholly of "discretion" and conservatism. Any old time will do to put Anarchy into practice—say the year 227119. Talk and words suit them best. Though the position of Parsons and his comrades was not enviable their work did more to fan the embers of reason into a blaze than centuries of Individualist talk will. Egoism is cheap, it is a common article, a "drug on the market." But martyrdom won't drug the market for some time. It may not be advisable to play the roll of martyr or practice altruism to excess, but certainly the martyr and the altruist will forfeit no respect of sincere comrades because of petty flings by men who cannot or will not appreciate the humanitarian impulses that moved them to action.

ZADNAK THE DREAMER.

An Antiquated View.

A FEW ironclad invincible truths, which should be held before the eyes of the people every day.

1. Money, the life-blood of the present social body must have its continuous and regular circulation. To stop it and hoard it, causes what in the body of man is called an Aneurism, often a very deadly disease. Therefore it is a social crime to allow any man the privilege of hoarding money and making it scarce to others and thereby enslaving those that are in need of it, by charging interest for its use. Taking interest is usury, and was regarded as a crime in former centuries, even forbidden by the catholic church, and it is a crime yet.

One of the most insane ideas, originated in the old Fairy Tale of the "Heckthaler" but earnestly and rigidly upheld by people really fit for Lunatic Asylums is that money can double itself in and by itself. This idea would be most ridiculous if not so dangerous and destructive to public welfare.

A direct and very progressive income tax, leaving untaxed the value of \$800, could to a certain degree neutralize the evil effects of hoarding money.

2. Land is public property, and to let it become private property is a crime. It must be free to anybody who really tills and works it, thereby giving food and nourishment to mankind. Only by the "legal" property fiction can it be amassed and made scarce and be kept in possession by men who neither can nor will work it, but hold it for speculation, and enslave those who are in need of it by extorting rent from them. Interest taking is the first and rent taking is the second social crime. No farming family should be allowed to occupy more than at most 100 acres of land, and no foreigner should be allowed to possess a single foot of American land.

Interest and rent taking creates a class of drones and a class of slaves and money, called "capital," like an immense octopus, sucks the life-blood of all working classes, always returning in form of interest to the blood-sucking monster, from whence the same process steadily begins anew, an everlasting screw, an endless chain creating a few millionaires and uncounted millions of paupers. The only and true remedy escapes the notice of our so called Statesmen (who laughs here?). By everlasting disputes about gold and silver standard they make the people crazy and blind. The government giving the only legal value to the circulating medium by its stamp, should issue 500—1000 Millions of greenbacks, not founded on gold or silver, irredeemable, with a warning on the back, that any citizen or inhabitant of the U. S., who refuses to take them at full face value or tries to depreciate them shall be guilty of high treason, and punished accordingly by the U. S. courts.

The next step should be to call in all gold bonds noting their owners, that after the expiration of a short set time no interest would be paid on them any more. The national banks, in a conspiracy with our so called Statesmen try just now to have all greenbacks drawn in and destroyed, and have their own notes put in place of our greenbacks, are the main part of the great Octopus that sucks the blood of the people by drawing interest twice, by their gold bonds and by their bank notes. To have given them this privilege is one of the worst crimes of our government, of which Jefferson and Jackson were fully aware, and if a president like Jackson had hung a dozen of the N. Y. Wall street Sharks in our civil war, gold would never have come

up to 2½ against our greenbacks. The very thing that is wanted to free our people from the clutch of that blood sucking octopus is to demonitize gold by an issue of irredeemable greenbacks.

All indirect taxation is a fraud and a crime. Our people producing yearly between 20,000 and 40,000 Millions of value is ample security to any foreign people to buy our surplus production by paying with our greenbacks. Everybody concedes that a great amount of silver change is necessary, up to one dollar, but silver has the good quality that its volume makes it unfit to be hoarded. All bigger business transactions are at present done already by bank papers, drafts, and in clearing houses without gold. Silver based on gold is a pusillanimous idea without the least power to relieve the people of their nefarious slavery, which ere long is bound to bring forth a revolution compared to which the grand French revolution is a harmless idyl.

Our people, down trodden and degraded to mere voting cattle by their stupid belief in the value of the ballot box, are sold out by the partisan wire pullers long before the election, to vote according to the party dog-mark, which each of them wears. Our people are in want of a hero like the fathers of our republic; of a Hercules to clean the Augean stable of general corruption that stinks towards heaven, who would not shrink back from some only seemingly revolutionary measures, such as confiscating under the right of "eminent domain" any concern that threatens the public welfare by provoking strikes and riots and reducing the laborers to the level of coolies; who would openly reinstate the superiority of the U. S. over each single state, abolishing all laws that destroy our personal liberty, guaranteed to the people by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, such as temperance and Sunday laws, also depriving that rotten and treacherous concern the U. S. Supreme Court of any right to decide political and social questions, by which power they stand above president and congress. The republic further is in want of perfectly free trade with all the world, and shuns any protective tariff as obvious and destructive to the brotherhood of all nations; it protects only the secret exploitation of the laboring classes, and hides and protects that nefarious indirect taxation. Let every branch of industry that can not live unprotected go to hell! The first political step out of the general corruption which should imperiously be demanded by all people is the election of the president by direct vote of the people without middlemen.

All the foregoing ideas, though they may be slumbering yet in many men, are not only adopted by the working classes, who alone by their toil create all the wealth of the world, but these ideas are also embraced by all enlightened men with a true heart for suffering mankind. These ideas may be a special advise to the man whom more than one half of the people regarded as their standard bearer in the last presidential contest, W. J. Bryan, who ignominiously, but luckily for him, was cheated out of his victory; we say: luckily, because that narrow sighted free silver question does not cover the necessities and emergencies of the times. His horizon will be immensely widened and he, so we hope, will be the very Hercules to clean the American Augean stable. And in short; the mere existence of a trio like Bryan, Altgeld, and Tillman gives us a faint hope, that the impending crisis may be turned into a sound evolution if, yes if the electric rapidity of progressing times does not sooner awaken the fearful goddess of the red flag—the revolution!

Dr. C. BROCKMAN.

Very little criticism of the above is necessary. The author insisted on its being published and criticized, and this is my criticism: Not one proposition he makes is desirable, in favor of liberty, or calculated to solve the problems he has started out to explain. He advocates compulsion, coercion and all the very fundamental ideas that we are trying to expiate. It is not necessary to discuss the propositions in detail. It is only necessary to point out that they would have to be carried out by a stronger and more despotic government than we now have.

H. A.

Youth's Department.

JOHN'S WAY.

"A Little Anarchist" thinks Elmina "brings a great change (in religious belief) in a comparatively short

time" in the story of "John's Way." The story is mainly true as to facts. An old man gave me many threads of the tale, as a true narrative of real events that he was knowing of.

It is, as a rule, a work of time to change settled opinions, but I myself know a woman who was so very earnest in her work for her church, and her religion, that she married, when in her prime, an old, old preacher, so she could take care of him. A while after she did so, an infidel tract fell into her hands, and the whole current of her belief was changed, and in an incredible short space of time, she became an infidel and an Atheist. Her mind was ripe for truth and she accepted it at once, and finally the meddlesome old Rev. became so obnoxious to her, that she brought about a separation from him.

This is only one case in thousands where truth has only to be known to be accepted. The price of "John's Way" is only 15 cents and it has made hundreds if not thousands of Infidels, and I hope in time it will make as many more truth seekers and truth finders.

AUNT ELMINA.

When I made my comment on "John's Way," I did not mean to say that individuals could not change opinions rapidly, nor even did I intend to say that a whole town (which is not probable) could not be changed to Infidelity in a short time. But what I meant was, that I did not prefer it for propaganda work, for when a person that is not already an Infidel reads a book like that and gets hold of Infidelity and studies it and becomes an infidel it will make the person very enthusiastic. They will work hard at first, and then, failing to see a change come in a short time they turn pessimist. What I want is to start him or her slow but sure and then we've got a good worker in the end.

"Her mind was ripe for the truth," by this you mean that her mind was ripe for what you call "truth," and then you say, "she accepted it at once." Now if she accepted it at once she was a skeptic in religion or she would not have accepted it "at once." "Truth" as I understand it is only a relative term, and the christian is as certain that he has the whole truth as you are.

I am glad to hear that the book has made many infidels, for generally a book only sets people to investigate, but it is an extraordinary book that makes infidels. I would have been more pleased to hear that it had advanced people to strive for freedom—not only in religious matters, but also economically, for infidels who uphold government and laws, are often just as bigoted and as far off from what I call "truth" as the christians are. I think it would be easier to teach a christian the "truth" than Mr. Hosmer, the leading infidel of Oregon. Under government mankind can never attain happiness. And happiness is what we want.

A LITTLE ANARCHIST.

Literature.

LEAFLET No. 2, of The New Dispensation, is on my table. It is a four paged leaflet published by J. L. Jones, Corvallis Or., at 2 cents each, \$1.00 per hundred or 25 cents per year. In it he denounces private ownership of land, demands local autonomy, and predicts that about Easter, 1920 the present dispensation will end and the new come into force. This is one of the "straws" showing the direction of the popular breeze that is now springing up.

L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, A monthly International Review of Science and Arts, will be published in place of Society Nouvelle, which has been fighting for the last twelve years for arts and free thought, but is compelled to suspend for a while, and in the interim L'Humanite Nouvelle will keep on struggling for freedom until the former can be published again.

All the old subscribers will please take notice; and in order to successfully surmount the material difficulties of the undertaking, we beg to solicit your patronage. Subscription price \$3.00 per year, single copies 30 cents. Address: M. C. Albert, rue Halle 34, Paris, France.

THE AUTONOMIST, a new monthly magazine, "the official organ of James Armstrong Jr." who calls it "a conservative monthly, devoted to progress and individ-

ualism" is before me. It contains twenty pages and is printed on book paper in large clear type.

The editor writes vigorously and fearlessly, and shows that he has done a great deal of reading, but he is not yet acquainted with the ideal of Anarchist-Communism as is shown by his writing:

"Every political party of which I know believes in the organization of individuals, to be chosen by birth or ballot, as a disciplinary body for the rest of mankind. Such is the principle of the system under which we are living. It is also the principle of Socialism, Single Tax, Communism, Co-operative Common wealths, Bellamy Colonies and all the wild vagaries of well meaning men who propose to bring on the golden age. I believe they are essentially defective."

Anarchist-Communists do not accept the principle to which he objects, but have for their ideal a principle which he contends for in the article from which the above is clipped, to wit, "free production and free consumption."

We gladly welcome this magazine to our exchange list, and to the field of radical journalism, despite the fact it calls itself conservative. One dollar per year, 10 cents per copy. Address The Autonomist, Houston, Texas.

Propaganda Fund.

S. Press, \$7.65. Peukert (May-day party), \$1.60. Peukert, \$1.00. Peukert (birth day party), Niddermeier, Powers, Heyman, Quockboener, Hablich, Braden, Hawkes, McDonald, each 50c. Smith, 75c. Cummins, Sacramento, Hughes, Griffiths, Beel, Shaw, each 25c. Bruelhelde, Barnes, Damon, each 20c. Peter, Hoffman, each 10c.

Wellenbrock's Relief Fund.

Previously acknowledged,	\$ 14.70.
A. Verity,	25.
Collected by Bertha Schoenek,	30.
Sacramento,	15.
J. C. Barnes,	10.
Expenses till June 13th:	
Isaak's trip, etc.,	\$ 5.80
Doctor bill and medicine,	5.40
Hospital (five weeks),	21.00
Total \$31.70	

* We call attention to the above statement of Comrade Wellenbrock's Relief Fund. By it you can see that so far we are short \$16.20. Ten or twenty-five cents each from a few who are able to spare it would straighten the account out and ease the strain on us. H. A.

Special Announcement!

THE publication of The Firebrand is carried on by a few individuals, aided by a number of radicals everywhere, for the purpose of spreading radical ideas. We have no organization, no constitution, by-laws, rules, officers or dues. Each works at what he or she is most competent to do. The Firebrand has no editor in the ordinary sense, and we invite everyone who has anything to say to send in their "copy."

Those engaged in the work of getting the paper out have no other means of support than the receipts 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 subscription. Any one wanting the paper can have it sent to them regularly by writing for it. If you can pay nothing now, we will credit you. If you are 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.

Notice.

To find the HOME OF THE FIREBRAND take the Oregon City car at cor. First & Alder Sts., and ride out to Sellwood. Get off at Spokane Ave. Walk two blocks toward the river, then turn to the right and walk one block.

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

Miscellaneous

There is no slavery so pitiful as that which is proud of its fetters, for it denotes the death of manhood.

There is no wealth outside of man, for it is his desire to use the products of nature that gives them value.

The amount a man "is worth" is the price of his manhood. It is the market price of his soul in dollars and cents.

The conflict between man and the dollar admits of no truce nor palliation. We cannot serve God and Mammon.

The man who waits to advocate a reform until it becomes popular shows that he loves popularity more than the right.

When men like John Wannamaker declare that there is revolution in the air it is evident that the political heavens are growing dark.

Slave labor is a curse because it is neither substituted by love nor induced by hope, but is driven by the lash, and can hope for no reward but the relief offered by death. —The Commoner.

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DR. FOOTE'S PLAIN HOME TALK

EMBRACING MEDICAL COMMON SENSE.

For the information of those who may be interested, I would call attention to the popular edition of this book, that has been a standard of information, and a source of knowledge to tens of thousands of families for many years. The popular edition has been brought out to meet the ability of the poor to buy, and is sold at the remarkable low price of \$1.50.

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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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