



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. 125.

Sacrilege.

BY VIROQUA DANIELS.

GRANDPAPS of 'seventy-six your reputation
Upon us dropped, unshorn of valuation;
Your sterling worth eternally shall jingle;
Your words ne'er cease to cut—or smart (or tingle.)

We plume ourselves about our "institutions,"
Our paper preambles, our constitutions;
We hold the strips to windbags, gaily colored,
Grandpaps, you blew 'em up—for future dullards!

You shaped for us—or so we have the notion—
A Social Order with perpetual motion;
All rubs are smoothed with oil that's Democratic,
The oiling apparatus automatic.

Your wisdom infinite (by manifesto)
Is shown. We stuff the ballot box, and, presto!
The giant moves. Alas! In monstrous fashion,
Grandpaps' ideals make fuel for his passion.

List! Slowly, slowly, over our blunt senses,
There creep vague doubts relating to expenses;
Free press, free speech, free schools, free "institutions,"
Quick witted seen—in pressing contributions!

Free labor, tricked by "prospects" most alluring,
Exhausts its force; but, tyranny adorning,
Though puzzled, dons its rags, consumes its crust (Oh!)
And cheers last century Dads with proper gusto.

But say! Were all our grandpaps to be trusted?
Had none a moral hinge a wee bit rusted?
Did none perceive that pelf grades princely power,
And long to "Lord it," smirk while weaklings cower?

Are riches worse if won by sea-dog's plunder
Than sponged by taxes, profits, rents, I wonder?
Is sabbat thrust more cruel than starvation?
Rude vice so vile as courtly degradation?

Are "institutions" worshipful that plaster
A country o'er with classes, servants, masters?
Are servants slaves? On soil where independence
Has sprouted thick, do they still dance attendance?

Are serfs of wage a whit more elevated
Than chattel herds whose worth per head is rated?
Are boss and hirelings joined by bonds fraternal?
Are slums and mansions kin in lands supernal?

Is tattered Yankee freer than Celestial
With wardrobe ditto? Life is plainly bestial
When drudgery makes shift with dissipation
To conjure fickle joys and recreation.

'Tis naught save dainty savage disposition
That craves the offices of fate; ambition
To pose as God, and from great show of splendor,
Draw privilege to drive—or play defender!

He is not free who fawningly confesses
That might makes right, and lash of Pluto blesses.
A free man TAKES the liberty of choosing
What he conceives is good, the bad refusing.

All wisdom, e'en the old, will bear inspection;
'Tis error cries for cover, for protection.
So here's to you, grandpaps, your due of credit;
But truth is truth, and not because you said it.
—Reprinted from a previous issue.

Fourth of July: The Spirit of '76.

ONE hundred years ago the United States "came of age." In other words, one hundred and twenty-one years ago the Declaration of Independence was published to the world, and Kingcraft bid defiance. And now, on the "Glorious Fourth," tons of gun powder will be exploded ostensibly in honor of that event. Immense military displays will be indulged in, and grand perorations of swelling words and high sounding phrases will be poured forth from the lips of stump-speakers and political orators. All to sound the praises of rebels and

subverters of the social order. Does it not seem strange that such glory should be accorded these men, when those who do the praising are so wont to condemn the revolutionists of today?

We look back with pride to our revolutionary fathers. We never weary of praising their heroism, of glorifying their deeds of valor. Children are taught to look upon them with reverence and admiration, for they resisted imposition and threw off the yoke which they had inherited—the yoke of Kingcraft. They had the courage to oppose the traditions of the past and the pretensions of King George.

Looking back to the days of our revolutionary period and the war of separation, we see a people living in comparative freedom with boundless resources all around them, and with an infinite possibility of development at their very door, but they were not content. Why? Because the great lion on the other shore of the big pond had one of his claws amongst them. British soldiers were quartered amongst them, and some indirect tax was imposed. This, to our vigorous and liberty loving ancestors was unbearable and they kicked. They gathered on street corners and talked about it, and swore that, as they were not represented, they would pay no tax. Some thought that if they could send representatives to London, to become part of Parliament, that these representatives could prevent all abuse of power, but somehow that was not satisfactory and so when the Crisis fresh from the pen of Thomas Paine, was published and sent broadcast the idea of complete separation started, and grew very rapidly, and soon the Declaration of Independence rang out, the harbinger of revolution, the document that has inspired the people of the entire world with the hope of freedom, freedom from traditional institutions; a hope of something better than they have yet known. Submission was undreamed of by the leading spirits of that time, and the right of resistance was never questioned, except by those who strove to maintain the established order of things. Loyalty was at a discount and the "glorious past" of the mother country faded into insignificance when compared with the question of liberty. In vain did orators plead for loyalty, and point to glorious achievements of the "greatest Empire on earth". Our ancestral dads were in no humor to be trifled with, and the sentimentality of the loyalist fell upon barren ground. The Crises, as they appeared one after another, found a ready and enthusiastic reception, and while the "leaders" were discussing the advisability of answering them the populace were growing wild with enthusiasm over the fearless demands set forth in them, and the "leaders" were forced to take sides with the people. All other questions were for the time being forgotten. The revolutionary blood was up, and all joined in a united effort to throw off the yoke.

And so now the rulers are want to call the people together on the fourth day of each July and encourage them in showing admiration to these revolutionists of one hundred and twenty years ago, and

try to convince them that they are the happiest people on Earth, and that these forefathers of ours did all that was necessary for all time to come, so far as revolutionary action is concerned.

Now the people are gathered together and harangued by knavish designers or blatant scyophants about the glories of our country; our vast domain; our wondrous development and the prosperity that sits perched on our banners beside the Eagle. The contrast between our own blessed country and the downtrodden people of other lands is dwelt upon as though it were a fact, and every thing that is said is calculated to still all revolutionary impulses and cajole the gullible public into being led as resistlessly into the jaw of political and economic spoliation as lambskins to the slaughter.

The din of fire crackers and anvils, and the blare of tin horns and brass bands and the waving of banners and flags are indulged in to awaken the patriotism of the grown up children and to instill patriotism into the little ones. Noise, poisonous lemonade, and excitement make up the principle feature of our today fourth of July celebrations. The designing politician brags of our freedom and prosperity. The scyophant spouts his string of quotations to the country picnickers. The lemonade vender and candy seller reap their harvest, and the credulous adherents of our present social arrangements swear anew their fidelity to the bosh proclaimed by the "orator of the day."

Why all the fuss and furor? Are we really so blessed that we overflow with gratitude once a year and gather together to give vent to our superlative devotion to the flag? Is it true that in this our own dear native land that none need suffer, that opportunities are open to all, that all are free and equal? Are we, really the happiest people on Earth? If so then throw your hat so high that it wont come down for a month! Howl and yell and cheer the pettifoggers until your throat is sore for weeks and the licorice dealer smiles! Explode gun powder until the ground trembles and the sky weeps in joy! But is it so?

Look around you and see for yourself if everything is all that can be expected. Look into your own home—if you have one—and determine if your enthusiasm for the "glorious-fourth" is well founded. A great baldheaded Eagle, a bird that lies by plunder alone sits perched on our banners and every official from President to dog-pelter tries to immitate his habits. His notes are raised only to scare the industrious bird away from the product of his toil, and so our every official raises a din to frighten the industrious so that they may be the more easily robbed. On every side we see want and squallor. Everywhere is to be seen sharp distinctions drawn between one class and another. The children of the wealthy can use the Capital Lawn as a play ground and strew it over with litter of various kinds, but Coxe is thrown in jail because a companion of his steps, or rather is pushed onto the grass of this same lawn. Those who "stand in" can do about as they please, but if Anarchists try to hold a picnic, just like other

people, they are run in for disorderly conduct. Take for instance the picnic given to Bauer and Nold at Pittsburg, Pa., May 30. It was advertised to take place in the afternoon, but a detachment of police were in ambush, a short distance from the picnic grounds, at 11:45 A. M., and pounced, tiger-like, onto those who with their wives and children were just spreading lunch on the grass, at 12:15. A number of other picnics were held in Pittsburg that same day, but no one else was molested. This one was different, however, as it was intended to give two ex-prisoners a new standing in society and help them start life anew. Such action, of course, is horrible—it is doing as we would be done by, and the American Eagle never does that. Toilers starve in sight of the wealth they have been legally robbed of, and luxuriant idleness flaunts its arrogance in the face of its victims. While all this is the order of the day the "Free American Citizen" forgets the example of our revolutionary progenitors; forgets that the Declaration of Independence says that when governments get in the condition ours is in it becomes, not only our right, but our duty to alter or abolish it. Our people have lost the revolutionary fire; have become the meek and credulous tools of petty tyrants and designing robbers. No longer does the blare of fourth of July tin horns mean a real live desire for freedom or resistance to tyranny, but a senseless loyalty and devotion to institutions that crush the life out of the toilers and cause a ceaseless groaning of crushed and bleeding human beings to constantly ascend. Oh, cowardly generation! Is there no manhood in you?

Awake! Arouse! Let the word go forth that we will no longer uphold the machine that grinds us into dollars for the parasites that beset us on every hand and side. Spare no pains to spread the tidings of resistance to oppression, of the right to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness. Shall we forever be the work cattle for a race of our inferiors, those who would perish if thrown on their own resources? Will we continue to pile wealth mountain high and allow the greedy, grinning, merciless monsters of rent, interest and profit to take it from us and then yell ourselves hoarse on the "Glorious Fourth"?

The time has come when loyalty and patriotism must be looked upon in their true light, and the schemes of slick villains who use these sentiments to promote their own interests be shown up. Away with that insanity called patriotism, and that frenzy called loyalty, and look to your interest and the interests of your fellow workers, for your interests and his are identical. Cease to contribute to the glorification of this "National Birthday" by spending your time and money at the "Celebration" and the lemonade stand. Join the Anarchists, the only persons really seeking freedom. Throw off the traditions of the past and demand your unquestionable right to equal opportunities with all others; the right to live your own life in your own way; the right of association, free and untrammelled. No longer bow a willing neck to the yoke of authority. Assert your own individuality, your own selfhood. Let the cry of Patrick Henry again ring out "Give me liberty or give me death!"

Will we struggle for a change of masters like the Populists and the State Socialists? Is it desirable to throw out the scoundrels and vampires that now prey upon us and substitute a lot of men who will soon become as those who have been deposed? Away with such thoughts! Give us liberty, free, full liberty! No liberty can exist in the same place and at the same time as government. Government is a denial of liberty, must be, or it ceases to be government. Let all remember this when celebrating the fourth of July. Remember that the glory of our ancestors consisted in their rebellion against government, not in establishing government. The men who were noble as revolutionists became ignoble and detestable as founders of government. Jefferson knew this well when he said, "God forbid

that my country should go twenty years without a revolution." Rebellion against restrictions, against tyranny and oppression of every form is always in order, and a people who don't rebel whenever oppression is begun, are sure to find themselves in thralldom and all avenues of escape carefully guarded.

Those who propose government propose slavery. So then it behoves us not to parley or compromise on that subject. Our suffering today is the direct result of government and we must set our faces against it in every form, and be as unyielding as flint.

Today we have neither liberty nor peace. Childhood is marred by poverty, by work and by distinctions which young minds cannot comprehend. Youth is overshadowed by the haunting fear of the responsibilities of life. Manhood and womanhood are robbed of their joys by a fear of what may befall their progeny, and old age tumbles into the grave worn and exhausted, without having known the comforts and joys of a free and secure life. On with the dance, the dance of death, but let those who respect themselves withdraw from it and no longer give it sanction by their assistance, or by their indifference, but let them with voice and with pen, or with the most expedient means at hand protest against the injustice of today as vigorously and unceasingly as did the heroes of '76, and bye and bye we will gather our forces and hurl the oppressors from the earth and then will dawn the morn of the day of rejoicing when childhood shall be passed in growth, development and mirth unsullied by care or toil; when youth shall sing the glad song of exuberant energy and abundant opportunity to exercise it; manhood and womanhood enjoy the delights most attractive to persons of their age, fearing no harm to them or theirs, and old age sink to rest as serenely and peacefully as the sun in the west. Let our fourth of July thoughts and efforts be to establish such a condition.

HENRY ADD.S.

A Vision of Anarchy.

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.

Every man, they say, has a religion; my religion is Anarchism. In contemplating the future I see it radiant with the sunlight of universal liberty. I catch a vision of the days to come—the curtain rises upon a grand scene; I see before me a glorious panorama. The hideous nightmare of government—the subjection of man to man—is gone, and I hear the happy sound of many voices of men and women singing of liberty, and mingled with it the laughter of children. I see a grand civilization dawning upon the world—a new heaven on a new earth, in which every man and woman shall be a sovereign with his or her own individuality for an empire; in which authority shall have no place, and in which national boundaries shall be blotted from the map and the flags of all nations shall be merged into the red emblem of universal brotherhood. I see the grim specter of war fade forever from the scene and over all spread the white pinions of peace. I see the jails turned into workshops, courthouses into institutions of learning, and where once fell the awful shadow of the gallows, I see the flowers bloom. No more is heard the wild blast of war, and where once the earth trembled with martial tread, I behold the peaceful artisan at his work.

Such is the great hope, the grand ideal, the sublime dream of Anarchy.

ROSS WANN.

May, 4th 1897 in Spain.

THE above is the date which will remain as a red spot in the history of the struggle for economical independence.

The Spanish government is bankrupt as far as public improvements and welfare of the producers is concerned, but there is plenty of money to spend for war purposes in Cuba.

Barcelona and Bilbao are the centers of the revolutionary movement in Spain, there the Anarchists were ceaselessly denouncing the abuses of the government, and explaining to the people the beauties of a free

society, a society of harmony without master or slave. The ruling class could not bear to see this downtrodden people come up with the standard of modern thought, so they decided to stop it, as in 1886 in Chicago. One of the police agents threw the bomb into a catholic procession in the Calle Cambios Nerevos where there was a couple of innocents killed and wounded for which act all the known (over 500) Anarchists in Barcelona were arrested and put under the Inquisition. They were tortured with the most refined and cruel instruments of our modern time. The government denied for quite awhile the existence of the inquisition, but as there was sufficient proof on hand, in the editorial rooms of the "Intransigent," it was finally admitted and an investigation ordered, which, of course, ended in smoke just like any other investigation by any other government. All lovers of humanity protested all over the world against the Inquisition, but still the Spanish priests and plutocrats could not be satisfied otherwise than to see blood of the innocent flow. Even in the war council some of the defendants protested against the hypocritical harrange of their superiors, and a captain of cavalry went away and committed suicide because he could not bear in mind the horrors which were committed under the auspices of the government of which he was one of the defenders. All those events could not move the daily press which is the echo of the priest and plutes, the direct representatives of God and Patriotism.

Tuesday, May, 4th there was a small telegram in the daily press that "five Anarchists were shot at sunrise in the Montjuich castle;" they were comrades Tomas Asheri, Jose Molas, Antonio Nogues, Juan Alsina and Luis Mas, of course the five most active in the propaganda. The religious cowards succeeded to soften Asheri and made him go to the confession, but the other four remained firm in denouncing God and State till the last minute. All five of them died fearlessly as true heroes. Mas said to the soldiers: "Approach!" Nogues said at the same time: "This is the inquisition! I am innocent!" All of them cried out with strong voices "Hurrah for Anarchy!" The moment the soldiers were ready to shoot Molas commanded: "Fire!"

With the first discharge four of the comrades fell dead, Alsinas alone remained on his knees without being wounded. A second discharge was commanded which felled him to the ground, but still alive. A third discharge was commanded which made him give up his last sign of life.

Do you think that the Spanish supporters of God and authority were satisfied with the blood of the innocent? Not at all. The next ten comrades were sentenced for twenty years hard labor, three more to eighteen years hard labor and the next seven to ten years each of severe imprisonment. The remaining sixty-three will be sent to some African convict colony. So if we look at it right the five comrades that were shot are better off than the rest of them, as there is nothing left for them but a pair of weak eyes to cry, and a slow death by fever and starvation.

There was not a word about it in the Spanish press, and the sharks were rubbing their hands with satisfaction to get rid of so many Anarchists. The day was just spreading its morning rays, but before they could see the beaming light of the lovely spring sun set behind the Sierras the whole of Europe was flooded with news of the roaring fire in the Rue Jean Goujon, where the wife of the Spanish ambassador and the sister of the empress of Austria were roasted to death in company with a hundred more victims representing the "fine fleur" of the catholic aristocracy. The Spanish ambassador can remember the indignation massmeetings, the menaces and protests which the parisian workmen held in favor of the imprisoned in Barcelona. All the reply the workmen obtained was, they were dispersed by the mounted police with drawn swords, as the French government went right along hand in hand with the Spanish Inquisitors. The fire in the Rue Jean Goujon was a purifying one. The representative of the pope gave his blessing just 15 minutes before the accident, but his invoked God did not come to help his little lambs as there was sufficient proof that the disaster could have been easily avoided with a little cool headed patience.

Our young high born dudes, the well and finely educated future rulers, were flirting and joggng with their respective stars; they were displaying all their manly (?) charms to the "bean sex", but when the time of need approached they clubbed down their own sweet fiancée in order to save their blessed cowardly selves. You could see again the parisian workmen go and help the distressed plutes, but can you show me in French

history one instance where the plutes would help the distressed workmen? Never! If they only dare to demand bread they are sure to be met with lead. No plute ever tried to rescue the Spanish Anarchists from the jail, and there you have it now, eye for eye and tooth for tooth.

A. KLEMENCIC.

"Self-Reform."

As I am one of "those who attach all the importance to environments and never think about self-reform," I have read the clippings twice as advised by S. P., but it has not reformed my views on the matter in the least. I still hold that the change of our ideas and environments is the most important step to take in order to improve the relations of mankind, and when people change their ideas and environment self reform follows as a natural result.

What is generally understood by self-reform? To become a good man. But as "good" and "bad" are only relative terms, self-reform has just as many meanings as there are schools of thought, beliefs, creeds, etc., and has in reality no meaning at all. If I advise a Christian to reform himself I mean he ought to accept my conceptions of morality, and if I do not explain myself he will take it for granted that I want him to be a "true Christian," while in reality I mean something altogether different. When Anarchists advise each other to reform themselves, they mean that they should practice what they advocate or, in other words, act according to their principles. But all such advices will have as much effect upon the Anarchists as have the sermons of the ablest and most sincere preachers upon the so-called Christians, or as Ingersoll's flowery orations have upon the Infidels or Secularists,—none whatever. The Christian believes that, if all men would get "saved," all would be happy and "good," and the Infidel tells us that all would be good and happy if we only would become "moral,"—whereby they essentially mean the same as Christians by "saved"—and "obey natural laws," both unaware of the fact that the present social system is the real cause of human misery, and that they are trying to remove the effects while leaving the cause untouched. The Christian does not trust God the rule, judging and punishing of men, but puts this job into the hands of some individuals—the government. Neither do the Infidels show any confidence in the "natural laws," but try to improve them by a government also. There surely have always been sincere men among the Christians as well as among the so-called Freethinkers and in the ranks of political parties who have had the best intentions to reform themselves and to improve the relations of men, but all their efforts have been in vain because they did not know the remedy.

People have been taught for centuries and centuries "thou shalt not steal," and still they steal either from necessity or in order to avoid drudgery, etc.; they have been told "thou shalt not kill," and still they kill each other by the wholesale in wars or individually in order to "make money," to gain might, or they kill each other about a title, property, etc.: "thou shalt not covet" they have been told again and again, and still adultery is committed every day and everywhere? Why cannot these "criminals" be reformed? Simply because there is a cause and incentive to cheat, to steal, to kill and to commit adultery, and as long as this system of robbery lasts just so long will warfare between the poor and rich last, and theft and murder be committed no matter how severe the penalties may be, and adultery is a natural result of the compulsory marriage system.

But let us see how quick these people, who are considered criminals, would change their conduct when placed in a different condition without even having changed their ideas. With the abolishment of boundaries, kings, emperors and all other kinds of governments, we have abolished war and the hatred between the different nations. Then let us suppose the thieves and murderers are in a free society where everybody can supply himself with all the necessities of life without being asked for any kind of an equivalent, where they could produce and consume according to their desires, would they not involuntarily change their conduct? Certainly, the incentive for stealing and murdering would be entirely absent. Some may think that people will still assassinate each other in love affairs, but they must not forget that with the repudiation of property in the necessities of life we have also repudiated the property-idea in women, which causes so much misery at present.

We might be displeased when we see that some of the Anarchists care very little about the propaganda

or about defying foolish laws and customs in practice, but all our advices will have not the least effect as long as they have not perceived the essential sensations which determines their will, and right here is the point where the "self-reformers" are erring: they suppose that our will determines the sensations, while it is just the contrary—the sensations determine the will and act. And from where else can we perceive sensations but from the environments? It is just as Comrade Etievant expressed it to the jury: "...he who is struck by an argument will be unable to prevent his will being influenced by it in some direction; and he whom the argument has left unmoved will be unable to prevent his will from remaining in the same condition as before; consequently, the one will be unable to prevent himself from acting in one way, the other in a contrary way—unless new sensations should intervene to modify their will."

Let us therefore spread the idea of freedom among the people, the idea that we cannot be real happy as long as our fellow-man is in misery; and they will then strive to make those around them happy for their own sake. When we once realize that men act just as they must act, we will then quit advising them how to act. The Firebrand family has not worked—often day and night without any compensation—because the members are better than any of their fellow-men, but because it gives them the greatest enjoyment to spread their ideas which, so they are convinced, will solve the social problem. People have warned them that they will be imprisoned or hung some time in the future for advocating freedom so fearlessly, but in spite of this prospect they will not voluntarily cease advocating a better society—a society in which, as they believe, every child, woman and man would be happy, as that would decrease their own happiness. We might tell the people ever so much that freedom (Anarchy) will remove the social ills, but they will not join us unless they conceive that restriction—government—causes crime and misery, for as long as they are not rid of the idea that government prevents crime they will uphold government. In short, by changing our ideas we change our conduct as far as possible. But even an Anarchist will submit to the harsh treatment of a boss as long as his feelings are more pained by seeing his family in distress than they are pained from the harsh treatment.

A. I.

The Observer.

It is much easier to sing the song of parting, to write of resolutions—never to be kept—than really and truly to disassociate yourself from things and thoughts that you have accustomed yourself to by many years practice and habit.

He alone is truly a freeman, who can become a slave to his own thoughts and ideals.

The slave of his own convictions and ideals, the man who smiles with scorn at fancy's whims, passions and impulses strongest desires and promptings, is indeed a mighty conqueror.

WHAT is life? An opportunity.
What is death? A return to the elements.
What is immortality? A longing that your thoughts and deeds may forever be stamped upon this vast ocean—called life.

Oh vanity, oh vanity—what a mighty power and stimulous to progress and civilization thou art!

WHAT is success? Taking advantage of everything and everybody and not permitting anything or anybody to take advantage of you.

SON, be not deceived by dreams!
Behold their emptiness and remember that their parents are Wish and Fear; Hope their guide.

LIFE—what a lesson and Experience.

LOVE inspired by greed and avarice knows disappointment, but easily forgets and acquires indifference because of its fated lot.

Don't enter into an argument unless you know it all.

Be always prepared to learn something, even the humblest and least informed can teach us. In other words, you must remain a student all your life time.

J. V. HILL.

The Wage-System Again.

A. I. says "when a man has to work for wages he is a slave, no matter what the compensation may be, and if you have not learned that much yet I would advise you to begin with the a b c of sociology."

While this has a pontifical tone it can scarcely be considered an ex cathedra decision. To make it that the papal opinions must be concurred in by the bishops, and they dissent. John Turner, Wm. Holmes and W. P. Borland contend that it matters a great deal what the compensation is. In fact they say if wages increase until they absorb the whole product common property results. A. I. says no matter what the compensation is slavery remains. How is the discrepancy to be understood?

HENRY COHEN.

Since I have charged the so-called Individualists with being incapable of reasoning, some readers have asked me to be merciful with this class of Sunday-school children of sociology, as they, too, strive to abolish government. I admit, their spirit may be willing, but their brain is too weak to comprehend. "The little Anarchist," a 14 year old boy, would not have asked Cohen's question for fear of getting ridiculed, and I think it is nothing but wasting paper, ink and time to argue with a man that cannot see the town for the houses.

When Turner, Holmes and Borland say that, "if wages increase until they absorb the whole product common property results," Cohen finds that we disagree, while a child would understand that they said identically the same thing I said, i. e. when wages absorb the whole product and common property results, the wage system ceases to exist and with it slavery. I only object to the term common property, which term even confused as clear a thinker as Proudhon. In a condition of freedom there can be no property, neither common nor private. A. I.

The Letter-Box.

M. J. Vale, Ore.—Never mind the money; as long as we are able to issue The Firebrand you shall have it. Your name was sent in by one of your friends.

A. McD., Seattle, Wash.—May your perusal of The Firebrand convince you that you were not wrongly called when dubbed an Anarchist, and encourage you to show others that your own best interest is to candidly investigate Anarchy.

O. P., Grove City, Fla.—We sent you a bundle of backnumbers and hope that your neighbors will like The Firebrand as well as you do. If people cannot spare the subscription let them give their names anyway and we will send them the paper until they are able to help us a little.

H. F. H., Stockton, Calif.—The opinions you express are expressed by "the man without a soul". In this issue, and my reply to him will answer your questions. If you do "not believe in violence except in an act of self defence," you can't logically uphold government, for all forms of government are upheld by force.

W. S. A., Palmer, Mass.—Sample copies have been sent to the addresses you gave, and will be continued for a few weeks. A little help toward paying the expense of sending out samples will be very acceptable. We hope some of those whose names you send in will subscribe and become enthusiastic propagandists.

A. G. Grove City, Florida—The Firebrand will be sent to you regularly, and you are at liberty to contribute to the propaganda fund when you can and want to. It will give us pleasure to know that you are getting others interested in Anarchy, and in The Firebrand.

C. H. P., Baker, Wash.—See my reply to the "Man without a Soul". We are Socialists, but not Statists. If you believe in "Individual Liberty and the brotherhood of man," which I don't doubt, you are sure to be an Anarchist-Communist when you understand their theories. Anarchy is individual liberty, Communism is the "brotherhood of man" in practice. We have studied Socialism in all its phases and bearings and logic has driven us to the position we now hold.

J. K., Lowell, Wash.—You say "send greeting to Clinton Lovridge and tell him that we are glad to see that he don't take part in any quarrel as to Communism or Individualism, but fights the real cause," which hereby is done. But why should not Lovridge be as tolerant towards the State Socialists as towards the so-called Individualists? Lovridge says State Socialism will lead us into greater slavery, and he is correct, but I say that Commercialism and property will also lead us into slavery, and why should you be sad when the fact is pointed out? Or do you really think that there can be freedom where there is police? Byington says in Liberty (No. 353), "Anarchists do not, in general, propose to discharge all the police." He confounds, of course, Commercialism with Anarchism. Do you mean to say that we ought not to "quarrel" with the State Socialists as soon as they have the audacity to label themselves Anarchists?

A. I.

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.

THE FIREBRAND

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

The Patriotism of Bondmen.

BY J. H. MORRIS.

I.

THE land of the free, ye have called it—
 The land of the brave and the true;
 And proudly have sung, "Hail, Columbia!"
 And cheered for the red, white and blue.

Ye have marched and worshiped afar off
 And chanted the names of great men;
 And while ye have worshiped and chanted
 What they gained ye have lost again.

Patriotic are ye, as they were,
 And true to the emblem they gave;
 But flags mean little or nothing
 When floated by traitor and knave.

And the robbers have winded your bunting
 About their treachery and lies,
 And the stars and the bars have hallowed
 Their doings in your foolish eyes.

II.

PATRIOTISM! thou bait of the death-trap!
 Thou relic of loyalty to kings,
 That leadead the steps of the millions
 Into dire, calamitous things!

How long wilt thou hold thy possession
 Of the minds of the hosts of toil,
 That they cheer the power that robs them
 Of sunlight, the air and the soil?

III.

I SING not of flags nor of emblems,
 If they to the Fates should succumb
 And trail in the dust of the highway,
 For them I should ever be dumb;

Nor yet of the deeds of our great men—
 Extol not, defend not, nor blame—
 I seek not the favor of nations,
 I kneel at the shrine of no name!

But when to the skies are ascending
 The groans of the laborless sire,
 The wails of the mother and children
 Who mourn without food, without fire;

When rich men enjoy what they earn not,
 And poor men not that which they earn:
 O then for justice I utter
 The thoughts that within me burn!

IV.

WHEN ye see men slaves of men's avarice,
 And women the slaves of men's lust,
 And children by taskmasters driven—
 All victims of law most unjust!

Why call this a land of freedom?—
 That which it is not, nor was!
 Nay, nay! I know ye not that freedom
 Exists not by virtue of laws?

For where the law is, there is serfdom;
 Aye, "governed" a "governor" needs,
 And to sustain the law and the ruler
 The governed, the laborer, bleeds!

Communism vs. Commercialism.

I HAVE been much interested in the Turner-Cohen debate, published in No. 117 of The Firebrand, and as I understand that Cohen wishes the debate to continue I will offer a few comments thereon.

I agree with Cohen in a certain sense when he says that "profit is only a vagary of imagination," and that, "were interest and rent abolished the wages of labor would be the full product."

The term "Profit" is a very indefinite and inexact term, and it ought to be rejected entirely by those who desire to arrive at correct conclusions on the problem of distribution. Profit can mean nothing which may not be included in the terms, rent, interest, wages and, as it is generally used, it tends to confusion by repeating factors that have already received adequate expression in another term. That portion of profit coming under the designation "wages of superintendence," is clearly the reward of personal exertion, and should find its expression under "wages." The receiver of profit is to that extent, certainly, a laborer, and the receiver of wages—

using the term "wages" in its broad economic sense. This portion of profit, when considered in its proper sense, as the reward of labor, may be exorbitant when compared with the reward of other labor, but it is none the less the reward of labor and should be expressed as wages. Besides "wages of superintendence" the term profit includes payments for the use of both land and capital, whether the profit receiver is the owner of same or hirer, it matters not, and as these payments receive adequate expression in the terms rent and interest, the term profit is worse then useless; it means nothing definite and should be rejected entirely.

"Were interest and rent abolished the wages of labor would be the full product." Very good: So far as I am concerned, any argument on this point would tend to be merely verbal, so I will concede the point without argument; but right here at the end of this concession comes the real crux of the matter at controversy.

Our Commercialist friends should remember that, when interest and rent are abolished, property is robbed of its vital principle, and a new basis is established for social, and economic, relations. Property would change its nature: it would be no longer property, but merely possession, and all benefits would come from use, and would fall, of course, to the possessor. Using familiar economic terms, we might then say that all benefits of possession would be expressed as wages. Wages would be the full product.

Take an isolated individual working by himself, and there is no difficulty in arriving at an understanding of what this means. Take a number of individuals associated together and maintaining reciprocal productive relations for the satisfaction of each other's needs, and, burdened as our minds are by the commercial ideas which are the outgrowth of a property system, we find difficulty in apportioning to each individual what our perverted sense of justice recognizes as his full product. We seek to obviate this difficulty by measuring, weighing and valuing, not perceiving that such forms of adjustment harmonize only with the system which we dropped when we abolished interest and rent.

I believe our commercialist friends are quite ardent admirers of Proudhon. Let me quote briefly from him:

"In society all wages are equal In so far as laborers are associated, they are equal; and it involves a contradiction to say that one should be paid more than another. For, as the product of one laborer can be paid for only in the product of another laborer, if the two products are unequal, the remainder—or the difference between the greater and the smaller—will not be acquired by society; and, therefore, not being exchanged, will not affect the equality of wages. There will result, it is true, in favor of the stronger laborer a natural inequality, but not a social inequality; no one having suffered by his strength and productive energy. In a word, society exchanges only equal products—that is, rewards no labor save that performed for her benefit; consequently, she pays all laborers equally: with what they produce, outside of her sphere she has no more to do than with the difference in their voices and their hair."

"I seem to be positing the principle of inequality: the reverse of this is the truth. The total amount of labor which can be performed for society (that is, of labor susceptible of exchange) being, within a given space, as much greater as the laborers are more numerous, and as the task assigned to each is less in magnitude,—it follows that natural inequality neutralizes itself in proportion as association extends, and as the quantity of consumable values produced thereby increases. So that in society the only thing which could bring back the inequality of labor would be the right of occupancy,—the right of property."

Now, speaking only for myself, I conceive Communism to be the proper expression of the above principle. It falls in as a natural growth in a social environment where the property principle, namely, rent and interest, has been obliterated, and its bounds are simply the bounds of former markets. In short, Communism is primarily an economic principle: its social consequences arise secondarily, and as an outgrowth of that principle.

Turner stated a truth which I have all along con-

tended for,—and it is the real point on which the argument between the Communists and the Commercialists properly turns—when he said that, "it is impossible for usufruct to become the permanent principle of production without it drifting into Communism."

I am not prepared to concede, as a matter of fact, that the mutual bank by itself alone will destroy interest and rent, but for the sake of the argument I will concede the point; and then I want to ask the Commercialists how they expect their property organization to continue to exist after the very life and soul has been knocked out of its body. In Turner's words, their organization "would destroy itself in giving birth to new conditions."

W. P. BORLAND.

Communication from Allegheny.

THE FIREBRAND was born while I was imprisoned in the Western Penitentiary, Allegheny, Pa. with my comrades A. Berkman and H. Bauer, and for this reason I did not see a copy of the paper until the day of my release, May 25, 97. While in prison I was not permitted to receive Anarchistic literature and I was certainly surprised and pleased when I saw the result of your noble work: a bright eight page weekly paper.

Having been imprisoned for 51 months, I again had to become accustomed to this life of questionable Liberty, just as I had to become accustomed to prison life; for this reason I could not write sooner.

We received a hearty welcome from the comrades of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, also many letters of welcome and congratulation from cities far and near, but our joy was not perfect, for we had to leave behind us a young Brutus, Alexander Berkman, sentenced to spend 22 years of his life behind Prison bars. Born in Russia 1870, he was brought up in the city of St. Petersburg where he received a good education. His mother had died early and after the death of his father he came to America, 1888. He had expected to find Liberty and found white slavery, a disappointment that awakened the slumbering revolutionist within him. He soon perceived in the true noble spirit of young Russia that in order to arouse the toiling slaves of both colors and sexes, a sacrifice must be made.

When in 1892 the news of the Homestead strike and fight traveled around the world, interesting the toilers and their tormentors alike on every spot of the globe, Berkman thought the time had come to point out to the working people through a deed and sacrifice the real source of their misery, by attacking H. C. Frick, not as his personal enemy, but as an representative of that power that has crushed uncounted millions of working people since the days of the Cæsars: the power of stolen wealth, corrupted politics and debasing religion.

I will not discuss the effects of Berkman's shots which were heard on both sides of the Atlantic. I will only mention that an ingenious states attorney made six charges out of one, in order to enable the judge to give Berkman 22 years for a crime for which the law prescribes but 7 years. Berkman was "railroaded" to prison and a few months afterward H. Bauer and myself, having been found guilty of inciting to riot by printing and distributing Anarchistic circulars and papers among the Homestead strikers, and of having formed a conspiracy with Berkman (in the morbid mind of the police only), were sentenced to one year in first and 4 years in the second case.

And now, having spent 51 never to be forgotten months with Berkman in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania we were released, and Berkman is alone with a thousand other inmates of the prison. Considering the prejudice predominating every where against Anarchists it is obvious that Berkman does not receive the best treatment, more over, his eyes have become very weak, during the last five years he had to get 6 different eyeglasses, one always stronger than the other; it is no exaggeration when I say that he is in danger of getting blind within a few years. Last February an investigation into prison affairs took place and Warden E. S. Wright, a sagacious old "gentleman," succeeded in putting all the blame on Berkman, Berkman was made a scape-goat and the investigation (a genuine whitewash) ended without giving Berkman the least chance to defend himself. Since that time, he has been kept in solitary confinement, i. e. locked up in a cell 5 by 8 feet.

Our aim is to put Berkman's case before the Pennsylvania Pardon Board as soon as possible. This

board has the power to grant him a pardon or at least reduce his outrageously long sentence. To do this the moral and financial support of the comrades is necessary. They can help by inducing local and national Union and workmen's organization to pass resolutions favoring the release of Berkman, and also by arranging picnics and festivals for his benefit.

In a meeting of the "Pittsburg Arbeiter Bildungs Verein," a permanent committee was appointed of which Carl Nold, 163 Washington Ave., Allegheny Pa. is the corresponding secretary. All persons or organizations interested in Berkman's case are invited to correspond with him in German or English. Henry Bauer and Harry Gordon are the watch-dogs of the treasury.

A picnic, arranged by the comrades of Pittsburg and Allegheny on Sunday, May 30, for the benefit of Nold and Bauer proved in the end to be a benefit for the Pittsburg police. Although the picnic was to commence in the afternoon, some 40 men with their wives and children had assembled by 12.15 p. m. when suddenly 24 policemen coming from behind bushes and trees surprised the party, declared them as their prisoners and then took the musicians and all, with the exception of the women and children, handcuffed to the nearest police station, where they were locked up under the pretense of "disorderly conduct." Several other picnics that had taken place on the same day were not molested by the police. The next day, the police magistrate sentenced every one to pay a fine of \$25 and \$3.40 costs, or 30 days to the workhouse, to which place 5 men where sent, the others paid the fine. It is a plain case of a most dismal police outrage, yet the worst of all is that organizations having the word "Liberty" on their banner (I will only mention the Turner, Singer, and Social Democrats) cannot even be induced to denounce this act of police rule with harmless resolutions for fear the police might feel offended and "get back at them in some other way," as the local saying goes. CARL NOLD.

Two Thousand Years Before.

SOME one has been sending me a copy of The Firebrand each week from the office for the last two months. While I find a great many good things in the paper, and believe you all to be honest and earnest workers for the liberation of men, I cannot cheerfully support it, because you seem to be on the wrong track.

If bad and corrupt men have created bad and corrupt government, why should not good and honest men create good and honest government? (1) Government did not create men, but men have created government. The weak must be protected from the strong. The great fault with governments today is, they have been corrupted in a way to merely assist the strong to rob the weak. We Socialists hope to reform this outrage and make government the kind parent to over see and direct her helpless offspring. (2)

There never was a time when all men were bad, and there never will be a time when all men will be good; therefore Anarchy seems impossible. (3) It is so very natural for the strong, and wise to take advantage of the weak, or even convince the weak and ignorant that it is for their good. Men of today are not fit to live without law and government.

It would be like putting A B C scholars to doing the sums in Algebra on their first day at school. (4)

Let us try Socialism first, as an intermediate stage, and work up to the higher level of Anarchy by degrees. The world has been for many centuries creating laws, let us during the next century repeal these laws, one by one, until at last the world is free from man made laws, and the people educated in living without law. (5)

You cannot cast a mountain away in one single day; but by taking a cartload away every hour, the mountain will grow less and less, and the people accustomed to its removal as the work advances. (6)

You cannot persuade but a very few each year to drop all laws and forms of government; but you can persuade thousands each year to drop one single obnoxious law, and learn to live without it. (7)

I believe that Socialism is possible two thousand years before Anarchy can be established among men, and it seems to me like a waste of valuable time and talent to fight for it now. We must first grow in noble purpose and honesty for a long time before we are able to live without law. It would take a century to teach some men that they are the equal of any other living creature, and at the same time it must teach the parvenu and upstart that the poorest man on the

globe is his equal by birth. (8)

Remember now I have no fight with The Firebrand nor the doctrine it teaches; but Anarchy is impossible in the present corrupt conditions of society. I would rather all men joined in and made one mighty effort to establish industrial Socialism, and then teach a higher order of civilization, when the people are ripe for it. (9)

"A MAN WITHOUT A SOUL."

The above is a very clear and concise statement of the position of many Socialists who have not yet fully surveyed the ground and learned to view the facts and conditions from the purely scientific standpoint.

1. "Bad and corrupt men" did not make the government, and our soulless man seems to recognize this fact when he says "governments have been corrupted." It is a notorious fact, and becoming more notorious all the time, that the surest way to spoil a "good and honest" man is to put him in office. How can a "good and honest" government be created when the fundamental ideas of government are robbery, cruelty and murder? Compulsory taxation is robbery and the enforcement of law can only be accomplished by cruelty and murder. That is why "good and honest" men cannot create "good and honest" government.

2. "Government did not create men," nor does it, nor can it create men, therefore it cannot be the "kind parent of helpless offspring." Who are the "strong?" In by-gone days of primitive man the strong were the physically powerful; the great, monstrous fellows who could develop and use the greatest amount of brute force, but they are not the strong today, not the ones that others need protection from. We are told that the capitalists are intellectual giants, but, as the "protectors" have to be chosen, it is clear that the "giants" will overpower the weak in the contest and perpetuate their oppression. The whole scheme of protection is a humbug. Give men power and they become oppressors. It remains to be shown that the "weak" cannot combine and protect themselves before government can be justified on that ground, and then it must be shown that government does protect the weak, and I challenge any governmentalists to show any instance where government ever did protect the weak, and how. Governments have always protected the privileged classes and when there are no privileged classes there will be no need of government.

3. The talk of good and bad is a mere play on words. All persons act in accord with their disposition and environment. What is good in China is bad here, and what is good here is bad in Turkey. Anarchy does not take goodness and badness into account. The right to live is the first consideration, and Anarchy would simply be a condition in which each and everyone could live—live a full, sweet, complete life—unwarded by restrictions, unhampered by lack of opportunity.

4. If the "strong and wise" are prone to "take advantage of the weak" then it is folly to put power in the hands of anyone, for the wise will get control and use this power to their advantage, while if no power is conferred, no government sustained, no advantage can be taken. The more completely you establish a superiority of intellect among some, and their desire to take advantage, the stronger is the argument against government, for these men are always the government, seen or unseen. If men are not fit to live without law and government they are not fit to live with it, for it only increases the power of the oppressors. Living implies production of the necessities of life, of consumption, and of association, and children learn all these things as they grow up. They would learn them if there was no government. Government restricts and limits production, consumption and association. If, then, people are fit to produce, consume and associate they are fit to live without government. If they were not fit to do these things the race would cease to exist. The a, b, c, proposition is valueless.

5. We have no objection to trying Socialism. We want Socialism, but no Stateism. The kind of Socialism the Stateists want would plunge the race into a condition of subjection to a myth, called the State, as embodied in a swarm of directors, overseers, superintendents, foremen and committees, that it

would be well nigh impossible to overcome. We are too much hampered now, we cannot afford to hamper ourselves any more. The proposition to repeal laws is all right considered apart from the means necessary to do the repealing, but when we consider the means necessary we see the utter foolishness of such attempt, and when we see how laws become "dead letter" when public sentiment no longer upholds them we are driven to the conclusion that the best way to get rid of them is to ignore them, and to create a sentiment against them. We can all live together without laws when we learn that it is persons and not laws that we have to deal with in all affairs of life.

6. The mountain we have to remove is ignorance and prejudice that now afflicts us and sustains government. Cartload by cartload we get away with the rubbish of tradition and custom, and when it is all gone all will be accustomed to the new conditions.

7. I would like to know how the "man without a soul" knows we can only persuade a few each year? Our experience shows quite the reverse.

8. Only an opinion: others differ from it.

9. We favor industrial Socialism, and like to see all efforts in that direction, for the restrictions of government are always felt in such efforts; it tends to show, by example, that the great necessity is equal opportunities in all things, an impossibility under government. The people will be ripe for Anarchy as soon as they get rid of the idea that electing a man to office makes him wise enough to attend to other people's business. H. A.

Independence or Semi-Slavery, Which?

"THERE are some people," said my friend to me, "who must have a boss." Is it true? And if true is the condition natural or acquired? If the latter, will these persons who walk with a chair gain the courage for independent locomotion so long as support is thrust before them?

We act in accord with our thought. Servility and submissive slavery show the will to be in subjection. We bow and smirk before our divinely appointed but incompetent overseers—and starve! The starving proves the incompetency. Arrogance and cunning have never yet been allied with sufficient wisdom to both rule and feed the entire world. As to the divine instrumentality in appointing of bosses, whether of hereditary monarchies, the chosen of "the people," commercial magnates, or "holy men," that is still, with many, an open question!

In this age what we choose to call democracy is the fashion. The democratic tendencies of the times intrude themselves into everything in comical and pathetic ways. We are democratic in our obsequiousness and in our robberies. The road to greatness is open to all, you understand. The black magic of profit in trade, profit in labor, speculation, politics, priestcraft, rent, interest, etc., etc., is our common inheritance—have we but the ability to use it!

Did the readjustment of social conditions imply merely the sweeping away of a distinct difference in classes, such as is apparent in the system of chattel slavery to the dullest vision, the task would be comparatively easy. But the tangle commercialism has drawn us into is a difficult one to straighten out. There is no idea tangible or intangible, nor object animate or inanimate, which the trade jugglers do not buy and sell and "corner". The combination that controls the land, the means of production and distribution, has the world at bay. It graciously or superciliously, as policy or temper directs, accords to some of the human race the privileges of laboring and living, and denies it to others; thus we have the employed and the unemployed. The interests of these people are identical; but the workers are so mystified by the intricate connections by which they are for the time being bound that they do not, as a rule, recognize the fact. The employed who are not wage laborers are engaged in a small way, doing a part or all the work themselves, in the same lines of business as are the manipulators of industry. They trade, hold small notes bearing interest, possess an extra house, farm or store which they rent, speculate, etc., etc. They indulge in similar but petty exactions, cheats and tyrannies; in truth, they are provided with "just enough rope to hang themselves."

Now the question is: Will they use the rope for the purpose the powers expect and intend it shall be used?

A revolution is upon us. Those revolting at the present "order" desire a better one in its place.

We wish to be civilized; can that which in the doing degrades one portion of our fellows produce results that will be civilizing to the other? How can the elevation be permanent that does not lift all? Must one part of humanity overwork and endure privation that the other part may have leisure for culture?

Are any of the old methods of accumulating wealth to be retained? Accumulations of wealth mean the control of bread, and the control of bread means the control of individuals. Shall we assume that mankind, regardless of sex or nationality, has a right to walk alone? Suppose some stagger and fall, do they not do so now, never having had the opportunity to do otherwise? Is it better to depend upon society as a body, giving to it and from it receiving, or upon individuals who have power to give or to withhold? Which will be the most productive of brotherly feeling, the free union of effort as equals, or the working for wages with its ever present implication of the inferiority of the working man? Have we the ingenuity to produce and exchange the necessities and comforts of life with no political supervision? Without courts to enforce them, contracts could be broken with impunity. Confusion would reign. Would a contract which was mutually beneficial be broken? And if one of the contractors received benefits to the detriment of the other, ought it not to be broken? Does the multitude require a system of bosses? When will the fear of everlasting punishment and the fear of law be unnecessary to preserve order? What shall be our new declaration of independence? VIROQUA DANIELS.

What Constitutes Freedom?

In order to disprove the assertion of the Individualists that the human race can attain freedom by destroying Government and retaining competitiveness, it is necessary to enquire into the final source from which human action springs.

It is an acknowledged fact that the only source from which a human being gets the incentive to act is the desire for self-satisfaction. You do not act in a certain way unless the so-doing satisfies yourself. Even if you inflict moral or physical pain on yourself for any cause, you do so because an agreeable sensation of self-satisfaction accompanies this pain and outweighs it.

Selfishness therefore is a factor that ought not to be restrained or destroyed, as some erring reformers pretend, but the task is to foster it and promote it to the utmost possibility of unfolding. In other words, men are to attain a condition where their individual selfishness will not conflict.

The only way to obtain this result is to allow this selfish incentive full play. It is therefore necessary to change the at present prevailing artificial conditions for natural ones. The former has been fostered for ages through the erroneous conception of the universe as an aggregation of dependent bodies directed by a supreme power, called God. This conception pervading the minds, it necessarily colored the action of mankind, and gave corresponding shape to the expression of selfishness in each individual.

In other words, when the world was considered a dependent body, dependency was supposed to be the proper state for men to live in. In direct consequence of this error arose the terrestrial executors of divine will, the Church and State, and through their, of necessity, arbitrary attitude forced the expression of selfishness into artificial channels, which fact has had an utterly blighting effect on mankind.

God as a ruler installed two vice-masters, Church and State, which in turn again instituted a countless number of petty bosses; and thus the dominating principles of human life became mastership and serfdom. With the incarnation of this error a weighing and measuring began, a distributing of life's rations in meted quantity that was not guided by the various needs and inclinations of individuals, but by the master-individual's conception thereof. It is this fact that forced selfishness into artificial channels, for men being hindered from satisfying their desires resorted to all manner of ways to fulfill them notwithstanding. Here is the origin of crime. In many instances action may be really criminal through the depravity forced upon human nature by this not substantiated artificiality, but it must not be forgotten that this forcing of artificial conditions itself is the fundamental crime, which incites all secondary crimes.

In other words with absence of dictation as to the desires of the individual, the incentive and ground for

criminal action must disappear, as all wants could be gratified without interference from an ablegate of God or his underlings.

And as this ancient god-theory has long sunk beneath the dignity of intelligence, as, on the contrary, it has been demonstrated that the universe is a unit made up of units, the dependence with which humanity is stricken, has become a remediable ill. It is now acknowledged by science that there is absolutely no ground for governing individuals, that each as a unit must be given full play with regard to adjusting itself in its natural position of interdependence to other units, or must otherwise succumb to the unnatural interference. The condition of Anarchy therefore is the one in which human beings can attain to the highest phases of individual development.

Commercialism, or measuring and weighing, is, as has been demonstrated, a feature of the fallen God-theory, and as the original scarecrow has disappeared there is not only no reason for retaining its blighting effect, but furthermore this retention must become utterly destructive. For considering that all accomplishments are the common heritage of the race, that no individual ever performed anything without the help of individuals living with him, or having lived before his time, the utter impossibility of making a correct measurement of performances is apparent. Through this it is also apparent that all individuals are equally entitled to the results of the exertions of past as well as present generations, and this demonstrates the impossibility of measuring and the utter injustice of doing the same.

Should the race, however, through misled conceptions, persist in pursuing this course, the ultimate goal must of necessity be the starting point, as the measuring of rights to the elements of living must lead to incongruities in the social body, which means the granting or taking of privileges, which in turn again means government.

It is apparent, then, that to make natural competition possible, competitiveness must be done away with, the elements of living which nature grants to men must be freed of their artificial incumbrances in order to establish the equitable condition for the human race. Natural competition, that is the development of latent qualifications in each individual, can thus, and thus only, be given the scope which it lacks for the unfolding of the human genus. H. EICH.

Note and Comment.

SOME readers may think it queer because we have reprinted so many articles this week. The reason for this is that we wish to make this a special issue for the Fourth of July.

A COMRADE HAS donated several pounds of Paraguay Tea, put up in half pound packages, to The Firebrand, and if we kept it for our own use it would last us a very long time. We have therefore concluded to offer it to any one who may wish it, at 35c. and 30c. per package, post paid. If all but a very few of the packages are bought from us it will just about pay the freight charges we had to pay on the tea when we got it.

COMRADE WELLENBROCK is dead. He seemed better for awhile, but finally sank away quite rapidly and died. He would have been sixtyfive years old on July the fourth, and had lived for sixteen years in Klickatag Co., Wash. His death was sad, as he left a family of small children dependent upon a sickly wife and a nineteen year old boy. Their place is too far back in the woods to be a profitable farm, and he had worked at his trade—stone masonry—until the hard times put a stop to building in the towns around. This put a stop to their income, and heavy expenses, due to disputes about his land, stripped them of all money, leaving them in a condition of penury at his death. A report of his relief fund will appear in our next issue.

Suicides and Murders.

THE total number of persons who have committed suicide in the United States, as reported by mail and telegraph to the Chicago Tribune, since 1890 is as follows:

1890	2,040	1893	4,436
1891	3,337	1894	4,912
1892	3,860	1895	5,759

The Tribune calls attention to this appalling increase, so far out of ratio with increase in popula-

tion. But it is not without a remedy! What does that paper suggest? Why this: "as poison is on the increase as a method of committing suicide, this fact should lead to more rigid restrictions upon its sale!"

The total murders yearly are reported thus:

1890	4,290	1893	6,615
1891	5,906	1894	9,800
1892	6,794	1895	10,500

Commenting on this increase the Tribune says: "It is evident at the first glance that the increase is out of all proportion to the increase of population, thus indicating that there is something wrong in the administration of justice."

Yes, Tribune! This "explains the cause" of the increase of murders; but how about the suicides?

Bradstreet's shows that failures in business during 1895 were 2 per cent more than during 1894, and that the commercial death rate also increased 2 per cent.

Of the 16,259 murders and suicides committed last year, 14,000 are directly traceable to disputes (about property), robbery (for property) and want (of property). Government exists to protect individuals in the possession of property, not what they create but what they exploit from the labor of others.

This obvious cause of so much killing would alone lead me to be an Anarchist-Communist.

E. H. FULTON, in The Firebrand, Jan. 26, 1896.

Clippings and Comments.

"A FREE man must not behave like a blackguard; he must not so act that he would spit in his own face." —Henrik Ibsen.

"THERE is always need of persons not only to discover new truths and point out when what were once truths are true no longer, but also to commence new practices, and set the example of more enlightened conduct and better taste and sense in human life." —J. S. Mill.

Let those who attach all the importance to environments and never think of self-reform, read the above two clippings twice.

"THE only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether bodily, or mental and spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest."—John Stuart Mill.

Is he a free or an authoritarian Socialist?

"LET us suppose that the government is entirely at one with the people, and never thinks of exerting any power of coercion unless in agreement with what it conceives to be their voice. But I deny the right of the people to exercise such coercion, either by themselves or by their government. The power itself is illegitimate. The best government has no more title to it than the worst. It is as noxious, or more noxious, when exerted in accordance with public opinion, than when in opposition to it. If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."—J. S. Mill.

Why was Mill not called an Anarchist?

"THE machinery of Communism like existing social machinery has to be framed out of existing human nature; and the defects of existing human nature will generate in the one the same evils as in the other. The love of power, the selfishness, the injustice the untruthfulness which often in comparatively short time bring private organizations to disaster, will inevitably, where their effects accumulate from generation to generation work evils far greater and less remediable. . . . The defective natures of citizens will show themselves in the bad acting of whatever social structure they are arranged into. There is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden instincts."

"Were peoples characters in Hobbs' day really so bad as to warrant his assumption that none would perform their covenants in the absence of a coercive power and threatened penalties? In our days the names of just and unjust can have place quite apart from

recognition of any coercive power. Among my friends I could name half a dozen whom I would implicitly trust to perform their covenants without any terror of some punishment."—Herbert Spencer.

Oh! Great philosophical blunder! If people's character in our day is so good as to know what is just and what is unjust and to perform their mutual agreements quite apart from recognition of any coercive power, then why say that "the defective nature" of citizens will show themselves in the bad acting of whatever social structure they are arranged into? If you can trust your half a dozen friends, and I could name more than three dozen among my friends whom I would "trust to perform their covenants," even under the present state of affairs, then why think they will work evil under free Communism where there will be no room left for power, selfishness, injustice and untruthfulness to do harm to any? We need no political alchemy to get golden conduct out of people that know what is just. What we need is equality of opportunity and individual liberty.

S. PRESS.

"THERE is one class of laborers who never strike and seldom complain. They get up at 5 o'clock in the morning and never go to bed until 10 or 11 o'clock at night. They work without ceasing during the whole of that time and receive no other emolument than food and clothing. They understand something of every branch of economy and labor, from finance to cooking.

Though harassed by a hundred responsibilities, though driven and worried, reproached and looked down upon, they never revolt and they cannot organize for their own protection. Not even sickness relieves them from their post. No sacrifice is deemed too great for them to make, and no incompetency in any branch of their work is excused. No essays or poems are written in tribute to their steadfastness. They die in the harness and are supplanted as quickly as may be. There are the house keeping wives of the laboring men."—Woman's Journal.

And the best consolation most of our "women reformers" and "women's papers" ever offer is, "the men ought to let you vote." Give us liberty for men, women and children alike—Anarchy—and all women will work at such occupations as they like best, and only for such number of hours as they enjoy.

"THE president has delivered a most scathing criticism upon indecent newspaper publications in denying a pardon to James B. Wilson, sentenced in December, 1895, in Indiana, to two years imprisonment, \$250 fine and costs for mailing indecent papers. The president says: "Denied. This convict was one of the editors and proprietors and a distributor through the mails and otherwise of a disgustingly vile newspaper. His conviction and sentence was an event distinctly tending to the promotion of public morals and the protection of the sons and daughters of our land from filth and corruption at a time when indecent newspaper publications are so dangerous and common. Everybody in favor of cleanliness should encourage the punishment of such offenses and desire that it should be more frequently imposed. While I am much surprised by the number of respectable people who have joined in urging clemency in the case, my duty seems so clear that I am not in the least tempted to interfere with the just and wholesome sentence of the court."—Associate Press dispatch.

And thus the "besotted tyrant" poses before the people as a friend of "morality" and an enemy of "filth and corruption". With his little pate so full of filth and corruption, as it must have been all the time, it is no wonder that he should deliver himself of such "holy indignation" just on the eve of his retirement from office.

The attitude of the various labor organizations of the country upon current legislation and political appointments has been the means of furnishing me with many an hour of unalloyed amusement, not the least portion of which has been occasioned by the absolute obtuseness of the various "leaders" and the apparent ingenuousness of their claims.

Harriett G. Otis of the Los Angeles Times, was objected to as a prospective candidate for assistant secretary of war because he was persona non grata to the Typographical Union; resolutions have been

adopted and committees appointed to protest against the nomination of ex-General Master Workman Powderly of the Knights of Labor as Commissioner of Immigration, and bitter protests have been filed against two men from Western Pennsylvania by the trades unions of Pittsburgh and elsewhere.

All this elaborate denunciation is addressed to an administration that laid no claims to the support of "organized labor;" that was carried into power despite all the opposition that labor could advance; an administration chiefly owing its success to one of the bitterest foes that labor ever possessed, M. A. Hanna.

By what right or title does "organized labor" dare now to come forward and attempt to dictate the selection of executive or administrative subordinates?

If, as it is alleged, these appointments are the result of an "arrangement" and are in payment of services performed—I will even go further and say, if these favors are the price of successful treachery, why should the victims of that treachery consider themselves justified in objecting to the size or the shape of the traitor's reward?

Another instance: Every elective campaign we enter upon the trades unions denounce all attempts to secure their political support, and fiercely arraign each of their members as have the audacity—or courage—to advocate political action. Why then should these trades unions attempt to sidetrack and defeat legislation of any description? and why should they threaten recalcitrant legislators with political oblivion if they (the unions) are honest, consistent and sincere in their loudly heralded protestations of "eschewing politics"?—Suum Quisque, in Boston Post.

The above anomalies are worthy of all union men's consideration, and we are informed have started quite a furor among the C. L. U. delegation in Boston.

H. A.

Various Voices.

P. H., Seattle, Wash.—I am heartily thankful to you for your kindness, but don't know if I will ever be able to contribute to The Firebrand. I visit a Socialist meeting frequently, and quietly found out that there are ever so many Socialists that are Anarchists. But they are afraid to expose themselves.

I understand the anarchistic theory now better. It is voluntary Socialism. In fact every true Socialist is an Anarchist. Socialism advocates justice and equalization, so if we are a community of just people we do not need any government. Another obstacle in the way of progress is "religion." I myself do not want to agitate or show up my opinion to every body because I would be condemned. I can not help being a coward as I am under some other's obligation, but will do the best I can in a quiet way. In time, if I will be able, will order some more pamphlets and books. I like Mr. Peter Kropotkin's writings.

H. L. Coffin, Greenland, Minn.—I am a stranger to you, and until last winter I partook of the general idea that Anarchists were people who were outside of the pale of sympathy, but I spent the winter with my friend Eastman, at Lopez-Wash., and became acquainted with you through The Firebrand, and I find that my ideas of Anarchy are a good deal like lots of other ideas that we imbibe with our mothers milk, christian teaching, etc.

I am much pleased with the paper, and while there are some things in it I can't just subscribe to yet, I believe that ignorance is not bliss and that we should read all we can, learn all we can, and then do what we think right without regard to what the generally accepted idea may be. If the priests and kings could keep people from thinking their paradise would be at hand, but thank progress, there are a few people, and fewer papers who are not afraid to voice their honest convictions; and people are getting light. I will send you some money to help on the cause.

I read my paper and then pass it along, as I do not look for salvation from above, but through our own efforts, if we ever get it, but I am afraid it is a long way off. People do not seem to realize that they'd better do right because it is right; they have been taught that right-doing would bring a reward in heaven, and as they lose confidence in the priests they fail to grasp the truth—that their duty is to themselves and to their neighbors, and not to God, who, if there is a God, does not need their help.

Literature.

THE Survival of the Fittest, or the Philosophy of Power, is the title of a new book that has come to us seeking recognition. In it the author contends that might makes right, and reiterates again and again that the weak ones have no right to survive and the strong should overmaster them, and, if they see fit, exterminate them. According to his philosophy the big brutal boy that kills a smaller, weaker one and takes his toys is right, noble and grand. If you wish to read this hysterical effusion send 50 cents to Regnar Readbeard, 2424 Wabash Ave. Chicago Ill.

HEAVEN ON Earth, realistic tale, by Gerald Thorne, has reached our table. It is a paper covered book of 243 pages, describing the system of association, and the life of the people of the Oneida Community at the time that Community had just reached its full growth.

The author has the hero of his story visit the community, and remain one year on probation. All the work on the place and how it was arranged and executed as the seasons went by is described, and the manner in which these people turned it into sport and enjoyment. The unitary home with its common kitchen and big family dining room, its music hall and meeting room is described in connection with a description of their meetings, discussions of plans of procedure, and their system of criticism.

It is a very useful book as it throws much light on the life of the Oneidians and their methods of industrial and social arrangements amongst themselves. Religion was the power that held them together. They endeavored to get out from under legality, but thought it necessary to come under grace—divine favor—in order to do this.

They had gone a long way toward solving the questions of associated production and distribution, love and parentage. The author stops, however, in his narrative just as the question of parentage comes before the community for consideration. The book is an interesting study for all who are interested in social and economic questions and the author invites correspondence from those interested in "studying out a new and more scientific order of society."

Price of the book 50 cents; Lovell Brothers, 141—155 E. 25th St, New York, are the publishers.

Propaganda Fund.

Group, in McKeesport, \$1.50. Ketch, Wilke, Hallbeck, \$1.00. Steichman, Pehl, Tank, Shaw, Schoenek, each 50c. Van Tassel, Bruchfeld, Bell, each 25c. Leugberg, 25c. Phillips, Councilman, each 10c.

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Those engaged in the work of getting the paper out have no other means of support than the receipts for the paper, as it keeps them busy to do the work necessary to its publication, and most of the contributors to its support are poor, therefore we appeal to all who can to contribute what they can to the propaganda fund, thus helping to increase the circulation of The Firebrand, by making it possible for us to distribute a larger number of free copies. All donations and subscriptions are accounted for in the propaganda fund.

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Miscellaneous

She (sentimentally)—Just think! Somewhere in the world is the man I am going to marry.

He—Yes, and think how unhappy he would be if he knew it.—Truth

"Who's your friend?" asked Wilburn, as his companion paused and lifted his hat to a lady who drove by. "That isn't a friend," said Mosser absent mindingly. "That's my wife."—Chicago Record.

The railway employees of the east are being hit pretty hard. On quite a number of roads 5 and 10 per cent. reductions have been made, and there is no sign of a strike. The men know better. Conspiracy laws and injunction gattling guns stand in the way.—Ex.

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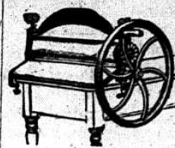
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Anarchist Headquarters in San Francisco 1232 1/2 Folsom St. Open every evening from 7 till 10 P. M.

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International Group Free Initiative meets at 144 West 28th St., New York, on Thursdays and Saturdays at 8:30 p. m.

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