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Anarchism.—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.

VERSUS.

Sweeter than Hours' faces seen
In dreams of Eden, when the night
Grows late, and Love, behind the dream,
Pours on his pale proserpine light.

Is Love himself, and sweeter far
Than Love himself his mother in—
The morning's blush, the twilight star,
The crown of all incarnate bliss.

The morning's blush, the twilight star!—
When first the boy's fond heart awakes
He sees the glimmer from afar
And in the Morn of Venus breaks;

A decade and a half of night,
Then may colors flood the skies;
The mad, the passionate lovelight.
Now greet him with its great surprise.

The morning's blush, the twilight star!—
When old is he and past his prime,
And athen-pale his passions are,
Sweet memories of olden time.

Enchant him; even in his sleep
Haunt him the lips that he hath pressed,
And phantoms of his first love deep
Fall in a faint upon his breast.

The crown of all incarnate bliss!
Of morning is the Saviour's kiss.
The lovelorn lips red-rripe to kiss,
Her laughing lovely eyes of gray.
The graceful arms, the Grecian head,
Her sculptured body white and sweet,
The morn, the day where Love hath led.
Her rounded calves and dimpled feet.

And as I gazed upon this scene, I thought of all the million years
That go to make the woman queen
Of Love and of our smiles and tears;
Of by what slow gradation came
This moulding beauty, till today
Not to desire seems like shame.
And not to love means life's decay.

WILLIAM WALDEN GODDARD.

Direct Legislation.

Panaceas are quite common in the minds of that class of persons who have become aware that "something is wrong," and have caught a glimpse of some proposed action that is calculated to correct the wrongness. Of late, however, attention has sought to be directed to direct legislation as one great panacea for all human ills. This is due to the manifest evils of the representative system of legislation and the superstition that some sort of legislation is a necessary. Legislation used to be left to the Sovereign, but it gradually dawned upon some that the Sovereign was as subject to self-interest, to morbid cravings and unreasonable desires as anyone else and so they concluded that if this prerogative of legislation was divided between the Sovereign and their noble selves all would be well. So they struggled and contended, and appealed to the populace to assist them in compelling his Majesty to divide his power with them, and thus insure the "dear people" against undue rapacity and discrimination. They succeeded, but only proved that power in the hands of the noble was abused just as much as when solely vested in the Sovereign.

Noting the abuses of unlimited power, whether vested solely in the Sovereign, or divided between the Sovereign and his nobles, the more intelligent strove against the evils of it, and sought to limit their power by constitutions and legislative bodies. They struggled, directly for this, promising untold prosperity and freedom to the people if they would compel the rulers to accede to this form of government.

Democracy next claimed attention, and promised more than had ever been promised—no hereditary rulers, public officers the servants of the people, representatives of the people the lawmakers, thus insuring that all laws would be in accord with the will of the people. The advocates of democracy painted their picture in glowing colors, inviting the poor and lowly to storm the strongholds of monarchy with resistless fury.

Democracy has been tried for many generations in some countries, and was the guiding star in the formation of our government. Its claims have been put to the test. It has been given a fair trial and now we find much to complain of, much to deplore here in the midst of a government that was founded on the democratic claims of "equality before the law," and a chance for every one to some day occupy the highest station in the land, for be it known that democracy does not contemplate the obliteration of a system of distinctions, but only seeks to make it possible for those out of the charmed circle of distinction to break in, as it were, and look down with profound contempt upon those who "have the brains" to get on top. Democracy as we know it has proven a dismal failure. Representative government has shown itself rapacious, foolish, crued and far from what it was hoped and confidently asserted it would be. Thus our former panaceas have proven a nauseous mess.

Viewing the failure of democracy some men have attributed that failure to the representative system of law making, and would substitute direct legislation therefor, leaving democracy intact. They see only wisdom in numbers, and think that while the masses have not enough sense to choose men who will work for their interests, or to control the action of their "servants," yet they will be knowing enough to make wise and beneficent laws when they have the opportunity to make them by direct legislation. That is their method of reasoning. Direct legislation is pictured as the door that when opened will allow a free entrance to the great house of public regulation where all our prosperity is supposed to originate and all our suffering is brought forth.

It is argued by the promoters of direct legislation that the people will, by direct legislation, be able to mould all public affairs to their own liking; to absolutely control their own destiny, and that they would do all things well. Just why the people will be so much wiser than they are now they do not trouble themselves to tell us. They speak as though the laws that would be made by direct legislation would be wanted by everybody—would be the actual will of all the people. What are the facts in the case? With direct legislation people would be no wiser than they are now. Every bigot who wishes to control the action of some one else would endeavor to get a law to enforce his particular hobby submitted to a referendum vote. Laws by the hundred would be sprung on a long suffering and unsuspecting public. The declension of the majority would be as remorselessly used against the minority as the decrees of a despot over were against his subjects. Laws enacted by direct legislation would not be the will of the people, but the will of a minority imposed upon the croudulity by appeals to their emotions and passions; by deception and subterfuge. Even admitting that the majority would make the laws if direct legislation were the method of law making would it inure wise or just laws? Is the majority always right? Have the minority no rights which the majority must not interfere with?

The most ardent advocate of direct legislation will admit that the majority is composed of those who are ignorant, and yet tell us that these persons can legislate wisely. It is another way of saying that compound ignorance is equivalent to concrete wisdom; that while one hundred men may be fools alone they become intelligent enough to make laws to govern themselves and others when together; that if ten ignorantum vote one way and nine educated men the other, the way the ten vote is right, just and best; that the mob that rotoned egged Wendell Phillips and dragged it through the streets was wiser than Phillips and Garrison. It is a denial of all rights of the minority except such as the majority may see fit to sanction.

Direct legislation is no more desirable than the legislation of the Sovereign, or of the representatives of the people in Congress and the statel legislatures. All legislation is folly; is an attempt to control the action of others; to limit the exercise of the will of the individual and subjugate it to a written rule that cannot by any means be suited to the needs of anyone.

All legislation, direct or indirect, is but the placing of obstacles in the way of progress and attempting to set a limit to human endeavor and activity. The ill we have suffered from legislation are not the result of that legislation being made by representatives, but are the result of legislation itself, and if two thirds of the people had voted for it the result would have been the same.

Folly alone marks the path of legislation and in Switzerland where direct legislation has been in full swing for many generations their laws are as foolish and oppressive as in other countries.

All the benefits which are held up as the case of the people while direct legislation is being recommended have been held before the eyes when com-
stitions and democratic forms of governments were proposed. They are but hallucinations of the brain with no substantial reality behind them.

All legislation is a denial of liberty, a curtailing of opportunity, a destroyer of peace.

—Henry Adams

Things and Thoughts

Men of research and justice, intelligence and goodness, it is but yesterday that you arose among us; and already you are so great and ever growing, that we call the whole public, I should not need to write; if you did not exist, I could not write. But you are a part of the moral character of the whole public; and that is why it is possible, that is why it is necessary for me to write. —N. G. Tchernowsky

According to the Tennessee law code force must be used in order to constitute rape. "Fraud and stratagem, whereby the female is menaced to give her consent," do not constitute rape, even though the female be under 16 years of age.

In contrast to the above occurs the section given below. The clause given above is conclusive evidence that the section below is not designed to protect the woman, but rather to preserve the husband's property right.

Sec. 6483 Tenn. Code 1896: "Any person who willfully and maliciously has carnal knowledge of a married woman, or under false pretenses, under the pretense of the connivance of her husband, or pretending to be her husband, shall be punished as in the case of rape."

There is really but one "argument" that can be brought against Anarchism, and that is that "people are not good enough for it." But the man who uses this kind of logic thereby admits that he is content with less than the best, and while claiming that he does not need to be governed, others do, and so will not apply the remedy for present conditions—liberty, Anarchism!

A CLEVELAND parson says Socialism can never succeed without religion. But that is all that can be expected of a gospel shark. A true social state "conditioned by freedom, freedom and superstition (religion) cannot co-exist, as one nullifies the other. Hence it is obvious that the person should have said with instead of without."  

Another man, of equal brilliancy, says "the history of Socialism is a history of failures." That which has never been tried cannot have a history. At least Socialism has not existed since history began, for history has consisted principally of record of wholesale fraud and force.

Becky says of Comines, a historian of the fifteenth century: "He was an observer of no ordinary acuteness, and certainly displayed sagacity in his estimation of particular characters. But this was due to his own intellect; while the age in which he lived made him supersitious, and, for the larger purposes of history, miserably short-sighted. His short-sightedness is strikingly shown in his utter ignorance of that great intellectual movement, which, in his own time, was rapidly overthrowing the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages, but to which he never once alludes, reserving his attention for those trivial political intriguers in the relation of which he believed history history had."  

But all popular historians have shared with Comines in his erroneous belief, so I ask what history could prove otherwise? Why, it is simply that history has been here several centuries, and I should have been above the comprehension of the historians of the past and present, with very few exceptions.

As acquaintance in this village is for some time (ever since his advent here, in fact) claimed to be an Anarchist, but the other day a comrade talked free love to him. He listened for quite a while and then broke off with: "Well, I claim I am an Anarchist, but I guess I ain't, for I don't want any such freedom as that." Plenty more Anarchists like him, though. And the Anarchists do not in any way include the first essential of Anarchism—freedom.

I saw a beautiful rainbow the other day. Nothing remarkable about that; but it reminded me of a couple of Kansas farmers whose crops were nearly burned out for lack of rain. A light shower fell—not enough to lay the dust—and was followed by a rain.

The bow. One of the farmers remarked that the bible spoke of the rainbow as "God's promise that the world should be no more covered by a flood." Continuing, he said "You know the Lord is getting darned sarcastic to stick that thing up there today.

Just look at them cattle; every critter of 'em chokin' for water.

That land and raw material shall yield the largest possible return for the least possible amount of labor expenditure is to master business—economy, to the economist, economy; to the philosopher, common sense.

This garden of the human mind is mostly like a garden full of sunflowers, but otherwise choked up with weeds. Some, of course, are long way off, but if you get close up the weeds are painfully conspicuous. On the contrary a we'll-kept garden may not be noticeable at a distance but its beauty will bear a close inspection and will give more pleasure than pain. Draw your own conclusion from this.

As acquaintance who calls himself an Anarchist recently remarked that "the things of Anarchism are all right and may be practicable in a few hundred years hence, but at present we must use the ballot." My reply was: "Indeed, perhaps your own theories as the ballot may be practicable in a few centuries hence, but at present they are no more practicable than mine, as you vote for reform and never get it. It is only a way to keep the people from being victimized by cheap politicians and office seekers and you blindly chase it, much to the amusement of the politician, who loves you as he loves his dog that fetches a stick from the water, or as he poorly loved the cat."

The same "brilliant" acquaintance remarked: "There will always be governments as long as there are men.

But as long as we have governments men will be mighty scarce; puppets and parrots are not men.

And you will always have an army to uphold government.

But when the great bulk of the people refuse to recognize government there will be no government.

Then some of the wise will appoint himself King."

Perhaps, but a King without subjects will be held a madman and treated as one afflicted with disease.

When men are free none will be so foolish as to bow to the self-remarked King."

The State exists for the education of the wise man; with the appearance of the wisest man the State expires."  

Raskol the Dreamer

Free Love and Prostitution

A Young reader asks me to explain the difference between free love and prostitution.

Prostitution is the sale of sex favors, indiscriminately unprincipled unthinking men as means of livelihood: the surrendering of one's self, sexuality, for other considerations than that of love and mutuality. If done promiscuously for a living it is a matter of commerce, as much as the sale of book or any similar business. If for the purpose of marriage for home and social standing, for a living and good clothes then it is a form of slavery rather than commerce.

Free love, as it is called—there can in reality be no other kind—is the free expression of the subtile and tender emotion that links us together, and infuses a sweetness into life such as nothing else can bring. No one can prove to himself by freely following the promptings of this sacred emotion.

What tenderness and lofty sentiments cluster around that world moving and irreverable power, love? Yetdesigning priests have taught us to look down upon it as a thing to be ashamed of and that it must not be a guide to our action until they have given their sanction, and the tax eating politician has said, "stay, until I have had my fee." Free love is simply the expression of the love and unhappiness that strange but delightful attraction which draws us closer together and perpetuates the race.

Is there any connection between free love and prostitution? They are as far apart as the opposite poles!  

As to the effect freedom would have on the young let me call attention to the fact that curiosity leads the young into trouble. Where there is knowledge there can be no curiosity. When children associate freely from the cradle up they learn self-control, and are not annoyed by curiosity and strange, unaccountable longings. When they are kept apart, and ignorant of their own and other sex natures, they are not ready for them, as they do get together, to become excited, "lose their heads," all the more opportunity to get the best of their judgement and get into trouble.

The young fellow does not take the desire of the girl into account, and the girl yields to please her lover, not realizing what she is really doing, and feeling herself disgraced as a result. On the other hand they know the other sex is different. They may be together anywhere or at anytime, and curiosity will not disturb them, nor will they get excited and "lose their heads." He never will intrude where he is not desired, and she will never agree to it unless she strongly desires, and loves him.

Henry Adams

Anarchy

But this word, one says, awakens in the mind the idea of a negation of order, it reminds us of disorder, of chaos.

Let us try to reach an understanding about it: What order is meant here? Is it the harmony, the well-being of an Anarchist dreamed of, where the great will wake up and divide the world into classes, of those who live from the fruits of the labor of others? This will work upon the harmony, that will work spontaneously out of the common wealth of interests, when all men will form one family,—when each will work for the common welfare and not for himself? This order, this society.

Those who accuse Anarchists of destroying "order"—do not refer to the harmony of the future, the social order of the present society. Let us consider these two, which the Anarchist wants.

The order of to-day is a state, in which nine tenths of mankind labor to satisfy the luxury, the pleasures, the excessive possessions of a small number of idles. The "order" means the social order, in which every person, in every condition of a wholesome life and of a reasonable development of the mental faculties. The degradation of those nine tenths of mankind to the level of beasts, the diminution of the minimum of existence that men do not even dare to think of the pleasures produced for men by the study of the sciences and by the creations of the artist—that is order.

This order means— misery and hunger, the present ordinary state of society. You recognize it in the Irish peasant, who dies from hunger,—the Russian peasant country where the men are driven from diphtheria, typhus and hunger because of the great want in the midst of heaps of corn, that are one after the other exported. Look at this "order": the people are forced to emigrate to the other country,—to hunt around the universe for jobs to dig out a tunnel, where each one's life is in danger. This "order" where a land is taken from the farmer and transformed into pastures that shall serve as food for the rich. The land is rather kept idle than opened for use to those who only wish tocultivate it. "Order".

Women throw themselves away for money to feed their children,—children themselves are obliged to labor in factories, or else die from want,—bonds hardly awakened to life.

The laborer is degraded to a slave in all countries, and, believing that life is in the same state, to maintain the same privileges by stratagem, corruption, violence and massacre. This "order"—a constant war of man against man, passion against profession, class against class, nation against nation. It is the cannon, which in Europe never ceases to roar, the devastation of the fields, the murder of the whole generation (in war), the destruction of riches perpetrated in a year, while it required centuries to accumulate them.

This "order" manifests itself by the enslavement and exploitation of the laboring classes, as means of livelihood by means of the sword and the whip,—it manifests itself in swift death by sudden breaks in mines, or by explosions and similar accidents, by which hundreds of miners are victualled each year in the avarice of the owners. If the miners make demonstrations against such negligence, the workers are considered as rebels and are exterminated.

This is the "order" which caused the massacre of
the Paris Communards—the death of 30,000 men and women, and children, torn by grenades buried under the Paris streets. The same "order" sealed the fate of the disinterested soldiers, the unemployed men in Siberian snow, and of which the very best, noblest and most virtuous ones were assassinated by the hangman. That is what the "world" calls "order."

And what do they call "disorder"? They apply this name to the revolt of the people. "Disorder," they say, is a crime, a rebellion, a disease, an infection in Siberies, snow and, of which the very best, noblest and virtuous ones were assassinated by the hangman. That is what the "world" calls "order."

Echoes from Foreign Countries.

SPAIN. As it is almost impossible at present to publish periodicals, our comrades have commenced printing pamphlets and distributing them to the workers, explaining the position of the anarchists, as printed in the "Revolt from Paroles du Roi.

This "disorder" means the rising of the revolting peasants against their priests and masters, to take their share of the sunshine of life. It means the rise of the plain and poor against the rich and the dead flow to the servitude of all Western Europe.

This so-called "disorder" means the end of a whole generation of uneducated masses who have stood up to wave colors in constant war, in order to end the relations of the past, sacrificing themselves to prepare a more worthy condition for humanity.

This is the epoch in which the genius of the people feels an irresistible impulse, pushing forward with giant's steps, without which men would have remained in ancient slavery, degradation and misery.

It is the word "Anarchy," that expresses the negation of the order mentioned, recalling the most wonderful events in history,—it is not well selected and fit to designate, as a whole, a period that since the conquest of a better future?—Translated for The Firebrand from Paroles du Roi.

Note and Comment.

Not content with controlling what information may or may not pass through the mails, Congress has made it an offense, punishable by a fine of five hundred dollars, or five years imprisonment to send by express, mail, or any means of transportation, or to publish, or make known, directly or indirectly, any communication or information which ought not to be published or made known, and which if published or made known, will spread farther than ever. It will be told from lip to lip, communicated by interlocutory, police, and a general circulation. No one can say we are in a free country, for no one can say we are free.

Roland A. Whitaker informs us that he will supply anyone who may desire them with copies of his late father's books, Value and Bombs. Those desiring to address him should address No. 86, E. 28th. St., Philadelphia, Pa.

We are in need of the following numbers and would be glad of a report of anything that they have to spare to send them to us. Of Vol. II the following Numbers:

3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 20, 22, 23, 29, 30, 33, 44, 45, 46.

We have received a quantity of names of men who want correspondents, and will be glad to forward any to those who have a few pamphlets or papers to spare, and we think that our friends will be glad to send them to us.

The Situation.


H. D. Hiatt. During a series of visits to the east, the west, and the south, and at many meetings in New York, Boston, and other cities, I have seen a great deal of reaction against the Centralization of the working man among business men. The question of Centralization has been a great deal discussed recently, and I have had the honor of addressing a meeting of business men in New York, where the Centralization of the working man was very much discussed. I have been asked to speak on the Centralization of the working man, and I am glad to say that I have done so.

Propaganda Fund.


H. A. Lennie:

"Don't you think that the operation of a protective tariff law will change these conditions?"

"Not the slightest," emphatically and decisively answered Mr. Cohen.

"But if you don't think it will be a factor in the restoration of a prosperous state of affairs in this country, why do you vote for it? Are you not aware that you are voting for a tariff which will cut a figure in declimating the existing distress?"

"I am an entity of the spirit of the law, and it is my duty to vote for such a tariff as will be in the interests of the people as a whole."

Mr. Cohen's answers to the questions were peculiarly wise suggestions as he does not hear from the politicians, and which I felt were spoken for no purpose of demagoguery.

"The time has come when we must all stand forth in the support of our country, and we must all stand forth in the support of our country."

Mr. Cohen is a well read and thoughtful man, but not an alarmist nor calamity hower. The actual conditions of affairs, and the logical outcome of such conditions, have frightened him very strongly, and caused him to fear for the country. It is a great pity that more of our well-to-do people cannot see and realize actual conditions as clearly as Mr. Cohen.

Mr. Cohen. In Portland's last city election Mr. Cohen was not re-elected as mayor. Ex-Governor Pomeroy was the candidate on the Democratic, Tar-payers and Populist ticket.

Pomeroy still thinks that social legislation will cure our financial ills while Cohen knows better, and says so.

"The New York"—May 1, 1869, p. 4.

The Force-box.

The Adult is a journal for the advancement of freedom in sexual relationships. No. 1 of Vol. I, which has just reached us, is one of the most interesting and the most profound of the same course as has been prepared by a local, and is the organ of the Legitimation League. It is a sixteen paged, neat magazine, published monthly at 10 John St. Bedminster, Cong. Price twopenny in England or five cents in the United States. Send for a copy and see how you like it.
The number printed or written on the upper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

In Memorium
"You shadow passeth when the tree shall fall."—Tennyson.

On Monday, July the 11th, died one true lover of freedom—William Whitlock of Philadelphia. He was one of the last and brightest lights of the old American training, an Englishman, probably a Londoner, for he had heard him say that he worked among the poor of "St. Giles" in London, where he had, it would appear, naturally become convinced that it was the bodies of the poor that cried out for help rather than their souls. The fact that our comrades had passed through what is known as the "Christian phase of thought," was in evidence all the time. His writings, even on the money question, his public speeches, and even his personal conversation, teemed with the-ological phraseology. Doubtless time was when he was just as "earnest," but a shadow of the old spirit of our acquaintance was an earnest freethinker, for earnestness was this man's prime attribute, the keynote of his thought. He was manifestly a modern freethinker, modern Christianity, it is true, but quite as frequently by pointing out its wide departure from the principles of the old freethinkers. He opposed its sacred assumptions. He never ceased to eulogize the "Man of Nazareth." The freethinker Whitlock adored as a man, Him whom Whitlock the Christian had worshipped as a God, and so long as the ranks of Atheism were recruited by converts from Christianity, Whitlock had his work. But the man and the religion of Whitlock, by meaningful worship. In the only true sense of the term, for, so far as the supreme object of his adoration is concerned, a Christian is always a Christian.—

"Oan a mother's tender care For great is the child she bears; Yet wail I remember thee." Where his "Ideal Jesus" was concerned, Mr. Whitlock remained true to his old ideas or "conceptions," to his"..always retained a "feeling" that there is an element, perhaps, in the universe, that in some way correlates with the personal development in man. An old freethinking friend of his, who is "touched" with spiritualism officiated at his funeral. Whitlock had expressed a conviction that the essential Mr. Whitlock" was present in the room listening to his remarks. We thought, could that "essential" for one man might be the capacity that coldly lightly in the casket, how the lips would glide and the eyes glisten with the old genial smile, the gay laugh, at the idea of the now when the head had stopped. But spirit or no spirit, our dear friend spiritualized during his long, painful, trying sickness. Such a hopeless and left to God! And again by unfavorable conditions. He carried all, yes, all the burdens that he was so anxious to help lift off the shoulders of others. We know that. And the more he suffered the further he walked into the dark valley of the valley of the shadow of death, the more he was carried by love for humanity. For, let us all knew William Whitlock, let those who read these words know, remember, that he was also a true humanitarian in the best sense of the word. However, it was in the beginning, whatever base admixture of motive instigated him in his literary work and public efforts, in the end he was consumed with a desire to better men's conditions. The last time he attended the meeting of the Friendship Liberal League we called to mind how he looked as he spoke: he was, indeed, gasping for breath, with the look of appeal that grew on him with his sickness, he said: "I would willingly give up my life, if necessary, to save men". When opened to the truths I have tried to point out to them. Oh! if they could see us as we are!" Any life, poor soul," we said within ourselves, "thy life is not worth a month's purchase. But he has escaped, he has laid the burdens down. As we think of him and what he has done, we are reminded of the words of the immortal drago. of the race of whom Whitlock was well, and loved even as he knew. "Read me the drags from Cymbeline," said Tenny- son with dying lips. Oh magnificent words, that shadow forth a peace which passeth all understanding. Our friend has shown there into, they are not here, to be cated how man, the victim of man, of circumstances, of nature, may escape from the torments. It comforts us, this life, poor soul, for we feel no regret, and not the dead man. It com for us in our thought of him: Need the more of the head, Nor she furiously winter's rage. How big earthly task has done His gone up and in thy in thy voye. Fear no more the brown of the great, To thee next the tyrann's stroke; Can thy only one. To thee the reed is as the oak. Fear no more the lightning's flash Fear not the dread eddies of the earth Fear not stand, nor scare. To thee hast finished man and woman.—Cymbeline. MARY W. HILL.

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