

The Firebrand



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

VOL. III.

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No. 4

From the Depths of My Heart.

Onward rolls the sea of earthly misery,
Laden with carnage of the young and old.
Its billows are rushing and over-flushing,
Destroying resistance ever so bold;
And in it abound, in infinite amount,
Human forms,—living, dead, or dead in part,
While their ceaseless struggling,—ludicrous juggling,
Brings anxiety to the depths of my heart.

And how they fumble, o'er each other tumble,—
To reach the surface is everyone's aim,
Each thus endeavoring, Reason abandoning,
Transgresses and ignores other's just claim;
Mutual destruction is the ripe production,
Fraud and corruption fills the worldly mart,
The lies and bribery, stealth and robbery,
Incite anger in the depths of my heart.

Behold there the sharks! the rapacious sharks!
—Gigantic monsters so terribly wild,—
And the birds of prey, descending from high,
Devour mankind,—Nature's beauteous child.
From the deep by the fish, on surface by the birds,
Is threatened humanity's floating hearth,
And as the ravens swell with Man's blood, so well,
There comes fear into the depths of my heart.

What degraded life in the world of strife
Where neglected is the pure and sublime!
Where love and truthfulness lie hid in abysses,
And justice supplanted by vice and crime;
There thrive hypocrites and worldly parasites,
Who banish mirth and cause joy to depart.
And as I contemplate this vast counterfit,
Hatred overfills the depths of my heart.

'Tis dark and dreary, forever so weary,
Onward, still onward, rolls the roaring sea.
Relentless and steadfast rages the tempest,—
Fierce is the storm! human vengeance is free;
And high overhead, on the clouds that have spread,
Is inscribed, in a vivid, fiery art,
"Anxiety, Anger, Fear, Gloom and Hatred,"—
A reflection from the depths of my heart.

SMIRNOW.

Majority Rule.

In olden times, when it was thought that kings were gods, or that "the monarch was the delegate of heaven," the justification of government was valid; it was at least logical. Once you grant the unlimited authority of heaven, the king being a delegate thereof, his authority cannot be questioned. We may consider this belief irrational, but we must admit its consistency. No such consistency, however, can be claimed for the modern belief in government. For the modern governmental commands there is no warrant of heaven. "Making no pretensions to divine descent or divine appointment," says Herbert Spencer, "a legislative body can show no supernatural justification for its claim to govern; and no natural justification has ever been attempted." There being no supernatural justification for modern government, let us ask what reason is there for demanding submission to a ruling power, constitutional or republican? Let us ask: Whence comes the sovereignty? What is the assignable warrant for this unqualified supremacy assumed by one, by a small number, or by a large number over the rest?

To these simple questions there is no response. In vain did Herbert Spencer peruse Hobbes, Austin, Bentham, Arnold and others. In vain did he seek the credentials of single-headed or many-headed rulers to unlimited authority over the rest.

The theory, however, of republican or constitutional government is that it is formed by voluntary contract. The theory assumes that all those who are governed by a republican form of government, have freely consented to it. In reality such governments are different. But admitting that the theory is true, then it only supposes that a government, formed by the free consent of all parties concerned, has only such power as all the parties to it have individually agreed it shall have. This then sets a limit to a free or rather so-called free-government not to pass any laws except such as all the parties have agreed it shall pass.

Taking it for granted that there may be such laws that will be beneficial to all, this theory proceeds to assume that all will consent to be taxed for their maintenance. If the government is to be established by the consent of all, this government can only govern those who have consented to be governed thereby. Such a government cannot be binding upon those who refuse to be governed thereby, for it will then be a government by the will of some against the will of others. A government, of the whole, therefore, can have no powers except such as all the parties consent that it shall have. Hence, it follows that such a government cannot justly compel anyone to contribute to its support except those who wish to be governed by it. And those who find it a useful institution would contribute to its support without being forced. In a word, such a government cannot collect taxes from those who do not care for its existence; neither can it compel anyone to contribute to a purpose which that one may deem useless or injurious to himself.

Now, taxation without consent is as plainly robbery as taking a man's money without his consent. In so far as we are deprived of what is ours, it makes no difference whether it is done by an organized army under the name "government," or by a few desperados who are known as highwaymen. Surely the theory of so called free government does not admit plain robbery; why, then does the government tax a man against his will? If the government can take a man's money without his consent, where is the limit to what the government can do against the will of an individual? With the money stolen from those whom it governs, a government can build navies, hire soldiers, build prisons, hire policemen and plunder and rob its subjects at will. Not only this, a government which collects taxes by force of arms is a government which kills or imprisons those who resist, it is a government which is in direct opposition to voluntary contract, the theoretically assumed basis of republican or constitutional government.

Failing to show that free government derives its authority to govern from the consent of the governed, the will of the last lurking place of constitutional and republican tyranny. "Surely the larger number have the right to govern the smaller" is often hurled at those who point out the sins of legislation. By what process of reasoning, if it be reasoning at all, these free governmentals reach

such a conclusion is amusing indeed. Mark, now, they grant that no individual has a right to govern another individual, and yet by some metaphysical phantom they reach the conclusion that "surely the larger number have the right to govern the smaller." If one individual has no right to govern another, where do many get the right to govern the few? How can you make something out of nothing? The absurdity of this doctrine is too obvious to need further elucidation, and yet men of brains go on showing that so many nothings will make a something.

But Bentham, the great champion of popular government, finds a way out of the difficulty, by assuming that the greatest happiness to the greatest number, may be fairly achieved by majority rule. Let us look into this assumption. Whether, in its practical application, majority rule is less oppressive than that of the minority or not, in principle, majority rule is just as false and tyrannical as the rule of a monarch or a king. It makes no difference to the individual whether he is a subject of a king, a monarch or a president who has been put into office by the vote of a majority. Besides, there is nothing in the nature of a majority to guarantee justice at their hands. If one man can be a tyrant, why cannot a mass of men be the same? If minority rule is oppressive, what is there in the nature of a majority to prevent it from oppressing the rest, if they think it for their interest? And as to the natural right of the majority to rule the minority, there is no particle of truth in that prevailing notion. Two men have no more right to rule one man than one has to rule two. A man, or a body of men, may either separately or collectively "mind their own business," but they have no right to mind the business of anyone else. They may defend themselves against invaders, but they have no right to enslave the non-invasive. In short, any man, or aggregate of men may insist upon their individual and collective rights to be free, but they cannot justly insist upon a right to govern those who wish to be let alone, unless those others assume a right to govern them.

Liberty is the only right upon which an individual can insist, and whether he chooses to act individually or collectively, he can insist upon no more. The thing itself determines its nature, and the relative numbers of opposing parties cannot alter it. It makes little difference how many people commit murder, the number cannot justify the deed. And if the majority has a right to rule the minority simply because it is the more numerous, is not that doctrine every whit as tyrannical as the doctrine that might makes right? If the will of the majority ought always to be considered just, why stop at the determination of the nature of the deed committed? Why not bring this majority rule to its consequences? If a man has been robbed of his property, or another deprived of his life, why not inquire into the relative numbers of the opposing parties and justify robbery and murder simply because they have been perpetrated by the more numerous? This majority rule doctrine forces

suicide upon our conception of justice, and puts an end to such things as enemies, aggressions and invasions. All acts committed against persons inferior in number to the aggressors become but a rightful exercise of legitimate authority of the majority over the minority. And consistency demands that all governments founded upon majority rule, should recognize the plea of greater number as a sufficient justification for all crimes whatsoever.

DALLAN DOYLE.

Boston, Mass.

Highways and By-ways.

By ZADUAK, THE DREAMER.

Why talk of "peaceful revolution at the ballot box;" why prate of the impossible? Such prattle may amuse the infant class in Social Economy; it may be sweet to the ear; but it does not appeal to the mind of the student, who realizes its impossibility. Reason no longer regards it as a practicable or possible measure, at least so far as America, the home of democracy, is concerned.

In case labor dare no longer cast a courageous ballot in its own behalf each recurring election becomes but more emphatic proof of the impotency of the ballot in the hands of "freemen," and but adds strength to the superstitious chains that fetter the limbs of the toiler. Labor would need neither ballot nor bullet did it but cultivate a little brain, for of the three the latter is the most powerful when properly applied, and in such case it has no need whatever of either of the former weapons, the one of which is silly and the other brutal. Each upholds the other, both are based upon the false and pernicious theory that "might makes right."

To state that the present system is doomed would be to posit but little, and that little most people are beginning to see, though most of them will not believe it, because they do not desire to entertain the proposition. To concede this point would necessitate the admission that they have been and still are fools, and few people possess the moral courage to admit anything of the kind. Then, too, they still hope that even as things are going the flesh-pots will not go dry. The fellows who have, hope to keep; those who have not, hope to get—not for all, but for self. The cobras of commerce glide through the bushes and keenly eye all who show any disposition of escaping from their fangs. And yet the bigger cobras keep the little fellows on the dodge if the latter would themselves survive.

But there are some who do see the setting of the sun of competition who would gladly see it sink forever beneath the horizon of life could they but force the rising of the sun of Liberty, the mother of Equality and Fraternity. These ask what we can offer them for to-morrow's dinner if they let go of the offal on which they have so long been accustomed to feed.

The Free Communist offers them all the bounties that Nature and the skill of free men can provide. But of this they are doubtful. Even if they do not desire to partake of all the courses at Nature's lavishly spread table they might yet obtain pretty good fare did they but partake of but a portion of it. But, no! unless we describe all the intricacies by which we shall put the food upon the table they will have none of it; will cling to their slop-tubs. For one, I heartily agree with Comrade Malatesta in supposing that no one system of procedure will universally obtain even when we have full liberty. Some men will prefer one, some another; and from the very fact that they are free will they seek to gratify their differentiating tastes in the way which seems to them, as individuals, the best. The coming system cannot, then, be a perfect one, for only one way can be right and best. For only when right prevails can Harmony exist; until harmony does exist there must be discord; and discord and happiness are not attuned to each other. As happiness for mankind is the highest conceivable state to which humanity can attain, then the evolutionary movement must forever, or so long as Earth shall endure, keep advancing. And when this globe finally congeals, only an atom will have perished. But an absolutely perfect state of existence will probably never be reached by the inhabitants of this or any other planet, for the whole, being composed of units, cannot be perfect until first the units are perfect.

PEOPLE who denounce State Socialism on the plea

that it is "anarchistic" should really have a strong dose of statism. I think they'd soon cry for liberty.

A New York political fakir publication, miscalled the People, chronically denounces as swindlers all who do not first get its petty indorsement for any measure of relief that may be devised for the real people. It has been considerable exercised of late over the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth. This is partly due to the fact that the really honest and thinking element of the Socialist Labor Party are taking hold of the B. C. C. The blackguard sheet goes on to call the B. C. C. a skin game and says its 1,300 members are "mostly victims," and that it was got up to help certain publishers. Apart from the obvious lies of The People, there is one very significant feature about its tirade. It constantly runs a begging scheme of its own. It wants to publish a daily liar but at the expense of someone else. Its appeal is a standing notice of the "don't-go-elsewhere-to-be-skinned-but-come-to-us" kind. The People is "dying, Egypt, dying," and so is the movement which it is vainly trying to uphold. Intolerance has no place in the hearts of those who are grasping for the truth.

SOME claim that under Socialism individuality would be lost. As some Socialists would construe Socialism, this might be the case.—These individualists (I think the "Dreamer" means Socialists as the so-called Individualists do not mean to abolish individuality.—The type-setter.) propose that all individuality (save their own) should be abolished. These are the statists.

Free Socialism would greatly extend the learning and rationalism of the people; it would abolish false standards of civilization and cause the people to go back to first principles (naturalism.) Talents would be better cultivated. Although it is probable that for a time the man who strode in advance of his neighbors might feel the effects of their still-existing superstitious prejudices and be locally unpopular, still the man or woman who possessed real talent would not be much hampered by the prejudice of local small-minds, but would be accorded by the world at large the place they deserved. Under the present social system this is seldom possible unless the talented one possesses advantages unfairly obtained—that is by means of the possession of wealth which he has not created, yet enjoys by grace of the law. In that case, he not only has the leisure to cultivate his talents, but as well the means to diffuse the results and become known to fame, but it is at the expense of others; he possesses a dishonestly acquired advantage.

WHILE the element of the force theory is talking so glibly of war it may be well to suggest these lines of Shelley's:

War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight,
The lawyer's jest, the hired assassin's trade.

THE Chicago Dispatch, in an editorial on Socialism and Anarchy declares that "speaking generally, all Anarchists are bad, while on the other hand, most Socialists are good citizens."

That is the language of an ignoramus, and a prejudiced ignoramus at that, for the writer of the editorial shows that he knows what State Socialism is, as he says of it that it "is paternal and seeks to direct even the private affairs of men."

Still, such editorials tend to provoke thought, and when once a man overcomes prejudice enough to allow himself to think there is room for hope that he will go beyond the limits set by the editors of such dailies and sooner or later, grasp the truth that government is tyranny.

A POOR man in Chicago, whose family was starving, stole a suit of clothes; presumably in order to provide food for his family. In order to make sure of convicting him, policeman Thos. Buckley perjured himself and, when the court told him his own offence was worse than that of the thief, and placed him under \$1,000 bonds for trial on the charge of perjury, he plead that his wife was ill and his arrest would seriously affect her. For once a judge (Sears) succeeded in seeing that since the starving condition of the wife of the thief did not exempt him from arrest, the illness of the bluecoat's wife could not furnish him a valid excuse, so with uniform, club and star the policeman took his place behind the bars. Equality in "justice" is a new treat.

THE strongest argument authoritarians have as a

reason why governments should exist is that all men should support government because "it protects" them. While it only protects a few, and at the expense of the many, even if their statements were true they do not allow men to choose to do without their alleged protection, nor to choose their own method of protection. In other words, governments have certain wares to sell and seek to force us to buy of them, even though their wares contain more adulteration than pure matter.

YOU'VE heard of "conservative minds", of course, but the term is misleading. Conservatives are minus minds as a rule, and the exceptions are moral cowards. The man who is conservative in these times is a self-proven fool or knave. He possesses a vacancy in the brain box or a distorted and evil nature.

London Items.

MID-WINTER and muddy.

PARLIAMENT re-assembles after a blessed rest.

HONORABLE members talk little wit and less wisdom.

SOVEREIGN voters are bucking up to pay rent and buy the children, boots.

THE progress of the propaganda of Anarchy is enthusing those who were just getting apathetic.

JACK TURNER is lecturing for three consecutive Monday evenings at Christchurch Hall, in the East-end on "Impressions of America."

HIS natural history of the "cop," according to his geographical zones, including the New York and Chicago varieties, with references to the Colorado sheriff, tickled the detectives who were present from Scotland Yard last week.

At Halborn Town Hall, the children's party and the concert and dance, to provide financial aid for "Freedom," was a time of joyous forgetfulness. Jack Turner as master of the ceremonies, conducted the many evolutions of the dance with the abandon of a man determined to enjoy himself by making everyone else happy. And the galaxy of Anarchist girls, ah!

HYNDMAN, the Social-Democrat, is sane enough on anything apart from Anarchy. He attempted to speak and move an amendment at the Lord Mayor's tardily called "Indian Famine Relief Fund" meeting at the Mayoral palace,—the Mansion House.

But there was a royal duke on the platform and no end of Stock Exchange potentates in the audience, so the unruly truth-teller was put outside.

He had his own back at Hoonsey at a big meeting afterward and I quote two of his remarks:

"The sixth of India's total gross annual rental value is consumed by us every year and then you have Mansion House Relief Funds to relieve—what you create!" And: "If ever rebellion was justified it is justified in India to-day."

WE'RE not all talk. A comrade of the Freedom Group has formed the Co-operative Orchestra, Limited, which is an association of musicians who accept requests to play at balls, soirees, etc., and take the fees themselves. They thus strike a blow at the extortionate deductions to which they have been subject when employed through a middleman or agent.

TOM MANN, who is head and shoulders above every other labor man in this country in abilities and ubiquity, is gradually forsaking the political-action section of the advanced movement for the essentially trade-union organization and federation movement.

He will probably resign his secretaryship of the Independent Labor Party at their Eastern conference and throw himself entirely into the work of organizing labor, outside and apart from parliament.

THE bestial barbarities which are being inflicted upon helpless Anarchist prisoners in the Montjuich fortress, Barcelona, Spain, show what governments are, for all these are enlightened times and all that

A MASS meeting was convened by the London Anarchists and held, 28 Jan., at the Club Union Hall, to

protest, and draw public attention to these devilish and loathsome cruel inquisitorial tortures. Advanced men of many parties attended and joined in the denunciation. But the tortures go on just the same! All governments are in the same boat but some have the Tartar venerated over.

WHAT we have got to do is to get to work propagating Anarchy, political and economic, knowing that with every wrong idea rectified and every lie laid bare we are surely bringing the glad time of freedom nearer, when such hideous crimes as those of the Spanish government will be impossible and only dark, sad memories.

The eighteen months imprisonment which Dave Nicoll served does not seem to have daunted him in the least nor to have dimmed his recollection of, and love for, his, and our, comrades who are still in penal servitude.

A MEETING to demand the Amnesty of the victims of the Walsall police plot, Cailes, Charles, and Batola, is to be held in Sheffield on Feb. 8, at which Nicoll, Edward Carpenter and others will speak. This is the first of a series which are to be held throughout the next few months.

To read the papers the innocent foreigner (or shall we say "abroad?") would think that this island was shaking with excitement because our nominal ruler, the Queen, has reigned sixty years. But, no! Bless your heart, no!

A FEW journalists with a keen eye to future favours write long articles, chock full of caligraphic idiosyncrasy and mental pig-wash, and initiate and carry on correspondence columns under a series of assumed names, but the average man . . . Well, he's off sharp to the factory, at six in the morning and when he reads a paper it is usually only to "spot a winner." Still we have hopes of that man. The chap who will read a newspaper believing that he'll find something truthful there, can't be wholly bad. He only wants training.

I SEE that the American Anarchist conference did not come off. Possibly we shall be more fortunate. Our's has been postponed till Easter and, although no active preparations have been commenced yet, it seems fairly a safe thing.

It is as much energy is flung into the coming "Commune Commemoration," with accumulated interest to date, as was used up over the Chicago reunion last November, the heathen and those who scoff will be quite taken aback.

"THE ALARM" fell out of the fight at the end of November. The little paper was too soon. Perhaps when the summer sun . . . American subscribers will please excuse. They lost their dollars; we lost our backbones.

LORD PENRYN married well. His wife brought him the Bethesda slate quarries in North Wales. The slate quarries brought him £150,000 per year. He gradually brought his workmen's wages down so that this was possible. After many years the workmen brought out a few shamed ideas. "They would ask for a return to the old higher rates of pay." His lordling said he couldn't see it at all, and sacked those who brought the request. The other 3,000 men struck in sympathy; the strike is now 16 weeks old; and unless the men give in and go back digging, there is no reason why the strike shouldn't last for ever. Penryn having been sober, industrious and thrifty, has saved quite a decent sum. He's doing alright.

TOM REECE.

19 Ifield Road, S. W., London.

Inseparables. *

"SELF sacrificing Communists!" the words are a trifle startling. Evidently, to the mind of the writer of them, the term, Communism, conveys a different meaning from the one I have attached to it, for I advocate the communistic theory and denounce self-sacrifice with equal zeal!

Devote yourself, body and mind, to the (supposed)

* This article was intended for publication in the Alarm, (Dallas Texas) but as never published. I send it to The Firebrand, hoping that you may find room for it. WINN.

advancement, or whims, of some one else, and you have self-sacrifice, the quintessence of the sum of all the virtues, at least, so the "wiseacres" of our age solemnly pronounce it. But I protest. No; none but a despot, the most unfeeling of egotists, will willingly accept the sacrifice of another, and the truly wise will not, from choice, set self completely aside and waste his life in petty and unrequited service.

Voluntary co-operation in production plus voluntary co-operation in distributing the product, is not that Communism? Will the union of effort for mutual benefit induce self-sacrifice, or will it impel the development of the best in all?

The Communist recognizes the interdependence of the individuals composing society. He is conscious that,

"Whoever degrades another degrades me;
And whatever is done or said returns at last to me."

He insists that Thought is man's governing force, and to attempt to "corner" Thought, in any manner whatsoever, by the employment of "price," by copyright, by premeditated neglect to impart it, by designed perversion or mistatement, is barbarous and criminal.

All criminality, be it of tyranny or of submission, is the result of the short-sightedness we name, Ignorance. If the many slave that the few may have leisure to play with "culture" and "accomplishments," to toy with "scientific discoveries," to indulge in self-glorification acts triggered out in bodily ornamentation superior (?) to the savages' tattoo, to fritter away the years in "stately mansions" built "on the bodies and souls of living men"—are not the slaves ignorant, and are the masters less so?

Society cannot become really civilized till every member of it is permitted the space for and encouraged to acquire full mental and physical growth. Any style of sacrifice is subversive of civilization. Communism would dispense with the cry for self-sacrifice. In a despotic social organization, based, as despotisms invariably are, on profit, the demand for sacrifice is constantly heard, and its free or reluctant surrender, if peace (?) be preserved, is unavoidable.

Sacrifice, whether chosen or forced, and despotism are inseparable iniquities.

VIROQUA DANIELS.

Consistency vs. Inconsistency.

I HAVE been thinking for sometime of writing something for The Firebrand, and the No. received today gets me started. Now I want to say right here that I have long known Comrade Pope—know his kind heart, his genuine worth—his firmness in what he believes to be right, still I think his Quaker heredity has stuck clear through and clinched on the other side. He does not seem to see that he commences his article with an authoritative command: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."* Who is it that claims to tell us how much or how little we shall love our neighbor? Again—who is our neighbor? I do not recognize the authority of that, or of any other command.

Circumstances alter cases. There are places and conditions where the smitten cheek can give kindness in return to good advantage; there are other conditions where such a course would be worse than milk thrown into the sea to correct its saltiness. I hold that this spirit of submission, of non-resistance as taught to the masses, is one of the means by which authoritarianism perpetuates itself. I have plenty of the element of fight in my makeup, but it will never be used in defence of government.

AND so that "comrade" thinks there would be too much variety if the principles of Ruedebusch's book were carried out. As I have not read the book I cannot speak of its tendency, but in "My Century Plant" I make this demand—"The unqualified freedom of woman as woman and that all

* What I mean by "Thou shalt love etc." is that we will by experience, learn that it produces or gives all more happiness, when we grow into the estate that we do love our neighbor etc. I thank L. W. for drawing attention to the authoritarian idea in the command; as I am as much opposed to commanding or obeying as she is.

A. J. FORZ.

the institutions of society be adjusted to said demand."

Now, how much variety there would be with such freedom for woman I do not know, neither is it my business to know; very little if every one's nature were like mine, but such freedom is woman's right. No, it is not my business to know, but certainly not more than we have now, and there is one thing we have now that we should not have in freedom, to wit, unwilling relations—and with no unwilling relations there would be no sex disease. Of so much I feel assured, and I believe that with such freedom for woman the race would grow out of variety into life-long unions, "permanent friendship between the sexes" becoming the rule instead of the exception.

I AM glad to see eight pages. I hope you can keep it up. Z. D. says that Socialism has no place for superstition of any kind whatever. I hope it has not, but there are some things which some call superstition that are in fact scientific truths. Such say: "One world at a time," and so say I, but I want to understand and scientifically apply to the welfare of the race, or rather I want the race to understand, each for self, the whole of this world, both seen and unseen. LOIS WAISBROOKER.

Their Blood Crieth from the Ground.

ON the 9th day of April, 1886, a group of ruffians, temporarily commissioned with some pretended authority under the law, at East St. Louis, and armed with repeating rifles, each carrying nearly a score of deadly charges, took deliberate aim at a crowd of innocent unarmed people, men, women and children, killing several, maiming others for life, and grievously wounding more. None of the killed had anything whatever to do with the strike then in progress; they were not idling about a place where danger was to be reasonably apprehended. Some were in the crowd viewing the railroad yards, others were standing or sitting at a little distance in public places, and the one woman killed was on her way from her home to a store. No respectable paper sustained or excused the shooting by the "deputies;" all condemned it in the strongest terms. Yet the guilty wretches were never called to answer for the foul butchery, and after short detention were set at liberty entirely.

At Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on May 5, a body of brave(?) militiamen, behind a breastwork, fired into an unarmed crowd, whose harmlessness was shown by the fact that it immediately scattered without responding in any way to the volleys. One old man feeding chickens in his own yard, fell dead; one lad on his way to school was fatally wounded, and others killed outright or given death wounds. This shooting, too, was condemned by respectable and influential papers, but no one was ever legally called to account for it.

A few months later Terence Begley, a teamster quietly pursuing his own business, fell a victim to a volley from Pinkerton rifles, the firing being entirely without cause, and defended by no one, on any grounds. Yet, although the empty and smoking rifles bore conclusive evidence against the perpetrators, the arm of the law was powerless to reach them, and this foul crime too is unatoned for.

At Jersey City, N. J., a little later, a poor boy fell before a Pinkerton rifleman's deadly aim, and a pretence was made of bringing the murderer to trial. But it proved a mockery, and the wretch went free.

In all these instances the victims were poor, they were without position in political, mercantile or social circles; they had no influential friends to directly or indirectly subsidize newspapers, and the general public were soon allowed to forget about it.

ANONYMOUS.

"The world will never look quite right
Unless you keep your glasses bright."

This is a homely couplet, but it contains an important truth. The world to us is as we see it, and we see it just in the condition we are in ourselves. It is bright and cheery, to the bright and cheery, it is gloomy and dull to the gloomy and dull. Keep ourselves right and the world will seem right to us. Therefore individual reform is the surest road to the reform of society.—(Philo, in The Flag.

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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 Flag of the Free.

(Some time ago the inhabitants of the Hague were astonished to awake one morning and find the red flag of Anarchy proudly floating from the flagstaff above the royal palace, placed there, it is presumed, by some unknown Anarchist or Socialist. The incident suggested the lines below.)

FREEDOM'S flag that tyrants hate,
Despots tremble for their fate.
When thou, the emblem of the free
Shall be unrolled from sea to sea.
Long, long hath man in slavery cried,
Long, long hath suffered, prayed and died
For Freedom to earn his bread;
His pleading no one heard,
His hunger no one fed—
His pleadings were absurd.
Until at last man cried no more;
He did what he should long before
Have done. He planned revolt.
He learned that freedom was a right,
Conferred by birth; and that to fight,
Or rise in armed revolt,
Was duty's highest call.
Then kingcraft's dungeon wall
Was raised to bar the way,
And crushed hope's brightest ray.
Then Anarchy held high the torch,
Till tyranny did feel the scorch
Of blazing light; and then
Hope dawned once more, and men
Dreamed of a coming time,
When liberty, in every clime
Should make men free.
A flag was raised by valiant hands,
To-day 'tis kept in many lands,
The red flag, symbol of the free,
That knows no country, and by sea
Unbounded is—the people's flag.
And thus 'tis kingcraft's hated rag.
Beneath its scarlet folds,
No tyrants 'twice it holds.
Politician, priest and king
And every clique and ring,
Of robbing, scheming drones,
That hide beneath the thrones
Of government and power,
Dread the coming of the hour,
When the banner of the free
Shall at last in triumph be
Unfolded to the sun,
And men's era, fair, begun.

ROSS WINN.

We learn by Experience.

"Experience teaches a dear school" but it teaches the virtues.

And how could, and why should we learn in any other school? Is not experience the only school the race has ever attended? Have we not learned as a race, all we know, by experience? Even the exact science of mathematics has evolved to its present status by the experience of the race. In its infancy mankind learned to count, and represent numbers by his fingers. He early learned that to add the number five, represented by each hand made ten, hence the decimal system of computation. He soon learned that two times five made ten and two times two made four, and three times two made six, and that multiplication was a short method of addition. So was the higher mathematics evolved by experience. All the sciences are the result of experience or experimentation.

All of good or evil we know is the result of experience. Man and even the lower animals have learned by experience that the co-operation of several individuals of the species, first in defense against enemies, then in other ways until sociability became natural. Experience taught man that two persons could combine their efforts to accomplish an object and effect more than they could singly. So reciprocity and altruism originated. All the combined efforts of the world are but reciprocity, or altruism, resulting from the experience of the race, prompted primarily by egoism. The development of reason itself is the result of experience. He has learned that his own selfish interests depend largely on the interests of others, which we call right, and the injury of another, which also injures himself, we call wrong. He has learned by experience that happiness is the only good, and that misery is the

only evil. Who say the contrary, contradicts experience. What we learn by experience, we know. What we are told, we do not know. What we learn by experience is self-evident truth. It is axiomatic.

Then why rely on hearsay, even from the most respectable authority, when reason, the result of experience, contradicts it? I think I can account for the reliance on authority by so many, by attributing it to the reluctance to think and analyze propositions: for man seeks to gratify his desires with the least exertion bodily or mentally. If things or thoughts be ready made to hand, he reluctantly exerts himself to produce them. Another reason is, man is in the infancy of the race compared with what he will be. Children are confiding in their parents and older people. (Then how wrong to deceive a child in the least way.) Children are observers—not reasoners. They synthesize—they cannot analyze. They take the sayso of others. They are credulous. Older people do not, and the older race will not take authority for truth before a philosophical analysis of the proposition to see if it comports with experience.

Paradox ideal as it may seem, the farther back we trace the race in history, the greater and more unreasonable the lies told and the more credence was given them, and the more advanced intellectually and morally the race becomes, the more evidence is required to substantiate a statement not self-evident. It was easy in the infancy of the race for a priesthood to get confidence of the less intelligent people and to impose as oracular, what to the thinkers of this age seems very puerile and false. It is the reluctance to think, coupled with the superstitious fear inculcated in the race from time immemorial, that to doubt the oracles of the gods was to incur their eternal displeasure. Impressions made in infancy of individuals or of the race are hard to eradicate, even after reason has outgrown them. Take for instance the consensus of the race learned by experience, that we should love our enemies, or at least treat them as if we did, yet the oracles teach that God will punish His enemies to all eternity. People think they believe such a doctrine, when they are only afraid to reason and disbelieve it. Mixed with the oracles is some truth, and the devotees of the priesthood are persuaded that without their revelation, good would not be known, when—as I have shown—experience has taught us all we know of good or evil. The priests have the advantage over reason and experience with the credulous, inasmuch as they base their dictum on authority and not on reason and experience. They are put to no proof but authority, and awe their credulous dupes with its transcendent unquestionableness. If you doubt enough to question, you are threatened with damnation, which puts a quietus on questions. They tell you that God made you and gave you that torch to the soul we call reason, but it must not be used in dark places. That you must walk through this dark vale by faith—not reason. The priest stultifies and degrades reason as damnable. They would ostracize the votaries of reason by calling them ugly names. No class of people use more vile language against opponents than the priests.

The development of reason and the sciences have been greatly retarded by the appeals of priests to the prejudices and passions of the populace. Fear is the whip they use to goad the wretched people into the dungeon of the soul; to the verge of despair when it sometimes rebounds like a ball cast down, and the harder and more impenetrable the substance it strikes, the greater the rebound. The rebound is often into an exact condition of emotional insanity, which the priest terms "the power of God unto salvation." Reason is entirely ignored and the experience is the depression, despair and ecstatic rebound which is the natural result of the depression, unless the sufferer becomes a raving hopeless maniac. "Come let us reason together," is never enjoined by the priest. How different, how rational, how hopeful, how encouraging to good works where reason is allowed free exercise in analysis, synthesis and logical conclusions based on experience.

Experience teaches us that no substance is annihilated, but only changes form. That since nothing can be annihilated, the logical, reasonable conclusion is that it has existed eternally. And that if mind or soul is an entity, and experimentations by the society for psychological research is about to prove it, then it never had a beginning and can never have an ending. Experience teaches us, that anything or form that had a beginning must have an ending. It also teaches us that evil, or falsity, is temporary, transient and in the very nature of things cannot endure. That truth is eternal. That good is eternal. The evidence of exper-

ience and reason in favor of all that is good and hopeful largely preponderates and outweighs the highest authority.

Experience has taught the higher developed portion of the race that all have equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Authority teaches different. Experience teaches that the welfare of each depends upon the welfare of all. Authority teaches different. Authority teaches no hope for the poor in this life. That the poor we must always have with us. That sin and extreme suffering will always abound. That the rich are a blessing to the world and should be encouraged. That the subserviency of the poor to the rich is right. That despotism is right, that government is right. That war is right. And I might name every evil in the whole catalogue and show that authority has sanctioned and upheld it. Slowly the beacon light of reason's illuminating the rugged road of experience and soon the race will walk in freedom from authority, ecclesiastic or political, guided only by reason.

For the reason that some persons have been coerced by physical force or fear to do that which they afterward found to be right, they naturally infer that right or goodness is a thing sent or revealed to us by a high authority. They cannot see how the race must, as it grows in knowledge, also grow pari passu in goodness, even from an egoistic point of view. Why should not the race learn by experience, prompted by a purely selfish motive, that the only process by which individuals, or the race, can obtain true happiness is by promoting the happiness of others? No authority nor revelation is needed to teach them that. Much time and talent is wasted in teaching ancient traditions, or so-called revelations, authoritatively, which retards growth in wisdom and goodness, which if devoted with half the energy to teaching experimental truths by appealing to reason, the race would be much more advanced in wisdom and goodness.

Authority is the bane of progress. In defense of authority, it may be said, that authority is relied on in support of all facts and truths not prima facie. In reply I answer that reason accepts no authority as final truth—that it assents merely to statements it is unable at the time to verify, if the statements agree with reason and past experience. Reason obeys not authority, but questions all things. If a man tells me that he is especially ordained by God to a certain mission and has a revelation from God to all the race, or that any other person has or ever had, reason would reject his authority as being contrary to the experience of others, and therefore unreliable, especially if the revelation was itself unreasonable. If the so-called revelation accorded with reason, then it would be unnecessary, for reason and experience would discover it. No truth nor good that so-called revelation ever taught as divine; by some poet or philosopher taught it first. And many things taught as a revelation from God, have been proven to be erroneous and harmful. Man cannot receive a truth from any other source, until he is about ready to discover it through his reason and experience itself. So the uselessness of a revelation is apparent. If he cannot grasp a truth he rejects it as error and not of God, and if he grasps it, he is about to utter it himself. But it may be said as a rejoinder that we could know nothing of God or immortality except by revelation. To which I reply, my observation teaches me, that the untutored savage knows as much about things pertaining to the unknown, as the most learned priest of the most authentic creed. If we have had a revelation of God and immortality, why has it not been a revelation? If it was or is to some, why not to all? Why should, and how could He reveal Himself more than He has in the works and laws of nature which we are learning by experience?—As to immortality, the most reasonable evidence, is afforded every day, purporting to come from the very source from where such evidence should be expected, attested to as genuine by such scientists as Professor Crooks, Professor Wallace, Professor J. R. Buchanan and others, yet the so-called spirit phenomena is rejected by many as inadequate proof until the experience of the race verifies it more fully. It is thought by many that the phenomena may yet be explained upon mundane principles, and natural laws not yet discovered. If the so-called spirit communications and apparitions can be so explained, so can all so-called revelation and miraculous phenomena recorded in the past.

There are several assumptions to be proven in the hypothesis of a revelation from God, before reason will accept it as comporting with experience. 1st That He could through so imperfect a medium as language

convey thoughts, impart or reveal a truth to so inferior a being as man. 2d That He was so partial as to select a few favored ones. 3d That the favored ones were inspired. 4th That the supposed inspired ones were not deceived as some today are in believing themselves specially inspired and commissioned to preach. Since the council, the dignitaries of the church have rejected parts of the scriptures, as apocryphal, and pronounced others canonical, a 5th assumption is necessary, that the council was inspired or how do we know but that the canonical books are apocryphal? Now since there is not one tenth part of the unanimity among the 600 different religious denominations claiming one book as a revelation as to what it reveals, that there is among those who reject it, as to ethical and sociological questions, can we be thought to be unreasonable, immoral or dangerous to society? Are we not justified by reason and experience in saying that since there is so much discrepancy in the ethical teaching of authoritarians, that if authority, especially religious authority was eliminated, people would agree pretty nearly on moral or sociological questions to the great benefit of the race? As an instance of the discrepancy of their authority, I to day in conversation with a very enthusiastic religionist who is assisting in a protracted religious meeting, said to him: "Why don't you preachers say something, or do something to abolish poverty the source of most crime? Why don't you condemn riches as did He whom you profess to follow?" His answer: "God prospered Job, and it is the bad use of riches Christ condemned." I asked him where he made any exception, if He did not condemn riches on the general principle that the rich did not produce, but got their riches by unjust means? So, even their authorities differ, and every crime in the whole catalogue has been defended by authority. War, poverty, riches and every other evil is tolerated as inevitable by authoritarians. Slavery was defended by scripture quoted by authoritarians until freethinking, reasonable men aroused the humanitarian impulses of the people to throw it off. Now no scripture can be found to defend it. How changeable their authority is. Then let us abandon authority as final, and subject every proposition to the crucible of logical analysis postulated upon experience.

The datum of ethics is experience through suffering. We preserve our life and health (a moral act) for the reason we suffer if we do not, we care for our offspring, the next moral act, for the reason,—that we suffer if they suffer. We regard the interests of others for the same reason. The last and greatest moral act we can perform, which not all the race has learned, is to acknowledge the equal freedom of all.

J. C. BARNES.

A Question of Ways and Means.

It seems strange to me that Anarchists should waste so much time and breath in disputes about each other's consistency, or in talks about the desirability of Anarchists maintaining an attitude consistent with the principles of their faith. The unprofitableness of such discussions ought to be apparent to even a superficial observer. It is never required of persons to perform impossibilities, nor is it ever an evidence of wisdom in persons to dissipate their energies in attempts to perform impossibilities. The Anarchists of today have no call to attempt impossibilities: they have no mission to be consistent; their mission is an infinitely higher one. I would dearly love to be a consistent Anarchist, but I find that it is impossible for me to be consistent, owing to certain peculiarities in my environment which compel me to conform to laws and customs which are repugnant to my anarchistic sense. I accept this compulsion as a fact which exists in spite of me, but one which I am nevertheless conscience bound to make every effort to change, and the problem to be solved presents itself to my mind about in this shape:—How to alter my environment so as to enable me to gratify my love for consistency.

It comes to a question of ways and means for altering an uncongenial environment so as to make it congenial to me, and how far I shall expose the teleology of my actions is a matter for myself to decide: it must be determined by the material I have to work with; the question of my own consistency is in no way involved. That is a point that has not yet been reached.

The ways and means of changing one's environment involves considerations that are not to be decid-

ed off-hand nor with reference to any set rules which may be laid down beforehand, and certainly such ways and means do not necessarily include attempts to attain an impossible consistency. The present day Anarchist is an iconoclast. It is his mission to criticize, to tear down and destroy, to create dissatisfaction, to expose the absurdities and inconsistencies of the present system of society, while always on the alert to create new social ideals by sowing the seeds of his faith in whatever promise of fallow ground he may find. He must alter his environment by working on the minds, and changing the ideals of the persons whose collective intelligence goes to make up that environment. There may be situations where the end of the Anarchist will best be subserved by a conspicuous—though impossible—attempt to be consistent, just as certainly as there are situations where such attempts would not be subservient to the end, because of creating antagonisms which would destroy their influence for good. Such matters must be decided by each one for self. We will all be as consistent as possible, because that is what we desire to be, and men always accomplish their desires as far as circumstances will permit; but it is no part of our present mission to strive for the attainment of an impossible consistency. Our present mission is to educate the people up to the point of establishing an environment wherein anarchistic consistency will not be impossible.

W. P. BORLAND.

The Public be Damned.

New York, Jan. 31. To an audience of 2,000 persons in the Academy of Music to-day, Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr. had a great deal to say about the Bradley-Martin ball and the lavish display of wealth. "New Ethics of Wealth" was the topic upon which he spoke. It was the first of a series of sermons, "Three Threats of a Social Revolution." All such talk, he said, was the result of disturbed nerve centers, of high tension and overwrought nerves.

"The recent furor which was created by attacking the Bradley-Martins, who propose to give a ball," he went on, "is a consequence of these conditions, and is only an echo of the cry of the century that no man has a right to do as he pleases with what he possesses. These persons are going to give a ball and pay for it themselves, yet it is urged that they ought not to spend all that money in that fashion, but give it to the poor. This is merely the outcropping of the old enmity that has existed for 4,000 years.

"Some of the persons who are loudest in the outcry are, perhaps, men who put 5 cents in the contribution box and upon leaving the church pay 10 cents for a cigar. I might be called a bloated aristocrat because I drink ice water in summer, but I am bound to have it. I could take warm water, but prefer it cold. When I am spending money for my own amusement somebody else is hungry. These are fundamental, elemental facts, and you can't get away from them."

"If I should have \$1,000,000 and the public should attempt to dictate to me how I should spend it, I should say, as did a certain member of the Vanderbilt family, 'the public be d—d.' Who is this public that they should attempt to dictate to me? Who are these people that propose to give this ball? Their ancestors were patriots, and they acquired their wealth honestly. If I had millions, would I spend all in charity? No. Would you? No. Why, the proposition is nonsensical. A man would be a fool to give away a fortune."

The talk about the coming ball, and the suggestions that the money to be spent should be given to charity, has aroused interest in the philanthropy of New York millionaires. It is impossible to get an accurate estimate of the contributions which very rich men have made for the benefit of their fellow-citizens in this city in the past 30 years. But one who should know about these things says that \$50,000,000 is not an extravagant estimate.

When it is recalled that Governor Tilden gave \$5,000,000, although much less than that was realized by reason of a contest of his will; that Mr. Fayerweather gave \$7,000,000; that Mr. Rockefeller has given \$4,000,000, although for the establishment of a university elsewhere; that Pierpont Morgan has given \$1,000,000, for scientific and technical education, and John S. Kennedy probably as much more, and that the heirs of Peter Cooper have nearly doubled the original gift of Mr. Cooper, by which the institute which

bears his name was established, it will be seen that this estimate is not an unreasonable one.

So it is felt that, when persons who have inherited great wealth, as the Bradley-Martin family has, choose to give an entertainment that may cost \$40,000 or \$50,000, or even more, that fact should not of itself prejudice society in general against the very rich, since every week the rich are contributing vastly more than any sum ever spent for a social entertainment, and contributing it for the benefit of this community.

It has been noticed also that, as wealth increases in New York, so does the tendency to believe that this wealth is in part a trust also increase. Public benefactions have fully kept pace with the increase of wealth, and, moreover, the willingness to submit to taxation for public measures, which are chiefly designed for the amelioration or happiness of those who are unable to procure many pleasures for themselves, has become very marked.

Thus we have another illustration of how "God's appointed servants," believe in treating his children; their brothers. "If I have wealth, no matter how I got it, regardless of how many may suffer and starve, and the people be damned." This is the doctrine of one who claims to preach the gospel "peace on earth and good will toward men." But as long as the producers of wealth—the "public"—will continue to create wealth for others to use; will willingly give away all they produce, and then be ready to give up their lives in defense of the drones they support, so long will such spectacles continue. When will the workers cease to foster such a class of drones, and to uphold them by their ballots and by force of arms? Every man that votes, or carries a gun, does so in defense of the parasites.

H. A.

Note and Comment.

WITH this issue we re-establish a price—50 cents for The Firebrand. In order to continue sending it through the mail as second class matter we must do this, and the continuation of the paper necessitates its transmission through the mail as second class matter. Fifty cents will be only a nominal price, and the voluntary feature will remain, in spirit if not in substance.

The restoration of confidence that was to set the wheels of industry moving is slow, very slow in getting around. The fools who voted for this restoration are, lots of them, kicking themselves. Had Bryan been elected a lot of fools who voted for him would have kicked themselves just as badly long before his administration was over.

The absolute helplessness of the ruling class is amazing, when we but stop to think about it. They don't know how to cook, to wash or iron. They can't saw wood or dig coal. What they know about agriculture, any of the arts or mechanical trades, amounts to nothing. And yet the useful mass humbly submits to the dictates of the helpless class.

We will have over a year now, without an opportunity to indulge in that game called political elections, and it gives the voluntary co-operations, Labor Exchanges, Mutual Bankites, and individual initiative advocates an opportunity to not only push their ideas, but to make practical experiments, without interruption by political excitement. Get to work, brothers, get to work and show your faith by your works.

The Populists carried the state of Washington by a good round majority in the last election. They have a majority in both branches of the Legislature, and there is no good reason why they should not carry the program they have called for so loudly for the last four years. Do they do it? Well hardly. They elected a Republican to the United States Senate, and the only populist measure they seem liable to enact is the "dispensary" method of selling liquor, i. e. the monopolization of the liquor business by the State. Oh ye, honest populists, how long will you be fooled by self seeking politicians.

H. A.

"THE wave of prosperity is coming," says a reader from the coal mines in Pennsylvania, "before the election our wages were 30 cents per ton and after the election our wages were reduced to 27 per ton. It is not enough to live on, and too much to die from starvation. No wonder the voting cattle commence to growl. I hope their eyes will soon be opened." Another reader from the same region tells us that the coal miners have not fuel enough to keep their half starved bodies warm and that the children have to run barefooted in the snow if they want to go outside. And such a condition is called "civilization," a society of "law and order." Damn such "order!"

COMRADE POPE says in a footnote in answer to Mrs. Waisbrooker, "that we will learn by experience, that it gives all more happiness, when we grow into the state that we do love our neighbor, etc." This idea is as erroneous and misleading as is the idea "Thou shalt love, etc." For thousands of years people have known and preached that harmony and love increases happiness, but as it was taught as a command, without taking conditions and environment into consideration, they could never "grow to that state." The fact is that Comrade Pope has not yet outgrown the idea of obeying a certain moral code. When we pretend to love our neighbors or enemies, when conditions are unfavorable, our mind simply tries to submit to and obey a code of morality.

On page three we have a clipping from The Flag which is inserted by request of Comrade Pope, and contains the old and nonsensical idea also, that everything "is bright and cheery" as soon as we have reformed ourselves, or as the christians express it, "When we are saved." Nonsense! Let me ask any of these so-called self-reformers, if the world "is bright and cheery" to a woman that has five or six small children and neither fuel nor bread in the house, even if she went through the hocus-pocus of "individual reform? Certainly not! In its quintessence such idea is nothing but the well known assertion of hysterics that we all will be happy when we come to Jesus. But happily the majority of the Anarchists have got rid of such rigmarole of words, and are aware of the fact that harmony requires a condition and environment essential to it.

A. I.

Clippings and Comments.

No revolution ever rises above the intellectual level of those who make it, and little is gained where one false notion supplants another. But we must some day, at last and forever, cross the line between Nonsense and Commonsense. And on that day we shall pass from class paternalism, originally derived from the fetich fiction in times of universal ignorance, to human brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it; from political government to industrial administration; from competition in individualism to individuality in co-operation; from war and despotism in any form to peace and liberty.—[Thomas Carlyle.

Some one may say to me: "How comes it that millions of men allow the Rothschilds and the Mackays to appropriate the fruit of their labor?" Alas, they cannot help themselves under the existing system! But let us picture to our minds a city all of whose inhabitants find their lodging, clothing, food and occupation secured to them on condition of producing things useful to the community, and let us suppose a Rothschild to enter this city bringing with him a cask full of gold. If he spends his gold, it will diminish rapidly; if he locks it up it will not increase, because gold does not grow like seed, and after the lapse of a twelvemonth will not find £110 in his drawer, if he only put £100 into it. If he sets up a factory and proposes to the inhabitants of the town that they should work in it for four shillings a day, while producing to the value of eight shillings a day, they reply: "Among us you'll find no one willing to work on those terms. Go elsewhere and settle in some town where the unfortunate people have neither clothing, bread nor work assured to them, and where they will consent to give up to you the lion's share of the result of their labor in return for the barest necessities of life. Go

where men starve! there you will make your fortune!" —[Kropotkin.

LAST year one of the big circuses experienced considerable annoyance throughout central Indiana because of the warfare waged against it by the Salvation army. The Salvationists met the circus men on their own ground and declared war by pasting tiny strips of paper bearing scriptural texts and religious warnings upon the circus billboard displays. Some of these Salvationist warnings were startling, and in conjunction with the show's lithographs produced effects never before dreamed of, always incongruous and striking and often apparently blasphemous.

The trouble began at Muncie. A member of the Salvation army at that point, seeing popular attention directed toward the circus billboards, decided that they furnished the best medium by which to introduce his scriptural text to the public. Within the next half hour those circus displays were completely metamorphosed. The picture of an aeronaut falling in a parachute from a balloon bore the inscription "Sinner, you are bound for hell. Go the other way." The long neck of the giraffe was labeled "The straight and narrow way is best." A small negro boy was pictured as gazing, horror stricken, into the open mouth of a hippopotamus and across its cavernous expanse were the words, "Prepare to meet thy God." The snake charmer, wrapped in the folds of a monster serpent, was admonished to "Shun the deadly cup; it stingeth like an adder." An acrobat, turning a somersault in midair, apparently grasped in his hand the question, "Where will you spend your eternity?" and the tights of a woman trapeze performer were decorated with the statement that "God sees everything." The lion tamer, in a cage with several beasts which apparently were about to make a meal of him, was admonished to "watch and pray," and the "human cannon ball" being fired from a huge cannon was confronted by the question, "Where are you going—to heaven or to hell?"

It is safe to say that no circus bills ever attracted more general attention or caused more comment.—[Ex.

ANARCHY is understood to be the gospel of hate, Socialism of love; Anarchy was conceived by despair, Socialism by hope; Anarchy would aid men in destroying themselves that another order of things might come, Socialism seeks to convince men and draw them into right paths, to demonstrate the truths in a practical way; Anarchy hates, and hating destroys; Socialism loves, and loving would rescue. We waste precious time and energy when we preach a doctrine which inculcates hatred of men and institutions. No man who breathes hatred can expect to win, but is himself liable to be drawn into the maelstrom of destruction wrought by his own doctrine. The doctrine of the Mohammedan was "accept the Koran or die," and he became the author of that death. Have we no higher rule in life? If not, let us examine ourselves. Let us not breath forth fire and sword to destroy. Such things retard, they do not and cannot advance the race.—[Hopeful, in Coming Nation.

The above is a concise and complete presentation of the argument (?) of the State Socialists. It is foundationless from beginning to end. There is not a word of truth in the assertion that Anarchy is a gospel of hatred or despair. As to how much of love is contained in State Socialism let the acts of its adherents tell the tale. Where they have gained power they have shown themselves as tyrannical as the adherents of any other school of thought. In France they placed greater restrictions on the poor than the republican predecessors. One of leaders said: "Wait until we get the power, and we'll make short work of the Anarchists. We'll give them a dose of bullets." They love so well that their organ, The People, demanded that a man who represented the Brewer's Union at the London Congress, last summer, be unceremoniously "fired out" of the S. L. P., because he voted in opposition to orders from headquarters once in that congress. Fine example of love! I could multiply examples, but it is unnecessary. If I love a person it is furthest from my desires to wish to control them: to force them to do or not to do. But that is exactly what our statist friends want to do, and then claim to love us all. The Anarchists love themselves, and, recognizing the solidarity of the race, their self-love is all em-

bracing. Such nonsense as Hopeful propounds is deplorable, but it shows the unfairness of our "esteemed contemporary."

H. A.

The Letter-Box.

A. K., Chicago, Ill.—Thanks for your kind and encouraging lines. Your address is changed, but we are not sure: did you mean Tower or Town St.?

J. L., Chicago, Ill.—Yes the money was received and the book is sent. The delay happened on account of not having the books on hand for quite a while.

W. G. W., Narragansett Pier, R. I.—The number containing the article "Reward and Punishment" is exhausted. We might reprint the article in the near future, because we agree with you that "there is more logic and common sense in this article than in twenty volumes of classic or modern literature." The article, appeared in the German language in "Der Anarchist" issued some time ago in New York City, but we cannot tell if those numbers can be had.

Correspondence.

A GRAND PAPER.

I have been a reader of your grand little paper for several months, and hope it will live until there is no need of such a paper. I am afraid it will die of old age, though, before that time comes. It is no easy task to educate people along new lines: People are generally what their surroundings and environments make them. In politics and religion they are what their fathers were. Of course there are exceptions, but I guess they are few. I would like to get a new name to send in, but the "Liberals" here are all "Gold Bags," and think the Anarchists are crazy. I enclose fifty cents and will send more whenever I can spare it.

LOUISE HARVIE.

A COMPLIMENT.

It is said: "We are ever prompt to condemn, but slow to commend." But I hasten to go on record as an exception.

Student Byington's paper in this number, 2, I have read with the greatest interest and pleasure. Not a dull paragraph in it. Come again with a like "wind," comrade!

This number of The Firebrand is a genuine Anarchist measure; "chuck full, shaken down and running over" with good things. Ed. GORE.
Warren, Minn.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF IT.

The Truth Seeker, and the select circle generally that revolve around that blazing sun of "Universal Mental Liberty," were not bold enough to assert that Putnam and May Collins had the right to live their own life in their own way, but tried to make out that Putnam's life was spotlessly chaste, fashioned after the popular code, that only deals in the legal article, etc. I think Putnam had many noble qualities, and dealt the church some hard blows. May Collins at 20 stood where he stood at 58. Had she lived 30 more years the world would have been the better for it.

By the way, I heard a funny thing the other day. An old man living here several years ago, was so poor that his tax only amounted to 9 cents. He supposed there was nothing against him and failed to pay up, and the county officials sent a collector to his house (he lived 10 miles from the county seat). The collectors visit forced him to pay 50 cents extra—59 cents in all. That's what you might call "Political Economy," isn't it?

KATE AUSTIN.

Caplingers Mill, Mo.

MUCH PLEASSED WITH IT.

I have been waiting for the book The Old and the New Ideal, but so far it has failed to put in an appearance. *

I see many of the comrades are well pleased with the article on Putnam's death as well as myself—I am glad of it. The course the Truth Seeker has taken makes me sick! Have you seen Moses Hull's letter in Progressive Thinker, telling how Foote and Watts of England, refused to go to Putnam's funeral? My, how Moses whipped them.

* The delay in sending the book (Old and New Ideal) was due to our inability to get them fast enough. The last consignment came by freight, hence the delay. If any other comrades have not received ordered copies, let them write us and we will attend to it at once.

Do you know I could hardly believe my eyes when I read that Mrs. Squires got married? I knew she was very fond of you (this refers to Addis), but I did not know that when one was fond of another that it followed that they must marry. I thought Mrs. Squires was away beyond that idea. Well, I hope she is happy, but how can one be happy "bound," when they once have tasted freedom?

Do you read the Torch of Reason, published at Silverton by the Secularists? The editorials for the last two weeks would certainly make any thinking person sick. Those folks are going to be so "moral" one would think they were a lot of little Jesus Christs.

I was much pleased with the enlarging of your paper and the "Prospect" by yourself three weeks ago I will send a little of the filthy lucre from time to time as I can. How I would like to join a little community like you spoke of. If you ever come to Southern Oregon I hope to entertain you at our home.

ELIZABETH BREESE.

Talent, Oregon.

SELF-CONTROL.

I agree with nearly all you say in criticism of Berrier's pamphlets. I am inclined to excuse him for some of his conservatism on the marriage question, as he dared not be too radical if he wished many readers. Dr. Foote is guilty of the same offense in his Plain Home Talk, in catering to the christian element, by recognizing the Supreme Being in numerous places, or rather the Creator with capital C.

May not your sex habits have been such that you have not as good a control of self as some other men? Some men cannot drink whisky without getting drunk. Others can, with no effort. I hope to see the sex question fully discussed in your columns.

QUESTIONER.

I have no defense to make of Dr. Foote's use of the word creator, but would call attention to the fact that his book was written years ago, and it was not as easy to circulate free thought literature then as now. I do not claim to be a "joe dandy," but I have met but few, if any, men who had better self-control in sex matters. I do not write upon sex matters from my own personal standpoint, but from what I have learned from observation, and from the testimony of, and my association with others. Combining my own desires and thoughts with the thoughts and desires of others, as I gather them, I draw my conclusions therefrom.

H. A.

PROTEST.

The massmeeting which took place Sunday, Feb. 14., at the junction of Pacific Ave. and 12. St. was fairly well attended, considering the chilly and misty weather. There was at least 200 citizens present to listen to the denunciation by A. Klemencic and F. C. Clarke, of the Spanish government. The local "daily liars" are very quiet about it. The police force behaved themselves in a very orderly manner as far as neutrality is concerned.

As there is no Spanish Consul in this locality, we could do nothing but write a personal letter to the chief Inquisitor, Canovas, in which we expressed our thoughts in the following language. To Canovas y Castillo, Premier Minister of Spain.

Villain, assassin!

You are chiefly responsible for all the inhuman horrors perpetrated in Cuba, the Philippines and Spain, and it is against you, and your "bloody" council meeting at Aranjuez, that the people of Tacoma are protesting today, at an open air massmeeting.

You have no more right over a piece of land than any other human being, hence you have no right to interfere with any one's business in Spain, and so much less in Cuba, and the Philippines. We feel but one regret, and that is this: that we cannot put you under the same torture as your henchmen Lieutenant Portas, and Judge Marzo, did with Asheri, Mas, Sunye, Callis, Mollas and the rest of the unfortunates moaning in the cellars of the Montjuich Castle. We promenaded in the mud and publicly burned the Spanish Flag, the emblem of your authority and despotism. We will use all the influence at our command to further the destruction of your tyranny, until we can shake hands as free men with the Spanish people. To this we unanimously agree as the people of Tacoma, present at the massmeeting on February 14, 1897."

A. KLEMENCIC.

Tacoma, Wash.

THE GRANDER AGE COLONY.

While admiring the change in The Firebrand, since it is already done, I run across a statement that "members" of the Grander Age "Colony" announce through "their" organ, etc. Well, who are "they"?

It is S. W. Rose. No one else, unless you include his family. Then I find an advertisement that from my knowledge of Rose and Co-opolis I know to be all lies.

There is no "co-operative village" there. Rose refused to give any titles to any lots till he had froze out all who went there, and would not be run by him—all but one woman, and while she was in Biloxi teaching school her house was burned down with all she had in the world.

Who would pay \$100 for the privilege of working in an alleged brickyard? Only poor workmen, and they are just what Rose is looking for—that is all he continues to publish the Grander Age for. He and his wife have both admitted that they intend to make the sand-lots-skin game pay their debts at some one else's expense.

What makes me hottest is the fact that when I struck that stuff I had just read your suggestions of sending in 10 cents each for The Firebrand and was on the point of taking up a collection of donations. I don't believe I could get a copper now. I know the first cent won't come out of my pocket at present.

F. A. COWELL.

Ruskin, Tenn.

Let me ask the comrade to not be unreasonable. We acted in good faith, and cannot be justly held accountable for our ignorance. The advertisement of the Grander Age Colony is out of our columns. I can assure comrade Cowell that had he enlightened us on the condition of affairs in Co-opolis sooner the advertisement would not have appeared, but when the Grander Age came offering to exchange advertising space, we, according to newspaper ethics, not knowing anything contrary to what the paper represented, accepted the offer. We are glad to be enlightened as to the true inwardness of the Grander Age affairs, and hope Comrade Cowell's communication will be sufficient warning to all who have read the advertisement.

H. A.

A GREETING TO THE FIREBRAND.

From the great "City of the Lakes," Lucifer sends greetings to its young and rapidly growing contemporary on the far away Pacific Coast. Congratulations, good friends and co-workers, on the recent increase in the size of The Firebrand, which enlargement we take as evidence that one, at least, among radical reform papers is in a prosperous condition, notwithstanding the tardiness of the long-promised Hanna and Mc.Kinley "wave."

Kindred in purpose and similar in name The Firebrand and Lucifer should be the best of friends and most faithful and mutually helpful of co-operators.

The Firebrand gives emphasis and prominence to economic and governmental subjects, but does not exclude social and sexologic reforms. Lucifer gives prominence and emphasis to social and sexologic questions, but does not exclude governmental and economic subjects.

"Free platform"—free discussion of all subjects that most nearly concern human happiness and progress, is the motto and aim of both journals; and it is largely because Lucifer's adhesion to this motto and aim has been challenged in the columns of The Firebrand that this fraternal greeting is now sent over the plains and mountains, towards the setting sun.

Your readers will perhaps remember a certain criticism in regard to a little pamphlet from this office, called "Motherhood in Freedom," and also a certain defence or apology for Lucifer's editor, by another correspondent, against the criticism aforesaid. In that defence the statement was made that the animus of said criticism was probably a feeling of revenge because of the failure of Lucifer's editor to print a reply to an editorial report of "Materializations."

The facts in this case are simply these: The criticism upon the "Materialization" article was not directed to the editor, and was not seen by him, or even heard of by him; till several months after it was written. Had it been sent to him it would have promptly appeared,—and will yet be printed if the writer thereof so desires.

Lucifer's editor has thrice gone to prison because of his championship of "free platform"—that is, because

he would not surrender his right to non-invasive freedom of speech and of press. The articles for the publication of which he was imprisoned, were not printed because, in matter and manner, they were approved by him, but rather because he wished all correspondents to have their say in their own way, so long as they invade no one, and so long as their communications are sufficiently in line with Lucifer's chosen work; and he is ready to go to prison again, if it should be necessary for any one to suffer loss of liberty in defense of non-invasive journalism.

Hence the injustice of the implication or imputation that Lucifer's platform is not broad enough nor strong enough to admit the publication of articles criticising the utterances of its editor.

With best wishes for the prosperity of The Firebrand, and of all connected therewith, and for the triumph of Liberty and Justice.

M. HARMAN, editor Lucifer.

Chicago Ill.

NOT SATISFIED.

I notice in this enlargement number, as well as in others lately, comments on my good sense in argument. I can't afford to take either my time or your space for discussing my personality. I don't see how you can.

But really it seems to me that some of these things are calculated to give a false impression regarding facts. Take the present one. It complains of me for discussing the subject of who wrote the Lord's Prayer, apparently implying that I started the discussion on that subject. You know I didn't. You know that it was Loveridge and you, the Firebrand group, who decided that this subject should be discussed in your columns. I found it and a lot more subjects of the same kind already discussed in a long series of articles. I replied, confining myself strictly to replying to points already raised, and have ever since made every effort to hold the discussion strictly to the original issues and to close up each point as fast as it could be settled, while my opponent has shown a disposition to bring in additional issues. You know all this: now why do you print, without correction from yourselves, matter which practically charges me with being responsible for the discussion of what the writer considers an ill chosen subject in your columns?

If you mean that you wish to print attacks on Christianity, but not replies from the christian side, all right. It is part of liberty to be free to print a paper for the presentation of one side only. But then you ought to say so, and not complain that the discussion of such subjects is tiresome, while at the same time you continue printing matter on your side of the same subjects. I fully agree with what I at one time understood to be the policy of the Firebrand, to confine itself henceforth to Anarchism and let religion as such alone. Of course articles on religious politics are all right; that headed "Religious Bigotry" in your last is admirable, and ought to be reprinted. It has been largely on this account that I have tried to keep my discussion with Loveridge inside the narrowest limits compatible with a presentation of the evidence against his allegations regarding historical facts. Anarchism, or what ever calls itself so, has so few organs that it seems to me these few ought to give it all the space; and it makes me tired to see The Firebrand spending its time on religion, and Liberty spending its time on French literature. But if the subject is to be kept up at all (as you do keep it up, e. g., with your article "Christians fear Death" in this number) it seems to me that the cause of truth will be best served by printing both sides together, so far as convenience allows; and that then you ought not to complain because the enemy doesn't argue in the way you wanted him to.

STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.

We have to admit that there is some justice in Byington's complaint. It was Loveridge that started the discussion, and kept it going. We started The Firebrand as an open court where all claims could be presented freely. As most of the original writers were Anarchists, and its supporters Anarchists, it soon became a strictly Anarchist paper. Personal friends and literary acquaintances who love to fight the Church sent in their contributions, and we could not refuse them, and not violate the object that prompted the starting of The Firebrand and which we publicly announced. If There has been a lack of christian argument in the

paper it is because it has not been presented, e. g. the article "Christians fear Death." We would prefer to have economic, political and social matters discussed and religion let alone except as it would be mentioned incidentally, or where it is intimately connected with economic or social questions, and a majority of our readers seem to feel the same, but we do not want to dictate what may or may not go in the paper, preferring to leave it to the contributors to choose their subjects. Let us hope they will be both just and courteous.

H. A.

Propaganda Fund.

Chicago Group I, \$5.00. S. D. Thorson, \$5.00. C. S., Phil., \$4.00. McDonald, \$3.50. Anna Marcus, \$3.00. Headquarters, San Francisco, \$3.00. Lee, \$2.00. Roser, \$1.10. Rudash, Adams, Leonard, Taylor in London, Staller, Wagner, each \$1.00. Pledge, 90c. Augenstein, 85c. Meyer, Matson, Schwamberger, Wilson, Felngold, Descamps, Fanno, Harling, La'Er, Ginsburg, Mikol, Bodenlos, Sawyer, Zieger, Leue, Metzko, Harvie, each 50c. Lovridge, 30c. Smith, Maret, Klomencic, France, Schroeder, Puetzner, Lindstrom, Hallstein, Mason, Aumer, each 25c. Ballou, 20c. Daniels 18c. Keastman, Miller, Wherry, each 10c. Rotscheck, Schneider each 15c.

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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.

Sample Copies.

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

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

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Appendix:

1. Introduction. 2. The Criticism of a Leader. 3. The Charm and Beauty in Exclusiveness. 4. Woman vs. Man. 5. The Weakness of Woman. 6. "Calling Names." 7. Criticisms of Socialists and Anarchists. 8. Tolstoism. 9. A Paradox. 10. My Hopes and Fears.

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

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