From the Depths of My Heart.

The theory, however, of republican or constitutional government is that it is formed by voluntary contract. The theory assumes that only 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.

To make 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, nor 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 desperadoes 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 the 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 means of legislation. By what process of reasoning, if it be reasoning at all, these free governmentists 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 absurdities will make a something.

But Bentham, the great champion of popular government, finds a way out of the difficulty, by assuming that the greater happiness is 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, or a monarch or a president who has been put in 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 has one 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 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 a man to be considered just, why step 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 invoke 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
Highways and By-ways.

By ZENAH, the DRUMMER.

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

Since 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 superstitions that festers the flanks of the toiler. Labor will never ballot nor bull rush, but cultivate a little brain, for of the three the latter is the most powerful when properly applied, and in such case, the weapons of either of the other two, the one of which is the weapon and the other the brute. Each utilizes the other, both are based upon the false and pernicious theory that "might makes right."

To state that the present social system is doomed would be to put but little, and that little most people are beginning to see, but there is much more number of those who do not believe it, because they do not desire to entertain the proposition. To concede this point would necessitate the admission that they have in their own hands and yet are fools, and few and people possess the moral courage suiting up to any thing of the kind. Then, too, they still hope that even as things are going the fool-pole will not go dry. This is a thing of which to keep; those are not the kind of the hope, to get—nor for all, but for self. The cobra of commerce gishi 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. Many a little life could they find in the rising of the sun of Liberty, the mother of Equality and Fraternity. These are the ones who can offer us the truth of the kind that they let go of that 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 does he offer the whole? Even the Free Communist does not desire to partake of all the courtesies at Nature's lavishly spread table that might, yet obtain pretty good fare did they but partake of but a portion of it. But, not unless we describe all the intracies by which we shall put upon the table the fact that they would have none of it; with their step-the-tubes. For one, I heartily agree with Comrade Matlock in supposing that no one system of procedure will universally obtain even when we have full liberty. Some men will prefer one, some another. But the same 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 and the most. Even the Free Communist cannot, then, be a perfect one, for one only way can be right and this, for only when right prevails can Harmony exist; until harmony does exist there must be discord; and discord with harness are not attainable. In the way of life, as happiness for mankind is the highest conceivable state to which humanity can attain, then the evolutions of life can never be perfect, but one, for only when shall endure, keep advancing. And when this globe finally coalesces, only an atom will have perished. But as absolutely perfect state of existence will probably never be reached by the inhabitants of the earth, or any other planet, for the whole, being composed of units, cannot be perfect until the units are perfect. You're heard of 'conservative minds', of course, but the term is misleading. Conservatives are minus radicals and the exceptions are quite obvious. 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-announces next a blessed rest.

Honest members talk little wit and less wisdom.

Sovereign voters are backing up to pay rent and buy the children, boots.

The progress of the propaganda of Anarchist is encouraging those who were just getting energetic.

Jack Turner is lecturing for three consecutive Monday nights at Christ Church, in the East-end on "Impressions of America."

His natural history of the "Yankee," according to his geographical zone, including the New York and Chicago varieties, with references to the Colorado sheriff, identifies the detectives who were present from Scotland Yard last week.

A half-born Town Hall, the children's party and the concert and dance, to prove that "cut-throat doon," was a time of joyous forgetfulness. Jack Turner as master of the ceremonies, conducted the many over-merry dance with the abandon of a man determined to enjoy himself by making everyone else happy. And the galaxy of Anarchist girls, ah! A. HYMN, the Social-Democrat, is name enough on anything apart from Anarchey. 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 merely truth-teller rolled outside.

He had his own back at Hoosie 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. Do 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 Organisations, Limited, which is an association of members who accpet requests to play at balls, coteries, etc., and take the fees themselves. They thus strike a blow at the extortionate demands to which you have been subject when employed through a middleman or agent.

Tom Mann, who is head and shoulders above every other labor men in this country in abilities and ubiquity, is gradually forsaking the political-action section of the advanced movement for the essentially trade-union organisation and federation movement. He will probably resign his secretariat of the Industrial Labour Party, which has held its Eastern conference and throw himself entirely into the steel-organising 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 calling the same names and that a mass meeting was convened by the London Anarchists and held, 21 Jan., at the Club Union Hall, to
protest, and draw public attention to these devilish and dishonestly cruel iniquitous motives.

Advanced men of many parties attended and joined in the denunciation. But the tortures go on just as the same thornemanns are in the same boat but some have the Tartar revered over.

"What we have got to do is to get to work propagating Anarchy, the social and economic theory that with every wrong idea rectified and every lie laid bare we are surely bringing the glad time of freedom nearer, which is a result of crimes as those of the Spanish government will be impossible and only dark, sad memories.

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

A motion to demand the amnesty of the victims of the Walsall police plot, Callis, Charles, and Battala, 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 officer (or shall we say ‘arbitrator’) would think that this island was shaking with excitement because our nominal ruler, the queen, has reigned sixty years. But no! Likes your heart, no!

A new journalist with a keen eye to future fashions wrote long articles on the social and economic theory of their society and mental pig wash, and initiate and carry on correspondences columns under a series of assumed names, but without any success at all. Well, he’s off to another actory, at six in the morning and when he reads a paper it is usually only to spot a ‘winner.’ Still we have him with us today. The chap who writes newspaper believing that he’ll find something truthful there, can’t be wholly bad. He only wants training.

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

If as much energy is put into the coming ‘Common 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 Nov. because too much of the pay was too much. Ports were too much the summer sun. American subscribers will please excuse. They lost their lots; we lost our backers.

Lord-Penrhyn married well. His wife brought him the Bethesda state quarries in North Wales. The state quarries brought him 250,000 a year. He gradually brought his workmen’s wages down so that this was possible. After many years the workmen brought out a few demands ideas. They would ask for a return to the old higher rates of pay. His lordship said he couldn’t see it at all, and sacked those who brought the request. The other 3,000 men struck in sympathy; the strik is now 10 weeks old; unless the men give in and go back digging, there is no reason why the strike shouldn’t last for ever. Penrhyn has always been industrious and thrifty, and has saved quite a decent sum. He’s doing alright.

**Inexpansibles.**

"Sexe sacrificing Communists" the words are a trite startling. Evidently, to the mind of the writer of the ‘Alarm’ Commune conveys a different meaning from the one I have attached to it, for I advocate the communist theory and denounce self-sacrifice with equal zeal.

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

advancement, or whims, of some one else, and you have not contributed the sum of all the virtues, at least, to the "winoes" of our age solemnly pronounce it. But I protest. None but a despot, the most unfeeling of egotists, will willingly accept the burden of life and the truly wise will not, from choice, set self completely aside and waste his life in petty and unrequired service.

Voluntary co-operation in production plus voluntary co-operation in distribution is the product, is not '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 recognises the interdependence of the individuals composing society. He is conscious that,

"Whoever degrades another degrades me.

And whatever turns at last to me." He insists that Thought is man’s governing force, and to attempt to "cover" Thought, in any manner whatsoever, by the employment of "price," by copyright, by premeditated neglect to impart it, by designed pæzeriation or mistatement, is barbarous and criminal.

All criminality, be it of tyranny or of submission, is the result of the short-sighttedness we name, ignorance. If the many slave that the few may have leisure to play with "culture" and "accomplishments," to try to illuminate the "dark corners," to inculcate in self-introspection acts trigged out into bodily ornamental superiority (?) to the savage’s tattoo, to fritter away the years in "stately mansions" built on the blood of the oppressed—'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 encouragement to accomplish the growth and development. Any style of sacrifice is subversive of civilization. Communism would dispense with the cry for self-sacrifice. In a despotic social organization, based, as despotic 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.

**VIRGINIA DANNIS**

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 Pops—and how 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 clench on the other side. He does not seem to see that he is commencing to act 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?" Do I 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 is giving itself a hold. 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 Roudolhobich’s book were carried out. As I have not read the book I cannot speak of its tendency, but in "My Century Plague," the book is

The unjustified quality of woman as woman and that all.

* What I mean by "Thus shall love etc." is that we will by existence, in all that we do, give all more grace when we grow into the state that we do love our neighbor etc.

* We have had written short answers in the Firebrand, hoping that you may find time for them. WIK.

* This article was intended for publication in the Alarm (which has been issued since never published). I send it to The Firebrand, hoping that you may find time for it. WIK.

**The institutions of society are to 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, not my business to know. Right now is not more than we have now, and there is one thing we have now that we should not have in freedom, 60 wit, unrolling relations—and with unrolling relations there would be a lot to do, and I feel 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 is not, but there are some things which some call superstition that are in fact scientific truths. Such as: "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. LOSE WASHBROOK.

**Their Blood Cried from the Ground.**

On the 9th day of April, 1886, a group of ruffians, temporarily commissioned with some pretented 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 men, women, and children, and by fire, smoke, and dust, maiming others for life, and grievously wounding more. None of the killed had anything whatever to do with the strike. When in progress, they were not striking, and none was about a work question, but it was simply apprehended. Some were in the crowd viewing the railroad yards, others were standing or sitting at a little distance in public places. One woman was killed on her way from her home to a store. No respectable paper sustained or excused the shooting by the firemen. Yet the guilty parties 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!3 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, used on his way to school was totally 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 month later Frederick Augustus Dewey quietly pursued his own business, left a victim to a volley from Pinkerton riflemen, the firing being entirely without order, and defend by no method or to any legal terms. 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 crime thus was unavenged.

At Jersey City, N. J., a little later, a poor boy fell before a Pinkerton riflesman’s deadly aim, and a prison was made of bringing him there. But it proved a mockery, and the wretch went free. In all those instances the victims were poor, they were the defenseless of political and social circles; they had no influential friends to directly or indirectly subscribe 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 very important truth. The world to us is as we see it, and we see it just as the condition in which we are to see it. It is bright and clear, and to the bright and clear: alozy 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. —[Philos, in The Way]
The Flag of the Free,

Some time ago the inhabitants of the Hague were astonished to wake one morning and find the red flag of Anarchy proudly flying from the flagstaff above the old town hall. It was hauled up by some unknown Anarchist or Socialist. The incident suggested the lines below:

"For flag of the free, that tyrant hate,
Dissemble trouble for their fate."

W. C. Bryant

The Flag of the Free.

For flag of the free, that tyrant hate,
Dissemble trouble for their fate.
When they, the emblem of the tree
Stoil enshrined from sea to sea.
Long, long hath man in slavery cried,
Long, long hath suffered, praised, and died.
For Freedom to earn his bread;
His pleading no one heard;
Until at last man cried no more;
What he did shall long before
Have done.

He learned that freedom was a right,
Conquered by the hand that to right;
Or rise in armed revolt.
What he thought, is, and, as the way.
Then kingscraft's dungeon wall
Went broad to every way.
And crushed hope's brightest ray,
Vicious enmity, in every eye.
Till tyranny did feel the sword.
Of blasting light: and then
How hard, and men and men
Dreaming of a coming time,
With Liberty, in every line.
Should make men free.
A little, a little, a little;
To-day 'tis kept in many lands.
The red flag, symbol of the free,
That spreads the banner to every sea.
And boundless is—men the people's flag.
And thus kingcraft's hateful rag
Beneath its scarlet folds,
No monstrosity it holds.
Politician, priest and king
And every clique and ring.
Of robbing, scheming thrones,
That hide beneath the thrones
The priests of their own creation.
And mad the world's gods make man.
And men's era, fair, begun.

We learn by Experience.

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

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 that is good and bad? Even the exact science of mathematics has evolved to its present status by the experience of the race. In its infancy mankind learned by trial and error, by numbers by his fingers. He early learned that to add the number five and number six, represented by each hand made ten, then 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 learned. Even the exact science of chemistry combines its efforts to accomplish an object and effect more than they could singly. So reciprocity and altruism on earth, the same efforts of the selfish are the result of experience. All of good or evil we know is the result of experience. Man and even the lower animals have learned by experience in the reproduction of certain individual species of the species, first in defense against enemies, then in other ways until sociability became natural. Experience teaches that it is better to work and enjoy the fruits of one's labor. If this labor is exercised in the service of the state, that state and the society in which the service is rendered are the result of experience or experimentation.

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convey thoughts, impart or reveal a truth so inferior a being as man. 2d That He was so partial as to select a few of His disciples that the favored ones would be the 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 words of the Gospel, the laws of the church, and the parts of the scriptures, as apocryphal, and pronounced of canonical, a 5th assumption is necessary, that the council was indeed inspired, do we know how but that the canonical books are apocryphal? Now since there is not one tenth part of the unanimity among the 600 doctors and ecclesiastics claiming one book as a revelation as to what it reveals, that those who reject it, as to ethical and sociological questions, can be thought to be unreasonable, immoral, or just as bad as society. Are we not justified in the person and reason in saying that since there is so much discrepancy in the ethical teaching of authori- tarians, that if authority, especially religious authority was eliminated, people would agree pretty nearly on moral or sociological questions to the great benefit of the poor man? A 7th instance of the discredit of their authority, I say to day in conversation with a very enthusias- tic religious gentleman 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: "We are not here to He, we are in the world, not to judge Christ." I asked him where he made any exception, if He did not condemn riches on the general principle, but produce, but produce riches by unjust means? So, even the authorities differ, and every crime in the whole catalogue has been defended by authority. War, poverty, riches and slavery are defended by scriptural quotations by authori- tarians. Slavery was defended by scripture quoted by authoritarians until freethinking reasonable men realized the inconsistency of the position and threw it off now. No scripture can be found to de- fend it. How changeable their authority is. Then let us refuse to be governed, and accept every pro- position to the creed of logical analysis postulated upon experience.

The datum of ethics is experience through suffering. What is suffering if not a moral (or physical) reason? We reason, we feel, we care for our offspring, in the next moral act, for the reason,—that we suffer if the action is right, and that we feel for others for the same reason. The last and greatest moral act we can perform, which not all the race has learned, is to ac- knowledge the equal freedom of all.

A Question of Ways and Means.

It seems strange to me that Anarchists should want the means in their dispute to decide which will win the consent of each other's consistency, or in talks about the desir- ability of Anarchists maintaining an attitude consist- ent with the principles of their faith. The unpar- alleled success ought not to be accounted 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 impossibili- ties: they have no mission to be consistent; their interest 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 cut myself off from those 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 convinced bound to make every effort to change, and the problem to be solved presents itself to my mind in this shape:—How to alter my environment so as to enable me to gra- dually blend.

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 temperamental part of myself for that purpose. I 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 occurred to me.

The ways and means of changing one's environ- ment involve considerations that are not to be decid- ed off-hand nor have 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 individualist. It is his mission to criticism, to tear down and destroy, to create dis- satisfaction, to expose the absurdities and inconsistencies of the political, while also working in the field of the alert to create new social idealists by sowing the seeds of his faith in whatever present of fallow ground he has to work in this 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 disillusions where an anarchist will best be served by a conspicuous—though impossible— attempt to be consistent. Just as certainly as there are situations where such attempts would not be to the advantage of creating antagonisms which would destroy their influence for good. Such matters must be decided by each one for himself. We are all as consistent as we choose to be, that is what we are 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. NORLAND.

The Public be Danned.

New York, Jan. 31. To an audience of 2,000 per- sons in the Academy of Music to-day, Rev. Thomas J. White and Rev. B. F. Sanborn, Jr., had a public festival in honor of the Boston Reform Bill and the Maine lavish display of wealth. "New Ethics of Wealth" was the topic upon which he spoke, and was followed by a series of sermons, "Three Themes of a Social Revolution." All talk, each said, was the result of disturbed nerve centers, of high tension and overwrought nerves.

"The recent form of crime 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, as it were, of that no man had a right to do as he pleases with what he possesses. These persons are going to give a ball and pay for it themselves, and we are apt to ascribe all wealth to the streets. They appeal to us. Who are these people that propose to give this ball? Their ances- tors were patriots, and they acquired their wealth honestly. If I had coffee, would I spend all in charity. No. Would you? No, that 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 society, as a Reform Ball. It is impossible to get an accurate esti- mate of the contributions which very rich men have made for the benefit of their fellow-citizens in this city in the last past. Nobody would know about these things says that $5,000,000 is not an extrava- gant estimate.

When it is recalled that Governor Tilden gave $1,000,000, although much less than that was realized by reason of a contest of his will; that Mr. Fayer- woode 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 that John S. Kennedy has given $250,000, and more, and that the heirs of Peter Cooper have nearly doled 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 and do not, as the people claim, have a desire to give an entertainment that may cost $40,000 or $50,- 000 more, or ever, that fact should not of itself preclude the permission of the police to hold such an entertainment in a clearing. This is quite logical. New York, so does the tendency to believe that this wealth is in part a trust also increase. Public benefac- tors have fully kept pace with the increase of wealth, and, moreover, the willingness to submit to taxation for public measures, which is chiefly de- signed 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 chil- dren, their brothers. "If I have wealth, no matter how I get it, regardless of how many suffer and starve, and I do not have them. 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 preachers of wealth—the "public"—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 spectacle continue. When will the workers cease to foster such a class of drones, and fight for their ballots and by force of arms? Every man that votes, or carries a gun, does so in defense of the parasites.

Note and Comment.

With this issue we establish 90 cents as the price 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 necessi- tates the establishment of a circulation 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 in slow, very slow in get- ting 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 as long as long before his administration was over.

The absolute helplessness of the ruling class is amazing. They take one step, and lose two. They don't know how to cook, or wash or iron. They can't saw wood or dig coal. What they know about agriculture, any of the arts or mechanical trade, 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 opportu- nity to indulge in that game called political elec- tions, and it gives the voluntary mutual co-operations, labor exchanges, mutual utilitarians, and individualists, a chance to put their theories to the test, to put 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 Populist carried the state of Washington by a good round majority of 30 years ago. 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 long from the past 30 years. Deeds, not words. They elected a Republican to the United States Senate, and the only populist measure they seem to like is the "disenfranchising" method of selling liquor to the municipalities. Washington is the business by the State. Oh ye, honest populists, how long will you be foilied by self seeking politicians.

H. A.
The Firebrand

"The wave of prosperity is coming," says a reader from the coal mines in Pennsylvania, "before the election our wages were 50 cents per ton and now they are redused 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 get any food. The situation is called "dissil-i-
ration," a society of "law and order." Damn such "order!"

COMRADE POPE says in a footnote in answer to Mrs. Walkbrother, "that we will learn by experience that it gives all more happiness, when we grow into the state that we do love our neighbors, 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 increase 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 obedience to a command. 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 every person and every "law and order" as soon as we have reformed ourselves, or as the christians ex-
pres, "When we are saved." Nonsense! Let me ask any of these so-called self-reformers, if the word "law and order" applies to a woman that has five or six small children and neither fuel nor bread in the house, even if she went through the locus-pocus of "individual reform." Certainly not! In this case such a thing is nothing but the well known assertion of hysterics that will not 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.

Clippings and Comments.

No revolution ever raises above the intellectual level of those who got a glimpse of it. The day is not far distant when the false notion of valueless and the most humble of us will be able to say to the Rothschilds and the Mackays, to appropriate the fruit of their labor." Alas, they cannot help themselves under the existing system! But let us remember that a city all of whose inhabitants find their lodging, clothing, food and occupation secured to them on condition of producing things for others to consume, and let us suppose a Rothschild to enter this city bringing with him a bag 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 wheat. In the last twenty years the price of wheat will not find $120 in his drawer, if he only puts $100 into it. If he sets up a factory and pro-
opposes of "law and order." This nation is as it was to be in its civil wars, while the salary of a soldier is a dollar and twenty-five cents. Go elsewhere and settle in some town where the unfortunate people have neither clothing, bread nor shoes on their feet, and ask them to consent to give up to you the lion's share of the necessaries of life. Go where men starve! there you will make your fortune!" -Kropotkin.

Last year one of the big newspapers experienced considerable annoyance throughout central Indiana because of the warfare waged against it by the Salvation Army. The Salvationists met the men on their own ground and then proceeded to tear any stripe of paper bearing scriptural texts and religious writings upon the circus billboard displays. Some of these Sal-
avationists were asked to produce in conjunction with the show's libretto productions effected never before dreamed of, always incongruous and striking and often offensive.

The trouble began at Muncie. A member of the Sal-
avation army at that point, popular attention directed toward the circus billboards, decided that they were an insult to the Salvationists, that they introduced his scriptural text to the public. Within the next half hour those circus displays were completely metamor-
phosed. The pictures of an acrobat falling in a pail from a balloon bore the inscription "Stinner, you are bound for hell. Go the other way." The long leg of the giraffe was labeled "The straight and narrow" way was best. A small negro boy was pictured as gazing, horror stricken, into the open mouth of a hip-
popotamus and across its cavernous expanse were the words, "Aunt Emma and her children.&qu

A NATION is understood to be the gospel of hate, Socialism of love; Anarchy was conceived by despair, Socialism by hope; Anarchy would aid men in destroy-
ing themselves, Socialism seeks to convince men and draw them into right paths, to demonstrate the truth in a prac-
tical way; Anarchy hates, and hating destroys; Social-
ism loves, and loving would conserve. We waste preci-
tious time and energy when we preach a doctrine which inculcates hatred of men and institutions. No man who breasts the courage can expect to force them to take the government to industrial administration; from com-
petition in individualism to individuality in co-oper-
ations, 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 remember that a city all of whose inhabitants find their lodging, clothing, food and occupation secured to them on condition of producing things for others to consume, and let us suppose a Rothschild to enter this city bringing with him a bag 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 wheat. In the last twenty years the price of wheat will not find $120 in his drawer, if he only puts $100 into it. If he sets up a factory and pro-
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ations, from war and despotism in any form to peace and liberty."—Thomas Carlyle.

One of the most important and interesting developments of the last half century has been the demand for the franchise for women. This demand has been met with a flood of/
The GRANDAGE Age Colony.

Do you know why Mrs. Squires got married? I know she was very fond of (in reality, married) 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. It is too bad to have one be happy "beautified" when they once have tasted freedom.

Do you read the Torch of Reason, published at Silverton, Oregon? The editor wrote the other week that two weeks would certainly make any thinking person sick. Those folks are going to be so "moral" one would think they were from thesending colony of little Jesus Christes. I was much pleased with this essay of his. The following is a page from his paper and the "Prospect" by yourself three weeks ago.

I send a little of the filthy here from time to time so you could like to join in a little community like you spoke of. If you ever come to Oregon I hope to entertain you at our home.

Talent, Oregon.

ELIZABETH BRESEE.

Self-Control.

I agree with nearly all you say in criticism of Berrie’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 some offense in his Plain Talk Talk, in entering the list with his criticisms, by recognizing the Supreme Being in numerous places, or rather the Creator with capital C. I am much afraid that such a man is in too high a position that you not as good a control of self as some other men. Some men cannot drink whisky without getting drunk. Others, with no effort, I like to see the sex question fully discussed in your columns.

Question 6.

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 presented until this thought is that long ago. As do not claim to be a “Joe dandy,” but have put but few, if any, men who had better self-control in sex matters. I do not write upon sex matters, but upon 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.

R. A.

FOSTER.

The meeting 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. I was not present, but I have listened to the denunciation, by A. Klemmeke and F. C. Clarke, of the Spanish government. The local “daily life” newspaper of the city of Tacoma has been behaving 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 your country, and it is against you, and your “bloody” council meeting at Aranjuez, that the people of Tacoma are protesting against those atrocities.

You have no more right over a piece of land than any other human being, hence you have no right to interfere with the rights of your tyrant, until we make less Cuba, and the Philippines. We feel but one regret, and that is this: that we cannot put you under the same torture as your conscripted Lieutenant Foote, who was hit with a nogotzo, Sunye, Callio, Molias and the rest of the unfortunate meaning in the cells of the Montcacht Palace. We protest against the same as we would protest against the Spanish Flag, the emblem of your authority and despotism. We will use all the influence at our command to further this end, until we see one hand as free men with the Spanish people. To this we unaniomously agree as the people of Tacoma, present at the massmeeting on February 14th.

A. KLEMKE.

The GRANDAGE Age Colony.

When the advertising in The Firebrand, since it is already done, runs across a statement that “lachmen” of the Grandage Age Colony announced through the “Mercury, etc., etc. Who are the “lachmen” of that little colony? Is it S. W. Ross. No one else, unless you include his family. Then I find an advertisement that from the knowledge of Ross and Co-author I know to be lies.

There is no “co-operative village” there. Ross refused to give any information until he had from all who went there, and would not be swayed by him—only one woman, and while she was in Bilioli teaching, his house was burned down by him with all she had in the world.

Who would pay $100 for the privilege of working in an aliinbrick defy? Only poor workingmen, and they are just what he is looking for—that is all. He continues to publish the Grandage Age, and his wife and husband have both admitted that they intend to make the sand-blasting game pay their debts at some one else’s expense.

What makes me hottest is the fact that when I stood that stuff I had not read the picture of some of the articles that were written by any of the contributors. I am sure that all that is written will be seen as a work of art by the public, and it is only fair that the public should have a chance to read them.

The Firebrand is the best of all the publications, and I am sure that all that is written will be seen as a work of art by the public, and it is only fair that the public should have a chance to read them.

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F. A. COVELL.

Ruskin, Tenn.

Let us ask the comrades to be unreasonable. We acted in good faith, and cannot be justified accountable for our ignorance. The advertisement of the Grandage Age Colony is an examination of our columns.

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F. A. COVELL.

Ruskin, Tenn.

A GREETING TO THE FIREBRAND.

From the great "City of the Lakes," Lucifer sends greetings to you and all the growing contemporaries of the far away Pacific Coast. Congratulations! Good friends and co-workers, on the recent increase in the size of The Firebrand. With such enlargement we take our evidence that one, at least, among radical reform papers is in a prosperous condition, notwithstanding the attacks of the long-promised Hansa and the expected "wave." Kindred in purpose and similar in name The Firebrand and Lucifer should be the best of friends and most efficient co-workers.

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

"Free platform"—free discussion of all subjects that most nearly concern human happiness and progress, in the motto and aims of both journals; and it is largely the cause of the good that is done by Lucifer that 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.

Your readers will perhaps remember certain a critic 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 publish a reply to an editorial report of "Materializations." No such thing is the case. The facts are, that the editor of Lucifer at Manchester, New Hampshire, upon the "Materialization" article was directed to the editor, and was not seen by him, or even read by him. The editor of the editor was not acquainted with the article, and it was written. Had it been sent to him it would have promptly appeared, and will yet be printed if the editor thereof so desire.

Lucifer’s editor has three times 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 press. The articles for the publication of which he was imprisoned, were not printed because, in matter and manner, they were approved by him. Many of these articles were written by correspondents who have to have their say in their own way, so long as they invade no one, and so long as their communications are sufficiently limited in the work; and he is ready to go to prison again, if it should be necessary for any one to suffer loss of liberty to uphold them.

Hence the injustice of the implication or imputation that Lucifer’s platform is not broad enough nor strong enough to produce organization of articles criticizing the utterances of its editor. With best wishes for the prosperity of The Firebrand, and of all connected therewith, for the triumph of Liberty and Truth;

M. HANNAN, editor Lucifer.

Chicago Ill.

NOT SATISFIED.

I notice in this installment number, as well as in others lately, comments on my good sense in arguing that it’s not afford to take up my time or your space for discussing my personality. I don’t, how you can.

But really it seems to me that some of these things are calculated to gage a false impression regarding facts. Take the present one. It complaints of me for discussing the subject of who wrote the Lord’s Prayer, apparently implying that I should discuss it further on that subject. You know I didn’t. You know that it was Loveridge and you, the Firebrand group, who decided that this subject was of too much importance. I found it and a lot more subjects of the same kind already discussed in a long series of articles. I replied, confusing 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 closed. While my opponent is always glad to bring in additional issues. You know all this: now why you do print, without correction from yourself, matters which clearly cannot be done; then, as possible for the discussion of what the writer considers as an all 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 discussions of such subjects is terrorism, while at the same time you continue printing matter on your side of the same subjects. I fail to see what I am supposed to do. Is it the policy of the Firebrand, to confine itself henceforth to Anarchism and let religion as such alone. Of coarse articles in religious journals are not "Religious Bigotry" in your last is admirable, and ought to be reprinted. It has been largely on this subject that I have tried to explain to Loveridge inside the narrowest limits compatible with a presentation of the evidence against his allegations regarding historical facts, Anarchism, or even what calls itself so, has so few organs that it seems as to 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 I keep you up, e.g., with your article “Christianity” in this number) I will make it my business to bring the cause of truth will be best served by printing both sides together, so far as convenience allows; and that if you ought not to complain because the enemy doesn’t argue the way you wanted him to.

STEPHEN T. BRYXTON.
A Splendid Book.

**The OLD and the NEW IDEAL.**

A Solution of that part of the Social Question which relates to Love, Marriage and Sexual Intercourse.

By E.M. F. BURKE.

The most masterly work on the sex question in print. It is written in language that anyone can understand, and yet it is not often so refined. No one can afford to miss reading this book.

The following subjects are discussed in the order given:

9. The Happy Marriage of Today.

Appendix.


The price of this book: Paper cover 50c. Cloth nicely bound $1.00

A fine Present for Friends.

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The two books most needed by the revolutionist, but by no means, a Poem and Philosophy of Anarchy. By W. A. Whitney. Price 50 cents cloth.

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Philadelphia, Pa.—1403 Market Street.

London, Eng.—109 Highfield Road, Fulham Road, Sw.

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