

THE FIREBRAND

For the Burning Away of the Cobwebs of Ignorance and Superstition.

VOL. I.

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NO MASTER.

SAITH man to man, We've heard and known
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed:
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us hath forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of pain.

And we, shall we, too, crouch and quail
Ashamed, afraid of strife,
And, lest our lives untimely fail,
Embrace the Death in Life?
Nay, cry aloud, and have no fear;
We few against the world:
Awake, arise! the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurled;

It grows, it grows—are we the same,
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word,
No MASTER, HIGH OR LOW,
A lighting flame, a shearing sword,
A storm to overthrow.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE INEFFECTUACY OF JUSTICE.

THROUGHOUT the pages of history we hear the oppressed utter but one cry:—"Justice!" "Give us justice," "all we ask is justice." Reformers, political economists, social philosophers, having disserted on the wrongs of the oppressed, and discussed about radical means, concluded by demanding justice at the hands of the oppressors. Even the modern Anarchists (the philosophic, so called) regard justice as the universal panacea for removing social misery. Doubtless, the misery which results from the injustice that one portion of the race inflicts on the other, can be corrected by its antithesis, justice, just as the toothache can be removed by the extraction of the decaying tooth that pro-

duced the pain. But is the simple removal of pain the final object of sensitive, intelligent man? Is there nothing beyond the negative state where pain has disappeared and a soothing sense of repose has taken its place? I contend there is something beyond.

Justice is rightly represented by a scale in the hand of a blindfolded Goddess. It has the rigidity of fate, the awfulness of the inexorable. In our social relations, when we deal with strangers, we see to it that justice is done to us, we know that they expect the same at our hands. But when we come in contact with friends, and members of our own family, the thought of justice never presents itself. We give and receive presents, happy when we receive, overjoyed when we give. We love the present for the sake of the giver, not for its intrinsic value for it is inestimable. We nurse the sick, console the afflicted, succor those in danger; risk our life to save theirs. Under the charm of the affectionate feeling, our own Ego sinks into oblivion, the personalities of those we love take its place. We suffer of their pains and rejoice of their happiness, they and we have become one. This is justice to our brother man, and it is also more than justice, it is transcending our physical nature.

The idea of justice is born of law, it suggests force, implacability. Justice is moral mathematics, a stern sanction of mine and thine, a barrier encircling each man, an icicle freezing each heart, a steel band pressing each brain! Bare justice is negative and destructive, it is deadly to the sympathetic nature of man. It was in vain that the oppressed of the past rose again and again to overthrow the yoke of tyranny, for their crude minds grasped nothing higher for righting their wrongs than the principle of justice. It was not the lack of justice that created their sufferings, it was their lack of love. Through justice you will free a slave, bodily, and drop him on the world to live or die as chance may decide, just as you would set free a canary bird regardless of the fact that, being born in a cage, it is unable to provide for its existence in the open space.

Francois Fourier discovered the emptiness of the word justice and the incompleteness of the word Fraternity. To the revolutionary triad he wisely added the word SOLIDARITY and thus complemented the formula by adding the idea of love.

Of all the revolutionary "isms" of our time, the Communist-Anarchists reach nearest to the ideal which alone can unite man to man in harmonious relations:—From each, according to his capacity; to each according to his needs.

The principle of justice does not enter into this declaration of principle, is entirely foreign to it. Love with its soothing hand has traced these noble words! The comrades of that school may be proud of it and I am proud that they uphold it with so much zeal. The beautiful declaration, however, does not exact communistic social arrangements, for it is truly the crowning principle of philosophic individualism. All things in nature move from variety to unity, back to variety and on to unity again.

So long as the masses are struggling to attain a condition where justice shall sway the scepter, so long shall they emerge from the grasp of one despot to fall into that of another. Despotism is not in the master, it is in the mind of the slave. Not until man loves his fellow man like himself, not until he knows that his own happiness is staked on that of his brother, can tyranny pass away. What do we gain by a change of masters; what do we gain even if that master is ourselves?

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, no one will deny, was a profound thinker and sound economist. He pointed out the link to connect individualism to communism when he said that the model of society is not the family but the workshop. Yet profound and clear though he was, he lost himself in a maze of intricacies and became bankrupt as soon as he undertook to construct society on a line of ethics grounded on justice. His exhaustive work, "La Justice dans la Revolution," is mainly a laborious effort to conciliate sophistry with truth, and leaping from one fallacy to another he finally landed on the question of woman in society. Here he calls to his aid all the mental gymnastics at his command, but so corners himself that he snatches the rule and tape of justice, measures woman from head to foot with the instrument and declares her a link between man and the beast, a being unfit to be recognized in society. Such is the power of justice!

Even community of interest cannot act as a bond of unity among men, nothing but the identification of one with the other can effect a permanent union. Let us repeat with the Hindoo philosopher: "Not me, but thou my Brother!"

MARIE LOUISE.

New York, June, 1895.

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

Comrades, agitate for THE FIREBRAND!

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

PART II

OWNERSHIP & AUTHORITY VS. ANARCHY & USE.

Humanity in its true sense is evidently an evolving entity, the present social organism being but the hereditary product of the past generations. While reproducing itself out of its primitive animal environment, humanity has continuously reproduced its ideals of freedom. Prevented primarily by low organization and harsh conditions, from satisfying inhering desires, it has continually conceived of a higher plane of life. Dissatisfied at last and pessimistic of what it mistakenly, considers a fixed slavish environment, humanity evidently desponds of earth's possibilities and seeks its consolation from another source. This source is found in a future, a disembodied existence out beyond death in a far distant clime. It seeks a new habitation there, it imaginarily places a panacea for all its troubles there, and a reward for all its fond hopes. To preserve this newly found philosophy it later becomes crystalized into a religious creed, which never fails to develop arbitrary institutions with the special privileges pertaining thereto. The further enslavement of humanity is thus, perhaps quite unconsciously, secured, its posterity appearing upon the scene later, is forced to discuss and battle its false idols, its erroneous conceptions and the privileged beneficiaries thereof. The long history of slavery is not yet, however, ended; the fiercest of the many struggles for liberty is seemingly but approaching. For whilst a small portion of the race love and cherish the present system, styling themselves the fittest, with their different forms and appellations according to the grade of their assumed superiority, yet the major portion of the race is even more desperately miserable now than at any previous time. Authoritarian doctrinaires, despite this fact, continually persist in the task of enshrouding the present social-economic relations. These genteel reformers either fear capital's despotic ostracism, or else they desire official recognition; the result is that an honest, fearless presentation is refused the producing classes. These ambitious, scholarly tricksters, anxious for their own upliftment, care nothing for enslaved humanity; the most sophisticated verbiage is incessantly resorted to by these insidious foes, to mislead and confuse the producers, prefacing their arguments with powerful misnomers; yet their every solution thrills with the taint of officialism; the fawning cupidity of the policy-beast that seeks but its own prestige and profit, is plainly apparent.

True, the conditions that humanity now operates under, present some very peculiar aspects, yet every maladjustment is solely attributable and plainly traceable to a false, a murderous economic foundation; to a foundation laid by the superstition, the greed and the savage cunning of primitive humanity. Its evolutionary history is but one long page of war and robbery. It is an inequitable structure; a false, a forced secretive architecture. This structure that at last shows the pleasing signs of decay, that is now struggling in the death throes of dissolution, is built upon the foundation of ownership, is guided by authority and upheld by force. It is a sacred structure

to the dupes that labor under the diseased influence of temporal or ecclesiastical authority. To such minds its evolution is indeed an enigma, a veritable sphynx; a sealed book, the outside of which alone presents itself to their deranged consciousness. This pitiable state of the perceptive power of individual reason is caused by, and leaves them dependent upon the self constituted guardians, church and state, for their individuality, who administer the mould that exploiting, capitalistic society ever requires. The ownership-authority foundation is a fundamental and murderous fallacy. The simple reason is that ownership begins with the natural resources and cannot exist and operate without further privilege, to be obtained only through the deceptive deadly functions of an arbitrary standard of authority, the whole structure to be necessarily upheld by force. No provision having as yet been discovered for the harmonious working of such inequitable relations, the foundation is thus left insecure. Ownership violates the right to voluntary association, it prevents liberty of thought and action. The seizure of human environment is the essence of murder and robbery and humanity must expect to get deadly diseased, violently oscillated and ultimately wrecked in a whirlpool of revolution, whenever it embarks in such a slavish piratical craft.

Producers must expect to find the usurpers well supplied with authority and officials. The disinherited must expect to find ownership capitalized and bristling with offensive and defensive armaments, in order that ownerships beneficiaries may be enabled to protect the foundation, and with the criminal accumulation of the laws additional privileges. The wage slaves of capital must expect government to be identified with chaos. The ownership monopolists, having been the first to announce legality as authority, will necessarily have all their commercial and financial crimes made legal. The producers must expect to see the beneficiaries of law and ownership glutted with the plunder of alien commerce and caring nothing for the human sacrifice their murderous system involves. Labor must expect to find the ownership-beasts career identified only by murder and torture, its history a superstitious, secretive one, of the most appalling nature. The authoritarian-criminal is a greedy, stubborn factor, yet human slavery will disappear only by the removing or subduing of such despotic freaks. For labor to believe that ownership is synonymous with justice is to experience a galling and lengthy duration of capital's medicine. There is no provision made for mutual adjustments, except through equity, and no utility attached to ownership and law as far as the choking, victimized dupes of such beliefs are concerned.

Human society, like the natural universe, is an interdependent affair, and consequently can not operate freely through monstrosities with arbitrary dimensions. Decentralization of functions, mutual, voluntary adaptation, must displace the present privileged idolatry of centralization and restriction, unless the producers desire to get further maltreated; unless humanity desires to follow the present ownership hulk into the complete chaos of internecine revolution. The first requirement in a reconstruction of human association is to obliterate

the short-sighted ideas that primitive savages introduced, and that the unscrupulous beneficiaries thereof continue to inculcate. The producing classes must crush the arbitrary institutions, for they exist only to prevent the natural display of the producers energies. The murderous effect of such institutions is easily traceable, their privileged powers should be broken and their doctrines transferred to the realm of oblivion. Only by complete removal of such arbitrary barriers can the producers direct their labors and reap the products thereof. To prune church and state is to foster their growth and leave ownership-authority stronger entrenched than ever. The fundamental requirement of humanity is the throwing away of all secretive pretensions to goodness and greatness. The hideous spirit of power and privilege is forever lurking, and hiding its crimes, under the garb of superiority.

Authority is the mother of all the arbitrary force, the privilege, and profit mongering that exists. Its abnormal spirit should be choked out of existence. Freedom alone gives development; simplicity gives stability. These are the rational requirements. Every individual should be enabled to express what their own organisation presents to their reasoning faculties. The privileged mediator class have undergone sufficient vicarious atonement; their representative functions have caused sufficient mental prostitution; human society can only become secure and progressive when it reaches that degree of confidence that admits of individual sovereignty; of mutual, voluntary intercourse. If humanity refuses to entertain the idea of a collective solidarity, if it divides and attempts to exploit and govern itself, then the environment of ownership must arise and assume domineering control of such a diseased body, for whenever humanity is stirred by the satanic power of greed, or the distinctions of superiority, the authoritarian environment necessarily shows its force. Ownership arises therefrom, and becomes a veritable deity, guided by authority and force. It assumes control of human destiny, and everything becomes more or less a victim of its destructive powers.

It seemingly matters not whether its name is community or individual ownership; neither recognizes the solidarity of the collectivity. Both violate individual liberty and the rights of posterity. Both are despotic because both are dependent alike upon the satanic authoritarian spirit; and liberty never yet breathed under a privileged class. Both systems demand the surrender of individual sovereignty; both are extremes. Be it democracy or centralized administration, the result is a foregone conclusion. The fangs of competitive ownership will yet remain; greed will yet domineer in the garb of ambitious superiority; usurpation and serfdom will yet be rampant. Call it a set of willing yet blind followers; call it a well intentioned set of meddlesome leaders; call it a negative guise of majority rule, yet no matter, humanity will contain within itself the germ of authority and the monster of military usurpation. The ownership-authority craft will have once more started upon its piratical journey of rule and ruin. Soon it will enter the whirlpool of price and profit again. Its posterity will appear upon the scene, only to find that the young community authoritarians have been

competitively developed into giants; it will find them centralized and assuming the prerogative of private ownership, law and despotic military government. The diminutive administrators of the community's birth will have changed their empire into individual parts, and the beneficiaries thereof will be seen bolstering themselves up with religious and secular authority. The producers will again weep during ownerships evolution; will again as disinherited victims meet with their Casars and Alexanders; with their inquisitions and revised constitutions. The wage slaves will once more be made to know that church and state are supreme. They will again find ownership capitalized and fortified, ready to crush the intruder the moment its sacred right of rule and robbery is disputed.

John Pawson.

THE BEAUTIFUL.

The world is full of beauty at this time, and all who live in the country, or in a pleasant city like Portland may enjoy the verdure of the fields and forests, and the fragrance of the blossoms and of new mown hay.

The owners of the political machine have not yet robbed us of all this, but are gradually doing so by fencing in every possible spot and putting up signs, such as, No TRESPASSING; KEEP OF THE GRASS &c, etc. But we should not allow ourselves to be cheated or robbed out of our right to enjoy the beautiful. Though hunger may sometimes gnaw at our vitals, and the doubt as to where we are going to sleep disturb us, yet we cannot afford to allow all sentiment to die within us, for in the future society, which we hope to realize, the finer sentiments will be the great moving forces in all social arrangements and the determining factors in all questions of ethics.

The Park between Ankeny and Glisan is quite beautiful in its forest-like appearance, no keep of the grass signs have yet been introduced. The Cable Park on Portland heights is a beautiful and romantic spot with its natural growth of Fir and Alder, its gulches and grassy slopes, and hundreds go up every Sunday afternoon and listen to the band play. Why should not the disinherited enjoy these things?

In the future society all things that are beautiful and which bring joy, will be common to all and we can then enjoy them more keenly and fully if we have not allowed our senses to become blunted, and the sentimental part of our nature to have become torpid and hard to arouse.

I know that conditions are such that it seems we have no time for sentiment, and truly we have no time for the kind of sentiment expressed in the average novel or play, but a love of the beautiful, whether it be sight or sound, is worthy of our cultivation.

In the future society the love of the beautiful will become so predominant that utility and beauty will go hand in hand and every thing which we make will be a work of art, a thing of beauty, as well as a utility. Then let us take delight in the green fields, song of birds, odor of newmown hay and whatever else of beauty we can find.

Henry. Addis.

AUTHORITY.

"MANKIND needs authority," says a writer on social questions. If that be true, why all this "fuss and feathers" about freedom? If we need authority, freedom will be a curse to us, and all the revolts of man against the hateful dominancy of priest, prince, master and monopolist have been the struggles of fools who did not know when they were well off, and who by their desperate determination to enlarge their boundaries have been flying "in the face of Providence"!

Shall we say aught in condemnation of the inquisition, if we contend for the authority of parents over children, of man over woman or woman over man, of the educated (?) over the illiterate, of the strong over the weak, of the rich over the poor, of the wise (?) over the foolish?

What twist of natural condition caused the wisdom of the world to fall so superabundantly upon one portion of the people and so scantily upon the other that the former must bear a double burden of responsibility?—and how jauntily it carries it!

If mankind needs authority it is because mankind is so ignorant that self-destruction is unavoidable without outside control, but is part of the ignorant mass competent to exercise the required control? What an absurdity!

A human being who comprehends the delicacy and magnitude of the charge of deciding what is best for others, what will insure to them their fullness of life, I say, he who comprehends all this and does not shrink from being the custodian of the awful trust, is to egotistical to be trusted with it. His ego is his world, and he will be biased, unconsciously, perhaps, in rare instances, by what he conceives to be best for himself; the welfare of the populace will take second place in his thoughts.

AUTHORITY? No! no!

Authority is impossible without submission and submission is slavery. If slavery is essential to society, why have arisen these petty faultfindings with its diverse garbs.

The outcome of slavery is ever the same, and it is degradation. Let us not forget that no part of society can keep its skirts clear of the contamination, for, "Whoever degrades another degrades me; Whatever is said or done returns at last to me."

Viroqua Daniels.

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LUCIFER THE LIGHTBEARER, stands for light against darkness; for freedom against slavery; for freethought, free speech, free press, free mails, free land, free currency, free trade, free manhood and—above all—free womanhood and motherhood.

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CLIPPINGS AND COMMENTS.

ACCORDING to the San Francisco Star, Judge Wallace sentenced a "mere boy" to state prison for life, for stealing a bird! "The man who robs the whole people is lionized socially, and is a boon companion of 'best citizens' like Wallace, political honors are heaped upon him or his friends; he can make himself a United States Senator and some one else a United States Supreme Judge; the man who like McDonald, wrecks a bank, desolates thousands of homes, drives men and women to suicide, teaches children to seek thrift by dishonesty, is protected by every legal technicality, and if punished at all, the penalty is a light one, and even in prison he will enjoy every comfort during his brief sojourn there, but the friendless lad who had stolen a bird, and who is charged by the police with stealing some other trifle, is caged like a wild animal for life! Such perversion of justice, in the name of law, breeds anarchists."

Very true about the Judges, and the execution of the laws; but the editor of the Star has not brain enough to grasp, that it is the law itself that "breeds" such stupid and brutal jackasses as the judge. The editor seems to think that there can be such a thing as "justice according to law." The application of the "single tax" would not change the disposition or action of such law fiends as judge Wallace.

Anarchists are not "bred," but are simply those who are rid of all superstitious reverence for law.

The governor of Arkansas opportunely made a very sensible remark on the law-humbag. "Laws?" he said to the graduates of the State University, "there are no laws. There are certain rules, which are accepted as laws, but these rules are so intricate and complicated, that through them 'law' becomes a myth only. Ninety percent of all doubtful cases could be decided in favor of either the plaintiff or defendant, and the judges can rarely agree."

Probably the governor of Arkansas will not face the consequence of this conviction; for if he did, he would speedily pack his belongings and fly from his calling. Instead of further pardoning and condemning, he would, like a modern Christ, drive forth from the halls of justice the hypocrites and pharisees, and all those big, mouldy volumes of law, he would heap upon a high-rising fire to release mankind from tyranny.—(Vorbote, Chicago.)

The Letter-Box.

A. P., CITY.—Knaves and ignoramusses never like to read radical or sensible literature.

E. R., CITY.—You want to know something more about free love, and others refused the paper because they thought we had too much "talk about free love." The latter fear their own shadow.

W. F., CITY.—We are not surprised to hear that the Secular Church, two "prominent" social democrats, Klumash and Boerms, and the "Turnverein" are going to join the plutocratic 4th of July celebration. Church members do

not know any better, and social democracy is ever ready to compromise and fawn on plutocracy. The members of the Turnverein, as a body, are know-nothings and therefore excusable. But we thought that their lecturer, Mr. Heilmann, would have sense and influence enough to prevent the public parading of their stupidity.

A. R. LENTS, OR.—Of course, we are ever ready to accept a challenge, to debate and discuss the social question, from any "Doctor" or "Professor." "Erudition" cannot scare us.

T. TACOMA, WASH.—No, the author of "Human Development" is not an "old professor." He is a woodchopper, a young man, who in his life had only two months schooling. We don't like "continuations" either, but it is his first literary attempt, and therefore hated to refuse his article on that account.

U. T., CANNON FALLS, MINN.—We are willing to send the paper to anyone who wants it, free, if they cannot afford to pay for it, but when a person loves "the root of all evil" too well to help us a little, we cannot afford to spend our hard earnings, paying postage etc., to accommodate him.

Correspondence.

"THE FIREBRAND comes to me regularly; but I am not going to send you any money, 'for the love of money is the root of all evil.'" It makes me laugh to hear you rail about our civilization, when you have not the courage to get out of it. You live in a crowded city, where you have to be either a master or a menial, and you yourselves know not what you are. You talk about a better life and will not lift a little finger to obtain such a life. * * * Now I propose that you change your tactics a very little and live up to what your name implies, * * * assert your right of citizenship by insisting on expressing your ideas on all matters that concern the general welfare of the people.

Show the rogue and his crime; the fool and his folly and encourage the honorable man in his well doing. I am well satisfied that five acres of land will supply a family, and when I hear a calamity-howler in the city crying out against the times, I think the wrong is more of his own doings than of our civilization."

U. Tanner.

Cannon Falls, Minn.

The foregoing strikes me as one of the most consummately egotistically gally letters I ever saw.

Say, brother, how do you know but what we live on 5 acres, or that Portland is "a crowded city"? Or that we do "not lift a finger" to help bring about better conditions? If you were sensible and honest enough to ask a few questions you would never make such senseless assertions.

We do insist, on expressing our ideas, and publish THE FIREBRAND for that purpose; and to show the rogue and his crime, the fool and his folly." (That is why we publish your letter and answer it).

If you will explain how moneyless people can buy land (ranging in price from \$50 to \$500 per acre) or live until they raise a crop, or how they

can plant and raise a crop, when they have neither teams, tools, land or grub-stake, your name will live forever as the greatest benefactor of the race.

Your letter simply shows that you have no conception of the conditions of the world, or you would not talk of getting out of them and of still "asserting rights" therein.

I do not presume to "propose you change your tactics" but would advise you to read a few of such books as "Why Government at all?" and "News from Nowhere," or most any of the commonsense works on economics written from a comprehensive point of view.

H. A.

* * *

Herein I send money order for 75 cents; 50 for THE FIREBRAND and 25 for two books. Send me one copy of "Anything more my Lord," and one copy of "Death to Monopoly." We have just started an International Radical Club, from the Bohemian National I. T. G. It is the first group among the Bohemians, and it has a nice start. We will meet next Saturday at Mr. J. Jecry's N. E. corner Ashland Avenue and Castle Street. Yours for Anarchy.

F. Dvoiak.

1220 N. Chester st., Baltimore, Md.

* * *

I am so busy on the Exchange that it keeps me hustling. I tried twice to get a meeting of the boys, but they are either afraid or they are too indifferent. The scheme for the fourth is a good one and I hope it will pan out. But it is too late to get the boys interested here.

Say, the majority of the so-called reformers are like frogs on a bank; they will croak and peep, but the first noise or movement that is louder than usual causes all to get scared and jump in the water—to keep from getting wet.

H. F. Hesse.

Seattle, Wash.

* * *

I am writing you a few lines to get information of THE FIREBRAND. If you can send me ten copies I will try to get as many subscribers as I can, and will work with all my might amongst my fellow workers. I was a subscriber for Solidarity, but I think it has ceased its publication. It is very hard to think that the American people can't support two Anarchist-Communist journals, but we shall not despair; they are slow but when they come to understand, it will not be long till the gang will have to go and seek a job of government elsewhere—where nobody lives.

I will say that we have joined the Miners Union here, to discuss the social question, especially to discuss where the social wrongs exist. We have a special meeting Saturday to discuss labor interests. I think that we will make a good propaganda, because there will be a good many contradictors, and that is what we want when speaking before the masses, it gives the people a chance to judge of both sides of the question, which is always in favor of our principles.

We have a French group started here and getting along very good.

Jules Hannon.

Coalgate, I. T., Box 186.

THE sample copies of THE FIREBRAND arrived O. K., and I am delighted with the tone of the paper. Thanks to the Anarchist movement, I am free in mind, though a wago slave. None wish for the day when the wage earners will finally revolt more than I do. In fact I can see no other ground for an intelligent person than unrelenting war, on the system of living, which today destroys so many hopes, so many lives.

Innumerable curses daily hant the capitalist system, but until these outcries result in action, and the strong hand of labor grasps cunning weapons than the ballot, and the Trades Unions, we must wait. I will do anything possible for our holy cause. I cannot promise any definite amount to support THE FIREBRAND, but will at least pay for my copy regularly.

Hoping you will consider me an associate to any extent to which it is possible to serve the cause, I am, yours fraternally

Jno. J. Gurnett.

Tracy, Cal.

RECEIPTS.

Portland, Ore., J. E., \$5.; F. W., 50c.; Sales \$1.95. Los Angeles, Cal., W. O., \$1. Baltimore, F. D. 50c. Bound Brook, N. J., B. B., 50.; S.T.C., 50c.

ANARCHIST JOURNALS.

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THE FIREBRAND CLUB meets every Wednesday and Saturday evenings, the in Park between Glison and Flanders Streets.