

THE FIREBRAND

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

VOL. I.

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THE FIREBRAND

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PREACHINGS AND PRECEPTS.

WHAT a monstrous doctrine is this:

The Chicago Record, editorially commenting on the billion dollar ball recently given by Cornelius Vanderbilt at the opening of his three million dollar palace at Newport, says:

"No one will find fault with the magnificence of this greatest of all society's events at Newport. One of the virtues of the prodigiously rich is found in their extravagances, and in this respect the Vanderbilts have always been proud. If Mr. Vanderbilt should decide to have his \$50,000 fountain spout champagne no one should object."

Vanderbilt's colossal fortune represents stolen product of labor; nothing else. This in itself should be a crime, since in the building of it tens of thousands of producers were made to suffer hardship. His "extravagances" place upon the people an additional burden, for thousands of workers are withdrawn from useful production to minister to his vain and vulgar tastes, and these must meantime be supported by those who are employed in producing useful wealth. The thousands of mechanics, and laborers who contributed to the building of his three million dollar show house are not a whit better off, while the world is much poorer from the fact of so many actual producers being withdrawn from the production of necessary wealth. The house and all its belongings is so much useless trash, its only value being to augment the pomp and pride of its arrogant possessor. Virtues, indeed! The very thought of the wilful waste, the gluttony and general bestiality which invariably accompany such orgies makes the worst sins of the poor seem white in comparison.

LET us as reformers,* assiduously cultivate the virtue of toleration toward other re-

formers. There is little excuse for the sleek, well-fed, respectable member of bourgeois society to act the part of the bigot and persecutor; for the liberal or radical who is himself a victim of bigotry and persecution, there is none. We should not judge the motives of our fellows too harshly, nor set too low an estimate on human frailty. Many earnest reformers are mistaken; none are deliberately dishonest. Unfortunately there are would-be popes in every profession of doctrine; in and out of the church; in the ranks of State Socialism, and in the ranks of Anarchism. The difficulty with many of us is that in our very liberalism or radicalism we grow so complacent that other reformers' vagaries seem sins, their sins appear greivous crimes, and mole-hills of transgression become mountains of iniquity.†

* * *

I AM asked, by a correspondent, to take up the cudgels in behalf of culture and art. There are those professing radical ideas who affect to sneer at culture and good behavior. A worthy comrade of my acquaintance—worthy in everything except his lack of ordinary good manners and his intolerance of those who are cultivated—used to attend our group meeting in the shabbiest clothes he possessed; scorned to wear a collar or polish his boots, and generally took off his ragged coat to display a much soiled shirt. And this, notwithstanding he was a first class mechanic, earned the highest wages, and possessed considerable property. The worst of it was, he made his radicalism an excuse for his boorishness, and was often se-

*Anarchists are not reformers; they don't intend to re-form the present form of society,—knowing the futility of any reform. They want to revolutionize the present system of society.

† It is wasting time and space to "cultivate" and "preach" tolerance in the present condition of things. As long as society is in warfare—as it actually is—intolerance will exist. The same is true concerning the "popes." As long as there is an incentive and opportunity for such phenomena—all our "preachings" against it will be utterly in vain. I have as little use for preachers—no matter of what confession—as I have for popes. Besides that I have always found those of our comrades, who complain about the intolerance of others to be those who lack the moral courage to uphold our ideas on every and all occasion. But "no effect without a cause," hence let us remove the cause.

A. I.

lected by our enemies as the instrument by which the movement in our locality was gauged.

If the gratification of animal desire is to be the highest aim of life I confess the outcome of radicalism has few charms for me. Such teaching in the name of Anarchy I utterly repudiate. Man is not a mere animal, to be contented with plenty of food and drink and the gratification of sexual desire. The love of approbation, ideality, constructiveness, imagination—these are all natural attributes of the human race, and man fulfills his highest prerogative only when he cultivates ALL his faculties. To be sure, the leisure and naturalness which will result from economic independence will stimulate every dormant faculty into activity, but why should we wait for added opportunities. Why not make the most of those we have, and carefully cultivate every virtue, every grace that will fit us better to enjoy better conditions? A pig would be out of place in a parlor; but men are not pigs, and even the most ignorant may learn to appreciate art and beauty. For my part, although mentally stunted by the curse of poverty, I discard no means of improvement. My aspirations, if I could gain the means without robbing my fellows, would lead me to surround myself with beautiful and artistic objects. In books (for books are cheap) I find a substitute for more costly recreations. Not alone in novels like "A Village Commune," Howell's "Traveler from Altruria" and Lytton's "Coming Race" do I find encouragement and sympathy, but my radicalism is expanded and my ideality augmented by reading such authors as Emerson, Tolstoi, Buckle, Irving, Byron and Mackay. Let us, while encouraging the study of cheap radical literature, neglect no means of improvement and acquisition of knowledge. Remember that every such acquisition is a piece of offensive and defensive armour to enable us to cope effectively against the hosts of our enemies in church and state.

NATHANIEL RYE.

In voluntary co-operation of free men everything is possible. Compulsory partnership fools both master and slave.

Vested rights and legal villainy go arm in arm through history.—Justice.

SMITH ON "THE WAY ROUND".

MR. MORRIS'S "Way Round" Mr. Owen's doubts seems to me rather unreliable a path to recommend a comrade, who is in no immediate danger of straying.

Mr. Morris first assumes that Anarchy is an essential condition, and then proceeds to tell us that Anarchy is impossible without Communism. But as "Communism cannot exist by direction", "its fundamental condition is Anarchy." By thus investing Communism with a meaning not its own,—otherwise, why qualify Communism by "Anarchist,"—we find "The Way Round" indeed, and just to the point where he started.

But I see. "The Way Round" lies in a proper comprehension of what Communism is: "Communism contemplates the equality, in all social respects, of all men," which equality is to be effected by letting each man produce as little (if anything) as he please, and consume as much as he please, in the hope that it will please him to produce as much as he can, which is more than he can consume. This, it is apparent, is the same "Way Round"—the question.

Mr. Morris will please remember that it has been said the way to Sheol is said to be paved with the best "contemplations." The point raised by Mr. Owen's quotation is that "Communism involves the subjugation of man to man," which is not answered by telling us that "under Anarchism nothing is to be contemplated that involves" such a condition.

The proposition is: GIVEN ROOM FOR EXPLOITATION AND DIRECTION, AND THERE EXPLOITATION AND GOVERNMENT WILL GROW. This is in accord with the universal law excluding the possibility of the existence of a vacuum in nature. Instead of meeting the point, Mr. Morris takes to laying down propositions. Here is one: "Communism cannot exist by direction, or government; its fundamental condition is Anarchy." Taking Communism to mean "social equality" (equal liberty) then it is only saying that Anarchism and government are incompatible,—mere tautology.

And here is another: "Anarchism and Commercialism (meaning exploitation) are utterly incompatible." Taking these two propositions together we obtain: Communism and exploitation are incompatible. But this is what it was necessary to prove:

Mr. Morris makes the mistake of confounding commerce (exchange and distribution) with "Commercialism" (exploitation). Is monopoly an essential of commerce? Instead of going beyond Mr. Owen's doubts, and borrow suggestions, it behooves Mr. Morris, who has undertaken to show "the way round", to prove first, that Communists will not dabble in commerce at all; and second that commerce cannot be carried on without entailing on us the trinity—rent, interest and profit.

Whenever an Anarchist-Communist rushes to the defence of Communism he invariably leaves his "better half" in the lurch; and when called to the side of Anarchism he ungallantly abandons his "weaker half" to the jeers of the uncharitable, and exposes himself to the charge of inconstancy.

Although Communist Morris "cannot see" why people should trouble themselves with

commerce, banks, money and protective associations, yet Anarchist Morris recognizes their right to enjoy themselves with this rubbish, provided, however, these institutions do not interfere with him. But Communist Morris is cock-sure that "those engaged in productive occupations would have to feed the banker, protective association, etc., without receiving any benefit"; therefore Anarchist Morris wants us to understand that in organizing these institutions people must not "calculate" anything of the sort. And if in these undertakings people should mis-"calculate" (poor mortal is finite) why, then, of course, they—shouldn't.

By designating money, banks and protective associations as governmental functions, Mr. Morris satisfactorily demonstrates that his acquaintance with Anarchism is no deeper than his attachment to Communism.

Nothing but confusion will result from confounding the anticipated results of a theory with its essentials.

WILLIAM E. SMITH.

REJOINER.

What with misrepresentation and mere quibbling, it seems to me Mr. Smith occupies much space to say little. He says I assume that Anarchy is an essential condition of Communism, which is untrue. He ignores my reasons for the conclusion—not assumption.

The term "Anarchist-Communism" is, to my mind tautological, but it is used to distinguish between absolute Communism and that form of State Socialism commonly preached under the name of Communism. But because of this terminology, and apparently for no other reason, my critic assumes that the quality of Anarchy does not belong to Communism. If I did not know that Anarchism is Individualism, I could, on the same ground, without going to the trouble of an analysis, say, Anarchism is not Individualistic, otherwise why qualify it by using the term Individualist-Anarchism? But I would lay myself liable to the charge of superficiality, just as Mr. Smith has done by an exactly parallel observation.

The essence of Mr. Smith's criticism is that he insists on his own definition of Communism without giving any reasons therefor. And notwithstanding the fact that I have shown that the paragraph quoted by Mr. Owen does not "hit" my Communism at all, he insists upon setting up for me a "Communism" that it will hit.

Communists do not hope that each person will produce "as much as he can," neither is the assumption that such product will be "more than he can consume" a correct one. When production is freed the fear of want will vanish and with it the incentive to hoard or accumulate. When production is free distribution and consumption will be free, and not production, but enjoyment, is the main object. Now it is known, not hoped, that under these conditions each person will produce and consume according to his own inclination, and any "individualistic" assumptions in the matter are entirely gratuitous.

Communists are well aware of the tendency of authoritarianism to spring up wherever opportunity presents; and for that reason it is proposed to preclude the possibility by destroying its very root—the property idea. Govern-

ment springs from the single motive of securing and protecting property.

By ignoring the reasoning by which I arrive at the propositions laid down in my article, of course he twists them about to suit his own purposes, and accuses me of assuming the point to be proven. One would expect to find the spirit of fair play in Anarchist Smith, though it would hardly be looked for in Lawyer Smith.

"Is monopoly an essential of commerce?" I answer, It is. You could not sell me an article if I were at liberty to take one like it from the common warehouse. That is to say, you and others must have a monopoly of the article you seek to sell to me. Ownership is monopoly, and certainly commerce could not exist where nothing is owned. Since he assumes that Communists will "dabble in commerce", I will leave him the pleasure of pointing out the possibility.

I fail to see wherein the conclusions of the third paragraph from the last of Mr. Smith's article bears any relation either to his premises or to anything I have said. Has the Lawyer got the better of the Anarchist, and is this an attempt to wind up a jury? Though he quotes the word "calculate" as if using my language, neither that word nor its equivalent was used by me.

Let me remind Mr. Smith that Anarchy is a negative quality; it proposes to organize nothing—not even a "protective association"; it simply says, No State, no authority of man over man, and stops there. I do not "confound the anticipated results of a theory with its essentials," but when he questions my knowledge of Anarchism he evidently means the Tuckerian theory of its realization.

MORRIS.

MOWBRAY IN CHICAGO.

A SURPRISE to the police: instead of destruction, he advocates education; instead of hauling him off to prison, they admire him for his intelligence and knowledge of the social question. The three meetings had an average attendance of 350 each, outside of the police, who numbered 42 at the picnic, 22 at Vorwaerts Turner Hall and 23 at Nash's Hall. The police contributed to the collection at both halls. The attendance was not what it might have been, but those who did hear him will never regret it. In his pleadings for liberty, equality and fraternity he touched everybody's heartstrings, admonishing them to begin their freedom by henceforth acting the man or woman at home and abroad, showing by example the uselessness of one governing the other.

Mowbray will stay here two weeks and then go west.

The above meager facts are furnished by comrade Bodendick. We are much disappointed at not being able to give an extended report, but besides the above we have no information except some clippings from Chicago papers sent us by comrades with the cheerful suggestion that they are lies. Judging from the space given Mowbray by the press, I should say his appearance in Chicago created quite a stir.

M.

Comrades, agitate for THE FIREBRAND!

CLIPPINGS AND COMMENTS.

Human government, which has its rise and origin amongst savages, is a monopoly and tyranny in every particular even in its mildest form. It instituted the ownership of men or slavery. Marriage, another monopoly akin to slavery, instituted by human custom, statute or legislative edict, no more had its origin in heaven, as claimed by priests, than had human slavery. It is but an agreement by two parties of opposite sex to monopolize each other, which government sanctions and enforces.

All government and monopoly tend to unnatural inequality—tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. They are in direct conflict with the inalienable rights of man. And their huge, monstrous and Satanic proportions are becoming so potent and so apparent as to arouse the attention and opposition of the oppressed masses of mankind, which presages the approach of their end, whether it is government itself or that which it fosters. Yet how foolish and senseless to look to government, the monopolist of all monopoly, for redress of grievances.

And hence we see in the signs of the times the sure prophecy that monopoly must go; no matter in what form we behold its existence; which is also the sure prophecy of the coming of that era of natural equality and justice—the kingdom of God; into which there can never enter the least particle of human authority or monopoly. This is too plain and palpable for any spiritually thinking mind to doubt for a moment. Therefore, if convinced of the truth of this tendency of events, you will surely give us your aid in behalf of spiritual progress.—[Spirit of Truth.

If the editor, Mr. Cook, could get rid of his faith in "God" and the "Spirits," of which existence he has not the slightest knowledge or proof, he could do much good for the cause of liberty. A. I.

In reprinting without credit poetry that originally appeared in Liberty, THE FIREBRAND, an organ of Communism, proves its faith by its works.—[Liberty.

Credit was given the author, and we have no apologies to offer Liberty. I suggest that Mr. Tucker secure a property right in matter appearing in his paper by United States copyright. M.

At the very moment when the protest of the weak and oppressed girls and women wage-slaves of Wanamaker first reached the ears of the public, the cable brought a message from Paris, telling of a banquet given by Rodman Wanamaker, son of sanctimonious John, the robber, describing the expenditure of \$20,000 for a supper to twenty-two persons, conducted with accompaniment of vicious and extravagant debauchery that would put to shame similar entertainments given in the days of the old Roman emperors.—[K. of L. Journal.

Very true; but at the same time the editor is simple enough to believe that such infernal bloodsuckers will be rooted out through the ballot. Read the Roman history and scratch your head a little, Mr. Editor. A. I.

When the State owns the tools of production, it becomes the master of its citizens. Civilization is getting rid of masters.—[Justice.

Not only the tools of production, but the same is true of land, and all other natural opportunities. A. I.

Two "tramp orators," one a printer and the other a tinsmith, are stumping Nebraska. They deliver addresses on the labor question and

draw big crowds.—[Ex.

That is the way to agitate. If we are out of employment let us take to the road and make propaganda. Our plutocratic friends will then be soon between the devil and the deep sea. E. S.

* * *

On the monument at the Presidio, San Francisco, to the four soldiers killed in a railroad wreck during the strike of 1894, appears the inscription: "Murdered by strikers." The American Railway Union demands that the line be removed, and the local officers refusing, will appeal to the secretary of war.—[Ex.

What is the matter with you brothers; why don't you erect a monument as well, with an inscription something like this: "To the memory of the thousands of workmen murdered by plutocracy and hirelings, as the army, militia, deputy sheriffs, pinkertons and police." E. S.

PLOTTING POLICE.

THE manner in which a young man, whom I recognized as one who had previously acted as "stoolpigeon" for the city detectives, approached me to find out where he could find some dynamiters or bomb makers, in connection with other facts I have been able to gather, points strongly to a plot on the part of the police to perpetrate a "red scare" in Portland, and thereby extort money from the business men.

The division of spoils between the Justice and Police courts has materially lessened the revenue which used to flow into the coffers of the latter. Hard times and many other circumstances have conspired to reduce the police "rakeoff" to a very unsatisfactory limit.

During his palmy days in Chicago, Bonfield extracted many thousands of dollars from the wealthy men of that city by the occasional find of a bomb, continuing to make great gain for himself until 1889, when the daily press found it necessary to make war on him as a matter of protection to Chicago's business interests. His flight to Canada ended the "red scare".

The word Anarchy has terrors for very few people in Portland, outside of police headquarters, but the unearthing of a "dynamite plot" would undoubtedly scare a great many, and be a source of revenue to the police. The fact that the names of thirty-five Anarchists have been taken can be accounted for only on the ground that when the plot is sprung they will have somebody "spotted" for arrest. Unfortunately for their scheme, most of the Anarchists whose names have been secured are well and favorably known and it will be hard to prejudice the public mind against them.

Be careful, "Bobbies"; other people know a thing or two.

HENRY ADDIS.

NOTICE!

THE receipt of copies of THE FIREBRAND when you have not ordered it, is an invitation to subscribe. If you want the paper and can send us 5 or 10 cents, or more, we will be glad. If you can not send us any money, but want the paper, let us know and you shall have it just the same. All we ask is that you try to get us a subscriber or two. If you do not want it, and will not hand it to some one who does, please inform us; we cannot afford to send it where it is not wanted.

"CULTURE AND ART."

MR. WILLIAM HOLMES is to be pitied! He is, apparently, becoming the Jesus Christ, the burden bearer, of the radical movement. One comrade asks for a sermon on "tolerance", and another calls him to the defense of "art and culture". How many more have "cast their cares upon him"—future numbers of THE FIREBRAND may tell.

He begins on tolerance by asking a series of very silly questions—evidently supposing the readers of THE FIREBRAND to be a lot of school children, and winding up with the injunction: Now go home and think it over; don't tease stray cats and stone homeless dogs—you might be a dog yourself some time! In this number he follows it up with more preaching on tolerance and a sermonette on art and culture. It is reserved for an Anarchist to address the fraternity as if it were composed of ruffians in the habit of insulting those who differ from them.

Is culture and art in such immediate danger of collapse that Mr. Holmes must drop propaganda and rush to its support? Has either been attacked in this or any other Anarchist paper?

"Books are cheap," says our preacher comrade. Yes, and in Nebraska and Kansas the farmers use corn for fuel while in New York people die of starvation! After you have told those people how cheap corn is in Nebraska, just give them a few pointers on culture and art! The comrade who has done as much for THE FIREBRAND as any other, and perhaps more, finds it very difficult to buy "cheap" school books for his children just now. Another comrade, out of work a year and a half, gave five dollars to THE FIREBRAND when had worked ten days, his wife volunteering to do without needed clothing in order that he might do so. His job lasted but two months, but during that time he had contributed to the support of several of the Anarchist papers. A farmer girl pays for two copies of the paper and worries because she cannot pay for five for the sake of the propaganda. Now I have yet to hear of the first cent contributed by any but workpeople. And these are the people to whom Mr. Holmes would preach art and culture; he would occupy the space to provide which they sacrifice the necessities of life, almost, with rubbish! Not that the workpeople have less of real culture, or care less for true art, than the veriest snob of snobdom, but that there are questions of pressing importance to be discussed. These people, in supporting the progressive press, are doing more for culture and art than all the preachers that can be drummed up from the so-called cultured classes.

Strike for liberty, and you pave the way for a culture that is not degeneracy, an art that needs no preachers' platitudes in its support—the art life, in which every individual will be an artist in his chosen field, whether it be the production of the commonest article of use or the painting of a picture.

J. H. MORRIS.

We are behind with the paper, owing to our having to move the office, to Comrade Morris' sickness and other unavoidable circumstances, but are now in shape to bring the paper out regularly and on time.

Correspondence.

A FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

YES, I want THE FIREBRAND or any other paper published in the interest of humanity, but judging from past events we are far from the happy time when men and women will be free—free from the tyranny made possible by their own prejudices and follies. You are engaged in a praiseworthy cause, and I will help what I can, both in cash and in getting subscribers. I spend all I can, outside of a hard living, for the Anarchist propaganda, knowing that is the only channel through which perfect freedom can be reached.

I used to spend much on freethought or infidel publications, but have found out that most of them are as strong advocates of governmental tyranny as the most bigoted religionists. So I have dropped them as enemies of Freedom's cause.

Hytop, Ala.

A GOOD OFFER!

I WAS pleased to notice your flattering comment on "A Secret and Confidential Lecture to Professional Classes" in your last issue.

I should like to have THE FIREBRAND sell the book to its patrons. I will forward as many as you require—60 per cent off; 50 per cent to go to THE FIREBRAND, and the other 10 per cent to be devoted to the circulation of Comrade Holmes' "Historical, Economical and Philosophical Basis of Anarchy."*

Hoping that you may see your way clear, believe me yours for humanity

"GAVROCHE."

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4th, 1895.

*All comrades should consider this offer for the sake of the propaganda, and try to sell as many copies as possible.

A. I.

THE MOVEMENT IN TACOMA.

THE Labor movement is quiet here as there are hardly any political gatherings in the different clubs.

The pressure of conditions forces upon us the economical problem under different forms.

The most important thing for us is to know each other, and propagate the spirit of solidarity, and show to suffering mankind our common interest in production and distribution. We know that the great mass of the people fear the social revolution, and their cowardice makes them grasp any kind of makeshift in order to avert the cataclysm,—but there still remains the pressing necessity of the overthrow of our useless institutions, to be accomplished by us or the next generation.

Co-operation in Labor Exchanges gives us a fine opportunity to prepare to keep the social revolution on the economic line, and avoid as much as possible the political muddle, always flickering up in the brains of the weak and the rascal.

All those interested in co-operation are cordially invited to call at our regular meetings Tuesday nights.

Special invitation is extended to all Anar-

chists to attend the discussion on "How best to accomplish the dissemination of Anarchist-Communism among the laboring men."

Headquarters: Labor Exchange Building, 1522 C street, Tacoma, Wash.

A. C.

The Letter-Box.

H. E., Coalgate, I. T.—We sent you some Italian and Spanish papers, but had none in German on hand.

VICTOIRE, Chicago, Ill.—We are overstocked with postage stamps and prefer cash. Thanks.

C. W. P., New Haven, Conn.—Your address is changed. We shall be glad to hear from you again.

F. NETLOW, London, Eng.—The Altrurian is suspended.

G. E., Cleveland, O.—Your essay will be published in a slightly condensed form. The supply of No. 28 is exhausted. Friends having a surplus of this or other numbers would assist the propaganda by returning the same to this office, as we constantly have calls for back numbers.

J. F. B., Normal, Neb.—Your name is on the list. We like such letters as yours. See if you can get a subscriber or two.

J. K., Akron, O.—THE FIREBRAND will be sent you, but we advise you to write to Die Zukunft direct.

L. W., Philadelphia, Pa.—We are glad to know that our principles find sympathy in your city.

THE initial number of "The Rebel," the new Anarchist-Communist monthly, edited by Comrade Mowbray, has been received. With its neat cover, artistic title and good typography, it makes a splendid appearance. The comrades propose to issue each month twelve pages about the size of THE FIREBRAND, and we heartily recommend it to propagandists, and wish it every success.

Published by The Rebel Group, 170 Hanover street, Boston, Mass.

M.

ATTENTION.

The interests of the revolutionary propaganda in a new field, requires the co-operation, time and services of a bright young woman who is loyal to the cause. Satisfactory terms will be made with the right party regarding salary, etc. Address L. E. 28, 77 East 4th St. Box 8, New York, N. Y.

MOWBRAY'S CHICAGO LECTURES.

We have received a number of clippings, from Chicago papers, concerning Comrade Mowbray's lectures in Chicago. These reports show that the city of Chicago is under the "protection" of a set of men so cowardly that they sent one hundred "picked men," "well armed," to a picknick and mass-meeting, where there was a free discussion, to prevent Comrade Mowbray from saying naughty things. There was some interference by the "authorities" but no arrests.

A full report will be given next week.

FIREBRAND'S LIBRARY.

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