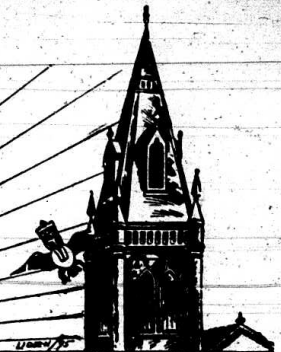


The Firebrand.

FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CONCEPTS OF MONOPOLY AND SUPERSTITION.



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

VOL. II.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

Notes on Points.

COMMUNISM AND LIBERTY.—In the article under this heading in No. 36, Mr. Byington acknowledges NEEDS to be the basis of economic justice. He objects to any taking of products out of the absolute control of the producer, only in so far as this would frustrate, or risk frustrating, the need of the producer to have the products available. Now, Comrade Byington, what are social rights? We have all the "natural rights" of the wild beast, which include prey as well as defence; but that, of course, does not solve the question of the proper relations between people desirous of living socially together. Well, social rights, then, are simply the name for our recognised sympathy with each others' needs and purposes. Next, if you admit that, I would ask you whether there is any particular virtue about this need of continued possession, which should make it supersede all other needs in the public sympathy? Do we sympathise with metaphysical abstractions, or with flesh and blood? The very consciousness of social right implies the possibility that in our contact with each other some needs may have to be sacrificed, and that we are prepared to sacrifice some of our own, and act to secure that as between other people, those shall be sacrificed which create the least sympathy in us.

Now, can we reasonably assume beforehand as an absolute rule that a need of merely "continued" possession will arouse our humanity on behalf of the person who feels that need—more strongly than a need of simply possessing at all? Can we be sure that the disappointment of a present possessor will outweigh in our very nature the necessities of a non-possessor? To erect Property is to set up a fetish and declare that it is ourselves.

Of course, it is our part in this connection to prove our sympathy with the needs of the person who has suffered through his neighbor's necessities, but that is a very different thing from making a grievance against the neighbor, by reason of the mere formal fact that he, in attending to his needs, did some detriment to some actual or possible need of the other man. The impelling circumstances and all the bearings of the case are needed to found our judgment upon, and we cannot reasonably and with justice to ourselves and others condemn in advance as infamous, or sanction in advance as socially right, any conduct for its mere formal relation to one class of need or to another. Anyone who asks us to do so, and is aggrieved at our refusal, is simply treating us as enemies because we decline to create laws to confer a privilege upon him. Is this plain?

COMMUNISM IN RELATION TO ABUNDANCE AND SCARCITY.—Byington says in No. 36 that he is prepared for Communism if it can be shown that there will be enough goods to meet all wants. If there is any condition in which Communism is unnecessary it is where there is great abundance, so that the limitations of property are only potential and not actually felt.

Take America and divide it between 16 persons, or simply leave 16 persons to occupy it in common, there will be little practical difference. On the other hand, take a room 12 feet square, containing 16 square yards, and place 16 persons in it. Now if everyone is restricted to a certain marked square yard, and may not venture off it without special contract, surveys and re-marking, nobody can walk about or lie down, at least without endless trouble, and probably in order to acquire a title to move about at will, persons will try and steal each others' titles to place in the room, and for every one who succeeds in gaining the "right" to a space sufficient to let him do more than remain glued to one spot, two or three will be deprived of any "right" to be in the room at all. But on the other hand, if instead of this the people simply are in the room without any property limitation on their availing themselves of the room, then they stand, sit, walk, lie down, take up and change positions, with very little inconvenience, and in fact are quite harmonious and comfortable, having only to accommodate themselves practically to each others' presence and not to the exigencies of a formal system. What holds good of space holds good of all other requirements. Property is a reduction in the efficiency of wealth; and although where wealth is abundant the difference may be hardly perceptible, where the wealth is little the necessity for it to be not only considered, but also actually used in common, is paramount. In point of fact the outcasts of society when they meet in the course of their wanderings or take up permanent camps on the same ground, instinctively place their few possessions in common. Thousands of men would die annually of starvation and hardship in Australia but for this, who are actually—save as to the hope of betterment—no worse off than any pioneer diggers or settlers.

MORE CONCERNING METHODS.—In No 36 W. Holmes puts a very peculiar question—virtually this: "If the faculty of communicating radical thought, and the faculty of radical thought itself, could be annihilated, could Anarchy be brought about, and how?"

It would ultimately be brought about by natural selection and the survival of the most adaptative. The strong might exterminate the less strong; but other things being equal, those whose dispositions led them to harmony and solidarity among themselves, would be strongest of all, at their disposal for progressive purposes would be as much energy as the others wasted in mutual conflict, and they would incur fewer resentments and therefore fewer risks. But I don't see that this is a "method" for discussion, it is simply a fact of nature.

Provided the faculty of superstition were also annihilated, Anarchy could be brought by conquering the mere inertia of habit by means of appeals to direct animal sympathy and self interest, in spite of the absence of radical theory, because thought, in the special sense, is only a more complicated mode of sensation, and all forms of consciousness rest alike on the reality of things, in the ultimate analysis, therefore healthy sensation and instinct will point the same way as healthy thought.

I imagine that Holmes wishes to convey that this appeal to the lower sensibilities should be cultivated more as a practical means to the realization of Anarchy; that he means we should devote more attention to the promulgation of improved practice for its own sake. That is so, provided we do not at the same time ignore the fact that man does actually think as well as feel, and is therefore liable to positive error, sophistry and fallacies which will impose themselves on his practice, unless corrected by reason. As Thought can override the correct indications of feeling, so also it can correct the errors of feeling, and if we look at facts we find that the practice of our remote ancestors was in many points better than our own, so it is evident that no security is to be had for the continuance of good practice unless all sides of our consciousness are kept on the alert. It would be idle to expect any thorough and reliable reform (unless as the outcome of many generations of hereditary experience) on a bases of mere practice, no matter how radical. We should not ignore the latter even if it is only shifting the lead off the galled place, but to hasten effective evolution we must devote special attention to theory, and—as economic life determines the features of society in all essentials—to economic theory most particularly.

BODENDYKE'S CLUB HOUSE IDEA.—In this as in many other projects the danger is of people attempting to associate specially for the mere purpose of practicing communistic methods, or forms, whilst what is needed is to know what their ordinary and special needs are, and then associate communistically according to convenience, for the purpose of better meeting those needs. The world will not practice Anarchy for the sake of the label, but simply for the improvement of the every day purposes that exist and will go on independently of Anarchy or of the reverse. These purposes existing independently of the system are not to be pruned, forced or transplanted at hazard. A man does not buy a tin of paint and then build a house to use the paint up. You don't make a railway and then build a town for it to run to, you find a town first that you want a railway to, or at least a place that you want to go and build a town at, and then you make your railway accordingly. I think if Bodendyke or any other comrade sees a way of making a living jointly, which he would prefer to his present one, and the arrangement commends itself to as many as are necessary to carry it out—that is, if they would like to go into it quite apart from considerations of Anarchy and Communism, simply for the sake of the inherent suitability which any stranger to the movement might recognize in the

lines proposed and the suitability to their personal abilities, tastes, health, etc.—then adding to that the fact of having ideas in common which will be candidly acted on among you, you may be confident that the concern will continue to work well and be a shining example. The persons concerned must not have to strain their inclinations in order to adapt themselves to the working conditions created, but on the contrary the scheme with its conditions of practice must spring out of and be adapted to the diverse inclinations of the individuals involved, or else there will be no guarantee of success.

J. A. ANDREWS.

Echoes from our Exchanges.

SPAIN. In the night of October 3d, last, passers by could remark the passing of nine hearses which bore the remains of our comrades who had been martyred the night before.

The cruelty which was in vogue during the prosecutions following the explosion in the Liceo Theatre were not barbarous enough for the upholders of law and order. The forcing of the prisoners to eat salt fish, without any water to drink for days, was not enough to satisfy the successors of the Jesuits. In order to have a more monstrous record they drove the prisoners, with an iron bar, to walk until he dropped, and then beat him to death endeavoring to compel him to inform on his companions.

Of course the lying press will print, in large type, that the prisoners admitted with "repentance" their culpability in the affair.

Through confidential sources we learn more concerning the torturing in the Middle Age style. With an iron apparatus they compress the testicles. They tear the nails from the fingers and toes; pierce the lips with spears; hang them from the ceiling head downward; break their wrists, etc.

The military judges register everybody as an accomplice as soon as they can find out that they have attended an Anarchist meeting.

This is the way the Spanish government intends to extirpate Anarchist ideas. If they can succeed is another question. He who sows the wind will harvest the tempest.

FRANCE. There is a serious strike among the moulders in Marseilles. The strikers organized several public meetings and invited the Anarchist exponents to give their opinion about the matter. One of the last meetings was held in the Labor Exchange, at which more than 2,500 persons were present, and speakers of all shades of opinion were invited to discuss the labor problem. There was a frank avowal that the Anarchists won were the most logical, and their energetic manner the most applause. The idea of the general strike was the special topic discussed by our comrades.

There are several thousand miners on strike, in the "Bashindu Gard" coal mining district, struggling to better their conditions.

The well known Romanian actress, Mrs. Barseca, happened to be in Paris during the stay of the Russian Imperial Majesties. Owing to an assumed resemblance between her and another lady she was gotten to the Police Headquarters, by a Russian stool pigeon, and occasioned much trouble before she could get permission to see the Romanian Council, who finally recognized her.

The servility of the City of Paris, to the Russian hangman, cost the producers 1,504,000 francs. The Socialist City Council approved the expense. Councilman Chasseuse remarked this generosity of the city fathers, and made a proposition to spend 500,000 francs for the benefit of the unemployed, which proposition was referred to the committee of the Budget, which really means the waste basket. O ye Socialist city swindlers, you show your taste! Millions for the Czar, but not even a loaf of bread for your own hungry countrymen. Is this the universal brotherhood you want to bring about? Rats!!

BOHEMIA. A convention was called at Prague, the 16 of November last, to devise ways and means to abate the silly Austrian press laws. There were representatives from twelve radical and independent periodicals present to protest against the tyranny of the iniquitous press laws. The periodicals with an Anarchist tendency suffer most from conscription, almost every number having to be reprinted and the editors fined. But it don't stop the spirit of rebellion in Bohemia.

ENGLAND. The Dutch Social Democratic group, founded in London, resolved:
That the Social Democratic party is more and more

degenerating into partisan quarrels between the co-operative and parliamentary party on one side, and the Anarchist movement on the other: Quarrels in which ideas are subordinated to personal questions.

That such tactics are a menace to the propagation of the new ideas among the laboring masses.

And advises its members to keep away every rivalry, and place itself on the fundamental principles of Socialism: the moral and economic emancipation of the proletariat, by means of complete expropriation of the means of production and their utilization on the bases of Communism.

To reach this aim the group will use all the means at its disposition to hasten the movement of the renovating ideas, avoiding as much as possible the personal questions, but will investigate without delay the principles of the different Socialist schools. It invites all comrades who are serious to unite in a spirit of fraternity and to concentrate all their efforts towards the common ideal.

The group requests all the periodicals of all the languages, and all the schools, to publish the above manifesto and send a copy to the address of comrade Alf. Engels, Secretary of the N. S. D. V., 57 Charlattle St., Fitzroy Square, London, W.

INDIA. The "Calcutta Englishman," of Nov. 25, contends that the home officials are completely at fault concerning the dimensions of the famine, which is raging in nearly all provinces on account of a crop a little below the average, and a grain speculation a little above the average which may yet result in an irretrievable disaster.

ITALY. Thirty Anarchists were arraigned before the Tribunal of Ancona, accused of criminal association. The youngsters had done nothing, but they held different ideas from those professed by the humbags of the Tribunal, which, it seems, is a crime in Italy.

La Favilla is the name of a new Anarchist-Communist periodical. Address, "La Favilla," ferma posta, Mantova, Italy.

Il Novo Verbo is the name of another Anarchist-Communist journal. Address:
Barnaba 9, Paradis, 54 Lamarmora St., Parma, Italy.
Welcome and long life to the new strugglers.

A. KLEMENCIC.

Note and Comment.

* COMRADE Wm. A. Whittick has kindly donated The Firebrand ten copies in paper, of his splendid book "Bombs," and five copies in cloth. Any one sending us fifty cents will receive a copy in paper, or for seventy-five cents a copy in cloth. This is a good time of the year to make presents, and no more appropriate present can be given a friend who loves to read. It will also be a great help to The Firebrand.

* * *
AN obituary of comrade B. Harris, of Waterbury, Connecticut, was sent in by a comrade, but by some mishap the manuscript was lost.

He dropped dead on the streets of Waterbury, not long ago, and was about forty years of age at the time of his death. He had been an active worker for, and liberal contributor to the Anarchist movement. We regret to hear of his death, and extend fraternal sympathy to the bereaved relatives and friends.

* * *
S. P. PUTNAM, and Miss May Collins were both poisoned to death by gas, in the rooms of Miss Collins, No. 47 St. Botolph St., Boston, Friday evening, December 11. The exact details of their death are not known to us as the reports conflict slightly, but that they died of gas poison in a room where gas light was burning is agreed upon.

S. P. Putnam, was fifty eight years old last July. He is well known as an infidel lecturer, having traveled all over the United States in that capacity. He has done a great deal to awaken thought in regard to religion, but being an iconoclast was lacking in reconstructive ideas and contributed but little to the live movements of today.

Miss May Collins was only twenty years old, but showed indications of an extraordinary brilliancy, acuteness, and power as a speaker. She was too young for a proper estimate of her abilities to be made, but her achievements so far were an indication of unusual eloquence as a speaker, and far reaching depth as a thinker. It is sad that one so young and so promising should be cut off just on the threshold of public work and usefulness.

The Truth Seeker vehemently denies that there was "any thing wrong"—that there was any sex union between them. However that may be, we do not know, but assert that they, not being Christians, were not bound by Christian morals, and if they loved, and thus expressed their love, it is rather to their credit than discredit. It is time that Freethinkers quit defending Christian morals, and defend free action as well as free thought and free speech.

The American Secular Union, and the Freethought Federation will sustain a great loss in the death of these two persons. Who will take their places, remains to be seen.

* * *
WHILE I have no objection to all comrades who wish to do so, holding a general convention, and the commingling of ideas, and acquaintance of comrades would undoubtedly be pleasant and more or less advantageous to the propaganda, but I must object to some of the assertions of the committee.

There has been a constant and steady effort on the part of The Firebrand to place Anarchist-Communism foremost in Social Science, and we flatter ourselves that much has been done already, looking in that direction. To say that it can be attempted under no other circumstance, but that of a general convention, is to make a dogmatic assertion that can not be proven. It is to lay an unwarranted stress on the importance of conventions, and to undervalue the work of papers, clubs and lecturers. While a convention might contribute a good deal toward this consumation, yet we are not justified in saying this is the only means.

If there are many things that are not discussed by the papers it is the fault of the comrades. The Firebrand has constantly urged the fullest and freest discussion of all subjects in its columns, and if anything of importance to the movement has not been discussed in its columns it is because no one has had the energy, or enthusiasm, to start the discussion. We, of The Firebrand, hope that all the neglected subjects will be brought out for free discussion through our columns.

If these subjects are not discussed in the circles what assurance have we that they would be discussed at a general convention. Let the comrades see to it that these subjects are thoroughly discussed in their circles and clubs, in the Anarchist papers and wherever convenient, and then if a general convention is held much useless arguing can be avoided.

It is a question whether a better agreement would have been reached at a general convention. Where there is no authority to dictate what is agreed to, thorough agreement is seldom reached by any convention. H. A.

Practical Politics.

IN order to show what we may expect to accomplish through political action, let me call attention to a few facts in connection with local politics.

The senatorial contest is coming on. The politicians have recognized that fact for some time. They recognized that fact at the time of last Spring's election. Jonathan Bourne is desirous of going to the U. S. Senate. He was desirous last Spring of so doing. He "worked" the Spring election with that object in view. He had a faithful co-worker in the person of Dr. Young, the chairman of the People's Party State Central Committee. Between them they tried to work a combination between the "Mitchell" republican and Populist legislative tickets. Bourne succeeded in getting his name on the P. P. ticket, but the "funny business" of the middle-of-the-readers prevented the substitution of the entire "Mitchell" legislative ticket in this county for the "pop" ticket.

As manager of the Republican State Campaign he succeeded in defeating Martin Quinn for Congress. Quinn is the idol of the staunch populists, and is a bosom friend of Mayor Pennoyer. Bourne is now Pennoyer's trusted agent, and literally has full control of the police and fire departments.

W. S. U'ren is an erstwhile single-taxer, a promoter of "direct legislation," and is an implacable enemy of Mayor Pennoyer. He carries a political knife for Pennoyer, and never misses an opportunity to "rip him up the back." Just at present U'ren is very intimate with Bourne. Between them they are trying to destroy Pennoyer's influence with the populist members elect to the next legislature, with the evident intent of wielding that influence themselves. Their object is apparent: Bourne wants to go to the U. S. Senate. What U'ren wants may be guess-

VERY SATISFACTORY.

Copies of The Firebrand received. The terms Communism and Anarchy, owing to my natural American prejudices against anything which pertains to or savors of monarchy, has prevented a proper examination of the ideas you advance.

In the issue of Oct. 18", the article Liberty and Property is to me exceedingly satisfactory, because it brings the ordinary mind to a knowledge of its true relations, to itself and others, which is so important in adjusting our present financial and political disagreements.

I shall send subscription for it, because it indicates ability to go to the primary causes, and clearly trace them to their legitimate or natural effects, which our political reform papers have failed to do.

How foolish to yell oppression, poverty, tyranny, Gold bugs; and provide no remedy. The living are governed by the dead; old habits, old religions and customs, until living thought has become largely a thing of the past. In my opinion, "Such as it is, civilization and mental endowments have become such that it is now necessary to rearrange the old rules of conduct, and adopt those adapted to our individual and public, or general wants of the present.

From his acts, both public and private, we learn that man is ever discontented, and trying to improve and change Nature's laws, thinking such acts are to his advantage.

The position The Firebrand assumes is one of vital importance, and of sufficient magnitude to occupy the best minds of the present.

Is it possible that some minds will be able to concentrate all discovered good into simple, clearly defined rules of conduct, as in the days of Moses and Christ?

The acts of men repeat themselves. From all evidence of the present, it is now time to repeat the good of the past. Can you do it? You may answer, I can try. Very well, let's try it. In my next I will dwell on the error of advancing the idea of intrinsic value in gold.

ADDISON R. TRUSS.
Dayton, Ohio.

Literature.

THE OLD AND THE NEW IDEAL. A SOLUTION OF THAT PART OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION WHICH PERTAINS TO LOVE, MARRIAGE AND SEXUAL INTERCOURSE.

The above is the title of a new book, by Emil F Ruedebusch. It is a neat volume of 347 pages, printed on fine book paper, large clear type, and bound in cloth and paper. Cloth edition one dollar, paper fifty cents.

Many books have been written on the subject of "love, courtship and marriage," and sold in large numbers. The pulpit has resounded with sermonizations on these grave questions, phrenological and other lecturers have wandered all over the country, delivering dissertations on these topics—generally behind closed doors, lecturing to each sex separately—and discussions have been carried on in the current literature until it would seem that the subject was well nigh exhausted. But in all this discussion there has been a sad lack of knowledge, of courage, and of plain presentation of facts and arguments. Every writer and speaker has treated it as a "delicate" subject; one which cannot be treated with the same disinterestedness as other questions. Many, it is true, have claimed to be free from superstitious reverence, from the influence of dogmatic training, and from fear of social disapproval, but their expressions have shown this assumption to be groundless. Free thinkers—so called—have raged around demanding the right to think and to speak, but have drawn back horrified when the free discussion of sex matters has been proposed, and raised their voice in vigorous protest when true freedom of thought, speech and action has been proposed in connection with sex matters. While denouncing Christian marriage as foolish they have endeavoured to substitute "secular" marriage, which in practical operation amounts to the same thing.

Many men and women have had the courage to denounce legal marriage, and declare that interference by the State was as unjust as by the Church. Others have called for complete liberty, but in nearly all cases the old idea, that of "the love of the one man for the one woman," as Colonel Ingersoll terms it, dominated their utterances, and their actions, and no satisfactory solution of the vexed question has yet been reached.

But now comes this new treatise on this question, which is a revision and improvement on a book in German, by the same author, published about one year and a half ago, and is truly refreshing and invigorating. It is written in a calm and deliberate style, and there

ed at. He is Pennoyer's most deadly political enemy, and yet is working "hand in glove" with Pennoyer's most trusted co-worker (political agent). He is not only working with, but for Bourne. Bourne wants to be Speaker of the House, and is trying to get the "pops" to support him for that position. That will give him power. Then he wants all the "pops" in the legislature to support him for the Senate. Bear in mind that this is the man who used every means in his power, fair and foul, to defeat Quinn for Congress. Great combination, is it not? This is the reform party, the "party of the people," as it were.

How any sane man can see and know all these things, and yet hope for a betterment of affairs through political action, or vote, or otherwise uphold government, is beyond my comprehension.

HENRY ADDIS

Clippings and Comments.

WHEN a court declares a law unconstitutional it brands the people (the lawmaking power) as inferiors and mere wards, when it reverses itself it proclaims itself an ignorant and the creature of some interest. —[Pittsburg Kansan.

Why not abolish the court then? If you give men power you must expect them to use it.

This can be made a government of the people by and for the people by the adoption of Effective Voting and Direct Legislation—but never will till then.—[Pittsburg Kansan.

A government of majorities you mean, brother, and that means subjugation of the minority. Why not abolish all government and be free?

WHEN the legislation of the several states and congress has been enacted, the great masses of the people will more clearly than ever, see the necessity of the changes demanded by the Populists.—[Our Paper.

It is to be hoped that they will see the foolishness of all legislation; will see the necessity of abolishing all that expensive nonsense called law making.

The following is clipped from a Chicago daily paper:

The police have repeated their annual anachistic outrage by stopping Mrs. Parsons while addressing an audience on the anniversary of the hanging of the Anarchists. If the reports of the hounding of "Anarchist" Mowbray last winter are a guide, the meeting was grossly misrepresented. But assuming the reports are not influenced by the fear or favor of the police and that their report is correct, there is nothing to justify this police censorship. We who are not Anarchists hold that no one can put himself outside of the laws, even though he refrain from aggression, he would still receive the attentions of the tax-collector and be subject to military duty. It follows, then, that we must extend to the Anarchists the protection of the laws which we compel them to obey, or our whole scheme falls to the ground and we prove the Anarchists' case. Once admit that one class has less rights than any other and there is no stopping place short of chattel slavery. The police should be restrained from annually committing this assault, because it is disorderly conduct and because it is a dangerous assault on free speech, which the southern slave power crushed for a time, but which triumphed when the "gas" rules were abolished in congress. If Mrs. Parsons is guilty of a crime, why is she not brought to trial and punished? If she is not guilty, the public is insulted and outraged by her persecutors. Mrs. Parsons has said nothing which is not borne out by the verdict of Gov. Altgeld as a magistrate, and backed up by eminent jurists. Unless it can be shown that freedom of thought and speech is right in a magistrate and wrong in the citizens, from whom the magistrate derives his power, Gov. Altgeld is as fit a subject for police assault as is Mrs. Parsons.—[GEORGE A. BROOKS, Chicago Ill.

The foregoing is a just arraignment of the Chicago police, but we must protest against the misuse of the word Anarchist. The Chicago police never act anarchistic. If they did they would go home, burn up their clubs, throw their pistols in the lake and henceforth mind their own business.

"THE EQUITY OF TAXATION. All labor useful to the community, resulting in the production of anything valuable and permanent, depends upon the protection of the laborer in his right to the results of his labor, to

use, or to keep, or to transfer, or to exchange. The farmer needs protection from individuals or bodies of men who will take from him his ripened crops after his season's toil. The man who builds him a home needs protection against being driven off by stronger men who wish to occupy it. The manufacturer needs protection against robbers who will take from him his products, or burn his mills if they imagine it will help them.

This need'ul protection costs labor. There must be some men who will devote their whole time to it in order to make it effective. These men must receive as much for their services as they would get for other equivalent labor.

Equity requires that those who share the benefits of the protection should pay the expenses. These expenses must be distributed in some manner, and this distribution is called taxation. However unjust the distribution may sometimes be in its details, whatever extortion may be associated with it, and however unjust it may seem to enforce it, the fundamental principle, considered without reference to abuses, is certainly equitable."—[Henry M. Parkhurst, in Lucifer.

The foregoing is a condensation of all the old Blackstonian fallacies concerning the necessity of the law as protection to useful individuals. But the entire question is as far from facts and true philosophy as can well be imagined.

In the first place useful labor does not depend upon the protection of the producer in the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor. Should all producers refuse to produce unless secured the full enjoyment of their products all production would immediately cease, for at present only about one tenth of the products of labor is enjoyed by the producers.

The assumption that the former, the home builder and the manufacturers all need protection from foes who would otherwise despoil them of their products can have no foundation in anything but the christian theory of "total depravity." If that theory is admitted, then some of these depraved beings must be hired to prevent the other depraved beings from robbing and murdering each other.

I deny the depravity theory. I assert the rise of man from lower forms and less favorable conditions to his present form and conditions. I insist that all actions are the result of the play of environment upon the organism of the person who acts. If this is admitted then it is not a question of protection but a question of environment, and of human temperament. Given an environment that makes possible the gratification of all human needs by productive efforts with our modern labor assisting machinery, protection from such spoliation as Mr. P. suggests, would not be necessary.

But even for argument's sake, let us admit that some protection is necessary. If that is admitted then it follows that those who need this protection should in justice pay for it. To compel all others to help pay the expense of this protection is in itself a form of highway robbery, and who the devil is going to protect us from that robbery—compulsory taxation?

It is not a question of the just or unjust distribution of taxation, but the equitability of taxation. If any one join a secret order, or voluntary association of any kind, he pays his taxes in such association freely, or, if he chooses, withdraws, and the association has no further power to tax him. Should said association undertake to tax him against his will, he would kick vigorously, and refuse to pay. It is the same with the state. It has no right to assess taxes and collect them by force.

That protection to property is needed now is evident, but that is because of monopoly and restricted opportunities.

The State is the creator and upholder of all monopolies, and the State lives by taxation. So we see that it is the fact of taxation that creates the necessity for protection: hence it follows that the cure for the necessity for taxation is the abolition of taxation.

H. A.

The following numbers should send two cents: 1, 20, 26, 33, 179, 201, 230, 236, 279, 288, 300, 355, 363, 390, 428, 476, 487, 510, 521, 523, 538, 566, 607, 798, 813, 818, 902, 911, 982, and the following twelve cents: 3, 63, 70, 119, 192, 206, 211, 219, 233, 262, 282, 454, 477, 483, 544, 576, 580, 641, 646, 687, 776, 783, 804, 831, 851, 861, 923, 936, 945, 953, 998, 1003, 1014, 1016, 1031.

