**On Picket Duty.**

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, these three; but the greatest of these is Liberty.

Formerly the price of Liberty was eternal vigilance, but now it can be had for fifty cents a year.

Individuals on becoming adults gain their freedom. Are nations never to attain their majority?

The effect of one-half of our laws is to make criminals; the purpose of the other half is to punish them.

Holding a monopoly, the banker is the worst enemy of the human race, being its chief despotic, without that monopoly, he is its best friend, being its greatest civilizer.

It is needless to call attention to the style of our head. It was designed by Mr. Jeney, 18 Post Office Square, Boston, who, catching with artistic insight the true spirit of our purpose, has produced what every epicure in typograph must pronounce a triumph of genius and a real work of art, remarkable for its originality, vigor, simplicity, and strange grace.

Liberty takes pleasure and pride in its ability to present to the readers of its first issue the first authentic likeness published in America of the most famous and heroic of that little Russian band styled by the "Fall Mall Gazette" as "army of avenging angels," Sophia Porovskaya. We reproduce it from a photograph privately forwarded to us from a number distributed at the London revolutionary congress, and can answer for its accuracy as a representation of the features of that noble girl. From time to time, as occasion offers, we shall print other portraits of various heroes and heroines of revolution and radicalism.

The arrival of Leo Hartmann in America is a notable event in the history of progress, his mission one with which all friends of Liberty must sympathize, and his self-introduction by a letter to the "New York Herald" giving a true and detailed account of the Moscow mine conspiracy, one of the most thrilling, absorbing, dramatic, and convincing newspaper articles ever printed. The latter shows him as a fine writer, an heroic worker, a grand man. Liberty extends to him its most cordial salutation and right hand of fellowship, and hopes, if he visits Boston, to welcome him in person, when it will do all in its power to aid him and his good cause.

It may be well to state at the outset that this journal will be edited to suit its editor, not its readers. He hopes that what suits him will suit them; but, if not, it will make no difference. No subscriber, or body of subscribers, will be allowed to govern his course, dictate his policy, or prescribe his methods. Liberty is published for the very definite purpose of spreading certain ideas, and no claim will be admitted, on any pretext of freedom of speech, to waste its limited space in belittling the attainment of that object. We are not afraid of discussion, and shall do what we can to make room for short, serious, and well-considered objections to our views. But propounding the press to an expensive luxury, and it costs us too much to strike the many blame we have to give warrant to us in furnishing our opponents the hard-earned facilities of returning them.
Liberty.

Issued Fortnightly at Fifty Cents a Year; Single Copies, Two Cents.

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Office of Publication, 14 P. O. Square.

Post Office Address: Liberty, P. O. Box No. 356, Boston, Mass.

Entered as Second Class Matter Mailed.

BOSTON, MASS., AUGUST 6, 1881.

"A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties; he is neither blinded by passion, nor rendered, driven by oppression, nor deceived by erroneous opinions." — PHOEBUS.

Our Purpose.

Liberty enters the field of journalism to speak for herself because she finds no one willing to speak for her. She hears no voice that always champions her; she knows no pen that always writes in her defense; she sees no hand that is always lifted to avenge her wrongs or vindicate her rights. Many claim to speak in her name; but few really understand her. Still fewer have the courage and the opportunity to consistently fight for her. Her battle, then, is her own to wage and win. She accepts it freely and honestly.

Her foe, Authority, takes many shapes, but, broadly speaking, her enemies divide themselves into three classes: first, those who abhor her both as a means and as an end of progress, opposing her openly, advocating her destruction; second, the subordinated, unenlightened, unenlightened, those who profess to believe in her as a means of progress, but who accept her only so far as they think she will subserve their own selfish interests, denying her and her blessings to the rest of the world; third, those to destroy her, because of the progress, believing in her only as an end to be obtained by first transgressing upon, violating, and outraging her. These three phases of opposition to Liberty are met in almost every sphere of thought and human life and representation of the first are seen in the Catholic Church and the Russian autocracy; of the second, in the Protestant Church and the Manchester school of politics and political economy; of the third, in the inebriate of Gambetta and the iron star of Ruskin.

Through these forms of authority another line of demarcation runs transversely, separating the divine from the human; or, better still, the religious from the secular. Liberty's victory over the former is well-nigh achieved; but, as yet, the battle, the authority of the supernatural into disrepute. The Church has been declining ever since. Her teeth are drawn, and though she seems still to show here and there vigorous signs of life, she does so in the violence of the death-agony upon her, and soon her power will be felt no more. It is human authority that hereafter is to be dreaded, and the State, its organ, that in the future is to be feared. Those who have lost their faith in gods only to put it in governments; those who have ceased to be Church-worshippers only to become State-worshippers; those who have abandoned pope for king or cæsar, and priest for president or parliament,—have indeed changed their battle-ground, but none the less are foes of Liberty still. The Church has become an object of derision; the State must be made equally so. The State is said by some to be a "necessary evil;" it must be made unnecessary. This century's battle, then, is with the State; the State, that destroys men; the State, that prostitutes woman; the State, that corrupts children; the State, that tramsmits love; the State, that stifles thought; the State, that monopolizes land; the State, that limits credit; the State, that restricts exchange; the State, that destroys; the State, that does wrong; but until they have analyzed the essential nature of a wrong, their efforts to prevent them will be useless. It is a regrettable fact that acts of legislation are as practical the case, as liable to be aimed against ultimate liberty as for it. A re-former is one who proposes to construct a new form, or alter an old form of social practice so as to make it better accord with the conditions of well-being. But the majority of reformers are utterly incapable of defining the ways in which the old form violates some immutable principle. The average standard of condemning a thing as wrong is that it works injustice to some class of individuals. But this is no valid standard. For the class that is the largest benefitted by the social practice complained of. The bulk of reforms come to nothing simply because they represent nothing but wars of classes. It is selfishness, in contact with itself. In war they say: "This is a man's war. This is not a woman's war. This is not a wrong. So everywhere capitalistic rights mean labor wrongs. The real thing which must yet be settled before there will ever be any logical and effectual basis of reform is this: What is a right and what is a wrong? The question of human relations is, in human class and class wars. A thing is right, now and forever, because it accords with the immutable law of being. It is wrong, now and forever, because it is opposed to that law. What is that law as it pertains to human relations? Is the problem of Liberty. But the lamentable inability of reformers to define wrongs is an infinitely less serious matter than their methods of abolishing them. Every wrong, as the reader who follows us in succeeding numbers will see, of the reasons why very few of the laws are of true liberty, and can generally be directly traced to the said violation. The law of liberty is spontaneous association by natural selection. The first condition of that law is that the laws operating upon the conditions of social existence, the individual, shall be left entirely and absolutely free to regulate his life as experiments with other equally free individuals may seem to direct.

One cannot that liberty does not preclude regulation. But regulation, under the law of liberty, comes of selection and voluntary assent. Under its operation, security of life and possession, that bogus pretext which is made the chief apology for so-called "social legislation," is an artificial creation, and the normal processes of Nature more effectual than the artificial expedients of man.

The antipode of liberty is artificial, arbitrary, pro forma induction between individuals who are seeking the results of one experiment of which its concrete expression is Authority. Its organized exercise is known as Government. Now, the most lamentable spectacle to date, next to rampant despotism itself, is the short-sighted reformer attempting to establish better liberty by harming the necessary conditions of more authority, more intervention, more government. In the case of Irish landlordism, the greenback movement, suffrage reform, and socialism, the wrong propositions that is, is evident in the actual one, and the motive of the prophets a noble desire to get at the root, a method proposed in every case by which to abolish the wrong hinges upon the very despotic element which created that wrong and perpetuates it. Landlordism in Ireland, so far from being a voluntary regulation between the landlord and his victim, is an artificial contrivance of despotism, created by the few magnates who style themselves the government. Left to its merits as a voluntary arrangement of associative life, it could not, not in an hour. It is force upon five millions of people by some two thousand absentee thieves. And yet the great bulk of Irish land reformers seem to expect that, by a change of engineers, the machine of the future will be run for different and better pur-

What is true of the land reformers is equally true of the currency and suffrage reformers. And the worst spectacle of all is that of the socialists, who expect to mitigate the deadly power of the government by increasing its largeness. They are making the case for despotism into the remotest concerns of life. Curiously enough, the leaders, many of them, are the most incapable of realizing the capital, the "Government of God," has exercised in subtilizing rational progress, but forget that the State is simply the old fiction arranged to play upon men in the political economy of life.

Theocracy is the original fiction, and to en-
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slave the race. It set up a king in the person of God. Seventeenth and eighteenth century, at the end of the eighteenth century, in a form of Christ, a prince made more in conformity with the Intelligence of the age. The powers were subsequently distributed into the hands of other agents, known as popes and graded ecclesiastics. The powers were then delegated to the church, and still we have the modern republic. But all forms of government are radiations from the parent trunk. The reformer who abolishes the fiction God as a factor of authority in human concerns can never stop, if he is logical, till he makes a complete divorce of church, which grows out of it is also abolished. He then stands upon a clear, rational basis. The man who clings to that superstition known as the State, and boasts of having flung the little creature overboard and not understand himself. The State is as much a theological superstition as the doctrines of the atonement. It is simply the human side of theology. It is only another application of the idea of authority, which is the central idea of theological despotism. All this we propose to illustrate and amplify, as Liberty goes out upon its mission of enlightenment, from issue to issue.

"Who is the Somebody?"

" Somebody gets the surplus wealth that Labor produces and does not consume. Who is the Somebody?" Such is the problem recently posted in the editorial columns of the "New York Truth." Subsequently, an editorial has been written, which will be repeated many times before, but, as might have been expected, this new form of putting it has created no small hubub. "Truth's" columns are full of it; other journals are taking it up; clubs are organizing to discuss it; the press is giving it much play. Everybody seems to be interested in it. How much of all this will be left over for the Somebody, he stripped of his power to steal, must either join their ranks or starve.

A portion of the report submitted to the public by Major John R. Stockwell, school trustee of Kansas City, concerning the recent investigation of the management of that institution, is indicative of the rapidity with which the sentiment of prudence is disappearing. We quote the passage referred to: "The trustees, on the other hand, desire to avoid the necessity of corporal punishment, but they are satisfied that to boys of this character, addicted, as many of them are, to that secret vice which kills both body and soul, solitary confinement offers high and real satisfaction. This consideration has induced many thoughtful persons to consent to the occasional use of this form of punishment, which they consider less harmful than confinement." These words are notable because the report containing them was prepared and published under the official seal.

"Copied from the "Irish World,"" at whose pleasure of speech on delicate topics in the past he has frequently expressed his commendation of the editor of the "World" is making itself felt in an unexpected quarter.

What a wonderful achievement is the "Irish World" newspaper? Telling the most untruthful truths without reserve, it has, nevertheless, by the very energy of its earnestness, attained a circulation that places it high among the first journals of the country. Liberty is not always satisfied with it, and does not find it always consistent, but, all things considered, deems it the most potent agency for good now at work on this planet.

Who says there is no hope for humanity when no man a person as Judge E. Roar of Concord, Roar soars high. The man who is stuck with the stiff-necked, who was lighthouse supposed to have lost all interest in his fellow-man, actually casts his eyes close enough to the ground to discover that a wretched man in a Washington jail is being wronged, remembers that the most hated man in the world has rights that should be respected, and publicly protests against the official tyranny that is persecuting Guiteau, the assassin? The upstart district attorney of the District of Columbia, who issued the impudent order to the warden, directing Guiteau to be subjected to peculiar and painful forms of torture, and who, at the last minute, put only by the punishment to which he is sentenced. To subject him to any privation or indignity not required for his safe-keeping is illegal, and should not escape condemnation because this poor wretch is the object of universal odium. If he has a friend or relative, or wishes to see a legal adviser, why should he not be allowed to see them? The district attorney is the officer who is to represent public justice in the prosecution of alleged criminals. What authority of the law is there to "direct a jailer upon the subject of any indulgences to be permitted to unconvicted prisoners?" Many words, Judge Hoar! Liberty thanks you for them.

Governor O. M. Roberts of Texas is a man above his business. So high-minded a man ought not to be occupied in the contemptible employment of ruling and directing the school districts. We have heard the request of Governor Foster of Ohio, that all the governors in the United States join in proclaiming a day of thanksgiving for the recovery of President Garfield, Governor Roberts said: "I do not deem it consistent with my position as governor to issue a proclamation directing religious services where the Church and State are, and ought to be, kept separate in their functions." We do not appreciate the governor's logic, there being no more reason for separating the Church from the State than for separating the office from the school, the school from the church. Liberty requires that every institution be separated from the State until there shall be no State left. But, despite its inconsistency, the governor's position evinces a spirit of sincerity and conscientiousness very rare in officials, and commanding the warmest respect.

Citizen George Francis Train, from his stump-ground in Madison Square, noisily Premier Gladstone that, if he attempts to Herr Most O'Donnovan Rossa, "Frederick William IV. the United Irishman," or touch "my Irishmen," he (G. F. T.) shall put on a few additional turns of the psycho twist. When the Pagan Dictator resumes the Head Chairmists, let Great Britain tremble! Dynamite is not a circumstance to psychology, and the peanut diet can see a glass bomb and go it several cars better, with an occasional Victoria thrown in.

The president has too many doctors, and the doctors have too many interviewers. The people wish to know the truth from day to day, and the president needs the best of care. Neither are possible while the doctors are on their stilts before the country and unsound. The doctors are besting their patients. The doctors have peace at Washington, and let the best doctor have sole charge, even though Dr. Bliss should disappear.

Among ordinary political journals west of the Mississippi, the "Virginia City Chronicle" generally takes the lead in liberality of spirit. With all the more sorrow, then, we chronicle the fact that its recent correspondent, John Brown, who held Cattow as "America's three noted assassins" is an villainous outlaw as was ever heaped upon a sacred memory.

Gone from bad to worse,— the young woman of Chicago, who a fortnight ago left a house of ill fame to jump the church.
LIBERTY.

The Liberty of Parents.

In the following extract from an editorial in "La Verité," a daily paper published in Paris, is a lesson for the large number of parents in America afflicted by the compulsory education craze.

To make it allowable to render education absolutely compulsory, it is necessary in the first place that the education by which the children are to be instructed be placed in a position that be under the control of heads of families. The latter may be neither owners nor masters of their children, but are the power of the great family rights over them as the cabinet ministers and their agents.

Further, instruction in agriculture, stock-raising, carpentry, baking, and I know not what else, is education quite as true as that in the rules of grammar, penmanship, and the imperfect chronology called history in the primary schools. You will be asked to judge of the instruction of the former kind has at least this advantage over the other,—that it teaches the people a trade by which he may live, while the latter will therefore benefit the majority, unless it places pensions to all the children, or teaches them that practical knowledge of labor which they would acquire at home, the State has no right to waste their precious time as a sacrifice to the academical systems of the cabinet.

There are some radicals who can not tolerate the idea that the children of farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers should learn to read on the knees of their mothers, while adding to farm and household tasks, instead of under the ferules of official instructors. Parents are entirely willing that others should have charge of the education of their children, but will give them religious instruction, provided they themselves are left free to give themselves the instruction and especially the education that corresponds to the work they have to perform with the co-operation of such teachers as they may choose.

For my part, while regretting that others teach their children better ideas than their own, I should like to leave them complete liberty in this respect in order to retain my own, not wishing the law to compel me to hand over my children to the education of others, to whom I should have to confide them to-morrow perhaps to know not what seriel or religious faction which may choose to step into the place of our present teachers.

The Penalty of Treason to Liberty.

The spirit of liberty, says Elizabeth Cadet Stanton, in whatever form it comes, whether as African, Chinese, Woman, or Nigger, is gatesmore, and its death is a sin against national morality, more hateful to mankind than a breach of every wrong. Aristo tells a pretty story of a fairy, who by some mysterious law of her nature was compelled to appear at certain seasons in the form of a foul and puerile entity. Those who injured her in the period of her disguise were forever excluded from participation in the blessings which she bestowed in her power. But to those who, in spite of her loathsome aspect, pitied and protected her, she afterwards revealed herself in the beautiful and celestial form which was the reward of her kindness, and accompanying her wishes, filled her homes with wealth, made them happy in love and victorious in war. Such is a spirit of liberty. At times, it appears, in the form of a fairy, as if it were no more than a passion or a dream; but to those who are wise, it will be the remedy of all ills, the savior of their children, the savior of their country. For me, I do not look upon the spirit of liberty as a spirit of disorder; it is a spirit of order, a spirit of justice, a spirit of good order, and I would have it preserved in all its purity and beauty.

Game for the Fool-Killer.

The life of Queen Victoria has been more than once attempted, and so far, thank God! not a hair of her head has suffered harm. An unseen power has warded off the assassin's bullet, so that she has not even been wounded. Why this preservation amid repeated danger? Because wherever the Church of England service is read, and also that of the Reformed Church of France, the service is always offered on behalf of the Queen and her royal family. And why do we hope and believe to-day that the life of President Garfield is safe? Because, under this flag of the United States, we are praying for him everywhere, and because, furthermore, we trust that personally his life is held in Christ with God. —Reed. The Times. New York.

Gulian's crime was but the action of a demoralized wretch, of a brute in human form, impersonating in himself the athletism, the nihilistic, the communistic, the anarchic, the thuggish, the criminal, and the idiotic idea of the Old World.—President Garfield's Pastor.

When the life of the chief magistrate of a country is assailed there is not only the malice of murder in the act, but an open breach of the sacred compact between God and magistrates hold from God. Their power is from God; not from the people, except indirectly. Hence any attack upon a magistrate of the United States is a breach of the most sacred trust, and few more warnings, the bang of another bomb will, in all human probability, gather Alexander to his imperial fathers. Boston Globe.

Destruction is only a weapon in our hand, not by any means the aim and purpose of our struggle.—Leu Hartmann, Nihilist.