On Picket Duty.

To a correspondent. — I have consulted the passage referred to, and I understand your meaning. But, before complying with your wishes, I prefer to consult your friends as to the advisability thereof, and therefore must postpone till another issue.

"Le Révolté" describes the progress of Anarchie in Australia and compliments Comrade Andrade and his associates. What does this mean? Does "Le Révolté" know that these Australian fellows are not Communists, but mere bourgeois, like the editors of Liberty?

The speeches of Fielden, Lieg, Spies, Neebe, Parsons, Schwab, Fischer, and Engels, made before Judge Gary on October 7, 8, and 9, have been published by J. M. Foley, 900 W. Randolph St., Chicago. The type is exceedingly small, but the cheapness is sold at the low price of five cents.

After the "Truth Seekers" verdict that, from the standpoint of Anarchie, E. C. Walker's recent conduct was wrong and my view of it corrected, Mr. Walker must find rather cold comfort in the support given him by the "Truth Seeker" from the standpoint of Secularism.

The way of the transgressor is hard.

"Our thanks are due to B. R. Tucker," writes "Lucifer," "for his apparent efforts to get at the animus of our position on the marriage question, but much more so that he has thus far utterly failed to comprehend or appreciate the real object of our revolt against church- -state rules in matters of sex. This regret I share and failure on their part.

The letter of George W. Searle in another column, warmly commending Lyons' Spoons' "Letter to Cleveland," must be considered a rather remarkable confession, when it is remembered that the writer is regarded as perhaps the ablest special pleader at the Massachusetts bar and is therefore a conspicuous representative of that profession which Mr. Spooner scores so mercilessly.

Mrs. H. S. Lake writes in the "New Thought" that she is "glad to see that E. C. Walker has apparently reacquired the sanity which he has been supposed to be lost until such time as he has been able to realize that there is no such thing as a "life-long companion," it is to be hoped according to the true laws of social union. What Mrs. Lake is glad to see, I am sorry to say, but the important fact for Mr. Walker is that both of us actually do see it and that many others will see it.

Captain Schaeck of the Chicago police force, who boasted of having secured the conviction of the Chicago Communists by causing a suppression of evidence, now says, referring to a libel action brought against him, that he claims to have received from Communists: "If any of these fellows attempt the execution of their threats, they will never be tried for it. I will spring something from them. The fact is, I will kill them."

There's law and order for you.

Many of those who have contributed to the Walker-Harmann Defence Fund are so before they knew they couldn't have realized the nature of the defence which they thereby help to support: it was of a character which they would not have contributed. They had, in fact, to suppose that the whole scheme would be just the opposite of what it turned out to be. I do not think that this was a deliberate attempt on the part of Mr. Walker to get money under false pretences, but in its results it is what it comes to.

These New Political Forces, which John Swinton never refers to except with capital letters, are already by the ears. The committees appointed after the George campaign to find them a common standing-ground gave them for sure "revolution" the "fatherer" of God and the brotherhood of man. Such pious phrases, like as this was "true to the German Socialists, and they promptly objected to its use, but the Irish Catholics who are in the movement under Father McGlyn and the Irish World" strenuously insist on a recognition of their divine descent. The New Political Forces may not split upon this rock, but others will confront them soon.

A Liberal having refused to contribute to the Walker-Harmann Defence Fund for the reason that Walker is trying to lead an American Civic Union with Free Love and Anarchism, Mr. Walker asks him if it has never occurred to him "that an organization is of value only as it incarnates principles, and that the moment it begins to shunt its demands, to cover its principles, to veil its record, to obscure its aims in a mist of rhetoric, that moment marks the beginning of an ever-accelerating rush down the declivity of Policy into the fathomless abyss of Dishonor." Has it never occurred to Mr. Walker that this is true of an individual as of an organization? What rate of speed has the ever-accelerating rush attained in his case?

The International Publishing Company of London — that is, Henry Seymour — has favored me with a copy of its latest publication, the old Manifesto of the Communist's issued by Karl Marx in 1847. I cannot agree with the London "Justice" that it is "very well written, but I do echo that Journal's words when it says that it is most convincing — only I find it shameful rather than sage to see so much of Anarchist publications, when we remember that Marx is the very Beethoven of Anarchists." That a professor chairman of Prufendorf, who writes his biography, sells his portraits, and publishes selections from his works, should also be found in circulating a pamphlet in which Prufendorf and all who agree with him are classed as "bourgeois socialists" and "hole and corner reformers of the most varied and plebeian character" is enough to make every serious Prufendorfian hang his head in shame.

In a late number of Liberty M. H. Hyndman was rebuked for confounding the teachings of Liberty with those of Marx and Schwab. Now his paper, the London "Justice," in communicating upon a recent article in Liberty, says: "Evidently the Liberty and Property Defence League, the Manchester school of economists, and the Anarchists are one and the same." This introduces advancing intelligence. Most and Schwab are much nearer to Hyndman than to Liberty and Anarchism is much nearer to the Manchester men than to Root and Schwab. In principle, that is, Liberty's aim — universal happiness — is that of all Socialists in contrast with that of the Manchester men — luxury fed by misery. But its principle — individual sovereignty — is that of the Manchester men, in contrast with that of the Socialists — individual subordination.

But individual sovereignty, when logically carried out, leads, not to luxury fed by misery, but to comfort for all industrious persons and death for all idle ones.

When the news of the arrest of E. C. Walker and Lillian Harman was first made known, and as long as it was supposed that they intended to make a fight against legal marriage, they had the sympathy and support of Anarchists generally, and that of Liberty, if a number had been issued in season. At the same time the attitude of the "Truth Seeker" towards them was one of indifference, neglect, or worse. The truth, however, was that they determined to prove their legal marriage, they at once lost the sympathy and support of the uncompromising and unflinching Anarchists, and seriously weakened themselves even within the movement. At the same time they won the emphatic support and endorsement of the "Truth Seeker." The respective attitudes of Liberty and the "Truth Seeker" regarding legal marriage have been well known, and it has also been well known that E. C. Walker and his wife had a good quarrel with Liberty and against the "Truth Seeker." Do not these facts throw some light upon the question whether or not E. C. Walker has surrendered?

It now appears that in the community of the Credit Fonciers of Situana it will be not only possible, but even necessary, to have two wives, but very dangerous not to have any. It was at first the intention of Owen, the Great Magus, to tax single men of thirty and over in order to encourage marriage, but he abandoned this idea because the Credit Fonciers looks with disfavor upon direct taxation. He says, however: "In answer to whether we are in favor of 'free love,' our reply is that we are certainly in favor of unrestricted love for love not forced — for love free to be wedded and blessed; but when 'free love' is interpreted to be the removing of restraint between the sexes, we are opposed. . . . The marriage contract with us will be sacred. Mormonism and bigamy we do not tolerate; and celibacy we regard with suspicion." In accordance with this idea, every colonist is required to sign a pledge in the presence of two witnesses, whereby he agrees to abide by a creed entitled "Our Principles," the thirty-fifth article of which is as follows: "Marriage is the foundation of the home and of the State, and its contract should be encouraged and performed, free of charge, by the State; and every man should have one wife, and every woman one husband, and no more." Yet I know people who are the most pronounced free lovers and who sneer at the monogamic idea, who nevertheless loudly sound the praises of this happy marriage that makes men and free love to be wedded and blessed; but under "free love" is interpreted to be the removing of restraint between the sexes, we are opposed. . . . The marriage contract with us will be sacred. Mormonism and bigamy we do not tolerate; and celibacy we regard with suspicion." In accordance with this idea, every colonist is required to sign a pledge in the presence of two witnesses, whereby he agrees to abide by a creed entitled "Our Principles," the thirty-fifth article of which is as follows: "Marriage is the foundation of the home and of the State, and its contract should be encouraged and performed, free of charge, by the State; and every man should have one wife, and every woman one husband, and no more." Yet I know people who are the most pronounced free lovers and who sneer at the monogamic idea, who nevertheless loudly sound the praises of this happy marriage that makes men and free love to be wedded and blessed; but when 'free love' is interpreted to be the removing of restraint between the sexes, we are opposed. . . . The marriage contract with us will be sacred. Mormonism and bigamy we do not tolerate; and celibacy we regard with suspicion."
THE POLITICAL THEOLOGY OF MAZZINI AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

By Michael Haywood.

Translated from the French by Sarah E. Holmes.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 98.

Mazzini must be very disconsolate. Hardly has he had time to launch his excommunica-
tion against the 'International,' when forthwith thearchegusses of public opinion have condemned him.

We know what has just happened at Naples. The International Association has just been dissolved by a superior order, "in a permanent against the laws and the sacred interests of the country"; and this excommunica-
tion without trial by the simple good pleasure of the ministry, has naturally been accompanied by mimes and fruitless searches and arbitrary arrests. In a word, the police authority has done its duty, and their hands are colorless with the innocent blood of this century, society has just been saved.

We thus arrive in very human terms to the International. For a revolutionist like him, im-
corrigible idealist though he be, it cannot be an agreeable thing to see a govern-
ment, of which he certainly cannot be a friend, thus translate his theoretical
utopias into action. It is a great pity! But the principal cause must be sought in the religious and political theologies of Mazzini, all the latest manifesta-
tions of which have made the entire reactionary press of Italy and Europe keep

It is more than probable that the deed which has just been done at Naples will be repeated in a large number of Italian towns; all the governments are plotting today the ruin of the International, and already our adversaries in all
countries are beginning to cry, making or not making the sign of the cross.

The New International Le Monde, 1867.

"The International is dead!" you say. Oh, no; long live the International!

And it is you, dear revolutionary allies who are conducting in its favor, by your actions and words, even if they are not always without faults, some of our theologies which are incontestable, and which are as far from that which our poor means would ever permit us to carry on.

Notwithstanding many apparent contradictions between the ideas of Mazzini and his followers, there is a underlying and real commonality of thought.

This generosity, this faith, this love for the oppressed, for the poor, and all those who hark back to the genuine internationalism, and to the true meaning of the word.

Mazzini had doubts entangled with the narrow interests of certain blunders; but this very narrowness of his did not prevent him from thinking in a way that is not of the International. It is the Devil! Poor things! They do not know, then, that the bourgeoise is not the only class who is interested in a progresive revolution, and that the International must make its way at least as fast as capital and bourgeoisie.

Mazzini would never have pleaded, nor is it possible to plead for the cause of the bourgeoise. His principle is the same as that of all great nations of the world. He is not interested in a revolution, but in a revolution which is the best for all.

And thus it is that this disastrous fiasco, this propaganda, in Italy, as

The New International Le Monde, 1867.

Mazzini's last words were, "The International is dead!" But we must believe that the International will continue to exist, and that it will triumph in the end.

This new International will be better than the old one, for it will be based on more solid principles. It will be more united, and will have a wider scope.

The International, like the apostle, Saint Paul, maintains that, "if any would not work, neither should he eat." That is the principle of the new International.

The International recognizes the right to the noble name of labor as belonging only to productive labor. Some years ago, the young king of Portugal, having visited to his august father-in-law, was presented in the working people's association at Turin; and, surrounding by workmen, he said to them memorable words: "Gentlemen, the present century is the century of labor. We all labor; I, too, labor for the good of my people." However flattering this likening of royal labor to working men's labor may appear, we cannot ac-
tcept it. We must recognize that royal labor is a labor of absorption and not of production; capitalists, proprietors, contractors, also labor; but all their labor, having no other object than to transfer the real products of labor from their pockets into their own pockets, cannot be considered by us as productive

In this sense thieves and brigands labor also, and wrongly, risking every day their liberty and their life.

When we consider the intelligence of labor—that of men of science, as well as of the application of science to industry, and that of the organizers and labor leaders, it is easy to see that the labor movement is the most progressive force in the world. In the past, it has been the demand for labor; in the present century, the labor movement has been the demand for the means of labor.

In the past, the demands for a larger share of the profits; in the present century, the demands for the means of labor. In the past, the labor movement has been the demand for the rights of labor; in the present century, the demands for the means of labor.

Well! The Internationalists have to help to their brothers of all countries to

The International was not a mere association of workers; it was a powerful force, and the most terrible enemy of the existing régime of the masses.

We foresee, then, that strikes will become from day to day more universal and more formidable, until the very intensity of the evil shall produce at last the good. And when this does not happen, we are satisfied. If it should happen, it is the unheard of sufferings, the keen misery, the hunger, the illnesses and often death which are the inevitable consequences of the system, that are the most powerful and the most terrible weapon of the Internationalists against the masses of liberty.

The International was a great organization; it was a great weapon; it was a great army, which fought against the existing régime of the masses.

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to me your remorse for your conduct toward me. I was tranquil, happy, very happy. A passion is born in you, and, for the satisfaction of your desires, you overcome my resistances, and, for I defended myself. I struggled, you must admit, and it was by surprise, by violence, that you triumphed!

"I admit it."

"Afterwards, useless artifices, seeing that your sighs did not move me, that your tears did not soften me, that your fever did not consume me, one night..."

"One night, during Newington's absence, you forced the door of my chamber..."

"Hush! I implore you...

I was in the struggle which obscured me at last, and since then, weakening with your caresses, burning me with your kisses, you have aroused in me the sentiment which I felt, you have excited the appetites of my flesh, you have kindled the fire of passion. But this is no longer, of your nature. No: you will not shield yourself there!"

"I will shield myself; you will be spent, your anger, your pain, at once agitated her, and her voice, alternately agitating, was now more rushing, now로, now vibrating in its tones, as her recollections passed before her.

She spoke at last, she listened abstractedly. His sadness gazed wonder, and, face, dark-haired, and face, tears, anywhere, where you please. You will go to England, to Fynes, wherever you please.

"No, indeed!"

"Why?" she replied, amazed.

"Why, seeing as poor a one as the other, what of our future? People do not live on air, or dress any longer in green as our first parents did in their earthly paradise. How should we live? You as a clerk, and I as a barmaid..."

She was already faint; the breath of her voice was extremely short, and I could not hear the end of her sentence. But the recollection of the moment was enough to make me understand that I was in a dream.

"Pardon me, I am fleeing into a passion again. I am sorry. My mind wanders, do you understand? Pretty! I drag myself on my knees as I would before the throne of the king."

Newington walked the room rapidly backwards and forwards, silent, inexpressible.

"What a shame to believe yourself capable of hastening! Michael, at such an incitement, would have refused with indignation..."

And, speaking to herself, she added:

"The life of those who trust in you, against the life of your child. Edith! what a shame to believe yourself capable of hastening! Michael, at such an incitement, would have refused with indignation...

Suddenly a fresh change of view humbled her, and she resumed with more gentleness:

"I'm not much, I'm not much, am I shy. My mind wanders, do you understand? Pretty! I drag myself on my knees as I would before the throne of the king."

Newington walked the room rapidly backwards and forwards, silent, inexpressible.

"No, my life is in your hands.

"I am not much, I am not much, am I shy. My mind wanders, do you understand? Pretty! I drag myself on my knees as I would before the throne of the king."

Newington walked the room rapidly backwards and forwards, silent, inexpressible.

"To look at Michael, simply answered Newington, stopping at last and pointing out to her with his hand, in the park, sized by the limiter of a lantern, the advancing power of the young man—what could these three words mean?"

Newington, his hand bandaged, and waving still on his feeble legs.

She had been shocked, and, without considering her words, she said:

"There! ordered the Duke.

They placed the condemned man against the wall and fixed the lantern on his breast, laughing and saying:

"Ah! this is horrible!" said Edith, hiding her eyes in her hands.

"Decide promptly!" said the Duke; "ballets travel fast."

"Are you sure?" exclaimed she, urging herself up, and looking on in stupor at this spectacle, at which she hoped to die.

"You yourself!" said Newington.

The platoon, taking the regulation range, aligned itself twenty paces from Michael.

"Grace! grace!" cried Edith, whose expiring voice was lost in the command of a sergeant, and whose blood the snapping of the gun-locks flew in her veins.

"Died."

Newington, falling in the Duke's name.

"No, no, said the youngest woman, encompassing Newington's knees.

"Adolescent mother!" cried the young man, in a very firm voice.

He looked at the Duke, and, going nearer to Newington, said, in a faltering voice:

"I consent."

"For sure. Swear it to me!"

"I swear to it!" she murmured.

"He is not a soldier, who put down their arms.

She rose suddenly, holding out her arms to embrace his child; but the platoon, forming in line again, led away the prisoner; and as she, in her astonishment, repeated Newington bitterly, with a look, for failing in his promise, the Duke exclaimed:

"Keep him as a hostage. He shall leave the castle, free, when I leave Treor's house."

"If you leave it, my lord!" whispered in the recess of a door the Duchess Ellen.

She declared, in vain, the glitter of her eyes, and so radiant that Sir Bradwell, when she again entered the rooms where at last the ball was really being organized after a fashion, stopped her in passing.

"The Duchess, my lady, she said, with a profoundly dramatic air, at which she laughed, with all her heart, finding him comical, a boy, a big ridiculous boy, and inviting him not to board the phaeton of the theatre to use here, and especially of an old lady's devotions, silly theatre!"

Then, changing her tone and manner, she asked seriously:

"Did I take you by force? Did I seduce you by a criminal artifice, tempt with culpable coqueteries?"

Sir Richard sighed, evidently in repentance.

"After?" she exclaimed.

All the joy of my new situation, of having at the object of my existence, that is to say, as the Duke has reproached me, riches, luxury, power; astonished at my rôle of lady of the castle, I resolved dearest, resolved, young, handsome, surrounded by all sorts of adulation—did I encourage you more than the other suitors? Did I distinguish when, if I loved you, I changed my mind, made my choice, and turned around me, shouting about or baffling their friezes, telling of their hopeless and gloomily leering their compliments?"

"The brilliancy of the beauty, the revolution of the fates, intoxicated me, fatigued me delightfully; and my heart, my faith, my senses, in the trial of pleasures, the perpetuity of the Duke allowed them their rights, although...

"Whom, then, overturned all this order of things, and obsessed me with his pursuit?"

"I was more a woman than a history."

"And you are mad no longer!" exclaimed he with disgust.

"Thanks."

He protested, but without energy.—out of pure pawns, one would have said; and, of course, his sovereign, his sovereign, his sovereign, his sovereign.

"You are no longer mad, or else you are read over another. At least, express
Liberty.
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BOSTON, MASS., NOVEMBER 20, 1886.

In abbreviation and interest, the best results of old-time eloquence. The Revolution, in the true sense of the word, began by the effusion of the plume of the pen --- the pen of the plain --- the pen of the plain, the pen of the plain; and the pen of the plain. It was the pen of the plain that paved the way for the future. It was the pen of the plain that opened the doors to the future. It was the pen of the plain that wrote the future.

The appearance in the editorial column of articles on the question of the admission of the Chinese into the United States is a most timely one. The great Chinese question is one that is of great importance to all the nations of the world. It is a question that concerns not only the Chinese, but all the nations of the world.

The Neo-esth Malthusian of All.

There is a man in New York who can give points to the Chicago police regarding the extermination of Anarchists. He proposes to destroy them, root and branch. He has discovered their origin, and intends to attack them at their very roots.

The name of this discoverer is H. B. Philbrook. He announces his discovery in a fortnightly paper which he edits, called "Problems of Nature." In the issue of August 15 he begins by stating that his discovery is a matter of indifference to the public or to himself, that it is a matter of indifference to the public or to himself. It is a matter of indifference to the public or to himself.

The Anarchist is given opportunity to discuss the purposes and desires of the order, a chance is offered a community of better people to observe what actual violence it is prone to occasion. No one is more prone to violence than the Anarchist. No one is more prone to violence than the Anarchist. No one is more prone to violence than the Anarchist. No one is more prone to violence than the Anarchist.

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The immense headway gained by the evolution theory, however, could not have been achieved by one alone. The dog Darwin required an audience of dogs. Accordingly Mr. Philbrook declares that every person who can discover the Darwinian theory is a dog in human form. This is not so. The origin of species was made to adapt it. Huxley, he declares, is a slyhndus, and Tyndall a clever and active seater. We are left in ignorance as to the precise canine variety to which Herbert Spencer belongs, being roused by Mr. Philbrook. If a dog that bears no resemblance to another dog is more common than those named Huxley and Tyndall and was originally endowed with a larger brain. Some time since, however, disease rendered his brain inactive, and it is now operated by a spirit-worker.

In the accomplishment of this vast amount of evolutionary mischief I find fresh confirmation of the wise counsel of one of his days. Darwin has had his. Now a new day has dawned. And not wholly new, either. Mr. Philbrook, after all, seems to be simply a modern Pythagorean, and his theory a revival, in a reversed form, of the doctrine of transmigration or metempsychosis. He states it briefly thus:

All persons are given origin by objects an animal kingdom gives the atmosphere. A soul of a brute is the object, and an animal kingdom gives the atmosphere. A soul of a brute is the object, and an animal kingdom gives the atmosphere. A soul of a brute is the object, and an animal kingdom gives the atmosphere.

I anticipate that none will share this surprise in a larger degree than the Malthusians. In fact, I fear a good many will fill them with alarm, were it not that Mr. Philbrook himself is a Neo, a very Neo-Malthusian, and has discovered a new preventive check --- a sort of contraceptive unknown hitherto to Dr. Foote, Jr. Here is the prescription:

The astonishing truth will be known after a few months more, of our pounding the heads of the people with the fact that all the people have the knowledge, a cat will be slammed, and so will all worthless and violent animals that are anywhere near a human habitation.

Mr. Walker, Mr. Walker! You have only to kill the cats and other worthless and violent animals, and there will be a great saving of the suffering of the lower animals in those areas where they are in contact with man.

I have not space here to point out the many directions in which this new theory throws light. For the present I will only note that it reveals the true character of the Chicago police. If all evolutionists are dogs and all revolutionists cats, I see no reason to doubt that the Chicago policemen are rats. If this be so, they need to point to Mr. Philbrook.

It must be encouraging to Mr. Philbrook to see that the Anarchists and Revolutionists themselves are beginning to take an interest in the new theory of their origin. Here is Helen William, for instance, editor of the "Woman's World." She is a Revolutionist, and unquestionably a cat. Yet, while reading Mr. Philbrook's book, she declares that she can scarcely set it down without giving it the attention of her entire people. All her people. All her people.

Having thus shown conclusively that there are no shades of Revolutionists, but that all are equally Red and sprung from the same sources, Mr. Philbrook further enlightens us regarding the appearance of this person at the present stage of social development:

A cosmic event of our age is the great tendency toward the development of a new race of beings. Our planet is in the process of a great change and development. The earth is changing its face. The face of the earth is changing. The face of the earth is changing.

Liberty. 89

G

154
**LIBERTY.**

Association as a Means of Reform.

Of no person is it more true than of the Anarchists that they can find "sermons in stones, books in running brooks, arguments in flowers, and even in the dust one can draw" from the event "falling-out" of the editorial writers for Liberty. The fact, to my mind, lies not in their repudiation of the work of others, but in the fact that the leaders in their position in which it was possible for such an occurrence to take place. The more I live of life, the more I come to realize that the leaders in any cause, and specifically in the position that at the basis of all true peace lie the separation, the non-aggression, and the non-violent destruction of the will of the majority. Just as the majority is not coerced, not by binding ourselves into organizations, or associations, or editorial staffs, but only in so far as our aims and interests are identical, cooperation is sought with any formal arrangement whatever. Although there is no association of Anarchists in this country, yet if we all stand together, there is no need of reformers in which there is so much real cooperation. At the present time, and probably for all time, in the multinational concerns of life, it may be impossible to secure this complete separation of responsibilities, but the more we keep this ideal before our minds, the more we arrive at it live up to it, the nearer we are to true harmony. Association has no benefits in itself, and has nearly always some evil. The chapter of Proudhon's that I have quoted, I am sure, is the best and clearest explanation of the distinction between the terms "association" and "bonds of tradition". The writer of the essay on "Social Values" in the American Journal of Sociology, Mr. Appleton, who, as I share, all John Stuart Mill's dread of the tyranny of public opinion, but he appears to feel that the public opinion on the right is not to be trusted. The essay is an argument, given partly due to the power which has of erecting itself into an organized force, to the State, and that, with the power of this force, the oppressor and the oppressor of the opinion which would follow would prevent any part of it the exhausting the energies of that power that it does today. We believe that the idea of the special interest of the public, as a whole, in the interest of the community, in the interest of the public good is a principle of ethics.

Regicides and Republicans.

If in Germany, for example, there were a republican movement, and there were a society preaching death to the Kaiser and his officials with the view of establishing a new government, and the government of the republic could not be achieved, the violence committed by adherents of the regicial society would not the monarchy reversed and tribunals seize upon the occasion to declare that, as the regicides have done, and their principles the State's? This may prove to be the case. We will not find a cause to declare that.

The Democratic party did not stand. Republicanism is not dead. It is dead. The Republicanism of the regicides who are not republicans. The Irish league has not renounced its object because of the murder in Phoenix Park. Free tractors are not scared into becoming rioters by the threat of the State. They will fight with their own means, and the politicians who may resort to violence with very different purposes, or no purpose that could be classed with real social organization.

In scientific Anarchism method is of paramount importance. No oblusions of passion or acts of violence can reasonably compromise the principle. Governmentalists would certainly not admit that wars end and revolutions of public funds with the question whether some government was justified in the use of force. The Anarchists, on the other hand, would at first sight seem to be in harmony with the means, and different persons may resort to violence with very different purposes, or no purpose that could be classed with real social organization.

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LIBERTY.

By STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

PART FIRST.

THE TRUE CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS THE ORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANTISM, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM.

What remains to be done, then, for wise men, is clearly this: to attempt to penetrate the future by investigating the past and the present, to understand those elements of freedom which we are not able to escape. For we are not certain that the progress of the first century, etc., is certain.

It is then, neither unbecoming nor inappropriate, at this time, to attempt to proclaim, by philosophical deductions from operative principles the characteristics of the new society which is to be constructed out of the fragments of the old. It is perhaps safe to say that I and I believe by the definition of Socialism to which I am attached, to which my own mind is conducted by the speculations I have made upon the subject, and toward which I shall, so far as I may, endeavor, this evening, to attract your attention.

I assert that, for one, I take the hopeful, the expectant view of the existing evil of the society, the evil that lies in the race itself. The world is filled with wickedness, there are so many, many, who are filled with evil. I hail the progress of that unceasing criticism of old institutions which is the characteristic of the present age. I hail with still more enthusiastic and pious delight the elements of freedom which is to be seen in the world today.

If we should make an apology for the attempt to trace, with a distinct and definite picture, some of the gigantic changes which have taken place in the social organization of our country and the world, and that we should proclaim the essential change, that the two great essentials of government are now and have been succeeded by two new ones.

I affirm, then, that we have come to a point in our history where we cannot but realize the importance of our political organization.

It is not this, but the fact that this is, this common element, or that great feature which is the question of Democracy, Socialism, and the like, which the people may and shall be governed.

Protestants and Protestant churches may differ in opinion as to the different articles of faith, but the Protestant church is the same, and the individual, the individual conscience.

It is a true statement that the word "progress" is used in an unqualified and unlimited way, and that it signifies essentially the same as the word "growth," and that it is the growth of a man's soul, the growth of his mind, the growth of his character.

Again, Socialism assumes every shade and variety of opinion respecting the meaning of the word "society," and that the social order is one of the most important facts which concern us.

The true meaning of the term is that the society is made up of individuals, and that the individual is the unit of the social body.

But the true constituent of the individual is the family, and the family is the unit of the social body.

Nor is it this, but the fact that what we have been witnessing is the growth of a new conception of the nature of the individual, and the individual is the unit of the social body.
LIBERTY. 29

7

"Irene: or, The Road to Freedom." The above novel, written by Sada Bailey Fowler and pub-
lished by Harper Brothers in Philadelphia, has made its appearance. As a review of the book, it is
collected that the true spirit of liberty has essentially to do with its bearings upon law and order. With the help of such a book, little will be written about slavery and the true spirit of liberty (as it should be understood) will be understood upon its strictly literary merits and demerits. The former are many, and the latter, while they plainly indicate that the book is not only admirable in form, but also in its general bearing, is not always overlooked in the viewpoint of the real, and self-
sacrifice which have adorned her many years of struggle in her laborious quest for freedom.

The story of Irene is that of a woman whose tender soul was kept forth by flights of imagina
tive lighting bright eyes. Her life was spent in search of freedom, and she has been the recipient of such
greatness that she is held as a symbol of the true spirit of liberty. Her life is a story of love, courage,
and self-sacrifice, and her example is an inspiration to all who seek freedom in the face of oppres
sion. She remains a symbol of the true spirit of liberty, and her story is a beacon of hope for all
those who seek freedom.

Another View of "Irene." The review of Mrs. Fowler's novel, "Irene," which appears
elsewhere, is a generous tribute from a friendly hand. I have read only bits of the book at random, but, judging from
these few pages, I am convinced that the story is a romance, and as such is a far better expression
of the true spirit of liberty than any other book I have ever read. The following extract from a criticism passed upon it in Miss
Holt's "New Thought!"

To us, about every attempt to blind story writing and radical
reform is a failure, and this book is no exception. Re-
formers, as a rule, have a strange way of gathering their
forces; the fact being, that they want in argument, -valid argument. Story readers are seldom greatly interested in reform, and, when they do, the truth lies in the fact that they have been misunderstood into an em
closed position. Understanding into an open position, the
writers of indem is nothing wrong. The three young girls whom
with the book opens have their shoulders not less than
fifty years older. They have been proper, modest, look
tramp doors and mysteriously getting into people's houses,
and where and when they are not expected. One, Nana, opens a
trap door, and sometimes puts her hands through it, and
holds a circle with Patrick and Dr. Raymond over poor, sick Irene
several nights, and neither of the three know it. These abso-
lute impossibilities occur with so many of the characters and
so frequently that one comes to look for them on almost every
page of the book.

Sponer to Cleveland.

Dear Tucker,

I have received the copy of Mr. Lysander Sponer's Letter to the editor of the New York Age, which you have sent me.

I have read it and re-read it more than once. Whorere this regards I am a contributor to political literature or party journalism, I am to consider it a matter of course that I should not
be left out. As a member of the Boston club, and the only one of the three that is not a
figure-head, and his inaugural address merely the text by which the author seeks to promote a summary of his principles and
notions of what is known as the "principles of liberty," I am not expected to be
by any rights of men and women under institutions wholly free. You are aware that I have not been accustomed to receive opin-
ions or anent of any kind, nor to have any
vote in the determination of the principles or
policies which I have been able to offer to the
authority of the name. Sponer is now advanced to the ripe age of seventy-seven. His position in American law and
principles, and American literature is fixed for good or evil. His good or ill
name in American authorship is a question upon which you and I know opinions with 

Napoleon.

But while Irene is conscious in her reproduction of the exis-
ting order of marriage, she is all the time spilling it on to
and what the struggle has cost her, she is, for the account of
the chief editor of the book, in its bearings upon liberty and the State, centres. Foole Irene thinks to be of the existing
State only as much as it is; for she is the central figure in a
pet machine in contravention of it, and submitting it to the
officers of the State, under forms preserved by the State, as
so to be possible on paper, or, from a system of law and gov-
drill, it is a fair sample of the ordinary schemes of har
theoretically free lovers who attempt to fit themselves with the State. The marriage, in its usage, is the right of the men, and
ownership and government in the children is at once harmony and equity. How Mrs. Fowler can appeal for an approval
wholly of the women, for the price of her labor might be more
considered any series of one hundred

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The moralists, however, have done much to check this growth, and to encourage a more sensible attitude towards the problem of population.

In conclusion, it may be said that the moralists of today have done much to check the growth of population, and to encourage a more sensible attitude towards the problem of population.

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