On Picket Duty.

"John Swinton's Paper," after a four years' struggle for existence and a lavish expenditure of money, has been obliged to suspend publication. One more number will be issued, on August 21, to review its work, and that will be the last. I am very, very sorry.

The poem, "The Last Man," printed in another column, I found in the New York "Leader," which published it as a sample of capitalist doggerel used in the place of argument. It is certainly capital, whether capitalist or not. I publish it because I consider it a bit of satire as effective as deserved. It should be added, however, that its point could be turned against the capitalists with even greater effect, and that therefore it ill becomes them to use it.

The "Workmen's Advocate," the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, declares that "in the Socialist State alcohol will not find a place except for scientific purposes." On the other hand, Laurence Gronlund, the star philosopher of the Socialist Labor Party, affirms that the Socialist State will run saloons, —undoubtedly meaning by saloons places where liquor can be procured as a beverage. In this difference between the doctors we get a forecast of the circus which life will become when the Socialist State goes into operation.

One of the most impudent falsehoods which I have met lately is told by Ralph Beamsont, chairman of the national legislative committee of the Knights of Labor, in an article in the official organ, the "Journal of United Labor." Among the duties entrusted to this committee is that of lobbying at Washington to secure a monopoly of the telegraph system by the government. This project was criticized by the New York "World," and Beamsont's article is written in answer to its criticism. In support of government telegraphy he elicits the government postal service, and about the latter he makes the following astounding statement:

"There was a time when the United States mail used to be transported by corporation and that it cost twenty-five cents to carry a letter three hundred miles. The government took hold of it and reduced the charge to twelve cents, then to five, then to three, and now the letter, instead of being carried three hundred miles for twenty-five cents, may be carried three thousand miles for one cent. And, if it is written on a postal card, for one cent." Of course, this is intended to convey the idea that government reduced the rates of postage which otherwise private enterprise would have kept up. But the truth is just the opposite. Private enterprise compelled the government to reduce rates which the government otherwise would have kept up. The first great reduction from the government's original rates to five cents was forced upon the government, against its will and after a severe struggle, by the private mail operators by Lynder Spenser. Elaborate and detailed proof of this assertion may be found in the pamphlet, "Who Caused the Reduction of Postage?" advertised among the spoons pamphlets in another column. The State Socialists find it necessary to falsify in order to establish the superiority of governmental administration to private enterprise.

In answer to my paragraph in No. 108 E. C. Walker writes in "Lucifer" as follows: "It is to be presumed, judging by the way he argues concerning our case, that, if Mr. Tucker should be arrested on the charge of having said a man a pig, without paying a fine, the judge might tax up to him, he would not plead that such act was not illegal, for that would be a plea that it was legal, and he could not make that horrible averment because, forsooth, he is an Anarchist." It is a very arguable presumption! If I simply desired to get out of the State's clutches as speedily and safely as possible, and the plea of legality seemed the easiest way to the end, I should make it. But I should not proclaim or imagine myself doing it. I am only a reformer, and I shall have the ingenious reformer's usual pretense, that I tried to sell a paper untaxed, but should hold that, unless I explained at the first opportunity that my action was a makeshift of the moment, I had done what I could to establish the claim that I am not entitled to sell papers except under conditions imposed by the law. And this would be doubly the case if my plea of legality were made in good faith, not as a makeshift, but avowedly as an exemplification of my ideas, and involved a tacit acceptance by me of certain arbitrary privileges and obligations, justified intrinsically by no true principle, but granted to and laid upon all legal newsmen by the State, including among these privileges and obligations not only those now existing, but whatever new ones the State in its good pleasure might create in relation to that special business. Now, that is exactly what Mr. Walker did in making his pleas of legal marriage as a vindication of Anarchism in sexual relations. If he made it in good faith (and he declares that he did), he not only acknowledged statute law as superior to individual liberty, but he entered into a tacit compact with the State to observe all the obligations which it now lays, or may hereafter lay, upon legal husbands. This was the consideration upon the strength of which I accused him of abandoning Anarchistic ground, and this is the consideration which he never discusses in trying to refute my accusation. I hope not to be compelled to devote space again to a repetition of this point.
THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.

By STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

PART SECOND.

COST THE LIMIT OF PRICE:

A Scientific Measure of Honesty in Trade as One of the Fundamental Principles in the Solution of the Economic Problem.

Continued from No. 106.

Yet hinted no one has thought of seriously questioning the principle,—namely, that "there is a limit and a boundary in the value of labor," or the "congress of prices," to the effect that it is the function of price to maintain social equilibrium. It is upon this principle or maxims that all honest trade professes to be conducted, until instances arise in which its oppressive operation is felt, and when the ideal of a "true" moral sense of mankind, which carry it out are denounced as rogues and cheats. In this manner a sort of convivial

conventional limit is placed upon the application of a principle which is equally the principle of all business, and the law of all that is called human and of all that is called business. The discovery has not hinted been made that the principle itself is essentially vicious, and that in its infinite and all-pervading variety of application, is itself the ultimate principle of socialist inequity, inequality of condition, and frightful pauperism and wretchedness: which characterize the existing state of our social civilization. Still less has the discovery been made that there is a principle of trade which, once understood and applied in practice, will effectually rectify all these monstrous evils, and introduce into human society the reign of absolute equity in all property relations, while it will lay the foundations of universal justice in the social and moral relations as well.

74. — Suppose it costs me ten minutes' labor to concoct a pill which will save you from as much suffering as it will cost me to make it, and assume the case simple, that the knowledge of the ingredients came to me by accident, without cost of labor or profit. It is clear that your life is worth to you more than your fortune. And if, then, I, or any other person, knowingly, for the nostrum of the whole of your property, more or less, clearly so, if it is right to take for a thing what is worth, which is theoretically the highest edition of trade.

15. — For the, on the one hand, by the impossibility, existing in the nature of things, of ascertaining and measuring positive values, or of determining, in other words, what a thing is worth, the individual consciousness of every man, and his experience of every unusual or extreme application of the principle that it is either no rule or a bad one, and not guided by the knowledge of any true principle of trade, which is different from the right to which thus simple and practical, the world has practically abandoned the attempt to combine Equity with Commerce, and lowered its standard of morality to the inverse statement of the former. Commerce is not therefore the "inward" or, in other words, it is fitting and proper to take for a thing what can never be got for it. This, then, is what is denominated the Market Value of an article, as distinguished from the wholesale and retail value. While a merchant is not necessarily a great practical 

— age over the more decent theoretical statement, in the fact that it is possible to partake by experiment how long it will cost you the profit. The principle, in the form, more or less, the price by the degree of the part of the purchaser,—that is, by what he supposes it is the worth of the commodity to the consumer, and not in comparison with that of the one with which he transacts. Hence it becomes immediately and continually the interest of the seller to place the purchaser in a condition of as much war. as possible to "cover him," as the phrase is in Wall street, and force him to buy at the dearest rate. If he is unable to increase his actual necessity, he resists to every means of creating an imaginary want by false representations and uses of the means of the usurers of forestalling the market, etc., by the public knowledge of Supply and Demand, and advertising and puffing worthless commodities, and the like, the public is a mere instrument of the market-system, a system which ripening through patricianism, and coming to offend the nostrils of good taste no less than the innate sense of right, which, dreadfully vitiating as it is, has failed wholly in the formation of a moral standard.

16. — The Value Principle in this form, as the other, is therefore fair, without being dishonest, moral, or even legal. It is the principle of the Medical, and hence it is a kind of sentimental modification whatever the sentiment for honesty is most present. This is the highest expression of the doctrine of honesty, as now known, in the world, may be "woven into the fabric of the legal system. - Don't be too bad," and "Don't g. uge too deep." No Political Economists, Financial, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right in commercial transactions than this: too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right in commercial transactions than this: too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right in commercial transactions than this: too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right. Too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right. Too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right. Too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right. Too much to affirm that neither Political Economists, Financialist, Financialist, Moralist, or Religiousist has a more definite standard of right.

17. — The Value Principle is the commercial embodiment of the essential element of conquest and war,—war transferred from the battle-field to the counter,—none the less opposed, however, to the spirit of the Age of Reason, the age of human brotherhood. In so far as it fully realized the physically strong conquer and subject the physically weak. In the conflict of trade the intellectually strong win and the intellectually weak are defeated. The greatest and simplest of the rights of the right of conquest and subjugation. We have, in fact, out of the period of physical dominion. We remain, however, as yet in the period of intellectu dominion. The power of the intellect has been transferred into the hands of the physical. It is upon this proposition that the man who has superior intellectual endowments has a right to seek from the common man the cost of these actions. It is extremely difficult to understand in what the general principle of the legitimate operation of trade there is no other law recognized than the relative magnitude of the selfish motives of the parties; modified by the sentiment prevails stated above.

18. — The intrinsic wrongfulness of the principal actions and practices of existing commerce will appear to every reflecting mind from the preceding analysis. It will be proper, however, before disposing of the consideration of the Value Principle, to trace out a little more in detail some of its specific results.

The principle itself being essentially iniquitous, all the fruits of the principle are necessarily precarious.

Among the consequences which flow from it are the following:

1. In its grossest form it is the basis of all law of monopolies. Where the object is to buy cheap and sell dear, the parties find their interest in mutual deception. It is taught, in theory, that "honesty is the best policy," in the song current, which is the mere mockery of the sort of honest that is upon the parent,—in the short run. Honesty, even though as honest as such, can be arrived at,—is not the best policy under the present unscientific system of commercial competition. Professional merchants are sharp to distinguish their true policy for that end, and they do not find it in a full exposition of the truth. Intelligent merchants know the nature of the thing, and understand the value of the new system of morality acquired the moment a practical application is to be made of the instruction. A frank disclosure, for instance, how a certain practice would destroy the reputation for sagacity as effectually as it would that of the gambler among his associates. Both commerce and gambling, as professions, are systems of politics which each other and each other, a fact which finds its unblushing announcement in the maxim of the Common Law, Common usage, (let the purchaser take care).

13. — It creates trade for trade's sake, and augments the number of wageworkers, whose support is chargeable upon Labor. As trade, under the operation of the Value Principle, offers the one the right to trade with the other, it is not until several of others, it creates trade where there is no necessity for trade,—not as a cent interchanges of commodities between producers and consumers, but as a cent of commerce is an insidious instrument to undermine commerce and crimp.

15. — It degrades the dignity of Labor. Inasmuch as trade, under the operation of this principle, is more profitable, or at any rate is liable to promises to be, and in a portion of cases is more profitable than productive labor, it follows that the labor of the productive worker will be a more violent and a more widespread, and hence, the ''Commer- cers is King." Hence, again, productive labor is deprecated and esteemed. It holds the same relation to commerce in this age,—a nation of honest intellectual superiority,—that commerce held a few generations since,—under the reign of physical force,—to military expenditure, personal, or hereditary. Thus the degradation of labor, and all the inhumanity caused by the same false principle of exchange, producers will follow in the next stage of the progress will be the inauguration of Exchange, and commerce will be the means of the production of a new species of industry according to bards, and the consequent accession of labor to the highest rank of human estimation. Commerce will then sink to a mere brokerage, paid, like any other species of exchange, to its owner by a mere to a more useful force. It will be reduced to the simplest and most direct methods of exchange, and made to be the nearest servant of production, which will come, in its turn, to be served, as confiding in its own strength.

16. — It prevents the possibility of a scientific Adjustment of Supply to Demand. It has been already shown that speculation is the cause why there has never been an honest speculation. It is also partially shown, at various points, that speculation, or trading, in chances and fluctuation in the market, has its roots deeply in the Value Principle, and it is there that speculation is most rooted. It will be proper, however, in this connection to define exactly the limits of speculation, and to point out more specifically how the Value Principle creates it, and how the Cost Principle extinguishes it.

17. — By speculation is meant, in the ordinary language of trade, risky and uncertain transactions entered upon for the sake of more than ordinary profits, and in that sense there is attached to it, among merchants, a slight shade of imputation of dishonesty or dishonesty consequently. As we are seeking now, however, to employ legitimate means to put an end to the very essence of this definition of the term. The line between ordinary and more than ordinary profits is too vague for a scientific treatment. At one extremity of the long ascendency of chance—daily speculation, the value of all property is determined by the common verdict of mutual — as merely a more specious form of robbery. It holds the same relation to ordinary commerce,—and to the Cost Principle, to do this. The business of the business of the Law is the business of a producer, something well above the line of commerce, and above and above,—that is, something beyond an equivalent, or, in its simplest expression, something for nothing.

18. — There is no difference between business-making in its mildest form, speculation in its opprobrious sense as the middle term, and gambling as the ultimate, as to the proportions in which they are employed. As a man makes a turn of the wheel on the sluice, or the village, or the man of pleasure, the harlot, and the pimp.

19. — The philanthropy of the man of leisure is the overthrow of the institution of slavery. But slavery has no scientific definition. It is thought to consist in the freedom of chattelism, but an ingenious lawyer would run his pen through a statute and claim that all the rights of master, and yet leave slavery, for all practical purposes, precisely what it is now. It needs only to appropriate the services of the man by operation of law, instead of the man himself. The basis distinction, then, left, beyond the condition and that
of the laborer who is robbed by the operation of a "veto" commercial principle would be in the fact of the oppression being more tangible and undisguised. 

17. In any transaction, I put from you some portion of your earnings without an equivalent, I begin to make you a slave, to confound you with your toil; if I get my full share of the produce of your toil, I make you a serf, reduce you to the condition of a slave; and, finally, if I obtain the whole of your services without an equivalent—except the 

8. The stakeholder would be found, therefore, upon a scientific analysis, to hold the same relation to the trade which the freeloader holds to the bloater. It is a question of which to admit the obligation, in the atoll of the one, or the 

9. We shall want some merchants after all, and will pay them just what they are entitled to do. Do you want me? I shall now be under 

10. The Voluntary Principle renders Competition destructive and deprecatory. The result of competition is considered by the late Mr. M. (1823.)

11. VI. — The Value Principle renders Competition deprecatory and deprecatory. The result of competition is considered by the late Mr. M. 

12. Consequently, every principle of competition renders laborers (under the conditions of our civilization) a slave to their employer. But 

13. By GEORGE SAINTON

14. He interrupted his warm caresses only for demonstrations and to extract her to return to life, which, in accordance with the wishes expressed by her, he would make sweet for her, reverential in the future of earthly pleasures filled with all the fulness of drily and scrupulous dreams.

15. "Quite sure!" murmured the bustling woman, as she revived, questioning him with her looks, which sparkled like the first stars of the evening.

16. Perhaps, this was the reason why Sir Brian, having embarrassed with variations the old eternal expressions of love, he imposed on a check the increasing impatience of her heart, he purchased by the immortal words of his lovingly and in this way in an elegant carriage.

17. His sham prudence, their hypocritical pretense of reserves, did not last long, and soon, electrified by the furtive touching of their cheeks, inflamed by the mingling of their breath and the meeting of their incandescent glances, they yielded enti-

18. For a fortnight after this violent reconciliation, their criminal love was perpetuated in a possession disturbed by no person and no event, but rather favored by them.

19. Newington, summoned to the other end of the county with the troops for urgent operations, had left, refusing Bradwell the honor of accompanying him. He punished him for that reason by seizing his fate, Richard. "O hark, Miss Marian!" escaped a court-martial, Richard owed it to the implacability displayed by his lacon, which stoned for his moment of sentimentation, a sentimentation.

20. A fortnight followed of charming delightful, dainty, refined, extraneous, a popularity law. But the thought of the Irish girl haunted Richard's mind only at infinitely short and inappreciable intervals and he turned his back on Sá, except once, when it was impressed upon him more distinctly, almost laughingly.

21. In view of the castle windows a convoy of emancipated prisoners, bent with fatigue and entirely destitute, approached their vessel. As the signal was given, she turned her back on the sea and glided into the port. "Ah," said Bradwell, whose mind, broken like his arm, moved in a sad, melancholy and yet warlike breath, he saw Trevor's granddaughter in the group which the guards were maltreating.

22. He restrained an exclamation of pity which would have been caught by the Duchess, who had noiselessly entered the room and advanced close to him without his being aware of it. He had roused her, and she was in no hurry to exercise his admiration. She stared at him, and then broke out into applause and praise and thank you. She presented a divinely adorable appearance in a Louis XV. costume, and her complexion and expression excited Remarks and her satin skin was shown with great effect by numerous artificial marks placed over it. Her hair was curled to match and face, black.

23. With her half-closed eyelids, accented with a pencil stroke, with her enigmatic, open, prevailingly lips, with her rows of teeth parting in a smile pointed like a needle, a girl's face, which resembled the face of the fell, white, with the irresistible Duchess eclipsed without difficulty, the mournful and gloomy face of the prisoner moving before, bent like an octogenarian, and who, Richard could not fail to observe, had given merely an impression of Marion, but was not she, or anyone really resembling her.

24. She and Lady Ellen kept daily in store for him these superb surprises, renewing her lamentations concerned with Marion. The Duchess, deep in her thoughts, was as if in a mystical silhouette caught sight of in the depths of a cloister, a Goffic figure taken from a window, an innocent look of the ages of splendor, in the garb of the princess of olden times, with the stiff waist, and the form imposedly in heavy and close folds, and perhaps in the model of the lively, blooming figure of the girl of old, with a pomegranate or jasmine blossom in her hair, and a cigarette between her laughing lips.

25. Thus, by chance, by way of an atmosphere more and more remote, at the suggestion of a fact or a word, the image of Marion outlined itself, a shadow hardly visible by Bradwell but partially awakened from his dream, admired and disturbed, he straightway drove away the troublesome apparition, running, in case it persisted, to take refuge, like a frightened victim of hallucination, a cowardly deserter of the heart, in the atmosphere, in the lap, in the always open and always always.

26. There he would forget both the abandoned girl and the Duke, thanks to a measure more or less celebrated as concerning the title of the book and the title of the Duke. It was Ellen, the novel of the Duke with which Lady Ellen was daily dallying before him and which he himself gave to his mistress when he spoke of her to others.

27. Thus he lay, languishing and enervated, in the continuous moral torpor of drinker who have plunged into a succession of intoxications, awakening suddenly only at the alarming sound of the clock. He who had been a rebel having been annihilated in the country under his orders, the Duke was returning to take up his winter quarters at Cumnies-Park, where he would reside with the girl again under the impression that he was his blood with a dangerous accent.

28. Infatuated with his easy exploits, having had to submit only weak and de- moralised bodies of men, he was looking forward to celebrating his laurels by the end of the year in a magnificent dinner in the hall of his castle. In the circle of twenty, with the dispassionate, for the most of them, he formulated his wishes without disguise, without dissimulation, and with an unclouded, assured, and improper expression which revolutionized the prudery of his circle and the dispassionate, for the most of them, he formulat-

29. Returning the abhorred letter which Ellen had handed him to read, quiver under the outrage, really sickened in a sincere rebellion of his whole being, he showed a face as wild, which betrayed such a renunciation of his past in the past, such a hatred of himself for the pretensions which he coveted concerning the future, that the Duchess, precipitating herself, blushing on his breast, swore to him that never should the hour, the clumsy and brutal soldier, touch her, or even repeat her in his moments of last one of the infamous phrases there written!

30. To break the ice, he would breathe the young air, say a paternoster, kiss her forehead, and he should be permitted no other liberty, she affirmed, than a commonplace kiss on her gloved hand.

31. A card considered the stroke of the lips, as an invasion of his rights, and his jealousy was exaggerated when his father, it was reported to Lord Court, Ellen, twice more gallant than on his depar-

32. The superb and brilliant beauty of the Duchess, who was more charming and seductive than ever.

33. The members of the castle were present at a military dinner given the same evening, at which, with animation, bluster, and swagger, they emptied as many bampers as they had won victories over the enemy, whose forces consisted of a few small detachments remaining in the country and which they crushed, being ten to twenty to the enemy's one. They proposed as many noisy toasts as each of these guided officers ascribed to his comrade, in order that the comrade might recognize in turn an equal number to his credit, and the whole laid, bedecked, bedecked, clacking their war stories, showing off pompously, bursting with vain-glory, and blowing the fumes of victory. They were mingled, surrounded and surrounded by the praises with which they overwhelmed Newington, that Richard, seized ten times with the sudden temptation to quarrel, restraining himself on account of the Duke to express himself who enjoined him to remain without violence to the solitude of a disused hall, where he could, however, watch the Duke, following the place of the features as he talked with Lady Ellen.

34. Twenty times more he wrote to Forster to disturb their interview, because, in his view, Ellen did not close it soon enough, but rather endowed it with the serious and serious expressions which he supposed her to feel, or even, one would have said, with some satisfaction.

35. But suddenly her attitude became reserved instead of gracious, and she held her hands in her hands, the channels of speech were clogged, and he confused, as, looking out from under his bony contracting eyebrows, he darted lustful glances at his wife, of which Ellen appeared brutally heedless.

36. The poor girl was shaking all over, shedding the blood humming in his head, congested, and staggering, his legs as weak as a drop of water.

37. Although her back was towards him, the Duchess heard him coming, and to avoid the irreparable scandal of an invisible scene between father and daughter, she left the room, leaving on the arm of her lover, led him into another room, leaving the Duke simplex at a dessert, and es-
A Spirit More Evil Than Alcohol.

The authority of learning, the tyranny of science, which Bukowmes foresaw, deprecated, and denounced, never found blunter expression than in an article by T. B. Wakeham in the August number of the "Free-thinkers' Magazine," in which the writer endeavors to prove, as he positively knows it to be, that alcohol is an unmitigated evil, a poison that ought never to be taken into the human system. My knowledge of chemistry and physiology is too limited to enable me to judge of the correctness of the arguments adduced; but I do know that it is admirably well written, wonderfully attractive, powerfully plausible, important if true, and therefore worthy of answer by those who alone are competent to answer it if it can be answered. Such a contention I hope to see answered, and, if I can prevail, I shall weigh it against Mr. Wakeham's argument, award a verdict for myself, and act upon it, if I am entitled to do so.

But it is plain that, if Mr. Wakeham's party gets its way, no such privilege will be granted me. For, after having asserted most positively that this "verdict of science" can be made so manifest that it will become "a personal prohibition law," no person in his senses would violate any statute than he would cut off his own throat, in which case its compulsory enforcement will be entirely unnecessary except upon persons out of their senses, Mr. Wakeham goes on to say that it is the duty of the lawyers (of whom he is one) to see that all the smutty manufactures, sale, and use of alcohol as a beverage shall be outlawed, proscribed, and prohibited just as arsenic is, and that, like arsenic, it shall be sold only as a labeled poison. Rather a summary way, it seems to me, of cramming science down the throats of people who like a glass of claret better! "Ah!" some reader will say, "you forget that this compulsory abstinance is only to be enforced upon people out of their senses, probably hopeless sots who are a public danger." This conclusion positively would afford a grain of consolation, had not Mr. Wakeham taken pains in another paragraph to leave no one in doubt as to the meaning of the phrase "in his senses." It is not applicable, he declares, to any drinker of alcohol who claims to "know when he has enough," for "that very remark shows that alcohol has already stolen away his brain." His position, then, is that the law of total abstinance will enforce itself upon all men in their senses, for no man in his senses will drink alcohol after hearing the verdict of science; but that men who drink alcohol, however moderately, are out of their senses and must be "treated, by force if necessary, as a diseased lunatic."

What any priest, any pope, any ear-very-guilty of teaching a more fanatical, more bigoted, more tyrannical doctrine?

Does Mr. Wakeham imagine that he can restore men to their senses by any such disregard of their individualities?

Does he think that the way to strengthen the individual's reason and will is to force them into disease by substituting for the reasons and will of a body of men?

In that case I commend him to the words of Bukowmes: "A society which should obey legislation emanating from a scientific academy, not because it understands itself the rational character of this legislation (in which case the existence of the academy would be, but because this legislation, emanating from the academy, was imposed in the name of a science which it generated without comprehending, such a society would be a society, not of men, but of brutes. It would be a second edition of those missions in Paraguay which submitted so long to the government of the Jesuits. It would surely and rapidly descend to the lowest stage of idiocy."

The mightiest foe of the human mind is not alcohol, by any means; but vice. It is the vice that prompts the conclusion of Mr. Wakeham's essay, and which, if encouraged, would induce a mental paralysis far more universal and far more hopeless than any that science will ever be able to trace to the spirit of alcohol.

A Back Town Heard From.

The Winsted "Press" makes a long address to ridicule the Anarchists for favoring private enterprise in the letter-carrying business. It grounds its ridicule on two falses. 1st. That private enterprise would charge high rates of postage, and, second, that it would not furnish transportation to out-of-the-way points.

An indisputable fact has frequently been cited in Liberty which instantly and utterly overthrows both these false inferences. Its conclusion, however, has had no effect upon the believers in a government postal monopoly. I do not expect another repetition to produce any effect upon the Winsted "Press"; still I shall try it.

Some six years ago, "less letter-postage was still three cents, Wells, Fargo & Co. were doing a large business in carrying letters throughout the Pacific States and Territories. Their rate was five cents, more than three of which they expended, as the legal costs of monopoly-charging of the United States for a stamped envelope in which to carry the letter entrusted to their care. That is to say, on every letter which they carried they had to pay a tax of more than three cents. Exclusive of this tax, Wells, Fargo & Co. got less than three cents for each letter which they carried, while the government got three cents for each letter which it carried itself, and more than three cents for each letter which Wells, Fargo & Co. carried. On the other hand, it cost every individual five cents to send by Wells, Fargo & Co. not only three to send by the government. Moreover, the area covered was one in which immensity of distance, sparseness of population, and irregularities of surface made out-of-the-way postal unions difficult of access. Still, in spite of all these advantages on the side of the government, its patronage steadily dwindled, and, while that of Wells, Fargo & Co. steadily grew. It is probable this of course was a benefit to the government. But for this government reaction of affairs, they might have made better out of the postal business.

As Proudhon expressed it, the impossibility of interest, the ruinous and anti-social effect of the organization of economic forces that allows interest to exist. We show that capital increases at the expense of labor, and that a laborer shares the misery which it entails by laboring for expropriating it. As Proudhon answered Bastiat, the main question is not whether interest is legitimate, but whether it is necessary and cannot be done away with to the advantage of all or of any system of exchange. If, by disabling the money monopoly, capital can be placed at the disposal of all industrious and enterprising laborers, and interest made to disappear of itself, there is clearly no logic and no wisdom in debating the proposition that labor, under existing circumstances of life, is a sine qua non. Having been deprived of half its earnings, cannot expect to get the use of capital from those who robbed it, and profit by it, without giving capital a part of the
In the latter part of 1884 Burnett G. Haskell warned the readers of the San Francisco "Truthor" against the competition in the following words: "Bear in mind that the first plank in Mr. Tucker's platform is 'free competition.' And this (when competition is the cause of our miseries) he declares to be a remedy. He vitriolically says, if one of us is out of work, let the other man take it."

In the Denver "Larimer Enquirer" of July 24, 1887, Haskell furnishes a plan for the abolition of poverty, and the same plan he speaks as follows: "Our governing principle on this, is a simple one, the establishment of a corporation to support every man, not by note or repressive laws, but by conception, but by competition. The terrible force that they have used so long to grind us down to poverty, we in our turn will use to forever secure their downfall.

The cornerstone of the capitalist argument is the right to free competition. They claim that it is necessary and just; they fight for the right of any number of men to combine as a corporation, and enter the field as competitors. We the people think otherwise. We combine for the advancement of the state, the nation, and the enterpriser. When the capitalist class entered business, they took the risk of free competition,—really free. What matters it to us if they prated as they did, relying upon their power to mould the public mind to suit their purpose? They have to help on their private ends. They challenged the world, their spears clanged defiantly upon all shields, they dared to fight beneath that banner of 'personal liberty,'—now let them feel the weight of the lance directed against the planks of charging iron. We fight beneath the flag that they themselves have raised.

So Haskell himself has concluded to double the dose of arsenic. I congratulate him on this evidence of growth, and hope he will "bear in mind," that the first plank in "his" platform is "free competition."
About Abolishing the State.

Nothing strikes the average man of the present day with more exasperating force than the proposition to "abolish the State." He grows red in the face, and at his rival's end to know what to do or what to say. The absurdity of the thing is staggering. As a first overwhelming compound, a sudden transition from the prominent position it has held upon us, the fear, it dawns on him that his tormentor is really in earnest, he passes into a somewhat more serious frame of mind. But he puzzles still.

"Now, of course, I can see that you mean something . . . And yet it is a fact . . . why doesn't he see how absurd and foolish the idea is? I am, ashamed, almost, to argue the case, so I don't care to argue it.

"The scale of arguments that must instantly suggest themselves to the freethinker's lawyer. There's something wrong! There's something wrong! I can't understand it."

And this hereditary chauvinism, this conservative continuity, this established order, this absolute, whatever it may be.

"Oh! Duke, is it a father who speaks?"

"It is the instigator commander."

"Whose vigor would crush the rebellion and the ingratitude of the son and the subordinate, if he heard you."

"Badwell-Va... returned a second before, covered by irresistible jubilance, and had a great laugh at the heart of the shadow of the tapestries; and Lady Ellen, who was aware of it, insisted at length on Sir Newington's disposition in regard to his son.

She compared him to the Romans, capable of ordering themselves to inflict the punishment of Brutus on their own child for lack of discipline; and the proud and dashing nature of his lands being bannished by the enemy, stirred up and confused that he so comprehended his duty as the leader of the army.

"Oh! You fill me with horror!" protested the Duchess, energetically, inwardly agitated, and with her eyes fixed on the far eastern part of the hall, where the Duke would intensify the ring of Brutadwell if he, perchance, was weakening and allowing himself to be moved by timid and foolish prejudices concerning false patriotism, in the name of which he himself, like his father, and like his father's father, would destroy his own country.

But in vain she awaited the wrath which, at the same time, she tried to provoke in order to free herself from the gallanties of the soldier, whose desire was to crush, on the contrary, by her generous anger, which set her off and rendered her superiors and, she could not get away from him.

At a single john, where they were serving drinks of all kinds to the guests, growing more and more tryst, loud and noisy calls arose for the Duke to join in new toasts, and all tongues, growing more free in speech, all those who were present agreed that Sir Newington's son, the night, to his companions in arms, for a last bout with the bottles, and, willingly, joining with the others in this drunkard's task, priding himself on his work, ridiculed all the ambitious vaunts, the general, surging the Australians, swallow some quantities of liquor that at last, having put his guests under the table where they were stowing like cock, he ended by rolling in the heap himself, completely drunk.

When he awoke, his body bemo...t cold, with his temples on fire, in broad daylight, licked by his little Myrrin, according to her habit on such occasions, refreshed his face, the first idea in his stormy brain was to resume the conversation with the Duchess interrupted the previous evening, and still incognoing, gaping wide enough to dislocate his teeth,

"If I had not known that the Duke was about to set out for the north, I would have made a speech... the Duke, and there is not one who professes to worship, and I am greatly drawn by the commanding genius of the man. He was, indeed, a remarkable character.

I confess that this man has a great deal to commend him from the early days, those impressions of the man were undeniably very vivid. You take another hand, if you grasp him, so to speak, you will be a handle, from the outside, you have the courage to enter in and say with him face to face.

MISLONARY. — "Go on."

L. — "No more had I once, or I didn't think of it. The fact being, when I was, as I suppose, an Alsatian, this man no man at all, but a sort of document, mysterious creature let down from somewhere in the sky, having no vital connecting link with us people of the earth, save that he would save our souls in another world if we believed in him, or that he is a simple man. Another word is not for just a sympathetic and pathetic call as it were; being sent by his heavenly father on the special errand for which all earth's children have been consigned to endless misery. For this reason it didn't enter, and for this reason, as he shows us, for the all-living, so to speak, get an introduction to Jesus Christ, and began to understand what he was striving at. Then I saw what blind guides all these Christian peoples had really been to me, at any rate. So I said, we are no Christians. To be Christian you must have a son like that, and then you can adopt it. I will show you what it is this evening."

But, as I reflected, I came to me that there was no reason for using another man's name to christianise ideas and doctrines that were after all the common property of all mankind. Jesus invented nothing new, he translated the ideas of others, - very important to us, but belonging, not to him, to our human nature. In that mine of common nature he and sought and found rich treasure, but, like the sunlight, it was treasure he could not, if disposed, set up any private claim to, but the light he shared with all mankind. So, why give it to a special sect, and take it as the generous donor or giver of a life equally the property of all?"

M. — "No, it was not Christianity, then, I would embrace, but Humanity."

L. — "All this is very interesting, but where's your question?"

L. — "I'm coming to it. This was preface, you know. If I sketched my question ever so little from the top of the Alleghany Mountains, you wouldn't hear me. I must bring you into hearing distance. He that hath ears to hear, Jesus kept saying. I must in some way prepare your ears for hearing, or you would go off in wild directions.

"You professed, I said, to be Christian. Now, what do you mean by that title? Are you Christian as I am, or as I now am?"

M. — "Neither an Irish way of putting it. But I suppose I understand you. Both ways, in a sense. I am a Liberal Christian, and so, of course, do not lay great stress on the mere... And one's reason, that is, his private ideas in regard to his husband's ex..."
from the special degras or church in which it was for the time being clothed, always represented man's highest ideal, and as such, it might possibly also be an image of God. Amours, at least, is a religion to us, and the least is no impudence in speaking of it as such. We are not separated by a great gulf from the be all and end all of our desires. Nor can we simply removed them to the earth, where there is more chance of their being fulfilled.

It is not the custom of mankind to with all the earnestness of which I am capable, that I would warn Mr. Yarrows that he has entered upon a very dangerous downhill path, and that the moment the snow-girt wanderer Spooner, to keep before him his own happiness as the goal always to be reached, in order that very soon his own salvation in liberty shall seem a very ridiculous thing in his eye.

Deplorable as it is the spectacle afforded by Mr. Yarrows, it is as sad a spectacle as any disciple of liberty could look forward to. Thus wrote Mr. T. K. at the time. Mr. Yarrows, deny it as he may, has still some "speak", such as liberty and equity, to which he is attached, but it is as devil is said to have on the earth, and all are ghostly, who believe in such things, and who would regulate their lives in accordance with such beliefs. The publishers published several articles in both the Providence and the Spooner, and all are ghostly, but the frequent appearances of this phantasmagoria do not deny that there is a plain-life.

Leading you to this audience, for I am sure that you have one, inherited from past generations of social beings, I have few words to say to your adherents in this controversy. Though I do not deny any man's right to write under another name, but to write in genuine sincerity and consistency is best served by having a writer responsible for all that he writes. I wish that I could bring before the readers of this paper the following excerpts from the statements made by T. K. as T. K., and those made by him under his own name. Your readers would be far better advised if they would have an idea that he is utterly silly, as it would be impossible for an honest, intelligent man to hold two such opposite sets of opinions at the same time.

It is a fact observed for a long time that not the founders, but the disciples of the creed show up its absurdities in the most glaring manner. But the minds which are disciplined to carry out the master's ideas, by bringing them to their logical conclusion, the endeavor to bring their lives into ac-

The ideas on eqn which you and T. K. pro-

In my comment on one of Mr. Kelly's arti-

cles I have stated my position in as unmistakable language as I could put together, but which I declare in private does not differ from it. I do not think the public has any idea of all that he has written, over whatever signature, to the "deadly parallel column"; nevertheless I do not know to what Mr. Kelly refers. So far as I know, T. K. has not published a book by his own name. Where Miss Kelly finds her warrant for the charge made in this article, I do not know. But Miss Kelly has written an article entitled, "Self-Interest, Not Leve, the Foundation of Justice," two years or so ago in a Boston paper called Liberty. Perhaps if Miss Kelly reads that, and some other things, and passionately considers the position of the Egostas, she will realize her errors.

V. YARROWS

Opinions of That "Wretch," Spinoza.

(Treatise on Politics.)

By the right of nature or "doctrine," which was the result of a clumsy attempt at constructing an artificial system of morality, and the doctrine of Spinoza, which rejects all sympathy and all sympathy and the individual and personal happiness. This is the subject which Miss Kelly has in mind when she says that, and some other things, and passionately considers the position of the Egostas, she will realize her errors.

V. YARROWS
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