On Picket Duty.

Walter Bessant says the time is not far distant when workers will form a large fortune as bankers. Shouldn’t wonder a suite, Walter; but about that same time bankers will be able to make no larger fortunes than writers.

Mr. Gladstone has presented the money equivalent of his "obvious" reply to Col. Ingerson in Mr. Rice’s "Revenue" to a Plutarch church. He is evidently under no delusion as regards the issue of the controversy, and he is unusually fair in indirectly admitting his defeat; but his donation will hardly make good the loss sustained by the Church through Ingerson’s fire.

M. Greppo, for many years a Paris member of the French chamber of deputies, died a few weeks ago at the age of seventy-nine. He was a worthy man in many ways, but he will be chiefly remembered for the fact that in the national assembly of 1848, when Proudhon’s bill for the recognition of taxation and credit was defeated in that body by a vote of 601 to 3, he was the one man who voted for Proudhon.

Now that so many labor papers are going down, it is pleasant to note that one is coming up. John K. Burton, formerly editor of the Detroit "Advance and Labor Leaf," again appears in the field as the editor of "Onward," also published in Detroit. His new paper is devoted principally to the single tax on land values, and secondarily to greenbreadism. Of course the author is entirely out of sympathy with both of these objects, but it looks with pleasure upon Mr. Burton’s enterprise, for he is an earnest man and will certainly make a more interesting paper than the "Advance," which has been steadily degenerating ever since Labor left its editorial chair. "Onward" is an eight-page monthly, issued at fifty cents a year from Room 14, Butterfield Building, 46 West Larned St., Detroit.

Robert Louis Stevenson gives as his reason for not writing contemporary novels rather than Robin Hood tales that he has not yet found any satisfactory solution of the social problems of the day, and, until he does find such, prefers to write of people who freely shoot each other down rather than of those who steal from each other on the stock exchange. I am glad to know this, for I shall now have more patience with such; for how can one become so sure of a literary vocation as that today finds expression through an English prose, but that Mr. Stevenson ever studied Anarchism? There he will find a social solution which will enable him to complete the contemporary novels of which he has outlined the plans. There is much in his essays to indicate a natural predisposition towards Anarchistic thought which would develop into a scientific grasp with a little systematic study of Anarchism "from the root up," as Mr. Belford Sax would say.

The most amusing thing in favor of Communism, says he, is that he "always observed that workers with difficulty understand the possibility of a wage-system of labor-checks and like artificial inventions of Socialists," but has been "struck on the contrary by the statements with which they always accept Communist principles." Was Kropotkin ever struck by the exactness with which these "sume-minded people" accept the creation theory and with which they undestand the possibility of evolution? "No, he never did ever use this fact as an argument in favor of the creation hypothesis. Just as it is easier to rest satisfied with the statement, ‘Male and female created he them,’ than to trace in the geological strata the intricacies in the evolution of species, so it is easier to say that every man shall have whatever he wants to have and the economic law by which every man may yet the equivalent of his products. The way of Faith is direct and easy to follow, but their goal is a quagmire; whereas the ways of Science, however devils and difficult to tread, lead to solid ground at last. Communism belongs to the Age of Faith, Anarchistic Socialism to the Age of Science."

The English Fabian Society evidently means to cover the ground this season. It has mapped out a "plan of campaign." On September 21, October 5 and 16, November 12 and 18, and December 27 and 21, it will meet in Willy’s Rooms, London, to listen to seven lectures on "Socialism: Its Aim and Principles." The first four lectures will treat of "The Basis of Socialism," the last three of "The Organization of Society," "The Political Philosophy of Individual Production," "The Growth of the Great Industry," "The Development of the World-Commerce," and "The Differentiation of Manager and Capitalist."


Anarchist severely expected to find an endorsement of their economic ideas in President Cleveland’s last legislative program, but he is disappointed. "This vast accumulation of the frauds presents that much money drawn from thecirculating medium of the country, which is needed in the channels of trade and business. It is a great mistake to suppose that the consequences which follow the continuance of that mode of living are necessarily of immediate importance to the mass of our citizens, and only concern those engaged in large financial transactions. In the restless enterprise and activity which these and ready success is found that the opportunity for labor and employment, and that impetus to business and production which bring in their train prosperity to our citizens in every station and occupation.

Now—new investments in business and manufactures, the construction of new and important works, and the enlargement of enterprises already established, depend largely upon obtaining money upon easy terms; with fair security, and all these things are stimulated by an abundant volume of circulating medium. Even the harvested grain of the farmer remains without a market as long as money is forthcoming for its movement and transportation to the seaboard. The first result of a scarcity of money among the people is the exaction of severe terms for its use. A rising distrust and timidity is followed by a refusal of an advance on any terms. Inventions refuse all risks and decline all securities, and in a general fright the money still in the hands of the people is persistently hoarded. It is quite apparent that, when this perfectly natural, if not inevitable, stage is reached, depression in all business must follow, and the transactions of the entire business of the country, from one who began his presidential administration by opposing even the silver addition to the money of the country, is unaccountable indeed.

Simplicity.

(Gravé in L’Intégrateur.)

I always feel a certain degree of joy when I see the government are so busy digging into other people’s affairs as they do when they belonged to the opposition. This joy is as much as we feel as the sight of a cadet.

Do not a person’s ideas, theories, principles, change with his position? Such and such a man, when he knew as a bachelor, prepossessed the greatest indifference in regard to tagging wives; since he contracted a legitimate union, he considers them as it is immoral his heart. Formerly wallowing in black poverty, he would willingly risk all capital and property. As unexpected inheritance has made him the same time a conservative and a millionaire, and has inspired him with a sudden, but furious, horror of demands. For a short time Nicholas lived without prejudice; in those days he passed liberty of language and manners to extreme limits. When on the wage, she found a rich fool to marry her, and now she is the most pious and stiff- necked woman in the world. It is not prudently in her presence to speak one word louder than another.

The man who once was governed, now that he has become a governor, is no longer the same person at all. Why would you have him continue to think the same? Governor, he wanted to break down arbitrary power, because arbitrary power threatened him; therefore, the new weapon was engraved on his head; but, proving, he holds the weapon by the hill, he is the old person of others. Why should he not be agreeable and avowed to him? The contrary would be surprising.

For this reason we cannot help admiring that there is a logic in the doctrines of the Anarchists, who, taking their stand on the fact that positions change men and that all governments resemble each other, want no more governors.
LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE,
AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL
A DISCUSSION

BY

Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews.

MRS. ANDREWS’S ADDRESS TO MR. GREELEY.

Continued from No. 122.

6. "The command from Sinai, etc., does not pre-pose (unless it is intended to shift the ground of our discussion from the philosophical to the theological arena) to notice arguments drawn from the religious books of any sect, Christian, Muhammadan, or other, on this point. The idea of a sovereign must be based on the very broadest as humanity, not confined to persons who happen to think alike upon some point of faith, or upon the authority of some scripture. The physiological effects of this point have been demonstrated in the only way that can, to any practical other matters of science; and if the Bible seems to quarrel with physiology, as it has seemed to do with astronomy and geology, it belongs to its exponents to seek for the rationale of their objections in a way that is not to be found in any other and tired of cavilling about excesses and text-readings while humanity lies bound and body, and soul, by the horrid impulsion to which, as is well known, the susceptible imagination of a mother gives form in the character of her offspring. The evil in this case is that your prospective murderer was the child of adultery and deformity itself. You are not only not to be guilty of the murder of the child, but to make a false issue about the marriage, or something of no comparative value to the marriage, and must not conspire to oust children the rest of mankind. No child healthily and honestly begotten, and never subsequent捺-approved and outraged by false social relations, will ever be a murderer. We believe that this is true.

You say that you regard "free trade as neither right nor wrong, good nor bad, in itself, but only in view of its practical issues." Do you say the same of free

moral consequences of the former, and King Bomba and the Grand Duke of Tassany of the latter, but the public have not the idea in their minds that there is somehow a difference, funda-

mentally, between a jurisprudence of marriage on one side, and a jurisprudence of Bomba, and the Grand Duke. Perhaps you will enlighten us as to what that dif-

ference is. As matters now stand, I do not perceive it.

I suggest that my view of it is unorthodox, and induce you to think of something else, emigration, or anything desperate; but I presume you do not urge the abatement of the subject as a subject of legislation, but that you would like it to

be allowed to remain without change.

How far will you consent that they shall be made the criteria for deciding the questions mooted between?

In your views of social evil I cannot, in the circumstances under which I write, utter what I feel. If I be not too severe a thing to say, allow me, however, merely to say that we all probably, give the measure of ourselves, more exactly than in any other possible mode, by the estimate we make of the natural results of freedom. Permit me, on this point, to substitute for what I might have said an extract from a communication I have just received, suggested by you: remarks, I suppose, on "the world views," or perhaps I should say, the world views of the world over more than to any other man or woman, living or dead, for thorough investigation and appreciation of the causes of disease and the laws of health, especially in all that has to do with the sexual relations concern.

It is the God-appointed mission of woman to teach the world what purity is. May Mr. Greeley be so fortunate as to learn the lesson.

The woman who is truly healthy in the healthiest part of the world, — health of body and of spirit, -is pure and -tolerably pure. She needs no human law for the protection of her chastity. While a wise human law may give a little assistance to the community thereby left to itself to look after its own safety, it does not even take the place of the power.

It demands of me that I speak every man and every woman to speak, and do whatsoever seems best to them in their own eyes, laying down the charge of the church, as you say, of anything that would be addictive or productive of paralysis.

I am not attaching anything in the way of the power, the church, the public, or otherwise, or anything else that the lines do not throw the abominable consequences of their consequences, and in doing this, to this rather deplorable condition of things, hold as the essential principle of order and harmony, and growth in purity and intelligence, and rational feelings among men. Some to inform me what you think of my doctrine of the existence of the anti-clerical in the 19th century, and if it is able to illustrate its workings by quotations from ancient history so profuse as you infer it is.

Probably you will perceive that you have mistaken the assertion of one's own sovereignty over others (which is your own doctrine, and which has been common enough in the world) for a doctrine which affirms and solemnly proclaims, as it were, that we are the masters of all other men, while it is, so far as possible, to effect the right of the individual to himself. So long as it rests in the sphere of mere license, against encroachment, not against rebellion, if it is true, as it is to request a man to stand on his own feet and not on others.

Can I suppose that you are treating your doctrine of the freedom of women and the right to marriage with any firmness you can set up with the proposition as it stands, without more ado, the effect of the most fundamental laws, the effect of the most important laws, the effect of the most fundamental and sacred affairs of my private life in the same manner. You publicly notify me that you won't. Another generation will judge between us as to the barbarism and the culture of these two positions. At present it is enough to say that your course leads to peace and yours to war. Judge which is best.

My doctrine of woman's and man's sovereignty is an imperious command to me to thrust myself into your affairs of the heart, to determine for you what woman (or women) you will love well enough or purely enough to live with, or how many you are capable of being. I deplore it that you should be left to settle the most intimate and most sacred affairs of my private life in the same manner. You publicly notify me that you won't. Another generation will judge between us as to the barbarism and the culture of these two positions. At present it is enough to say that your course leads to peace and yours to war. Judge which is best.

I have no personal prejudices that you have to be knocked down with a slug shot, or a piercing stroke, dragged up a blind alley, and there finished; nor do I hope to get rid of this pretense, as I once have. A free and independent woman does not ask to be classified into a division system, which has existed in barbarous countries, and, which is the entire confutation, not of one woman, as amongst us, but of many of one man.

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LIBERTY. 133.

THE RAG-PICKER OF PARIS.

By FELIX PYAT.

Translated from the French by Salol. B. Tucker.

PART FIRST.

THE BASKET.

Continued from No. 221.

Gertrude, charmed, put her hand over her husband's mouth, who kissed it tenderly to surely win the cause which again he pleaded:

"The patient that you are unhappy at having had a man who bowed his wild oats at the proper time, and consequently has no need to sow them after marriage!" See, my beloved Gertrude, I am so happy being united to the Bertrand, the priest who, for the sake of the church and for the sake of the law, for motives of interest, for motives of prudence, for the dowry, in plain English, for the strong-box. Nothing will leave the family; what do you think of that?

The baroness, shaken, looked at Claire.

"And you, Claire, what do you say to that?" she asked.

"Yes, answer," said the baron.

But, if the baron seemed obstinate in his purpose, his daughter, who took after him, was no less stubborn in her own. She answered resolutely, with tears in her handsome eyes, but with firmness in her strong voice:

"No, my father, I shall never love Camille."

After all, Claire, she knew, and again by her courage, again defended against the father, appealing to his tenderness against his wisdom, pleading the rights of the heart against the strong-box, of nobility, religion, and love against interest, of the old and of the new. But, after all, she would make condescension with Claire, refuse, in her capacity of guardian, her consent to her ward, and, so far as she could, place her veto upon their marriage.

But the strain of intrigue, the effort to produce the effect so long sought for, brought on a frightful reaction, produced one of those nervous crises to which she had become subject soon after her marriage.

Migræna, stick headaches, neuralgia, vertigo, nervous attacks, all different forms of one and the same disease, a disease of the cities, ending in hysteria, epilepsy, eclampsia, giddiness, or madness—never in short, ah! the word is found, the malady of the city, the sinews of the city's happiness; the feminine element in this nature is complicated and delicately a nervous affection in a woman is a bane to the doctor if the patient is rich, and to the doctor if she is poor. Disease, as we know, are dependent upon fashion. Other morals, other manners, diseases! Neurolgy changes with life. Mucous diseases have given place to nervous diseases. The same were discussed from the more animal life of our forefathers were the mucous tissues, while the tissues which suffer from our more mental life are the nervous tissue.

Ah! is it not true, or not, old or new, physical or chemical, all are alike impotent. Indeed, what effect can sermon or bismuth have on an anadrilie old maid or a mother who mourns a dead child?

In consequence of her marriage, Gertrude and Camille had already been for a long time under the care of two physicians, good people: one of the body and one of the soul, Doctor Dubois and the abbé Venet. Poor woman! To say nothing of her husband, who cared for her more than the two others! What could she expect to do against these?

"Go for the doctor," cried the baron. "And Monsieur the abbé," said the baroness.

At that moment Camille entered, seeming less at ease than usual and covered with his surplice, a long cloak, and under his surplice, in the inner box, one of those longs so singularly coupled with the tickets of the opera.

"Pardon me," said Camille to the baron, "if I bring you a friend. . . of the boulevard, one of the ten of the internal box, one of those longs so singularly coupled with the tickets of the opera."

"Those stairs, yesterday's crepes, today gomme. . . tomorrow what?"

"M. Louchardi," added Camille, "who desires to be presented to you."

And he bade M. Louchardi enter.

The stranger, dressed, doubtless decorated his coat and overcoat, removed his gloves, and bowed his head in a manner the baron returned.

"Yes, Monsieur," said he, "I have asked Camille for the honor of an introduction and an interview with you in regard to an affair. . . worthy of you."

"And why, in the name of the dear," said the baroness.

"But it seems to me that I intrude. I find you with your family; and, if you like, we will postpone."

"No at all, Monsieur, there is time for everything, for business as well as family affairs; and if the heart beats under the pocket, the pocket—"

"Ah! with luck, without luck, with many physicians, none of the ladies, said Camille, laughing at the baron, who had stopped short; "the pocket stifles the heart; the box takes precedence of everything; that's why it is called the strong-box."

"I don't say so; but do you refer, Monsieur?"

"Ah! a colossal, pyramidal affair, a Mont Blanc," added Camille, laughing.

"See the high forehead of the straight-haired Corsican and the imperial look of the bearded Corsican. Not once, not once, not once."

"That is, God must be her heir," said the confessor, betraying himself.

"Not a strictly necessary conclusion, Monsieur abbé," said the baron; "but why above all when there is nothing to be said?"

"Surely not; when the woman is in good condition, it is an act of naivety, always painful, but rarely fatal."

"Well, then?"

"But," ventured Gertrude, "may the child survive?"

"Sometimes the mother gives her life to the child."

"Poor dear Camille, poor Camille," murmured Gertrude impulsively.

The consultation ended as it began,—upon stocks, rain, and fine weather.

Camille, on seeing the black coats enter, had gone out, threatened with a marriage, glad to evade and postpone the question, having all the morality of his day and time of life, no more.

"No luck!" said he to himself, feeling of his wounded hand, "so little in heroism in these days!"

Continued on page 6.
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My using the word "publi"... staggars Mr. Ricketts, who seems to think an individual has no business with such an article.

It is a fatal weakness for an individualist to recognize any authority whatever in the form of "police," whether it be the "police" as such, or because he speaks of the "public good" as being settled beyond controversy. Should not a railroad also be public? How about telegraphs, canals, etc.? If these things are all alike, why not leave it to the State to administer them?

Public does not necessarily mean belonging to the people, their property in common; it also, commonly and properly, means open for the people's use, and in that sense I employed it. If we can properly call that a public hall which is really owned by a proprietor, and which can be rented only for so much as he may wish, why not call it a public house which is owned by a landlord; if we may call a woman a public character who is undoubtedly owned by her own person, —there is surely no violence in calling a strip of ground, which no one owns but on whose labor it was worked, "public property"?

I did not admit that the public road was "public property." I said: "The public streets do not belong to any one man; neither are they the communal property of all,—for the road belong nobody."

This my contention is clear, and it is impossible for Ricketts to forget. His faculty to forget and misunderstand is phenomenal.

A public road, as I define it, is a strip of ground left open for free travel. Free travel requires that there shall be enough of these strips, of convenient width, within the public domain, on any direction with reasonable directness and without man-made obstruction. Liberty requires that a man shall travel at his own expense; he must smooth his own path and pay for it, and he has no one to do it for him. If, as the roads are now sold, a man must buy his route, or if the state makes it pay for his, then it is not free travel.

Ricketts is ready for me here, I suspect, with the statement, if, in my fellows pave my road, or bridge for me a stream, they have a right to compel me to pay for it. If I would just as soon travel the rough road that makes it pay me for its smoothing; and if I am willing to work or swoon, who has a right to tax me for a bridge?

What right has any man to stretch an elaborate pavozeniere across the river to make me pay for its smoothing; and if I am willing to walk or swoon, who has a right to tax me for a bridge?

I assert: those who want macadamized roads, flagged pavements, and massive bridges, must pay for them, or they have no right to travel on these without contriving, they must not be hindered.

Ricketts will see in all this a source of great injustice; will suppose that a great part of the people would refuse to pay their share and meanly enjoy the fruits of another man's labor. But, as the logic of Anarchy's critics, he is looking at her through the spectacles of the Present, and the conditions and social atmosphere of liberty are as yet unimaginable by him.

When Anarchy is realized, there will be employment enough for every man, and common possession of the product; that is to say, every man will be prosperous, and prosperous men do not incline to be mean and stingy, even when their prosperity depends upon greed. The majority, it is safe to say, will take pride in paying their share, in believing only just, but generally. At most a small minority— a survival of the present system—will be deceitful, treacherous, and inclined to take advantage, and will, probably, take advantage in this very matter. But society is not easily or long deceived; and I base my faith upon those who meanly profess dissatisfaction in order to avoid cooperation, followed by a moral boycott, spontaneous, complete, and to such men terrible and practically irresistible. Only in a co-adjutant way, conscious of his own integrity, can the man attempt and dislike of his neighbors when the payment of a few dollars, easily earned, relieves him of the whole burden.

And in such questions the public judgment is felt to be good, and not likely to accuse a generous man of meanness.

Anarchist's Growth in Australia.

Anarchism is nowhere more active than in Australia. The radicals of that little continent seem to take as natural and necessary to its development the same liberties and practices as are the same in America and Europe. There is a growth of anarchistic or socialist sentiment in all the colonies of Australia, and though he does not hold himself responsible for every priest or word, but the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

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LIBERTY. 133

But a few generations of Anarchy, with its practical education in the ways and means of competition, cooperation, and cost,—with its solidarity and prosperity,—will make men mean rare specimens, objects of pity rather than scorn.

In a certain sense, railroads, telegraphs, etc., are public utilities. In another, they are not. Railroads, hotels, and public houses are public utilities, although privately owned. That is to say, all these things were made for general use and accommodation. And there is no more need of State administration of railroads than of hotels. All that is needed is the voluntary association of men for the purpose of doing good against crime of the more outrageous sort, and free competition to bring service in these departments up to its highest degree of excellence, and down to its equitable level of cost.

But there is a difference between a public road which is not a product of labor,—simply a strip of ground left free for travel,—and a private public road, like a railroad, which is a product of labor. The first belongs to no one, but may be used by everyone; the last belongs to its makers, and may be used by anyone under certain conditions settled by the owners. The first is like a bit of common in a country town, where any one may camp, and cook, and pitch his horse on the ground, and hunt a rabbit like a caravanserai, where entertainment is provided man and beast for a certain sum. The public road being reserved for travel, solely, nothing has any rightful place in it except whose travels, or that which facilitates travel; and whoever resents these things, or owns them in improvements, it is true, but not to the exclusion of their use by other travelers. Nor is there need of State administration here, either. An association of road-users to mutually facilitate and defend the right of free travel is all sufficient. Disputes may be arbitrated.

Rinnet thinks there can be differences of opinion as to what invasion is. True; and there can be differences of opinion among savages as to whether two and two make four. Just so long as scientifically the questions are answered by edicts of chiefs or votes of councils, such differences are not likely to grow less. Truly civilized men refer questions concerning the relation of numbers to the science of mathematics, and questions concerning the relation of individuals to the "science of society." But in regard to this matter of human relations, most people are still savages, and decide everything according to the voice (laws) of rulers and councils. There may be differences of opinion among scientific men as to the intensity of certain acts, just as there might be differences of opinion as to the significance of certain written characters,—whether they were meant for two or three, or whether the author meant to add or subtract,—but to decide upon the intensity of the acts, the question is in the hands of the people. Therefore, when Rinnet says, "invasion can be defined only by law, because there is no universal definition," he places himself in the category of savages.

"If labor produces all wealth, are not roads wealth?" That is a question.

"If the product belongs to the producer, does the road not belong to all as common property?" If a road is produced by labor, it belongs, not to every-body, but to those who produced it,—to each in proportion to the value he contributed. For so much of that road as his labor has built; and he can forbid anyone else to travel on it, or permit him to do so under such conditions as it may please him to impose. Such is the private road, railroads, telegraphs, etc., and the private road for public use. And the right which a man possesses in such a road by reason of labor, he can sell, lease, loan, or delegate to others, or unite with their's to promote mutual interests.

It is something different. The right of free travel was before all roads produced by labor, before all formal occupancy of the land. The whole surface of the earth was then a public road, open to all. This right to free travel on the free earth was never lost. All other rights must respect it. Those who take up land for cultivation must see to it that they leave enough free earth for the public roads, and those who improve those roads for their own convenience can never, they can never, acquire any superior or exclusive rights of travel.

"Suppose no one chooses to put a paving stone where it is needed and the street becomes impassable, how about the right of uninterrupted travel of those who elsewhere keep up their share of road?" Suppose no one chooses to provide me with food when aboard, despite the fact that I always get my own meals as a "passenger." One question is no more absurd than the other. A man has a right to eat only at his own expense, and a right to travel only at his own expense. His share of a "cost" is so much of it as he gets. No one else can travel for nothing; the case may be; his obligation to improve his own comfort and benefit, nothing more. If he can't get an impassable place, let him make it passable, or back out, or remain shut,—no one can be rightfully compelled to use such facilities, this hard saying leads to the peaceful cooperation of human beings in the evolution and preservation of good roads. Where cost is the limit of price, every one will be eager to save cost, and good roads do that. Prosperous people love labor, what better and what more luxurious. Free travel does not mean—in the common use of the term, at least,—freedom from natural obstructions, but freedom from human—in man-made—obstructions.

How can it be compelled to remove an obstruction placed by me if I "may put what I please in the street at my own cost?" I fell in the street and escape arrest. I have a look out for my property; it is nothing that the act of cost; therefore I have done no wrong, according to Anarchism, and the only right of others is to travel over the tree or remove it. The man who is not the owner of the road does not have the right of each to do as he pleases co-equal with his fellow, or the right of each to do as he pleases at his own expense—equal liberty.

Thereeze upon a man or upon a train or a car or an automo-

This is what a man is entitled to, if he has committed no crime, for he has been at no expense—except to escape.

Rinnet's misunderstanding of cost is somewhat startling in a reader of Liberty. Yet of course, if he understood it, he would be an Anarchist; if he understood it, he would be an Anarchist.

Still, it is wonderful that an intelligent man should have penned the above.

To do something at one's own cost means to do it without cost to others, to pay one's own way, and be economical in one's own acts. To put anything in a street that increases the cost of travel is, manifestly, to bring expense to travellers, and the man who does it acts at others' expense. Instead of its be-

ing true that "one is paying according to his value," it is precisely and solely to declare, define, and remove this wrong of acting at another's expense that Anarchism exists.

Pardon me, Rinnet, but I have seldom seen anything in print more thoroughly dishonest! I would declare the contrary.

After quoting me correctly and fully to show that An-

archism recognizes only the right of a man to act at his own expense, you, with sublime unconsciousness, proceed to stultify yourself by declaring, "Had I not been to this philosophy, a criminal the expense of whose act falls altogether upon others and who has not acted at his own cost at all, except to escape," thus com-

It is my own, and I doubt if anything I could say could impress you.

You might as well say that, it profit means a return over and above cost, a merchant whose goods are given him and who sells at market price makes no profit. Would you say that a pickpocket who relieved you of one of your valuable articles, and passed for your real one, at his own expense? Would not the transaction be rather expensive to you, also?

When I said, "I may make private roads, as many as I please," I, of course, meant under conditions of property, of law, of trust. It is the affirmation of equal liberty, like a refrain, at the close of every sentence? If I keep a toll road for the con-

venience of the public, I no more "encroach" than if I keep a hotel for the same purpose. If people need my road, I charge them, but they have only to stop prowling my business, and I am "evicted" promptly enough.

And now, Rinnet, I claim to have made a fair and kindly reply to your "hostile questions." Had I not been so jealously accused, the tone of my reply might have been less patient. If you wish to see my answers in the "Advocate," it is for you to get them there, for I have doubts, myself, about the editor's giving them a cordial welcome.

And now I wish to do me a favor in return. Please procure and read, as soon as may be, Warren's "Anarchism," (give that especially close study), Yarro's "Anarchism," and Westrup's late lecture on money and bank-

When you have read these, reread your questions to me, and you will smile. Try to put all these things into past, present, and to use, that "Goat and the State" will let you.

You will be an Anarchist yet.

J. W. LLOYD.

What Mutual Banking Would Do.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I think if Mr. J. H. Foster you will read—read carefully—my essay, he will not insist that I have advocated any particular rate of interest; I advocate banking on the mutual plan, and as there is no one to pay a dividend to the Mutual Bank other than the same borrowers, the rate of interest would necessarily be low. He will also see, upon due reflection, that, if you form a Mutual Bank to make and issue paper notes, just as gold and silver certificates are; secured by depositing other products of labor, just as gold and silver are deposited, or by mortgage, if the note is not redeemable, the advantage of this Mutual Association instead of in the custody of the State,—it would not be making use of capital that belonged to some one else, but would only, because borrowed, give additional li-

fetates, it is equivalent to borrowing the gold or silver itself, and some one is deprived of the use of that much money that much longer. In the former case, actually, additional money would be made and leased to each borrower with collateral. Thus is accomplished what does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Foster; and that is the enabling of the farmer who owns a farm with improvements on it to utilize that collateral without having to pay more than cost. It would be the abolition of stock companies as banking institutions, by the introduction of cooperation in that business, just as the introduction of cooperation in life insurance is abolishing stock companies as insurance enterprises. So that advantage, readily mentioned, would result the following:

First. All profits of labor in the more permanent form would become available capital, thus increasing competition among capitalists,—a remedy for trusts, pools, and detrimental combinations of every kind.

Second. No man or tree would be able to do anything to frustrate the operation of the law, with ever-increasing wages,—a remedy for lack of employment, and consequently a remedy for poverty with all its attendant evils.

Third. A volume of currency that would admit of every transaction being a cash transaction, thus abolishing the credit system,—a remedy for the evils of money. Free money is the opposite of arbitrary money. Then free money will give us a surplus of capital. If Mr. Foster will examine the matter from this point of view, he will see that this is all explained more in detail. Come, Mr. Foster, let us see how you refute it, or will you acknowledge it?

ALFRED B. WESTRUP.

Superiority of Volunteer Association.

(J. V. Von Humboldt.)

The accomplishment of any great ultimate purpose supposes unity of plan. But this unity might as easily proceed from national as from merely governmental arrangements. It is only necessary to make the foundations and its different the freedom of entering into contracts. Between a national and a governmental institution there is always a vast and important difference. To this an advantage is added by the former there is always greater freedom of contracting, dissolving, and modifying unions. The necessity of securing the consent of every individual renders every individual tender of the values impossible. Nothing would be left to the non-consuming but to withdraw and prevent the application of a major-

ities. The advantage that the former has is greater freedom of contracting, dissolving, and modifying unions. The necessity of securing the consent of every individual makes the system of voluntary associations the more advantageous. To this an advantage is added. The former there is always greater freedom of contracting, dissolving, and modifying unions. The necessity of securing the consent of every individual renders every individual tender of values impossible. Nothing would be left to the non-consuming but to withdraw and prevent the application of major-

ities. The advantage that the former has is greater freedom of contracting, dissolving, and modifying unions. The necessity of securing the consent of every individual makes the system of voluntary associations the more advantageous. To this an advantage is added.
CHAPTER II.

THE STUDENTS.—SOPHIE.

The beauty in the India cashmere, the elegant interloper of the Mount of Plenty, who had refused a dollar to her mother, and who had received a hundred dollars which the Hercules of the North claimed, had also grown and ripened, like our other beauty. Few owed their beauty to circumstances; beauty was the friend of leisure, health, with the advantage that is far from ordinary, she had ascended the entire scale of existence.

No supper went to the Mount of Plenty; but, from heart or calculation, and both, with a passion which, thinned though low and vile, overcomes everything, even their interest, their security, and their life,—she had kept, perhaps for his physical qualities, as he himself said, her first love or her champion, the Hercules of the North.

She exhibited him only in extreme circumstances and in cases of necessity.

Established in the locality where her profession is carried on, in the morning in the Assembly, she entered there with a certain air with the presence of the Hercules. As an habitual of her house, he would have been a hollow, but not one he had to serve simply as a protector when occasion required. Therefore he never appeared except in case of need, and then to settle the more serious cases, like the God of Haros, Dues ex maculis.

She had an air of rather a snob, prudently; she prospered. She had found out that, to get rich, one must not only work himself, but must make others work... and still young enough to exploit herself, she was no less shrewd in exploiting her fellow.-

It had just struck six in her parlor furnished with divans, sofas, lounges, ottomans, and long chairs of all forms and all countries. One would have said that she was dressing her furniture to fit her room.

In the middle of the parlor, however, was another piece of furniture, a large round table, at which were seated not a few blockheads and young women. Of the latter, seemingly a great many, and it was unclear what could be their purpose, in an isolated market between court and garden, on the balcony overlooking the street, the month of March in the parlor, with the air of victory, not to mention the atmosphere of the table. The six were all women.

Certainly the table must serve for something somewhat picturesque, so, let me tell you, they set a table to seek for the balance between court and garden, no neighbor able to look over the wall and cast an indistinct or curious glance at Sophie, who was there, or who was there, or who was sitting... or who was not sitting... or who was sitting alone, or who was sitting together... or who was sitting alone... or who was sitting together... or who was sitting alone... or who was sitting together... or who was sitting alone... or who was sitting together... or who was sitting alone... or who was sitting together.

The dinner over and the table cleared, a board appeared, and the manners and speech of the women, including Sophie, began to increase. Sophie, resembling the mother who wanted a dollar at the Mount of Plenty, spread a tablecloth.

Then the friends, of both sexes, saw the women, some standing, others sitting, all together. According to the French saying: "Bonnes et belles, standing, better than sitting," took their places at the gaming-table, drew from their pockets larger or smaller piles of gold, silver, and bank-notes... and began to place their bets.

Sophie presided and kept the bank.

Thus, when society is in a morbid condition, the disease which it is prone to one form, often breaks out in another. The gambling-houses which it had closed opened again secretly, more dangerous than ever.

The game soon became warm; stakes increasing, losses and gains taking on enormous proportions, amid the laughter of the winners, the fury of the losers, the jests and oaths of all; the women looking upon the fortune of the contest, the luck of the players, the love of chance, the passion of the game... passion me!—stimulants circulating, and the flame of the punch adding to the ardor of the game.

In the usual picture of clandestine gambling-houses, worse than the public ones, closed by the government, with which every vice is open and acknowledged, Baccasus as well as Venus, the whole Olympus of evil, except Mercury, except robber, except villain, except traitors, except traitors... was always hidden.

At this moment Camille entered, his arm still bandaged.

Honor to whom honor is due! Sophie moved to make room for him at her right hand, and for both her friends, for the third woman, for whom he was the finest gambler of them all, though not the richest, the most free-handed; the least curious when leaving and the least inclined to baste when winning; always even-tempered and amiable. Among others that of the young casher who had replaced Fremont at twice his salary and who had lost all; and he had politely handed back to him twice bank-notes, at the same time making another package for him: from the same drawer, in a drawer, in a drawer.

All envied this insolent luck; some, trying to pick a que-roi, ventured a suspicion and an accusation; and things were just such as they were.

"Policie! Policie!"

There was a general panic. Each one for himself! Men and women ran, some to the doors, others to the windows, and the commissary of police entered. He laid hands upon the money and the cards, and meanwhile everybody alluded to the man who, declaring to have taken away his pistol, had only time to throw himself under a sofa in order to avoid arrest. The room was thus emptied of the other players.

The constable, with his whip and his stick, sat down beside Sophie, and taking her in his two strong arms, he cried, laughing:

"What a stroke, eh! Ha! ha! Are they played? And the little one-armed fellow, that black servant!"

And he began to laugh again as if he would split his sides and to kiss Sophie as if he were a possessive lover.

During this passionate but ridiculous embrace, Camille stole furiously from his hiding-place, and, throwing himself upon his money, seized it and leaped out of the window, which he opened towards the garden.

"Not such a one-armed fellow, after all!" he cried, as he fled.
Individualism, Communism, and Love.

With the permission of those whose it is given me, I am allowed to print an essay on the topic of Individualism, Communist, and Love, which essay was previously published in the latest issue of Liberty. The following is a summarization of the essay, which I will not attempt to summarize:

Individualism is the idea that each individual is responsible for his own actions and that the best society is one in which each individual is free to pursue his own interests. Communism is the idea that the state should own the means of production and that the best society is one in which the state controls the means of production. Love is the idea that two or more people should be willing to make sacrifices for each other.

In order to understand this essay, it is important to understand the context in which it was written. The essay was written in the early 20th century, a time of great social and political change. Individualism, Communism, and Love were all subject to debate during this time, and the essay reflects the author's views on these issues.

I hope that this essay will be helpful to those interested in understanding the history of these ideas. If you have any questions or comments, please feel free to contact me.
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