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On Picket Duty.

How great is the "Standard's" love of freedom, and how deep its understanding of it, may be seen in its declaration that the suppression of lotteries properly comes within the police powers of the State governments.

General Sherman has little sympathy with the Peace Society. He thinks that wars will continue just as long as man exists. But we know that General Sherman's opinion on sociological matters is of as much value as a certain animal's feeling regarding the beauty of a pear.

The editor of "Free thought" says: "I have come to the conclusion that we should be cautious about resisting by force anything that is not imposed by force." In other words, Mr. George Macdonald has come to the conclusion that the wisest philosophy is the Anarchistic philosophy.

The Australian labor market is of course overstocked in spite of the eight-hour day and the Saturday half-holiday. Now the labor organizations are agitating for a seven-hour work-day with no work on Saturday. These facts ought to suggest something to our American eight-hour agitators.

A contemporary wonderfully speaks of the "unfortunate fact that men of the people's choise are not always a very choise lot." But the people really never choose, nor are they competent to make a good choice. On the other hand, those who offer themselves as candidates for the people's favor are mostly unfit for the work expected of them.

And last the "Journal of the Knights of Labor" squarely admits that in the fight of labor against monopoly trade unionism is a failure, and the "Glaciers" seems to be of the same mind. Well, then, now make your choices between State Socialism or Anarchism. There is no middle ground. A piece of good news here, as well as an excellent suggestion. And it comes from the "Twentieth Century."

The poor pope is obliged to leave Rome. According to a religious reaper, "Rome is fast becoming the headquarters of Atheism and free thought." The shop windows are full of shocking caricatures of the Deity, license is allowed for blasphemy, and "indecency has never been surpassed in history." Perhaps Dana has prevailed upon his friend, the pope, to come to New York; there he can count on the loyal support of the Democratic politicians, including Henry George.

Referring to Liberty's criticism of his position on the question of property, Mr. Auberon Herbert says in his paper of August 8: "We cannot this week reply to (Mr. Tucker's) friendly criticism, but we will do so as soon as our hands are free from a very heavy piece of work. We could wish for no better or fairer opponent; and we shall fight to get him over to our view, that liberty cannot exist apart from the ruling of the open market, as determinedly as he hopes to get us over into his camp."

In the last number of the "Individualist" the readers are informed that "implied obedience is not necessarily an Anarchistic; provided that obedience is given voluntarily and can be denied at will." But in the issue of July 20 one of the editors attacked Pente-coast and accused him of most astonishing ignorance and confusion for making a similar statement. Can not the editors of the "Individualist" call a meeting for the purpose of discussing "What is Anarchism"? Is there paper so prosperus under ignorance and chaos that they think it folly to try to be wise and clear?

It was naturally to be expected that the habit of editors and reviewers to criticise books without reading them would lead to ludicrous results. The editor of the "Boston investigator" says: "There is there in Tolstoi's book 'more or less philosophical free-love arguments,' as one of our daily papers expresses it, no one can deny, but if all literature is to be classed as ob-scene that does not teach Orthodox notions of love and marriage, a great many books in circulation will be under the ban. It is an illusion that the latter editor and the writer he quotes have neither read "The Kreutzer Sonata" nor ever listened to a free-love argument."

The Boston "Globe" tells the following yarn: "A well-known Anarchist, viewing the Grand Army parade, shook his head mournfully and ejaculated, 'Anarchist has no show here!'" Nothing could possibly show in a more striking manner the decay of governmentism than this very farce we have just witnessed, called the Grand Army Encampment. The marching of the pension-beggars, the petty squabbles of the intriguers who fancy themselves military geniuses, the speeches of the politicians, the transparent hypocrisy of everybody connected with the affair,—all was calculated to disgust the more or less intelligent observer and make him dream of a state of society free from political, military, and journalistic frauds and humbugs.

The editor of the "Journal of the Knights of Labor" objects to the statement of a correspondent that equality of natural opportunities under freedom would be the only thing needed in order to abolish involuntary poverty and idleness. In his present social conditions, he says, "artificial, socially-created opportunities are just as necessary to life and labor as natural ones. Men may be starved into submission to the terms of capitalism by those who control the machines and the money just as effectively as by those who own the land." Very well; we Anarchists demand free competition in the supply of money and equality of all opportunities. Is the editor ready to join us? I fear not. He is arguing in favor of State Socialism; but he can never show that the Anarchist view of the social problem is incorrect. Why does he refrain from a critical examination of Liberty's economic position?

I confess I have a very poor opinion of the literary education of the good people who fancy that they discover genius in the writings of Helen Gardener. If there is a subject which she thoroughly understands, I do not know what it is. Then she certainly has no style. She might make a bright reporter, but she has so far given no promise of anything worther. She has written one or two tolerably fair stories, but there is no trace of originality or genuine artistic power in them. Helen Gardener would be a useful worker in the ranks of the social reformers if she were induced to devote herself to serious study of modern thought and modest attempts at the popularization of its most vital results. But she has been spoiled by flattery and led astray by foolish admiration. People that are indulgent to themselves and that most of mankind and earn to be. The early part of their career never amount to anything.

The following newspaper item is interesting as illustrating the kind of victories strikers are gaining in their struggle with privileged capital: "Chicago is threatened with another carpenters' strike. It will be remembered that last May the men demanded eight hours and forty cents an hour. Arbitration was reported to, and it was agreed that, until the first of the present month, the men should receive thirty-five cents an hour, and thenceforward thirty-seven and one-half cents an hour. It was a fair and square agreement, ratified by both parties in interest, and under it the men went to work in good faith; but when the first of August came, their employers, who had caused the agreement to be legally repudiated, refused to pay the advance. Hence the carpenters have met and resolved that, 'much as they deplore the occasion that makes it necessary, their only course is to quit work in a body,' and this they will do on the first day of September unless the employers hold to the original agreement."

Helen Gardener has contributed an essay on "The Fictions of Fiction" to the Chicago "Open Court." She properly protests against certain scandalous and ridiculous certain traditional superstitions. But when she classes the aphorism, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourne" among the "fictions" of fiction, she betrays profound ignorance of the most fundamental social truths and realities. I suspect that she is ignorant, too, of the fact that this sentiment was uttered by Burns,—certainly one of the least conventional of poets. Another instance of fiction in fiction Helen Gardener finds in that "thing of the supernatural and the miraculous," "He was one of the best and therefore one of the saddest of men." I can only pity the mind that fails to respond to this melancholy truth, so abundantly illustrated in history. Helen Gardener evidently knows Anarchism of Socrates's life, or of Comte's, or of Emerson's, or of Runkin's. She had better, on the whole, leave literary philosophy and criticism to more serious and reflective minds.

The following passage from George Parsons Lathrop's letter on John Boyle O'Reilly to the "Critics" is certainly significant. "When I last saw him," writes Mr. Lathrop, "he was discouraged and sad; not for himself, for he never made any personal complaint, and, besides, he was peculiarly prosperous; but because of the hopeless gulf of the conflict between generous idealism for the good of humanity, and that selfish indifference which controls most individuals, whether they belong to the small class that rules, or to the great mass that pretends to rule yet in fact submits to the dictates of the few. Boyle O'Reilly is said to have died from failure of the heart. My own sincere belief is that he died, not from failure of society, and of those who now parade as men, to make room for a great and generous heart which trod with goed for all mankind." To those who understood the post these words will suggest more than they intimate. Who can imagine a more fitting epitaph to them, or a tragedy which will shroud light on the enigmatic life of the revolutionist and poet and augment their ad-
Wealth and Legislation.

"Today" of August 21 has a remarkable article entitled "Ten Minutes with Mr. Vanderbilt," which inquires whether there are any complaints against the railroad legislation, between colossal fortunes and government interference with trade. The editor says: "I have often been deflected from contesting myself with the general conclusion that the colossal fortunes which have been accumulated in America in recent years owed their existence to no immediate or fundamental cause. There is a certain class in which the mode of interference was not obvious. It is not in instance that governmental interference appeared less responsible than in the case of the great Vanderbilt fortunes. But reflection and research at last led the editor to the surprising discovery that the railroad and a colossal and unanswerable kind is indeed a necessary link in that chain of circumstances out of which the Vanderbilt fortune has sprung." It may be confidently asserted, he says, "that the cause of the Vanderbilt fortune is the Erie Canal, built by the State of New York, and the Western railroads, built by the Federal government."

We reproduce in a condensed and imperfect form the editor's elaborate and searching examination of the case.

The first railroad to be built in New York State was the Mohawk & Hudson, from Albany to Schenectady, I think, in 1828. There were no trains and no railroads. This was in 1828, and in the same year the Erie Canal was completed. At this time the State government had expected the railroad to be of great importance. It was finding out what a large part of which had gone for the Erie Canal. The little Mohawk & Hudson railroad was succeeded from the start, and paid more for the purpose of freight and travel and travel between the East and Northwest. But I am not aware of any general necessity or special provocation why the State should have seized upon the large part of the Vanderbilts fortune, when it came to be observed, was a quarter of a century before Cornelius Vanderbilt took control of the New York Central Railroad, and was successfully operated by the company of his son-in-law, the railroad being an immense public benefit. Had the application been granted, it is perfectly obvious that the ownership of the railroad would have been disfranchised in the first place principally among the men who proposed to build it. But the charter was refused, and the reason for the refusal was, that the State of New York, by the Erie Canal, had already raised the money by taxation from the direct earnings of the people, who had been saddled with a great debt besides. Now, it is an evident and most interesting fact, determined with careful attention, that the Erie Canal was completed in 1825, the very year in which the first railroad charter was granted in New York, and only one year after the building of Stephenson's railroad between Stockton and Darlington, England. The significance of this fact is unmistakable. The unavoidable inference, it seems to me, is, that if the Erie Canal had not been built by the State, it never would have been made at all. In this connection it is worthy of note that the same charge, and even stronger charges, were made against the applicants for the charter in 1831, that they proposed to the Legislature to pay the State a toll on all freight carried by rail. The road equal to the amount charged on the canal, and we have collected the fact that the freight was transported by the canal.

Soon after, I have said, the charter was refused, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interest of the people whose millions had just been invested in the Erie Canal; as though it would not be exactly more injurious for the people to be mortgaged of heavy tolls over the canal for years and years after a cheaper means of transportation might have been obtained! Instead of chartering this through route by road from Buffalo to Albany and leaving the stockholders to share the victorious fee of fortune, the railroad companies in New York proceeded to charter in succession a herd of small local roads, some of which were placed under absolute prohibition from the entering the Canal. . . . They all belonged to different companies, were therefore managed independently and expensively.

Placing this question before the public, the line was that the railroad roads? Let the Vanderbilt fortune answer. The crash that came was in the State Legislature, when, in 1835, the road chartered in 1837 was completed, and the last charter for the roads now forming the New York Central property had been granted. Then, this Legislature, whose unwise, and, probably, more than unwise, permission of payment had refused to permit the building of one road between Albany and Buffalo, proceeded to reverse that policy, and passed the act permitting the consolidation of all these local roads.

Now, when we inquire into the origin of the Vanderbilts fortune, what we shall find is this: the diminution of the doubt has turned the scale in the shallow mind of more than one person hesitating whether to lend his attention to the story of the Vanderbilts fortune, and to what we should say as a lead what view to take. It is not the Legislature of 1835 which is responsible for this vast accumulation: the con-

Socialistic Vulgarity and Brutality.

"(Written after a recent meeting of the 'American Priests' in the Fortnightly Review for July, 1868.)

Of bell in a word comes hailing, dark as doom.

Pierce as fire, and pale as pallid-golden gloom.

Out of hell wherein the skinned damned endure

More than ever green man's living souls to dust;

More than audacious ever dreamed ofIST.

Since the world's wall first went up from land and sea,

Bars have been bold, tongues have told not things like these.

Down the deep and the loveliest ways of hell,

Virtue has been called the Virgin's country.

Where the scorpions were clad with dungeons more than deep, sin,

Sat not, where the fire was firstest, and the night

The darkest of the darkest, that is my reverence, the Master of.

'My best friend, this, his deadliest vision seems

The sight of a bright voice, and my soul's pain pale and pale;

Maldens — ad bentheing the clapping holt, and wives

Rest with — reddler anger than dust — for shame survives,

So long as man is true of heart, and starved ignorance, deflowered,

Souls and bodies as by fangs of beasts devoured,

Sons that bold she would bear not, sights so thoughts could shape,

Linds that feel as tame the ravenous groups of rape,

Fifth of raging crime and shame that crime enjoys,

Which its strength's love for the children of light;

These, and worse, if might be worse than these things are,

Fare they rejoin, Roma — praise thee merry, care.

Of man, son born of women, may we dare say

They sin who dare sin and slavish not spare?

They who take their lives in hand to save death,

Taking life as less than sheep's most iril breath.

So their life pernicious or death may save and speed

Faith and hope, that die if dream become not death?

More is death and sought in life and sought is death,

Death and hope, that hope so dear to all.

Wishes for life that hope so dear to all,

Holding life as less than sheep's most iril breath.

Such their pernicious or death may save and speed

Faith and hope, that die if dream become not death?

Nought is death and sought in life and sought is death,

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Beauties of Government.

[Clippings from the Press.]

CRAWFORD, N. H., July 28. Atty.-Gen. Brent has de-
voted his last published speech to a defense of the go-
vernment against a charge, that it is seeking other than a
depressing effect upon a business enterprise already
popular and extensive among retail jewelers: "In
the Chicago case, where the government has been
put upon them by the court, I have no hesitation in saying that
the doyen referred to a 'watch association' in a lottery with
the contest of the watchmakers' association conducted in
Appleton, the same sort of gambling chances as in any other kind of
lottery. From the frequent violations of these statutes it would
appear that neither the watchmakers' association nor the
concerns that they ever existed. It is for this reason that I have un-
scovered your inquiries at greater length than I otherwise
would, for I do not wish in this matter to make an end
and a conclusion. I have heard that a 'watch association'
one
place, and the person securing the lucky number receives an
'elusive' gold-filled gentleman's watch' for the dollar he has
paid, and gets an honorable discharge from the association,
which has no further claim upon him. The second week the
leaving members pay in $1 each, and the fortunate in-
dividual at the succeeding drawing gets his watch for the $7
he has paid. Thus the system is carried for 3 weeks, and the last week the 35 members who are still in the association
will receive their $25 watches, so that no one can be dissatisfied,
for every watch is warranted to be full value for $30."}

LONDON, July 30. The Times says: The Russian govern-
ment has ordered the application of the edicts of 1920 against
the polks and 1889 against Russian Jews. According to these,
Jews must henceforth reside in certain towns only. None will be permitted to own land or hire it for more than a year. The police towns and villages of large Jewish
populations. No Jew will be allowed to hold shares in or work for the company. The villages and districts of the provinces will be enforced. No Jew will be allowed to enter the army, to practice medicine, or law. There will be an e-
gressive police and a general repressive police for the Jewish
people. It is likely that the whole community will be de-
barred from holding posts under the government. The enforcement of the edicts will result in the expulsion of Jews from Russia.

NEW YORK, July 28. The Chairman of the Clock Cutters' Uploa, Arthur Dale, was arrested today for conspiracy in
trying to have non-Jewish men discharged from the manu-
facturing firms. He was convicted of reading an edict ordering the right of every man to earn his living. A meeting of the clock cutters was held tonight, and they agreed to support
Dale. In an interview Dale says he is not acting the roles of a conspirator, but claims the privileges for his men to five
they don't wish to work with non-Jewish men. The strike is not really settled yet.

The Massachusetts secretary of state finds himself unable
to comply with the provisions of a law enacted by the last
Legislature, permitting municipal authorities to designate certain trees as highways for pre-
ervation, by driving into them a nail on which the letter
"X" is impressed on the head, which is to be provided by the abler tree in injury to such subject to a penalty. By a strange oversight the Legislature failed to make an appropriation for providing the nails, and so many have been missed.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 15. The anti-lottery bill was
passed today. It provides that no letter, postal card, or cir-
cular concerning any lottery, so-called gift-concern, or
other similar enterprises offering prize dependent upon
or chance (or concerning schemes devised for the purpose of
taking money or property under false pretenses), and no list
of the drawings at any lottery or similar scheme and
lottery ticket or part thereof, and no check, draft, bill,
money, postal note, or money for the purchase of any
tickets, book, list, or any of any kind or of any value in any
such lottery or gift enterprise shall be carried in the mail or delivered at or through any post-office or branch thereof; nor shall any circular, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of any lottery or gift enterprise of any kind be carried in the mail or delivered upon or upon any cart, containing any list of prizes awarded at the drawings of any
such lottery or gift enterprise, whether said list is of any kind
or of any number, and such list, shall be considered as
being in the mail, or delivered by any postman or carrier.

It is made a misdemeanor punishable by not exceeding $500, or imprisonment not more than six months, or both, for any person knowingly to deposit, or cause to be
deposited, anything to be carried through the mails in violation of this act, unless it be contained in a communication carried through the mails by this act. Violation of the law may be
tried or punished either in the district of mailing or in the
district in which such violation is committed.

The postmaster-general may, upon evidence satisfactory
to him that any person or company is engaged in conducting
any lottery business, such as is prohibited by the law, in

The Revolt Serviceable to Freedom.

[Truly Becker.]

The operations of this sort heretofore have not appeared to
have any very great importance. The signatures of editors of the big dailies, but the ruling adverse to Tolstoy's
"Kreutzer Sonata" has aroused them to talk of "dangerous
thoughts." The government, acting under its "power to govern
and to regulate moral of American homes," "overstepped too much," "too much of this moulding business," etc.; and besides a registration of all book publishers, whose con-
sumption has not public approval, is likely to lead to "sequences that the American people never would permit." The
result of this is, the authors, the censorship, the book, the
bookship, opera, opportunities to call forth public sentiment
on this matter at a time when even greater restrictions by
mail laws are ready for action in the United States, are,
we of, glad, that official interference with the people's right to have been brought forth, in general, are out of
with the government's action. The government, in its efforts against this attempt at exercise of c.-umbol power in the
United States post-office.

This has called attention to the fact that though there is no provision in the United States Constitution for excercising any censorship of the press, nor any law enacted for the purpose, it is nevertheless true that this function has been exercised, apparently under sanction of laws limiting the use of the mails, by officials who assume to have the right to pass upon the moral quality of literature offered for mailing.

The assumption of authority is no new thing, as in matters of censorship, but the approval of the government has
been the recent years against individuals who had not the means to cope with the United States government as represented by officials acting without regard to public opinion or on the
enforcement of the former. The present is a period of repeated attempts which are made by amateur dabbles in the science.

CORK, Aug. 20. A sheriff, accompanied by a posse of bail-
iffs, was sent to ask the Island of Brickeen, near the bridge, near Castle Linsky, about fifteen miles from this
city, and evicted the whole of the inhabitants, who were
thereupon removed to the island in a boat. The island is a
fetters houses as care-
takers. Great excitement prevails throughout the district,
but no violence has occurred up to the present time.

BERLIN, Aug. 21. There is intense excitement here over
the reports of the new regiment of the Ninth Regiment of
Infantry, which yesterday compelled his men to march from Würzburg to Markttreff, where the marchers' movement
was called in the Würzburg barracks in heavy marching order at 3.30 in the morning with a full field equipment and winter overcoats, tents, etc. After waiting two hours, the march began as a
quick step.

The result was soon apparent, fifty of the men being
attacked, one shocked, a distance of thirty kilometers (18 miles), four hundred had been compelled to leave the ranks. Notwithstanding, the uniform remained sound and the sight presented by the sufferings of the poor fellows was most pitiful. The peasants along the road traversed, having been attracted by the novelty, rejoiced for the disabled soldiers and begging their own physicians to take the place of those attached to the regiment, who were riding in front of the column. They also gave up wages and carried the patients to the nearest hospitals.

Of those now undergoing treatment, fifty are thought to be in a dying condition, having emptied the arsenals. Colonel Schoeller is a new man and was formerly in com-
mand at Metz.

NEW YORK, Aug. 17. Colonel William J. Nally of the
Egan 126th infantry was charged by Roundem Reiss before Commissioner McLean yesterday with being absent from post or waterman's shanty at the Park avenue junc-
tion of the New York Central and the Harlem Railroad. Reiss said that he found Nally lying down in the shanty with his hat, coat, and whisket off. Nally said that it was dan-
gerous to sit up and the many trains that passed by them that cross it. He was now on the post, and the watchman, he said, told him that all the cops stopped at the shanty.

Postman Reisd was charged with being off post in the saloon 211 Bleecker street. He said in his defense that he was sent to St. Vincent's Hos-

Government Antics.

[See Bache in the Boston Transcript.]

The functionary, the state, and the government's diplomatic relations are the letters sent to the President of the United States by the rulers of other nations, announcing events of importance in the sovereign families. Such communi-
cations are the custom among the Powers, and there is a
sterotyped form for them. For instance, on the occasion of the last important domestic happening in the household of Queen Victoria, a letter came from her to President Harrison, as
follows:

Queen of Great Britain, Empress of India, De-

cider of the Faith, etc., etc., to Benjamin Harrison, Presi-
dent of the United States:

Great and Good Friend—I have the pleasure of announcing to you the birth of a fine girl, my granddaughter, the Princess Bonnette, who is doing as well as

can be expected. This event will doubtless cement the cor-

Dear friend,

Queen Victoria.

This letter is written on blue, ruled paper, and is to Presi-
dent Harrison, by a damsel who signs this in the com-

Great and Good Friend—I have received the piaestant news that Queen Victoria is dead, and am glad that the happy event came off safely. It is my earnest prayer and expectation that the said event will have the effect of making our two nations so hap-

Dear friend,

Benjamin Harrison.

It is well known that the President sent the following letters from Queen Victoria and other sovereigns at all; and

the replies, which are written in an elegant Spencerian hand
by the personal secretary to the President, are kept to this day.

This is the custom of diplomacy.
sophy, until he could stand face to face with the most advanced minds of the time and find in the association with them the chief delight of his life. His development took a natural course as it does with all healthy characters. His first step was censorship, a step away from religion. If you tell many others, he did not consent with this. Nor should I celebrate him here if he had. His mind once cleared of the cloaks of religious superstition, he proceeded to the question of the political side of the people, only to find things very much out of joint here also and to join hands with the revolutionists best on setting them right. He became an outspoken Anarchist. But it was not so much a process of intellectual argument, as the making as right or the fitness of things that led him to accept Anarchy as the form of society promising a minimum of suffering and the maximum number of strong, free, and happy men and women.

He was one of the few men whom worldly success could not demoralize. The thought oppressed him that he had more than enough for himself and family, while other hard working men could barely procure the necessities of life. "If I feel," he said one day, "that these men look at me askance; there is envy, even hatred in their eyes, and I feel ashamed, humiliated." And this while his possessions came to him only as the ample reward of his own labor. Nor could be a man's friend, understand how money breeds, thought it a dead thing. Well do I remember his account of the feeling of shame that came over him when he first accepted the interest on a savings bank. On the other hand, intellectual association with kindred spirits to him was "scip and share" and humanitarian sympathies "more than cent for cent.

I account it as one of the privileges of my life to have been admitted to the intimate and confident confidence of such a man as Robert Lieber. It is men like him that save one from the despair of pessimism. Lieber belonged to the class of those of whom George Eliot writes that their "soul is like that of a Roman in the strength, spend themselves in channels which have no great name on the earth. But the soul of their being on those around them is immeasurably diffusive; for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life and rest in unvisited tombs." G. S.

A Word to a Wise Man.

Mr. Pentecost seems to think that all reformers are bound to take the Salvation Army for a model. Unless a person completely fulfills the law of right as revealed to him, he is lightly and religiously branded as an hypocrite and contemptuously cast aside by the editor of the "Twentieth Century," who singularly errs in imagining that the type of a reformer of the first century (institutes of scientific conception of man and of environment) is in every worthy being of imitating. He is led into following simple societies it is not doubt true that the good man is distinguished from the bad wholly by the character of his conduct. It is easy to perceive and acknowledge as of high worth, its manifest itself, — in gentleness, sincerity, or distinctiveness. But no man who reflects, who has a suspicion of the complexity of the question presented in relation to a member of a modern society to his conduct, can fail to recognize the summary problems of personality. The pure and exalted types of humanity known to us have been least inclined to the coarseness those they considered guilt of practical sin. The complete realization of the suitably capacity for interaction and the influences governing a man's conduct to pronounce him false when his deeds conflict with his beliefs. If to understand is to forgive, then those of us who do not understand in long intact flashes of silence. Remembering that it is impossible for a man to be moral in immoral surroundings, let us not waste our time and degrade our discussion by charging one another with higher or smaller degrees of immorality.

The time for asceticism is past. The futility and sterility of preaching and moral exhortation, is patent to all. The need is based on increased recognition of religious ossars, and do not mount the pedestal to be admired by the crow. We reason with those who can think, and invite them to discuss with us the actualities and possibilities of life. It is purely and solely a question of the actualism of the question, how we answer it, and how we do it, or what his object, — and who can help us to solve our problem? The world is eager to hear from him. Come forward, one and all, express your opinions, and — let the wisest counsel prevail!

A Word about Capital Punishment.

Since the execution of Klemm, I have seen it stated repeatedly in the press, and especially in the reforms press, and even in the Anarchist press, that that execution was a murder. I have also seen it stated that capital punishment is murder in its worst form. I should like to know upon what principle of human society these assertions are based and justified. There could be no reason for a government inflicted by a compulsory institution which manufactures the criminals is worse than the crime punished. I can understand them and in some degree sympathize with them. But in that case I cannot see why capital punishment should be singled out for emphatic and exceptional denunciation. The same objection applies as clearly to punishment that simply takes away liberty to punishment that takes away life.

For instance, if I were to value myself, I might respect that this denunciation rests on some other ground than that which I have just suggested. But what is this ground?

If society has a right to protect itself against such men as Klemm, as is admitted, why may it not do so in whatever way proves most effective? If it is urged that capital punishment is not the most effective way, such an argument, well sustained by facts, is pertinent and valid. This position also I can understand, and will not be laid down as too absolute a rule, I sympathize. But this is to say that the society which inflicts capital punishment commits murder. Murder is an offensive act. The term cannot be applied legitimating any defensive punishment, however ineffective it may be and however ignorable it may be resorted to, is a strictly defensive act, — at least in theory. Of course compulsory institutions often make it a weapon of offense, but that does not affect the question of punishment per se as distinguished from other forms of punishment.

For one, I object to this distinction unless it is based on rational grounds. In doing so, I am not moved by any desire to defend the horrors of the gallows, the guillotine, or the electric chair. They are as repugnant to me as to any one. And the conduct of the physicians, the ministers, the newspapers, and the officials diagonal agreement and harmony, these horrors tell all might powerfully against the expediency and efficiency of capital punishment. But nevertheless they do not make it murder. I insist that there is nothing sacred in the life of an invader, and there is no valid principle of society that can be made to protect themselves in whatever way they can.

An Individualist on Anarchism.

Reviewing my pamphlet on "Anarchism: Its Aims and Methods," the London "Personal Rights Journal," after the complimentary allusions to my personality which I highly appreciate, says as follows:

Mr. Yarros seems singularly mixed in his appreciation of the times in which we live. It is an "enlightened age" (p. 20), but "the names of the people" are "blind slaves" and "the light of rational bliss" — i.e., those of Mr. Yarros and his colleagues — "can reach . . . but to a slight degree. The Anarchists do not delude themselves
with the false expectation of converting the world and reorganizing society by mere theoretical propaganda.” (P. 21)

What then is to be done with an age so enlightened but managementless? (P. 21) Mr. Yarros, “that we will not consult its wishes as to the weapons to be used against it” (P. 21). “Dynamite” — Mr. Yarros says — “is but a po- tential movement which is not at present a party movement, but is becoming a party movement with the masses.” (P. 21)

where the question arises: “Are we not doing violence to the principle of self-defense?” (P. 21) “Are we not doing violence to the principle of self-defense?” (P. 21)

We shall now see that the “Personal Rights Journal” is subject to the following criteria of criticism:

v. v.

Where is the Victory?

To the Editor:

In No. 100 you reply to my comments on your reference to the Walker and Harman case, and I was content to leave you to “hit or miss it” in your article, “The Truth.” However, it seems that it is a matter of concern to me. In your reply you say:

“Your article is not an article of fact, but an article of criticism and opinion.” (P. 21)

I have read your article and I must say that I agree with you. In my opinion, morality is the key to the solution of all problems. Without morality, there can be no progress.

Mr. Simpson is always right. He is always right in everything he says. His wisdom is beyond question. No one can doubt his wisdom. Mr. Heywood’s choice of words. I think he will be able to recognize victory when it stares him in the face.

An Apology Demanded.

The editor of “Today” writes:

With regard to the attack on Spencer’s view of the ethics of majority rule, I would say that it is a very interesting subject, which I shall gladly pursue further. I do not believe that the majority rule is a good thing. It is a system that has been used for a long time, but it is not the best way to run a country. The majority is not always right, and it is not always fair. The majority rule system is not perfect, and it is not always just. Therefore, I do not think that the majority rule system is the best way to run a country.

I am afraid that I have been harsh in my criticism of the majority rule system. I hope that I have not been too hard on the people who support the majority rule system. I hope that they will take my criticism seriously and work to improve the system.

I am glad to have the opportunity to express my views on this important subject. I hope that my views will be taken seriously by the people who support the majority rule system. I hope that they will work to improve the system so that it will be fair and just for all people.

The editor of “Today” is right. He is right in everything he says. His wisdom is beyond question. No one can doubt his wisdom. Mr. Heywood’s choice of words. I think he will be able to recognize victory when it stares him in the face.
Dubts and Comments.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I read each number of Liberty as I receive it, and endeavor to understand it. I believe firmly in the principle that you carry at your mast-head. I think that individuality is a great and universal principle in the universe, from the smallest molecule up to man; that the interference with the units of any organism by arbitrary regulations produces disease and death in the organism, and that it is as necessary for the organism to be free as it is for the individual to be free.

I am not possessed of any malice towards the Editor, but I am perfectly convinced that the paper is not as satisfactory to me as it is to the Editor.

I am not possessed of any financial means, and I am not in a position to pay for the paper. I am not in a position to pay for the paper. I am not in a position to pay for the paper.

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I am not possess...
of liberty, a negation of police regulations, a luminous criterion of the State, a stumbling-block which trips up the State.

Still revolution never reaches its goal, because it is always cheated; and so fast as it cuts off one head from the Hydra government, another starts up. For instance, France succeeded in executing Robespierre in the early winter of 1794; but in the battle of Parnars, on the 10th of November, 1797, fifteen thousand men were shot out of the same thing. Robespierre did not want the journal disfigured with their heads. While the House was sitting on this, an individual, who was standing next door, suddenly exclaimed, crying out loudly in the street, that he was sitting at the House of Commons, that the man who shot at you is no more, and that therefore to every Frenchman, is still to come.

The government is the tool, to obtain which avowee and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that one stripe and let, and calls it governing. We seldom con- sider, still, that we will still wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself.

Hitherto the sovereignty of the people has alone been sought to be obtained, not the freedom of the individual, but the liberty of those who separate individual. The sovereignty of the people is an abstract empty idea, good for nothing but the fetters of trans- mission; the sovereignty of the individual is the same as liberty. A true republic is a union of individuals. The sovereign is the true symbol of the State. The few cases exist in the constitution of the State, the more reasonably is the uniformity of individuals carried out. Despotism does not allow the single individual to count; Constitutionism gives him only a little paint; the Republic plays with its boots: in every form of government we are the victims of the State. By it we are crippled, with our mother’s milk we imbibe the submission which makes us servile to the State. Only a few have managed the State, and chiefly in order to divest the sovereign, in order to divest the enigma, they have been swallowed up by it. A bloody blow goes through the history of every people and of all of times. It divides mankind into hostile camps, and on both sides blind hatred and a spirit of persecution are raging, which are in the same State, as on the frontiers. One can in contact, there prejudice, hatred, persecutions, and murder break out.

What is becoming of all these victims of party? What significance is there in these countless corpses? What do we read in their stark pale features? Why cannot the sub- jects preserve color, life, and the signs of all vitality? Why do we go so far as to estimate the culture of a nation by the perfection of its factions? What unholy fire does not come from theDionysian sobriety and self-adventurous of absence of party? Why is it that we inexpressively comprehend how the artless and free nature of man is no longer secure to belong to no party in order to fulfill his human calling?

Is faction a necessity? And is it only by chance that it becomes a necessity? Is it the result of natural nationalization, labor and capital? Cannot the present mediate peacefully between the past and the future? or must the past be murdered, and the future receive a baptism of blood?

Is party strife in accordance with the laws of life and history? Can only hatred and murder maintain the world?

Is there any way to find a real peace, to find a real foundation of society? If so, what is it? How much of our society is necessary, maintained, and produce faction?

Every man lies in his fellow-man, and is forced by a mighty impulse to care for himself. From this mighty impulse to foster the State, to see all factions, that outside of one's contradictory states will remain, when government no more exists, or, what is the same, when there is no party strife to rule another.

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