On Picket Duty.

Good News! Moses Harman is out of prison on a writ of error. Read the extract from his article on another page, and rejoice. I hope Mr. Harman will remain a free man and that the State will not display any more pernicious activity in persecuting him.

A. H. S. says in Philadelphia “Justice” that “Single Tax men, as a rule, have not much time for novel reading.” Folks! Inquire keep them very busy, I suppose. But there is plenty of fiction in Henry George’s writings, though of a kind not worth glancing at.

“Henry George is a nature a deeply religious man; he speaks of God always with the greatest reverence.”

This does a superstitious (since theological) organ comfort itself in these days of godlessness. But I am inclined to think that this is damning God with very faint praise indeed.

I reprint elsewhere some astonishingly silly paragraphs from the “Twentieth Century” on the subject of love and sexual passion. I cannot deal with Mr. Pendecost’s rebuke of the antiliberal theological foibles in this issue, but I expect to furnish him with food for thought in the next issue of Liberty.

The new edition of Spooner’s wonderful work on the trial by jury, entitled “Free Political Institutions: Their Nature, Essence, and Maintenance,” is now ready. See advertisement on another page and send in your orders. It is the best instrument for Anarchist propaganda. Those who wish to acquire a clear conception of political freedom should study this book attentively and thoroughly, for its fundamental doctrines.

A correspondent of “Kate Field’s Washington” well says: “What an outrage that Kreutzer’s order is!” It will have one good effect—that of opening Tolstoy’s eyes to the fact that the cradle of liberty is not in America. Tolstoy’s talk on the glories of this government shows that he needs such a lesson very much.

He is reported to have said to an American visitor: “You have the best of all governments, because you scarcely know that you have any government at all.”

That is an excellent article in the September “North American Review,”—“The Maniress Sex.” The writer protests against the false and silly notion, so long accepted without question, that woman’s influence is enervating and subduing, and that social intercourse owes its refinement and sweetness to woman’s superior taste, feeling, and tact. He boldly and truthfully charges women with being selfish, insolent, cruel, vain, thoughtless, and mean. He says they are maniacal, and he supports his accusations by a long series of facts indicative of their mental and moral inferiority. There can be no doubt that he is right. He suggests no remedies, but he will readily suggest themselves to keen observers and students of human nature.

Chief Justice McAdam of the New York City Court, showed himself superior to his accusers when he recently refused to send a man to jail for breach of promise and declined to be a party to a compulsory marriage. It is remarkable that the literary feminine who are so shocked by the immorality and immorality of loose-laced damsels there have not a word to say about the diat, this breach of promise cases. As long as women do not know what dignity and self-respect are, there will be breach of promise cases as well as dudlédid dinners. As long as women remain economically dependent and ignorant of life, they will be brainless and heartless. Nobility, pride, real purity, and dignity are qualities not to be expected of slaves and dolls.

A Boston daily, in a report of a trial of a police officer charged with burglary, notes the following “incident” of the trial: “Judge Mason administered a rebuke to a juror who had rather officiously attempted to interrogate each witness. His honor mildly remarked that it was better for the government to put in its case, and the defendant put in his, and the jury pass upon that. The juror subsided.” The judge is doubtless as unconscious as the juror himself of the enormity of the outrage he committed in thus interfering with the jury. What a pity he had not to deal with a man conversant with Spooner’s masterly vindication of the rights and functions of jurors. Such a man could have taught the officious judge a useful lesson, and would have made him a much wiser and better juror. It is the ignorance and servility of the average juror, the impudence and ignorance of the average judge, and the insensibility and pernicious seal of the government attorneys, the administration of justice is becoming a delusion and a snare.

In a recent number of the “Voice” appears the report of an exceedingly interesting interview with that excellent ignoramus and meadler, Laurence Groshandel. He said: “I don’t know what to do, ever write another book. I have said all I have to say. I wrote ‘The Cooperative Commonwealth’ to cover the economic revolution, ‘Castra!’ the historical revolution, and ‘Decision’, the moral revolution.” The intelligent people who think that this philosopher has shown himself in the “Works” mentioned ignorant of every principle of sociology will “sturdily welcome his decision to sin no more.” They will also be grateful to him for his frank opinion of the present and future of the Nationalist movement. He said: “The leaders of the Nationalist movement have made a mistake. They have held aloof from the workingmen and have assumed a superior air. As a consequence, the workmen have repudiated the Nationalist leaders and the Nationalist clubs. I will be plain and say, Nationalism is a Boston ‘fad,’ and it will go the way of all ‘fads.’ There is, I am sorry to say, too much of the ‘machine’ in the Nationalist movement. Too much practical control the parent Nationalist club in Boston, and I fear they are using it to forward their own ends. That club in turn controls all the other Nationalist clubs in the country.” However, Groshandel feels sure that what he calls “socialism” is coming. Considering that, according to this prophet, “the Prohibitionists and the rank and file of the Republican party are (the socialists) natural allies,” and that “intelligent people” in the United States have already existed for a great many years and that the problem now is to totally eliminate it and deplore the cranky and bigoted meddlers of their occupations.

Referring to Powderly’s boast that the New York strikers are fighting to maintain liberty, Mr. Pendecost very admirably says: “The struggle between the Knights and the monopolists is a fight between some organized laborers and some organized monopolists to decide certain war questions. It is not a fight for liberty. For example, is Mr. Powderly fighting for the liberty of a ‘scab’ to take the place of a striker? Certainly not. Mr. Powderly is the bitter enemy of every workingman who does not belong to a union of some kind. He does not believe in liberty for ‘scabs.’ With him it is simply a question of whether workingmen will be ruled by the railroad companies or by him and his lieutenants. Liberty means freedom to use vacant land and issue money, — free access to natural opportunities,—so that each workman will be in a position to make an absolutely free contract with his employer. Mr. Powderly is just as much of a tyrant in his way as Mr. Webb is in his. As between Mr. Webb and Mr. Powderly my sympathies are with Mr. Powderly, but it is absurd to speak of a labor organization as an agency of freedom. A labor organization may be a less deadly tyranny than workingmen’s than an organization of monopolists, but it is, nevertheless, a tyranny over its own members, and a very dreadful invader of the rights of ‘scabs.’” The next number of the “Rights of Labor” will doubtless denounce the “Twentieth Century” as an organ of socialism and Mr. Pendecost as a social traitor and supporter of monopoly. It is not labor “unconsciously” fighting for a higher civilization, liberty, equality of opportunities, and everything that is noble and true. But perhaps Mr. Pendecost is fully resigned to this, and, with Liberty, thinks that to be despised by such a reformer as Lum is no small credit.

The editor of the “Truth Seeker” is not a very acute or penetrating thinker. The subject of socialism is treated about as lightly as that other Liberal light, Helen Gardiner. Here is what he says in a recent issue: “Mr. Dana, of the New York ‘Sun,’ in a twelvemo editorial, lays down this rule for acquiring a worldly competency: ‘One rule for getting rich is to own the town. The best, most universall of the ‘Twentieth Century’ has found another method. He says: ‘When poor people will no longer become policemen nor soldiers, then poor people will be free; and when poor people are free, they will be no longer poor.’ If the ‘Sinner’s’ rule is true, why are not all those who do mind their own business above want; and if Mr. Pendecost’s words are true, why are not all those who abstain from joining the army and the police force in the same condition? Is it possible that both philosophers are wrong?” No, both philosophers are right. If the editor of the “Truth Seeker” understood his meaning, he would not regard the two statements as different, but would see that they both express the same idea. Those who do mind their own business are not above want simply because other people interfere with them and plunder and enslave them. If everybody determined to mind his own business, there would be no involuntary poverty in the world, and this is what Mr. Dana recommends, though practically he favors a thousand and one governmental vilenesses. Those who abstain from joining the army and police force are not above want, because those who do not so abstain are required to enforce the restrictions and tyrannical demands of the meddlers and looters who wish to live at other peoples expense. If nobody joined the army and police force, the pretended savours of society could not enforce their wishes, and everybody would have his due.
Beauties of Government.

[From the Press.]

The Treasury Department has just rendered a decision to the effect that the States of the Union, and even the postal employees of the United States, and intended as presents, are clearly subject to duty under the law.

The citizens of Columbus (Ohio) have just discovered that the city was for many years the scene of the ravages of the county officers, who have been piling up money in a manner that has been a surprise to all. During their reign of terror, the city was subjected to a number of improvements in every direction. The discovery has just been made that the city had been engaged in various projects, each costing thousands of dollars, and the improvements thus made were funded and collected by the county officers. These officers have thus been able to pass in their budget of the city from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars each year.

Two Illinois merchants landed from the steamship "Richmond Hill" on Tuesday, August 26. As they could not open the door of their hotel, arrest orders were issued against them. They were arrested on suspicion, by the Contra Contract Labor inspector, and taken to the large office. They were detained in the immigrants' cell, as charged with being passers. Then it was found that they were not immigrants at all, and that their detention was illegal. The merchants propose to bring suit against the city for the charges.

A committee of the New York Legislature makes the charge that certain interference cases pending in the Patent Office, and apparently antagonistic, are really controlled on both sides by the same person. The patent rights of some of the persons have been postponed for years by the great corporations which represent both sides of the apparent controversy, in order that the case may not be reached, to prolong its monopoly for a term of years from the date of that settlement by means of the winning device.

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 5. The bark Castilia Sessa has arrived at this port with 1,288 passengers. The bark was under the command of Capt. John Thomas, has sent to this city a description of the Russian exile system as witnessed by him. He describes a brutal treatment of the prisoners. The Russian system of exiling men has been postponed for years by the great corporations which represent both sides of the apparent controversy, in order that the case may not be reached, to prolong its monopoly for a term of years from the date of that settlement by means of the winning device.

The laws of North Dakota are of little importance to the people. Attorney General Goodwin has refused to answer an opinion in which he says certain sections of the elevator law passed and supported by the most eminent men in the last Legislature are unconstitutional. He rejected the advice of the law to the tax law is a triumph upon which opinion the State Board of Equalization based its action. Governor Miller and Attorney General Goodwin, members of the board, were absent. The Board on the rate of taxing their property in this State. The laws of the new commonwealth are annulled and returned to the board for the consideration of a new act.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 4. There is not a city or town of 500 inhabitants in the State where liquor is not openly sold. Judge Rose, of the four judicial districts, holds that liquor can be sold in original packages. The county's home law has been openly violated for years, and an attempt made to bring the offenders to justice. All laws now brought to a test have been pronounced unconstitutional or void.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 5. Justice Doyle and La Roy responded promptly yesterday afternoon to the summons sent them by Judge Aligdor to appear before him and explain their actions in the recent branch tax case. After looking over the case he took them to a remote part of Branch No. 2 of the Criminal Court and informed them that it was a case of branch tax evasion.

There has been too much of this kind of work done in the past and there must be a stop put to it. There have been no right to the county tax to be paid on property owned by the State, and the only way to do it is to find a way to pay it.

Bus. men are to blame in this matter, as they are too willing to arrest the boys who are caught in the store. They are afraid to be seen for the past several years the parents are to blame for not keeping or punishing the boys.

In the court the two justices were talked to plainly and told if the offense was repeated they would be severely dealt with. In the case of the boys, from 10 to 12 years, were brought into court and turned over to T. E. Daniels, Super-

Liberty.

NEW YORK, Sept. 3. Two seizures of valuable goods were made by Coast- ■ House inspectors yesterday. Mr. Gonzalez, a passenger at the station that he had nothing dutiable. But as he was leaving the dock the inspectors caught a glimpse of some bundles under his overcoat and proceeded to examine them. A pair of India's silk stockings, which they sent to the seizure room.

From a man and a woman, passengers on the steamship "Bremen," the inspectors seized a large number of cigarettes, a number of cigar cases and some meerschaum pipes were taken. The woman had sacrificed herself to the sale. The silk was sent to the seizure room.

CHICAGO, Sept. 3. Early last Sunday week a row occurred at a dance held in the hall at Twenty-first and Atrey streets. Officer Charles Dolman, of the Hiawatha street station, saw a man throw a stone at a woman and ordering her to "do no harm to the lady." Accordingly he went to the doorway and blew his whistle for help. Officers Richard Scott and J. S. Bevan came to his assistance. The three men went into the hall where a fight was in progress. Dolman arrested James Kelly, who, witnesses declared, was not in the fight. Simon Cregar, and Charles Harder. While calling for the patrol wagon, Officer Scott's prisoner escaped and four shots were fired at him, but without result. Cregar and Kelly were taken to the station and booked for disorderly conduct & resisting an officer. A continuance was taken until next day. Kelly's case. The latter took the witness stand and testified that what occurred on the ride from the dance hall to the station. Said he: "Dolman seemed greatly excited at me, believing I was doing something to do him some mischief. I knocked down his head with his stick, and punched him in the neck. Officer Scott also struck me with his club. I was covered with blood when the officers arrived. The officers sent me to the hospital.

Patrolman Richard Cantwell, of the Graham avenue station, had several cases of intoxication and disorderly conduct, was convicted first. He was declared guilty and dismissed.

Among the others arraigned, Patrolman Thomas Folan, of the Fifth avenue station, forfeited three days' pay for drinking a glass of liquor at the side door of a saloon.

Police officer William H. Dougan, of the Hergen street station, was fined three days' pay for absence from the station without leave, and Patrolman Peter J. Campbell, of the same station, forfeited ten days' pay for absence without leave and for deserting his post.

CHICAGO, Sept. 3. The Police Trial Board was busy listening to a number of complaints against officers, some of them interesting. Two cases, two cases, showed extreme brutality on the part of officers, were heard and at the end of them the Inspector looked satisfied, feeling that the officers had been very well handled. Again, two cases came up last night the officers were of those who had been appointed within the last year. The first was against Officer William Cregar, with whom the inspection was made, finding him to be in his position when the officer told him to go inside. Words were passed, and the officer accused Cregar over the head a number of times.

Another case tended to show that an officer could neglect his duty, have a good time, and drink from twenty to thirty beers, besides other beverages of like character. The officer was Martin Ulrich, of Avondale.

The most interesting case against Officer Martin Riley, of the Maxwell street station. He was charged by I. Hosenhauer of No. 305 West Taylor street with brutality on one Sunday. The "officer is a large man," kicked and beat me and called me foul names, though I hadn't said a word," said Hosenhauer; "and when I went to the police station to report the matter, he and Officer Madick met me in the station house and beat me. They took me to the lockup and there nearly killed me, tearing my clothes off and setting me on fire. I was held up for two weeks afterward.

Riley denied the charges. He and Officer Madick contra- dictory, giving an account of the events. But when the arrest was made and could prove that the citizen was not at all.

He is the most respectable officer in the Maxwell street station," said Riley. "Who is he?" asked Ebersold. "I am Hanbury. Riley," he replied. The inspectors examined. Even Inspector O'Donnell laughed right out. They knew "Sandy.

Pickford's friends, at this point and said he had pre- ferred charges against Inspector Hathaway, Capt. Hayes, Lient. Starton, and Officer Harley, and expected them to be tried next Monday. A number of other cases were heard and a big batch postponed.

Paternalistic and Fallacious.

[Gleaner News.]

Premier Saltzburg, when some of his legislative projects were assailed on the ground of the embalming government, replied that the public is a societ- in existing laws and that the objection should be disregarded, each measure being considered on its merits. The government has not been disposed to take this ground two courses will be open to the opponents of the bill, namely, to fight it on the question of finance and local government, and to try and make de- stuctive results by reason of what is omitted from the plan.

The methods can be employed together. State Socialism is a new idea and it is a very dangerous thing. To discuss the matter of principle it seems need- ful that the opponents should well understand there are two distinct principles at the bottom of the bill, the one be- longing that values should carry currency, and the other that the government should be the controller of the business, which is in the nature of banking combined with owning. The idea that values should carry currency is not necessarily connected with any arbitrary control of govern- ment. The proposed measures have been ag- regated to perceive nothing of this distinction and have ridiculed the first of these principles. As for the second, with Italian enterprises and competition, are there many minds alert to prosecute the necessary arguments against the bill. They simply need to be reminded that they are equality the means of bringing existing policies of government which favor financial monopoly by restrictions.

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Social Reform: the Scientific View

By G. Thompson

Thus the fact that there has been an evolutionary process toward progress and the fact that human activity is a process involves a smoothly achieved community proves that a solution of the problem of the uncontrolled freedom is possible, since it has been already anticipated in the demand for freedom. And if we compare today's condition and its influence, and how, if all, its solution will be more complete.

This is why we are able to understand more thoroughly the scientific evolution of our society, that is, the concept of science, psychology, anthropology, and sociology. We note that the individual will look beyond his own aims and desires, and can do nothing, for he is both a mover of power and a mover of goods in all cases. But if he is satisfied, he can be satisfied and preferred, and from his conscious course, he will strive, overcome, and thwart the controlling forces if he can. This is the same as saying that he has not been led and has no more power of self-development at all.

The strong hand of government, therefore, is most important in the development of society. But the only way of the use of the individual is the ideal of a perfect state. It can only be administered by men acting forcibly against others. The law of laissez faire will be the law of the strong.

The process is reproductive of that individual expansion which is the fountain of all social progress. While governmental control is necessary to some extent, no doubt, the need of a higher civilization demands its continual limitation within narrower bounds and the reduction to a minimum.

In the end, all of the things of the rule of man over man, whether by a monarch or the demesne, is detrimental to the perfection both of the individual and society. His value consists in preserving his mental and spiritual life together in security so as to allow the working of a much better process.

This better way is the only way of perfecting civilization. It is not the only way that is possible in all ways. It is not alone. But it is the only way. It is one of the principles of Plato's liberty, but it aims so much as his friend. But if we consider our course, we will strive, overcome, and thwart the controlling forces if we can. This is the same as saying that he has not been led and has no more power of self-development at all.

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Better than the "Single-Tax."

[Twentieth Century.

The Philadelphia Single-tax society offered five hundred dollars to the person who could prove the inefficacy of taxation than the Single-tax. B. Franklin Clark, of Philadelphia, N. J., claimed the reward, citing the "voluntary system" of the city, and the free education in the city, which always supplied sufficient for the support of the Government." A. H. Stephenson, speaking for the city, accused the society, complaining of the "great and lurid" among other things saying that "there is to do claim that because a few cities supported their government by voluntary contributions, so the state cannot be successful in the same, which has been so little in this country today." To which, it is claimed that it must be fairly replied that if our people would voluntarily support our town, city, state, and national governments, it is a demonstration that they neither wish nor need them. People are generally willing to pay for what they wish or think they need. But if the people were no other objections to the Single-tax, the fact that it would have to be collected by force is sufficient. To take money from people by force to do a service is opposed to all the precepts of law and order.

Another Immortal Ass.

[Twentieth Century.

Readers of English novels have often laughed over the absurd doings of English magistrates as rendered by them, but few have ever believed that such characters had their com-
How Anarchism may be Realized.

In a letter from Herbert Spencer to the Brooklyn Ethical Association occurs this passage: "Those who in the past have devoted themselves to the diffusion of useful ideas have usually had to suffer, and have met with little appreciation; they died before it came. Remembering the fates of such, I may regard myself as extremely fortunate. Though during the first half century of my career the encouragement has been very small, yet the last half has made amends; and I may be more than satisfied alike with the material results and the effects produced, as well as with the marks of approval which have been coming to me more and more frequently of late years.

To no students of Spencer can the above letter be more encouraging than to Anarchists. Some people, baffled in their arguments against Anarchism, reproach Spencer's ideas with being too abstract, and have been pointed out from time to time in those pages that the teachings of Liberty have made great headway in very influential directions. Yet, notwithstanding this, a glance back forty or fifty years does at first sight seem discouraging. It was then that Greene published his mutual bank theory. The "Social Revolutionist" contained articles as radical as anything printed today, and Jeremias Hacker published in Neue a little journal of bright ideas through a knowledge of the nature of capitalism as is to be found in Marx. Twenty or thirty years ago Warren was in his prime and Andrews was as belligerent as Liberty; and a host of active workers, now almost if ever there were doing anything all this, one is inclined to become pessimistic, but such letters as Spencer's tend to encourage one. Referring to this letter, the Boston "Globe" said: "The reason, probably, that Herbert Spencer has not suffered the indignities and neglect that have beenaped upon the great philosophers of the past is because the world moves so fast today that it catches up with its great thinkers during their lifetimes."

That the world moves so fast that catches up to great ideas makes it important that our ideas are correct. The ideas presented in Liberty have so far never been shown to be incorrect. As there are many practical people who have no longer any doubts as to the truths of Anarchism, but who nevertheless feel discouraged when looking at the matter from a practical point of view, it may be opportune now to show that Anarchism is the most practical solution of the social problem. Not only are the social, like State Socialism, Green- backism, etc., false in theory, but they are impracticable. They all require to be legalized, and so depend on gaining a majority of lawmakers and voters to institute a new and a major system to enforce them in case of organized resistance. There are thousands of Single-taxers in every State, as well as Greenbackers, Nationalists, etc.; yet they are powerless to practicalize their ideas, and though they occasionally win the support of a more than usually wily political trickster who throws out a trap to catch their votes, they always get left at the polls.

The two main ideas in the economics of Anarchism are: (1) occupancy and the use only the title to land, and free banking. Anarchism means much more than this, but these are the two main economic issues. On the political side is the right of trial by jury,—the palladium of all liberties. None of these is a simple or intelligent idea on this most important and thoroughly practical matter. The ideas on this point are to be found in that unique and valuable treatise of Spencer on "Trial by Jury." Here is a weapon the my career carried the losses we are going to introduce their ideas. In the hands of Single-taxers, Nationalists, etc., it is as harmless as nitroglycerine in a free state; in the hands of the Anarchists, it is deadly to the stockbrokers and money lords as nitroglycerine compressed in a dynamite gun. The only thing impracticable about Anarchism is the lack of intelligent people understanding its principles. If only one-fourth as many people understood mutual banking as there are Greenbackers, free banks on a small scale could be started next year.
L IBER TY. 167

And if only a title of the land reformers understood the vacant land theory, practical operations could be commenced at once. No need of drones of voting cattle at the polls, or of majorities in the House, or of friendly pressure, or special acts. All that is needed is an efficient minority of Anarchists sprinkled through-out society who know their rights as jurymen and have courage and determination to stand by them. The reader of Liberry who is not well informed on this subject and who is one on whom Mr. Gardner will be relying for support, may consult with Spooner’s "Trial by Jury." Ideas and events move faster today, and it is essential in order to under-
stand Anarchy from a practical standpoint that Anarch-
istical ideas be not studied on any issue involved in their plan of campaign.

To be explicit. Let us suppose that a few enthu-
siasts have determined to occupy vacant land. They do so, and by due process of law are evicted. They are tried before a jury — a real jury, not a set of ignor-
ant men such as now sit and take the law from the court and play an inferior part in the farce called a trial, — and one or more jurymen, believing that the power of the police was employed for an ignominious purpose, refuse to convict. The authority of the police is weak-
ened. We know how it works in prohibition States when popular feeling is against a law, — and jurymen act not as in their right, but in the sense of averting a law. In Ireland the plan of campaign works well and there again juries do not act from a sense of their own right, but in what they believe to be an illegal manner. When jurymen shall know and defend their right, greater results will follow. A jury only now there are one or two free men could baffle all the ef-
forts of owners who did not hold land by equitable title. So with free currency. Prosecutions would fail too often to be encouraging, and a practical move could be at once made to realize Anarchist ideas.

It is assumed here that Anarchists are numerous enough to be skeptical among the jury list, and that the juries will be drawn in a fair manner. If the law as it now is not complied with and Anarchists are ruled or counted out, a new issue will be raised.

A. H. SIMPSON.

A Thoughtless Letter.

In "An Open Letter," published in the "Twentieth Century," Holon II, Gardner replies to certain mild criticisms passed by Mr. F. Stead upon her recent book, "A Thoughtless Yes," and, in passing, offers some general observations and suggestions on things literary and social which are anything but valuable or humorous. No hesitation in saying (as I have to difficulty in proving) that nothing so shallow, thoughtless, contradictory, crude, and puerile has appeared in print for a long time. Derogé of logic, coherence, or clear and systematic reasoning, it is almost impossible to follow her notions and phrases in any systematic manner; it is easy to expose the poverty and disorder of her mind by taking her dis-
connected statements and refuting one after another. Miss Gardner declines to give a thoughtless yes to the attacks of State Socialists, Anarchists, and other reformers. Does she then say a thoughtless no to them? From it. She has not studied them, and has very vague Ideas and faint impressions regarding these various questions. Yet she presumes to make judgment upon them and to discuss their alleged imper-
fec tions and errors. She is thoughtless enough, and impertinent enough, to deliver opinions without troubling herself about the evidence and the arguments es-
ceribed upon those bases. Miss Gardner is here her most serious charge, her most earnest com-
plaint against social reformers.

It is one of the oddest things in this world to see the brave and earnest men who fight so nobly for better and fairer conditions. They go the very path that Mr. Kennedy has pointed out. They are the just and the right, and the tributes of a thoughtless yes to the absolute proper status of 2d womanhood. They resist with the spirit the idea that men should be anomalous and always the dominant upon and at the economic mercy of the rich. They do not at all see that to one-half of the race even that much economic independence is impossible. It is impossible to make a people of their present status. You may reply that Anarchism would solve that problem. Would it? With maternity and physical disabilities in the scale? Do you know, to use, all the various economic schemes yet put forward lack an essential

feature. They provide for a free and a better mankind, but they pay the tribute of a thoughtless yes to the intolerant authority of old women. So long as one generation is servile just so long will this world be populated with a race easy to debunk, weak to resist oppres-

sion. Alas! It is a burden that few things are so near to its power, and humble and subservient toward authority and domination. Character lies but little above its source. The man in the street, the miner, the worker, the inscient; the spirit of a subordinate, she will transmit them, and the more enlightened she is the surer is this, because of her constancy.

Need I say that all this talk is begotten of ignorance? Every reader of radical literature knows that the charge is not absurd as it is false. Neither the Social-

ists nor the Anarchists have neglected the "Woman Question"; neither have been silent upon the vital questions and problems comprehended in the subject of economic and sexual relations. Socialists and Anarchists have abundantly discussed the "Woman Question" in all its phases, — economic, social, and sexual; and if Miss Gardner is not aware of it, it is only because she has not sought to inform herself, because she has a convenient habit of dispensing with study and reflection.

Miss Gardner tells us that she is "earnestly inter-

cested in the clash of arms between those who want the government to do all things and those who wish it to do nothing." These, she writes, "and the varying 
cults ranged between, each seems to me to have certain strength peculiar to itself. Each seems to me to overlook some essential feature." Now, one must possess a pretty thorough knowledge of a system in order to discern its strength as well as its weakness: but Miss Gardner knows next to nothing about the systems, she so glibly talks of, as is shown in her non-

sensical charge that Socialists and Anarchists ignore the question of women's emancipation and even jus-
tify many restrictions upon their freedom. One may object to the decisionistic system in its entirety, just as one may object to the Anarchist system in its full development, but no intelligent and informed opponent will complain that either leaves the taw woman question unattended or insufficiently con-
niders it. Says Miss Gardner: "Personally I do not believe that all the free land, free money, or freedom in the world shall leave the mothers of the race (whether in or out of marriage) a subject class, or in a position to transmit to their children the voice or weaknesses of a dominated dependent, will ever succeed in populating the world with self-reliant, self-repecting and capable women." It would be useless to request the valuable Miss Gar-


den to enlighten us as to what is needed to emanci-
pate woman, if economic and social freedom will not help her. She means nothing. She does not know what she is talking about. She evidently never thinks.

Indeed, I do most earnestly believe that the inspired way is yet to be struck out, and I do not believe that i am the one to do it.

No, she will never do it; and she will never know whether others give promise of doing it if she does not reform her literary habits. She is not even entitled to say that others have not done it, already consid-


ering her own recent confession of ignorance and my present demonstration of it.

Meanwhile I can do some things. I can suggest questions, and something more than a thoughtless yes, not a god, and I do not want all people to answer my way.

Such modesty is more offensive and improper than the most self-confident assertion and dogmatism, as De Quincey has pointed out long ago. Why does not Miss Gardner ask all people to answer her way?

Because she is not fully convinced of the validity of her position? If so, she has no business to rush into print and thrust herself upon our attention. It is the height of vanity and immense pretensions to claim the privilege of authorship without regard to the corresponding responsibilities. Who forces her to give pablum to her immature little notions? Why is she so anxious to appear in the role of a teacher if it is not worth her while to say that.

Further testimony to similar effect might be ad-

vanved from Wilhelm v. Humbolt. But lest these and related views of last-century philosophers should be contemptuously brushed aside as outdated, I point out that we are not so thoroughly modern a thinker as Herbert Spencer. After reading the inference "that of the aggregate results of men's desires seeking their gratifications
those which have prompted their private activities and their spontaneous coöperations have done much more towards social development than those which have worked through governmental agencies," he continues:

That abundant crops now grow where once only wild herds could be anything more than a temporary and sometimes only an accidental annoyance. Promisingly, beginning with traffic at gatherings on occasions of religious festivals, the trading organization, so often and for so long an object of the civil government's efforts to achieve its private ends. Perpetually governments have thwarted and damaged the growth, but have in many ways been hindered by its ever-increasing attractiveness. An increasing attractiveness has been made possible. It is not to the State that we owe the multitudinous useful inventions from which we benefit; the State, it was not the inventor, and the possible ex-extended navigation by a developed astronomy; it was not the State which made the discoveries in physics, chemistry, or the like, the result of modern manufactures; it was not the State which devised the machinery for producing fabrics of every kind, for transferring men and things from place to place, and for manufacturing in a thousand ways every kind of article.

The world-wide traffic conducted in merchants' offices, the rush of traffic filling our streets, the retail distribution system which brings everything to us, the growth of commerce, and the blessings of daily at our doors, are not of governmental origin. All these are results of the spontaneous activities of citizens, and to these spontaneous activities governments owe the very means of performing their duties. Direct the political machinery of all these aids which Science and we have, and you would have to work with them with which State officials have invested; and its functions would cease. The very language in which its laws are registered and the very opinions which are given in its defence are in the remotest degree because the legislator; but one which has no previous man during our intercourse while pursuance of their personal satisfactions. From which it inextricably follows that the State is a hindrance to and not a promoter of social progress, that it is indeed more of an evil than a blessing, and that the analogy drawn by v. Hering between it and the society is totally absurd. g. a.

From Liberalism Limited to Anarchism.

The editor of "Freethought" chicks deeply as well as freely. His writings, always brilliant and deliriously humorous, are beginning to be distinguished for their philosophical and logical excellence as well. In his "Criminal Poet," Mr. George MacDonald muses upon social and political matters as follows:

If we find upon investigation that the most enlightened persons neither attend church nor political conventions; that they do not vote for candidates because of political affiliations with both religions and politicians; that the most best fitted for teachers are not in the pulpit, and that the ablest political economists are usually the laity; and if on the contrary we find the Church and State supported by the enlightened and unprincipled classes; the most extremists among the most abandoned; the politicians filled by men who are fit for nothing else, and public officials crowded with the dishonest, the fanatical, and the incompetent — what conclusion are we to logically draw from these facts? I draw nothing so much attention to things as they are, in the course of their population.

It is not altogether correct for Mr. MacDonald to say that he "draws nothing," for on the same page of the same book he presents innumerable sentences which have the appearance of legitimate conclusions from the aforesaid facts.

I registered at the City Hall the other day as a voter in the city and county of San Francisco, though what in the name of commendation I went to do there I do not know. City and State affairs are going along as well as ever, to all appearances; every vacant seat in all our public buildings some motion from the taxpayer to increase his taxes or to draw his salary; the present officials come around to collect some sort of a tax or license as often as I have money enough to pay it. I walked out of the City Hall, and there I met a small group of about twelve men, a few standing in the street and two standing in the square.

The "Whirlwind" is Individualism.

Calm and truly philosophical reflections are perhaps not to be reasonably demanded of those who ride in the whirlwind and direct the storms of discontent, but I cannot overlook the serious and gratifying disregard of fundamantal-socialist standpoints, to which Mr. Herbert Vivian, editor of the "Whirlwind," seems to belong.

In the paper of August 23, Mr. Vivian publishes two paragraphs which, I should think, must be in a high degree offensive to every sober-minded individualist. It is quite possible that he has read nothing about the anti-Semitism movement in Russia, and is as follows:

Braun, Carus! — I am not altogether inclined to join in the adoration of Abraham Lincoln or any of his contemporaries in consequence of his new anti-Semitic policy. Of course, I do not defend religious persecution, however effective a religion does not necessarily mean that it must not be exercised on the liberties of others. But the Jews are a race rather than a religious body, and, like the Chinese, are often considered as a threat to their neighbors. By their mixed-crafted craft, they have acquired a dangerous and by far not narrow over individuals, but even over the policy of States and the conduct of governments, and it is getting every day more obvious that something must be done to repress it. It is true that the Carus is sitting about the business in an unmis-
Individualism, if it fails to see that its defence of tyranny and hostility to liberty cannot be reconciled with the principles it professedly upholds. The imprisonment of the editor of the "Freilicht" was an entirely unwarranted one, and it has led to justly severe measures against the Freibach government. I am afraid that the "Whirlwind" and its editors are to be regarded as a dangerous moral and political power, and that they are likely to use their influence for evil purposes. If they do not humble themselves in time, their power will undoubtedly increase, and they will be found to be something of a menace to society.

I suppose that most people respect Charles Dudley Warne as an educated and intelligent man. But the most degraded and illiterate American voter could not possibly excuse the ignorance and superstition that is revealed in the following delirious statement. So far as scientific sociology and evolutionary philosophy are concerned, Mr. Warne is scarcely superior to a savage fitchet worshipper. It is sad to think that a leading American author can talk like an arrant fool on political subjects: yet his case is not exceptional. Writing on the subject of the American spirit, Mr. Warne says:

"It may not be possible to define exactly what an American is, still less to describe the American spirit as an entire and independent social force, which has been at all times and which is at all times to be distinctively conceived. But it is true that one thing was very clearly understood by all the new comers who purposed to favor us with their society, and that is that the competition of the old was not to be submitted for, but for them to make it. That is just as much a nation, with as well defined, and as distinct a political life and purpose as Germany, or England, or France. This..."clearly understood will save the new-comers a great deal of trouble. We have had a real, though not long, historical page as a nation; we were not made by a stroke of the pen, but evolved out of many peoples and long colonial and revolutionary and constitutional struggles into a true national life, under conditions of government so great and so remote in the world, but which for a century have given greater advantages and chances for ordinary humanity than any other government that has preceded it. In our federal system and our local self-government we find the American idea, and it is just as different from the license and the socialism which some conceive to be the American idea as can be. It is useless for foreign new-comers to butt their heads against this idea; it will injure their health, but will not advance their civilization. We have long since left government very satisfactory to ourselves, and that we do not require their aid in making one, and if they do not like it they are as free as air not to come. It is not a good place for experiments, for we have not yet got the idea of anything else, which has, for so long, been productive of unexampled prosperity, and of more than the average happiness."

Mr. Pencetost says: "No course of thinking or conduct results in happiness. Happiness is impossible. The more highly developed the brain, the more impossible happiness is. The most that can be hoped for is a condition of life in which man may be less miserable." This is true if Mr. Pencetost speaks of the present only, and it comes opportunistically to support Liberty's exception to Helen Gardner's preposterous notion that the best of man cannot really be the best of the world. Mr. Pencetost means to include the future also, his assertions are rash and totally unfounded. I hope Mr. Pencetost is not getting to be a pessimist, why, even the man of blood and bone needs to be helped in his efforts to be a man of progress. Receiving a deputation of veterans recently he said that "the inventions for making war are becoming more and more murderous. No indemnity could compensate for the misery and expense caused by war." He adds, "the sooner they are over the sooner the freer will they learn that they will be less miserable in the exact ratio in which they eliminate sexual frictions from the human condition." The old foundation (legal marriage) is shattered; we must have a new one, but we must not press demarchy. Men and women should be free to regulate their conduct laws are not suited to that purpose. The sooner they are over the sooner the freer they will learn that they will be less miserable in the exact ratio in which they eliminate sexual frictions from the human condition.

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