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Liberty

"For always in their eyes, O Liberty!"
Shine that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou say us, we still trust in thee.
—JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

Says the "Catholic Review": "The hunger for government money is increasing. The societies for cultivating that hunger are also increasing. We have the Sons of Veterans, and we shall have the Grandsons of Veterans, with the Uncles and Cousins and the Aunts of Veterans."

The organ of the New York State Socialists speaks of "Spencer's latest dime novel," presumably alluding to "Justice." This is the kind of criticism that enlightens the noisy and ignorant agitators, by whom and for whom most State Socialist sheets are published; but what do judicious State Socialists think of it? The story that comes from Milwaukee in regard to an organized beggar's trust is a godsend to the editors whose task it is to denounce trusts and combinations as conspiracies against labor and equitable commerce. A pickpocket's syndicate, says one of these, is not more criminal than a trust seeking to corner the wheat market. Perhaps not, in the eyes of those who regard as crimes all acts which Congress in its infinite stupidity interdicts. But those who comprehend the law of justice will smile at the comparison no more commendable of this fool newspaper. I wonder if the people of Massachusetts know that their lawmakers have made a law this year providing with imprisonment for life every criminal or pauper who has the syllabub. Such is the astounding fact. To be more specific, the law provides that any innate of a State penal or charitable institution who, at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, shall be afflicted with syphilis shall not be discharged, but shall be detained in the institution until cured. As syphilis is seldom cured, this means in most cases life imprisonment. Hereafter, in Massachusetts, only the rich and the law-abiding are allowed to have the syllabub—call it liberty too.

"Freileibitz" is not disappointed in Mackay's new book. Ever since the publication of the second edition of "Sturm" it has known that it would be good for nothing. On the appearance of the first edition of "Sturm" it thought Mackay a second Freileibitz. But soon afterwards Mackay was seized with an attack of pessimism, and then, alas! Tuckerman's Liberty, the journal read only by a few old women of Boston, fell in his way. That finished him. The second edition of "Sturm" gave ample evidence of the poison that had entered its veins. Hence "Die Anarchisten" is just what "Freileibitz" expected. Ah! this poor, puny, heartless, effeminate, mischievous Liberty! To think that a second syphilis should be ascribed to his eye! Second Freileibitz, the slayer of a Gillette like "Freileibitz!"

The Seattle "Post-Intelligencer" has a very clever man on its editorial staff. His editorials are far above the common editorial level of the journalist, are often sensible, and always show a decided inclination to give conspicuous consideration of the subjects with which they deal, and to independent and original thought. But occasionally his originality carries him too far. Witness the following original discovery, which he gave to the world unpatented in a recent editorial against women suffrage: "Nobody who is not an Anarchist in theory, if not in practice, ever pretended that suffrage was a natural right; but from the Anarchist point of view that suffrage is a natural right, you can just as easily argue, as Anarchists do, that property is robbery." If this editor had ever investigated Anarchism, of course he would have known that Anarchists do not believe in natural rights at all; that not one of them considers suffrage a natural right; that, on the other hand, they all are against the central proposition that rule is evil, and on the corollary that it is none the better for being majority rule. Anarchism is as . . . or at least to the ballot as peace is to war.

Spencer's use of the word rights to denote the liberties which are corollaries of equal freedom (referred to by Mr. Yarros in another column) is, like any use of any word, comparatively unobjectionable so long as the writer, on the one hand, consistently and persistently adheres to this definition, and as the reader, on the other, constantly bears the definition in mind. But it seems to me that the meaning generally and, in my view, properly attached to the word rights renders these conclusively peculiarly liable to violation in this case. The word right, except in its strictly legal sense, conveys the idea of a high prerogative independent of contract and superior to it. Now, equal freedom being, as I think, a matter of contract, it can only tend to confusion of thought to employ, for the expression of that which follows contract, a word generally employed, and which, in the minds of many, precurs contract. Liberty accepts the usual definition, and accordingly denies rights. For, in reality, there is nothing superior to contract except might. Therefore there are no rights except might. That a word is needed to express the things which men enjoy under equal freedom I readily admit, and sometimes, yielding to the demands of convenience, I fill the gap with the word rights, as Spencer does. But in laying philosophical foundations, it is important to bear in mind the impropriety of such a use of the word and the reason therefore.

The editor of the "Christian Advocate," Dr. J. M. Buckley, opposes woman suffrage, not being a believer in the benificent effects of women's influence on politics. He says: "The majority of the advocates of modern Spiritualism are women. Nine out of ten mediums are women. The same is true concerning Christian Science. In all the false religions of the world women are in the ascendency. The same position is taken in Spencer's "Study of Sociology" and "Justice." "The comparative impotence of women is a truth which would make increase in their influence an injurious factor in legislation. . . . Women are carried away by the feelings of the moment still more than men are. Again: "Very few men, and still fewer women, form opinions in which the general and the abstract have a due place. The particular and the concrete are alone operative in their thoughts. Had women votes, this absorption of consciousness in the proximate and personal would be still greater, and the immense mischiefs at present produced would be augmented." Women, furthermore, are a wholesale member of all its forms, and this worship of power, says Spencer, would increase the ability of government to override individual rights in the pursuit of paeonistic measures. Long before Spencer Rousseau directed attention to these feminine traits. Mr. Pentecost, however, sees no sense or point in Dr. Buckley's remarks. "What of it?" he asks, and adds — and if anything, why not add that a majority of Christians, or Protestant Christians, or Methodist are women? Does the doctor mean to raise it as an objection to the systems mentioned that a majority of the believers are women? If so, what does he make out of the fact that so many school teachers are women? or that all our mothers, sweethearts, and wives are? No, the Christian editor and clergyman probably did not mean to raise it as an objection to the systems mentioned that a majority of the believers are women, nor could he be expected to consider that side of the matter; but rationalists will certainly see in the fact an objection both to the systems and to the women. But many school teachers are women! "Well, what of it?" But our mothers, sweethearts, and wives are women! I must confess this is a pretty point. The fact does dispose of the objections of Spencer and Dr. Buckley, to be sure. Mr. Pentecost's brilliancy is most marvellous.

There is a movement on foot in Washington for the creation of a civil pension list. The plan, which is said to have the endorsement of a majority of the clerks in the departments, is to levy an assessment of one cent, on the salaries of clerks for the purpose of retiring on three-quarters pay all clerks who have been in the public service thirty years. A bill embodying this proposition, and perhaps a proposition to restore all clerks of a certain age, will be introduced during the next session of Congress. Of course, as the Chicago "Herald" says, there is no doubt that before long the pensions will be paid out of the treasury. The clerks will no doubt pay very cheerfully at first, so as to get the civil pension list fairly established. Once that is established, it will not be so very difficult to persuade Congress that it is mean for the government of a billion dollar country to make its humble clerks pay for pensioning themselves. It is pleasant to find most of the influential papers opposed to this scheme. They know the departments and the clerks are glad to get the positions they hold without new inducements, and that they get much more than their abilities could bring them in other fields. They are not obliged to work for the government if they can obtain better terms from private employers, and the government cannot afford to disregard business principles. Wannamaker, however, favors the project, and the reason he gives is one which ought to disabuse the minds of those who believe our postal service a tremendous success. "We already," says Wannamaker, "have in effect a civil pension list. That is to say, persons are borne upon the roll of the department who from motives of humanity can neither be removed nor expedited to do the work that is required of them, because they are incapacitated by age. The department is thus put to a considerable disadvantage. It would seem that the only proper way out of the difficulty would be to devise some just and humane system of retirement which the clerks could be prepared to meet as they grew old and could make plans for according, or else to retire clerks who have arrived at a certain age upon the reports of bureau chiefs and to allow one year's pay upon such retirement. One or the other of these things would greatly alleviate the sufferings of the superannuated clerks, as well as be a great and just economy to the public service." How would it do for private business firms to keep squads of clerks useless through old age in positions demanding skill, care, and energy?
Justice and Anarchism. — I.

After reading and re-reading Mr. Spencer's "Justice," I find myself confirmed in the opinion I ventured briefly to express in the preliminary notice of the work,—namely, that the chief principles common to Individualism and Anarchism have been inverted within the last thirty years. It is shown here to have a philosophical "authority transcending every other," — to use Mr. Spencer's own words,—much questionable logic and lame argumentation have been resorted to in the attempt to justify certain qualiﬁcations of the whole body of us, and in the applications of the principle to the various activities and interests of social life. This opinion, as well as other considerations, leads me to undertake an elaborate and detailed critical review of the book, my purpose being to arrive at what may be called a maturing of the differences and parallelsisms or resemblances subsisting between Spencerian individualism and Anarchism. That such a statement is desirable will be conceded by the student of social problems; the value of the statement will depend, of course, upon the degree of accuracy and precision attained. Former articles of mine have contained allusions to Mr. Spencer's departure from his own early views; but a deﬁnite statement has only now been made possible.

In the ﬁrst chapter, Mr. Spencer treats of animal ethics and recalls to the reader's attention the conclusions reached in his "Data of Ethics" with regard to conduct at large. He holds it clear that by good conduct we mean conduct furthering the interests of the given species, and only such as is calculated to diminish the welfare of the species. Postulating the desirability of the preservation and prosperity of the given species, we see that "there inevitably emerges one more general conclusion and from it three less general conclusions." The most general conclusion is that, "in order of obligation, the preservation of the species takes precedence of the preservation of the individual." The species, to be sure, "has no existence save as an aggregate of individuals," and hence "the welfare of an individual has an end to be reached only as subserving the welfare of individuals," but since "disappearance of the species involves absolute failure in achieving the end," whereas disappearance of individuals fulﬁlls even somewhat more difﬁcult, "the preservation of the individual must be subordinated to the preservation of the species, where maintained are extreme the resistances to them are great, we regard the egoistic sentiment of justice as a subjective attribute answering to the objective social function of this sentiment is to maintain social life possible, it comes into existence by the aid of a sentiment which may be called pro altruistic, and which temporarily supplies its place. The dread of retaliation is second in this order of things, and the dread of punishment, and the dread of divine vengeance, united in various proportions, form a body of feeling which checks the primitive tendency to pursue the objects of desire without regard to the interests of felicity and cooperation of the other living souls. In this sentiment is also the germ of the altruistic sentiment of justice which is fostered by sympathy. The altruistic sentiment of justice can arise only after the egoistic sentiment of justice has arisen, and is very slow in maturing since its development is complex, and because it implies a stretch of imagination not possible for low intelligences. Only the higher varieties of men are capable of conceiving the ways in which good or bad insulations will eventually affect their spheres of action; and only among these there is excised that sympathetic sentiment of justice which prompts defence of political interests of fellow men.

Though the sentiment of justice and the idea of justice are intimately connected, they may be clearly distinguished, the former is a sentiment in full play and shall not be restrained by the need for non-interference with the like actions of associated individuals becomes imperatively for creatures to which gregariousness is a necessity. ("Obviously," remarks Mr. Spencer, "this second point is valid whether or not the primary law takes under the conditions of gregarious life, since by asserting that in each individual the interactions of conduct and consequence must be restricted in the speciﬁed way, it tacitly reasons that these interactions must be maintained in other individuals,—that is, in one who is of the same or a similar species, and narrow in range is the third law,—that under conditions such that, by the occasional sacriﬁces of some members of a species, the species as a whole prospers, there arises a sanction for such sacriﬁces, and a feeling of need such as to make each individual shall receive the beneﬁts and evils of its own nature.

As, from the evolution point of view, human life is regarded as a further development of sub-human life, and a fundamental principle is that limits no.

In humanity, the qualiﬁcation of universal, simple, primitive justice by partial or complete sacriﬁce of individuals made in defence of the species assumes large proportions, since the sacriﬁce is necessitated by action needed for defence against enemies of other kinds, but by the need for defence against enemies of the same kind. It is doubtful true, Mr. Spencer admits, that destruction of a human group does not imply destruction of the species; still, self-sacriﬁce in the interest of the group must be regarded as an obligation to the extent to which the maintenance of the species is subserved by the maintenance of each of its groups. No justiﬁcation whatever can be found for the sacriﬁce of species in groups, since each group of civilization oﬀensive wars hinder human development. Of course the qualiﬁcation of justice implied by the needs of defensive war must disappear when a peaceful state is reached. In other words, the qualiﬁcation is not recognized by absolute political ethics which deals with the conduct of men ﬁrstly to industrial and social life.

"When the circumstances of a species makes certain relations between conduct and consequences multiple speciﬁc feelings can no longer be used to characterize the species." This truth leads us to expect to ﬁnd, among the social sentiments of men, the sentiment of justice. Unless the faculties of all kinds have free play, the requirement that each shall submit himself to his own nature and conduct cannot be fulﬁlled; and unless there exists a sentiment which prompts maintenance of the sphere for this free play, the sphere will be trampled upon and free play impeded. Hence, seeing that in proportion as the restraints on actions by which life is
Resistance to Law.

Extremes meet. The fanatics and intolerant bigots who, in defiance of law, summarily judge and execute those whom they regard as wrong doers,—the masked and armed ruffians whose devotion to a puritanical standard of "virtue" prompts them to dispense with regular methods and processes of ascertaining the facts and enforcing justice,—meet, on the common ground of disregard of and resistance to "law and order" with those refined and intelligent lovers of equal liberty and fairness who seek to establish legal claims as conflict with justice and attack such unlawful institutions as violate the requirements of equity. It is unfortunate that so many well-meaning writers fail to distinguish between these two classes of opposites who have to contend with. The mobs and lynching bands are often pointed to as illustrations and exemplifications of Anarchistic tactics, while, on the other hand, conservatve of the unreasoning species denounce such organizations as the London Citizens' Defense League and the English Woman's Suffrage League, and take to attribute to Anarchists sympathy for the objects or methods of lynch-law advocates. Mob aggression is no more justifiable than government aggression. The difference is that, while every civil and political organization can be regarded as having a social purpose, not yet are aware of the criminality of governments. For this, the sentiment of justice is not sufficient; a clear conception of the law of justice is needed.
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