On Picket Duty.

The “Twentieth Century” withdraws its statement that R. P. Underwood is a convert to Spiritualism. I view the retraction as needless. Say what Mr. Underwood may, the man who believes in the genuineness of the phenomena reported by Mrs. Underwood in the "Aresian" (and Mr. Underwood declares that he knows them to be genuine) is lost to Materialism. All his influence henceforth must be on the side of the ghosts.

Mr. Bellamy says in the "New Nation": "The dime museum managers of the country have formed a combination to keep down the salaries of freaks and monstrosities to a reasonable figure. Under Materialism freaks will not be exhibited." Certainly not, though not for the reason in Mr. Bellamy's mind. Freaks will not be exhibited, because everybody will be compelled to work at some "useful" function, and nobody will be allowed to earn his living in any but the regular and approved way.

There is an excellent article on "Marriage and Free Thought" in the August "Fortnightly." The writer, "M.," points out that men and women who ridicule the sacraments of the Christian church as absurd observances will readily make common cause with plebiscites and partisans to enforce the Christian notion of marriage, and refuse to take a secular, rational, and philosophical view of the relation. It will be interesting to watch the evolution of this criticism by the Free-thinkers of England and this country.

Speaking of municipal management of the street car system, the New York "Sun" says: "One result of the eight-hour law under which the labor of New York city has been carried on makes it necessary, whenever anything has to be done to some extent, that the business of a corporation be run by a board of directors, if the principles of economy and to the general interests of the community, to intrust it to private agencies that enjoy ordinary freedom to manage affairs according to the regular rules of trade. A city horse car system would be more apt to add two cents to the present fare and make it seven cents, rather than to cut it to three."

The man who recently demonstrated inductively and deductively, in three paragraphs, the inevitability of State Socialism, is now bringing his towering intellect to bear upon the question of value. His first discovery is announced in the "Twentieth Century," to the effect that the error that value is in any sense dependent upon labor is common among amateurs. Such magnificent success unquestionably gives this philosopher the right to assert at "the average social reformer, whose conception of the magnitude of the problem with which he endeavors to wrestle is as adequate as his knowledge of its literature is meager."

One year ago the act which excludes the Louisiana lottery company from the use of the mails became a law. The post officials claim that lottery matter is now practically excluded from the mails, and that the business and power of the lottery company have been greatly crippled. But this is the "official" view. Every ticket purchaser knows better, and the newspaper correspondents who disseminate this official view are bright and sophisticated enough to know better. The anti-lottery law is an outrageously piece of tyranny: but we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that it is constantly and systematically and successfully evaded. It is a dead letter.

Arguing at Chicago in favor of closing the World's Fair on Sundays, Col. Elliott F. Shepard, proprietor of the New York "Mail and Express," declared: "I believe firmly that if the fair is not closed on Sundays, the Lord will put his curse upon the enterprise and the nation. He will send plagues and pestilences, as he did in the days of Pharaoh." Of course Col. Shepard lies. Neither he nor any sane man of education in Jesus' name and thought believes anything of the kind. It is a pity that some one did not ask him why the Lord allowed the Paris Exposition, which was open Sundays, to be the most successful of all Expositions, and why he is so slow about visiting, unless with plagues.

If the report that George Bernard Shaw has renounced Socialism for Individualism be true, it is the best news that has come to my ears for a long time. "To wrest from the enemy their ablest man is no small victory, and Mr. Shaw is, or was, the ablest State Socialist living, so far as I am able to judge. The report ought to be true, whether it is or not. As Mr. Shaw once confessed to me himself, all his instincts are Anarchistic, and I fancy that the unmatchable way in which these instincts constantly insisted on showing themselves must have long made him a terror in his own camp. Too strong to be a slave and unwilling to be a master, perhaps he has discovered that it is necessary to be one or the other in order to be a State Socialist. Let us hope so. As an Anarchist he will feel at home. But what will become of the "Fabian Essays" if their editor is no longer Fabian?"

Referring to the growth of paternalistic sentiment in South Africa, the New York "Sun" says: "With the conquest of every foot of new country and the establishment of every new community, the vision of a world of unbroken free trade seems to fade more and more into nothingness." And the "Sun" glad of that? Is it glad of the growing State Socialist sentiments among the workmen of every country? Protection in one branch leads to a demand for protection in another, and paternalism in other branches. The "Sun," which bitterly assails State Socialism, cannot hope to succeed in resisting its advance while it rejences in the spread of so-called protection. One is sometimes tempted to pray for a decade of Draconian Socialist rule, in order that the half-hearted champions of freedom a wholesome lesson and realizing to them the necessity of consistent adherence to principle. A few years' discipline under a Bellamy overseer's lash would cure such men as Dana of all partiality for paternalism. Some State Socialists are wont to say that their system will prepare men for freedom. Perhaps they are right, in the sense that men can only be taught by adversity, and that a short experience of intolerable tyranny will convert them into ardent lovers of liberty.

Hamil Garland reviews "A Plea for Liberty" in the September "Aresian." He is disappointed in the book, and rises from it "with sorrow and bitterness." He objects to its unsympathetic tone, to its tacit apology for things as they are in the economic sphere, and to its half-way statement of principles. Most of his observations are eminently just,—especially those with reference to the conspiracy of silence on the part of the essayists treating of specific factors and conditions so far as the land question is concerned. "What sort of individualism is it that asks calmly asssumes the right of a few Scottish and English nobles to depopulate the crofts of Scotland and turn them into shooting grounds? What kind of individualism is it that ignores the monstrous wrong involved in three dukes owning vast estates, and receiving in rentals millions of pounds for no service rendered, while the docks swarm with the congregated population of England, crazy to earn a sixpence? If these gentlemen expect to cheat Socialism, they must meet these problems on a higher plane or their writings will not be read." In conclusion Mr. Garland points out the superiority of "single-tax individualism," which "affords definite propositions leading to freedom and justice." It is not a little unfair to ignore Anarchistic individualism, Mr. Garland? The Anarchists too offer a solution of the land question, which they claim to be more in harmony with freedom and justice than the single-tax solution. But Mr. Garland is such a blind worshipper of Henry George that he is incapable of fairly estimating other solutions of the land question than the single-tax. And not only in economics does Mr. Garland hold Henry George supreme authority: he says that "all of the gentlemen" in "A Plea for Liberty," aside from Mr. Spencer himself, "could with vast profit study Mr. George as a model of logic and lucidity of style."

If Mr. Garland means what he says, I am sorry for him: it is only a childish pettifogging remark, I blush for him.

Rapine, Old Style and New.

[Louisville Courier-Journal.]

In the olden time, when might made a man bold and give it over right, it took its good clench in hand and went out in search of adventures. It slew its weaker adversary, appropriated to itself its lands and cattle and wine, and came home in triumph, bringing stores of spoils and attended by knights in armor and slaves in chains. Then it gave itself a title and founded a dynasty, and got pente to "ring its praises and tools to make it merry, and thirds after days were given as a decoration and prowess for more brute force and cunning, thieving craft, and cruel pillage. Modern rapacity is more ingenious and less bloody. The older ruffianism at least took its life in its hands and gave its enemy a chance. Its degenerate form finds safer and surer means of achieving its desires. It organizes a corporation. It gets a charter. It hires a lobby. It lenes an organ. It buys a legislature. And, there you are! Millions to a few, misery to all others; with use law to sustain the proceeding, and, if need be—just as in the days of yore—troops to enforce it!

His Argument.

But if a fellow is theCustom of the Country:

Keeps doing nothing for a thousand years.
And then has—everything! (That isn't fair.
But it's—what has to be. The milk boy hears
The talk they have about it everywhere.)

Then if the man there is the hot, you know,
With water you could swim in on the floor.
(And it's the green—these, you know.
With gold flowers on the roof and it a' door)
Works and energy to waste, you know:
What I will do is—nothing! Don't you see?
Then I'll have everything my whole life through.
But if I work, why, I might always be
Living in luxe, with gold flowers on them, too—
And half a door. And that won't do for me.

Mrs. Sarah J. B. Platt.
LIBERTY. 146

BOSTON, MASS., SEPTEMBER 12, 1891.

"In subduing real and interest, the last vestiges of old-time sea
dustry, the Revolution abolished one strike the secret of the craft.
"The sailor, the workman, the clog-shoemaker, the watchman, the
"pugilist, in every department, the brute force of the realm, the
"gauge of the occupation, the running-buff of the department clerk,
"all these circumstances of Politics, which bring Liberty greater breadth
"be for her vast." — Professor Peabody.

A Motion for a New Trial.

The editor of the "Open Court" has discussed with the ability which usually characterizes his writings, what he believed to be the issues between Anarchism and State Socialism. It is unfortunate that the real issues are so totally involved in others which he states that his admirable observations fail to illuminate the problem which occupies all modern students and social reformers. That which the editor of the "Open Court" introduces as Anarchism to his readers is not Anarchism at all, but that which he describes as Socialism (meaning State Socialism) is not the organized and militant Socialism which we know and encounter in practical life.

"Individualism," according to the editor of the "Open Court," is the natural aspiration of every being to itself; it is the inborn tendency of every creature to grow and develop in agreement with its own nature. We might say that this endeavor is right, but it is more correct to say that it is a fact; it is natural and we should abolish it as an act of the legislature that fire shall cease to burn or that water shall cease to quench fire.

The editor's notion of Socialism, which, he avers, is also a fact, is this: "I am not alone in the world; there are my neighbors, and my life is intimately interwoven with theirs. My helpfulness to them and their helpfulness to me constitute the proper human element of my soul among the members of society, and the truth dwawns upon us that no advantage accrues to an individual by the utilization of the abilities of his fellows. First, be, in so doing, never succeeds for good, and secondly, the mutual advantage will in the end always be greatest to all concerned the more the factor of individualism in others remains respected."

If we take these definitions it is perfectly natural and logical for the editor of the "Open Court" to maintain that Individualism and Socialism are not principles, but facts, that human society, in its evolution, is the result of both facts, and that the attempt to separate the two is an attempt to create a political problem which is as rational as would be the proposition to regulate gravity on earth by masking either the centrifugal or the centripetal force the supreme and only law. The trouble is that the editorial judge, "instead of studying the facts," of the Individualist-Socialist controversy and delivering an opinion in accordance with them, "invents and proposes" original definitions of the reformatory movements on trial, and bases his verdict on his own version, which he views widely from the real facts of the case. "Does it prove that socialism is an absurdity?" he asks; but it does prove that some judges are prone to disregard the scientific method in the construction of theories.

No Anarchist will accept the editor's definition of Socialism. If, that is, we are Socialists, as we say, then we are all Socialists; and indeed that vague, nebulous, subjective, and sentimental kind of Socialism which every civilized individual profes ses and clings to. Few Socialists, on the other hand, will own to a deliberate intention to overthrow the whole system of property in the country to develop in agreement with its own nature. Most Socialists will protest that they espouse Socialism for no other reason than that it promises to allow and foster this very end, which they, alleges, is utterly defeated by the present system and would be equally excluded by Anarchism.

Anarchism and Socialism are not coexistent and cooperative factors, but opposite and mutually exclusive principles. Anarchism means the complete fulfillment of the scientific social law of equal liberty. It subordinates all institutions to the fundamental law of justice, and limits the use of physical force to cases of actual trespass upon equal liberty. It insists upon freedom in all things, and denies only the freedom to deprive others of their equal claims. The prevailing individualistic system, being based on a mere verbal conception of equal freedom, the Anarchists oppose it; and Socialism contemplating still greater violations of equal freedom, its opposition to it is naturally bitter and more violent. Such assertions and explanations of the Anarchists would be interpreted by the Socialists to be indicative of cooperation, sociality, "helpfulness," and all the rest of the long list of excellent things and qualities, and are out of date. It is time Anarchism were understood, and in fact it is understood by all who think favorably of the habit of basing criticism upon accurate information.

Socialism, at once ignorant and reckless of social science and the principle of justice, insists upon State monopoly of industry and commerce, and upon the total suppression of freedom in all sense of the word as a social relation. Various minor tyrannical measures are joined with this principal plank in the Socialist platform. Passing over the tendencies and inevitable consequences of Socialism, it is sufficient to point out the principle of the proposed mode made by Socialists to convince men of ordinary intelligence that Socialism is incompatible with equal liberty. Anarchists cannot admit that anything is a "factor" in social development along the lines of progress which ignores the attempts of society to control the principle of equal liberty. On the other hand, Socialists cannot recognize as a factor anything which obstructs the tendency toward the supersession of private enterprise and competitive industry by governmental monopoly.

And now, having been shown new evidence and a new line of defense, will the judge presiding over the "Open Court" be inclined to reopen the case, to grant a new trial? In reason and equity he is certainly bound to do so. I would suggest that he invite a re-run of the proposition frankly made by Socialists to convince men of ordinary intelligence that Socialism is incompatible with equal liberty. Anarchists cannot admit that anything is a "factor" in social development along the lines of progress which ignores the attempts of society to control the principle of equal liberty. On the other hand, Socialists cannot recognize as a factor anything which obstructs the tendency toward the supersession of private enterprise and competitive industry by governmental monopoly.

The solution of the problem is, of course, the intelligent and complete in attendance, v. x.

Solutions of the Labor Problem.

A propos of Labor Day, the Boston "Herald" printed in its issue of September 6 a collection of proposed solutions of the labor problems which were received in response to a contest open to all people which was not limited to citizens and labor leaders to answer. The question was this: "How is a just distribution of the products of labor to be obtained?" The answers were from two hundred to five hundred words in length; below I give the essence of each.

George H. McNell, general organizer of the Federals.

Edward Atkinson, political economist:—If laborers think themselves inadequately paid, they should appeal to their comrades for support. The "scale" should have unions of their own.

Edward S. Huntington, secretary of the First National Club:—By the organization of an all-inclusive trust by the laborers. Albert L. Leonard (Lyman Boyd Porter), novelist:—No individuals can justly distribute the products of other men's labor. Hence the State must do it.

Charles E. Bowers, Nationalist:—By national control and management of industry. William H. Sayward, secretary of the National Association of Builders:—Absolute justice in distribution is unattainable. Improvement can be made by joint consideration and united action of laborers and employers.

M. J. Bishop, State worth-woman, K. of L.:—By organizing and educating the people to demand control of the natural monopolies and the transportation of intelligence, passengers, and freight.

H. S. Hunt, leader of the Third Party:—By public ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Henry Abrahams, secretary of the Boston Central Labor Union:—Organization of trades; reduction of the hours of labor; cooperation.

William H. Sayward, secretary of the National Association of Builders:—Absolute justice in distribution is unattainable. Improvement can be made by joint consideration and united action of laborers and employers.

George D. Moulton, Socialist:—By Socialism, to be reached through deduction of the hours of labor and a gradual increase of wages.

Harry Lloyd, president of the Carpenters' District Council:—By deduction of the hours of labor, destruction of the wage system, cooperation, profit-sharing, and government ownership of land, mines, and patents.

Some of the solutions proposed in the foregoing answers are as inadequate as Mrs. Partington's broom, others were buried by their authors in a flow of sentimentalism, and still others were presented so unsystematically that one could not influence reasoning minds.

Besides these, however, there were two answers that were analytical, that showed a true conception of the requirements of the problem, and that made a systematic attempt to solve it, no bump of modesty, and so as to be able to unblushingly that one of these was written by Edward Bellamy and the other by myself. I give them in full.

Edward Bellamy, author of "Looking Backward" and founder of Nationalism:—Workmen will not receive a just proportion of the product of their labor until they realize the whole product. In order to receive the whole product, they must reserve the profits which now go to the employers, in addition to their wages. In order to receive the profits which now go to the employers, they must become their own employers. The only way by which they can become their own employers is to make a cooperative sale of equal agents the conduct of industry as they have already (in this country) assumed the conduct of political affairs. The president, governor, mayor, etc., do not represent the nation, State, or city, as employers do upon the industries which they manage. These and all other public officials receive exactly as the agents are conducted in the benefit of the people as the principals.

There is no more sense in permitting the industrial affairs of this country to be run for the profit of the people than there would be in permitting their political affairs to be so exploited. Our industries are just as properly public business as our politics, and a great deal more important to us all.

If we let the people wake up to the realization of this fact, there will be no labor question left. There will be no ground left for a dispute between workmen and capitalists, for every one will be at one and the same time employee and employer.

Benj. R. Tucker, Anarchist:—A just distribution of the products of labor is to be obtained by destroying all sources of income except labor. These sources may be summed up in one word, "wages," and the three principal forms of money
in the field of adult labor, the principle of free association may be trusted to supply a remedy that shall adjust the supply of labor to the demands of the market without substantive control over the laborer. The wage earner, as a member of the unit in the productive social system, in concert, however, in the promotion of those reforms which will enable him to earn his living and not be impoverished, may make a larger margin of profit on production to itself divided between himself and employer.

The taxation of business in remunerative capacities to its full market value, the abolition of special privileges granted by the State to bankers, and the repeal of tariff laws tending to the enrichment of the few, are among the most important remedies of the situation.

Absolutely just distribution of the products of labor and absolute freedom from oppression by the possessors of power and the forces of social and political reaction, in and of the money monopoly, of all tariffs and taxes on industry and trade, and of all patents and copyrights.

That form of usury known as ground-rents on land monopoly, that is, on government protection of land titles not based on personal occupancy and use. If this protection were withdrawn, landlordism would disappear, and ground rents would no longer be locatable in monopolistic form, but only in its economic form; in other words, the only existing rent would be the advantage according to the owner and occupancy of the quality of soil or scenery.

The growing diversity of industry, coupled with the greater mobility that will be enjoyed by labor as soon as it becomes emancipated from the shackles of State monopoly, will have a strong and constant tendency to neutralize the existing inequalities of soil and site, and thus economic rent will drop to a much lower point. Thus the whole ground is covered, and all forms of usury are abolished. All the drains upon labor being stopped, labor will be left in possession of its product, which is the solution of the problem. This solution is that which Anarchism offers.

The contrast between the robust uprightness and straightforwardness of these two answers and the flaccid ineptitude of most of the others is so complete and constant that the labor problem is to be settled between extreme State Socialism and extreme Anarchism, and that the struggle will be clear and direct in proportion as all compromises disappear and leave no ground for the struggle remains the weak point in Mr. Bellamy's position. It will be located. I point it out in advance. It lies in his enormous assumptions that laborers, in order to receive the profits which now go to the employers, must become their own employers, and that the only way by which they can do this is by setting up independent agents the conduct of industry. The Anarchistic solution shows that there is no such must and no such only. When interest, rent, and profit disappear under the influence of free money, free land, and free trade, it will be comparatively easy for the working class, for themselves, or are employed, or employ others. In any case they can get nothing but that wage for their labor which free competition determines. Therefore they need not become their own employers. Perhaps, however, they will prefer to do so. But in that case they need not assume the conduct of industry through their salaried agents. There is another way. Any of them that choose will be enabled through mutual banking to secure means of production whereby they may realize their industrial desires. This other way, being the way of liberty, is the better way, and is destined to triumph over Mr. Bellamy's way, which is the way of authority and coercion.

I have reserved till the last the only remaining snare and allure of the "Laire Leader." This too I give in full because of its significance.

The prime factors making for and the unjust distribution of the products of labor are profits, rent, and interest. In his criticism of these, Mr. Bellamy, though he does not hesitate to call himself a capitalist,—the laborer has a remedy in every agency that give him greater equality of bargaining power. He has, in the first place, the freedom of choice of profit on the joint product of the laborer and the capitalist, in any agency that give him greater equality of bargaining power. He has, in the first place, the freedom of choice of profit on the joint product of the laborer and the capitalist, and in the second place, the freedom of choice of profit on the joint product of the laborer and the capitalist.

This in class agencies are to be reckoned the tools union, and the influence of agitation and education. Indisputably, the principles of international, of the nobility of labor, and of the unwise selfish competition (between the laborers themselves for employment), are alien to this branch of the subject. Broadly speaking,

"Liberty," "Progress," and "Power." The "Liberty" should not fear to adhere to a moral standard, simple or complex, for uniform, yet will still depend upon the utmost ascendency of the representatives of mediocrity or mediocrity.

The Next Morning.

A RUSH TO "A LOVE AFFAIR." By J. W. LLOYD.

Characters.


[Scene, Carlton's dining-room, pleasant and well-lighted; table set for breakfast; fruit and game pieces on the wall; after dinner, with glasses running down chairs; buffet; chairs; flowers.]

Mrs. Carlton in mourning attire, very neat and pretty, is seated at the table on one side, Mr. Carlton on the other.

Carlton (toasting with his egg). You don't look as serene as you did this morning, Helen,—what is it? Are you thinking about last night? Mrs. Carlton. Yes, George, and—Carlton (gazing at her). And what? Mrs. Carlton (peering out a cup of coffee rather nervously). Why, I was thinking a little regretfully about Arthur Eliot.

Carlton. What do you mean?

Mrs. Carlton (speaking rapidly). Now don't be angry with me (but you know you aren't), and indeed I love you, and I adore you, but I thought the matter over all at last, and—Mrs. Carlton. I believe—that after all I do love Arthur Eliot a little. Mr. Carlton. (looking at her). I see. Mrs. Carlton (a little out of her voice). Please don't speak in that way, George. I know Arthur didn't show me a good time at last night, but I can't help thinking he is noble heart. I believe he really loves me, and I can't help liking him. The trouble is, you know, that he is—sort of an aristocrat. I always; I shake it off, and it makes him see everything wrong. Oh, why, (gobbling) why can't both of you love me, and yet still be friends, and let me love you?

Carlton (speaking very kindly). Dear Helen, please don't feel so badly about this. There is certainly nothing in reason to prevent two men loving and being beloved by the same woman. Only I have this feeling of personal dislike to Eliot! But perhaps there is an unrecognized jealousy at work in me which makes me un-true. Sometimes when I alone I shake it off, but I don't feel I can bear to have Eliot in love with me, and I am not sure that he would love me, and I am afraid I enjoyed his defeat last night chiefly because I wanted you to love me better.

Mrs. Carlton (tearing her eyes). O, George, how good you are to me! Arthur Eliot. I am an egoist, you know, and I have learned that spoiling other people's happiness is a very poor way to promote my own, that is all. But I wish I could know about a man who would tell me just how you think it is, that I feel it, he is all, that I fear he is not—was that a ring at the bell? [Enter Bridget.]

Bridget. Here's a holiday for the misses.

"Next."
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