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"For always in those eyes, O Liberty! Shines that high light whereby the world is seen; And though these eyes may, we will trust in thee."—JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

The "Standard's" new list of premiums, made up, of course, with a view to induce people to subscribe to and support the single-tax movement, includes four or five of Talmage's collections of sermons, one or two books by other clergymen, and Harrison's speeches on his recent trip. Now we know what sort of men single-taxers seek to enlist, and how much sense the average so-called single-tax individual has.

Mr. Boppe, the editor of the "Freidenker," has often criticized Anarchism with a confidence scarcely indicative of ignorance of his subject. His ignorance, however, is now clearly established by his recent enormous blunder in classifying Liberty as an organ of Communism. As may be seen in another column, this blunder has made him a very tempting target for the shafts of Comrade Beitzel's wit. Mr. Boppe has earned the right to hold his tongue regarding Anarchism henceforward.

The Boston "Herald" states that the Pope's encyclical is having a marked effect upon labor movements wherever the Roman Catholic element largely prevails, and that it has stimulated the effort to establish in many of the great working centres industrial organizations, of which both the wage earners and employers shall be members, and in which they shall cooperate for the promotion of friendly relations with one another. I don't believe a word of it. Nobody has paid the slightest attention to the Pope's flimsy and inconsequential compliments—"that is, nobody engaged in practical trades-union work. It has had, and will have, no influence whatever. Let the "Herald" give us some facts.

"To celebrate Labor by compelling people to be idle who were willing to "work," says the "Nation," "is one of the notable victories achieved in recent years by the office-holders in the labor unions cooperating with the office-seekers in politics. If this compulsory idleness on the first Monday of September were limited to those who voluntarily put themselves under the rules of the labor unions, it would not be for others to complain; but a legal holiday has the virtue of imposing idleness upon a large part of the community who are quite outside the jurisdiction of Master Workmen and walking delegates." So far the "Nation's" censure meets with my unqualified approval. But its next remark, that "labor day was made a legal holiday when boycotting was rampant,—is unintelligible, and shows that the "Nation" understands liberty but little better than the "New Nation," which is in favor of boycotting and also of a legal labor holiday.

If any one still doubts that the Underwoods have adopted Socialism, he should read an interview with Mrs. Underwood that lately appeared in the Boston "Budget." She declares that she has learned from the "beautifully worded messages" which she has received that "death is only a transition from one plane of living to another still higher; that upon the ego's progress in love and wisdom depends its rapidity of progress toward higher planes, of which there are very many; that sympathies are the basis of these planes or states of being, but that now there are three any harder phases of existence than the physical here. The intelligences that write these messages through my hand say that man has now arrived at a point where there is a transmigration of souls from these planes only a little in advance of ours; that each plane has its own mediums among us, and those must be of like spiritual sympathy; therefore we cannot get into rapport with every one we would like to hear from." If this is not Spiritualism, what is it? The "Twentieth Century" may retract its retraction.

Boppe on Mackay.

A friend has called my attention to the leading article in the "Freidenker" of August 30, entitled: "Bitter Truths of Anarchism. An Account of Anarchist Agitation," which is apparently meant to be a review of Mackay's book—"Die Anarchisten." I am thankful to my friend; for if a man like Boppe aggravates the "lamentable confusion of ideas" which is the very purpose of Mackay's book to combat, it becomes the duty of every poor devil who usually gladly pays homage to superior wisdom and thoroughness of vilification to his distress in the mind of the common reader of the "Arme Tafel" and the "Freidenker." As always, so in this case, Boppe starts with the first conclusion and goes on to the premises; he has not read the book, he has not read the government report, and he will not allow even a Mackay to convert him to anything like that. As if Comrade Boppe had ever allowed himself to be persuaded by a difference of opinion between the mental make-up of men and women. I want to ask Mr. Boppe to point out one medical faculty possessed by man that has not been possessed by a woman. "Women furthermore worship power under all its forms." So do some men. I know women who do not worship power, or love it for what it is. I know women who dread it, who are eager to bend the supplicating knee in worship. All time and all history have been full of men who were willing to give up their lives and all even to their very selves for worship, or to worship it. To others. When I first read what Mr. Punsett said about women being "wives, mothers, sweethearts," etc., I thought it was pretty good, indeed quite brilliant; but now, thanks to Mr. Tuckcr, I see that it is very commonplace, indeed utterly unworthy the attention of scientific men. "The mother of believers are women." This may be true. At the same time there is room for a respectable minority of male believers who earn or get the money to build the costly churches and pay the high-salaried preachers (also men) who preach the stuff women are supposed to devote only "even to the begetting. Why are not the men who are preachers and believers dissatisfied? "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," I am not sure this quotation is true. But rationalists will see in this fact an objection to the systems and to the women. I wonder if their objections are potent enough to home the world the world without women. Prof. Dunsclow has already given the key to that direction. He has discovered that the "Mother is no more essential to the world than the father's wife. We fear science and mechanism will be able to dispense with women as mothers; they won't have in our polls or government; nor our clothing, we may be compelled to seek other fields, possibly other women. The moon, being nearer, seems most available, but there is a man in it before us; he is probably a "rationalist" and would have the same "objection" to women. What shall we do? There seems to be but little chance for hope for the best; we must prepare for the worst. —F. MAX. H. J. HUNT.

HILDEBRAND, KAN., Sept. 3, 1891.

[My good correspondent should have employed a man to defend her position. Perhaps he would have made out a case that I should have thought worth answering.—EDITOR LIBERTY]
Justice and Anarchism. III.

Having disposed of the weakness of Mr. Spencer's arguments in favor of his abstruse and unrefined theories, we are now in a position to attack his system of appliances, having demonstrated that the logic of equal freedom cannot be made to justify coercion of non-aggressive individuals, it is hardly necessary to consider the equality of his theory of appliances is. The right of the non-aggressive person to ignore the State being a corollary of equal liberty, it follows that taxation must be voluntary. Enrollment in military service, it is further manifest, cannot be obligatory on the part of citizens. Nothing can be enforced save those claims which belong to the individual under the law of justice. And since disputes are liable to arise among the members of a society upon special applications of the general principle, and since no single individual or body of individuals may undertake to enforce any interpretation of the principle against the will of dissenting parties, it follows that nothing can be enforced but what the whole body of cooperating citizens unanimously agree to be in conformity with equal liberty. If the citizens unanimously agree to abide by the decisions of a jury representing them, the requirements of justice are equally satisfied. That, in fine, is the best instrumentality for the preservation and maintenance of equal liberty which is itself in full harmony with equal liberty.

But it would be remembered that the important practical question now confronting us is not what the best instrumentality is for the maintenance of equal liberty, but what is the best method of securing the practical recognition of equal liberty in our present societies. This being the right of every individual, compulsory government to exist at all, Anarchists are aware that non-civilian institutions will be eliminated gradually, one by one, and one at a time. They are ready to concede to the individualists any rational movement, against any special abuse or crime, that will, and only ask that no energy shall be wasted and that the most mischievous and harmful elements in the present system be selected for assault.

Resuming the question of Mr. Spencer's corollaries, we may now follow his own order. Passing over the right to physical integrity and the rights to free motion and locomotion, which admit of no doubt and the presentation of which by Mr. Spencer is satisfactory (always excepting the qualifications said to be entailed by the need of preserving the maximum of liberty, which qualifications we have seen to be quite without warrant), we come to the right to the use of the wealth of the earth. That land is owned by the respective owners, and the government, in the exercise of the supreme power of the government, has no jurisdiction over the land. But what is land, Mr. Spencer's solution of the "real" land question? "II," says Mr. Spencer, "while possessing those ethical sense, which has now grown, men stood in possession of territory not yet individually portioned out, they would have no more hesitate to assure equality of their claims to land than they would hesitate to assert equality of their claims to light and air. But the moral right of property, continued culture, as well as sales and purchases, have complicated matters, the dictum of absolute ethics... is apt to be denied altogether." Mr. Spencer says that the right of ownership of the land by the community can be justly restricted only by wholesale purchase of it. Were the direct exercise of ownership to be restricted to the community without purchase, the community would take, along with something which is its own, an immensely greater amount of something which is not its own. We must admit that all which can be claimed for the community is the surface of the country in its original un-mortgaged state. It is the only way to be legally, breaking up, holdings, etc., constituting nearly all its value, the community has no claim. This value has been given either by personal labor, or by labor paid for, or by ancestral labor, or else the labor of the community given by the hands of an unrightfully earned money. All this value artificially given rests in existing owners, and cannot without a gigantic robbery be taken from them. If during the last hundred years the most exacting land-owners there have been much violence and much fraud, these have been small compared with the violence and the fraud which the community would be guilty of if it take possession, without paying for it, of that article which has been nearly two thousand years has given to the land." Furthermore, in enthralling the thought of rectification, the question arises, which are the wronged and which are the wroght upon? Mr. Spencer says that those who own lands are the posterity of the usurers, and that those who own lands are the posterity of whose lands were usurped. But this is far from being the case. Those who own lands are those who have legal title, who are just, and justly descendants of the owners, while the proprietors are to a considerable extent descendants of the wroght against. Finally, "if we are to go back upon the past at all, we must go back upon the first step, we take account of what the people at large have lost by private appropriation of land, but also that which they have received in the form of a share of the returns,—that is, we must take into account of Poor-Law returns. $260,000,000 would be an underestimate of the total sum received in this form by the poor, and hence it is manifest that against the claim of the landlord may be set off a large claim of the landed—perhaps a larger claim—"for the landlords have an equitable claim only to the land in its pristine state, for which $260,000,000 would be a large price."
Rights and Equal Liberty.

To the Editor of Liberty.

In a recent letter you say that a word is needed to express the liberties which men enjoy under equal freedom, but you don't like the word "rights" because it has ambiguous connotations; and then you say that one of the words is correct if the writer and reader adhere to the definition given by Spencer, implying that you agree in the main with his views. I have had a different experience with the word of course. But in the same paragraph you say that equal freedom is a matter of contract. Now, it seems to me that it is not only in the matter of contract but in the matter of philosophy; because, if Spencer had proved anything in his work, "Justice," it is that the law of equal liberty is a matter of contract. He shows that the law of equal liberty is, in one aspect, an immediate dictum of the human consciousness after it has been subject to the discipline of what Spencer calls the "categorical imperative." He has naturally arisen from converse with the conditions of associative life, and that, under another aspect, it is a belief derived from the conditions of life at large as well as from those of social life. In a passage in No. 180, you indorse this view, it seems to me; consequently, I am at a loss to remember, you need by saying that equal freedom is a matter of contract. When contracted? And by whom? And if the contract has not yet been entered into, do you mean that there will be no law of equal liberty until the contract is made, signed, and deposited?

To say that there is no right (in the sense that Spencer means) to the employment of words is not to say that the application of words is not calculated to inspire one with respect for them. The reviews of "Justice" in the daily press therefore have been distinguished by the total absence of any symptom of scientific thought, intelligence, or ability. The literature of Spencer's theories is large, and the failure has been strikingly complete. The New York "Critical," for instance, expresses disappointment at Mr. Spencer's view and definition of justice. "It is a mere question of a verbal difference which the Greeks designated by that name," falsely remarks the critic of the "Critical," thereby disclosing lamentable ignorance of Mr. Spencer's purpose, meaning, and achievement. The Greek "justice," it is implied, was nothing but the word. "The Greek word," Mr. Spencer says, is "not anything but a word." The "Critical" further objects that the formula is of no value in the relations of parents to children, and thinks the distinction between the sphere of the individual and the sphere of the State entirely arbitrary. "That morality should be nothing in the family and everything in the State is contrary to the very idea of morality," we are told. No better comment upon this bald assertion can be made than to point out that the writer misinterprets it. The interpretation of the "Critical" is not to be found in the following sentence: "The only justification for the analogy between parent and child and government and people is the childishness of the people who entertain such analogies." If, after reading this review of "Justice" which I find in the "Critical," you are bewildered by a vituperative copy of an article (doubtless by the same writer) in the "Christian Register," the theological bias is easily detected in the criticism upon the Spencerian method. The critic says: "Mr. Spencer follows his usual method of starting from the lowest forms of animal life and working his way upward into human society. In reading this book we have been struck more forcibly than ever before with the essential pedantry and futility of this much-vaunted method. As a matter of fact, what Mr. Spencer finds in the lower animals bends them from his previous knowledge of mankind. So far from shedding light upon the subject of human rights, he reduces all former methods and methods of animal life only assume a species of reasonableness to us from the fact that we can interpret them from our previous experience. In a book treating of the State so largely as 'Justice' does, the proper fields to resort to are history and the present life of mankind." Do we not interpret history from our "previous experience"? The critic's logic would compel him to the absurdity that it is unprofitable to try to understand animal life, but that the study of human life, properly conducted to resort to are history and the present life of mankind. Do we not interpret history from our "previous experience"? The critic's logic would compel him to the absurdity that it is unprofitable to try to understand animal life, but that the study of human life, properly conducted.
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