On Picket Duty.

Col. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, admits that “it is probably true that the time has arrived when every person in the United States who desires remunerative employment cannot find it. Five hundred thousand, he says, “must compete for four hundred thousand places.”

“The cry of cheap money and enough of it turns out on examination to be hollow,” says “Today.” But nothing could possibly be more hollow and superficial than “Today’s” examination. The writer, too, seems to be unaware of the fact that the Sherman, the greatest “authority” on finance in Congress, and such organs as the New York “Financial Chronicle” admit the imperative need of an increase in the volume of currency. More attention to facts would compel a different conclusion.

The editor of the “Jeffersonian” is a supporter of the paternalistic “People’s Party,” and an advocate of the single-tax and of government money. In a recent issue of his paper I found the following remarks, which are strangely out of harmony with his general theory and practice: “There are bad governments and worse and better governments, but there has been and never can be such a thing as a good government. ‘A good government’ is a contradiction in terms, equivalent to good evil. Men never seek to exercise powers of government unless they intend to abuse such power, and power never comes to those who do not seek it.”

Referring to the efforts of Col. Shepard and the fa
tactical old women of both sexes to commit the World’s Fair managers to the policy of Sunday closing, Chicago “Unity” says: “We shall be sorry to see the wish of Col. Shepard, Dr. Patton, and therewith prevail in this question of the use of the World’s Fair on Sun-
day, but if they do meet with success, their timeliness and watchful care of a principle they believe to be sa
cred and second in importance to no other, will have merited the victory.” If Col. Shepard should advocate the lynching of all Freethinkers or infidels, would “Unity” think that any amount of devotion, zeal, and persistance could merit the victory? The principle is the same in both cases.

Alluding to the remark of a Republican organ that every graduate of Amherst is expected to vote for the Massachusetts Republican candidate for governor, who is a graduate of that college, the Boston “Herald” says that “it is a poor tribute to pay to the intelli
gence of a college graduate to assume that his horizon does not extend beyond his own alma mater.” But we have the “Herald’s” own authority for the state
ment that most Harvard graduates vote with the Repub-
licans, the explanation being that such graduates are the sons of rich men and most of the rich men of the country are Republicans. If this is true, then manifestly no tribute is too poor or unjust to the intelli
gence of our college graduates, whose reason for supporting this or that party is no better than that of the illiterate farmer.

“Max Elliot,” writing from London to the Boston “Herald” about the exploits and practices of Ameri-
can journalists abroad, finds ample justification for the contempt in which these gentry are held. “It is really deplorable to contemplate the absolute lack of truth in many of the communications that find their way into print in American newspapers,” she says. “They are too seldom to be relied upon,” and “the life and habits of the usual American newspaper man in London is about as vivid and frivolous, apparently, as any life devoid of honorable and dignified aims can be.” But is not “Max Elliot” guilty of making “indisc	

“On the contrary,” says “Today,” “there can be no such thing as a good government. Men never seek to exercise powers of government unless they intend to abuse such power, and power never comes to those who do not seek it.”

“Spencer or Right.”

A word is needed to express the liberties deductible from the law of justice. So much is conceded by Mr. Tucker and his correspondent, Mr. Simpson. But they take exception to the term “right” in respect to the Spencerian view. In selecting and proposing this term, Mr. Tucker follows his fruitful method of penetrating to the bottom truths in the popular creeds and watchwords and evolving a synthetic definition upon which all disputants might agree. In the Spencerian reconciliation of science and religion, and in the reconciliation of the position of those who believe in abso-

lute equality and the position of those who deny equality, we find analogies to the attempt, in “Justice,” to furnish a term acceptable to all who profess love for liberty and equity. In no case is Mr. Tucker guilty of any inversion of the usual terminology, while in every case he guides us to an intelligent and wholly proper use of the terms which are generally used unintelligently and with but partial propri-

ity. As to the matter of rights. After establishing the law of equality and the justice in the equal liberty, he says that men have rights. “Whoever admits that each man must have a certain restricted freedom, asserts that it is right he should have this restricted freedom. If it be shown to follow, now in this case and now in that, that he is free to act up to a certain limit but not beyond it, then the implied admission is that it is right he should have the particular freedom. If it be shown that the several particular freedoms deductible may be fitly called, as they commonly are called, his rights.” In other words, the laws of life hav-

ing imposed upon us certain conditions which we must observe in order to secure happiness,—equal liberty being “the fundamental essential to social life,” — it follows that these right are those which are in accordance with the laws of nature and the facts, of each of us should be allowed to enjoy these freedoms which happiness is impossible. Some perhaps should more or less strictly trace their rights, not to great facts and abstract law of development, but to some divine law of a superior being supposed to regulate this life and all life. But the philosophical differences should not prevent the com-

"For anthony's sake, O Liberty! Shines that high light whereby the world is sawed; And through this shine we, we will trust in thee."—JOHN HAY.

Whole No. 198.

V. V.
Announcement

Early in October I shall move from my present office at 45 Milk Street, which is a small third-story room, into a large, commodious store on Tremont Street, one of Boston's principal thoroughfares. These new quarters are on the ground floor and have a fine window frontage. The front portion of the premises will be utilized as the headquarters of my general publishing business, as the offices of Liberty and the "Weekly Bulletin," and, in addition, as a retail book store.

The rear and larger portion will be fitted up as a reading-room, in which a greater number of newspapers and periodicals will be kept on file than is to be found in any other reading-room in the United States. Besides the usual list of monthlies and weeklies, nearly every daily paper of any importance published in this country will be included; and England, France, Germany, and other countries will be well represented. It is needless to say that liberal and radical papers will be a specialty. This room will be open to the public every week-day from nine o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock in the evening at an admission fee of five cents. Those desiring to use the room regularly will be able to enjoy that privilege by becoming subscribers and paying fifty cents a month or five dollars a year. To subscribers the room will be open on Sundays, and to others if the State is willing.

I hope to issue the next number of Liberty from 224 Tremont Street, where all friends of Liberty will be received with especial cordiality.

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

"Obligation? To Whom? To What?"

In another column Mr. Yarros defends Mr. Spencer against my recent words of caution regarding his use of the word rights. In answer thereto I have but few words to say.

In the second paragraph of his article Mr. Yarros gives us Mr. Spencer's argument. The argument is based upon the assumption that "each man must have a certain restricted freedom." I need not consider the argument, because I do not admit the assumption. Indeed, I expressly deny it. I regard this restricted freedom as a means to an end; but suppose I do not desire the end? In that case this restricted freedom does not present itself to me as a necessity. The end has referred itself to my will. Some men in their selfishness find their happiness outside of society, and to them equal freedom, though an essential of society, is not the condition of happiness. The phrase, "these freedoms without which happiness is impossible," involves an unwarranted assumption. A perfectly natural life becomes a necessity to him not as a condition, but as an element, of happiness; not as a means, but as an apprehensible and weighty constituent of the desired end. He learns to know no other freedom but the freedom to multiply; his tastes change; and he comes to feel and realize that he would never, even if he could, isolate himself from his fellow-men and live thus to save.

This power of adaptation, or socialization, of the individual, though largely unconscious, can, nevertheless, be the root of all solipsism. Quite the contrary. There would have been no confusion in our modern social relations if all men possessed these ideas, just as an isolated community of savages is not transparent to social and harmonious development of its internal relations. The whole mischief arises from the fact that so many build their castles in the air. Once plant yourself on solid ground, and admit these fundamental realities, and you will logically and intelligently develop a principle of conduct which will make it possible for you to pronounce judgment on all things without tracing them back to first and bottom truths.

As Danton loved peace, but not the peace of slavery, so I love justice, but not the justice of moralism and idealism.

I supplement the foregoing with a few quotations from the articles written by Mr. Yarros in the controversy with Mr. Babcock which "The Reasons Why" called out.

Happiness is not a fixed quantity, and we cannot judge man's conduct from the standpoint of another's conception of happiness.

Just as long as the individuals surrounding me are defined and shaped by ideas of duty, harmonious relations between us are rendered unattainable. I do not admit that justice and liberty are fundamental rights. I do not recognize or deal with desires and necessities of individuals only. These desires and necessities bring social life into existence, and intelligence leads us gradually to the recognition of what we call justice as the condition calculated to maintain, foster, and improve our relations as social beings, as well as to secure and aid us in our pursuit of happiness as individuals. As long as individuals, on their own hands, are free from superstition, and the masses, on the other, are prostrating themselves before the creations of their own foolish fancy, there will be no real liberty, nor real, the free and strong few taking advantage of the imbecility of the many. When all became "conscienceless criminals," justice and the principles of solid and stable solidarity, will achieve her permanent and final triumph, — never to be disturbed unless the constitution and organization of man unchangeable.

The truth that all men are Egotists once recognized, the question of a "common standard of action" settles itself in the mind with the greatest facility. No data are wanting, everybody governs himself by his own appetite and understanding. Contention, insecurity of life and possessions, and general destructiveness give the inevitable outcome of such a state of things, intelligent self-interest slowly but surely develops a common standard and brings about a conception of justice, and I believe of the idea of desire for order and security produces harmony and peace. When an individual finds pleasure in violating such common standards, there is no reason in principle for him to respect the standards. The consequences of his acts may help to clear up his ideas on the subject, and show him that he has a greater interest in maintaining the general harmony than he supposed he had. In the future he is more careful about his pleasures. But, apart from self-interest, there is absolutely nothing to induce
Justice and Anarchism.—IV.

Passing over the right-of-property corollary, we come to the chapter dealing with patent and copyright. The subject has recently been treated in these volumes so fully and exhaustively that no need of further argument can be felt by those interested in it. Mr. Spencer’s defence of property in ideas in the present work is not much stronger than in “Social States,” and his position is not much more tenable. I agree with him (as the reader is aware) that, "as a definition from the fundamental principle of justice, copyright cannot be questioned with any show of reason;" I, at least, this matter I am not entitled to speak for Mr. Spencer, for Mr. Turchin’s rejection of Anarchists’ claim to find in equal liberty a warrant for denying property in ideas. What, in my view, is Mr. Spencer’s grave logical error will be found in his justification of the restriction of the right to property in idea, as the "originally advanced "Social States," he says: "It is a truth made familiar by modern experience that discoveries and inventions, while in part results of individual genius, are in part results of preceding ideas and appliances. One of the impositions, also made familiar by modern experience, is that about the period when one man makes a discovery or invents a machine, some other man, possessed of similar knowledge and prompted by a like inspiration, on the way to the same discovery or invention; and that within a moderate period this discovery or invention is tolerably certain to be made elsewhere,—possibly by more than one. A long continued exclusive use of his invention would therefore be inconsistent with other equitable claims likely to arise; and hence there is need for a limitation of the period during which he may rightfully receive protection."

For my part, I utterly fail to perceive the propriety of such a proposition. If the original inventor, in his product, Property in ideas once granted, the right to exclusive use of his idea by the author cannot rightly be abridged. Theoretically, the claim of a subsequently-appearing competitor cannot invalidate or affect the continuing right of the original discoverer. Each is entitled to the exclusive use of his own product, each has the right to property in his idea. Practically their claims conflict, and they may be constrained to enter into some agreement with respect to their relation to the general public. Both parties to the contract naturally suffer a certain limitation of the practical right of exclusive use, though not of the abstract right, of the author. His use and enjoyment of his property, by the developer of later, is not directly taken from the principle of equal liberty is concerned, the decision must be between perpetual and exclusive right of property in ideas (the right of each author to his idea), and also between the use and enjoyment of incorporeal property. Practical difficulties may necessitate a compromise such as is favored by those who desire to insure proper reward to the author for his development, but the principle cannot be directly taken from the principle of equal liberty.

The remaining corollaries drawn by Mr. Spencer do not seem to me to call for any special comment, qualification, or criticism. I may conclude my review of "Justice under Social States," by reducing the one or two pieces of evidence which, on examination, will be found to tell against him rather than in his favor, thus laying himself open to a charge of unfairness as well as superficiality. Observe, for instance, how "new" and "efficient" it is. Mr. Spencer is not only the most industrious of political economists, but the most industrious of political economists. He is industriously continually in search of a literal verification of the principle of equal liberty. In the first place, we learn that political economy supports the law of justice by teaching that "measuring with the measure of others is just," and that "we are bound to share all alike as far as we are able to do so, since all are equal," as well as by insisting that "speculators should be allowed to operate on the food-markets as they see well." Also, Mr. Spencer’s wish is father to the thought. Political economy could with more propriety be described as an apotheosis of boredom, and as violently condemning speculators in staple products. The real truth is that political economy cannot fairly be cited on either side; and as to political economy, the question of the degree of division, the preponderance of opinion is against the position upheld by Mr. Spencer. In the second place, Mr. Spencer informs us that "one of the settled conclusions of political economy is that wages and prices are artificial, and that the endowment of leisure is a privilege and a god."

Even this is unfortunately not altogether correct. The old school did regard as a settled conclusion, but the tendencies of "advanced" economists are so socialist that little opposition to government regulation of wages and prices is to be expected from them. "On other questions," concludes Mr. Spencer, "such as the usefulness of tariffs and bounties, the difficulty of enacting legislation in this direction, the necessity of a study of the laws which endow the states with their privileges, which ethics independently deduces." As to the last specification few economists indeed can be found on the right side, while the statement with respect to tariffs holds good for the half dozen or so.

Here Mr. Spencer rises to a high pitch of unconcealed humor. "Why, the truth is that almost all the recognized economists aquire in the present policy of our governments and are wholly innocent of any appreciation of or familiarity with freedom in banking.

Again: while Mr. Spencer emphasizes the contention that the variant, what are called rights is not protected by the law, he derives its warrant from them, that he seeks to strengthen his position by pointing out that the corollaries which he draws from equal liberty one and all coincide with ordinary ethical conceptions and also correspond with legal enactments. That such an influence is presented by the abstract formula of justice is valuable, is not denied. But Mr. Spencer makes a statement which is quite easy to prove, and it is not wise to expect that it will be made among those with some inaccuracies. It is far from true that the corollaries from equal liberty one and all correspond with legal enactments. Both in England and in this country there are laws against combinations of a le
discriminating act. Tariff laws, banking monopoly laws, laws against gambling, and others too numerous to mention, show how little loyalty corresponds with justice. In fact, the committee of the leading of democratic countries will be found to be wrong. And as to current ethical conceptions, it needs but to recall the irrational opposition of moralists to lotteries, which they wish to see suppressed by law, to realize their confusion of thought. The ordinary moralist is never satisfied with justice. On the one hand he demands generality, and on the other he justifies unaskable ag
gression. The chaotic state of ethical conceptions and the incoherence of Mr. Spencer’s argument is amazingly incorrect.

In the remarkable chapter dealing with the uphold
er s of political empiricism who propose to be guided by "the minstrel of opinion. But ridicule the faith in the infallible infallibility of principles, Mr. Spencer shall "a universal monarchical state," which seems to warrant the inference that he considers boycotting unjustifiable. He speaks of the ill
duced by the oligarchical which led the public and police to tolerate "London doctors" during their late strike, and points out the direct and indirect consequences of their "successful use of publishing, bullying, and boycotting." It is difficult to believe that he can be so completely ignorant or so confused as to consider boycotting an infringement upon equal liberty, and yet his assurance and his lumping together of "two equal, bullying, and boycotting" are indicative of such opinion. Now it certainly requires no very high degree of political economy; but the setting is en
tirely legitimate, as even bullying is not necessarily wrong. We have a right to threaten what we have a right to execute. We may not threaten to kill or to burn, but we may threaten to boycott.

It is a pertinent objection that Mr. Spencer has no sympathy with those who would restrain utterances which pass the line of what the general terms of decency or which are calculated to encourage sex
cialism. Indeed, in fact, in two different instances in the book, Mr. Spencer quotes statements from the newspapers, expressing the relations of the sexes may pos
sibly be hindrances to something better and higher.

Y. V.

I commend to the other readers of Liberty the following appreciative words in reference to the "Weekly Bulletin," written by Conrado Lewis Morris, of Patla, Fla. — "You surely have made a lucky hit, not only for the pure co-operative and industrial, but also for the successful propaganda which you so ardently desire. The 'Bulletin' will doubtless be the first step leading many, now conservatives, in the direction of truth. I have ordered a half dozen of them solely to procure a single subscriber to Liberty, I believe, with a few sample copies of the 'Bulletin,' I might get per
tapes a dozen for it. And it, once in the hands of a subscriber, must bring before him some thoughts new to a certain class. To be sure, I have half dozen or more, I will see what I can do in this village and surrounding country. I am an unusually poor canvasser, but I can leave a copy of the paper on a gentleman's table and call afterwards and ask him if he wishes to subscribe for it."

A Life of War Upon Government.

[New York Sun.]

Monday, Sept. 2. — Bob Simms was born in North Carolina in 1855. He was raised in St. Louis. His parents were farmers. He served four years in the Confederate army. For ten months he was a prisoner at Camp Mor
ton, Ind.

At the close of the war Simms returned home and began farming in Choctaw county. He soon became a leader in the Democratic party, and took an active influence in the start his new religion. He called himself a disciple of Christ and a follower of the literal teachings of the Bible. He started with a group of followers and gave him a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than ten times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus. Simms soon became a series of wild adventures. He was fixed and imprisoned more than twenty times. His followers looked up to him as a second Jesus.
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