On Picket Duty.

Stanley Africanus (as he would have been called in a more romantic age) may have explored some dark corners of the earth. But the darkness of his mind is impenetrable and beggars description. In answer to a reporter’s question, he said, with reference to his wife, Dorothy Tenant: "Will she write a book? If it pleases her, I think she does better work with her pen than her brush. What she puts on paper is better picture than what she puts on canvas. But the book will be printed for her family and friends and not for the public. I hold that a man’s wife is too sacred for the world to know and discuss.”

According to the Supreme Court of Minnesota, a license fee of five dollars for one day for peddling is not unreasonable. Peddling is liable to become a public nuisance, and it is a legitimate exercise of the police power to impose a fee large enough to act as a restraint. According to an English judge, it is a crime to ask workmen in favor of short hours of labor to support no firms that decline to join the early closing movement, and it is a crime to publish a poster reciting the fact that a resolution to that effect would be brought before a public meeting. Will Mr. Spooner discover in these decision proofs of the correspondence of legality with the corollaries from the law of equal liberty?

A speaker of the People’s party of this State having spoken of ours as “a land of lost liberty,” the Boston Herald mildly rebukes him. It considers the implied statement absurd as well as unjust. "Lost liberty," says the Herald, "implies liberty parted with which had once been possessed. We know not of any liberty of this kind of which the American people have been deprived.” The point is well taken. May I venture to amend the statement? This is not a land of lost liberty, but a land of lost love and appreciation and understanding of liberty. Does the Herald deny this statement likewise? Then it only furnishes additional proof of its correctness. Only those who do not know what liberty is can deny this: this is a land of lost love and appreciation of liberty.

Editor Watkinson dislikes hypocrisy and humbug. In response to the toast, “The War Is Over,” at the Chicago Grant monument picnic, he delivered himself of the following refreshing and sensible words in reference to the so-called war for liberty: “As I see it, our great sectional controversy was, from first to last, the gradual evolution of a people from darkness to light, with no charts or maps to guide them, and no experience to lead the way. In the beginning all of us were guilty, and equally guilty, for African slavery. It was the god of five dollars in the North first to find out that slave labor was not profitable. So, very sensibly, it sold its slaves to the South, which, very disincretly, pursued the delusion. Time at last has done its perfect work; the South soon saw, as the North saw before it, that the system of slavery, as it was maintained by us, was the clumsiest and costliest labor system on earth, and that when we took the field to fight for it we set upon a fool’s errand. Under slave labor the yield of cotton never reached 5,000,000,000 bales. Under free labor it has never fallen below that figure, gradually ascending to six and seven, until this year it is about to reach nearly nine million bales. This tells the whole story.” Doubtless many patriots were shocked by this disillusioning and praiseworthy view of the glorious struggle; but nobody has yet ventured to denounce Editor Watkinson’s speech.

A Voice From the Past.

Liberty is indebted to a friend for the following extract from Andrew Jackson Davis’s “Penetralia,” published in 1890. It is highly interesting as one of the early expressions of the Anarchistic idea:

Individualism is the science of centralization; the law of mental mechanics; the doctrine of identity between orb and orbit; the philosophy of harm; the idea of the centre and circumference. When man exhibits a constant tendency towards his own welfare, regardless of the liberties of others, we may term it individualism. Such a mind is circumscribed and needs expansion, needs to exercise more facility to the law of centralization, self-consciousness, self-hunger, and self-sufficiency. Egotism is the term I apply to persons who exhibit the first and lowest form of self-consciousness, the individualism manifested, a fountain, from itself toward the circumference. The centre expands over the whole circumference, which is the highest form of self-consciousness, an identification of the individual with the whole. Some minds are so great and broad that nothing less than the highest form of self-consciousness can possess the universe within itself. Egotism is the term I apply to persons who exhibit the first and lowest form of self-consciousness, and to the last and best form of self-consciousness, the word “egotism” is strictly applicable. Egotism is a true label for minds who look upon themselves superciliously and pedantically first and foremost in a matter,—who use the personal pronoun “I” in great abundance, as if everything and everybody were secondary and subordinate. But, on the other hand, to the feeling of selfhood—to the relations realizable between individualism and the world without,—we may apply the word “egotism.” Egotism is the true form of individuality. The egoist is one who realizes the whole world through—and by—his ego, which is the center of his being. The thought of other men and other things are channels leading to that center. Egotism is the animal egoism; the man. Between these may be found all forms and gradations of human character.

In every department of society we need more individualism. There is now too much sameness; the monotony is irksome; we almost see the uniformity of inanity. By individualism I mean not understood to mean a harly, swaggering, defiant opposition to established customs; nor yet am I apprehended to mean a foolish egotistic pride or being unlike others, which indicates a self-centered and egotistical character. But, instead, I mean a straightforward, manly, and womanly perseverance in honor of the right—the highest ideal of truth—that love and rules within. Your highest and deepest conviction, that is your truth; my deepest and highest conviction, that is mine. You cannot, therefore, altogether follow me, nor I you; but each develops in his own orbit. Each should have his own life—his own liberty—his own experience—his own truth. Influences are now being created, on all sides, for the universalization of the universal race and the establishment of individual Right and Liberties. Let all men take courage. The long night of despotic combinations is fast departing. But like a mighty apparition of primal origin, it will be approximately before it dies. You will be summoned to the field of battle. The individualism of man is to be resurrected. The "ego" will be the center of all the world, and the man will not be identified with institutionalism. But one man will put a thousand such to flight; and the victory will be sure and speedy on the side of humanity.

Institutions were made for men; not man for institutions. Although man-made and essentially arbitrary, institutions have ever arrogated to themselves the right to rule the individual. And as it sometimes happens that the individual openly ignores the right and supremacy of the institution, he may be considered as the representative of the means of glibber, glibber, maddening, neck, and fagot, to bring the traitor into subjection and perpetual dishonor. All political and ecclesiastical governments have been based on this theory,—viz., the innate dispensable vicissitudes of the individual for self-government, and hence the necessity of institutional laws. Institutions combine and conspire against individual freedom; and men, so long accustomed to vassalage, yield themselves contentiously to perpetuate the iniquity. Great men, and the so-called wise, around whom we are supporters of organizations; they are the gods of the age, ever-powerful within or without. The individual is never encouraged to grow and expand, raze to the circumference of the circle. There he must stop, or be called a leper, not a sinner, and—take the penalty. The only plan to prevent the establishment of political and ecclesiastical despotism is this: a universal education of our people to reverence and practice the principles of Absolute Individual Liberty. The conservatists may cry aloud for the safety and sanctity of institutions. But heel him not! his cries proceed from the wilderness of crime and marauders of despotism, which are ten-fold more dangerous than the ever-gloves of Florida.

Governments procreate and reproduce themselves; they come into the world in the natural course of things. The first government was anarchy; that is, no government at all. This was the germ. The last will be even so—with this difference, that each individual at first is his own past; at last, each will move by the light of Reason. At first each considered might as right; at last, each will esteem right as right. The anarchy of the first days was Confusion; the anarchy of the last days will be Harmony. The first form of government, being anarchical, forced every person to rely on his own centre of strength. But man was then unable to practice action of his higher phases. Property, for instance, was manifested. The strong began to oppress the weak. Innumerable troubles arose among neighboring tribes; and so, from the bond of necessity, came another form of government. The second form was patriarchal. Now each tribe had its own father, who was arbiter and absolute governor. But uniform gradually gave place to the power of the government of a people by the supposed immediate direction of God. The Israelites furnish an example. The fourth form is aristocratic, a government in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of a single individual. The fifth form is republicanism,—a government in which the sovereign power is lodged by the people in their representatives. The sixth form is democracy,—an institution in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people. The democratic form is superior to republicanism; but even (not for anti-institutionalists) to be permanent. The anarchy of the first must come out at last in the individualism of refined and civilized man. Hence, progress, of any given object, social, political, or religious. Hence, it cannot be seen that an institution is somewhat like the Chinese wall—a stupendous and systematic effort to strip individuals of their liberty and thrust. The individual is never encouraged to grow and expand, raze to the circumference of the circle. There he must stop, or be called a leper, not a sinner, and—take the penalty. The only plan to prevent the establishment of political and ecclesiastical despotism is this: a universal education of our people to reverence and practice the principles of Absolute Individual Liberty. The conservatists may cry aloud for the safety and sanctity of institutions. But heel him not! his cries proceed from the wilderness of crime and marauders of despotism, which are ten-fold more dangerous than the ever-gloves of Florida.
Liberty.

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Benj. R. Tucker, Editor and Publisher.

BOSTON, MASS., OCTOBER 24, 1891.

"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time sin-
uary, the revolting abominations at once strike the arrow of the execu-
tioner, the seal of the majisttrate, the club of the policeman, the
rage of the enforcer. But hereinafter shall there be no titles, no
laws, no intoxicating liquor, no landlords, no property, no power of
enforcement of the laws; and the whole body of citizens shall
be governed, in so far as the laws of liberty are applicable to them,
by the majority, or the representatives of the majority, and
obedience to laws approved by a jury representing
the whole body of citizens. If Mr. Schilling can
point out a more perfect way of insuring "government
by consent," we are ready to accord it the most favor-
able consideration. The only objection is that reference
of the laws to jurors is preferable to reference to majorities.
Majority rule is clearly and indubitably opposed to the
consent principle, while jury-rule, so to speak,
promises to secure government by consent and is
the best instrumentality for the enforcement of equal
liberty.

The question of the expression of the people's will is of
little importance. Every citizen is free to express his
opinion in any way he chooses. The source of the
power of enforcement is of course in the whole body of
citizens. It is not proposed to change the mode of
preparing, formulating, or proposing laws; so far as
liberty is concerned, the only question of
importance is to that of the enforcement of the laws.
Are they to be enforced as the bidding of majorities, or are
they to be enforced as the bidding of jurors? An examination reveals its advantage to citizens approve them and order their enforcement?
Mr. Schilling speaks of the desirability of competition
in the modes of government. I am not certain of
his meaning. Believers in equal liberty cannot support
any system which contemplates the enforcement of
things not warranted by equal liberty; nor can they
accept "a mode of government" which fails to secure
equal liberty, which admits invasion and injustice.
Equal liberty means the repression of "the lower
classes", not the repression of competition in the
higher forms. Trial by jury is recommended
as a means to the end, as an appliance for the
enforcement of equal liberty. Certainly there is no in-
tention to prevent people who may desire to enforce
laws from forming themselves into an association and competing with the
societies based on different principles. No one can be
allowed, however, to practise his theories and make
his experiments at the expense of other people; no
society or association can stand upon the liberties of
those who do not voluntarily join them.

My friend's fear of aarchy is groundless. If Spooner
proves anything, he proves that trial by jury is the
best safeguard against aarchy or rigidity. There
can be no aarchy in any objectionable sense where the spirit
of the law is conformed rather than the letter; where the
aim and endeavor is to do justice to all parties
rather than to uphold the authority and dignity of the
law.

V. Y.

Chicago's Pious Pow-Wow.

Among the things that Chicago proposes to expose
as its Exposition is its own narrowness and bigotry, and
a very indescribable exposure it will be. The World's
Columbian Exposition, at which everything under the
sun can be seen, is to have an "Auxiliary," at which
everything under the sun can be heard. At least such
is the pretense. Indeed the galleries upon the liberty
of the people, who have been the pal-
ludium of liberty. But, in the words of Mr. Spooner,
"it is fairly presumable that such a tribunal will agree
to no conviction except such as substantially the whole
country would agree to if they were present taking
part in the trial. And since such a tribunal is so likely to
fore in effect a trial by the country. In its results
it probably comes as near to a trial by the whole coun-
try as any trial that is practicable to have without
too great inconvenience and expense. In such a trial, the
country, of course, judge of and determine the
their own liberties against the government." A trial
by the whole body of citizens being out of the ques-
tion, the choice is between trial by jury and govern-
ment by majority, between obedience to laws enacted
"points of agreement" between the Jewish and the
Christian religions, the search for which is announced
as "the governing principle of the World's Columbian
Auxiliary."
brother-minders, the law-makers. But Mr. Seor can not consistently complain, as he reverences the State and has even less use for Anarchists than he has for ministers.

It would seem that every newspaper writer, big or little, who has written recently concerning Charles Stewart Parnell, has deemed it expedient to throw a sop to the dead leader. The dead leader is praised almost without stint; his grave errors and de
tinctions are smoothed over or wholly ignored; and by many he is rated higher than Gladston and O'Con
nell; but one episode in his private life is everywhere paraded as a great sin, the cause of his "fall," politically, and his early and sudden death. That the love of Parnell for Katherine "Shea" caused him to "fall" in the estimation of the English nobility and the Catholic priesthood should be strong presumptive evi
dence that the mere alleged immoral sin be an ethical excusation rather. Assuredly, Mr. Parnell has risen very much in the esteem of every clear-thinking man and woman during the last year. So far as we know, his conduct in this personal matter has been most admirable. Not once has he asked the forgiveness of lord, or priest, or peasant. Against the hypocrite-led horde of simplices who sought to destroy him because he loved more, and more wisely, than they he waged a magnificent fight, giving scorn for scorn, blow for blow, and dying, unconfessed paUidan of Ireland, in the arms of his people, his friends, his women, his puritans, and pretenders hated and maligncd and Living, the fickle peasantry deserted and jeered him and editors praised of his "immorality"; dead, the peasants threw reverently behind his flower-bedecked bier, and the dead Parnell was adored and adored tears over the most humane-healthy act of his life. But what are post
tormer reverence and tears? These give back life. Love he had, and that is life. No man can have greater gift. And because he received this gift, they killed him with envy. Let us cease to cavil, in horror, or canting shame for the dead, it does not matter.

The Oakland board of education has decided that thereafter no macaroni teacher be employed as teacher in the public schools of that city. This is not a revo
gation for a similar restriction in other cities. Many young misses are writing little notes to one of the Boston dailies to the effect that they, severally, will marry no man who is not prepared and willing to pro
tide them with what they need for the education and support of their familes and wives. Some of them express the most withering contempt for any young man who expects his wife to be financially independent of himself. The thought in the minds of these girls is the same as that in the minds of the fathers of the Oakland board of edu
cation, viz., that in marriage the wife gives the husand certain personal privileges in exchange for support. They know that, if he obtained these privileges away from home and for a shorter period than that named in the life contract called marriage, he would have to pay cash down, or its equivalent, and they can see no injustice in exacting the same pay
m ents under the life contract. The members of the Oakland school board think that it is unjust that mar
ried teachers, who are, supposedly, giving said per
sonal privileges exclusively to their husbands, should not be supported by said husbands and so relieved of the necessity of competing for places in the public schools, to the manifest detriment of unmarried wo
men teachers. Teachers have not had a legal contract for the exchange of favors for support, and no one is known, compelled to depend upon their own other ex
terions to obtain the means of livelihood. This is the plain English of the action of the Oakland school board, it is the plain English of the demand of the young women of America for the Boston board, and it is the plain English of the popular sentiment regarding woman's social and economic status.

The religious people of Eaton Park, Indiana, ob
jected to the "decoration of Sunday" by hoisting on the Mississauga River at that place. So the dam that made the hoisting possible was built up with dyna
mite, to the damage of neighboring property and the endangering of life. It is wonderful, the horror which the good folk have of "unlawful" acts—when they are not the perpetrators thereof.

Rev. Madison C. Peters, of the Bloomington Re
formed Church, recently preached against the electro
cution anti-publication law of New York. He said: "The people do not want any star-chamber reports on such matters." Very well, so far, but how about the say of the regular voters? And further, as concerns the liberty of the press, for which he was pleading, what has Rev. Peters to say regarding the Comstock Postal Law and the Anti-Lottery Law? And if the press of New York was as acquisi
touching the electrocutio law as it is concerning the Comstock law, would Mr. Peters have preached the same law?

Russia has succeeded in negotiating a loan of $100,000,000 at Paris. The financiers who have so honestly consented to the aid of the Czar have doubtless counted upon the enthusi
asm of the French people toward everything Russian to aid in Compsing the Czar of the Czar. France is a people who have always shown a willingness to make sacrifices whenever an appeal has been made to their patriotism or an opportunity pre
sented to settle old scores. — Philadelphia Record.

What a satire it is on the vaunted superiority of re
publics over "despotisms" that the two nations which are on the most amicable terms with the Russian au
tocracy are the republics of France and the United States! The friendship of the United States govern
ment for the Czar has been celebrated for a century and a half; and now there is the jail-hating fury of France has thrown her into an hysterical shirk of gunpowdery love into the arms of the cruel Bear of the North. It is pitiful.

The American newspapers were very much surprised to learn when delegate Sanieh returned from the Intern
ational Socialist Congress at Brussels that, when he said there that the United States was "fast becoming a hell for the working people," he did not mean that America was the only country that was a hell, or be
coming a hell, for working people. Of course he did not mean that, and no man possessing a sufficient stock of information to qualify him to write three lines of small writing on a piece of paper ever supposed that he did, and yet nearly all the newspapers in the country raved as though Mr. Saniel had not been speaking of America as illustrating sociologi
cal conditions prevailing everywhere in the civilize
nated world. The sophomoric utterances of the American press are an indication of the disgrace to journalism and a fit commentary upon the alleged common sense of the American people.

Great excitement is said to exist in Madras, India, over the "prosecution of a boy who set up an indecent lol image before a but which was in course of erection. The boy was not the creator and sentiment to imprisonment. This has called forth an earnest protest on the ground that the boy was innoc
ent of any indecent intention, and only meant to follow the religious forms of his country. Phallic worship has still many devotees in southern India. Under the administration of Lord Lansdowne the religious customs of India have been more interfered with than ever before, and there has been a corresponding increase of the hatred of the British by the natives.

It might interest Lord Lansdowne to know that the majority of the most important symbols and cere
monies of the Christian Church had a phallic origin. It is not the idea of the cross he knows of the cross, but the steeple, for instance? But does it matter how little he knows of the history of religion? Has he not Power, and the will to use it, and what more does a Ruler need?

The Women's Anti-Lottery League of Louisiana has issued an address to the women of that State, asking for aid in their struggle against the gigantic lottery influence in Louisiana, which thinks nothing of buying up whole legisla
tures in its interest. — Little Rock Woman's Chronicle.

Is not the "buying up of a whole legislature" a purely democratic act on the part of the Lottery Com pany? Who is compelled to buy lottery tickets? No one. Then which party takes the initiative in the game of force, the Lottery Company or the State? Manifestly the latter when it attempts to end the ex
istence of the former. All defensive weapons and

methods of procedure are legitimate, the only question relating to their use being one of expediency. If the "Woman's Anti-Lottery League" and kindred organizations would mind their own business the "gigantic lottery influence" would make no attempt to buy "whole legislatures." But perhaps the legislature continues in the invading business because it wants to be bought.

All political parties die at last of swallowing their own lies. — Arthurbut.

But the trouble is that they last too long before the poison accomplishes its cleansing work. Now here is the Republican party; has an overdose of its poison made it immortal?

The departure of mental virility from Mr. Gladstone, who has been hailed at by the English press, is unfortu
nately substantiated by the gentleman himself in an expres
sion regarding theosophy, which, though erosive in form, painfully indicates the absence of the vigor that once would have been outspoken in characterizing that absurd and de
ceiving delusion. — St. Paul News.

It is a thousand pities that the "News" did not dis
cover the "departure of mental virility from Mr. Gladstone" when he was so enthusiastically champi
oning the cause of Christianity, which is of the same family of "delusions" with Theosophy, both being of oriental origin and having a host of congeners. Mr. Gladstone could not well say anything regarding Theo
osophy which would be more lacking in m-nat "vigor" than were his several recent defenses of the Bible.

E. C. Walker.

A Vision of Elysium.

Once, in a far-away country, times were hard, and the people knew not what to do to make things boom as they formerly had been in the habit of booming. The people could form no idea of why times were so hard. Being custo
inute, most of them, of ideas upon any subject, as well as of the necessaries of life, they could not be expected to have any ideas as to the cause of the suffering and distress.

Still less could they be expected to heed pedants who talked in learned and unintelligible words about "revo

cus contentions." But the people observed and saw that the only way to get rich was by hard work; and that the surest thing in the way of making hard work was a Government job. Let us be patriotic and statesmanlike, and, whereas all who have Government jobs are lucky, let us arrange enough Government jobs to go around. Let us vote — noble privilege — that we may free ourselves from the bondage of capital and enjoy, under liberty, each our Government job.

Now there were 36,344,768 people, and of these 17,122,362 were adults and 14,222,406 were children. Up to that time there had been Government jobs for only 6,522,110, both men and women, as follows:

- Grand Portuguese,
- Viziers, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Frivy Councillors, Etc.,
- Legislators of the General Upper House,
- Let.,
- Pages, Usurers, Gentlemen in Waiting, Etc.,
- Civil List,
- Soldiers, Navy, Engineer Corps, Etc.,
- Customs Service,
- Panjandrum of Twenty-One Provinces,
- Provincial Viziers, Etc.,
- Secretaries, both houses,
- Pages, Etc.,
- Heads of Bureau,
- Employees of Bureau (inspection, supervision, administration, etc.),
- Provincial Customs Services,
- Courts,
- Lords of Great Cities,
- Employees of Great Cities (to epitomize) police, fire, courts, etc.,
- All other towns, villages, etc., offices,
- TOTAL.

3,652,110

So it will appear that there were 6,800,232 adults who needed not a job, because, being ladies, they devoted themselves to the occu
pations of ladies, viz., labors of superintendence chiefly, and not unskilled labor.

That left 5,574,575 people who needed jobs.

Being practical people and not given over to wild and im
praghtable theories, they set about with a will.

Rumors waved, harrixes blazed, dogs barked, and the peo
ple cheered as they voted for the creation of the following offices:
Lysander Spooner's Pamphlets.

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SPOONER PUBLICATION FUND.

The undersigned has purchased from the heirs of the late Lysander Spooner all his printed pamphlets and books in order to obtain means for the publication of a quarterly review of works, with the exception of five or six which are entirely out of print. The review is to be called the Spooner, and there will be monthly issues of two or three pages of relatively good paper. Some may never be reprinted. These few will be reprinted. The others will be reprinted, except

1. BEYOND THE REDUCTION OF POSTAGE? OUGHT

2. ADDRESS OF THE FREE CONSTITUTIONISTS TO THE

People of the United States. A retaliation of the Republican programmes. 1857. 16 pages. Price, 3/4 cent. sold at 25 cents. The same, mailed the first 10 pages, which consist of a preface and a letter from Mr. Spooner, sold at 10 cents.

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