On Picket Duty.

The simplest solution of the social problem that is discovered by the New Orleans "Picauntes," which says that this is truly the age of the people, and that they ought to be happy and would be happy if they only knew enough to cultivate a general spirit of contentment. Why not try it for a time?

A committee of the French Chamber of Deputies has rejected a bill for the prosecution of men living on the earnings of disolute women. The reason given was that under French law the cause pursued by the workmen is not criminal. It would be interesting to have this subject discussed in our own national legislature.

Torture is not obsolete in this country. It is said to be freely practiced in Chicago by police officials to compel suspected persons to criminate themselves and others. A dispatch from Denver says that certain suspected persons arrested there "proved themselves" dead game, refusing to give up a word of information, although barbarously tortured in the sweat box more than once.

The papers do not seem able to forget the injury which was done to the privileged classes in the election of the few Alliance senators and representatives. They continue to talk of the unheard-of folly of enfranchising national interests to the Feppers and Simmons. I suppose the interests of the nation are safer in the hands of the Quays, Duleys, Ingallses, and other brazen corruptists.

English political leaders are often called upon to deliver addresses as rectors of the Scotch universities, and Chancellor Giehen recently spoke on the subject of "Imagination" at the Glasgow university. A newspaper remarks that this would seem to be the last subject a financial minister ought to handle. The newspaper, I fear, knows very little of the present financial systems, in which faith and imagination play a conspicuous part. Where is the basis for the "gold basis," if not in imagination?

The editor of the New York "Evening Post" says: "What we advocate, Labor dear, is liberty for all, and we should like extremely to see a great fire of liberty stoked up, called Liberty Day, on which each man should do as he pleased, provided his pleasure did not interfere with other people's pleasure." Does Mr. Goldkin advocate liberty for all on Liberty Day merely? There is no liberty if every day is not a liberty day. For Godkin and his idea of liberty for all, even for a single day, is preposterous. The man who would prohibit the buying and selling of lottery tickets, or the unlicensed sale of intoxicating beverages, is not an advocate of liberty. He does not know what liberty means.

Says the Eastern Herald: "There seems to be a good deal of misapprehension abroad concerning the treatment accorded to Walter Crane during his sojourn in Boston... Boston is not so intolerant as to put a boycott upon any person who honestly holds radical opinions on any subject and proclaims them from the house top or elsewhere, provided that in so doing he does not disturb the peace or violate the ordinances." This is not true, except on the supposition that the "Commonwealth," the "Woman's Journal," and a certain social club do not fairly represent Boston. If this is what the "Herald" intends, then the aforesaid organs of "culture" and club will regard the remark as the unkindest cut of all.

J. Astley Cooper, an Englishman who finds no better employment than the furnishing of a scheme to "commemorate the solidarity of the English-speaking nations" by holding a grand procession for enduring at which their accomplishments in science, commerce, art, literature, and athletics might be displayed, is hailed by a writer in the Boston "Globe" as a "ra"veur of humanity. We are told that the "old Hel- lenic empire, cemented largely by the celebrated "Empire of Ideas" and "Empire of Commercialism," and that English-speaking civilization is threatened by the same blight of commercialism and financial greed. Mr. Cooper's plan, which is said to embody an original and fascinating idea, would act, we are assured, as a powerful counteracting force and temper the greed for gain. More wretched nonsense is seldom seen in print. The scheme might afford occupation and amusement to those who have plenty of time and of means; but the talk of the counteracting and counteractive forces can only be indulged in by those who have no conception of the differences between the present condition of the world and that which prevailed in that ancient epoch. Why not also revive the oracle institution?

The legal profession is closed to the women in England, and a correspondent of the London "Personal Rights Journal" points out that it is not a very difficult matter to get the objectionable law repealed. He says: "I would suggest that some lady should qualify or graduate in law at London University, the legal degrees of which are notoriously far superior to the professional qualifications of either barristers or solicitors. Then she should apply to one of the Inns of Court to be called as a barrister, or for admission to the rolls as a solicitor. This, no doubt, would be refused. Then I would advise her to practise for herself. This would be a criminal offence, and would lead to a short spell as a first-class misdemeanor in Holloway Prison. But this, I think, would be a Pyrrhic victory for the charioteers of inequality before the law. No man—probably not even a lawyer—would think of opposing this career to get her a living, thus to earn her living. Injustice would be deprived of her mask, without which no decent man would publicly own her." Passive resistance to law is beginning to be appreciated by the moderate Individualists in England.

Only in the "freeest country in the world" do the generosity of reformers shrink from violating the law.

Industrial Decentralization.

More than fifty years ago Mr. Babbage predicted that if a new power were to be discovered that could be operated in central place in sufficient quantities, and then distributed wherever it was wanted, the age of domestic manufactures would return. The huge factory would tend to disappear, and the small factory would multiply everywhere. It is interesting to note that Mr. Cook Taylor, the English inspector of factories, in his new book on the modern factory system, expresses the opinion that a great change in the system is impending,—that we are on the verge of the discovery of a power which can be distributed in workingmen's houses, and which will result in the return of the laborer to his fireside and to his family. German statistical authorities, quoting the statements of factory inspectors, that the introduction of small cheap motors has largely increased the production of small firms, also predicts that with the improvement of electric motors and the cheapening of electricity there will be a great increase of small shops, and possibly a return to the day of small industries.

Referring to Mr. Taylor's opinion, the New York "Post" says: "At any rate, that, should the consumption be reached, companies might be formed in all parts of the country, and each one might concentrate on one branch of industry. We add, more explicitly, that the cause of socialism would be sensibly weakened, and the individualist movement increased, if such a scheme were adopted. We hope that the day of the small shop will return. In the case of the large factories, the "Post" continues: "There is little doubt that we should soon witness a vast increase of political wisdom among the workingmen, for the inventions of the small factory, the "Post" continues, "will be distributed in such a manner as to endanger the victory of capitalism. The advantages of the small factory are many, but the principal advantages are its suitability to the cooperative enterprise, the success of which Socialists fear more than anything else. In a recent magazine article, Mr. Sidney Webb, the leader of the Fabian Socialists movement in London, wrote: "Everywhere the workman is coming to understand that practically hopeless for him, either individually or cooperatively, to own the constantly growing mass of capital by which he lives. The notion of the independence of the capitalist, tempered only by enlightened self-interest and the gift of sympathy, or we must substitute for it the collective rule of the whole mankind. Power over the incorrect use of several terms in this passage, the answer to be made is two-fold: Under freedom it would not be necessary for the worker to own "the mass of capital by which he lives." Supply and demand would secure to him his proper share in the product, and would leave the capitalist nothing but his due share. Then, it is simply not true that the workman would own the cap of production and employ himself, individually or cooperatively. The tendency toward decentralization is already beginning to be felt.

Government's Aid to Monopoly.

[Boston Herald.]

Money dictates our financial policy; money controls the business of the country; money is despoothing the people. We are a primary factor in the leading men there, with fortunes built upon the rules of their fellows, are in reality the most audacious gamblers in the world. The post-office under the Postmaster General, set up a gambling table in any town, is liable to arrest at any moment, and is despised by all the world; while the man who gambles in Wall street, and grows rich on the failures of countless persons, are called patriotic, because they lend their ill-gotten gains to the government at 12 per cent. interest, and they are feuded and dined by an intelligent and Christian people. Corporations of rich men have always worked to together enough to support each other; but it is truly astounding that of late years the public treasury has been used by the highest government officers to support the needs of speculators who brought about a "stringency in the market," and whose interests are totally at variance with those of the people. Even the Treasury official in the Secret Office of the Treasury has been in the habit of collaborating with the capitalists in New York regarding a money stringency, and of ascertaining how much of the people's money would be necessary to ease the situation.

Judging from several official reports, the first and the most important measure of the Secretary of the Treasury was that it was a matter of duty to the national treasury to rescue the "industrial and commercial" interests of the country whenever any disturbances in financial affairs indulged in by the United States government, where New York is situated. While the people throughout the Union was fuming for the want of money the country was supported millionaires capitalists, who had brought upon themselves a "stringency in the market," through a gigantic system of gambling, allowing them to use the people's treasure to alleviate the pressure.

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BOSTON, MASS., DECEMBER 20, 1881.

In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the F...—This abolition at a stroke the scourge of existence, and the social class of society, the garage of the department clerk, all these topics of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel!—"Microcosm.""...

The appearance in the editorial column of articles and other reports of radicalism and socialism, the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold, himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the various contributors is not to be discounted, and the editor, though he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

A New Workman's Weekly Review—Payment of subscriptions and of renewals is required in advance. The names of subscribers not heard from within two weeks after expiration of subscription are removed from the list. Beginning with the January number, no workman need renew his subscription for one year, accompanied by the cash, so that it reaches the publisher not later than the first of the month. The same rule will apply to the postpaid weekly published in the United States that the subscriber may select, provided that its retail price does not exceed $1.50 per year, by Belden & Schnell, or 25 cents if published by any other publisher. This is a permanent offer, and enables every printing first step is either to get a new book each year free of cost. But only one book is given at a time, so how low the price of the book selected.

The "First Step." To the query from the New York "Voice," What Should Be the Next Step in the Interest of the Wage Earners?" representatives in nearly all the schools of economic and social reform have made reply; and the symposium is not merely very interesting, but highly instructive and suggestive. One can judge of the progress made in labor reform by the efficacy, significance, and practicability of the first more contemplated by it. Each step must be a step in advance, if the goal is to be reached and the beautiful promises fulfilled; hence, if the first step favored is plainly a step in the right direction but is not recommended at all, then one is justified in declining to give the scheme thus accredited at the start any further notice. Of the proposing of reforms and solutions of the labor problem there is no end; but when it comes to a strike or a lockout, a labor question is once and for all, and the strike or lockout proceeds under the pressure of recognized agents of a department of labor that should procure and propogate the knowledge desired.

E. J. Wheeler holds that the first step should be the prohibition of the liquor traffic. The most formidable obstacle to all advances, he says, is the bad influence of the wage workers themselves, and nothing deadens the sensibilities so much as the use of alcoholic beverages. Again, as "microcosm politicians hold the balance of power in politics, and they must be overthrown;" hence no effort for justice can be heard. Drink further entails industrial waste and increases the burden of taxation.

Now we come to the replies that are wholly pertinent. John Bascem thinks that the next inquiry for the worker is how to make his wages go further in rational home pleasures. He believes that the solution of the labor problem should begin at home,— that wiser expenditure of income should be secured. "So long as beer and tobacco take up the overflow of the worker's earnings," he says, "no labor movement or any other form of labor"—he simply means the organized labor movement—"should be independent political action. Organized labor must fight organized capitalism with the weapon which will give it the advantage,—superiority in numbers. Strikes and boycotts are of no avail; capitalism can break them. The laboring man has the right of trade unions; the odds are always in favor of the possessors of capital. Hence, instead of "organizing" simply, the motto of all reformers should be "organize for political action." This response, however, is clearly founded on a misapprehension. The "Voice," in speaking of the first step, unquestionably alluded to remedies, not to methods. What remedy shall we apply first is a different query from, How shall we apply the needed remedy? We cannot organize without a plan of campaign, a definite programme of work to be accomplished. Methods that answer must be preceded by thoughts that are true, has been said; there can be no common action where there is no common thought. We stand left in the dark as to the first step of Mr. O'Reilly.

The same misapprehension vitiates the response of Louis F. Post, the editor of the single-tax organ, the "Standard." The next step of the wage earners is "the labor movement," he says, "as it is the common voice of the common man with the Democratic party." "All practical steps must be in politics. For, since the interests of people who work are identical, and are in opposition only to special privileges, which are created by laws, any legislation to do away with such special laws. This requires political action. Political action may be undertaken by means of establishing new political parties, or of influencing parties already established. The latter is the easier. In choosing one of the established parties, regard must be had for its underlying principles; that they are in accord with the policy necessary to secure the desired result. If the policy ought to be paternal, the Republican party offers advantages, for its tendency is in that direction; if it ought to be conciliatory, then the Democratic party is the better of the two, for its tendency is away from paternalism." The conclusion logically follows from the premises, but the premises are of questionable validity. The objection is of a different nature. Support the workers' organization or identify themselves with the Democrats; what should be the first step in the direction of reform? Should the workers make low tariff their issue, or free coinage? If neither of these, then what new issue should they raise? Again, no answer to the query of the "Voice." Helen Campbell is also a victim of the same misapprehension. Her answer is, "agitate, educate, organize." For the lowest order of the workmen agitation and education must be centered in themselves and in others. This is followed by education, which, in turn, creates the condition of organization. But nothing is said about the first step in the sense of initial remedial measure. The testimony is therefore incom-plete.

The replies of the writers next to be examined are somewhat more pertinent. John Swinton declares that the thing most needed is an official, authentic, and continuous presentation of the facts regarding the labor question. He feels that, while the worker is not entirely right and consistent, he believes that there is a grievous lack of facts and positive data on the subject, and that we are as yet unable to draw deductions either as to the evils or the remedies. In the last analysis, the creation of a legislative department of a department of labor that should procure and propagate the knowledge desired.

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LIBERTY. 221

Rule or Resilience, Which?

To the Editor of Liberty:

Do you think it is strictly accurate to say, as Liberty has said recently, that Anarchism contemplates the use of police, jails, and other forms of force? Is it not rather that Anarchism contemplates the use of the machinery of the State to set up a kind of government that shall pay for them themselves; while those who prefer other means shall only pay for what they want? (1)

Indeed, there is no such question as that against the invader, which, as you know, I have always had doubts about, seems to me to fall when egoism is adopted as the basis of our thought. To describe a man as an invader seems a reminder of the miseries of the past, and nothing else. To say that a certain formula proposed by us to this end is "just," and that all who do not conform to it, are all who are invader, is only a further demonstration of the manner in which class feeling is precisely parallel to the course of those who say that their means for the regulation of conduct is the measure of righteousness, and that they will suppress the "magnanimous" by violence. (2)

As I arrest the egoistic sentiment, it begins to appear that the fundamental idea of the machinery of law is not to hinder, but to control the invasion of violence in the obtaining of gratifications for desires.

By the cessation of violence we shall obtain liberty, but liberty is the end rather than the means. (3)

We demand Anarchism. "Yes, but we see no reason why we should forego our desire to control you, by your own means, if you are egoists," replies the majority. "Then," we protest, "let us use it for your advantage, instead of our liberty." At present we are satisfied of the contrary; we are satisfied that you wish to use your desire to control us, by your own means, only as a way to control us. "We do, indeed," we reply, "but we will not invade you, we will not prevent you from doing anything you wish, provided it is not done by the use of force, or free deserts, or by violence. (4)

"We think," concludes the majority, "that in attacking to destroy what we wish to preserve you are invading us;" and now we are to establish the contrary in the court of Examples between the two propositions, one by which it can be demonstrated that using scopocleped but claimed land, for instance, is not invasive. (4)

I, of course, make no definition of invasion, which is a variable quantity, like liberty itself. When you said, some time ago, that liberty was not a natural right, in a social contract, I think you were correct. The idea of the same is that a society is a group of natural individuals, and in the union of all liberty is the limit of liberty, also a matter of contract. (5)

What Anarchism really means is the demand for the rule of contract, rather than for the rule of violence. "As against the Anarchists point out to you, majority, that the pleasure of mankind in fighting for the sake of fighting is rapidly declining from disuse. We point out further that from any other point of view fighting is not the interest of anything else but a system of feasible desire, for the harmony of clashing interests attained much more peacefully without fighting. "That it is certain, the majority replies, that the majority desires for the fun of it, it has got to a point where it will not admit that it does, and to that point where it clearly perceives the continuance of the same. (6)

"We propose them," the Anarchists continue, "not to settle differences by violence, but to reach the best agreement that can without violence. We propose this with the more confidence that you will accept it, because you yourselves are beginning to admit that the condition of existence for men is not supposed to be gratified but the gratification of desires. We therefore propose that you shall once cease to repress by violence conduct which is not against public interest, and which you now suppress only on account of a survival of the belief of their existence. (7)

"We propose," the Anarchists answer, "to give up the idea of the necessary for the interest of the door. Following that, we shall make other demands for the cessation of violence. (8)

But, of course not, that is only the way of applying a natural law, it follows that we abjure violence as a principle; we become what it think it is fair to call non-ressistants. That is to say, that although we are opposed to all forms of violence, but that we refuse to accept our proposal of the system of contract, we do not for a moment suppose that such possible阅读全文，请按照上述格式为我续写。
Congress decline to relinquish its hold of the question of polygamy in Utah until satisfied that the people of that territory, in the event of its becoming a State, will legislate regarding polygamy in harmony with the past and prospective Congressional legislation on the subject. It is for this reason that the late Lysander Spooner all his printed pamphlets and unpublished manuscripts relating to the subject of polygamy are reprinted for the publication of this letter. [The list given below includes all of Mr. Spooner's known works.]...

The DRAFT'S IMMORTALITY, and an Essay on Man's Account of Eternity. 1851. 15 pages. Price, 15 cents, sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.

Who caused the reduction of POSTAGE? Why in State of Illinois? Shewing the author's efforts of cheap postage in America. This pamphlet embodies the one performed immediately before it in this list. 1850. 17 pages. Price, 15 cents, sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents, which consist of a preface and a letter from Mr. Spooner to Dr. D. Wills, Phillips, Tho. R. Lockwood, and others.

A LETTER TO GROVER CLEVELAND on His False Inaugural Address, The Unicorns and Crimes of Lawmakrs and Judges, and the Consequent Perpetual Insecurity, and Service of the People. 1866. 115 pages. Price, 30 cents, sold by wholesale agents, 20 cents.

Our Financers: Their Ignorance, Usurpations, and Frauds. Exposing the falacy of the inter-bank convertibility scheme, and setting forth the logical and rational conclusions in finance. 1877. 10 pages. Price, 10 cents.


Considerations for Bankers and Holders of United States Bonds. Shewing that the author's system of paper currency cannot be legally prohibited or nullified, and that the demand for its adoption and for the institution of a national currency is insuperable. 1864. 12 pages. Price, 15 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.

The THEOLOGY OF WAR. No. II. 1877. 16 pages. Price, 20 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.

THE PRIEST. No. VI. Shewing that the constitution is of no moral, spiritual, or political value. 1874. 26 pages. Price, 25 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.

A NEW BANKING SYSTEM. Shewing the capacity of the country for furnishing an enormous amount of liquid capital, and the efficacy of our present system. 1875. 17 pages. Price, 15 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.

REVOLUTION: The Only Remedy for the Oppressed Classes of Men. 1854. 96 pages. Price, 30 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 20 cents.

NATURAL LAW. Or, the REAL PRINCIPLES of Right and Justice. 1862. 12 pages. Price, 10 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 5 cents.

A LETTER TO THOMAS F. HAVARD. Challenging his right—A New Order of Things. 1852. 8 pages. Price, 15 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 10 cents.


The Story of an African Farm. By W. C. B. A novel of the inter-This asks to destroy the authority and prestige of National Govern- ment as well as to stamp all other forms of tyranny; advocates free access to the soil, the abolition of national monetary laws and restrictions on credit, fundamental political, social, and economic changes. Address: A. F. T. 21, St. John's Hill, New Orleans, La. Price, post-paid, 25 cents; sold by wholesale agents, 15 cents.

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