Vol. X. — No. 4.

NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 30, 1894.

On Picket Duty.

Auberon Herbert calls the trade union a "false institution." This is unjust. Trade-unions customarily use force against non-unionist workmen, but the trade union is essentially a voluntary institution.

The London "Spectator" states that in France it is calculated that more than a fifth of a man's earnings is taken by the government in taxes, while in Italy a third is so taken. Under competitive protection, less than one per cent. would probable be sufficient to pay for the requisite insurance.

A friend calls attention to an old typographical error in the latest issue of Liberty. In Mr. Ballon's quotation from Emerson, the latter was made to say that the use of the word "politic" in connection with government implies that the State is a "brick." For brick read trick. As my friend says, "It is the millstone, not the brick, that Emerson complained of" (Matthew, xviii-6).

A "Lucifer" correspondent, displeased with Comrade Cohen's treatment of Thoreau's, says that his "meering spirit" would "do credit to the dark ages." I infer that in the dark ages it was far safer to attack or question established creeds; those who ventured to do that were liable to be --- murdered. Without consulting Webster, it is clear that meering is something very like burning, hanging, or quartering. Yet I observe that to some it is or creeds meering is far more fatal than the other forms of treatment.

The New York "Evening Post" says that foreign workmen fill the land "with strikes, riote, arson, boycotts, train robberies, obstruction of highways, and defiance of constituted authorities." To such individuals as the "Post" boycotts and obstruction of the highways are the worst offences in the list, — the former because they are no offences at all, the latter because it includes Coxeism and the demand for non-interest-bearing bonds. It makes Godkin wild to hear of bonds that don't bear interest.

The Populist senators have been distinguishing themselves in various ways, and even the plutocratic papers are forced to admit that they are not inferior intellectually (about their moral superiority there has never been any doubt) to the Republican or Democratic "statesmen" in the Senate. Senator Peffer's attack on protective was strong and skilful, and Senator Kyle's argument for free wool was equally good. Senator Allen's examination of the sugar trust officers made very interesting reading. Liberty does not admire Populism, but it hates plutocracy and its hired champions, and loves fairness. It takes pleasure in commending the work of the Populists when it deserves commendation.

'If State bank notes were issued, every dollar of them would increase in so much the strain on an already inadequate supply of gold,' remarks the New York "World." 'In other words, every dollar of them would act as a most efficient panic-producer.' The "World" is certainly on the right track; it is on the road to an important discovery. Under the exclusive gold basis, more banks would mean more danger of panic and financial chaos, for the promises possible of fulfillment — redemption in gold — would be multiplied. But is the "World's" alternative simply the maintenance of the status quo? Its attention is invited to a third alternative, — free banking without the fictitious and impossible gold basis.

The president of the sugar trust told the Senate investigation committee that the trust had no politics except the "politics of business," — in other words, that it buys Republicans as well as and readily as Democrats, and that it is not so foolish as to refuse privileges simply because they are offered for sale by another party than that to which the members of the trust happen to belong. The newspapers speak of this confession as cynical and brazen. It is nothing of the kind. The sugar trust people are well aware that to men of the world there is nothing new in their statements, and it is not wise to indulge in silly and transparent lies. Besides, the trust cannot but have a good deal of contempt for the congressmen who do its bidding — for a consideration. Hirelings do not command the respect of their patrons.

Another pillar of society, instructor of youth, philanthropist, moralist, and statesman has been convicted of the crime of forgery, and condemned to a term of imprisonment. I refer to Erastus Wiman. Now that he has been found out, people say that the wonder is not that he goes to jail at last, but that he has kept out of it so long. The same is true of most pillars of society, and yet Baer is accused of irrational pessimism and libelling mankind for having given a true picture of the business world. Lawyer Tracy could make no better argument in Wiman's defence than that many eminent citizens have been saved from State prison by a "slender thread of technicality." This fact, however, does not render Wiman more innocent; it makes the "arisen citizens" whose right piece is in prison less formidable as champions of virtue and patriotism.

Referring to Henry Seymour's statement, in the article on mutual banking in the London "Brotherhood," that "monopoly of capital is due solely to the monopoly of monetary credit," the "Twentieth Century" observes: "This is precisely the mischievous greenback doctrine of our Populists. It should be easy enough to see that monopoly of credit is an effect, not the cause, of monopoly of capital. This is due to the fact that our laws permit private property in capital." In other words, monopoly of capital is the effect of private property in capital, and monopoly of monetary credit is the effect of monopoly of capital. According to this view, monopoly of monetary credit, being an effect merely, cannot be done away with except by removing its ultimate cause, private capital. Let us verify this. Suppose government meddling with currency and banking is abolished, and everybody who has wealth, much or little, can, individually or in cooperation with others, monetize it by issuing credit notes based upon it; that would afford us competition, instead of monopoly, in monetary credit, and monopoly of capital would be abolished in consequence of such extension of the freedom of credit. Yet private property in capital would remain. But you cannot destroy a cause by changing an effect, nor can you get rid of an effect while its cause exists. Hence there is something wrong with the "Twentieth Century's" analysis. The probability is that it does not really know what Mr. Seymour means. As to the doctrines of the Populists, no one who understands what they are can make the statement that the Populists believe in free credit. It is money and government monopoly of issue freedom of credit.

The People.

[Translated by John Addington Symonds from the Italian of Tommaso Campanella, a victim of the Inquisition.]

The people is a beast of muddy brain.

That knows not its own freedom, and therefore stands Louden with wood and stone; the powerless hands Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein:

One kick would be enough to break the chain; But the beast foam, and what the child demands It does: nor its own terror understands. Confused and stupefied by bugbear vain. Most wonderful! with its own hands it ties And gags itself, — gives itself death and war.

For peace doled out by kilo, and the man who own it is all things between earth and heaven; But this it knows not: and if one arise To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.
Liberty. 290

Issued Fortnightly at Two Dollars a Year; Single Copies, Eight Cents.

Hub B. Tucker, Editor and Publisher.
Office of Publication, 305 Liberty Street.
Post-office Address: Liberty, P. O. Box No. 118, New York, N. Y.

Entered at New York as Second-Class Mail Matter.

NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 30, 1864.

In abiding rev. and federal, the last sentiments of old-time slavery, the Revolution abides at one stroke the sound of the exclamation, the end of the magistrates, the club of the policeman, the gross of the revolutionary, the crying bulwarks of the departmental clasp, all those bulwarks of politics, which young Liberty finds beneath her heel.

"Progress.

The appearance in the editorial columns of articles over other signatures than the editor's initials indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tone, 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 same or other writers by an unsigned signature that indicates he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Violence Breeding Violence.

When Carnot refused to interpose the paralyzing power in the cases of Vaillant and Henry, the dynamiters, or so-called Anarchists, of France promised to retaliate. Vaillant and Henry had killed no one, yet they were killed, the law having been stretched for the occasion. What wonder is there that the revolutionaries have learned their lesson? Life is negative. Carnot was not treated with mercy, why should they be merciful? If the fact that their motives are good is not taken into account by the representatives of law and order, why should the fact that the latter "do their duty" when they treat the "Anarchists" as brutal and vulgar criminals be considered by those who look upon "law and order" as organized burglary and fraud? The removal of Carnot is not an instance of "propaganda by deed," it was an act of revenge pure and simple. Carnot was an ineffective, amiable figurehead; he was not a brutal demagogue, and excused no hatred or hatred, reason or none. The killing of the ruler is an act of madness and folly from the standpoint of "propaganda by deed," and there is little reason to believe that his killing was prompted by the desire to propagate Communist Anarchism. It was probably promoted by the desire to show that one party can wreak vengeance and reprisals as well as the other. The act is to be regretted; it may have serious consequences; but in view of the treatment of Vaillant and Henry, who can say that it was an unnatural act?

The newspapers. Yes, the American newspapers pretend to be utterly incapable of accounting for this "seditious" act. But every one knows this; the newspaper writers do not think when they write, and it is impossible to "account" for any phenomenon without thinking. Newspaper writers are professional denouncers, and their "opinions" are worth no more than the opinions of any hirpling who is expected to do the best he can for a certain side, regardless of any considerations of justice, logic, or truth.

Carnot's death is the natural result of his cruel treatment of Vaillant and Henry. Violence and mercilessness breed violence and mercilessness. There is only one way to terminate the propaganda by deed, and that is not the way recommended by the furors and raving upholders of law and order. Let governments trust revolutionaries, let them be handed, but well-meaning reformers; let them abolish the death penalty in political cases. There would be no assassinations after that. No other measures will avail. The individuals identified with governmental power cannot protect themselves in any other way. Sante will be killed, but he will have his successors. If the advice of the scamps and ignoramuses who write the newspaper editorials is followed, and the revolutionaries are "stamped out like vermin and shot like mad dogs," the rulers and representatives of law and order will be subjected to precisely the same treatment. The revolutionaries will stamp their dogs out, and the vermin and shoot them like mad dogs. If a truce is wanted, let the death penalty be abolished in political cases. The effect of that will inevitably be the abandonment of the propaganda by deed. The newspaper jackals and jackasses may sneer at this, but it is absolutely true.

Is Anarchism Atheistic? Are Anarchists necessarily Atheists? Is the tendency of Anarchism toward Atheism? By no means, to the first; to the second, unquestionably.

Probably if the tenets of an earlier day were in vogue, it would not be possible to answer even those that are negative. Life is negative. There was a time when the question of Atheism or not Atheism was very definitely determinable. The god of those days had his hierarchies, admitted by the people universally to be trustworthy, who could tell you all about god, and with much plausibility describe the indescribable. But we are done with that sort of thing; the more intelligent of us, at any rate, have no notion of accepting any theories that do not recommend themselves to our minds. Though we may not have given up trying to measure the infinite, we at least deem ourselves as competent to do so as any presbyter, bishop, or deacon. We are done with a god that is inscrutable. Therefore, when we come to the new ideas of various kinds that are cropping up on every side, we are not disturbed by them very much; not so much as our grandfathers would have been. They, poor fellows, had to search their bibilony books with dread, lest they might encounter some intractable quotation which would compel them to keep on burning heretics, after they had exhausted all the uses of the amusement and indeed revolted at it, lest they should be burned themselves.

We, lucky birds that we are, need take on such trouble. Let a theory but recommend itself to us, and we make no bones about accepting it. We mean to mix a god to suit ourselves, and let the syllabery oracles take care of themselves.

Are we prohibitionists? God doesn't drink whiskey. Do we object to card-playing? God prefers checkers. So that, if by any chance we conclude that liberty is a desirable thing, not having specific fanaticism, we have no difficulty in constructing a god who is fond of liberty, too, and we embrace that admirable thing, Anarchism, without having any thing to do with the abomination Athesmus.

But, after all, does that kind of a god amount to? Can there be a being worthy of the same that does not post a personality as its god? Can a mere power that makes for righteousness for long take the place of a good old-fashioned tin-thunder and black-fire god? Such a god is indeed but a sickly specimen compared with the stalwart bully of yore: a mere Punchinello, head and hands animated by the deth fingers of the manipulator.

In fact, at this day theology is evanescent; nothing remains but a certain ethical sentiment. It is no more to be measured over; only to be good. That is the religious attitude nowadays. Religion has abolished as a teacher of facts, but still asserts competence to teach morals.

When we ask of religion, not, as formerly, "What is truth?" but only, "What is right?" we wear a veritable coat of confidence in reply. You ought — you ought — you ought — to do this, that, and the other, with the usual hardy laquity of the unscientific mind. It is upon this idea that some people are competent to tell others what they ought to do, that government as well as the current religion is based.

Whatever may have been his preference before, to be taught in this style how to order his life after he has learned to understand liberty, is not palatable to an Anarchistic convert; he has no stomach for it.

Liberty is based upon the idea of letting people alone — letting them be as "bad" as they please provided they do not take the form of interfering with your "goodness," if you will have it so. But finally the idea of liberty tends to obscure the other ideas of "goodness" and "badness" entirely. The essence of all "badness" is seen to be this perpetual interference with people who merely want to follow out their natural inclinations; as they used to make the restless child-life warp itself to the dead horror of Sabbath afternoons; as they used to frighten children for being afraid by putting them in dark closets, and cultivate their minds with red seams on their tender hands.

Man is the only living god and man in the past, — yes, and in the present, — for blasphemy, for sedition, for Sabbath-breaking, are seen to have been, — yes, again, to be, — penalties for virtues, and the other penalties of god and man for the most part distorted from their proper function into nothing more than an appeal to superstition to keep the victim prostrate.

All this the spirits of the god and man in the past, — yes, and in the present, — for blasphemy, for sedition, for Sabbath-breaking, are seen to have been, — yes, again, to be, — penalties for virtues, and the other penalties of god and man for the most part distorted from their proper function into nothing more than an appeal to superstition to keep the victim prostrate.

Man the judge of the morals, not the morals of man. Even the moralist variety of Anarchists would, I fancy, assert, not less strenuously than the egotist variety, that each must be a judge of his moral code for himself, that none is competent to force his opinion on another.

When we see the apparent point, what good to him is the vanishing shadow of a god? Something of the sort he has all along cherished to which we refer his hazy moral notions; a Mr. Jorkins to back him up in his misty and usually tyrannical notions of reform.

But with liberty, what need of the apotheosis of a so-called religion? What need of even the faint reminiscence adulation of a god? With liberty there comes freedom from fear,
freedom from vicious desires, freedom from the cruel and bloody virtues and religions of the past. On the rainbow that hangs over the path to liberty is inscribed, "Neither Master, nor God!"—Johannes Beverly Robinson.

With the Female Politicians.

New features are constantly added to the political variety show, and the supply of fun is abundant. With the tariff, silver, and woman suffrage to amuse him, no reasonable person can complain of weariness or dullness.

Take the woman suffrage agitation. The man who reads the literature of the fashionable belief, not only the woman suffrage movement itself, but the whole of that vast jargon ofPopulist-speak, is not fit for the function generally accepts their conclusions, but not their logic. The arguments they employ—physical, metaphysical, teleological, and miscellaneous—prove one thing, that persons who can talk rubbish will bring no valuable elements into politics. But the man who has been helped by those women who are anxious to obtain the suffrage is, if possible, even more offensive. Even the most progressive and modern of the champions of woman suffrage astonish one by the audacity and ignorance of their assertions. Their favorite argument is that male government has proved a moral evil in the abolition of crime, vice, and misery is impossible without the active cooperation of women. The implication, of course, is that women are wiser, purer, and better than men. Now, this implied belief is so wild, so recklessly absurd, so glaringly false, that the women who entertain it, or who advance arguments necessarily involving it, are incapable of understanding any arguments for government, but incapacity for any thought at all, delev., or inductive. All priori considerations, as well as all experience, are so clearly against this assumption that men of ordinary patience cannot enter into any discussion of the subject. It ought to be easy to see that the fact that men have so far succeeded with the ballot is a very good practical argument against letting women experiment with it. So far as the right to it is concerned, neither men nor women can claim it. No one can claim the right to govern others, and for self-protection no vote is needed. All rational people are endeavoring to reduce government, coercion, interference, to a minimum, and here we are asked to give this weapon of tyranny, the ballot, to millions of persons lacking the practical experience, the judgment, the knowledge of the world and affairs, which are gradually leading men to restrict the sphere of political activity. Give the female reformer the ballot, and she will start a religious crusade against evil, actual and imaginary, in any shape, and no one and nothing will be safe. More Comstock laws, more prohibition, more meddling, more cant and hypocrisy, more bigotry and intolerance, more reform by force, is what we must anticipate from that quarter. On the other hand, give the ballot to the men of Darmstadt circles, and you will have more bribery, corruption, spoli, blackmail, and police outrages. The few progressive women who favor law rather than more ought to understand the temper of the sex as a whole and save society from the crusades of the zealous and ignorant female politicians. Most women are very anxious to vote, the necessity of elevating and purifying politics is so urgent that any means are deemed to be justified by the end,—even the utter disregard of principle and conviction. To induce the Populist State convention of Kansas to adopt a plank in favor of woman suffrage, two leading women, Miss Susan B. Anthony and the Rev. Anna Shaw, were placed in the second order of the Populist rank, without even pretense to believe in any of the distinctively Populist doctrines. This is clearly no better than any of the more vulgar forms of political bribery, yet it is because of the alleged moral superiority of women that they are to have the ballot! Either Miss Anthony and the Rev. Anna Shaw have no political principle at all, or else they are ready to work for the triumph of ideas that they hold to be pernicious and fallacious. In either case, they sell their influence for a share of power.

It is impossible to point out a single advantage to society reasonably to be anticipated from woman suffrage. No one of any advantage would inevitably and speedily result from it. Why, then, favor it? Far better to try to deprive men of the ballot as far as possible and enlarge the sphere of individual freedom at the expense of that of government.

A Lesson on Civil Government.

In words of one syllable, for beginners.

It is wrong to kill a man who does not hurt you, or to shut him up, or cheat him, or take his goods when he does not give you leave, if he does not wish to give such a man. Most men will say "yes."

But a lot of men meet and make what they say that the State can and then those who were not. The State tells him to do what it thinks, or takes more of his goods, or kills him, though he may not have done a thing to hurt the men who made the State.

They say, "But we must have the State to take care of our rights." What are rights? Why, the things that we said at first were. But the State breaks those down, as we just said. It ought not to, if that is what it is. For the man, the State to let him be, and does not hurt the men in the State, it ought to let him be.

But they say, "We could not: take care of our rights if we did not force you to help us." Well, it seems to me, if they have the strength to force me to help, they ought to have the strength to take care of their own rights and not force me. I think with the help of those who would join me, if the State would let us, I could take care of my rights as well as the State does.

I think that there are such things as right and wrong. Friend Ben thinks there are not. But we both know that there is no such thing as right in acts like these. The law.

STEPHENV. T. BRYINGTON.

The tariff bill will pass the Senate before the end of the month, according to the forecasts of the more optimistic correspondents. But that will not be even the beginning of the end. It will have to go to the House; the House will send it to a committee; the committee will appoint a sub-committee to go over the changes that have been made since the poor bill left the House. The sub-committee, after a reasonable
THE BEAUTIES OF GOVERNMENT.

"Fair and enlightened minds, approach to this department. It is open to any statement of facts, good or bad, in any State to any phase of its government with the assurance that the source of uncorrputed knowledge, or apparently reliable accounts clipped from recent publications, are welcome."--TAMMANY GOVERNMENT.


1840

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TAMMANY GOVERNMENT.

(Philadelphia Evening Star.)

The retirement of Mr. Croker, said the editor of this associate, from the leadership of Tammany Hall, is the noteworthy political incident of the week. Croker says that his "business demands attention." He has passed over the "time wasted in politics." Had he given it to his own affairs, he "would have done better." Croker became the leader of Tammany Hall nine years ago. He was then so poor that a gift of ten thousand dollars from a man he had made Mayer was more than welcome. He retained one of the money mag- nates of the city. This career is an "object lesson" which may be studied with profit. Mr. Croker is aatternate man, who has the year round devoted to a political education to fierce-fighting and corner-leasing. He was a candidate of Tweed and an active exponent of the Tweed idea, repeating, quarrelling, terrorizing men and women. In one of these affairs a man was killed. Croker was indicted and tried for homicide. The jury failed to convict him, and the indictment was dis- missed. Croker returned to politics in a modest way, but the shadow of the Tweed was upon him. That shadow lifted when Mayor Hewitt appointed him Fire Commissioner. From that appointment came the lead to his downfall.

The personal career of the Tammany leader is a minor consideration. If, as Tennyson says, men can rise to higher things by stepping upon their own dead past, let the elevation of Mr. Croker be to his credit. He could pass by it had it been the prelude of a worthy career.

Croker ruled Tammany Hall by the methods of Tweed. He had the morals without the audacity and shameless personal life of Tweed. He organized the municipal and metropolitan government of a metropolis into a money making machine. The party discipline was absolute. Every- thing—honor, station, public and private service—was reduced to a money value. Every office was to be sold. The Senate of Congress paid the entire salary of his two years term—ten thousand dollars—for the nomination. That was the lowest figure. If a rich man, with ambitions, the tax was increased. Jud- dicatorial nominees were charged from ten to thirty thou- sand dollars, according to the value of the place. Every office-holder submitted to an assessment. These aggregate sums were paid to Mr. Croker and expended for "the good of the party" and the integrity of the Tammany organization.

The result of the tax upon corporations. This was ar- ranged upon a scientific basis. Every interest de- pendent upon legislation, municipal or State, paid tribute to Tammany Hall. We can estimate the vast revenues thus raised, we can estimate the income of Mr. Peckham, that to his personal knowledge one electric company paid $50,000 a year for "protection." That is to say, unless the money was paid, the corporation would have been against the interests of Tam- many, its business paralyzed, its franchises destroyed. This "protection" cost the company fifty thousand dollars a year, which should be to get so easily. Croker probably took the idea from Rob Roy, who protected the castle of the Lowlanders for a considera- tion. In Rob Roy's time it was called "blackmail," and the Lowlanders lived in perpetual anxiety of death by hanging. In New York, under Croker, it be- came "practical politics."

The revenue from these franchises was large. In New York, as in other cities under our beautiful modern system of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," franchises of the greatest value are voted to the highest bidder. The bids never reach the public expenditure of "prac- tical politics." W— an form some ideas of the money netted from this source alone, remembering the un- contradicted statement of a New York journal that a cer- tain valuable franchise cost a million and a half dol- lars. The money went to Tammany Hall. That is only one of many equal and relative voting during the Croker regime.

A richer resource of revenue was the tax upon gro- shops and beer saloons. New York is the rum-ridden city of the universe. It reeks with whiskies. You cannot walk a hundred paces without coming upon one of these nurseries of hell. "I could not," said Napoleon, "fight my battles without brandy." Croker applied the tax on this principle to Tammany Hall. There is not a tavern in New York, nor a government town that did not pay him his tribute. The rummager received "protection," could defy the law, doctor his grog, keep open on Sunday, defy every moral, social, munici- pal law, provide, he paid the assessment of Tam- many Hall.

As the administrator of these vast sums, it is any wonder that Mr. Croker, after nine years' service, should retire one of the richest men of New York— with his stables, his stud farms, his palace, and his private dressing room of a sumptuous style. Crooker re- ceives "amends" of his friends. One weeping associate frantically protested against the resignation. He would not be torn from the Croker embrace. They had been partners in the affairs of the Tweed and the Tombs. They would not separate now. Like Croker, this broken hearted ally had been tried for murder. Un like Croker's, his jury agreed. They found that he had deliberately slain his victim, but was not guilty "on the ground of insanity." The insanity wore off after a short and pleasant sojourn in an insane asylum, and the broken hearted leader of Tam- many politicians. It is within the genes of New York politics that he should succeed Tweed and Crok- er as leader of Tammany Hall. Under Tweed it was the reign of the iniquity. Now it is the reign of blood.

This is a story of shame without parallel. It illus- trates the triumph of insane, sordid, treacherous crime. There is no municipality of which there could be said what is now written to sorrow of our misguided neighbor beyond the Jerseys. It shows the degradation of the voter's sake, moral sense. No horde of pawns on the Barber counter oneparalleled the government committed the crimes which have disgraced New York since the days of Tweed. Experience, even the experience of Tweed, was not enough for the master of New York no less. Reform means that the future leader gives way to one more wary and conservative. One nail drives another out, that is all. One leader holds with arm of iron the respect of New York city, and another holds with his arm of death when he has sucked his defeat, drops off to place of a hungrier suppliant. This is all that can be deduced from the retirement of Croker. Another leader will drive another, giving way to "amid the tears" of associates scrambling for his place. Crime, always crime, and the city ever in the plate's grip.

(The "Star" is a stuff Republican paper, while New York is a Democratic city. This accounts for the mercilessness of its treatment of Tammany. New York Republicans are no less off, though the story of their shame will not be found in Rep- ublican papers.)

A DOG OF ITS OWN MEDICINE.

(From Post.)

RUTLAND, Vt., May 11. B. Moore and John D. Sampilin, special prosecutors in this city under the prohibitory liquor law, have been removed from office by the legislature, charged with corruption in the operation of their offices, published by the Rutland "Her- ald," April.

Two admissions of blackmailing smokekeep- ers and other crookedness, but "a grossest offence plainly proved was running the machinery of the law to get costs without harming the liquor dealers, where-
the exact words of Mr. Comstock's reply to Mr. Little's request for an opinion on the three books last mentioned:

"It is utterly impossible for me to find time to examine these books. I have had them now for two weeks and more, and of some of them much longer, and I am completely nauseated with that kind of rot." It seems ought that the literary critic who condemn[s] Fedington urand should describe a period of time as 'much longer than' 'more than two weeks.' But Receiver Little makes no comment of this kind. You may see yourself liable to arrest and prosecution by Mr. Comstock if he sells even the three books Mr. Comstock has not read, he conferred with his counsel, James M. P. Lea, Monday, and will apply to the court for instructions how to act so as to avoid liability.

TO RESTRICT FOR THE STATE.

To the Editor of Liberty.

Here is a "beauty of government" from my experience as a teacher. The State of New York provides a set of uniform examination papers for all the public schools of the State. In the examination in elementary algebra last March occurred the question: 'Divide \( x^3 + y^3 \) by \( x + y \), getting the quotient to four terms.' Now, for a correct solution in terms of one expression, or the other must be changed. Any one can see this by writing the fractions as integers with negative exponents by this given in Taylor's Academy Algebra, p. 59, that dividing a term by \( x \) always makes its degree in \( x \) lower. This arrangement gives the quotient \( x^2 \), without a remainder. It is not possible to get four terms. The man who wrote that question-paper evidently forgot the rule, and proposed to divide without changing the order of terms. Now comes the fun. Most of my pupils followed the examiner's error, — small blame to them, — but one was bright enough to give the correct answer. The papers have been through the regular mill of red tape, — it takes about two months, — and now here is referred without rejection, on the ground of her error in this question! So the poor girl is to lose her standing in algebra for having known enough not to fall into the same error with the State examiner, — unless I can make them take it back.

STEPHEN T. BRITTON.

ARBITRARY ARRESTS.

[New York Tribune.]

Judge Gaynor handed down an important opinion rendered in the right of the police to make arrests. The case came before him for release on habeas corpus of Louis Cohen, a licensed ticket speculator, who was arrested for selling tickets in front of the grandstand at the West Side Show. Judge Gaynor said in relation to the case in court: "There are too many police captains arresting men without warrant. A policeman's business is to make arrests. He has no more authority to make an arrest than that possessed by an ordinary citizen. It is evident no crime has been committed, and this man's arrest is an outrage. He may go on his own cell, and I will discharge him if I can." Later he discharged Cohen, and said, in the course of his opinion:

"The petitioner was arrested yesterday afternoon by a police officer without a warrant and without any complaint or information having been laid against him before the magistrate. He was taken to the Eighteenth Precinct station-house in Brooklyn, and locked up overnight. The so-called complaint which was entered in the record at that time by the petitioner — who lives at 50 Ashland place, Brooklyn, was arrested by Patrolman Patrick McGreevy, charged with selling tickets for the West Side Show on private property, at the corner of Thirty-third and Eighth streets. John W. Ambrose, president of the Thirty-sixth Street Ferry Company, claims that this is private property, owned by said company. This is all — that the petitioner acted as an agent to arrest and prosecute by Mr. Ambrose. There is no proof of any criminal offense whatever. Yet the petitioner is arrested and locked up overnight like a common felon. As the history of the citizen has been, in a large measure, intrusted to me as a judicial officer, I feel it my duty to characterize the arrest of the petitioner as a gross outrage. I do not think I should re

get from saying so, for such occurrences are becoming so frequent as to leave no citizen safe. Some police officers do not seem to know that they have no right to arrest except for crime. But the case is even worse than it appears when it is remembered that no one has ever exercised the power of arresting anyone without the fear of personal danger. The place to settle the dispute was in a civil court. But the police captains, at the request of the corporation, arrest the petitions and keep them up. The occurrence to me is of the gravest character. No civilized people ever submitted to such acts of arbitrary power and long preserved their liberties. Not one fact can be safely yielded to arbitrary power. When we appoint police officers, and tax ourselves to pay them, we do not make them our masters. In fine, this police captain has no right to make arrests without a warrant other than every citizen has, except in case of disturbance. It seems extraordinary that some arbitrary arrests by the police are not stopped. If this company claims that the apparently open street on which the petitioner was private property, the place for it to establish its claim is in a civil court. Police captains have no right to meddle in the dispute, much less lock up one of the parties to it. The prisoner is discharged."

Judge Gaynor has shown on various occasions that he possesses a better understanding and greater love of individual liberty than the average American judge. It was he who checked the pernicious activity of the Brooklyn board of health in the matter of compulsory vaccination. But explaining the rule, and it is printed this item among the "beauties" to emphasize the point that under our governmental conditions the slightest departure from tyranny and oppression is looked upon as an astonishingly bold course."

IMPROVEMENT OF "GENERAL PRINCIPLE.

To the Editor of Liberty:

While discussing the Hoboken Creek miners' strike recently with a number of persons, an excited person demanded the arrest of Mr. Callicott, the president of the miners' union, who had come with the Governor to effect a settlement of the strike. I made the remark that the miners had no responsible for the conditions which prevailed at the camp, and further talked about it in which, however, no lawlessness was being advocated. A policeman ordered it to disperse. As a result, some people bolting me, and I was arrested on the spot, taken to the City Hall and thence to the county jail. On Sunday no one was permitted to see me, although at least thirty people had been there the day before. I had gone with me with a friend who had offended the crowd by standing beside me, and he too was arrested. By Monday morning outside influences had made itself felt, and the sheriff allowed us to depart, telling us we must not offend against the law any further and that we should be watched by deputy sheriffs. There are at least ten other people in the jail for like offenses, and such is law and order!

S. SELANDER.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., June 3, 1894.

EXTRACTION AND SALTATION.

[New York Sun.]

DENVER, June 11.—Gilles O. Pearce, a metallurgist of Colorado Springs, was sent to Denver after receiving the following note:

To Gillis Otis Pearce, Anarchist:

"We, as a committee, do not think there is room for you in Colorado Springs. Now take warning.

COMMITTEE.

Mr. Pearce was in jail for five days because he openly expressed sympathy with the Hoboken Creek miners.

THE GENTLE SEX IN POLITICS.

NORWICH, June 18.—The first bitter fruit of a recent act of the Connecticut legislature, empowering women to vote in district school elections in that State, is already growing in the big school district of Green- ville, a populous quarter of this town, and it promises to fail with a thud that may shake the town at the forthcoming election of school officers.

School elections in Greenville for a number of years have been aggressively and not infrequently, freely conducted, but the latest balloting has been a dead heat. The field was entered by voters, had religious bigotry and intolerance shown their hateful faces at the head of the contesting forces.

This year, notable rival school parties in the district are squarely divided on religious lines, Catholics and Protestants facing each other in obdurate and determined antagonism. The religious question completely dominates all other issues on the women leaders on both sides are making a house-to-house can- vass, enrolling every elector, male and female, in the ranks beneath their respective banners. The excitement in the village, fed by religious rancor and bigotry, to which the powerful A. P. A. sentiment of the whole town and State has recently given a fresh impulse, and fanned constantly by heated partisan talk on both sides, has been growing steadily during the past three or four weeks, and has lately kindled a similar bitter feeling in all the other districts of Norwich.

"TAX EVERYBODY AND EVERYTHING."

Then too:

The Italians are kept poor by a burdensome system of taxes, and even the advertiser must pay tribute.

Curious scenes in Venice are the stations of the soap, the steamboats, which play such a prominent role. These are filled with more or less interesting signs, each adorned with a canceled revenue stamp. The shop owners are allowed to perch a few of their stores without paying a fee to the government, but if they wish to post them in any public place, or even in their show windows, a revenue stamp must be affixed. A heavy penalty is inflicted on those that violate this law. An amusing instance I noticed in the shop of a mosaic manufacturer, who was selling out. The tell-tale stamp appeared in the corner of the following sign:

RELINQUISHING BUSINESS.

So the Italian government even fines its subjects for not working.

PASSENGER RECESSION BY JUDGES.

JEFFERSON CITY, May 31.—The judges of the county court of St. Clair County have sent their resignations to Governor Bone. This would not be an important event but for the fact that an election for county judge in St. Clair means imprisonment in jail.

For more than ten years the county court of St. Clair has resisted the process of the Federal courts in the case of the mule's tax for the railroads. The debt contracted about twenty years ago. The debt and interest now amount to $1,000,000, in round numbers, or about one-third of the assessed valuation of the county.

The people are unanimous in resisting any recognition of the debt. County judge after county judge has been sentenced to jail, and neither side shows the least disposition to yield. When the new judges are appointed, they too will go to jail.

SOUND TEETH AND GOVERNMENT MAIL.

[New York World.]

I don't know what it is, but anything that so graphically sets forth the bureaucratic doltishness of Englishmen as the London Post-Office rule that requires all postmasters to have all unsealed teeth extracted. It seems that somewhere in the dim past, a woman of considerable correspondence and some influence at headquarters was offended at the fact that postmasters, when she insisted on seeing personally on receiving her mails. Her complaint led to an order that no postmaster should have unsealed teeth, and now it appears that a recent applicant for position had to have eighteen teeth extracted before he could be appointed. The pay of these carriers in London is 17 shillings a week, and the "Postman's Gazette" complains bitterly that they have to be put to the expense of outrageous dentists' bills to conform to a ridiculous law.


Shaw's "Arms and the Man." | LIBERTY, 290 | 1842

Probably few Americans who do not keep closely in touch with London happenings know much about George Bernard Shaw. His name does not appear in the newspapers, but his plays are valuable but incompletely appreciated. A few Americans have read the "Fabian Essays," which he edited, and which was first published in 1889, and a few more take the "London World" newspaper (they ought to "take" in the paper, to be thoroughly British and find instruction and entertainment). In the lively monthly "The World," R. H. Charlton, which is a part of the "World" published by William Archer, reviews of modern English and French plays, from the "advanced" standpoint, have secured for the late Mr. Yeo's weekly most of the favor it has with artistic persons.

Mr. Shaw has written the musical criticisms in the "World" since the late Louis Engel was compelled to leave London. His articles are so bright and original that they compel the attention of readers who know little about the technique of the musical art and care less about the subject of his subject is thorough, but he is fond of being at war with his fellow men and many of them are attached to traditions and conventions. He is keen to shock his public. But the shock is no mere shock. Mr. Shaw is not extremely original mind, but it is a strong mind, too.

It is an old story of the way the author of "The Philanderer" or "The School for Scandal" is constructed. The character which makes the thinking man believe in green grass and blue sky pause and wonder if he has been wrong all his life.

Mr. Shaw will be better known here next year, for Mr. A. M. Palmer has bought his satirical play, called "Arms and the Man," and will have it performed at Philadelphia. It is one of the plays that puzzle the critics. Even Mr. Archer, Mr. Shaw's fellow-countryman, could not quite comprehend "Arms and the Man." It became the rage in Bulgaria, at the time of the battle of Slivitsa (1877), in which the Servians were defeated. Its heroes are cows, and its Swiss mercenary, who fills his cartridge box with chocolate cream, is as brave a man as any of them. Its romantic maiden is a hunchback. Here is the story of the play, as it is presented in an excellent review.
Anarchist-Letter-Writing Corps.

The Secretary wants every reader of Liberty to send in his name for enrolment. Those who do so thereby pledge themselves to write, when possible, a letter every fortuytous, on anarchist or kindred subjects, to the "target" assigned in Liberty for that purpose. All, whether members or not, are asked to have no opportunity of ignoring the secretary of suitable targets. Address, STEPHEN T. BRISTON, East Hardwick, Vt.

Thomas J. Powell, our "target", has been enough stirred up to write a letter to — "Home Advocate" — as follows: He is somewhat naked, but sees that "possibly a person should be excused from the burdens of government in some cases if he would relinquish its advantages," and has seen what we mean in some places.

Suggestion No. 6. Don't forget that the stock of targets must be kept up. I can, I guess, supply 6 targets for a fortnight without help, but they will have to be of such as come to my knowledge, — that is, "airy of such as agree with me on some point outside Anarchism. Then some one will complain that my choice of targets is biased by my opinions on other subjects. I want to give an all around list of targets, and can do better if I have plenty of all sorts to choose from. I thank all who have helped me in this, but want more. Help from friends outside the corps is equally welcome.

Target, Section A. — Rev. James Boyd Brady, D.D., pastor of the Church in Church, Boston, Mass. In a sermon May 13 stated: The wealth of the county has been passing from the people to the pateens, and gave startling facts and a concentration of wealth and some of its results. Remedy, forming for this country paternal in character of a monoplastic government.

Section B. — The Chicago "Times" is liberal in publishing letters on social problems; says it will "welcome intelligent contribution to this discussion, whether from a Socialist, Anarchist, conservative, centrist, or anybody else." In April it said: "The Anarchist and the religious enthusiast fail back on the literal application of the doctrine of non-violation and the golden rule.

STEPHEN T. BRISTON.

Do Your Own Work. (Adurson Herbert in Free Life.)

If Mr. Spencer has taught us anything, he has taught us the moral wrong of compelling each other, and of organizing ourselves to compel each other; and therefore how it can be right to join either of our political parties in the right of that truth I cannot see. No man "nullifies himself" by abstaining where he differs. He nullifies himself when, out of excitement or desire for action, he attaches an object to his own person, the consequences in great movements that he sees are full of evil and corruption. All those who hate organized compulsion should abstain from helping any present party. Let them read the satirist, and the satirist will presently come.

[Mr. Herbert should not make the unqualified statement that Spencer taught us the moral wrong of compelling each other and organizing to compel. He taught us, or tried to teach us, the legitimacy of compelline and taxing others as long as we have their own good in view, — the other's rights. People like Mr. Herbert should never overlook this weakness and inconsistency in Spencerian politics and ethics, for it is only the criticism of such men that may lead Mr. Spencer to recognize and eliminate his error.]

The Decouleg sic as Revised.

I. Thou shalt have no gods save Liberty, Reason, and Justice.
II. Thou shalt not take unto thee any legal image, for thou shalt worship no god that is among men.
III. Thou shalt pay no taxes, nor collect them.
IV. The Sabbath exists for thee, not for it, therefore thou shalt on that as on all other days follow thy own promptings.
V. Honor render to all to whom it is due — mayhap things, and a few swamp upon them. He would very properly say: This is the proper course of honest men having not much right of property left to interfere with. To me it seemed then, and seems now, an instance of that decency of perception and inability to see distinctions between those inferitably disposed of which I have said so much. I should myself deny that the mineral treasures under the soil of a country belong to a handful of surface proprietors to the extent in which the gentleman appeared to think they did. That fifty or a hundred gentlemen, or a thousand, would have a right, by agreeing to shut the coal mines, to stop the manufacture of Great Britain, is a proposition to a common sense, seems to me, I must say, unanswerably absurd.

[The remarks of the late Lord Coleridge on landed property are very significant and well worth reproducing. Lord Coleridge perceives the outrageous injustice, the unanswerable stupidity (from the standpoint of the people's interest) of the existing system of monopoly. His intimation that the land belongs to the people, is one that, based on individual occupancy and use, that might not insure perfect equality of returns, but it insures a much greater blessing, — liberty, the greatest amount of individual liberty compatible with equality of liberty.]

As You Like It.

I respectfully offer herewith to the bankrupt nations of the world a new and improved scheme of taxation. The French law, which claps a tax on every man who does not have at least one wife, is altogether inadequate. Instead of it I would impose a tax on every man who does not have at least two wives. The advantage of such a tax is obvious. It puts a premium on marriage by including as a tax the one who is being the only law which insures the proper care of the surplus female population.

I suggest to the governments now engaged in the degrading work of begging for money the scheme of a budget by which they would be able to roll in wealth. Let them clap a tax on the luxuries. Luxury, for instance, is the existence of hundreds of people on the same amount of income. The greatest advantage of such a tax is obvious. It puts a premium on poverty by including as a tax the one who is)

Monopoly of Natural Media. (Lord Coleridge in Macmillan's Magazine.)

It seems an elementary proposition that a free people can deal as it thinks fit with its common stock, and can prescribe to its citizens rules for its enjoyment, alienation, and transmission. Is this not the same thing as being anything but admitted. There are cases in these islands of more than a million acres. These lands are not very large. It is plainly conceivable that estates might grow vast or more. Further, it is quite reasonably possible that the growth of a vast empire of commerce might be checked, or even a whole trade lost to the country by the simple will of the owner, or it may be the great land owner. Sweden is a country, speaking comparatively, small and poor; but I have read in a book of authority that in Sweden at the time of the Reformation three-fifths of the land was in mortmain, and what was actually the fact in Sweden might come to be the fact in Great Britain. These things might be for the general advantage, and if they could be shown to be so, by means they should be maintained. But if not, does any man possessing anything which he is pleased to call his own wish to feel his mind, by a law under which such mischief could exist, under which a country itself would exist, not for its people, but for a mere handful of them, ought to be instantly and absolutely set aside? Certainly there are men who, if they do not assert, imply the negative. A very large coal owner some years ago interfered with a high bond in one of the coal strikes. He went for the workmen. He declined to argue, but said, stamping his foot upon the ground, "All the coal within so many square miles is mine, and if you do not instantly come to terms, not a hundred weight shall go to the surface, and it shall remain unworked." This utterance of his was much criticized at the time. By some it was held up as a subject for parangic and a model for imitation, the only utterance of one who should stand no nonsense, determined to assert his rights of property and to tolerate no interference with them. By others it was denounced as "a beast and brutal; and it was suggested that if a few more men said such

Henry Labouchere has been studying the House of Lords, and finds that some of the peers owe their comfortable positions to the fact that they were honored by the king; others to the fact that their grandmother or great-grandmother was dishonored by the king.

Prof. Dunham Hemmound is shortly to issue a revised edition of his very unpopular work, "Justice, or the Deadliest Thing in the World."
Liberty's Typography.
The typographical reform adopted by Liberty consists in the abolition of the process known among printers as "justification." Under this new system, when the compositor, as he approaches the end of the line, finds that there is no room for an additional word or syllable, instead of filling the line by increasing the size of the spaces between the words, fills it with little blocks of metal known as quads, without disturbing the original spacing. In consequence of this, the reading matter does not present as straight an edge at its right side as at its left.

Although this may be an improvement, because all inequality between the spaces in any given line and in the spacing of two lines in juxtaposition is eliminated, it is really only a mistake between the words remain equal in all parts of the column, the result being pleasing to the eye and serving to facilitate the task of reading. Commercially the new method is advantageous because it is much cheaper, nearly thirty per cent. being saved on the composition, and because it simplifies the work of composition and enables unskilled 'job' or to take the place of skilled. The new method is available for book work and requires no capital for its adoption.

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