NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER.

Vol. III.—No. 3.

BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1884.

Whole No. 55.

Revolution.

[Printed from the German of Freidrich Freilichart by

John Hay.

On Picket Duty.

"Show me a man that won't abuse power, and I'll show you one that won't try to get it," writes Dr. M. E. Lazars in the Denver "Labor Enquirer." "There never was a true advocate of liberty, but he who com- mends it to the consideration of all State Socialists.

I say, Masses. Harman and Walker, editors of "Lucifer," I wish you wouldn't make absolutely every number of your paper so good and true and live and keen and consistently radical. You are making it uncomfortably hard for me to keep up with the procession. Before you came into the field, it was the easiest thing in the world to publish the best paper in the world, and I knew well enough what I was doing it, and it was a very competent and con- tented man. But, since your advent, you have kept me in a state of perpetual d'strait and anxiety lest Liberty's light be dimmed by Lucifer's. I am there-fore, let up a little, and give a tolling torch-bearer an occasional chance to recuperate.

A prominent abolitionist and impudent jack- napes, one George Kempton of Sharon, Massa- chusetts, has sent a circular to the merchants and manufac- turers of the state, urging them to sign an agree- ment not to employ any persons on or after January 1, 1880, who are not known or believed to be total abstainers from the use of alcoholic drinks, and to discharge any employers thereof found to indulge in such stimulants. Several prominent employers have already signed this outrageous document. When labor, after the organisation of credit, shall be able to purchase credit with which to employ itself, there will be an end to these insults. Labor then, if it chooses to repudiate its employers in kind, may decide to discharge all employers whose morals and habits do not meet the standard set for them by the workers.

Some curious things will happen when the tables are once turned.

Not long ago I attended a county court in com- pany with a simple, hard-headed New Hampshire farmer. A deputy sheriff and half a dozen lawyers were present, and several litigants danced attendance and exhibited some sermonising feelings. "We don't have any of this over in our town," said the farmer; "we haven't any lawyers or deputy sheriffs, and our folks don't get into much trouble. When they do have any disagreements, they settle things between themselves and nobody hears of it." And yet when an Anarchist says the world could get along better without legislation, lawyers, and authority, most men confidently declare that in the absence of these things a man's hand would be set against his neighbor and violence would reign supreme. The farmers in that little New Hampshire town respect each other's rights because every man of them knows that his own security and comfort depend upon the security of others. But let the possibility of the abolition of government be specifically stated to them, and they will declare that statutes and sheriffs are necessary to restrain other people from doing wrong. But why not other men who cannot be trusted to do right.

"I cannot speak too highly of "Edgeworth's" review in another column of General M. M. Trumbull's new book in defence of free trade. For a just cause, that of the anti-custom-house reformer is the purist that I know of in proportion to the importance that is claimed for it. The protective tariff is a trivial tax so long as that giant tax, Usury, is allowed to exist. For the peculiarity of the latter is that it has no definite measure like other taxes, but has an unlimited capacity and devours all that is left of the laborer's earnings after a certain point. If the tariff duties should be lifted, the amount thereby saved to consumers would straightway be absorbed by the exporter and exploiter of labor, who would be able to exact his additional toll. If the more easily in consequence of the large supply of labor thrown upon the market by the prostration of certain industries. Monopolies and tyrannies sometimes serve to check such. Such is the effect of the protective tariff upon the banking privilege. The most fatal restriction upon trade now existing is the monopoly of the issue of money, the foundation of all tyrannies in these three picturesque days, and that is where Liberty, more in favor of free trade than the free traders, must strike first to strike effectively. Free money first, and all the other freedoms shall be added to it.

Some nonconformity, writing to the Detroit Spectector in opposition to cheap money, says: "If low interest insured high wages, during times of business depression wages would be high, for them to interest recesses its minimum." Another man unable to see below the surface of things and distinguish association from causation! The friends of cheap money do not claim that low interest insures high wages. Why! They claim that is free competition in currency-issuing is a principle that overshadows all. So when the money monopolists through their privilege have bribed the employers nearly all that they can, hard times set in, business becomes very insecure, no one dares to venture in new directions or proceed much further in old directions, there is no demand for capital, and therefore interest falls; but, there being a decrease in the volume of business, wages fall also. Suppose, now, that great lever of bankruptcy, steps in to wipe out all existing claims, and economic life begins over again under a system of free banking. What happens then? All capital is at once made available by the abundance of the currency, and the supply is so great that interest is kept very low; but, confidence being restored and the way being clear for all sorts of new enterprises, there is also a great demand for capital, and the consequent increase in the volume of business causes wages to rise to a very high point. When people are afraid to borrow, interest is low and wages are low; when people are anxious to borrow, but can find only a very little available capital in the market, interest is high and wages are low; when people are both anxious to borrow and can readily do so, interest is low and wages are high, the only exception being that, when from some special cause labor is extraordinarily productive (as was the case in the early days of (California), interest temporarily is high also.

As well as once your Otho treaded—"I was, am, and will be!"

Will be— and lead the nations on the last of all your hosts to meet, On your victors, your pounds, your crowns, I'll stand my strong, redoubled feet!

In every brow that boldly thinks, crests with manhood's honest pride

Great path to the brink of the abyss, and sobs and struggles for relief.

Th' therefore I will be— and lead the people yet your hosts to more,

And on your necks—your heads—your crowns—will plant my strong, redoubled feet!

It is no heart— it is no threat— then Lincoln's low low decrees—

The day grows hazy— the path! The path beneath thy willow trees!
A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY:

Continued from No. 14.

The struggle between the Macedonians and Greeks, and, before that, the disputes of the Greek communions among themselves, for an unprotected subject and liberty, was, in the end, the result of such a spirit. Such a spirit, such a principle, if it could be cultivated in such a spot could furnish men sufficient to create the spirit of ambition of possessing five or six thousand more acres, or two or three more villages; yet, so long as it was unable to come forward boldly and operate by its own force and its own resources, it was always, and has been, humiliated and crushed, and, even when it had been entirely annihilated, the whole was in a state of ignorance, and the ignorant were enlightened, and the enlightened were put in a state where they would be induced to believe the doctrine of the fate of mankind, at least, depended on it! But these disputes ended, as all such as ever have done, and will be done, in a real weakness of all parties; the momentary shadow and dream of power in some one; and the subject of all to the yoke of a stranger, who knows how to profit of their divisions. That is just the case of the Greeks, and surely, from the earliest accounts of them to their absorption into the Roman empire, we cannot judge that their intestine divisons, and their foreign wars, consumed less than three million of their inhabitants.

What an Aecidias, what a field of blood, Sicily has been in ancient times, whilst the mode of its government was controverted between the republicans and tyrants, is shown by the attempt of the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Persians, and the Gauls to recover the island. You will find every page of its history dyed in blood, and indeed occasioned by tumults, rebellions, murders, assassinations, proclamations, and the like, of landed names, perhaps, of any other nation in the world; though the histories of all nations are made up of similar matters. I once more repeat, I am in point of exactness for want of books; but I shall estimate the sacrifices in this island but at two millionths, which your Lordship will find much more of the reality.

Let us pass by the wars, and the consequences of them, which wasted Greece. Magna before the Roman power prevailed in that part of Italy. They are, perhaps, exaggerated; therefore I shall only rate them at one million. Let us pass by the wars, the wars of the Roman empire with Carthage, with the Gallic, with the Parthian, with the Thracian, with the Aecidias, with the Carthaginians, and the Romans, your Lordship will easily recollect. You will remember the total destruction of the city and this whole country to the number of three thousand men. You will find every page of its history dyed in blood, and infected and converted by tumults, rebellions, murders, assassinations, proclamations, and the like, of any nation in the world; though the histories of all nations are made up of similar matters. I once more repeat, I am in point of exactness for want of books; but I shall estimate the sacrifices in this island but at two millionths, which your Lordship will find much more of the reality.

The few thousand men upon whom the whole army of the Carthaginians was directed, was to be compared to the few hundred thousand men of the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Gauls, whose forces were to be compared to the few hundred thousand men of the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Gauls.

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WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

A ROMANCE.

By N. G. TCHERNYCHIEWSKY.

Translated by Benj. R. Tucker.

Continued from No. 3.

VII.

Two days afterward, at the breakfast table, Vera Pavlovna told her husband that he had a bad color. He answered that he had not slept very well, and had taken a cold on the way, or that perhaps he had a cold. Then he added: "I have been thinking that, perhaps some time after all, you would represent me as a bore; one partaking with us of the same common nature, and that it would be something so foreign from our own nature in those artificial political distinctions that we need no other trumped to kindle us to war and destruction. But there is something so benign and healing in the nature of humanity that all our regular attempts to prevent it, the simple name of man, applied properly, never fails to work a salutary effect."

(The story continued.)

LIBERTY. 55

The names which distinguish them are too blow up hatred and rage. Everyone, if he does not possess an independent spirit, will find that far the greater part of the quarrels between several nations had scarce any other occasion than that those nations were different combinations of people, and ceded by divine right to an omniscient and omnipotent being, in the cabinet of an Italian, much more a Turk, or a Tartar, raised coarse ideas of hatred and contempt, if you would inspire hope in your public in a country with pity, or regard, for one of these, would you not hide that distinction? You would not pray him to come and visit the poor Frenchman, or the unhappy German. Far from it; you would try to screen him from all observation; an answer to your question was, "For all the world as I all are, and you all would represent him as a bore; one partaking with us of the same common nature, and that it would be something so foreign from our own nature in those artificial political distinctions that we need no other trumped to kindle us to war and destruction. But there is something so benign and healing in the nature of humanity that all our regular attempts to prevent it, the simple name of man, applied properly, never fails to work a salutary effect."

(To be continued.)
Reformers and “Protection.”

No question affords so fair a measure of the average gullibility of the people as that of Protection versus Free Trade. I can overlook the statement of the disgraced Vermont member of the National Legislative Assembly that the Government spent over a hundred thousand dollars in circulating obscene literature in Blaine’s behalf, since the dirty business on hand called for it. Such literature was not half so painful a delusion as were the theories driven by opium, nor devised by erroneous opinions.”

A “free man is one who enjoys the use of his own and his result of it.” But this theory is not so much driven by opium, nor devised by erroneous opinions.”

Dr. Foot in Defence of His Politics.

—P. S. DURBIN

Friend Tucker:

Your criticism of a “friend of Liberty in New York” is not unmindful of the state he has “expressed himself rather hurriedly, but still thinks he recites almost what he said.” The action, written addresses, and public speeches of Butler renders the contrast between the old and the new parties and that of class legislation which favors the capitalists, monopolists, and corporate-ring-roilers of the Republican and Democratic parties. (1) Butler truly and frequently said to the working classes: “Whenever party wins, you never win.” (2) I hope he would be able to open their eyes to the fact, and lend them to organize a party in behalf of their own interests. Many said a vote for Butler was a vote in the mud, and that soiled. Whether as voters, I am an American politician, and have fought two political parties, having like platforms and principles, and (3) only difference names and leaders, or voting to form a new party bound to succeed and grow, and Butler and that same mud is the same word. But why vote at all? Were I a full-fledged disciple of Liberty, I should say, “I have no use for Butler.” I am so free to say that I am not wholly persuaded, and that yet my mental condition on all governmental and sociological problems is pretty well decided. I am not, indeed, in sympathy with any of the parties. (4) I was not prepared to give my help to any person who in my opinion is helping toward the object I am working for, which is a new idea worth of worthiness. Therefore, I lend what aid I can to The Liberal League, Heywood, The People’s Party of Equal Rights, and other like parties. I would, indeed, even subscribe to the Young Men’s Christian Association if it were a religious, benevolent, reading-room, and gymnastic institution instead of an aggressive and bigoted persecuting and persecuting organization.

I have a feeling for Liberty as represented by Buter, but full effect of being a full-fledged disciple, in that I do not see the way clear to its practical solution, and I can do no more understand or imagine the state of society on that new plan than I can for myself a picture of Heaven, or a spirit-life. Nevertheless, a friend to the principle of philosophy of America, I can see it is gradually followed out, so that we may feel our way and learn how to walk in the new paths of that undeveloped country. In this to be accomplished, I believe by organizing a party which by means of the ballot shall obtain the power to reform laws, curtail the sphere of government, and gradually reduce (as far as possible) in dimensions. (5) The war cry of the People’s Party is “Equal Rights.” (7) Equal Power, Equal Privileges for all the people,” and though their ideas of the ways and means of instituting such a state affairs may all be wrong, I still think there would be more chance of converting the members of this party to Liberty’s mode of thought than of bringing over a Republican or Democrat. The mass of these parties consists of greedy politicians, scheming money-bags, and usurious laws, and those who have any principles of self-defense hold to conservative ideas. There is no field for Liberty among the people of these parties, and will only yield room and advantage all the rest into the People’s Party, if only for want of something better (8).

On the question of finance, I have since my last vote been bound by the Government to a system that their system would be far better for the country than the present metallic basis and national bank-system. Now I incline to Liberty’s idea of free coinage and the establishment of this system seems to me to be so very remote that in the mean time I would prefer to see the Government’s small business and municipal system adopted, according to this next, or to vote for something far better than the present.

Let me state one of the difficulties in the way of swallowing the bread of life by Butler who is not contenting on a merry-go-round, I assure you being filled with ashes, to be taken away to a suitable place for burning; for the ashes that are thrown into the ash river; that this practice threatened to destroy the cleanliness of New York. Butler, and that a law was passed, founded for the purpose of generation to come. To it is seen a good law, one which benefits all without injuring any one, and I have been passing myself to find out how such a good would be accomplished in Anarchy. If thirty-nine least owners should agree to protect the harbor for mutual benefit, how could they preclude it. In a word, I am not satisfied, and will, and saving himself a little trouble and expense with the purity of making trouble and expense for others! Every now and then our great philosopher rises up in the face current of our Anarchist philosophizing (9).

One word more about the ordinary mind, which you say cannot be a very extraordinary mind thinking appears, it would be less easily converted to Anarchy than a People’s Party Man. You, the ordinary mind is an extraordinary phenomenon, it fails to think, and it is not extraordinary that so many millions of ordinary minds could find it worth while to cast a bullet for Blaine or Cleveland, for the ratification of the tariff or non-tariff (10). A People’s Party Man has at least learned to think for himself, and a man worth reasoning with. He is not so much an extra as very thinking appears, or, in other words, to vote for the sake of being on what he expects may be the winning side (11). Yours truly.

E. B. Poore, Jr.

New York, November 9, 1881.

(1) Things are not always what they seem. Butler’s action seemed to Dr. Foot to be a general protest against old parties; it proved to be more ignominious sell-out to one of the old parties.

(2) And how much nearer victory are the working classes now? Measured by the voting standard, much in the same position as it was in 1880. Butler’s working classes will never win until the leaders and thinkers step boldly out upon the platform of the most advanced truth (2), and cease waiting for the masses, they will be the first to rise.

(3) There is a stronger resemblance between the Republican and People’s parties than between the Republican and Democratic. The Republican and People’s parties are strictly parties of centralization; the Democratic and People’s party ecclesiastically, I can see in a few directions practically, is a party of decentralization.

(4) Liberty is glad to benefit by Dr. Foot’s catholic policy, but cannot understand it.

(5) Ah! had the People’s party only been such! Whenever men organize politically for repeal, and repeal alone, Liberty is never found in their way. Certain Anarchists have even branded me as hopeless for looking upon such a policy with too favorable an eye. But the politics of the People’s party was not of this negative sort; on the contrary, its platform was the most positive of all those before the people. Its principal object was to make laws; it aimed to repeal but few, and those it generally wanted to replace by worse ones.

(6) But this, that is to say, equal rights where no man is any rights.

(7) To this it is sufficient to say that Liberty counts mere recruits and mere valuable recruits, five times over, from the Democratic party than from any other.

(8) Almost all signs of this kind present themselves only before the erroneous conception that to-day we have Authority and to-morrow we are to have Anarchy. Rome was not built in a day, and the sun will rise several times more before Anarchy is fully realized. It will be realized first where it is easiest and most important to realize it,—that is, in the state rights, and gradually exercise a remarkable influence upon the ways and tendencies, the mental and moral habits of all the people, and this revolution in human nature makes it possible to see in the law some methods all the manners in which interests are most involved.

(9) Indeed it is, but less extraordinarily than that one who sees the full of the course should deem it the part of wisdom to vote for Butler.

(10) There are very few thinking men in the People’s party. Most of its members are men of sympathies who have no vital idea. They “lament the suffering caused by injustices and suppose the way to cure it by statute. To them the harmonies of liberty are unknown and, for a long time, the government is unknown to them. As to Foot he does not belong. He is a politician in sheep’s clothing.” Let him take Auberon Herbert for a pilot, and he will make the port.

T.
A Senator’s “Crazy” Interlocutor.

"Thank God, I see no pinned faces here in New England," Senator Hawley, a worthy politician, at a meeting in Bridgeport. The god whom he thanked was a protective tariff, apparently, for he attributed the dearth of pinned faces to protection. Or perhaps he intended to convey the idea that it was his government that pinned the faces. The lie was so palpable that a man in the hall, "carried away with emotion," said the daily papers, cried out: "I have just come here from Fall River. There are ten thousand workmen in my constituency, and they are all in a state of general, literarily talking. Talking about pinned faces.—And then two policemen seized this turbulent fellow and dragged him out of the hall. "My children on the water, my home on the water, and in desperation at the thought, he knocked the policemen down.

A dangerous man, this father of starving children. He had the audacity to interrupt a senator, who is either a fool or a knave, and to disturb the harmony of a political meeting by telling the truth. So he and the truth were flung out by the heels, neither of them being wanted by the knee on the platform or the stupid people on the floor. Politicians do not want to hear any talk about pinned faces and starving workmen. There is danger in such talk—danger that it may set stupid voters thinking and show what a quackery is the ballot-box cure for poverty.

"Cruised at the thought of the starving," say the papers. Not so at all. Quite the reverse, indeed.

The bridge of the money apostles seems to show that what the political quack had said was utterly false; indignant enough to tell him so, and show the fools about him how they were being deceived. Such a man is dangerous; no doubt of that. Protection, he says, does not work, he may not fear, for when he shall have thought enough of the starving,—he and his kind,—he will be just crazy enough to swear that the toilers shall starve no longer, and that they will go about to disturb the harmony and senatorships and protection and several other “blessings” of like nature.

General Trumbull’s New Book.

The most devastating from the pen of a coeditor of the "Critical Review" has merits historical and political that render it more interesting than its subject might promise to American readers. There are two points of view under which social politics may be regarded,—the theoretical and the practical.

The former view is the more important or greater, since the condition of society, as it now becomes, for the disinterested sons and daughters of toil, a burden and a torture. England, by free trade, keeps in a life more tenacious than that of beasts of burden a greater number of victims than would be otherwise possible. Her national wealth (so called) is increased by free trade, but, at the same time, there exists a parallel increase of the number of victims. England, by free trade, has increased the number of victims.

Free trade, like machinery, like knowledge, like the culture of taste, like productive activity, or any other particular element in the condition of the world, is a positive advantage for the community, but if that community, instead of improving the lives of those who are at present in a state of misery, does not improve the lives of the community at large, then it will not be of advantage to the community at large.

The greater advantage is the loss, and the whole part. Free trade being a necessary consequence of Anarchist, an integral principle of the general order of Liberty is conditioned by the favor of it is trying to prove the advantage of trade.

But, practically, breaching an advantage only when life is death, and the condition of our government, becomes, for the disinterested sons and daughters of toil, a burden and a torture. In Germany, by free trade, keeps in a life more tenacious than that of beasts of burden a greater number of victims than would be otherwise possible. Her national wealth (so called) is increased by free trade, but, at the same time, there exists a parallel increase of the number of victims. Germany, by free trade, has increased the number of victims.

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WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

"You have done enough; I have changed my mind: here is the pay for your work," and she handed him ten roubles.

"I have already done, your— (he gave the lady her title), more than half of the missions I have done. Where are you going with it?"

"Do you consider yourself badly paid?" Nicolas, come here and talk to this gentleman, Kirssanov hurried to the scene.

"Who is your mother?"

"But, my beardless boy (an expression without foundation on Kirssanov's part, for in the West one always looks at his older brother, and a young man of his age) you would do well to understand the matter before expressing yourself.

"You! (I?—I?—I must have been drunk.)"

"No, my servant, if you were but a little less drunk, you would have seen that I was addressing Nicholas, the brother of the man who had just stated his opinion."

"I have been a little too much drinking, sir."

"Yes, but just a little, and it has given me a sharp shrewdness and fined and Nicolas saw clearly that it was impossible for him to make any announcement about Kirssanov in the presence of this man. Kirssanov raised his hand as if by a hand of iron. Kirssanov, after pulling his hair with his left hand, placed it at his throat and said:

"Do you know what it is for me to strangle you?"

He gave his throat a grip, and Nicolas saw that it was indeed very easy to strangle him. The grasp was loosened. Nicolas found that he could breathe, but still felt as though his companion was choking him. To the Gollists who made their appearance Kirssanov said:

"Stop there, or I will strangle him. Keep your distance, or I will strangle him."

Nicolas, at once comprehending the situation, made signals which meant:

His reasoning is good."

"Now, will you escort me, my dear, to the stairs?" said Kirssanov, again addressing Nicholas though continuing to hold his arm around him. He went out into the street, and, without looking at him in the least, was about to leave the building when his attention was arrested by a movement; on the last step, letting go his hold of Nicolas's throat, he hurtled him from him, and started for a hat store to buy a cap in place of that which he had left behind.

Well, then, are not these two men alike in character? All the prominent traits are in the same straight line, and the same kind of nature, so different from those you are accustomed to see, render with the penetrations of the head, so necessary, and so general, the result of which, the general peculiarities hiding from you their personal differences. These peculiarities, then, are only the varied forms of one and the same nature, the Chinese, whom the Chinese cannot distinguish from each other, seeing but one and the same nature, "barbarians with red hair and without manners." In their eyes the French have "red hair and manners," the English, "white hair and manners," etc. On the other hand, these two men, the brothers Kirssanov, are quite different from the others. The Kirssanovs are as a single individual; not individuals, but representatives of a type. All individuals are alike and different in the same way that oaks and willows are alike and different. They are different in their essence and their nature, knowing what to do under all circumstances, and doing it with a strong will, when necessary. That is one side of their character. On the other side each is of the same type, and we cannot say that he is an individual, and the other "can."

What matters it? You may drive them away, you may curse them, but they will be useful to you, and that will satisfy them. They will quell the scene, proud and modest, austere and good, as they ever were. Not one will remain upon the scene! Not one! How shall we live without them? None too well. But their essential nature is to work, and they will continue to work."

"Now we are, and then there will be no longer any special forms. Kirssanov's theory will be difficult for any one to understand that there ever was a time when it was regarded as special and not as the common nature of all mankind.

IX.

But just as the Chinese Europeans seem to have the same faces and the same expression, as the Frenchman, Kirssanov, the privileged monopolists. Lady, the Chinese have a much greater difference between Europeans than between Chinese, so it is with Chinese themselves. The people they are, the nature they possess, their desires and aversions, are everywhere alike; the diversity develops itself in more numerous differences, and they are more sharply distinguished from each other than are individuals of any other type. They never make even the slightest of the technical mistakes of the Latin and German languages, and still shorter, all varieties. But as the most savage Europe is very gentle, the most comfortably courageous, the most epicurean very moral compared with the Chinese, so also is the new man, the most austere believe that man needs more comfort than others dream of for his; the most sensual are more rigid in their morality than the moralists found in the common run of men. But they have the same forms of their own in which the former live peculiarly to themselves both morality and comfort, sensuality and virtue."

ThE BAIIoT OR THE SHIELD OF NINeteENTH-CENTURY ROBBERS.

BOSTON, November 22, 1881.

Dear Louis,

On two or three occasions since my last letter was written Mr. de Demain had lectured me on the evils of the political system in vogue in your time. He gives as an example the facts in a few recent election results, but I think the election of 1884 threw the government of the country into the hands of the "society of the century," in reality the riots. In his mind, as Mr. de Demain says, "You believe, do you not, that the wealthy and so-called superior classes of the United States in the nineteenth century controlled in great measure the government of the country?"

"Yes," replied Mr. de Demain, "I think that history pretty conclusively proves that.

"But, two weeks ago, in a conversation you had with me, you stated that one of the faults of that government was the power given men without money to tax the people; that the wealthy and successful robbers were shrewd men, who were incessantly being robbed, and told me what a big job it was, and what a splendidly generously it displayed on the part of the 'superior' classes to break poor dopes of workers, who believed the balderdash, and brilliant grammatical articles that the great remedy for all theills of the world was lying in their hands. What is it?"

"Is this the way in which the people had to trust in the government. He had the privilege of voting for any man on the measure he cared for. This looked on the face of it like a grand thing. The poor workers of the old world looked at the Emancipation proclamation, wept in the earth and sowing seed, and reaping the harvest. You people had a good time: you had vast resources, and an almost endless number of little farms, and they blessed the ballot-box and the wise statesmen who set up that beautiful machinery which it is very strange that they didn't get any richer, while the country got to be more and more wealthy every day. Some began to suspect that, after all, it was not so good a thing as it was thought to be, and there were the new country that made it possible to own little houses and farms. And some even suspected that the good order of the country was not so much due to the ballot-box as it was to their own individual good behavior. Later on they began to think that perhaps, after all, the ballot-box, instead of making them well-do, was making them poorer and making those who talked so much about its wonderful power richer.

"I said, I knew, that it was robbery for the poor to tax the rich; this was one thing. The other was, that they were rich.

"This robbery of the poor by means of taxation was more than offset by the robbing of the poor by the rich by the same means. The poor workers, no matter how many of them, never knew what to do with the money they received in pay. They gave some of it up little farms, and they blessed the ballot-box and the wise statesmen who set up that beautiful machinery which it is very strange that they didn't get any richer, while the country got to be more and more wealthy every day. Some began to suspect that, after all, it was not so good a thing as it was thought to be, and there were the new country that made it possible to own little houses and farms. And some even suspected that the good order of the country was not so much due to the ballot-box as it was to their own individual good behavior. Later on they began to think that perhaps, after all, the ballot-box, instead of making them well-do, was making them poorer and making those who talked so much about its wonderful power richer.

"But, I must acknowledge that the people that had the power to use the ballot as they pleased.

Not so. There were good many restrictions. There was a tax and registration, and deputy marshals, and sharp-eyed employers, and supervisors, and many other minor things. In fact, the only way to find out how to use the ballot to their own advantage. If they had, they would have bullied the ballot out of existence, and with it the government, the privil

What do you think of Mr. de Demain's argument?

JOSEPHINE.
The Dollar Instead of the Club.

P. T. B. Bunker.

I said your bill odds when it came; and, after the old adage, "out of sight, out of mind," it was forgotten until it occurred to me, in my review of the "Liberty," to make its appearance; and then I remembered that the "price of Liberty was the eternal dollar." This thing, the dollar, to my present mind, is civilization's substitute for the clubbed and knotted war-club of the Savage. With the dollar, as with the club, every right is attacked and every one of them lingers for a time, and the world, as a whole, is in a state of abolishing all of the old ways of industry as well as all of the natural sources of these prod- ucts; and the world's method of exchange, by barter, to-day, is the world's method of war; and in this field every right is wrested from the weak and ignorant by the strong and cunning, and from the people by the moneyed. It is, indeed, a neat trick, to the vulgar buyer of old clothes to the most impoverished and coveting poor. If one has knotty problems, the old clubs, not gnawed and knotted now, but turned polished as it were to the tongue of dis- cussion, that is civilization's substitute, and in the hands of a skilled wielder, is a representation of the old club, with all its bindings doubled and refitted; which says, "Produce the substitute for this brute force (the dollar), or get rid of it." 'Get down where your grave, of course, you fool. Rights disappeared from the world long ago, when the govern- ments were instituted; since then there have been nothing but privileges; and these must be paid for. How came the government? Who paid for it? Has it disarmed the natural rights which made the combination forces into a government for the enforcement of this respect a necessity? Has the government the key? Has the key been turned securely in the box? Has the government the key to the lives of the people? Has this government disposed of the old clubs with an easy and scientific method of obtaining and securing perpetually the proceeds of toil of which the masses of mankind are the producers? Is it the moneyed class? If so, it is the great and perplexing to dispose of this supply, for the government must be able to dispose of them! There is no disposition to support the government, for, if there is any disposition to support the government, there is no disposition to support the government. In this case, we have, or rather, they have, no government; and the government, believing in the doctrine of government, is that there shall be no rights but those of property; and the dollar, being the representative of a dollar, is the dollar, and that the masses of mankind are bested out of all equity. But I can't have "Liberty" unless I send you the dollar; and between you and me, this is what I mean by the dollar, which the dollar and the dollar, and the dollar, and the dollar, and the dollar, which the dollar and the dollar, and the dollar. If there is no government, the dollar, and the dollar, and the dollar, and the dollar. I do not find any difference between the rich and the poor in this respect. All seem to be animated alike with the same fraudulent motives, and hence the universality of the system; but only the few have the ability to carry the action prompted by the motive to success. All mankind, like a set of gamblers who have risked everything on the chances of the game, though they leave the pile to the winner very re- latively, feel that it is right, because they all equally coveted the prize. But the only right which those who are disposed to the universe are supposed upon another which often belong the victors because they would all the victors if they could. This seems to be the effect of the whole of the matter; and unless one has some way to graft a spirit of true motive on this original tree body, which shall regenerate the body, roots and all, to the source of the original, then little hope for the world as a whole. world, churches, states, and people, trades unions, radical papers, and every order of those who are either living or dying upon the purpose of extinguishing everything, and plundering others, or to defend themselves against that spirit of true motive by any other means, and from this world of knotted war clubs. Show us the graft of the pure principle of peace which is regenerated human- ity, so that we may resist the promised "Peace on earth." Enforced hereafter is the club (the dollar) which for I am in the United States. The United States are the only country in the world which allows liberty through "Liberty" for another year. And, believe me, I most sincerely desire to find in you the ability to go to the root of this matter and propose the true remedy; because when we get that, the governments will cease to exist from the want of a necessity for their existence.

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1. Attempt of Karakouloff, April 16, 1869, upon the Czar.
2. Assassination of the spy Tarlevitch at Odessa, September 27, 1875.
3. Assassination of the spy Prunogoroff at St. Petersburg in 1877.
4. Attempt of the spy Prunogoroff at St. Petersburg in 1877.
5. Attempt of the spy Serozhinez at Odessa in 1875.
6. Attempt of the police agent Nikomoff at Rostow-on-Don, February 13, 1875.
7. Attempt of Vera Zasowski upon the chief of police, General Troppoff, February 14, 1875.
8. Attempt of Onasisky upon the attorney general Kotelar- evsky at Kiev, March 7, 1876.
9. Attempt of Nikoloff upon the Czar Alexander II. at Wittgenstein in 1876.
10. Assassination of the chief of the secret police of Kiev, Baron Krempel, May 8, 1876.
11. Assassination of the general chief of the secret police of the Empire, Menshineff, at St. Petersburg, August 16, 1876.
12. Assassination of the governor of Charkoff, Prince Kon- pozhkevitch (brother of the celebrated Anarchist now in prison in France).
13. Attempt of the spy REinste in Moscow, March 10, 1879.
15. Attempt of Slojnezoff upon the Czar Alexander II. at Petersburg, April 14, 1879.
16. Attempt of the spy Konazov at Kiev, April 12, 1879.
17. Attempt upon the Czar Alexander II. on the Livorno railway, November 29, 1879.
18. Attempt of Hartmann upon the Czar Alexander II. on the Livorno railway, November 29, 1879.
19. Attempt upon the Winter Palace, February 17, 1880.
20. Attempt of the traitor Scharoff in Petersburg, December 1, 1879.
21. Attempt of Moczeki upon the minister of the interior, Count Loria Melkozoff, at St. Petersburg, March 4, 1880.
22. Attempt of Politkovoff upon the police agent Jabison- ski at Kiev, March 16, 1880.
23. Attempt upon the Czar Alexander II. on the Livorno railway, December 17, 1879.
25. Attempt of Sachkovsky upon the minister of the inter- ior of the Rzowieg, St. Petersburg, November 23, 1881.
27. Attempt of Klottzschka upon the governor-general of Siberia, General Haackstephen, at Tchelita, September 29, 1882.

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