It can ask no more; it can get no more. How, then, can its demands be excessive? As long as a portion of the products of labor are appropriated for the payment of fat salaries to useless officials and big dividends to idle stockholders, labor is entitled to consider itself defrauded, and all just men will sympathize with its protest.

A subscriber sends us his remonstrance against the way in which his taxes are being spent, and his wish that the government would do more to help the poor. We should deem his criticism worthy of heed, if the names of the two men whom he charges us to imitate as calm, clear, consistent, and close thinkers were other than—never to save the mark!—Wendell Phillips and Thomas Carlyle.

Well, Cyrus W. Field's monument to Audre has been blown up, and the millennium is not yet! Freedom of opinion has been struck down at the hands of a so-called radical, and the use of dynamite. Upon the explosion which results from this sort of reasoning, we have not committed sacrilege. And our friend Schubert glories in the act. "We have had altogether too much practice," he says, and so rejoices in a little practice. The real trouble is that we have not had as much of the real. If the only trouble of individual slavery is to have had instead of it, Liberty had ever found lodgment in the minds of Mr. Schubert and his friends, the Andre monument would still be standing, and there would be still one slab less on the radical record. We are moved by no sentimentality in this matter, but speak from the standpoint of the severest justice. When extreme measures become necessary, we shall not whine about them; but then they must be serious to be effective, not petty and paltry and childish. If the dynamite policy is ever forced upon American laborers by utterly intol- erable terrors upon their rights, it must be used to blow up the Cyrus Fields themselves and not their playthings. But till then, no dynamite at all! We are engaged in serious business, and have no time for child's play.

Mr. Patrick Ford, editor of the "Irish World," is in a dilemma. He appears not to be aware of it, but his readers are painlessly aware of it. We venture to point it out to him. Some weeks ago he announced in large type that, the moment the Catholic church should endorse the doctrines of the "Irish World," he would renounce them. Since that time a provincial council of the Catholic church has met in Czestochowa, composed of nine bishops and archbishops in five dioceses. That body has issued a pastoral letter to be read from the altar of every Catholic church in five important States. This letter says: "The Irish World is a bad paper, breeding insouciance and defiance of authority, teaching communism, assailing the rights of property, and insulting to rebellious that can end but in disaster. We therefore direct pastors to warn their people against this paper, and, as far as in them lies, discourage its circulation among them." This language is direct and unmistakable, and, unless it is revoked (as it is not likely to be), must be considered authoritative. It is the utterance of the power which Mr. Ford acknowledges as the sole source of truth. Now, therefore, he must renounce his "freedoms and command his church as a foul instrument of tyranny for the oppression of the many by the few, or he must renounce his reason, keep his pledge, and publicly confess that for the last ten years he has been a servant of the devil. Liberty calls on him to do one or the other, and that promptly, or stand convicted as a hypocrite and time-server.

Mr. Ford knows the high estimate which we place upon his services in the past. It is because we value them so highly that we insist that he shall not spol them.

David Dudley Field has completed his codification of the law of the State of New York, but there is considerable opposition to the adoption of his code. During its discussion before a legislative committee an able lawyer, Mr. Carter, used this language: "What is the common law? Is it contained in an, set? No. Is it in any book reports? No. You will find evidences of it there, but the law is not there. Where is it? It rests in these eternal and immutable principles of justice which were enacted before legislatures ever sat." Whereat brother Cyrus W. Field was inexpressibly shocked. To hint even at the existence of justice was horrifying to a man who has heaped up millions by injustice. So, coming to the defense of brother David, he immediately wrote in his article, the "Mail and Express": "The wildest Pre-Raphaelite never went so far against the texture of his fellow beings as Mr. Carter did against the laws of men in this castsio and lawless language." It is admitted, then, by the Fields that, so far as they, justice is an absurdity, love of principle esceasy and lawlessness, and life a scramble involving no duty but that of trapping on one's fellows. Is not their own confession a severer condemnation of their lives than that visited upon the class to which they belong in Lyneander Spooner's unanswerable pamphlet on "Natural Law"?

A new number of the revolutionary organ, "National Vole," containing nineteen pages of closely printed matter, is at present in circulation in Russia. The leading article, headed "The Present Position of the Party," is devoted chiefly to a review of the results which followed the assassination of a year ago. The article represents the remarks of a man who had promised the Russian peasantry that, if only the discontented element of Russian society was able to insist on and obtain the minimum demands put forward by the executive committee, the necessity of resorting to violent measures might be avoided. He then proceeds to review the position of the various parties in Russia, and arrives at the conclusion that there are no elements to be found in Russian society capable of playing historical part.

The national reformers, he says, have hidden their heads in fear and trepidation, lest they should suffer for the actions of the revolutionary party. Our Conservatives find no other weapons of combat than slander, falsehoods, and denunciations, and cherish the hope that something may remain out of the edifice of clay which they are raising. Our Liberals, taken by surprise, are blustering with confusion, and the whole activity of these sorry creatures consists in plaintively begging for a constitution, and undertaking the same time to be as obedient as before. The article concludes by referring to the programme of the party and the object it has in view—the subversion of the present governmental and social order. This object, the writer asserts, the party will pursue, and to this end it will use every means to terminate the government. As before, men ready to sacrifice their lives will be forthcoming, and our advice is "Victory or Death."
Liberty.

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Benj. R. Tucker, Editor and Publisher.

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BOSTON, MASS., APRIL 15, 1882

"A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties; who is neither blinded by passion, nor disabled by passion, nor deceived by erroneous opinions."—Providence.

Subscribers Take Notice! The next issue of Liberty will not appear until May 13, after which publication will be resumed at regular fortnightly intervals, as heretofore. All subscriptions will be extended to compensate for this interruption.

The Red Cross Fund.

We give below another report of the progress made in collecting contributions for the aid of the Russian sufferers in Siberia. During the month to elapsed before the next issue of Liberty subscriptions to the fund should pour in with redoubled velocity that the friends of Liberty in Europe may have a strong proof of American solidarity with them. Let all give who can.

Receipts to April 11, 1882.

Previously acknowledged
John Murray Forbes, Falls, N. Y. 100
Charles McNeilly, Chelsea, Mass. 25
Napoleon 20
Benjamin Churchill, Chicago 10
T. Dwight Shaw, Fall River, Mass. 10
Chicago Socialists, forwards by Ang. Spies (party unknown) 100
Irvin Paxson, Cambridge, Mass. 10
J. W. Cooper, Cooper, Colorado 50
James P. McClung, Boston 10
Florence Crowley, Boston 10
W. W. Shaw, Boston 10
Phoebe Memorial Lecture Society, Boston (a collection taken for the purpose) 25
Harmon Cowper, Jr., Georgia, Vermont 50
Dr. Simon Palmer, Boston 3
Ho Namm, Philadelphia 2
Nathan Block, Providence, R. I. 20
A. Strange, Providence, R. I. 10
A. Friend, Boston 10
A. Rees 10
Total 223

Remitted to Nicolas Trakman, London.
March 13, Draft for £10, costing 59 50
April 13, Draft for £10, costing 59 50
April 11, On hand 39 50

Total 137 50

The accounts are names of the Providence people who gave seven dollars acknowledged in our last issue:

Wm. Foster, Jr. 10
R. E. J. 20
Louis K. 10
C. Hetsberger 10
Dr. Wm. Bakker 10
Henry Appleton 10

Appended are a few of the letters that have accompanied contributions:

From Cooper, Colorado.

Benj. R. Tucker
Dear Sir,—I enclose one dollar for the Siberian sufferers. I very much wish it were ten or a hundred times as much, but it is all that I feel myself able to spare at this time. I am on the side of the victims of tyrants, and have always been in the front ranks of the reformers. Consequently I have not been engaged in money making. Twenty-eight years ago I saw that traffic in and was elated to write in it. Sixteen years ago I saw that all external government was an illusion of individual right; that government by the State, or of the collective, is based on the assumption that the individual is not capable of self-government. At that time, and at least a few months before I commenced reading Liberty, I was not aware of the fact that I had any symp.

patriots in these views. I had the misfortune (or it was the good fortune) to be brought up on the frontier without any of the advantages of what goes by the name of education. There, most of the time since I came to man's estate, I have been in the wilderness between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Consequently my reading and study have been more or less desultory. As a "kid" of six or seven years I was led, as a religion, to the religious notions taught me in the little log schoolhouse, and ever since then I have been a rebel to authority.

Frenzially yours,
John W. Cooper.

Cooper, Summit Co., Colorado, March 26, 1882.

From Fall River, Mass.

Benj. R. Tucker.

Dear Sir,—I try to do something for the very worthy causes. My direct effort is that I cannot give hundreds of thousands. Poor Siberian exiles! Poor Irish hetero-solitude! How my heart goes out to them! Many human hearts and human purer, are opened unto us. I am glad you are delivering sheidelberg-hammer blows at the infernal systems and governments of the day. I think the signs of a general awakening of the religious nations taught me in the little log schoolhouse, and ever since then I have been a rebel to authority.

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Cooper, Summit Co., Colorado, March 26, 1882.

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From Fall River, Mass.

What We Mean.

Our purpose is the abolition, not only of all existing States, but of the State itself. Is not this a straightforward and well-defined purpose? There can be no mistake of it, and it admits of no equivocation. The least that our enemies can say of us is that we stand in the marketplace of thought, ready to act with a moral and a stern assertion.

And what is the State? It is not a thing that can be especially defined by Russia, Germany, Great Britain, or Massachusetts. The State is a principle, a philosophical error, a social existence. The State is something under the guise of law, order, and morality.

And the State is a mob, posing on unscientific premises. We propose to supplant the mob by that true social order which is pivoted on the sovereignty of the individual, and functions as a check against the abuse of that sovereignty, under the aim of moral and social attraction and selection.

Liberty.

Under this formula we do not, in the best sense of the word, discard government. On the contrary, it is governments that are abolished, not the idea of government, since it delutes Liberty. The State becomes impossible the moment you remove from it the element of compulsion. But it is exactly at this point that government begins. Where the State ceases government begins, and, conversely, where the State begins the government ceases.

We often hear of a wise parent governing his children by love. Did anyone ever hear of a monarch conducting a State by love? Did not the State originate in a desire of love and natural selection as the true motors of government? Was not the very motive of the first rulers of peoples the abolition of government? Were they not desiring conspirators, who saw that, under a system of natural association, there would be universal well-being and a just distribution of national wealth and the rewards of labor? In order to enrich themselves and gratify their vanity and love of power at the expense of others, they took advantage of the superstitions element and creased their thrones under cover of the divinity. Their purpose was to supplant government by force, and their machines they called the State.

Now, wherever force takes the place of natural selection and associative mutualism founded on consent, there a State is inaugurated. It may be in the church; it may be in the political State; it may be in the league, the club, the lyceum, the labor union, or the household. It is the police authority, the police government, because it is by force, thus denying government and substituting despotism.

We assert that delegated authority assumed to be vested in any titled or elected person, not excepting the President of the United States, is, in the very nature of the case, a lie, a fraud, and, moreover, a scientific impossibility, since the individual is the only source of authority, and, even if he would, could not allocate from his personality the control of himself by contract. Hence the President, Senators, Representatives, and persons in authority everywhere as impostors and usurpers, and the constitutions, "vested rights," and other lying parchments under which they claim the right to rule as binding only on such as freely give their consent.

When we state as our purpose, then, the abolition of the State, the reader must not have in view a forcible raid upon the palace of some king, or a military expedition against some declared supporter of the old régime, even though at some later date circumstance should give rise to such incidents in our warfare. What we mean by the abolition of the State is the abolition of a false philosophy, or, rather, the overthrow of a gigantic fraud under which people
consent to be coerced and restrained from mining their own business. The philosophy of Liberty can be applied everywhere, and he who successfully ap-
plies it in his family in the placing of averting Gods, arbitrary codes, and moral standards, and so on, may easily have the satisfaction of abolishing at least one State. When we have substituted our philosophy in place of the old, then the palaces, cathedrals, and arsenals will naturally fall to pieces through neglect, and the trust it is sure to corrupt tenacious and obsolete structures.

We should like to be able to better elucidate our philosophy in a larger and more frequently issued sheet. We do the best that we can in the little space at our command, and not merely shadowing (1), I have read and pondered on this subject more than six times, and the more I study it, the more clearly I see how to assume to be as groundless as the reasoning is fallacious.

Since the publication, the verdict has been rendered by a jury more intelligent apparently than juries average, and what has transpired since that verdict, and not merely shadowing (1), I have read and pondered on this subject more than six times, and the more I study it, the more clearly I see how to assume to be as groundless as the reasoning is fallacious.

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LIBERTY.

THE PSEUDLAND.

In dem Dichterlande. — Schiller.

There clustered in immortal groups are seen
The sacred stages of an age.
With temple laureled with perpetual green,
The rising sun of genius.
And all are brothers, whatever be the tongues
Each may to many shores have wrought,—
Whether the tears of anguish brought
Or violated of ease just sang the thought.

From eighteen Homer odes to Shelley, All
The impulse of a chaste spirit owns,
Fare well here and there some seasons, recurrent Israel
Of low desire, who hymned a deep-throat's
Though sang he 'naad Olympian heroes low in
Years which pass below the walls.
The blind old Greek rufus yet could know
Thus shadowed half his world away.

Amilcare Cipriani.

A paragraph appears in our Italian weekly voice of the facts connected with the recent outrageous sentence of the Italian Anarchist, Amilcare Cipriani, to twenty-five years' imprisonment. That paragraph proving to be erroneous in some important details, we give below a fuller and more accurate account, translated from a letter written from Rome to "I Narratissimo" and signed "Eugenio." You know the sad news. Our Cipriani is condemned to twenty-five years in the galleys. This is the way in which the Italian monarch gets rid of his political enemies. These are the crimes with which Cipriani is charged to convict Cipriani of conspiracy against the internal safety of the State, they instituted this infamous proscription, consisting of the six months before. They undertook the paragraph without conclusive proofs, without honorable witnesses, without a single veracious deposition, so blinded were they by their hatred. It may be well to point some details about the deed for which our friend has been condemned.

At Alexandria in Egypt, on September 13, 1887, at midnight, Cipriani was found on deck of the galleys, which believe, to avoid themselves upon him for having caused their exclusion from a secret society which he had founded.

Cipriani received several wounds before he resolved to sell his life dearly. He ended by putting to flight more or less damaged assailants, less one who lay dead on the spot. The next day it was learned that the deed was an Italian, and that several hundred yards away the bodies of two Arab guards had been found.

By whom were these last killed? That is the mystery which the police endeavor to surround with darkness. They could not have been killed by Cipriani, but more likely by his fellow assailants whom these two Arab policemen presumably tried to arrest.

Cipriani did not trouble himself further about the affair, and has continued his jail life. On September 29, 1887, he learned that the Italian police were on his trail to arrest him. He had been denounced as the murderer of the two guards.

Then he made application to his counsel, who would do nothing for him because he was a deserter from the Italian army.

Cipriani, in fact, after the affair of Apronne, committed himself to the care of the police of the town where he was found, and to have been considerable, he was absolutely innocent of the death of the Arabs.

Where are these accusers? The court declares that they have disappeared, and that it is for Cipriani to find them. But he has been the twenty-second of February he learned through the counsel, not through the court, that his case would be heard the following day. The court, however, investigated a draft done in 1887 and in Egypt: not very good.
The trial lasted two days, during which Cipriani and his lawyers did nothing to influence the process. When the verdict was rendered, a general cry of indignation burst forth throughout the city. The jail where our condemned was held was cast down from a dense crowd of policemen, professors, students, and lawyers, each disputing with the others the privilege of being the first to shake his hand. In the moment the democracy organized a demonstration in which I took part, and which burst forth like a hurricane when Cipriani appeared surrounded by policemen. The cries: "Long live the condemned Cipriani! Long live Fanucchi! O The Commons forever! Verla the Empire well up on every hand."

Upon this inoffensive though misguided individual by so crying an injustice, entirely charged. The whole Italian press protested. All the journals agreed in saying that it was the conspirator, the communist, the friend of Rochefort, at whom the blow was aimed.

Cipriani has appealed. I hope for his honor of my country, that his appeals will be reversed. If not, it will be certain that a part of us, Italian democrats, to take justice into our own hands.

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