On Picket Duty.

The fourth volume of Liberty ended with No. 104. Those desiring bound copies uniform with the preceding volumes can procure them of me at two dollars each, and should send in their orders at once.

It is but a few weeks since Dyer D. Lum expressed his indignation in this paper because I accused him of sometimes arraying himself in favor of authority. Since then he has given his change of heart. In an article in the "Catholic World" for August he declares that to avoid Communism and State Socialism "two methods remain,—either to return to the moralization of capital by just laws, associating duties with rights, or proceed Napagardow by an indefinite extension of liberty, proclaim the gospel of selfish individualism and social anarchy." By these words Mr. Lum plainly asserts that perfect liberty is a plunge over Niagara. If the editor of the "Catholic World" has put words in Mr. Lum's mouth that he never uttered, Mr. Lum should promptly expose him. But if the words are really Mr. Lum's, he needs much severer criticism than that with which he so recently complained.

In a speech before the New York Anti-Poverty Society on July 21 Dr. McGlyn quoted the advice of Jesus to the young man, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," and added: "Now, those who accept Jesus of Nazareth as their Lord and Master ... can not dispute His word that tells us it is more perfect not to possess individual wealth, but to sell all that we have and give to the poor." If this is the case, what becomes of the free competition and the wage-system in which George Pretends to believe? What becomes of McGlyn's talk only two weeks later, to the effect that he wanted no foreign Socialism, no Commune, no special individualism. On the other hand, if the economic teaching of George and McGlyn is to be accepted, what becomes of Jesus's advice, and what of George's claim that the land-tax movement is a restoration of the Christian religion? Of two things one: either these men are possessed of no logical faculty, and so lend their rhetorical faculty to the presentation of the first thought that comes to their minds; or else they are selling under false colors in order to win support from all classes. In either case it is unsafe to place any confidence in them as public teachers.

In the death of Kattoff, the Russian journalist who for years has been so zealous a champion of the Czar's absolutist policy, finding is even too mild, the revolution of the nineteenth century losses one of its most notoriously bitter enemies. Everyone one who appreciates the importance of perfect social conditions must regard such men as Kattoff as obstacles to progress, and consequently must put on mourning when they die. Though I have never placed a high estimate on the character of Henri Rochefort's Socialism (admirably only the brilliancy and vigor with which he has attacked its enemies), I scarcely expected that he would ever cease to preside over his patriation above it. But he has done so. When Kattoff died, Rochefort's Journal joined with the rest of the press of France in a most exaggerated tribute of praise, simply because Kattoff hated Germany and had warmly advocated a Russo-French alliance against that country. And when Kroptkine wrote him a letter of protest, reminding him that his friendship for more than a score of years had been a single honest movement in Russia, not a single man or journal of the slightest liberality, of which Kattoff had not been a deadly enemy, Rochefort printed but one or two extracts, and in a leader declared that Frenchmen and their revolutionaries, must see in Kattoff, not the pitiless foe of the revolution, but the enemy of Bismarck. The famous pamphleteer's attitude in this matter suffers by contrast with that of Henri Rochefort's staff, Benoist Molon, who blames Kattoff for the persecution of Tchernovitchevsky, and says, after summing up his evil career: "In the exorable reaction; he was not one of us. Let the dead bury their dead."

Land Occupancy and its Conditions.

To the Editor of Liberty.

Your reply of July 10, 1887, to my letter is not at all satisfactory to me. I cannot with my best endeavors harmonize your interpretation that the refusal to take possession of the money of the monopoly and the refusal of protection to all land titles except those of occupiers would . . . reduce this evil to a par with the frequent renewal of a monopoly (the italics are mine), with your opposition to all government. The natural inference of your statement is that the land hoarder will be protected against what is to give this protection? Who is to wield this authority? As regards the application of authority, I can see a distinction in degree only, not in principle, between the two, an unwritten agreement of an uncontrolled tribe to exterminate the thief and wrong-doer and the despotic government of a tyrranical state. Without authority of some kind rights cannot exist. The right of unprovided possession, called absenteeism, is necessarily the inevitable result of an agreement, by which all others not only abstain from taking possession, but even give assistance, socially or physically, should anyone trespass this agreement. But just therein consists the authority which the strength of the weak, or the many over the few. In my opinion there can be no objection to such agreements, or laws, when they are strictly based upon equity,—say, they are the necessary basis of order and civilization for a country or a government. Only when they favor one class at the expense of another, when they are inequitable, can they become the instrument of oppression, and no one man will and ought to. Very many advantage to support such laws by fair or unfair means, most frequently by making use of the ignorance and superstition of the masses, who are known to fly to arms and shed their blood even for the most tyrannical dictator.

I understand you to favor the ownership of land based upon occupancy. You believe that under absolute individual freedom all men will abstain from disturbing the occupier of land in his possession. To this view I take exception. The choice spots will be coveted by others, and it is not human nature to relinquish any advantage without a sufficient cause. If you say, the occupiers of these choice spots should be left undisturbed, possession without paying an equivalent for so special advantage they enjoy, you will find many of contrary opinion who must be coerced to this agreement. Egoism, when coupled with the knowledge that inability more or less inevitably lead to revolution, will accept as a most equitable condition that in which the recipient of the necessity protection pays to the protectors the value of the right of undisturbed possession; in which he returns to those who agree to abandon to him a special natural or local advantage its full value —i.e., the unrestricted and absolute use of land as a compensation for the grant of the right of ownership.

The defense of the occupying ownership of land seems to me to be a par with the monopoly remonstrances that everybody has an equal right to hold a bank, an insurance company, a retail store. An equitable relation will be prevented by the natural limitation of land in use, by the artificial limitation of the medium of exchange in use, unless he means to deny the right of the individual to become a banker. A more pertinent analogy would be a comparison of the George scheme for the collection of rent with a system of individual banking of which the State should collect the profits. — Environ Liberty.
COST THE LIMIT OF PRICE

A Scientific Measure of Honesty in Trade as One of the Fundamental Principles in the Solution of the Social Problem.

Part Second.

For liberty.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

106. It is now calumnia for any person to be thrown out of his particular occupation for several reasons, all of which either relate directly to the operations of the Value Principle, or indirectly to it, through the general want of the Adoption of this Principle.

107. The principal of these are: (1) Because, when one avenue to industry is closed to a man, he finds another which he can pursue with equal effect and security; because this is the natural tendency of all men, it is impossible that they can be driven to ruin by the mere fact that they cannot be put to their chosen occupation.

108. It is not so, however, when the man has no other means of support, and when the nature of the occupation he pursued is such as to absolutely depend upon that which he has lost, and when the value of his skill is such that he can find no other like employment to maintain himself.

109. It is impossible for the laborer to pass rapidly and harmoniously from one occupation to another, and from the necessity of the immediate benefit of the saving secured by the machinist, by capital, and all the others again from profit-making, or the operation of the Value Principle and tending to lower the standard of competition, even in the present order of things, is productive of far more good than evil, looking to the aggregate and the long run, while it is ruinous and disastrous to individuals and indubitably invalidates the new order both will become purely harmonious and beneficent. (206, 207).

110. This catalogue of the desirable results of the false principle of trade must not be understood to mean that what is the ultimate result of this work will allow. The reader will add, for himself, the monopolizing of natural wealth, the perversion of skill to the shamming and adulteration of every article, and the procuring of monopolies, and the selling of goods at fraudulent and cheating prices, of the greater want of economy in the production of wealth, the cost of envenoming and punishing criminals, constructing poor-houses and prisons, and anything else which is conducive to the improvement of the human race.

111. This is the practical reverse of what the Cost Principle reverses every one of the consequences which I have pointed out or intimated as the legitimate results of the principle which now governs the property relations of individuals. We shall return to the consideration of the results of the true principle.

CHAPTER V.

MENIAL LABOR RAISED IN PRICE.

112. The next result of the Cost Principle is one which is not less diverse from the operations of existing commerce or society, although its essential justice may to many minds be more obvious,—namely, that according to the more ordered conditions of society there would be no menial labor to exist.

113. The fact that all menial labor is paid on a lower scale than all other labor, because there would be a provisory adjustment of the supply to the demand, and, if it did occur, the remedy would be immediate, because all avenues to all pursuits and occupations would be open, and the general want of the adoption of the Value Principle and the general nature of the present order of things will call for a change immediately.

114. This result is qualified by the statement that such labor is usually paid best, because it is not always so. Severe mental labor may be more toilsome, painful, and distressing than some menial labor, and yet it may be more perfectly paid for, simply because it has been done.

115. The point will be more fully stated hereafter, in referring to the tax of different occupations upon different faculties. Besides, very little judgment can be formed from the present facts, because the rate of labor has been so low and the price of labor so cheap that the very fact will be more or less concealed by the effect produced by the increased wages paid on the latter, while the former is still the most scantly paid. Consequently the more work: or burden there is in any occupation, the less pay. There is such an obvious want of equity in this that the mere statement of the fact condemns it. Yet the common assertion that men and women are not now prepared to avail themselves of this. This unpreparedness results from their wretchedly cramped and insufficient educational industry. This results again from speculation. Men now strive, on all hands, to monopolize those occupations which are most profitable, and hence to exclude others from acquiring the necessary knowledge to enable them to enter the trade. Hence there results from the value or profit-making principle a general embargo on knowledge, and the reduction of individuals to narrowness of information and general ignorance. Information in any trade or occupation is made a means of speculation. Hence the barbarous system of seven years' apprenticeship, which is a simple instance of the community will be a man or a woman, competent to do various things,—not a mere appendage to a trade, carrying from the cradle to the grave the badge of servitude in the degrading appellation of tailor, weaver, shoemaker, joiner, and the like. Now, shops are fenced in, locked and bolted, to keep out intruders and shut up the information contained in the trade, and the power of the system is founded on Value. Men who have knowledge of any kind hold it. They look, unaptly, naturally upon those who would learn of them as if they were enemies. As the result, the avenues to all occupations are obstructed by artificial obstacles. Then Information of all sorts will be freely given to all. Suggestions will be made on all hands, pointing to every one to enter that career in which he can make the best. But there is no one who will take the trouble to give information to every occupation will be thrown completely open to all, and all knowledge and freedom will be secured and be taken within the circle of the labor of communicating it, measured, like any labor, by its remuneration only.

116. The Value Principle renders the invention of new machinery a wide- spread and universal principle. Laboring men to new inventions is not without reason. It is certainly true that machinery is a great benefit to mankind at large, that it is the aggregate and the augmentation of human industry, and that it is absolutely and equally true, on the other hand, that every labor-saving process is, under the present arrangements of society, an evil. Individual misfortune, and from the necessity of the instant cost of labor, can be the direct cause of the loss of many valuable ideas, the loss of many valuable classes. This result comes from the case stated above, which renders it impossible for the laborer to pass rapidly and harmoniously from one occupation to another, and from the necessity of the immediate benefit of the saving secured by the machine, by capital, and all the others again from profit-making, or the operation of the Value Principle and tending to lower the standard of competition, even in the present order of things, is productive of far more good than evil, looking to the aggregate and the long run, while it is ruinous and disastrous to individuals and indubitably invalidates the new order both will become purely harmonious and beneficent. (206, 207).

It must suffice here to affirm that out of these several consequences of the operation of the Value Principle, the most evident, the most obvious, and the most practical is, that it would be productive of far more good than evil, looking to the aggregate and the long run, while it is ruinous and disastrous to individuals and indubitably invalidates the new order both will become purely harmonious and beneficent. (206, 207).
IRELAND!
By GEO-GE SARTON.

Translated from the French for Liberty by Sarah E. Holmes.

Continued from No. 160.

Languishing melodies, just whispered, took wing in the darkness; they were interrupted by interludes at the end of a phrase and the doors of certain prisons—where if some sentinel had fixed his ear to the door of the dungeon, the sadness of a sigh, the despair of a sob. Such was the air of the prison, the atmosphere of death.

Treas, in truth, who had been among the first to fall, fainting, on the battle-field, among the dead and dying, under the avalanches of blows from the blind soldiers—had been in the field, but suffering from a considerable loss of blood, was ignorant of Marian's fate.

Vainly had he questioned on the subject the soldiers who daily brought him his piece of bread and had his garter of his trousers, that took sufficient pity on his misery to deign to open their teeth; and thinking that, if the dear child had escaped the hecatomb, she would be roaming in the vicinity of Cuman-Park to endeavor to come to his assistance, he searched for her everywhere when all soldiery, and when the steps of the bemused soldiers resounded no more on the ground hardening already with the gore of his name of his grandson, but without finding any other response than that of the silence of the tomb.

So, when one of his guards, appearing at last to become more human, he met him, he said more directly that, after his death, one day, at once that with his violin a call could doubtless be made to reach her, who evidently was not wandering about in the darkness. He would play in full daylight and not only would she learn in that way of his existence, of which she perhaps despaired, but she could talk with her, so much like speech were the phrases on the magic instrument modulated.

But what a cruel jest to a prisoner to aspire to the possession of this violin to charm his captivity, from which they would probably take, some morning or far off, to lead him through the mist to the foot of a scaffold, where they would put his end to their taste, in the sight of the public?

But suddenly one of the soldiers, a rough fellow, who watched over him after the fight, came to tell him that, in a conversation, insinuatingly, the care and well-being, who showed a filial attention to the old man and declared him chosen by Lady Ellen to alleviate the confinement of the Irishman.

The name of Treas as Treas believed her. She crowded him for the sake of the conqueror, but only so far as they revolved, lifted their heads again, and showed themselves dangerous. She considered it necessary to engage in a reproach which involved and found in Sir Bradwell on account of his rage for cruelty on the battle-field, and this was the motive which now made her compassionate.

She considered that the doors of the jail, but she thought it intolerable to accumulate torments there, to make the old man suffer from hunger, from the exhalation from the walls, from the embryo closing from these tombs. She considered, then, little by little, that she could not sustain him; she refused every addition, however modest, to his repeal; he had bravely resisted to the end, with the intrinsic of the rising dampnesses, but from the lack of news of his brothers in arms, of his grandson. Was she dead, a prisoner? Were the others conquered? Was the rebellion lost?

Ah! It was nearly all up with the insurrection, alas! but after the defeat and the dispersion of the French field, he foresaw it. There remained the question of the Marquess of Down, possessed of Ireland.

He professed to make inquiries, but could get no information anywhere, even among the few peasants who had escaped the corpses; and when the troops were drawn, the old man was met all the other news of the road. It was certain that his violin could procure him any information about his grandson, and he did not escape him with a violin as a captured soldier to sell the joy of his jakers to favor of obtaining the instrument.

At first the Duchess made an ostensible opposition to this request so contrary to the desire of the principal, in order to gratify then she changed her mind and gave the required authorization, planning her course if the Duke, then absent, should be angry on his return. But how could the violin, now that they thought of the question of the instrument? The wind ashes itself, and its melody has invaded powder which the wind must have scattered to all points of the compass?

By a miracle, which often occurs in the most frightful storms, William Bloch, the soldier of the Duke, was heard to ask the wind to let himself in, and, however, he published in its scorching box, touched only in places by the flames. An intelligent soldier, provided with a piece of plaster, taking a sufficient exuviae, had preserved it from rain and disaster. And so soon as it was given to him, without an instant's delay, the distracted grandfather, with a bow on which was

stretched his soul, made the vessel weed which he humanized forth with his gift, in his friendship, and his way to Marian to inform the prisoner if she, his beloved darling, still lived.

In the meantime, he stepped, full of dread, wishing to break the violin, even grasping the bow in his knotty fingers, as if to break it in pieces as his accomplices in a fatal impulse to which Marian, thus summoned, betraying her presence in the hall, he was waiting.

Evidently, if she still lived and was concealing herself, it was from Sir Bradwell, from her dreadful lover who was capable of the most revolting brutalities. When the Duke had again repeated it, the pasteur would be stated elsewhere, and, as an approximation, it is believed that it is not very far from correct. The reason why this two hours of labor is now augmented to four, is not explained. The performed labor, to avoid labor, and as such has been referred to the labor of the last. It is, in other words, by the state of society begotten of that principle it is said, as has been affirmed, a state of slavery which proves that it was brought to him with the utmost satisfaction of the establishments of the officials, and, worse than all, which his labor is now misapplied and wasted through the general antagons in conflict of interests. Let any thinking person take the trouble, for an evening, he can still be the subject of the twenty newspapers, each urging him to the purchase of the same newspapers; let him reflect that all the passengers present might have been as well served by one boy, and that this waste of human exertion is easily one sample out of thousands of a general or pervading system of the bestowment of labor to no useful purpose.

To be continued.
Liberty.

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BOSTON, MASS., AUGUST 27, 1867.

"In abolishing rest and interest, the last relics of obsolete rtency, the formulationaille at once the seed of the cur

In this week's Liberty, the club of the politeracy, the go

tionalism, the chauvinistic of the department clerk, all these inimical to Politie, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROVOCATION.

Ed: The appearance in the editorial column of articles too other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editors approve our central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles written by other signatures indicates that he disapproves them in no respect, such disposition of them being governed hourly by motives of convenience.

Education at the Land and Labor Club.

The manifest determination of Henry George to avoid discussion with all who make other than absurd objections to his land theory descends from master to disciples, of which fact striking evidence has lately been seen in this city. For several months Boston has had a Land and Labor Club, consisting of the followers of Henry George and those who fancy them selves such. It has been so energetic in its propaganda as to receive the stamp of approbation from the "Standard." Every Friday night it holds a meeting, to which the writer has been permitted to attend and to listen. The members were seated in the rostrum, the door was closed, and the door, at the slate, the key to come in. In early in the Club's career it was given out in the columns of the newspapers that the purpose of the weekly meeting was educational and that discussion of the George theory would be in order.

As time went on, however, increasing complaints were heard that any disposition to advance arguments against the taxation of land values was met in no spirit of hospitality, and so it happened that on the night of Friday, August 28, 1868, Mr. George and Mr. Comrade A. H. Simpson (who has lately changed his residence from Chicago to Boston), and myself paid our first visit to the Club to see if the complaints were well-founded. Our visit was made under the condition that they were not, for, after the dispatch of the usual preliminary business, I was to move, in the president's call for an address, that Mr. Yarros be asked to speak to the Club for fifteen minutes, and the motion was carried. But the idea had never been faced the audience when the first symptom of caution was manifested. A member rose devoutly and remarked that he supposed Mr. Yarros understood that the George land theory was the only subject for discussion, and that all speeches must be affirmative or negative thereof. There was every indication of an immediate hubbub over this point, but Mr. Yarros headed it off, and relieved the anxious audience by announcing that he intended to speak solely upon the George theory and in opposition to his principles, and that if he was perfectly cool and dispassionate manner, he proceeded to develop some of the unanswerable objections to the land tax which he and others have repeatedly urged in Liberty. When his time expired, he had made a very effective speech. The time was then called for an encore. From an occurrences he was a censured, and, furthermore, to the discussion, inasmuch as he continued himself with simply reasserting the George doctrines, in beliefful ignorance of the breach that had just been made in it. His remarks, however, breathed a spirit of tolerance.

He was followed by Mr. Simpson, who tried to keep the debate from becoming desultory by pointing out the spots where Mr. Yarros' arguments had taken ef

Liberty the Mother of Order.

"If God did not exist, it would be necessary to create him," said Voltaire; and Bakouine, than whom you never had a stronger assiduous, vehemently declared in answer that, if God existed, it would be necessary to destroy him. (4 friends, the moralists, not satisfied with existing realities, not trusting in the living forces of human nature, of democratic, out of nothing, a variety of things which they deem indispensable to the maintenance of society. "Reason and spontaneous inclination are treacherous guides: let us proceed to create a "conscience," a "sentiment of justice," an obligation of love of duty.

Though the above discussion of the land tax by the Club was a splendid example of what Georgeans can do, it was not a great one. The Club was not yet a member, the Club having neglected to vote him in, though he had complied with the other conditions of membership weeks before. Again there was no motion before the Club. Mr. George had removed his name from the list when it was seconded by a fully qualified member in good standing, but in a feeble, tearful sort of way, and with a long explanation which I could not understand. A discussion ensued. One gentleman desired to know whether the right or second was to vote. The presidential informed him that it was a meeting of the Land and Labor Club, to which the public were invited. The gentleman could not see the propriety of inviting the public and then insisting that they should hold their tongues. The question was referred to a committee, the assembly adjourned, and the assembly was punctuated.

We left the hall satisfied that we had gone as far as we could to in the course of education offered to the public by the Land and Labor Club.
individuals and preaching the sacrifice of personal happiness for the sake of others. They are reproaching the same old refrain of man, being created for the service and glory of God. And as the love of God means the hatred of men, and as the service of any "causes" whatever for any other reason than personal satisfaction derives its justification from the odium of mysticism, religious lunacy, and mental paralysis, no one championing liberty and individual sovereignty can for a moment hesitate in the matter of rejecting with unqualified contempt and abhorrence any sentiment or idea of cooperation, in order to maintain its broad and rational sense, or egoism. Society exists for the individual and in the interest of the individual. "Man only knows," the better for him! He certainly would "take his part like a lion, if his pleasures were not his own." But his pleasure being only on condition of suffering the others to pursue their pleasure, and as he gradually learns to appreciate the invaluable aid that cooperation with others can render him in increasing and multiplying and intensifying his own pleasures, he enters society and surrenderers, as Stirner would say, part of his freedom for the sake of possessions.

This view inevitably leads to despotism and government. It is by man, by a single voice and to a single eye only, that all the present political institutions of the world are in some manner or other sought to be "proved" that the ethical views of Hobbes and Spinoza practically sanction coercion and arbitrary regulation; but he consciously failed to furnish any support for his assertions. It is true that both Hobbes and Spinoza united in their system, of rejecting everything that, excepting religious fanaticism and Salvationists, who recognize exclusively the authority of Jesus, all students of social problems, if they are unfamilier with the Anarchistic philosophy, are bound to adopt some form of socialism, and the views just set out are not the only ones which they held. But they are all entirely inadequate and impotent. They have not produced and cannot produce permanent security, peace, and harmony. Anarchism appears largely (though not wholly, for it is also the logical outgrowth of industrialism) as a result of these "successive ill-adjustments. It shows no inherent weakness to reside in the clearest of compulsion, which invariably stimulates the rebellious propensities of men. It shows the only way to order in the world is the order of liberty, in voluntary union of intelligent and self-conscious Egotists, and in the determination to give each member of society his due. Anarchy, then, creates order without either blinding men by passion and prejudice or oppressing them by oppression. It recognizes the contradiction between the "course of poor nature — whereby as she grows in beauty — that her files must massacre each other" and the universal desirability of social life by making Self-Interest the foundation of Justice.

Whether, therefore, an Egotist will favor government or liberty simply depends upon his knowing or not knowing the doctrines and methods of Anarchism.

**Vaxos.**

"Every tax," says the Providence "People," "is in the nature of a tax to discourage industry, for labor has to pay it. Is it in order to discourage industry, then, that the "People" advocates the taxation of lands value?"

**Norns de Plume.**

**To the Editor of Liberty:**

Miss Kelly's letter in No. 106, warning antipathy to none of persons or places there is no language in the English language written in this way. The spirit of corps, a congenial disposition, arrays with me. Having deliberately chosen to use a "noms de plume," I do not perceive the necessity for actually abandoning it at the suggestion of an opponent of such a name of none de plume; this both for my own more immediate reasons and in solidarity with others in like case: a mildly which I count among my instincts or characteristics. My articles are argumentative. The signature can make no difference.

**Tak Tan.**

**Mr. Kelly Transfers His Subscription.**

To the Editor of Liberty:

It will probably make no difference to you, and it will obligue me, if you can transfer my subscription, which I have just transferred from Liberty to the "Prosperous Labour." A single copy of Liberty will be sufficient for me in future, as I cannot order single numbers, and I will return the rest, entirely by it, and a distributor is in effect a second publisher. I am sorry to have to contradict your statement of the Cliff- ford incident. When that article appeared, I sent you the extract from Clifford, stating that it expressed my views better than I could myself. You wrote in reply that articles were not fit for publication, and virtually offering to publish it if I wished. My reply was that, whilst I meant it more especially for your personal information, I should be glad to have it published if you could find space.

I have to complain, also, of misrepresentation in regard to that incident from Spinoza in the last number of Liberty. In my discussion with Tak K. I asserted and sought to prove that such ethical views as those of Hobbes led inevitably to despotism and government, and I think that if my discussion were the same, and your citations from the latter are published in such a way as to imply that he was one of the stoutest defenders of liberty, and that I had not shown, by consequence my argument was defective. Yet you must know that Spinoza based on his denial of a natural right an argument for the necessity of the State. Of course, however, according to your present philosophy, I am no reason you should misrepresent when you find it to your "advantage." so do so.

If I were to meet Mr. Kelly in the spirit in which he appeals me, I should suggest to him that his words, — "published in such a way," etc. — when considered in connection with the facts and with his ethics, indicate that he misrepresents when he finds it "advantage" to do so. But I make no complaint because it will take a great deal to convince me that Mr. Kelly is ever deliberately unfair. Perhaps this is the most appropriate place to state that, since the appearance of Miss Kelly's article in the last number, she has sent me two letters in which she has sought an apology for the contribution to Liberty's columns. In this article is one or two references which would turn a "sane" light on Tak K.'s identity and are therefore inadmissible and improper. I have objected to them and omitted a couple of paragraphs. Miss Kelly has declined to omit them. Accordingly I have rejected the article. Barring an essay on "State Aid to Science" which she sent me some months ago and which I still have her permission to print. Henceforth I have no desire for Liberty, unless, as I hope, she may eventually exercise that privilege which some regard as peculiar a woman's, of changing one's mind.—EDITOR LIBERTY.

**A Criticism on "Taxation or Free Trade."**

To the Editor of Liberty:

Free trade does not mean the abolition of taxation. The world trade used in this country is a matter of commodities. Free trade means the removal of all arbitrary restrictions from this exchange, and the abolition of those forms of legislation which are intended as well as to trade, and which all impede it. That Free Trade means the removal of politics from the field of industry is scarcely a difficult point. The inauguration of a political connection with foreign countries is the one function which will undeniably result in this removal and elevate politics from a trade into a science. Putting Mr. Kelly's theory together, viz., that "Free trade means the abolition of taxation" and "the removal of politics from the field of industry," we easily arrive at the conclusion that he means free trade as a trade (or a particular branch of trade in which he considers politicians to be engaged in the tending of taxes.

Considering his next sentence, "In a word, free trade is but another name for Anarchy," the word "Anarchy" meaning "no ruler" or "the abolition of government," we are forced to the conclusion that Mr. Kelly considers the sole function of the governing or political trade to be tax, and that to tax is to govern.

Mr. Kelly is either really ignorant as to the merits of this investigation, or only pretending to be so. He is either a search after or a perverter of the truth. He is either a knave or a fool. He is either a child who honestly but miserably carried a false flag, or he is a knave who is arguing in the interest of a class under the name of Protectionists, well knowing that it is in reality Free Traders. In short, I mistrust any one who calls himself a lawyer, who is in no way particular as to whether he prosecutes an honest man, or who defends a thief provided he receives his fee.

Mr. George proposes to attain free trade, not "through politics," as stated by Mr. Kelly, but through government, relying upon unbridled suffrage, universal suffrage, unless mankind suffrage is found to be unequal to the task.

Mr. Kelly quotes Mr. George as saying that "workmen are right in supporting any measure that will raise wages." From the context the inference is evident to the fullest capacity that he means legitimate measure, yet no aukus in Mr. Kelly to make a case against him that he says (page 6) "as an individual murder may result in an increase of George, to be correct, and such murder." No wonder Mr. George considers such puerile arguments beneath his notice. He used the word "murder," according to Mr. Toller.

Davenport, Iowa.

"[It is encouraging to find at least one follower of George who is not afraid of discussion. Mr. Toller's singularity in this respect is almost enough to entitle him to attention, even if his arguments are not very sound. In conclusion I hope that Mr. Kelly will reply to me.—EDITOR LIBERTY.]

**Nothing If Not Ecclectic.**

[Workmen's Advocate.]

We understand that at a meeting of the "giant intelligents" at the room of the Liberal League, New York, Mr. T. B. Wake- man said that he was an evolutionary republican positivist, with Socialist tendencies, still believing in the fundamental principles of Anarchist, or individualism.
About Abolishing the State.

our missionary, who had set himself to the task of casting out all the devils he imagined he could see, had not the least idea that "Lunatics" was putting him to his traps as a Christian man and making full believer of the Lord Jesus. What was the trouble, — with himself? He was feb'd a bit strange, as he said. Certameenly true followers hold him up to the snail of a believer. He must keep him in his seat, in Hades,—the abolition of the State. No matter what Christ taught. If Christ had anything to say on that topic, it was Christ. It was Christ. And there are no "Caesars." And they were even more on the stump, they should consider it absolutely, in accord with reason and good sense! Shifting his position a little so as to confound "Lunatic" with a more determined almighty, he would be able to tell us: "The defence of the monstrous doctrine of No-Statesman. But "Lunatic" was before him.

I. "You said the idea of Christ was to build up the kingdom of God within man.

M. "Absolutely.

II. "Then, an definite statement, you would say that the kingdom of God was not within man.

M. "Precisely.

III. "The true man is he who has arrived at that development where he is a law for himself.

M. "And so has abolished the State.

IV. "For himself, certainly, in one sense. That is, he needs no coercion to perform his act to right. He does so freely. But, as there are so many others who have not reached this voluntary government, who continually put our lives and property in peril, why, this man who needs not the outer law for himself is bound to support it and enforce it upon others. Hence the law shall raise it without compensation to any size you desire advisable.

V. "We believe in self-defense.

VI. "I see it. But I noticed, when a boy, that the youth who would not fight on principle would not fight at all. That is, he who wore a rope around his neck. He must have been advised to do so. I have been left, respected him, saying: "He's not our kind." Of course, he gave them no cause o exception. But he was gay and as full of sport as any.

VII. "That is the government. But when a people is not up to it, there is no use affecting it. Hamilton's advice, "afflict a virtue if you have it not," was not good for general use. I don't believe in hypocrisy.

VIII. "Certainly not. You say "No?" as though you thought I did.

IX. "I don't think you do consciously; and yet, if you examine yourself thoroughly, do you find that you do not? Do you find any government, any government, in the world do you think you see fighting that needs to be done? Why change the phrase a little and sing: "No peace on earth until we are up to it?"

X. "Oh, well, you know what I mean. I feel the world as it is, and try in a practical way to make a choice of the time holding up the ideal as the end to be accomplished, and so on. You agree also that it is proper to do all in your power to bring that ideal down out of the clouds and make it a practical, everyday reality?

XI. "Well, then, you believe with me in the abolition of the State?"

XII. "Yes it will. Why?"

XIII. "In what ways are you now doing this?"

XIV. "In the general way of trying to better the outward conditions of men and thus bring about the proper development of the religion of God. As I keep saying, we can abolish the State by outgrowing it. When we don't need it, that ends the matter. But let me say here that I am using the term in the limited sense you have given it to, —namely, the sense of putting an end to its own existence as well as to the intemperance of all common or public affairs. And government does not necessarily exclude the idea of freedom for all.

XV. "You do not quote what I think. I do not think the idea millennium or impossible as you seem to do. I think the age of force is to pass away. I do not say immediately, in the twinkling of an eye. You and I will not see the very word of self-registered liberty. The only natural society, its evolution into a free society where all acts are voluntary, or, to be more precise, where conduct is induced by right reason and full regard for the right of each and all to be free and progress, will be the result of how many thousands of years of a new climbingangkan of how many thousands of years. But this much we all may and should aim at doing: we may strive to be true to our ideal; to make our conduct square with it as nearly as possible. In the light of this ideal we judge

The Land and Labor Party of California.

Your readers may be instructed, if not amused, by an item from the meposel of the Pa- "M. 1872. lere, of the following: "The practice of laboring on all the "lame" things and hリフォငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငငincer
The Reasons Why.

I am no Epicure. I recognize the authority save that of my own reason. I regulate my life and my relations with the outside world in accordance with my understanding and natural instincts. My sense of justice is also to be found in my own habits. I seek to avoid all pain and to gratify all my normal desires.

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