Two Reformers Contrasted.

Many good people, and especially radicals, are in the habit of reverently looking back to Martin Luther as their intellectual ancestor, a habit which the recent floods of adulation poured out in honor of that much outraged man has probably done not a little to confirm. To all such, Luther, intransigent upon the question of the formalism of Pope and Monarch," furnishes a startling eye-opener as to the true character of the "Father of Protestantism."

"The Protestant bourgeoisie is rejoicing. For several months it has been getting ready for processions, conclaves, and meetings. With a triumphant air it enters upon Luther and Manner," furnishes a startling eye-opener as to the true character of the "Father of Protestantism.""

Just as Luther is the representative of the bourgeois revolutions, Thomas Muster is the representative of the socialistic aspirations of the peasants. "In him were concentrated," says his historian, "those elements of vitality which always seem to the people, magisterial expression and personalistic needs of the needs. Powerful, energetic, ardent, endowed with rude and savage eloquence, illuminated by a profound and inspired look, he fished himself called in all the political battles of his being to carry on through the masses the cherished plans of his heart and mind."

"The desire for the desire for equality, Muster traveled through the country, lighting everywhere the flame which he poured on. He was to be seen by crowds in the churches, in cottages, in public squares, with the old like canary in the marshall, thundering to-day against the oppressors of the weak, to-morrow describing in words of fire the era of freedom and equality which he heralded."

"We are all brothers," he cried to the people, eager to hear; "whence comes, then, this distinction in rank and fortunes which tyranny has imposed upon the people of the world? Why should we groan in poverty and be overwhelmed by evil, while they swim in delights? Have we not a right to the equality of the goods which their taxes are made to be shared without distinction among all men? Restore to us, rich men of the century, greedy usurers, restore to us the goods which you held back with such avarice; it is only justice, not only to those who have a right to an equal distribution of the advantages of fortune, is it as Christians?"

The effect produced by these words was marvellous. Germany was immediately agitated by a secret ferment of which the centre was at Oldstadt, where Muster lived.

The lords, dukes, and bishops began to think of taking measures against the terrible events which were preparing. At first they parleyed, trying to gain time in order to gather a sufficient force. Luther, for his part, by his voice and pen, urged them to begin to get excited in their confidence. They demolished churches, burnt monasteries, assuaging themselves by humiliations of all kinds. They were seen in the rear of the army dressed in rusted garments and bearing no arms.

These manifestations, which kept increasing, inspired Luther, who did not understand them, a terrible fright. The great man was even guilty of the infamy of pointing out Muster to the court of France as one of the most dangerous of men who should be pursued everywhere like a wild beast.

Muster did not lose courage. To gather all his forces at a single point as well as add still further to the moral intensity of the partisans of equality, he issued a manifesto couched in ardent and violent terms.

"Fear nothing," he said to the peasants in conclusion; "be not as you fall back you are lost, you, your wives, and your children. Let those who fear death remain behind. A thousand men resolved to die are stronger than the fifty thousand wavering men. If you do not come out victorious from the struggle, unhappy will it be for you and your descendants! If you were scarce after, before you will be the crowds, by thousands, and make them march in the rear of the army dressed in rusted garments and bearing no arms.

Then, during the next few days, he added:

"Never listen to the voice of those men who prove to you by the Gospel that you have the right to be free and end by the authority of your trade, by the authority of your trade.

The result was that there were always half men who, through fear to die, prefer to make themselves unworthy to live."

"A people which is not free is not Christian!"

"Be free; then we may be Christians to live according to the law of God."

(Continued on fourth page.)
Liberty.

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"A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties; a slave is neither to think nor to work, nor hindered or driven by oppression, nor deceived by erroneous opinions." — Proudhon.

To Our Readers.

The long delay in the appearance of this issue of Liberty, and the long intervals which will elapsed between the issues for a number of months to come, render an explanation necessary. We are constantly in receipt of urgent appeals from our subscribers to enlarge Liberty's publication. It is weekly. There is nothing that we are more anxious to do. With the help of our readers we can do it. How much help we can count on, how many sacrifices the people who write to us are ready to make to secure the end they desire, we proceed to find out. Accordingly we have put in operation a plan which, if sustained promptly and heartily and generously by those who are to be invited to aid in its execution, will speedily result in making Liberty a twelve-page weekly.

Those to whom we intend to appeal will soon hear from us privately. To the prosecution of this purpose and to the payment of debts already incurred we must for the present bend nearly all our energies, and consequently, until further notice, Liberty will appear not oftener than once in two months. If successful, however, its place and work will be renewed with renewed energy. If we fail, we shall nevertheless be able some months hence — perhaps four or five, perhaps eight or ten — to resume fortnightly publication. In any event, Liberty will live, do its work, and prevail.

Proudhon Viewed by a Ph.D.

It is becoming the fashion in these days for the parsons who are hired, either directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, by the plutocrats, and for the professors, who are hired, either directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, to educate the sons of the plutocrats to continue in the transgressions of their fathers,— it is becoming the fashion for these to preach sermons, deliver lectures, or write books on socialism, communism, anarchism, and the various other phases of the modern labor movement. So general, indeed, has become the practice that any one of them who has not done something in this line begins to feel a vague sense of delinquency in the discharge of his obligations to his employer, and consequently scours a week passes that does not inflect upon a suffering public from these gentlemen some fresh clerical or professorial analysis, classification, interpretation, and explanation of the ominous overhanging social clouds which conceal the thunderbolt that, unless the light of Liberty and Equity dissipates them in time, is to destroy their masters' houses.

The attitudes assumed are so various as the authors are numerous. Some are as lowering as the clouds themselves; others as beaming as the noonday sun. One would annihilate with the violence of his denunciation; another would melt with the milder words of his flattery; they would all converge on the same object; they would all bear the same signature: "These foolishly betray their spirit of hatred by threats and denunciation; those shrilly coo: it is behind fine words and honeyed phrases. The latest manifestation coming to our notice is of the professionally disinterested order. Richard T. Ely, associate professor of political economy in the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore and lecturer on political economy in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., co-operates with a small volume on "French and German Socialism in Modern Times," the chapters of which, somewhat rewritten, were originally so many lectures, and is, in some substantial (not literally) announces himself as follows: "Attention! Behold! I am come to do a service to the friends of law and order by expounding the plans and purposes of the honest, but mistaken, economic and political theories of nearly all my predecessors in this field have been unfair and partial, I intend to be fair and impartial.

And we are bound to say that this pretense has been maintained so successfully throughout the book that it can hardly fail to deceive every reader who has not in advance the good fortune to know more than the author about his subject.

We cannot examine the work in detail. The author begins by briefly tracing the origin of social agitation and grievances, and drawing distinctions more or less accurate between socialism and communism and the various subdivisions of both, and then devotes a chapter to each of the more important, generally personifying them in the lives and works of their founders and leaders. And here, by way of parenthesis, we are led to the title of the work is unjustifiable, to beg, with, there is no such thing as French socialism or German socialism. Socialism knows no nationality. It prides itself on its cosmopolitan nature. The fact is, a liberal or radical literature is born in France does not make that school French. A man has to be born somewhere, and, if he enunciates a theory, naturally gains the bulk of his earlier adherents in the vicinity of his birthplace or residence; but the theory itself is indigenous in no sense except the very general one in which everything else is.

The principal men with whom Professor Ely deals are Babeuf, Cabot, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, John Stuart, Marx, and Lassalle. Whatever his defects, the book is certainly one of the best introductions to the study of economic problems. It is a credit to the author. What is Property? The argument of some portions of that work he does indeed condense and present with an approach to accuracy, but other portions even of that he misquotes, misinterprets, and misrepresents. In creating the other works of Proudhon he generally distorts them almost beyond recognition. What is Property? he ranks first in importance; whereas it is beyond reasonable dispute that, great as it is, does not compare in subtlety or intrinsic value with the "Syllabus of Condemnation," the "Solution of the Social Problem," the "General Idea of the Revolution of the Nineteenth Century," or that gigantic monument, "Justice in the Revolution and in the Church." In abstracting or interpreting the author not only avoids quoting passages distinctly and bitterly antag. onistic to communism, but in order that these might not tend to weaken the prevailing and erroneous impression that Proudhon was a communist, he volumes.

The question must be asked whether he was not a communist in the sense of favoring communism as we see it in a few places at present, because they involve control and authority. He was on the contrary, in favor of anarchical equality. The position which Professor Ely takes is, that Proudhon hated the rich, while with, it left the charge without foundation.

Another erroneous impression, though not of much consequence except as additional evidence of the confusion which Professor Ely leaves behind him, is carried by these words: The mind is Property is important, because it led socialists and even political economists to a revision of their theories and a more careful observation of facts. Louis Blanc discouraged "Scientific and Supernal as an object of reform, but the sharp, cutting criticism of Proudhon, directed now against the communists, now against the Saint-Simonians and Fourierists, now against the political economists, rendered them impossible. High-priest-
and revelations of visions could therefore count
on no favor on the part of the laborers." One would
infer from this that Proudhon and Louis Blanque
were engaged in a genuine and not an imaginary
feud upon utopias and visions, whereas in reality the
highest of the "high-priests" whom Proudhon never
tired of puncturing with his "sharp, cutting crit-
icism" was Louis Blanc himself, whose schemes of
reform he clung to as a favorite, and whose utopia
was the commune, the earth commune, the localized
utopia in the extreme. This bull confirms our suspi-
cion that Professor Elly has practically confined his
reading to "What is Property?" for in that work
Proudhon has page after page of attack upon Saint-
Simon, Fourierism, and the utopian socialism of
Blanc, if we remember correctly, is not so much as
referred to, the criticisms upon him occurring in
er later works.

A more important and inexusable omission is the
truth that Elly has ignored the main fact that
Proudhon's "Bank of the People" failed in consequence
of its own deserts. The fact is that, as long as it was
allowed to live, it met with remarkable success, and
that it was because of this very success and the
danger that it would be closed by the government of
Romantic, taking advantage of one of Proudhon's
speeches against it to charge him with a political
offence, caused his imprisonment for three years and
the winding-up of the bank's affairs. The effect of
this sentence was that the French radical press, headed
by A. Langlois in his sketch of Proudhon's life:

Proudhon had not abandoned for a single moment his
project of a Bank of Exchange, which was to operate without
capital and a sufficient number of merchants and manufac-
turers for adherents. This bank was called the "Bank of the
People," and around which he wished to gather the
numerous working-people's associations which had been
formed since the 23th of February, 1848, had already obtained
a certain number of subscribers and adherents, the latter in the
number of thirty-seven thousand. It was about to commence
operations, when Proudhon's sentence (March 18, 1849) forced
him to the choice between imprisonment and exile. He did not
hesitate to abandon his project and return the money to the
subscribers. He explained the motives which led him to
this decision in an article in "Le Peuple":

And yet Elly has the assurance to make the follow-
ing statement without any explanation:

"He attempted the execution of his plan without the
aid of the state, by the erection of a bank, which
failed about April 1, 1849, after an existence of
several weeks. Thus ended the attempt of the last great
French social reformer to promote the development of
an independent economic regeneration."

How wicked is this attempt to misrepresent!
And how evident, when the facts are once stated!
But it was highly important to Professor Elly's case and to his clients, the "friends of law and order," that this bank should be put
bodily out of sight; for, if any civilized nation
should ever permit the existence of any similar bank,
its inauguration would be the beginning of the end
of privilege, poverty, crime, and tyranny, and it is
upon privilege, poverty, crime, and tyranny that the
friends of law and order live."

Knowing this, Professor Elly, not satisfied with
misleading his readers as to the cause of the bank's
downfall, tries to complete its ruin by misattributing
the nature of the bank. Concerning this bank, it was
proclaimed by many socialists that it was the fund for
house systems, while many others advocated, as
what he describes as a "great national bank, in which
product shall be exchanged against product without
any intermediaries, so that money-mongers shall not
be able to stop the circulation and cause the con-
duction of the wealth of the nation and the money
is to be given in exchange for whatever is brought to this
place of deposit."

This is the crowning outrage. After
taunting Proudhon "equally with being "powerful
as a destructor but weak as a constructor," not only to
effect his ends, but to be the "creature of his
idea," Proudhon, when he
comes to deal with the synthesis, twists it into un-
recognizable shape. Proudhon's banking system,
which was to result in the abolition of usury in all
its forms, was the deepest product of his mind. If this
idea is not true and sound in its essential features,
then there is no ground for socialism to
stand on. At least, then, he should be fairly dealt
with here. But, instead, the vagaries of the utopians
whom he commenced are foisted upon him by
Professor Elly, and he is made to saddle the warehouse
system of finance. With this, however, the "Bank
of the People" has nothing in common. Instead of being a place for the exchange of prod-
cuts against products, it was not to deal in products,
but in the titles to products. Instead of dispensing
with intermediaries, it provided for a great increase
in the volume of the currency by vastly extending its basis.
Instead of giving paper money "in exchange for
whatever is brought to this place of deposit," it was
to give paper money only in exchange for sound
and acceptable securities.

"Every subscriber," said Proudhon,

shall have an account open for the discount of his
business paper; and he shall be served to the same
extent as he would have been under the conditions
of discount in specie. That, in the known measure of
his faculties, the business he does, the positive guar-
antees he offers, the real credit he might reasonably
have enjoyed under the old system. Every sub-
scriber bound himself to receive the bank's paper at
par in payment of all debts, and in settlement of all
transactions, but the products thus to be bought by
the holders of the paper were to be found in the
stores and workshops of the subscribers, and to
have no relation whatever to the bank. A full de-
cscription of this principle is given here. Suffice it to
say that it is simply an institution for

exchanging at cost — that is, at one per cent.
or less — its own widely known credit for the narrowly
but certainly known credit of individuals, in order to
make the circulation of money elastic and safe, that
and enable honest and industrious people to procure
capital on terms that will not rob them of what they
produce with it. But one would suppose from
Professor Elly's account of it, on the contrary, that it is
an enormous central storehouse for all products
that are not exchanged directly, and that it is

not connected, with their own products and barter them on
the spot. Is this the sort of man to place in our uni-
versities to complete the education of what ought to
be the flower of the nation's youth! We have no
time to enter into the question, only good people may
complain that we have done wrong in accusing
Professor Elly's intentions, when he may be, as he says
the socialists are, honest enough to mistake. Such an
hypothetical, to be sure, but we have pre-
vented him from the dilemma of having to explain to
the mass of the people, who his intentions are, what
ideas he has, and how false, or, on the contrary,
how true; for, in his silence, the latter is bound to
mean that he is deaf to the voice of the people.

In the name of the people, let us
examine the facts, the true story, the
truth, and the facts, that the people have
the right to know.

Note. — After the above was in type, we were furnished
good evidence of its timeliness by the arrival of the San
Francisco "Truth" containing a highly complimentary review
of Professor Elly's book. The reviewer says:

that socialists are honest, the editor immediately describes
the professor as "honest, truthful, and just." You tickle me, sir,
and it is this very "honesty" which makes his book so un-
trustworthy as to be in a typographical error on the title-page.
There the book purports to have been written by

"Richard T. Elly, Ph.D." Evidently it should read

"Richard T. Elly, D.Ph.", mystical letters which the
orthography of Artemas Ward explains as generally
standing after the names of those who have earned
the degree of Dan Phool.

And yet Elly has the assurance to make
the following statement without any
explanation:

"He attempted the execution of his plan without the
aid of the state, by the erection of a bank, which
failed about April 1, 1849, after an existence of
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bodily out of sight; for, if any civilized nation
should ever permit the existence of any similar bank,
its inauguration would be the beginning of the end
of privilege, poverty, crime, and tyranny, and it is
upon privilege, poverty, crime, and tyranny that the
friends of law and order live."
place of arbitrary brute force. It finds the only possible basis of such adjustments in the complete and universal recognition of the sovereignty of each individual. It leads in the direct path of peace, love, and brotherhood, while the State is poised upon strife, blood, and despotic coercions. Choose which shall be your idol, reader, as you penetrate farther and farther into the true inwardness of our system.

Yes, "Truth!" Has Become a Liar.

BUCHEET G. HASSEL.  
Editor of the San Francisco "Truth."

Sir,—In the last issue of Liberty I had occasion to address you an open letter, in which, basing my charges upon a succinct statement of facts, I assigned you for conduct and feeling that you must do something, you meet my facts with falsehoods and my conclusions with vituperation, which, being supported by falsehoods instead of facts, is wholly unjustifiable and outrageous. Such an outburst, such an avalanche of abuse, such a torrent of "hifalutin" rhetoric as is contained in your rejoinder I have never seen elsewhere. Against such wantonness it is useless to argue. It defeats itself among all right-minded persons. So I propose simply to remind you as a liar, show you your illustration, and pass on.

In the body of your reply I find these words addressed to me:

This journal is not a private enterprise as is yours. This paper is no property as is yours, as is your money press to propagandize. From your office you publish words of light and make a profit on their sale. From "Truth" within the past twenty years thousand of revolutionists have been prepared for war and armed among the people free as air. Bakounine's picture costs you three cents, and you sell it for fifty. Proudhon's portrait costs you the same, and you vend it for seventy-five. With you, sir, obtains the unworthy practices of ecclesiastics. You defy an individual, and grow wealthy upon the coins received by selling to you the works of those who倒入 assassin's torch. The Priests who began only by selling even the bones of their dead saints.

No one but myself can fully appreciate the amusing nature of this little parable. Whenever I read it and look at my pocket-book, a sense of that incongruity which is said to be the essence of humor takes full possession of me, and I explode into a loud guffaw. This, however, is neither here nor there. Whatever sacrifices I have made for the cause in which I am working, it is not my intention to paralyze them before the public unless compelled to it by more exacting needs than the present. So, leaving the question whether I am growing rich or poor, I deal here only with your specific assertions concerning the pictures of Bakounine and Proudhon as showing your disregard for the truth. You say that Bakounine's picture costs me three cents, and I sell it for fifty. The facts are these. Bakounine's picture is a photo-lithograph, and is printed from an engravings, which is of the very finest. Engraving, and one of the finest. Before a single picture was printed. Each copy printed involves an additional cost for paper and presswork of five cents. And yet you audaciously charged that the total cost of those pictures is more than our eight-dollar bill. It is a fact that I have not got back one-third of my outlay. But more enormous still is your other statement that Proudhon's portrait costs me the same as Bakounine's and I sell it for seventy-five cents. Proudhon's portrait is of a steel engraving, and one of the very finest. To get the plate alone costs me just one hundred dollars. Each copy printed for it costs me twelve cents extra for paper and presswork, and of my outlay on this picture I have got back much less than one-third. You dare not dispute these figures. I can prove them. If they are disputed and disproved, you stand in the pillory before the public as a deliberate liar. For it will not do to answer that you did not know these things. That would only prove you to be a liar, a reckless character. This is quite another thing. The lie of yours is but one of many contained in your reply, and is a fair sample of them. 

www.discom.org. I see one article.

From this I learn.

Before dropping this subject altogether, I must say to Mr. H. W. Brown an explanation which I owe him. In a postscript to my letter I charged you with signing Mr. Brown's name to a communication in your paper which he never wrote. I made this charge on the strength of Mr. Brown's own statement made in your paper to the effect that he had "hated my confidence." At least he appears to have done so, although I have no evidence that this second communication is not a forgery like the first. But assuming it to be, I have to say that Mr. Brown told me what he did in a loud tone of voice, at the same time vehemently expressing his disgust at the manner in which "Truth" is conducted; that he has told it to at least one other person; and that he gave me no reason, either by his manner or by any communication to believe that he was confiding a secret to me. But no man holds confidences more sacred than I do, and, if I have unwittingly betrayed Mr. Brown's, I am exceedingly sorry for it, and herewith tender him my sincere apology. It is not least, to say, that he has never complained to me of my conduct, and I have met him several times since the alleged betrayal precisely as he always met me and as one good friend meets another. Mr. Brown's latter letters in "Truth" are as they are assumed to him as not to write in which he speaks bitterly of me and even says things which are not true, show that, probably without realizing it, he has parted with his honor to save his friends. An enthusiastic devotee of State Socialism, he could not bear to see a State Anarchist. I much regret that he has thus done injustice to the essential integrity of his character. One of these days he will regret it himself, and then it will come to tell me so. I know him well enough to believe this against him. If it is not the case, that neither Mr. Brown nor you have denied my statement that you printed Mr. Brown's signature to a letter, parts of which at least he never wrote.

One word more. You ask me to print your reply to me in the columns of Liberty, or else to send you a list of Liberty's subscribers who may send copies to me. I decline to do either, having no space for the former and no time for the latter. But, that no injustice may be done you, I hereby urge you to be more careful of your readers. It is a matter of soro reader of Liberty who feels an interest in the matter to send to you for a copy of "Truth" containing yo's reply. Your address is "916 Valencia Street, S.F.," and you propose, I believe, to send from S.F. to all free of cost. I ask nothing better than to be spared by you some of the extraordinary documents which you are so anxious to get into their hands.

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

Our edition of "God and the State" can be obtained in England from The Science Library, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, or from George Standing, 8 & 9 Finbury Street, London. This the English people will be supplied with Bakounine's work, despite the failure of English publishers to issue it. Concerning the sale of copies in England, we in the following from our faithful friend, Tchakovsky:

"Dear Comrade — Having read in your last letter a quotation [Truth], I felt obliged to inform you immediately that Miss Le Compte's translation of "God and the State" was published in England, and is still in my portfolio without any use on account of want of a courageous publisher in this country. Please mention this my communication in your next. Yours ever, N. Tchakovsky."

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Two Reformers Contrastcd.

Several times Munn gathered regiments of peasants numbering from five to ten thousand men; they fought victorious battles with the princes, but the enemy with its innumerable forces was stronger, and in the end the Munnites were subdued and dispersed, and the princes subdued the Munnites; and dispersed and themselves over the contrivances and grimaces which are the instrument of torment inflicted upon his dislocated body and torn away from the torture, such as to prevent him from drinking water without succeeding in quenching his thirst. Three acts of barbarism were repeated at intervals for six months and a half, anddescribed that they could draw nothing from him, they had him beheaded. And Later: He appealed at the death of the peasants and at the torture of his rival, Munn.

And that is why the bourgeois celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of their favorite reformer.

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