Vol. I. 
BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1881. 
No. 8.

"For always in thine eye, O Liberty!
Shines that high light which all the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."

JOHN HAVEN.

On Picket Duty.
Judge Black, in replying to Ingersoll, says: "The most perfect system of human government that ever was invented by the wit of man, and the holiest religion that ever has revealed to its creatures, when united, makes nothing but a mockery of public order. Mr. Black's remark strikes deeper than he intended. If the Liberal League is shrivelled, it will hasten to seize upon this, the most forcible statement of its central doctrine ever framed, and make it the text of all its propaganda. Coming from the enemy, it will carry the more weight.

Months ago Liberty instituted a vigorous search throughout Europe to discover an authentic picture of Michael Bakunine, the founder of Russian nihilism, in order to reproduce his features for the benefit of his readers. The search has been in progress ever since, and has only just ended in success. We are now in possession of a photograph of the great revolutionist, as excellent as it is rare, and a magnificently head and face it represents. It has been placed in the hands of the engraver, and subscribers to Liberty will have the pleasure of seeing an enlarged copy of it on the first page of our next issue, accompanied by an interesting biographical sketch. If they wish to reward our enterprise and effort, they can best do so by helping to extend the circulation of the number. We will supply extra copies, for gratuitous distribution, at one cent each. Let every subscriber send in as many as he or she can possibly afford to buy, and circulate them among friends. It is desirable that all orders should be in our hands prior to November 23.

At the dinner in honor of Henry George prior to his departure for Ireland he is reported by the "Irish World" to have pronounced himself in favor of the nationalization of the land. So far Mr. Ford, editor of the "Irish World," has not only never stirred injuriously to the best interests of the human race."

To be sure! What else could be expected? Is not the character of a compound determined by the character of its ingredients? Revealed religion is an evil; a new one that is adopted out of a mixture of the two be anything but evil? Judge Black's remark strikes deeper than he intended. If the Liberal League is shrivelled, it will hasten to seize upon this, the most forcible statement of its central doctrine ever framed, and make it the text of all its propaganda. Coming from the enemy, it will carry the more weight.

About Progressive People.
Frederick Douglas is writing the reminiscences of his life since he became a free man.
Professor Hasell, the eminent evolutionist, has arrived at the Columbia University.
Chamblais, a prominent French anarchist, committed suicide recently at Marseilles.
George Jacob Holyoake is soon to publish the "Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens, Preacher and Political Orator."

Gov. Roberts, of Texas, declares that the "civilization capable of republican local self-government begins and ends with the planting of corn."

Jules Vallée, the former communist, is putting the finishing touches to a five-act play, the title of which will be "La Bagnacaise."

Prince Kropotkine's wife, who has just passed an examination of the London School of Bachelor of Science at Geneva, intends to graduate in medicine at University College, London.

M. Zola has no patience with his critics, and increasingly charges them with stupidity.

The Delhi Times has been published. It is said that he is going to gather all the abuse heaped on him in print, and publish it in one volume, entitled, "Their Insults." Thus, he says, will be his apology.

In accordance with directions given before his death by the late Professor W. Kingdon Clifford, the young English radical and scientist whose career gave such promise, his widow has placed the following letter to hisSubscription to be carved upon his monument: "I was not, and was conreiled. I loved, and did a little work. I am not, and grieve not.

Rich men read Henry George's books, which are partially written to instruct the poor man, and show them how they are oppressed. One of these rich men told George that he much admired his writings, though directed against his own interests, but feared them not. "Why so?" said George. "Because," replied the subscriber, "though I read the books you write, the people for whom they are written never look at them.

A Norwegian newspaper publishes a statement by Bjornstjerne Bjornson, the novelist and one of the leaders of the Radical party in Norway, in which we say that his party is composed of Republicans, and that they do not confine themselves to being Republicans in theory and in secretly cherishing hopes of the establishment of the government of their choice. They are, he says, working to bring about the Republic, and they do all they can to obstruct any cause of national sovereignty against royal authority.

Cipriani, an Italian anarchist, who was expelled from France a few months ago and sentenced and imprisoned on proceeding to Paris, has made a daring attempt to escape from the fortress of Milan, in which he is confined. He endeavored to escape from the window, the bars of which he had industriously filed through, but his design was frustrated at the last moment. The files of which he made use were small ones, furnished by the prison's friends, who concealed them inside some cigars which they brought to him a present.

M. Louis Blanc is not only a great orator, but he has charm manner, is exquisitely courteous, and has a delicate social consciousness. He is not wealthy, having only enough to keep up his Paris house establishment furnished in the massive English style. The dead wife he loved so much was attached to her lawyers and penates, and took to France the furniture of the home in which she and M. Blanc passed the happiest years of their married life. For her sake he clings to the heavy mahogany chairs and tables, the spacious bookshelves and pictures, which they built with them from the first.

Patshy, in his latest book, "The Bible of Amerikan," writing on the homesteads given to the Virgin Mary, says: "Neither Mutual ownership, nor lady ownership of any sort, whether of dead bodies or living ones, ever did any human creature any harm; but that money worship, wig worship, cocked hat-and-feather worship, plain worship, pot worship, and pipe worship have done and do done and do more harm than any of these and all are quite million-fold more offensive to the God of heaven and earth and the stars than all the absurdities and fancies man-made by any of these, these and all are made by any of these and all are quite million-fold more offensive to the God of heaven and earth and the stars than all the absurdities and fancies man-made by any of these.

What the Virgin Mother could or would might do and do for them."
At Chicago.

A large portion of Liberty's space is surrendered in this issue to a skeleton report of the proceedings at the recent National Socialistic Congress at Chicago, submitted by our own delegate, Dr. Joseph H. Swan. The congress appears to have been highly successful and that most of its resolutions, although not always and everywhere intelligently expressed, may be considered as a step forward in the progress of the world-wide Social Revolution. Dr. Swan made a strong and uncompromising fight for the principles of Liberty, and, though unsuccessful in gaining them squarely adopted by the action of the majority as so make it acceptable by us. Indeed, so good was the platform submitted by the majority, that he hesitated a little before proposing anything in its place.

The chief fault of the platform as it stands seems to us one of omission. So far as it attacks the monopoly of productive agencies, or what are ordinarily called such, it is splendid; but it ought also to have attacked with equal vigor the monopoly of distributive agencies. The double nature of this organization has shown that the ballot crusade has not yet been entirely upstream, and the advocates of political action, though not carrying their point, succeeded in obtaining a comparatively unobjectionable casuism recognising the political and economic functions of local government.

Mr. Chaisney's Gospel.

Liberty has already had occasion to refer approvingly to the recent actions on the Soul of Liberty. Chaisney is now a man of this country by his "Infiel Pulpit." That approval is our desire to emphasize further. He is steadily widening his field, boldly stepping beyond the confines of his political dictation. He is elevating his religion (or irreligion) with the whole of human life. His efforts must not lack appreciation. Every Liberal should subscribe for the "Infiel Pulpit," which it is his purpose soon to enlarge and make more attractive than before. And now that we are about it, will Mr. Chaisney forgive us if we couple this word of encouragement with a word of criticism? According to a report of his recent lecture on "Irish Land and Liberty," he used these words: "If we believe the landlords and the tenants would be as dumb before them as the sheep before their shearsers, because they are so dumb before the priests." Does he not know that they are Irish? Is he not a legislator? In Ireland an English landlord is the exception, not the rule. Mr. Chaisney should be more careful of his facts. Again, after expressing admiration of the motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," he continues thus: "When I speak of equality, I would not be understood as advocating that man should be equal to the other. While every man and woman should be free to enjoy the fruit of his or her labor, equality in the natural opportunities of life is the first principle on which life depends. Through equality, we are free as are liberty and the flower of existence. From the flower of liberty comes the perfume of fraternity." Our Declaration says not so. "All men are born free and equal," not equal and
Capital: What it is and What It Is Not.

Dear Mr. Tucker:—I have no desire whatever to obtrude upon your patience the slanders that will issue from Mr. Buckle, but I cannot help wishing to say a word or two about Bastiat’s little piece, which you quote from Buckle with his own reservations respecting it.

The story itself is, of course, nothing but an economical contrivance; and it would have no point whatever, were it not the invention of a man who makes it appear that our “Williams” to borrow planes and other instrumentalities of labor from our “Janasses.” (1)

But Bastiat’s intention is merely to illustrate it as at all explanatory of the principle of interest (2); and, were it not for the first part of the article that you quote from him, I should desire some tender reference to that last sentence, that he has a glimmering idea of the true nature of capital.

He says: “There are, indeed, very many subtle conditions of fact that are implied in this illustration which is called the edifice of ideas . . . . (the article is one which modern political economists have any familiarity with dealings in)”—&c. &c.

The point I wish to make relates to his supposition of the, practically total destruction of “capital” (A), in the passage of the beginning that I have referred to.

He says: “If all the money of all the capitalists in the whole race of the world . . . . the notes and bills burst, the gold irrecoverably burned, and all the machines and apparatus of manufacturers destroyed, by a mistake in signals, in one instant, and that the heads, the tongues, and vegetables, and buildings for shelter,—well, what then? Why, he says: “the poorer population would be very little worse off; that is to say. . . . It is only we who had the capital who would suffer.”

It is not the case, for you to see his description of the consequences of the destruction of “capital” under the supposed catastrophe. (The word capital would not be applicable to such an event, for, in my opinion, it would be impossible to destroy anything but a spade, axe, and saw.)

Now, it is quite evident to me that Mr. Ruskin, when he wrote those words, had not a correct idea—and I doubt if he has to-day, of the meaning of his own words, that is, how he erroneously called “capital” suddenly destroyed, capital, real capital, would still remain, comparatively uninjured.

Things that perish almost as fast as they are produced are not capital.

The accumulated and developed thought and experience of the race are not capital. (6)

It is this that experience embodied in material forms that are really that property of “wealth” which makes it an irrevocable aid to labor, and which renders wealth, in any other than its prepared use, no privilege as dangerous to society as to Liberty we all see it to be.

But the value of capital, embodied in these material forms, and as nothing else, in the form of knowledge stored up in men’s minds, and reaching to their fingers’ ends. This was the portion of capital that Mr. Ruskin left behind him. There is the account (7) in the above supposition, and it would not exist in all classes of men in about the same proportions as it does to-day. So that, in the case supposed, Mr. Ruskin would not “starve,” for he would have just as much, and, I may add, would be more highly appreciated, and command greater influence. But I am encroaching.

Yours faithfully,

W. O. H. SMART.

Boston, October 9, 1881.

[For convenience of comment upon Mr. Smart’s letter, we have inserted in it parenthetical figures at the points which it is our intention to consider.]

(1) We made practically the same statement in the following words: “Those workers would have the upper reward for rendering a service always fit; it cannot forget that the user’s victims would not need his service if not that the laws made at his bidding prevent them from saving anything.” And without the support of your volume, our correspondents, elaborates the same importance point in a letter printed in the present issue.

(2) Not at all! Mr. Ruskin accepts the illustration as explanatory of the principle of interest, and he suggests (1) the notion that capital, per se, is not something to be seized. Summarizing and abridging is as to bring the atrocity of that price pone clearly into view.

(4) In our view Mr. Smart misconceives Mr. Ruskin’s meaning in the phrase, “value of labor clear.” Thus he confounds the meaning seems rather vague. That he had a clear meaning, however, need not be doubted.

(5) Mr. Ruskin makes no such supposition. He supposes the destruction of what is ordinarily called capital—that is, money and machines—and shows that, in that event, the laborers would immediately, by the exercise of their will,—that is, the really important part of their capital,—manufacture new machines and proceed as before. In saying this he should have Mr. Smart’s applause (be certain his word is that it is), the capitalistic nature of accumulated thought and experience.

(6) We quite agree with Mr. Smart that “accumulated thought and experience are capital,” but we believe that property is produced as fast as they are produced and capital, in the ordinary sense.

(7) Mr. Smart’s distinction between social and individual capital is called the former to be held in common and the latter personal property to be held by individuals, lies well toward the bottom of his philosophy, but nevertheless is unmitigatedly bad based on pure chimeras. All wealth is social wealth; capital is product, and product is capital. And to the producer belongs product and capital. In the words of Prudhomme, “we produce to consume and consume to produce.”

Another Answer to Mr. Babcock.

Mr. Tucker—In your issue of October 15 I notice a question by J. L. Babcock, and, although you have answered it, yet, I think, if I give my answer. The question is this:—Is a man who borrows a plough entitled to compensation for its use?” My answer is, “Yes!” Now, what is it? Does that make something for nothing right? Let us see. We cannot take it for granted that the leasing of the plough was a good business transaction. Such being the case, the man who borrows the plough must give good security that he will return the plough and pay for what he has worn out. He must have the wealth or the credit to make the owner of the plough whole in case he should break or lose the plough. If, for example, the plough is worth $100, and the bank can secure a borrowed plough, could transmute that credit or security into money, without cost, and with the money buy a plough, we would not for compensation. For a man’s property implies a monopoly of everything that money will buy.

If the people should give to landholders, as a right, what they give to bondholders as a privilege;—why, you might loan ploughs for a price, but the price would not include a money cost, as is invent’r’s under our present monetary system.

Let us remember what an individual transaction under a system of monopoly does not represent nor illustrate; its truth as a problem under a natural system. Again, supposi- tional ideas do not always harmonize with the central truth.

Briefly, but truly yours,

Apex.

Tony Bovilla, who has shot into notice in Paris as a writer of workingmen’s novels and a radical, began his literary career at the ante-chapel of Belville. Life. One of his first efforts was an elegant written volume of memoirs of the Pansburg wealth in its portuguese or

Is it not so?
The Chicago Congress.

In accordance with the call initiated by the groups which sent delegates from the United States to the congress of the International Working People's Association recently held in London, the Chicago Congress was held at the Palace of Commerce Oct. 21, 22, and 23, and in which socialist groups and sections of all shades, weary of compromise and divisions of accomplishment, among which the are invited to participate. The day was devoted entirely to the women, and the meeting was held in the afternoon of the last day, with the aim of making the final decision on the question of the federation of labor unions, and the adoption of the resolution as to the future course of action.

The rejected platform offered by the Liberty's delegate, which was in many respects similar to the following, read as follows:

"Liberation is the right of all men to be free from the power of persecuting and unjust laws, and to have the opportunity to live as they choose, without interference from others.

"One cannot justify the action of the Congress of the International Working People's Association, recently held in London, on the basis of the principles of the Congress, which state that:

"The Congress of the International Working People's Association, recently held in London, is not a revolutionary organization, but a body of workers who are seeking to organize the working classes of the world into a single international federation, for the purpose of securing the social and political liberation of the working classes.

"The Congress of the International Working People's Association, recently held in London, is the result of the struggle of the working classes for their rights, and is the expression of their desire for freedom, equality, and justice.

"The Congress of the International Working People's Association, recently held in London, is a body of workers who are seeking to create a world organization of the working classes, which will be the basis of a new society, in which all men will be free from the power of persecution and oppression, and will have the opportunity to live as they choose, without interference from others.

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