Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER

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For always in these eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee.

JOHN HAY.

ON PICKET DUTY.

There must be a limit to the great fortunes, says Henry George, "but there must be limits to artificial, not natural, artificial. Such a limitation is offered by the land value tax." What in the name of sense is there about a tax that makes it natural as distinguished from artificial? If anything in the world is purely artificial, taxes are. And if they are collected by force, they are not only artificial, but arbitrary and tyrannical.

It looks very much as though Anthony Comstock were about to renew the campaign against Brethren, which, after several reverses, dropped a few years ago. Probably he has been laying his wires in the interval, and thinks now that he has only to say the word to rush into prison all those who dare to think and communicate the thought. Following the arrest of Mr. Hayman, G. H. Tennenbaum and E. C. Walker in Kansas, with which it is not unlikely that Comstock was in some way indirectly connected, comes the arrest in Virginia by one of his agents of that respectable old lady of Quaker lineage, Mrs. Eliza Penke Sten- ker, who so frequently contributes to nearly all the Liberal papers and regularly edits a department of the Boston "Investigator." Her offence consists of the circulation through the mails of what some people consider a very unobjectionable book called "Diana." One is not required to pass upon the wickedness or the wisdom of this work in order to determine that, if it is Mrs. Stenker's pleasure to circulate it, it is also her prerogative, with which if one interferes, he must expect to encounter the hostility of all by whom such prerogative is valued. As Liberty is certainly to be numbered among these, it will cordially cooperate in an uncompromising struggle against Anthony Comstock or any of his ilk. If my readers feel like taking a hand, I would advise them to put themselves in communication with Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., 129 Lexington Avenue, New York City, who, as Comstock's most vigilant antagonist, will tell them in what way they can be of most service. Of Mrs. Stenker it is added that when she was arraigned at Lynchburg, she admitted circulating the book, defended her conduct, declined to take the oath, and refused the lawyer's services until she could get counsel from New York, was placed under bonds, and could not furnish bail, in consequence of which she is now in jail at Wytheville, Virginia, awaiting her trial, which will probably occur in Abingdon next July before the United States District Court.

I am expecting now from day to day to receive the first number of a new Anarchistic journal from Melbourne, Australia, which was issued, if the promise of the prospectus was fulfilled, on April 2. It is a child of Liberty, has been christened "The Anarchist" and has a full-page photograph of the secretary (of which it generally gave no evidence), did not gain it through reading "Lucifer." Further, its editorial columns have been uncalled-for reflections on my motives and unimpeachable condemnation of my conduct; but even in its instances it has gone so far as to add and abet a tattling busybody in the circulation of meddlesome gossip about my private affairs. And now, in a communication headed "Hear All Sides, Then Decide," E. C. Walker and his wife coolly write to me: "We ask for fair play from the editor of Liberty." Let Messrs. the assassins begin," said Alphonse Karr, in answer to the opponents of capital punishment. So I say to the "Lucifer group," when you play fair for play: Let those begin who first were unfair.

Of the attitude of Liberty towards the compurly methods of the Knights of Labor I do not suppose there was any room for doubt after the criticisms of them that have appeared in these columns; but, as a friend of the paper seems a little fearful that the paragraph in the last issue regarding the boycott of the New York "Sun" may mislead, I give here, from his private letter, the words which he writes about it:

When you support K. of L. boycotts, do you take into account that they are demanded by the majority of a representative body and are enforced by penalties—that is, that any one refusing to boycott will lose his employment if the leaders have the power to get him again in a fixed boycott? A spontaneous boycott I have nothing to say. That the "Sun" is deserving of boycotting I am ready also to admit; but the majority of those who abandon it do so, not because they have become disgusted with its course, but because they have received orders from above. I think your experience with leaders of the McNell type ought to convince you too that they will order a boycott on a journal, not because of its unfairness, but merely because it is in their way, and that they would adopt expedients measures, were they in their power. These people differ only from the State by not resorting to physical force, and that is simply because the State won't let them. To all of which I have only to say: Amen and A.men. My friend's criticism would apply equally to my support of the original Irish boycott, which, as events have proved, was clamped on and taken off at the bidding of leaders some whom were known to be cowards, and from motives quite as questionable as those which actuate the leaders of the Knights. Further, the tenant who did not choose to boycott was often boycotted. Nevertheless I did not sympathize with the howl of the frenzied landlords against the right to boycott, and I remain equally unmoved to pity by a similar howl on the part of the freethinkers. If the "Sun" would base its protest on the Anarchistic grounds where my friend stands, it would have my sympathy, but it does not; on the contrary, in declaring that it is but a step from the right to boycott to assassination, it is as distinctly Archistic as are the Knights themselves.

That Famous Victory for Anarchy.

(Memo to New Thought.)

Mr. Walker and Mr. Lillian are out of jail, Mr. Harman having paid their costs. He could not well run the paper without their assistance, and so, under protest, he paid the costs and took them out of jail. Now, we understand, Mr. Lillian are in something of a quandary as to what to do. The court has pronounced them legally married, yet they dare not live together as husband and wife, for their semeons are ready to pounce upon them again. They do not like to live apart, for that is a surrender to their enemies and a violation of their secret wishes. They will not leave the state; that would be fleeing before their enemies. They do not wish to take out a license and get married legally, for that is an admission of the rectitude of the very thing that is, that the State has a right to interfere with their love affairs. Which of these roads they will pursue they have not yet decided. After this deliberation, they will, under protest, take the one which seems the most consistent.
LIBERTY.

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IRELAND.

Iby GEORGE SAINTON.

Translated from the French by SARAH E. HOLMES.

"We will compare!"

"Even against numbers!"

"And victory may be many!"

And the soldiers on the French vessels, who, during ceaseless engagements, might be prevented from offering any resistance, with a desire of salvation by negotiation, relying on other directions, and might perhaps be triumphantly bombaraded by artillery whose passage would not be obstructed!

There was witnessed on the English side, and John Astron, the several of the Ancient Britons, who had joined the Irish on his recovery, worked with the agitator to convince those most difficult to reach through motives of prudence.

They came to a halt, and he, perched on an eminence, like a presbyter, made a speech.

"Comrades," said he, with the inspired air of a heliographer, his eyes lost in vacuity, "it is a long time since my heart was dedicated to your cause. What caused my delay in joining us was the conviction of great usefulness of the practice of the gifts of the Irish.

"The servant" is a Presbyter," shouted some of the Irish, for the chivalry to fight; "the prophecies of his religion can not weigh on our minds!"

But Edith, up to that time taciturn, buried in her brooding memories, bent under the burden of her inheritance, who also did not come, was not reduce by her subsequent conduct, when she had unmasked Newington, — Edith, straightening up in her resolution, in her ruby, her splendid gold, her purple and as an imposing priestess, the assurance of John Astron.

"We are going," said she, "to the headland from which Saint Patrick once threw his vestments to all species which infested our soil."

"Is not the Englishman a serpent more unclean than all the others? Our people, the venerable saint, in inspiring our chieftans with the idea of entitling to him the titles of our ancestors, have enabled us to breach this new reptile, which enroaches on its folds, which disdains the ground on which it crawls, the greater part of our land: Saint Patrick has decreed that this new reptile shall be hurled by us into the sea, the immense tomb!"

And, believing in this double sagacity, obeying at last, beginning again the patients on the eminence, he which edified, the soldiers of Saint John again took up their march.

Their steps lengthened unwearily, and they very soon drew near and attained the site of the headland, which they now could not escape. These roots perforated the cold skies, of a ghastly hue like that of oxidized metal; while on the left, unchanging appearance, they, all the crest of the broad ocean, its lilac, gloomion, was spotted with flakes of foam lashed by the north wind.

A unanimous clamber arose at once, a triple hurrah filled the air, fainting from three successive rapid wheels. Clinging over the waves like a flock of gigantic white birds, the French fleet was distinctly discerned, and from the perfectly perceptible growth of its sails, they calculated that it would make land in the course of about an hour, yet touch the zenith.

And the repeated shouts of joy, the cheers for France, for Ireland, for Hooch, for Hooch, mingled in success, continued, deafening even the groans poised on the rocks of the shore, who flew about in bewildered, like the great red eagles, in their swoops.

But, at the same anxiety, found its way: 'to the hearts of the sea.

The swell, already heavy, seemed to increase with every moment; the crest of the waves, higher still, the line of娢hitecaps, and on the surface of the sea, very clear till then, the dust of the spray began to make a sort of mist in which the ships were effaced like fleeting outlines.

At the hour when they were about to receive the signal of battle, a sudden wave which bore with it with precipitately wounded violence, in gusts, causing the vessels to heel to starboard at intervals.

The ships agitated, heeled again, ran along the sharp incline in spite of the rocks, the waves, black in the blue, sharpening with increasing wrath. They could feel that the tempest was on the point of bursting with the utmost fury.

So, little by little, sustained, by voices which grew less numerous each instant and which were scattered over the whole length of the column, and then by isolated notes, the songs ceased entirely, the universal arbor was extinguished, and a few of each, now, clear in the dawn's impregnated atmosphere, in the sky, in the midst of the efforts of the leaders and the attempts of Paddy to relieve by his druid's maneuvers, all the officers determined to do their duty, to fight like deus, to die like heroes, but without immediate advantage.

The fury of the future was now to witness as examples to their descendants who would rise again for deliverance, in the heads, and they were considering the end which he had foreseen when presenting submission to the orders of the French.

No landing of the French; it was useless to count on salvation."

Edith replied: "I never conceive that she had no other sources of inspiration than herself; she made an absolutely artificial comparison of the English and the reptiles, and, to sustain her position, inferred a similar fatal result from the confusion, imbecility, and woman's mental incoherence."

She now repeated her prophecy in vain; they no longer believed in it; and certainly she had thought that she continued to hold a shining ray of hope before their eyes from fear that they would remember her treason and blam her for the approach of the superior forces of the Irish.

A little reflection would have shown them that no connection could have existed between the bargain accepted by the unhappy woman and the disaster which they feared for the fleet; they could not have imagined that Newington, bound by his son's oath to send no message to the reinforcements of the king to urge them, but not bound regarding the hurricane, had let it loose upon the French vessels.

Nevertheless, refraining from reasoning, considering only the result, these people, that they may constrain the mother as a bridegroom, attributing to her unconsciously an influence on events; and in proportion as the fury of the French vessels increased, they, on the point of crashing them between the sky and sea, they made Edith responsible for the unavoidable catastrophe.

They came to the foot of the hill where they were to take their position, and the military preparations of Sir Harvy, in distributing the roles for the defense, caused a favorable diversion from the pernicious direction which had been taken, and it arose from the modicum of the triumphs of the French fleet; — not only its prompt enthusiasm, patriotic delirium, impetuosity of action, but its stirring of the imagination, devotion, enthusiasm, but also its supernatural face, mental disorientation, and fatal susceptibility to impression.

The gravity of the moment, the grandeur of the mission which they assumed, the need for courage for the honor of those who had for their energy, which for an instant had wavered and weakened. Their spirits were revived by the intoxication of the power which inhabited them while hitting their carriages and leading their weapons, by the alluring sound of the pipes and odes which they clashed against the rocks, by a slightly swaggering call with which they summoned their enemies to appear as soon as possible, without delay, to measure themselves with these Irishwomen; generally so submissive and who had borne torture and massacre without resistance, today, as they had done two years before, under Tocot's rain. All the cursed Englishmen would learn to know his gentle victim as a tiger when once aroused to fight.

The approaches to the cliff guarded by pikemen in case of an assault; each rock furnished with a squad to the number of two-score! Vomitory covered the mountain like a wall to be protected from the encroachments of thieves; vigorous Frenchmen, with the broad expanse of the garrison of the assaulting caps, the mass of fire-arms, whose charge from afar, the personnel of redcoats which should present itself, dismounting the chieftains, and throwing headlong, with their feet in the air, the horses of the artillery, — with all these disposals there would be no escape for the French.

And if they should not advance further, but should try to turn the cliff and come against the French, then from the top of the rocks they would roll down ladders which, falling like rain on their backs, made them look out like eels, and drive them into the sand like nails under the hammer.

Long, long ago...

Unfortunately the hurricane redoubled, the clouds, like a charge of cavalry, rushed, a gushing, filling and freezing air, the stiff blasts of the sol- diers, not without humanity, hold their rifles and muskets and the streaming handles of the pikes, and the constinent destined for the occupation of the summit of the heights saw immovable battalions rush upwards to unseparate themselves from an instant under the brutal avalanche.

More and more, they were surrounded with a head wind and were obliged to tack repeatedly, which delayed their anchoring in the roadstead. Provided with no difficulty presented itself, they might impede the march of the king's troops, in case they would not come in contact.

In the far distant fields Paddy perceived compact black masses, difficult at first to distinguish from the surrounding woods with their low vegetation and gloomy color; the smoke impossible of being perceived by any one acquainted with the topography of the neighborhood. Besides, they displaced each other and approached with a velocity which was appreciable even at that distance.

Soon, moreover, gleams of light enveloped in white smoke arose, accompanied by a dry rattling of musketry in answer to the gunshots from the neighboring buildings; with which were mingled woodsy and comforting spectacle was afforded of engagements begun at ten different points, in the vicinity of the neighboring villages, from each of the halls sounded the angry sound of the Irishmen rounding about to be on their guard, and, like a sonorous susurrus corda! warning them that the hour had struck for their revolt.

The bells of Whittington sounded so loudly that, to use Paddy's expression, one might have thought that he was wearing them as earrings.

Which proves," remarked one of his comrades, "that the wind is increasing furiously."

"And which diminishes proportionally the chances of the landing of the French," reasoned another, in a tone of wisdom.

And truly, all the foreboding of this man seemed well-founded; suddenly a salvo, breaking loose, slapped maddly in the wind, to the eluding, to the fragments, disabled transport-ships, their masts gone, were turned from their course in the tempest; and waves as high and massive as mountains lashed the vessels to prodigious heights and engulfed them in bottomless abysses.

The firing on land increased.

All the wood-lands, on both sides of the roads, were covered with smoke, and the voices which came from the moving troops, whose energetic defense soon repaired the trouble made in their ranks by surprises. The word of warning was almost of the sound of the trumpets, amid furious volleys; then the reports followed each other only at intervals, growing fainter in the midst of the uproar; and, with oppressed hearts, the Irishmen with Sir Harvy and Tocot were in a frightful anxiety for the end of the skirmish, the events of which, surely terrible, escaped them.

What unknown would disengage himself from these mysterious hand-to-hand fights? but that was all.

"The prophecy of the serpent was now running in their heads, and they were considering the end which he had foreseen when presenting submission to the orders of the French."

Would who would utter,—their enemy or their friends and brothers? On which side were the duel falling in the eyes of that which the battle of the French vessels."

Suddenly some isolated individuals would emerge precipitately from the copse, followed by others, thinly scattered at first and then more numerous, in bands of thirty men, who found the depth of the woods, but which often also retreated, either still coolly firing, while breaking, as they were pursued step by step, or running away without looking behind, in mad despair.

From that distance it was impossible to recognize the nationality of those who were killed. Were all the Englishmen in deplorable disarray? Even with his glass, so obscured was the light by the increasing tempest, Sir Harvy could not immediately discern, and they held their breaths until he was able to distinguish the Frenchmen.

In general, however, almost the whole way along the line, the enemy retreated, and the trumpets sounding the retreat indicated to the Bouldonians to which side
victory leaned, which, nevertheless, was not settled, the king's regiments resolving not to retreat, reforming quietly, and rushing back, refreshed, to the rescue.

And through the hearts of Sir Harvey's soldiers again passed the impressions of Battle, in which Monsieur de l'Irlande, at a laugh of one of those renewed attacks, would be obliged to abandon their positions, but as renewed attacks would be followed by the renewed resumption of the reactionary vector, and to again dispute their passage energetically and triumphantly.

In any case, though success should remain with the English, some time must elapse before the French, not for themselves, but for their allies, could take for themselves, many of these forced spectators of a long drama, which never flagged thrown into a hundred ships. They were lighted on the water, the horses of the French, the great guns, quelling the galls, and setting fire to powder which blazed into the air for several miles; the great ships, outstripping the oars of the fleet, at last to drive it, terror damaged and disabled, the French were left behind. Above all, the fog turned out to be only the stem of a fruit, could not be slow in following their example.

To be continued.

THE POLITICAL THEOLOGY OF MAZZINI AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

BY MICHAEL DAVIDSON,

MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WORKING-PEOPLE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY SARAH E. HOLMES.

Few of the people, as a consensus, are the same as I am. The ambitious idealist who talks of the world not existing, of the most power in its own existence of six years, usually imagines much less than that. In reality, by a single milliner's eye, surpasses the power of our imagination. We have hard in the history of the last three thousand years, and it appears to us eternal and humanity already so old. Let us, therefore, have a very little, and let us consider a few things, and, for the nearest future, and let the care of our affairs to come to the men of a useful and logical, and a useful principle.

It suffices to know that every real being, so long as it exists, exists only by a principle which is inherent in it and which determines its particular nature and existence. In the case when this determination and existence is not the same as the thing itself, but which is the result and constant result of a combination of natural causes and effects, and which is not enclosed in it like a soul in its body, according to the former idealism, it is of the principle of reality only the inevitable and constant mode of its real existence.

The human race, like all the other animals, has inherent principles which are peculiar to it, and all these principles are supported by and reside in its body. This is the principle which we call Solidarity.

What all other men are is of great importance to me, because, however indescribable the power of the divine principle which, and the divine principle of which, is the only one of which we can be sure, for I am free, not only to know, but in fact, only when my liberty is to be recognized by our civilization, their sanction, in the liberty and right of all men, my equals.

What all other men are, is of great importance to me, because, however indescribable the power of the divine principle which, and the divine principle of which, is the only one of which we can be sure, for I am free, not only to know, but in fact, only when my liberty is to be recognized by our civilization, their sanction, in the liberty and right of all men, my equals.

This is not imagination, it is a reality, the soul experience of which the whole world is undergoing today. Why, after so many superhuman efforts, after so many revolutions, always at first victorious, after so many painful sacrifices and bloody battles for liberty? For liberty! For the liberty of the French, of the peoples of all countries of Europe; is it not the same immovable mass, immoveable in apparent, immoveable up to the present time, that has always been afraid to take for itself the ideas of emancipation, humanity, and justice—the mass of the peasants. It is this which constitutes today the power, the last support and the last refuge of all who are free, all who really desire to be free. It is this great mass of the peasants, who, along with us, share our dreams, our aspirations, our passions, our ideas, we shall not cease to be slaves. We must emancipate them to emancipate ourselves.

The central problem of western Europe, the Roman, German, and Anglo-German nations, as the most civilized and relatively the most liberal portion of the globe, is the struggle of this mass of the people for freedom from the overlords, the feudal lords, and this liberty. This point is a whole world, the whole of Slavs, which up to the present time has been almost always the victim, rarely the heroic, and still less the conqueror of history, having been forced to the Huns, of the Turks, of the Tartars, and, above all, of the Germans. It today is rising, moving, organizing itself spontaneously, creating slowly a new power, and beginning to demand with a loud voice its place in the sun. What makes its demands still more menacing is that, at the eastern extremity of the European continent, there is an immense power, an immense mass of most men who are neither as free, nor as strong, as the Slavs. Thus, in part German and Tartars, as despotism as possible, founding its enormous power as much on its inaccessible geographical position as on the mass of its innumerable people. And this vast power, this gigantic mass of the German, is the enemy of liberty, the enemy of the liberty of the whole world, by the modern patriotism of the Germans, the no less grievous and menacing flag of Pan-Germanism.

In the first place, all the German peoples, in all their races, in all their tribes, either at one or, rather, pretend to laugh at it. For, instated as they are with the easy victories which their tradition and gift of eloquence and their philosophy, their sense of disorganization and the merely transient demoralization of France, they well know, and have known for a long time, that, if there is a danger which they really need to beware of, that with which they have to reckon, it is the Slav. They know it well that there is no race which they detest more; in all Ger-

man, except the German proletariat in so far as it is not misled by its leaders, it is the immense mass of the peasantry who不容 they have in mind, and for the decisive instant the by which they bear a danger which they have been inspired in it, and for the instinctive, irresistible terror which its awakening causes them. This in
ternal disorganization, this overlordship, this desire for vengeance on the other, disturbs the mind of the Germans and makes them commit many injustices and follies.

This disorganization of the Slavs is absolutely the same as those of the English towards the Irish race. But there is an immense difference between the present moment and the previous moment, because the English and the Slavs, who have made the acquaintance of the Slav peasants, this hatred is a universal and profound sentiment which the Germans detest this race for all the harm which they have done, for all the hatred which by ages of oppression they have inspired in it, and for the instinctive, irresistible terror which its awakening causes them. This in
ternal disorganization, this overlordship, this desire for vengeance on the other, disturbs the mind of the Germans and makes them commit many injustices and follies.

What do they fear? What do they fear? The fear of the Slav; for the English, of the French, for the Slav, of the Slav; for the Slavs. Is this not the same mass of the peasant, the same peasantry, the same peasantry? Is this not the same disorganization, the same terror? It is exactly the same mass of the peasant, the same peasantry, the same peasantry? Is this not the same disorganization, the same terror? It is exactly the same mass of the peasant, the same peasantry, the same peasantry? Is this not the same disorganization, the same terror?
The Morality of Terrorism.

E. Belfort Bax has an article on “Legality” in the London “Commonwealth,” which, in the best part is by no means bad. He denies the obligation to respect legality as such, and in the light of this denial discus the policy of terrorism and assassination. Respecting this policy, he declares, as Liberty has previously declared before, that it should be used against the oppressors of mankind only when they have succeeded in hopelessly repressing all peaceful methods of agitation. If he had stopped there, all would have been well, but having characterised the policy as inexpedient save under the conditions referred to, he must needs go further and brand it as immoral. Then he becomes ridiculously weak. He is led to the conclusion that in Russia terrorism is expedient as a means of emancipation; that in Germany, though morally justifiable, is for various reasons inexpedient; and that in England it is neither morally justifiable nor expedient. Liberty agrees that terrorism is expedient in Russia and inexpedient in Germany and England, but it will be many years older than now before it assumes any limit on the right of an individual to choose his own method of resistance.

The invader, whether an individual or a government, forfeits all claim to consideration from the invaded. This truth is independent of the character of the invader. It makes no difference in what direction the invaders turns his fiercest hate; he has a right to vindicate it in any case, and he will be justified in vindicating it by whatever means are available. The right to take unoccupied land and cultivate it is no less of the invader’s thoughts, and resistance offered to any violation of the former is no less self-defence than resistance offered to the violation of the latter. In point of morality one is as good as the other. But with freedom of speech it is possible to obtain freedom of the land and all the other freedoms, while without it there is no hope save in terror.-

Mere Land No Saviour for Labor.

Here is a delicious bit of logic from Mr. George: “If capital can create an oppressive thing, its creator, when free, can strangle it by refusing to reproduce it.” The italics are mine. Capital is oppressive, it must be oppressive of labor. What difference does it make then, when labor can do the same? The question is what it can do when oppressed by capital. Mr. George’s next sentence, to be sure, indicates that the freedom he refers to is freedom from land monopoly. But this does not improve his situation. He is enough of an economist to be very well aware that, whether it has land or not, labor which can get no capital—that is, which is oppressed by capital—cannot, without accepting the alternative of starvation, use its vote to repel the capital for the capitalists.

It is one thing for Mr. George to inveigh against the sanctum and write of the ease in which a man whose sole possession is a bit of land can build a home and scrape a living; for the man to do it is wholly another thing. The truth is that this man can do nothing of the sort until you devise some means of raising his wages above the cost of living. And you can only do this by increasing the demand for his labor. And you can only increase the demand for his labor by enabling more men to go into business. And you can only enable more men to go into business by enabling them to get capital without interest, which, in Mr. George’s opinion, would be very wrong. And you can only enable them to get capital without interest by making the money monopoly, which, by limiting the supply of money, enables its holders to exact interest. And when you have abolished the money monopoly, and when, in con-
sequences, the wagers of the man with the bit of land have begun to rise above the cost of living, the labor question will be nineteen-sentence solved. For then either this man will live better or worse, or he will steadily improve the quality of his life. Whenever you go to compete with his employer or to till his bit of land with comfort and advantage. In short, he will be an independent man, receiving all that he produces or an equivalent thereof. How to make this the lot of all men laborers, is a question to solve it. Free money, supplemented by free land, will, Y.

Yarros and Tucker, Box 336.

I am not a little amused, in my pioneer home, at the conclusions of a刺客’s theory of geography, that a surprise party, so many criticisms and compliments were fired at me. And I laughed to myself as I remembered what my friend Mr. Yarros had told me about their “artist,” but I heard them say that same day ploughing sand and mailing boxes. Possibly that he took more interest in the “ulterior” object of his art than in its execution.

Comrade Yarros, that powerful boulder of grandmothers, flaps and crows so long and loud, and with such perfectly charming condescending, shrewdness, obscurity, and cozeness, that my sympathies are at last fully aroused. Who could bear to lift him now? To stick even a pin into such a being? Thru. Though, as I said before, I would never find it out, but, dimly realizing that something had happened, would immediately begin to shout that some other man is there! And that my skill is to make the man is entirely out of his head now, and there is no longer any sense in whacking that cracked and empty receptacle. Does not this show that the mind is broken, then, instead of it, let. Be let. We have peace.

But I owe my magnificent commeorative an apology. It seems that I was very serious about the “all-bombing on our account,” etc. etc., “never means nothing,” soberly, and it is — I gomustly submit: to make me the disparager. I mean, I will, I do not again. I perceive we fellow poor soap. Howbeit, as Mr. Yarros has button-holed the bewildered reader and made him drift deep into the hall of the Non-existent, and there, by the aid of “the light that never was on sea or land,” humorously revealed to him my utterly “Materialistic” theory, it may not be so necessary for me to casually remark that I acknowledge so much confusion or defeat. Instead of admitting a “right-about face,” I find that my face is about right thought of

The field of the idea branched in my first, and I still sincerely stand by my “triumph,” vice-reform, purity, morality, and grandmother.

But, seriously, I am very glad to find that Comrade Yarros and I are after all so well agreed, and that our common cause was mainly a misunderstanding about terms and meanings, — a misfortune that has happened before to much greater philosophers than we are now.

Comrade Tucker decks me out in an “old, idealistic, reactionary doctrine,” and then sets Ruskin, Froude, and Tocqueville, to heaven in my head. I think the Queen Elizabeth used to say, does take it some such mighty men as to what I’m I’m. And Ben Tucker behind? Then that’s the scene? The only scenes? For I have to cling for my sainth and the bishop to the brook for a scrip- full of smooth stones.

But, before we fight, let’s see if there be no misunderstanding here. I think there usually is when Comrade Tucker and I fall to criticizing.

Let me explain. I find there are certain relations of phenomena to us so pleasing that we call them charming. Art appears to me to be the conscious and purposeful evolution, rather than the skillful product of pleasant relations. Thus the musician produces charming relations between sound and shape, the painter produces charming relations between color and shape, and the chef de cuisine, between visions and the gustatory nervous.

Wherever intelligent action produces charm, either in reality or by imaginative description, there we have art. I find that art has its uses for me, that I am various objects of art, that I am various objects of charm which cannot be neglected, but which the true artist does not dwell upon. Thus, in the economy of nature and society, the beautiful is not the only valuable object of art, but the beautiful which gives comfort, and that is the useful. And the useful which is useful is the object of art.

In the expression the critic begins to understand the same thing. For, by lying beyond or outside, or further away from objects of art, it is various other objects of which he will speak. Nor do I claim for him, in the last sense of “true” or “false” art, happiness, or the pleasure of self-perfecting, of becoming a god. And that pleasure is the same, in the same, an artist’s “superiority in his profession is directly proportional to his distance from the art of art.” In fact, the expression he criticizes was intended to mean the same thing. For, by lying beyond or outside, or further away from objects of art, it is various other objects of which he cannot be neglected, but which the true artist does not dwell upon. Thus, in the economy of nature and society, the beautiful is not the only valuable object of art, but the beautiful which gives comfort, and that is the useful. And the useful which is useful is the object of art. But this idea in the words implied in the words “care for” with the idea implied in the words “dwell upon.” The true artist-lover frequents from dwelling upon babies pure colors and the true artist-painter frequents from dwelling upon his diurnal simply because he cares but precious little for what he shall do for the garden his garden, as a gardener may, not even for selling it but for getting a dinner or not. Each of these true artists “cares less” for his art and his pleasure in it” and his pleasure in the immediate results of it “than for its ulterior object.” As to the nature of Anarchism, I think this passage of No. 93 expresses it more clearly. I certainly do not feel at all complimented at being from Mr. Lloyd that I thought silly enough to maintain that Anarchism rests on no positive principle. It is not very much in words, but it is something that couldn’t be seen that the negation of authority implies affirmation of individual sovereignty. When I told Mr. Lloyd that Anarchism has no positive side, the very sentence that showed that I “ant that I had no ‘positive’ work” odo. Individual sovereignty is not sor tting to be bun? it exists the moment the obstacles to its exercise are removed. Mr. Lloyd had been saying that Anarchism was positive because there was a work of culture. It was a very work in which I was interested, and it pointed out to him that this was not positive, but negative work. By no means, however, did I say that there is no positive or constructive work to be done; I simply meant that such social work as Mr. Lloyd mentioned the Bank of the People; it gives me a good illustration. If a Bank of the People were to be established, not with any hope of its being allowed to live and do its economic work, but simply for the purpose of having it in order to direct attention to the outrageous denial of free banking and thereby secure the overthrow of the money monopoly, it would be an example of Anarchistic work. In my work, there were no money monopoly, and a Bank of the People were to be started purely for its economic benefits, that would be positive, constructive work, but it would not be Anarchist. There will be no Anarchistic work to do after the people have become free. To the amount of constructive work there will be no limit, but its object will not be to make the people free, but to enable them to more completely satisfy their work.

-Editor Liberty.

The poet Shelley on Monogamy.

I was never attached to that great soul Whose doctrine it is that each one should select Out of many the one to live with, and then cremate all other lovers. To cold children, though it is in the end of modern morals, etc.

When those poor slaves with weary footsteps tread The verge of life, I have said that they are free. By the broad highway of the world, and so With one chained friend, perhaps a jealous foe, The dreariest and the longest journey go.

True love in this differs from gold and clay, That to divide is not to take away.

The best kind of understanding, that grows bright, Gaining on many truths; “They like thy light, imagination, which from earth and sky,

And from the depths of human fancy, As from a thousand dreams and curiosities, Fills the eye. Then does one see, not only the error the worm with many a wrinkled sorrow With the what is lost in time, but other, and the heart, that love, that conceals, that The heart that loves, the spirit that creates, One cannot know, one can only gather together A seaport for its eternity

Mind from its object differ most in this: That from gold; nothing; it is not given. The lover from the nobler; the impious, And that from the gods; the one is temporal, and to endure. If you divide suffering or joy, you may Diminish all it is consumed away; If you divide pleasure, or thought, each part exceeds the whole, and we know not what Solitude and its loneliness. Of pleasure may be gained, of sorrow spared. That truth is that deep well where wise draughts Draw the pitch-flame and the pitch-flame, Which by which live to whom this world of life Is a garden reserved for the wise, The title for the promise of a later birth The wilderness of this earthly clime.

Shakespeare.
THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

PART SECOND.

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.

Continued from p. 50.

62. It is important for reasons of practical utility to arrive at a general or average estimate of the relative repugnance of different kinds of labor, especially of the most common kinds, and that is done under the operation of the Cost Principle, as I pointed out (p. 101); but I have not before seen, if it had arrived at it, it would not be a sufficiently accurate measure of Equity to be applied between individuals: while, on the other hand, this average itself can only be based accurately on that which is in the best sense average, which is understood that field labor, in cultivating grain, for example, is neither the hardest form of field labor, nor the most highly skilled, nor the most badly paid as washing or scrubbing, rests upon the general observation of individual preferences.

63. It follows, therefore, in order to arrive at a satisfactory measure of Equity, and the adoption of a scientific system of commerce: 1. That some method must be devised for comparing the relative repugnance of different kinds of labor. 2. That, in making the comparison, individual judgments must be made of the relative state of repugnance to him or her of the labor which he or she performs, and 3. That there must be an honest exercise of the judgment, and an honest expression of the real feelings of each, in making the comparison.

64. I.—The Cost Principle must be derived for comparing the relative repugnance of different kinds of labor. This is extremely simple. All that is necessary is to agree upon some particular kind of labor, the average repugnance of which is most easily ascertained, and then the method of comparing all other kinds of labor is corning. It is also found, upon extensive investigation, that the average product of that kind of labor, in that region, is twenty pounds of corn to the hour. If, then, blacksmithing is reckoned as one half harder work than corning, it will be rated (by the blacksmith himself) at thirty pounds of corn to the hour. Similarly, as one quarter less corning, it will be rated at fifteen pounds of corn to the hour. In this manner the idea of corning is used to measure the relative repugnance of all kinds of labor.

65. II.—That each individual must make his own estimate of the repugnance to him or her of the particular labor which he or she performs. This method is a self-consistent principle already stated, and is another equally important principle in the true science of society is the Sovereignty of the Individual. The Individual must be kept absolutely above all institutions. It is another higher principles whenever it is the only constraint must be in the attractive nature and result of true principles.

66. III.—That there should be a sufficient motive in the results or consequences of compliance with these principles to insure an honest exercise of the judgment, and an honest expression of the real feeling of each in making his estimate of the relative repugnance of his labor. The existence of such a motive can only be shown by a view of the general results of this entire system of principles upon the condition of society, and upon the particular interests of the individual. These results must be gathered from a thorough study of the whole subject, in order to test the application of these principles, and the exercise of the exercise of the judgment and the consequent conclusions to the philosophic mind. The force of a public sentiment rectified by the knowledge of true principles will not be lost sight of by such a mind.

67. In short, it is not the case that the party who does not make his part of the exchange on the spot should give an evidence of his obligation to do so at some future time, whenever called upon, but this is true of what is called the LABOR NOTE, which is the form assumed by "Equitable Money," and which is the fourth among the elements of the solution of the Social Problem. The party who remains indebted to the other given his own note, provided the other can receive it, for an equivalent amount of his own labor, or else of the standard commodity,—say so many pounds of corn, specifying in the note the kind of labor, and the alternative. As in the case of the party receiving the Labor Note, he may not require the labor itself, or that it may be inconvenient for the party paying the note to perform it, but he may indicate that it may be discharged, at the option of the party giving the note, in the standard commodity instead. On the other hand, such party receiving the note may not want the commodity himself, yet some other individual may, and hence he can pass the note to a third party who is willing to receive it for an equivalent amount of labor, or products, received from him. In this manner the Labor Note makes the several circulation of the commodity to the different individuals in the community, which has, as far as this is at all possible, or, rather, introducing a new species of paper-money, bard solely upon individual responsibility.

68. The use of the Labor Note is not, as has been already observed, strictly a principle of Equity, and partakes more of the nature of a convenience than any other feature of the system of Equitable Commerce; but yet it seems to be a necessary institution to be employed in this system. The Theory of Equity is complete without it, but the necessity for its use arises from the practical fact that changes cannot be based on the circulatory medium of some sort is indispensable, and in order that the system may remain throughout an equitable one, it must be as well as in theory, the circulatory medium must be based on either of the two between which it is said, may be for practical purposes, to cost nothing. The great fault of our existing currency is its expensiveness and scarcity. It is upon these properties that the system is based, to the extent to which the rich as well as the poor have to submit, whenever they want a portion of the circulatory medium to use. To show that this is a real and fruitful evil in gold and silver currency, and that a partial means of redress are the basis, demands a distinct treatise on money. Under the Labor Note system, every man is his own banker. It is in his possession that the money in various combined, the assurance of responsibility or the basis of credit, has always by him as much money as he needs. He has only to take his pen from his pocket and write such a note as he desires; and now, of responsible men worth their tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars in property, but absolutely destitute of money, and forced to submit to the shabby process of bank-notes, brokers, and Jews.

69. II.—Being based on an individual credit, it makes every man his own banker. This feature of the Labor Note resting on a standing estate of equity, but the more important consequences of this fact remain to be pointed out. Bankers are proverbial for their anxiety to maintain their credit unimpaired and to be respected. With them money is all. Their confidence in the fact of their always having change in their pockets. Honest comes to a man, and finds at all times of need. He is suffering, and is left by his neighbors, he is left with no means of obtaining it, and reduced to the necessity of making all his exchanges on the spot. He is put simultaneously into Coventry. Both the superior advantages of possessing credit, and the greater inconvenience of losing it, conspire, therefore, to help to govern the commercial honor and common honesty in the most minute and delicate transactions of life among the whole people. The moralist who is wise will perceive herein an engine of reform immensely important to subserve his ends. This result is already satisfactorily proved in practice at one point, where this has not been, and predict, in the following paragraph.

70. Exchanges have been introduced, in the fact that every person is anxious to obtain the Labor Notes of others for use and to abstain, so far as he can, from issuing them. These are the ordinary and the general principle of redemption the notes that are issued. Notwithstanding the fact that, in so small a circle, it is only a part of the pecuniary transactions of the community that are covered by that Principle. Ordinary money having to be used in all transactions with the world outside, and even within the community, for the sake of comparison, and which constitute these results have been strikingly exhibited in practice.

71. III.—It combines the properties of a circulation; medium and a means of credit. These Notes have been substitutes of the old Labor Note system; but the advantage of their combination in one and the same instrumentality of Commerce is worthy of a distinct observation. At the end of the third year from the commencement of the settlement above referred to, there were eighteen families having two lots of ground, each with houses—nine brick and nine wooden ones—and gardens of their own, nearly the whole of which was given by the inhabitants during that period. The families, without any exception, were quite destitute of worldly accumulations. Thirty dollars in money was probably the largest sum possessed by any one of them. There were with five dollars and ten as the whole of their fortune. They were nearly all families who had been exhausted in means as well as broken down and discouraged in spirit, excepting the failure of the form. The success they have thus achieved, in so short a time, has resulted entirely from their own labor, exchanged so far as requisite and practicable upon the Cost or Equi-

72. A family arriving without means at the location of a village operating on the Cost Principle, if their appearance or known character inspire sufficient confidence in the minds of the previous settlers, can immediately commence operations, not upon charity, but upon their own credit, issuing their Labor Notes—ordinary money as the viliest and most wretched in the world, and not of the laborers, and children is equally remunerated with that of the men again to the amount of combined capital in the family. By the operation of the Cost Principle, as a cause, a family, and its side of the competition of ordinary Commerce and the oppression of capital, with no success beyond barely holding on to life, may become in a short time independent and contented. Such are the results of the Labor Note system, and so far as it has been tested by practical operations the results have entirely corroborated the theory.

To be continued.
Intelligent Egotism Anti-Social.

To the Editor of Liberty:

The intellectual word is a fable, and in that I fully agree with you; but I can not help entertaining the suspicion that his allegory was learned in the school of that skeptical, and that the allegory itself was made of chiseled stone. Anyhow, the method of demonstration is the same,—that of using one symbol in two or more non-overlapping contexts. The question then is whether the mathematical comparison is the argument that has not convinced me that egotistic behavior could ever produce a happy society. If the number of men with the same belief is very large, the quantitative difference in the number of successful manipulations, in which spheres can be turned inside-out without cutting or tearing them, and all sorts of wonderful tricks performed, that is, the "good" society may be, while there may be some happy individual, is at least an interesting question, and the way of saying that the units composing it are happy. That society is not a ghost to most of us, however, including some even of the most "advanced"; that we are all increasingly being somewhat by the thought that "all men are mortal, but that man—will be evident on a little reflection. For the author who would relax their efforts in behalf of a better state of affairs on knowing that they had but a few years to live is comparatively small, while, on the other hand, scarcely one of us would presently, were we to learn that the world's existence was to be as limited. I doubt if even T. S. Eliot himself would subscribe for ten copies of Pravda, and yet to come an intellectual resurrection of which there are superhuman in my giving the sentence to which a number of others might be added, and the further question which is that the word&#8211;and one of which it forms a part&#8211;is ghost. At the most, I confess that I have a weakness for keeping a promise, but because of the civilizing power, and the responsible society can be maintained when that weakness is not general. For, if one's having promised to do a thing does not add it to the list of the probable, the doer is as probably acting of his own free will as is the doer, and contracts and concerted action become impossible except under duress. I do not know whether it would make for a better social order, but in the present condition of affairs, engaging a promise the execution of which is disadvantageous, I am gratifying my sentiment of personal honor.

This, I can only say, the action is not really enlightened and unwise seeking to do good have often done harm is about as absurd as it would be to advocate starrism because people who drink for the sake of getting drunk by alcohol, or to abandon the study of bridge-building because cause ill-trained engineers have built poor bridges; or it would be as dangerous to be on that one side of a fence to its neighbors because the same quality that enables the Indian to persist in his self-torture; or to unless you actually communicate in the bottom one with which I identify William Morris to issue the "Commonwealth." In fact, the absurdity of th. notion, combined with such utterances of his that he rape, almost lead me to believe that by morality T. S. Eliot means only the moral abuses; and that he is really seeking a higher moral state in which the individual will take nothing for granted, but will decide all questions for himself. If he does, however, his language is most unfortunate, for it generally gives me the impression that he is trying to make people believe that in the neighbor except the fear of getting my hand broken. And I fear that, were such ideas to prevail,—which, however, I do not think possible,—the result would be more the few dozen murders under Anarchy that T. S. Eliot talks of.

T. S. Eliot says that, if all men were egotists, the despotism of the Pope and of Bismarck could not survive. As I am not certain as to the nature of the egoist, I can neither agree nor disagree with you at all. If I take your meaning as that the egoists would have to be regarded as egoistic, the statement is of course untrue; while if I take it in the sense properly attributed to the term egoist, it is equally untrue. For the most sublime slaves of the Pope are precisely those most egoistic, those who believe everything in their desire for their personal salvation. T. S. Eliot's political role against the gods and authority, is not an egoist. It may be, though, that T. S. Eliot's egoists be intelligent egotists. In that case, of course, the Pope's despotism would at once fail, having no physical forces behind it; but I do not see how T. S. Eliot would then live. They are too intelligent to be because of lack of faith in the part of its supporters, and not through its opponent's strength. For any given intelligent mortal, an egoist would be those that the town to his life or liberty in an effort to overthrow them; knowing, as he would, that plagues were valueless, and that the power of egotists was a dangerous one. The overthrowers of tyrants are not, and were not, egoists. Whether it be John Brown at Harper's Ferry, the mutiny of the San Lorenzo, the Kanak rebellion on which the Nihilists were in Siberia, and Clodius calmly writing in the shadow of the guillotine of a happier future for man, every time I see the word "beast,"—each is inspired with something more than egoism, and, if it be a "ghost" that inspires them, then is that ghost a true and intelligent egoist against the whole mass of mankind. It is safe from this ghost, for the thought that "Quand on est mort, c'est pour toujours" is more powerful against it with them than with me.

If we accept Talmage's estimate, Napoleon would appear to be a very good example of the intelligent egoist, the "Eloquencer." I do not believe that many readers of Liberty will think of a desire to develop such characters as his. T. S. Eliot may claim, however, that, were all his contemporaries equally intelligent and equally independent, the world would be as bad as he claims it to be. I do not see how one Napoleon might be less evil, but the total evil would be greatly multiplied. I cannot imagine a society which could not evolve into a harmonious one through the mere action of intelligence seems to me almost self-evident. Let us imagine a society of intelligent men who, through the process of evolution, have never altered their society unwise to stop stealing; each one is intelligent enough to see this; yet it is out of their power to abstain. For mark that what is necessary in order to stop stealing, but that all others should; and while this lat-
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