On Picket Duty.

The detestable tendency of superstition to make the observance of its ceremonies a duty paramount to that of reason and for human rights. The notion of "sins against God" as morally more enormous than sins against man is not unfairly illustrated, if perhaps a little exaggerated, by the story recently told in the British house of commons by Sir William Lawson of a father who, at his son's bidding, cried: "Now, my boy, beware of the beginning of sin! Many a man has commenced with murder and ended with Sabbath-breaking."

Brennan, too, is unfettered. Released from prison, the first man in the young secretary of the Land League is not that the land question is settled, but that much remains to be done, and that landlordism must be torn up by the roots. It is a significant fact that, of the leaders of the League, the two most pronounced in "Land" and "Land and Liberty" have, from the beginning, shown the most of perseverance most unflinchingly. They were engaged in no mere political agitation; they had no selfish ends in view; but the love of justice had entered their hearts and the idea of justice their heads, and in the hour of trial these sustained them in the performance of their duty.

There is nothing equal to moral principle as an inspiration to heroic conduct.

By Garibaldi's death the world loses one of its bravest, trustiest spirits, a man whose name is Italy's most heroic mold. Deceit and disease combined during his latter years to disable him from active effort, but neither could damp his ardor in the cause of justice, and he remained steadfast to the end. Unspilled by popular器件, and ever ready, with occasion required, to lift his voice in behalf of the social revolution. The man will be remembered in history for his sterling character more than for any of his deeds, and the result of political and social progress will have more of the nature of his friendship, than of the temporary excitement.

From two judgments recently passed by "The Critic," which claims to be one of the first literary journals in America and is edited by men who claim to be advanced thinkers, it may be seen how dangerous an official literary censorship even when judged in the hands of the wisest. The Journal's question: "Is it not the duty of every man on earth to guard liberty against those threats of its destruction?" is answered by the editor, "Yes, but not the way many mean it." The editor of "The Critic" and the editor of "The Nation" are two different men, and the answers they give to the same question are as different as they are to the same facts of their surroundings. The editor of "The Critic" is a man of more liberal views than the editor of "The Nation," and the answers he gives to the same question are as different as they are to the same facts of their surroundings.

arguably admirable enough, but which would have served equally well as an aid to its own attack on "Pot-Bouille." We see, therefore, that, had the editor of "The Critic" been secretary of the Vice Society, he would have been as unwarrantable a tyrant as Comatotk himself, albeit in a different direction. It is of no use to change tyrants; the thing is to abolish tyranny. Let no one suppose that Liberty holds Whitman responsible for "The Critic's" inconstancy. He is above such weakness. Nor would we be understood as charging Whitman and Zola on the same literary level.

The hue-and-cry over the "nastiness" of Zola's latest novel, "Pot-Bouille," foolish and futile as it is, nevertheless has one interesting aspect, which a search for the explanation thereof reveals. Zola, in a series of powerful works of fiction, has been painting systematically, in his realistic fashion, the morals of modern society. So long as he confined himself to certain phases of life, little or no exception was taken to his work. In "L'Assommoir," he painted in all its horrors the evils of drunkenness as it exists among the working classes, and, though the critics discussed more or less warmly the literary value of the realism of the novel, no serious protest was heard. In "Nana," the novel writer went a little farther, and depicted the "social evil" in its effects upon the life of a member of the Parisian demi-monde. This effort was welcomed with not quite the same unqualifiedplacidity that greeted "L'Assommoir." The shrivelled portion of the "truly good," cognizant of the back-door communication between their sphere of life and Nana's, and seeing themselves in the shadowy background of the new picture, began to divine the drift of Zola's purpose, and some of them attempted to parry a blow which they felt to be particularly, though indirectly, aimed at themselves by branding him as an unclean writer. Still, the protest was comparatively mild. In his latest work, true to his "sign," the author walks straight into the homes of the upper classes, and ruthlessly tears away the veil from before the secret sexual promiscuity with which they have so long been honeycombed.

And, naturally enough, the realistic writer, adhering to the method in which he believes, uses grosser language than before in describing this grossest of moral Iniquities. But clearly he has exceeded the limit. The feeble objections to "L'Assommoir" and the moderate protest against "Nana" immediately swelled into a howl of hypocritical wrath from the this time rich and powerful victims of the audacious author's pen. The literary hacks whom they hire to voice their views are only deafening in the strongest language at their command of the "obscenity" of "Pot-Bouille," and some of them go so far as to demand its suppression by law. What is the moral of it all? Plainly, this that literature and art may paint as blackly as they will the industrial classes upon whose toll the upper classes live; they may even reveal to some extent the revolting aspects of the inner lives of the poor creatures in whose ruin modern industrialism takes pride and pleasure; but hands off our sex lives in the upper classes and no mistake. The morals of the upper classes are their own; for their misdeeds they are irresponsible; for their crimes there is no law and no punishment. Such is their infamous claim. But will it prove well founded? Let the Revolution answer!
The Red Cross Fund.

Reduced to June 5th, 1882.

Previously acknowledged.

E. C. Walker, Norwich, Iowa.
1.10
F. A. De La Roc, Los Angeles, California.
1.00
Jula H. Barcomb, New York.
1.00
Charles Lyddy, Jersey City, N. J.
2.00
George Gundling, Jersey City, N. J.
1.00
F. Schreiner, Jr., City of N. Y.
1.00
R. T. Busby, Jersey City, N. J.
1.00
Mark Hamms, Jersey City, N. J.
1.00
Jersey City Relief Group of the International Workmen's Association, po. A. Hermon, treasurer.
5.00
Boston, Boston.
2.00
Total.
$211.13

Let's try to please in complying with the request of the Delegate from Liberty, that Liberty should print the following list: A contributions received by the fund from New York in response to subscription paper sent thither prior to the appointment of the editor of Liberty as American delegate:

James H. Belknap, G. F. Bollinger.
$3.00
Lorenz Kolppus, John Walter.
Louis Nienhau,
Matthews.
J. P. Scobell,
J. H.
Mend.
Schreppe, Schenectady.
D. F. Hess.
John Stamm.
Society of Republican Club.
S. L. E.
Ermn, Knapp.
M. Kall.
J. Barnes.
J. T. Miller.
Half of the proceeds of the Commerce Festival.
3.37
E. Manges.
A. Zoll.
E. Carrell.
Mrs. Carrell.
Victorius Carrell.
Angie Carrell.
H. Lane.
Lucres Carrell.
Mrs. J. E. L.
Ch. Clancy.
R. Moat.
Total.
$100.00

An Invitable will of the proceedings at the Free Religious Anniversary, Liberty reflected somewhat in this wise: "Deadness here also, and much, but far more of letter than of spirit. Women should burst the cerements of worldly prudence and sectarian imitation, and let the living souls within them of what they so often prize have their full, romping freedom! Would they, and all mankind, be let at peace with it! Instead of being 'wars and wents' of a proselyting institution, they would severally, each and all, be reinforced and invigorated by the god in them. Then! think of the wealth of freedom, of theological knowledge, of religious, you have a body of your own! Stick to that, and let the power it enshrineth have its free course! So with you, Potter! And with you, Adler! Ah! Liberty hearse now Adler's own purpose by himself is being carried out, and the Free Religious organization; he must work alone. So he goes back to New York, where he is organizing charities. May the good spirits still thrive within him the move of the spirit of this? I am also! Charities suppose poverty, and poverty comes of what? Leave your charities, ex-Free Religious president, and seek the source of the evil! you and your band of workers are so zealous to alleviate!"

Much still did Liberty ponder, but space now forbids report.

Liberty.

Issued Fortnightly at Fifty Cents a Year: Single Copies, Two Cents.

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BOSTON, MASS., JUNE 10, 1882.

A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties; who is neither blinded by passion, nor hindered or driven by oppression, nor deceived by erroneous opinions."--Plato.

Save the teeth of his employer is this,—namely, that the latter is just as much a striker as is the former.

Here is a corporation declaring forty per cent. dividends on its capital in carrying on the manufacture of workmen, out of what they produce to maintain them on the ragged edge of poverty and despair. Suddenly the corporation inflict a despotic, but what is called a "cut-down." The helpless operatives submit.

In this view of the matter how infamous the scheme now being plotted in legislative halls to the "cut-offs" criminals, so that their oppressors may rob them with impunity. But perhaps it is all not before the end, and that these momentous issues between labor and capital will yet lead to bloodshed, unless labor learns the modus operandi of the destruction of its rights in time to thwart it by consolating and co-operating. It must be, that before it is too late, they shape the sooner the better, even on peaceful and humanitarian grounds

A Journal Rejuvenescant.

What is coming over the dream of the formerly state conservative, resurrection of moral, stupendously stupid, grandmotherly old "Advertiser"? The Germans have a proverb: "When dead tree limbs bud and blossom, there must be something vigorous in the air." We have already had some astonishing words to quote from—may we say our venerable contemporary? Astonishing only, however, because they were given to the light of day by the "Advertiser" type. We refer to its remarkable endorse- ments of the last" the Advertiser" Michael Durand, made in terms which would have satisfied Liberty's own uncompromising bourgeois characters.

But now, once again, our eyes rest on stirring sentences which glow as though forged and rolled out of the sacred coals of old, all things conventional and worldly. 'Tis not the fashion of this world which never passeth away to speak thus. It is the voice of the minority that is heard,—that minority with which abides whatever is excellent.

Much also did Liberty ponder, but space now forbids report.

Cut-Downs and Cut-Ups.

One of the plainest definitions of common sense that a workingman can strike should fling into the teeth of his employer is this,—namely, that the latter is just as much a striker as is the former.

Here is a corporation declaring forty per cent. dividends on its capital in carrying on the manufacture of workmen, out of what they produce to maintain them on the ragged edge of poverty and despair. Suddenly the corporation inflict a despotic, but what is called a "cut-down." The helpless operatives submit.

In this view of the matter how infamous the scheme now being plotted in legislative halls to the "cut-offs" criminals, so that their oppressors may rob them with impunity. But perhaps it is all not before the end, and that these momentous issues between labor and capital will yet lead to bloodshed, unless labor learns the modus operandi of the destruction of its rights in time to thwart it by consolating and co-operating. It must be, that before it is too late, they shape the sooner the better, even on peaceful and humanitarian grounds.
Liberty.

[Translated from "Le Révolu"]: "When ignorance prevails in the bosom of society and disease is prevalent among its three members, men are expected from every quarter to bring the law and make of it a science. But we are not to think that the first goal in the formation of a new code of laws is to write a book in which we explain to the people the nature of the law. The true goal is to make the people understand the law and apply it to their lives."

The establishment of industrial socialism is a usurping legislative body. While we hail the growth of economic consciousness among the masses, we invite workmen to study the methods of Liberty, overthrow the State, repudiate all politicians and their services, and go straight forward about their business. If we can reasonably expect that the people will not be led astray, we will begin to see the legislative moths seriously thinking.

Law and Authority.

"The first cause of the present state of society is the ignorance of the people. Men expect everything from legislation, and when they do not get it, they blame the politicians for not doing it."

In the existing state, a new law is considered a remedy for all evils. Instead of changing themselves what is bad, the people begin to call for a law to change it. If a road between two villages is impassable? The farmer says that a law of highways is necessary. Has the village constable, taking advantage of the situation, commenced his reign? He is the village postman, and reads aloud the letters, including some one? "A law is needed," cries the insulted party, "to establish a standard of politeness for village society." What is the result? The State, in a few weeks, establishes a code of morals.

"We must have a protective law," says the husbandman, "for the hogs and cattle-raiser, the grain speculator: down to the dealer in like professions. The only way to protect a petty thief is to protect his petty trade. Does the employer lower wages or add to the hours of labor? There must be a law to regulate trade." Instead of telling the operative that there is another and more effective method of regulating that,—namely, to take back from the employer the privilege which he has stolen, from generations of workers. In short, everywhere a law! A law of roads, of fashions, of a law of mad dogs, of a law of virtue, to oppose a law of vice. Every law is an evil that results only from human indolence and cowardice.

We are all so pervaded by an education which from infancy has handed down to us the idea that the subject of submission to authority is so pervaded by this education that all things, our country, our religion, our friends, even our children,—that, if it continues, we shall lose all power of initiative, all habit of thinking for ourselves. Our society seems unchanging, unchangeable. We see under the control of the law, elaborated by a representative government and administered by a hundred of governors; and even when a success in enunciating itself from this yoke, its first act is immediately restored it. The "19th of July" has never lasted more than a day, for, after its proclamation, the law of the authority, is again enforced on the very next day.

In first, for thousands of our governors have been protecting our constitutional laws to the state of the law of submission to authority, we are so pervaded by this education that all things, our country, our religion, our friends, even our children,—that, if it continues, we shall lose all power of initiative, all habit of thinking for ourselves. Our society seems unchanging, unchangeable. We see under the control of the law, elaborated by a representative government and administered by a hundred of governors; and even when a success in enunciating itself from this yoke, its first act is immediately restored it. The "19th of July" has never lasted more than a day, for, after its proclamation, the law of the authority, is again enforced on the very next day.

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Against Woman Suffrage.

The following article, written by Lyman Spooner, originally appeared February 24, 1877, in the now defunct "New Age," J. M. L. Babcocke's journal, cannot be revised and reprinted too often until the cries of the women to join in human emancipation have been turned into a determination to abolish human oppression.

Women are human beings, and consequently have all the natural rights that any human beings can have. They have just as good minds as men, and just as good a right to be free as they have to survival. They have no more right to be under the same laws as men. They have the same rights to be protected by law, and that is just as good as any more. No human being, not any number of human beings, have any right to make laws, and compel their children to obey them. To say that they have is to say that they are the masters and owners of those of whom they require such obedience.

The only thing they have any right to be compelled to do is obey the law. And justice is just a sort of thing that is need. that can be used, or altered, by any human being. The law is made and enforced by the man of law and of things. It is that natural principle which determines what is mine and what is thine, what is one man's right or property and what is another man's right or property. It is, so to speak, the line that Nature has drawn between one man's rights of person and property and another man's rights of person and property.

But this line, which Nature has drawn, separating the rights of one man from the rights of any and all other men, no human being can alter, and no human being has any right to alter. Every human being would be at the mercy of any and all other human beings who were stronger than he.

This is not a question of war and peace, and which way to go with every human being being his or her right, and to go from the rights of each and every other human being, the laws that they may have are things of science to be learned, like mathematics, or chemistry, or geology. And all the laws, so called, that men have ever made, or have thought of making, or have ever committed in the world by anybody—have been committed by them under the pretense of making laws. Some man, or some woman, or some group of men or women, have imposed the laws of making laws, and compelling others men to obey; thus setting up their own will, and enforcing it, in place of that natural law, or natural principle, which says that no man has the right to make the strong and powerful whatever the persons or property of other men.

There are a large class of men who are so rapacious that they do not have any right to own the property of others. They combine for the purpose, call themselves governments, make what they call laws, and then employ companies to execute, and use, in the last resort, bayonets, to enforce obedience.

There is another class of men, who are devoted to ambition.

They think in a very glorious thing; to rule over men; to make laws to govern them. But as they have no power of their own, they combine together, nearly always, in a class before mentioned, and become their lords. They promise to make such laws as the rapacious class desires, and then employ companies to execute, and use, in the last resort, bayonets, to enforce obedience.

Still another class of men, with a sublime concept of their own wisdom, or virtue, or religion, think they have a right, and a sort of divine authority, for making laws to govern those who, they think, are not wise, or not virtuous, or not religious. They think of what is best for all men to do and not to do, to be and not to be, to have and not to have. And they proceed to make laws to compel all the other classes to conform to their will, or, as they would say, to their superior discretion. They seem to have no perception of the fact that, when being has given the mind and body of his own, separate and distinct from minds and bodies of all other men; and that each man's soul and body have, as they are, rights that are utterly independent of any rights of any and all other men; that those individual rights are really the only human rights there is in the world; that man's soul is simply the mind and body, and property, according to his own will, pleasure, and discretion, as long as he does not interfere with the equal rights of any other man to the same soul, mind, body, and property. They seem to have no conception of the truth that, so long as they leave all other men's souls, bodies, and property alone, however, in such wisdom, or virtue, or religion as they, or as they think best for all men.

This body of self-conceited wise, virtuous, and religious people, not being sufficiently powerful of themselves to make laws and enforce them upon the rest, combined, took upon themselves the right to make laws, combined, took upon themselves the right to make laws, and enforced them upon others. It is astounding what an amount of wisdom, virtue, and knowledge they propose to use in a hostile and manky, if they can be persuaded to permit us to make such human beings as Nature made us, than suffer ourselves to be made into such grotesque and horrible shapes as we are, to such abject slavery and ridicule, as human beings. Assuming to be gods, they propose to make us over into their own images. But there are so many different images among them, that they can, at most, but one feature after one model, and another after another. What the whole conglomerate human animal will be like, it is impossible to conjecture.

In all conscience, it is not better for us even to bear the terribly unbearable life inflicted upon us by the laws already made, at any rate, than to be subject to a single natural human being left upon the globe, if the woman can but get hold of us, and add their power to that of the men in making such laws as nobody has any right to make, and which nobody has any right to obey. According to their programme, we are all to be put into their legislative mill, and be ground up, ground over, worked over, re-made, to be fashioned and moulded, and be recognized and rendered as human beings. Assuming to be gods, they propose to make us over into their own images. But there are so many different images among them, that they can, at most, but one feature after one model, and another after another. What the whole conglomerate human animal will be like, it is impossible to conjecture.

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