On Picket Duty.

The New York Senate has been amusing itself writing poetry. Although the poetry was very bad, it was an improvement on the usual occupation of law-making.

The offer made in the last issue of Liberty for copies of the first number of the enlarged and revised edition of the first three numbers of the New York Whig, is now withdrawn. This was especially gratifying in view of Mr. Schuman's recent conversion to Anarchism, announced in an article copied in another column. It seemed too bad that so many dollars should be wasted for such means of propagandism just as he had come to a knowledge of ideas worth propagating. The world moves truly, and the Anarchist's hope and courage grows firmer with each movement of the wheels.

I have often seen Ruskin refer to in labor papers as giving his sanction to the ideas of Henry George.

Such papers as foster this delusion would do well to ponder the following lines from No. 65 of Ruskin's "Elements and Clavges." recent publication of The nonsense thought and talked about 'Nationalisation of Land,' like other nonsense, must have its day. I suppose, and I hope, soon, its night. All healthy states from the beginning of the world, living on land, are founded on hereditary tenure, and perish when either the lords or peasants sell their estates, much more when they let them out for hire. The single line of the last words of John of Gaunt to Richard II., 'Landlord of England, art thou now, not king,' expresses the root of the whole matter, and the present weakness of the Peers in their dispute with the Commons is because the Upper House is compassed no more by Seigneur, but by Lords.

Possession of land implies the duty of living on it, and by it, if there is enough to live on; then, having got one's own life from it by one's own labor, or wise superintendence of labor, if there is more land than is enough for one's self, the duty of making it fruitful and beautif- ful for as many more as can live on it."

"Taking generals as they go, I have always held Robert E. Lee in moderately high esteem, but, if Judah Early tells the truth, this opinion must be revised and perhaps reversed. Trying to relieve Lee from that horrible suspicion on his character which attributes to Grant's maimness at Appomattox Lee's retention of his sword, Early declares that Lee and all his officers were allowed by the express terms of the capitulation to retain their arms and, farther (citing Dr. Jones' "Personal Reminiscences of General R. E. Lee") that Lee once said to Jones and other friends, and in 1860 to Early himself, that, before going to meet Grant, he left orders with Longstreet and Gardner to hold their commands in readiness, as he was determined to cut his way through or perish in the attempt, if such terms were not granted as he thought his army entitled to demand." That is to say, General Early, having determined that it would be folly to make his men fight longer for his cause, made up his mind to surrender, but decided at the same time that he would cause his men to die by the thousands rather than submit himself and his officers to a slight personal humiliation. He was willing to swallow the camel, but, rather than stomach the guillot, he would murder his fellow-men without compunction. All considerations fall before the man if he has a political, or economic, or military. The art of war, on which government finally rests, has, like government itself, its laws and regulations and customs, which, in the eyes of the military

devotes, must not be observed at all hazards. Beside them

human life is a mere bagatelle. Man himself may be violated with impunity, but man-made laws and cus-
toms are inviolably enshrined in the Holy of Holies.
WHATS TO BE DONE?

A ROMANCE

BY N. G. TCHERCHYSHWY

Translated by Brench R. Tucker

Continued from No. 50

"Vorooleika, my friend, you have reproached me,"—his voice trembled for the second and last time in his life; the first time it trembled with doubt, now it trembled with joy. "I have reproached you, but this reproach is dearer to me than all my other reproaches. You have reproached me, and for this I thank you. You reproached me because you believe I should be a true man; and I reproach myself, because you reproached me, and I thank you for such a reproach upon myself. See! there are tears in my eyes, the first tears that I have shed since my childhood.

Throughout the evening his eyes were fixed upon her. She did not once say to herself during that evening that he was trying to be affectionate, and that evening passed with a new light shining in his eyes, in his hair, in a new manner of speaking, and a new confidence in his speech, which were all clear to be thought of only leisurely; now time was pressing, and his business was to analyze the causes of this prevarication.

At first it was a long time before he could discover anything. He had seen clearly for some days that he could not keep her love. Painful as it was, he had not been able to do this. It was the first time in his life that he had not been able to do what he could not make. I should say now) successful journalists, then what? Further on he tells, when he says:

"...and only you could have the highest success in journalism as it is today and had been for many years, be as far as at least my memory serves me, must be a man of remarkably quick perception. This is the chief qualification."

May we hope that this editorial policy and making money must be his sole aim. This is as true of the most utterly unknown reporter as of the editor-in-chief. Why should it? I am not so confident that the most copies daily and has the best advertising patronage; that is, which declares the largest dividend each year. What paper is there that does not aim for this? What leading paper is there that would not want the devil if its management thought that by so doing its finances would be improved? What successful paper is there that would not print anything within the bounds of the law if by doing more papers would continue to drop into its till? What prominent paper is there that does not have a little big list of names of which no unpleasant things must be said, never mind how big the list? If Mr. Jones advises well, and our Mr. Jones be led aloof; if he does to anything about which the truth, if told, would injure him?"

"...and just connected with a paper as reporter or editor may be called upon to lie (for twelve, twenty, fifty, or one hundred dollars per week, according to his ability) a dozen times a day, and also to swear that this lie is God's truth. If he means to"

I am beginning to think that my journalist—author is not what he says he is, a retired editor in chief, the man of an honest profession, and by this means vents his spleen upon those who have. I cannot believe that the greatest educators, the leaders of the people, the guardians of the people, the most important men in the country, the fathers of the children, the right of the people of time are so corrupt; that their only object is gain. If it is, or there, or rather was there, to high moral purpose in the journalism of the nineteenth century?

"For the most part all our daily papers are owned by stock companies, and surely none can expect a philanthropic and benevolent attitude from them, whether it usually the editor-in-chief, who dictates the p-day and course of the paper, is paid a certain salary, and he is expected to make the paper earn money. But I say this not to make the editor editor in chief. All the subordinate editors of the managing editor—new editors, city editors, district editors, assistant city editors, the reporter, copy editors, the editor in-chief. There must be no individual opinion of right and wrong. Right means profitable and wrong means profitless. Is it for the good of the people that this be pub-

print this? I am speaking always, unless I specify differently, of the large daily newspapers, the great leaders of public opinion.

We had read this, I can remember, and I said not without thought through my mind. "What if all this that he says is true?" The people have the power to kill a corrupt newspaper in a few weeks, and can stop the criminal at once by not buying it. The most successful papers are the most successful because they sell the greatest number of copies,—that is, because they print matter that the people like to read. If the people like to read watered truth, well and good, if they are to be flattered and abused, who cares?"

And but a few pages more when I found the author had anticipated my criticism and answered it in this manner:

"If you charge a journalist with guilty the public, he immediately answers that he gives the world what it wants as the quality of his paper. It won't do he says, to print the truth; no daily could live and do it. The people desire to read exaggerations and flattering and abusing lies. They want the truth adulterated, and flattery to make it pleasant to hear. They quote this from Seraphim (a good journalist must be good at quoting): 'It must be a remarkably true man to keep his work quiet. When the lower rings of a multitude are assuaging its natural sympathies, and who can speak frankly the best there is in him when adulterating it a little or a good deal he knows that he may make it ten times as popular as your pages.

"What redress have the people? Stop buying the papers? But it is necessary that you should buy the papers. There are matters upon which they must keep informed."

And so the book continues on to the end. Sometimes I will talk with an editor of today, and give you his views of journalism.

Josephine
love you, I am well content; if not, mere's the pity, but for that matter go where you will. It takes me back to Dr. Franklin's maxim, a maxim which I should like to see imbedded more or less in the world. I took an imbecile for an honest man; I am very sorry for it, and that is all. If our interests are not bound up with the acts of a particular man, how can we have a serious interest in imbecility? Two cases alone excepted, which, however, seem exceptions only to men accustomed to our mode of calculation. The first case is when actions interest us on their ethical side, as pities; phenomena explaining the nature of man,—that is, when we feel an interest in him... A man who is not interested in an imbecile, I think and am reasonably certain that he would not be guilty in our eyes if he were careless of his conduct,—that is, when he is not interested in his conduct, but in the consequences of it. Everyone is interested in himself, and therefore in the consequences of his conduct. No man who is no more interested in a person than in himself, and therefore in the consequences of his conduct, could not help giving them close thought. Now, to give a thing close thought and to understand its causes are almost one and the same thing to a man of Lapontok's habit of thought. Lapontok believed that his theory furnished the sweetest means of acquiring human emotions, and I confess that I am of his opinion. During a long series of years this theory that I profess has not led me into error, and I always put on a good example to discover the truth, whatever the depth in which it be hidden.

One of the best true that this theory is not accessible to all; it requires experience and habits of thought to be able to understand it.
Labor Reform and Political Action.

Some labor reformers preach the doctrine that political action has nothing to do with industrial conditions. Evidently the men who seek to control legislation do not believe this. If one had no effect on the other, why is it that capital and its tools in its breaking bonds invariably vote down every measure asked in the interest of labor? If politics has nothing to do with industrial conditions, why do big coal husk generals, and money changers buy up congresses? Wont create the national banking system but legislation is considered plan for the destruction of the people.

We solemnly and stand ready to prove it, that men who control the politics of any nation control the prosecution and destruction of the people.

The above is from the Hartford Examiner, probably the most earnest and influential labor organ in New England, and around which are associated a colossus of brave and true reformers whom I very highly respect. John Swinton calls this "solid sense"; but I regret to so essentially differ with him as to call it solid idiocy.

Evidently the consequences and convictions of the various labor organ editors are becoming more and more tried over the question of utterly divorcing labor agitation from politics, and the quarrels among themselves over the point are assuming ever larger proportions. Some have already dropped their political ideals, and the drift is steadily in that way. May I be permitted to paraphrase the above quotation, as follows, in order to bring out the moral inference intended by the Examiner:

Some wealthy reformers preach the doctrine that utilizing dirty tools engenders dishonesty and does worse than no tools at all, and consider, perhaps, the men who seek to foster dirty conditions does not believe this. If one has no effect on the other, why is it that capital and its dirty tools, buying coal husk generals, and money changers vote down every clean measure asked for the interest of labor? If dirtiness has nothing to do with industrial conditions, why do big coal husk generals, and money changers buy up dirty congresses? Wont create the national banking system but dirty legislation? and does not the system plunder the people?

We solemnly affirm, and stand ready to prove it, that the men who control the dirty tools of the nation control the prosecution and destruction of the people.

Very well, brethren Pyne and Swinton; and now what do you propose to do about it? Do you propose to send clean, healthy men down into these legislative assemblies to handle the dirty tools, and how long can they handle dirty tools without becoming dirty and diseased themselves?

You reply: "Throw out the dirty tools, and send in nothing but clean ones!" But what do you mean by clean tools in a dirty place? and can your tools possibly stay clean if they do any work at all? The one thing that you have people yet to learn is that politics itself, in its very essence, is composed of dirty materials. You cannot touch a clean tool to it without contamination. The only way that you and your tools can stay clean is to keep out of the dirty structure altogether. Let not the dirty tools take care of such places. They belong there; and you do not. By keeping them company you become an ally of their infamy. Call upon working people to turn their backs on the legislative dens, and upon the ballot-boxes which support them. Then tell them to go to work and deal with their oppressors on business principles.

When you labor-reform editors arrive at this stage of head-longness, it will not be long before you see John Thain and his tools fleeing from their legislative dens for their lives, like rats in a frosted. They are only dangerous because men like you defend the existence of the dens in which they do their dirty work. You look upon them as sensible, while it is the structure itself that is dirty. Condemn the rotten old structure; put your tools to work on a new house, and you will have a harder in keeping them clean and big than before.

As an example of the utter blindness of ordinary labor reformers, I have been solicited to appear before a committee of legislative reformers to testify for a ten-hour law, which I am on the side of. Evidently, as an American, I cannot recognize this legislative crow nor its authority. Yet men who are fully in accord with the American idea allow me gently and say: "But here is a chance to get some good out of the rotten old machine. You need not hate politics any the less, but you ought to use it wherever you can to beat its own brains out with."

At the same time it is apparent that American tendencies know very well that a ten-hour law is a direct assault upon personal liberty. If I concede the authority of a legislature to make ten hours a day's work, I thereby concede authority to make twenty hours a day's work, and entirely its authority to forbid me to work at all. What authority can forbid me to make a contract with an employer to work as many hours as we can agree upon, without a flat-footed attempt made to prevent everything that can be made to actually prevent? What contracts are voided in equity, by reason of the employer's monopoly of the means of existence: but does not the State exist for the sole and only purpose of protection against monopoly? So long as labor reformers flounder about among politicians, and do not demand such conditions as will make a free contract possible, they are as apt to be on the side of destroying as on the side of defending. They cannot demand such conditions logically, except as they demand the abolition of the State itself. An honest man has no business before a legislative committee, except to carry the whole gang to go home and mind his own business.

While workingmen are n’osing servilely about the skirts of legislative committees, begging "Your Honorable body" to do something for them, the great workingmen are getting tired of this slow toot and procreating in a business-like manner to employ Pinkerton’s detectives to shoot them down for hire. By this simple device the politicians stifle the cry of their people, and while Pinkerton is working on business principles, labor reformers are assuranceing "Your Honorable body" that they are peaceable, law-abiding citizens, humbly and respectfully asking for the police to protect them from being killed.

When will workingmen take their cue from the business-like tyrants of Hocking Valley and the railroad corporators who employ Pinkerton’s men to shoot them down, while the politicians hide behind these hired assassins in order to save their lives? How long are men like Pyne and Swinton and all the others, and abet this cheat and swindle of politics, before they are ready to ask labor to turn its back upon the legislatures and enter into business with their oppressors on the practical and business-like line challenged by the employes of Pinkerton’s paid blood-hounds? I pause for a reply.

Prezenter Perry’s administration having suppressed, prior to its own most well-matured suppression, the anabaptistical journal, “Terre Et Liberté,” its persevering publishers have revived it under another name, “L’Aubace,” adopting a sobriquet so celebrated connotation: “To succeed it is necessary to dare, and again to dare, and ever to dare.” May this dare bring especially fruitful success!

The many delays and obstacles incidental to the establishment of a printing office have delayed this issue, in spite of my promise, far beyond my anticipation. But not the least obstacle to the regularity of publication. It will come, and soon. I hope to have the next number ready by April 25.

Forget His Faults, But Remember What? A murderer by wholesale, a calumnist political adviser, a horridous publicpector, a public launderer, a counterfeit and a bankrupt speculator and conniver at fraud lies dying in New York as I write, and a multitude of fools are waiting to wheel over the carcasses which a life of forgery and tobacco-smuggling has made as stinking and rotten as the heart that dwell within it. If some honest laborer among his victims had interrupted this wretch’s rascally career with a bawd, those fools would have been in the willing and ready dynamiter to sheds. So he morality and justice inspired in the people — worship of government and power. It is intended to stay, here but now feel like endeavoring the satisfaction that I take in having said thus much when I see that in some instances good men and true are joining the mob in singing the praises of this wretch and begging to forget his faults. There are few more demoralizing spectators than that of the noble of this earth binding themselves to the blind, passionate apathy of its ignoble. Forget his faults? Yes, gladly. But to forget his faults is to forget the man, and the man you need and shall remember. No! I insist that, if we must remember him, we shall remember him as he was. Take away his faults, and, in a public view, there is nothing left. For beyond such a period of disgrace, he could not exist as a person with ordinary mortals, what surpassing virtue had he? Talents he had, but he used them unworthily. Are we to worship those? I have no hatred for General Garfield for any other lie, but for this, for he gets the blood of us, do the best they know. All evil at bottom is only ignorance. Hence, if his friends would let him die quietly, so would I. What I object to is this stepping out of a bad man’s life as ideal or in any way exemplary. Did we not have enough of this in Garfield’s case? Now that Garfield’s real character is being manifested, what humiliation must his old friends for a few days of fame have to bear this warning against a repetition of the exploit. For which, as surely as James A. Garfield will go down to history an object of universal contempt, so surely will Ulysses S. Grant go down to history an object of universal horror.
A "Moral" Contract

During a short term of residence in Lowell, I noticed that a large proportion of the inhabitants were regular attendants at church. The religiosity of the community struck me as somewhat phenomenal. It was apparent that the church was a prospective field for Anarchist labors. But I made a discovery which indicated that the people were more completely under the control of the corporations than I had ever before known. They followed the strict letter of the printed regulations, from which I quote two significant paragraphs.

"The company recommend regular attendance on public worship on the Sabbath, as they consider it necessary for the preservation of good order and morals."

"These regulations are considered part of the contract with persons entering into the employment of the Boss Cotton Mill."

No less an order to slaves from masters to attend church. It is a part of the contract, all the terms of which are fixed by one party. The gentlemen who build mills and kindly permit skilled workers to toil for them are well informed for the welfare of the discipline. They recommend frugality and cut down wages to compel the workers to practice the virtue, and then send the poor devils to churches that they may learn humility and obedience. The capitalists consider it necessary for the preservation of morals that the workmen and women should have no day of recreation, no time to think and study for themselves. When their bellies are empty, and their wages inadequate to buy the drugs which dissipation and indulgence of religious conviction, which teaches them that poverty is a virtue and their reward will come in the heavenly hereafter. But for the benevolent influence of the virtual bond, the workmen themselves might demand the reward of their labor in this life and greatly embarrass the pious proprietors of the Boss Mill.

Socialist Superstition

Beasts are governed by their brains as imaginations as much as by either love or fear. That of horses and asses is continually extinguished by their stabling at the least amount of heat and cold, by which all those animals are made to do which they do not see. Dogs betray it by dream barking, and also behave as if they saw ghosts on fire, although there is very great reason to suppose that rose bushes from goats by any quantity or disposition of brush, upon the ground, will drive the Danielites into their dens with the fear of a little of the same, and it is a safe barrier. Feeling from beasts to men, we find superstitions imaginary an equal in men in the same, which are not by their ignorance and simplicity. Hence the reverence for authority which religious build, and, after them, secular governments.

A natural effect of heredity, against which reformers use to be continually on their guard, and which is: now cropping out among Socialists, is the prejudice to superstition which only some names and superficial forms have been changed in their races, but partial emancipation. Thus, for instance, in the case of a purchase of a property which has been at such a price established by the other to secure the surrender of the soil, at the same time that they confirm in its possession the actual and legal alienation of the land or money, while, flying in the face of a subtle experience, is the more dangerous from the fact that it throws what is wise in the sage, but, being by political fanaticism, will, of course, have a certain run. Farmers, generally, money, may be easily seduced by the Socialists for the good of the people, but it is a strong and immense divide, and which either takes the people of their contractors, of itself and the subject of faith, which is, of course, has always been proverbial. Furthermore, supposing the railroad master to compound the janitor's rights and wages with the money accruing from them laborer to the small class of great capitalists, black-hoofed—already swollen to monstrous prices by the speculative mania and increased by 100,000,000 of millions of acres), with banking privileges still more enervate and dangerous to the people, and, to crown evil, exemption of their taxes from all.

Conorollary 2—Functions created for an additional army of office holders land stewards to be paid. Fees taxatation from individuals, 2 rents on the good will of the land steward, opening for fresh privilege for favorites, opposition, paying, and corruption. The hook of the fish is covered with a bait, the needs of the needy farmer will be paid in government paper for his farm, and still is assured he shall receive the tax the next day; a fabulous property is what we shall not be less than the taxes and rates previously paid.

Tell that to the workingmen. The paid-off speculators for these purposes, perhaps doubling or trebling the actual circulation, prices are bound to rise, and experience has proved that much more, to the laborers with them. A much larger class will then be decreased to the verge of starvation, as in Europe. For while the increase of money in circulation increases the pressure of laborers with more the government, whose whole trade will be reduced, taxed, and the bankruptcy will be the only more completely resolved to the government, whose revenue would be paid in real value in land, and the communications and consumption, as they are better or telegraph.

The government shall undertake the stewardship of the land and pay the taxes, and "sell" or "sell" the "value" of the land to those who will pay a fair rent for such use. Then all taxes and rates shall be abolished, and the whole economy and purposes of the government be applied to the public service.

The railways and telegraphs would become public property, and the government, henceforth, would be able to make a fair deal for all public works, and the farmers would gain by the change, as the rent they now pay would be less than the taxes and rates they had previously paid.

Mr. Riley ought to be a happy man, for he carries an Abraham's lamp in his bosom. He has, however, more reason to fear than to rejoice. It is evident, however, that the assumption that the government has ceased to be a tool of the masters, has ceased to pay interest, aboliished all taxes, and that it now exists for the good of the people. Venia ludum mentes! Such a government will have eaten its own head.

All of the speculations in the speculations of the government which controls the minds of all who write against it, sighing, "Ahas! there is no reason for hope that the governor will see us again.

So far from giving up the government idea, this Socialist, who sees and criticizes the existing evils and the penalties of the "representative government" as their cause, would initiate their curing by making all governments increase their income and increase in the value of the government, he gives the name "certificates of free" to the货, of free interest.

This is another kind of government, issuing paper currency, which is not to be paid; the object of the government is to make the government, the railways and telegraphs, and assuming the functions of stewardship. He is a kind of religious politician who has the church-ridden bigot with the God-idea. The latter, instead of confessing national law and dealing directly with national forces, must first imagine God, and then imaginecreating nature and ruling it as with a human will. So the benighted Socialist must first imagine his government (in contradiction of all human experience), and then act as his government to doing what enterprise and faculty already are doing so effectually, and which only the inter- mingling of government by private and public influence come to our government.

Nearly all our evils are due to the unwisdoms of the most indirect causes of government, and manufactured and protected, and to manufactures by and for revenue, from indirect taxation, the civil and the military, and you have nearly the whole social structure of judgment. Its judiciary could very justly be dispense with.

From the Socialist programme proceed these corollaries due, and the study to be applied to the public service. The railways and telegraphs would become public property, and the government, henceforth, would be able to make a fair deal for all public works, and the farmers would gain by the change, as the rent they now pay would be less than the taxes and rates they had previously paid.

If they tell me: "To abolish," I shall answer: "That is vulgar," but I shall understand. They will not tell me that.

They will say: "To make taxes.

This reminded me of that pretty story of Pyrusz describing to a sage his schemes of conquest.

"We will capture this, this town, then that.

And then?

"We will go to the North.

And then?

"We will return by way of the South.

When we have conquered everything, we will come back to our homes and rest;"

I say, "You do not begin the task," said the sage. "Can we not rest now?"

Since peace is the end that we have in view, why not respect the exhaustion of the powers of the people, and rest in our homes now? We shall have advantages! What? Who will repulse our last gold? Who will resist our soldiers? Are a few miles of land or a few houses of houses worth all this massacre and all this ruin? Unhappily, in this government of sages, as Ferry modestly says, it is a very large tax. The finger has been inserted in the gage, then the hand, then the body, then the arm, then the whole body will be dismantled. How are we to repel our last gold? Who is able to reason who think of nothing but the approaching dangers, to whom the whole future is bounded by our lack of power? Our wealth is covered with a monitorary, not, who will believe one of all that? They keep their seats and their portfolios. Where we used to consider we have only men of circumstance; where we used citizens needed we only men of circumstance; where we used citizens needed we only men of circumstance into place; where we used citizens needed we only men of circumstance to do.
WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

(Continued from page 3.)

ey's voice was clear and strong, the air of expectation around him, the intensity of his gaze at Maria.

"Maria, are you ready?"

"Yes, Mr. Kirsanoff, I am ready."

"Then let's go."

Maria nodded assent and walked beside Kirsanoff out of the room and into the next, where a man was waiting for them.

"Mr. Smith, I have brought Maria Kirsanoff to see you."

"Thank you, Mr. Kirsanoff. I've been expecting you."

Mr. Smith was a tall, thin man with piercing eyes and a firm, determined mouth. He welcomed Maria with open arms and led her to a comfortable chair.

"Welcome, Maria. I've been waiting for you."

Maria smiled, feeling a sense of purpose wash over her. She was ready for whatever adventures lay ahead.

"Thank you, Mr. Smith. I'm ready to begin."

Mr. Smith nodded, and Maria took a deep breath, allowing the energy to flow through her. She was eager to start the journey of self-discovery and growth that awaited her.

"Let's begin."

Maria sat up straighter, her hands clasped together in anticipation. She was prepared to receive whatever challenges and revelations lay ahead on the path of transformation.

End of excerpt.
Judge Lynch's the Supreme Court.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I have long been a reader of the "Truth Seeker," and for many years I have been a subscriber to Liberty; and, if Liberty was filled with Anarchism, or the science that under

our social system, I would like much better. I have given the subject much thought, and, at the same time, have always been reading through the various, phases of the question, I have learned in the Truth Seeker and

in Americanism, I am compelled to say that Anarchism appears to

me the nearest true ideal of anything that has yet been discovered. I am, however, better presented, I think I may safely announce myself as an Anarchist. I read everything I can afford on the subject, and analyze what I read and conclude for myself.

This leads me to the reference of the editor of the "Truth Seeker" for instances of Anarchism. On the frontier, I have spent the last ten years of my life on the extreme frontier, and now for the first time in ten years am resident of a so-called civilized town. Hence I know something of the operations of vigilance committees. And I am fully pre-

pared to say that, in the entire absence of civil law, voluntary

associations for self-preservation protect all other methods for

bringing peace, harmony, and security out of chaos. The only

time I have for the Collectivists, believe them to be the best of a
town but what it had the desired effect upon offenders. The

difficulty generally is that people delay action too often in

defending themselves. It is a law of nature, the hands until absolutely compelled to do it for themselves.

The best people are Anarchists if they only know it. The

natives of the western frontier, to assert itself. I have seen five men shot down (killed, I mean) one morning before breakfast, in a log cabin, then four men shot down (killed, I mean) the next morning before breakfast, in another log cabin, then a man shot down (killed, I mean) the next day, and so on up to the present time, and the
department. It was done by the citizens. Before

the sheriff was a mere figure-head, powerless to enforce the law to the extent there is now a great lack of power. It is the 

result of all these causes, and the necessity of the government to the point.

We are in the midst of the Anarchist to obstruct its coming and to hinder its establishment, to mistrust its ex-

pediency. Therefore shows the instant; and to maintain

intransigent against all its forms throughout the world.

George Bernard Shaw.

This is a Lie.

(Chicago Alarm.)

"The Alarm" is the only English paper in America that advocates the complete emancipation of labor.

William Bower.

Important Anarchistic Accessions.

The Chicago "Radical Review," which for some time has been

bravely and earnestly fighting for ideas more or less liberal, announces in its last issue that it must give up the plant for want of support. But this is by no means the end of the struggle. People interested in the Llollow-

excellent statement of the Anarchist faith and acknowledge- nent of their conversion thereto;

Yes, we are still loyal to the ideal of our early youth,—

the idea of a cooperative commonwealth, whose spirit of

liberty has indeed become more rounded, more beautiful, and more imperious. In our capacity or another we shall still struggle for the future, for the attainment of what is now the present order of things. We also still regard the diffusion of Truth and Liberty among the people as the grand end of our work. The realization of the Anarchist idea in the present order of things. We are, therefore, as we ever have been, and we continue the "Review," we shall pursue a more radical advocacy of Liberty and, place less faith in democratic institutions than we did before. Not, indeed, as we have looked with favor upon aristocratic or monarchic insti-

tutions, but because we have come to consider de-

ocratic with its questionable system of majority rule, as an obstacle in the way of Liberty and the rule of con-

science, which are the true conditions of progress and social well-being. We have no doubt that the democratiza-

tion of the government of this country, such as we have heretofore advocated, and which contemplated more direct participation of the affairs of state by the people than they now have, would denote a great improvement on the present system. But there would still remain a very dangerous threat to the expedition of democratic freedom by the constricting and unreasoning few; and despotic sentiment by parliamentary forms is always dangerous to the people. If the despotism of an absolute monarch and


even if the exploitation of democratic institutions by oppres-

sion and tyranny might be avoided, no scheme could ensure the improvement of the present government machinery would reach the root of the evil to be removed. The state is a power based on force; and it makes no difference whether this force is that of an absolute ruler, of an aristocratic minority, or of a democratic majority. The intrinsic quality of force is the same in all these instances, and its total elimination from society is unattainable the watchword of the future,—

that is, if the future will come under the sway of reason and morality, as we have an abiding faith that it will.

This is not the place to elaborate these views at which we have recently, but by no means suddenly or carelessly ar-

rived. We will only say that they are in a direct line of
descent from views that we have heretofore held. The insti-
tutions which have been sacred to the most ancient of our ancestors were based on the same scheme like Communism that tends to repress him. We have always advocated the direct participation of the people for the development and expan-

sion of the individual, like Democracy. But we now see that

Democracy does not offer the most favorable conditions for the individual. These conditions are provided only by An-

archism,—that is, by a society based on voluntary associa-
tion, on the basis of the free contract, irrespective of the

class—so different from those which we have heretofore held. The institutions which have been sacred to the most ancient of our ancestors were based on the same scheme. It is not the business of the workers and thinkers of today to give the attention it demands of them.

It is not largely characterized by our educational insi-

tutions; that is to say, to us from generation, both political and religious; to Church and State, which, except in point of liberty, our ancestors suffer under. In a word, to speak the least, the rights of man have been

limited by our fears, prejudices, and our love of security, in a word, to speak the least, the rights of man have been

limited by our fears, prejudices, and our love of security.

What have these twin sisters of oppression done for hum-

anity during the last century? Do not the workers and thinkers of today give the attention it demands of them.

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