Vol. IV.—No. 12.

BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1886.

Whole No. 90.

On Picket Duty.

I am obliged to postpone till the next issue a letter from J. Wm. Lloyd exposing C. C. Walker's inconsistence in claiming that he is legally married.

"Fortunately for the new party vote on the 29th of November," says John Swinton's "Letter," "archbishop Corrigan's pastoral letter was not issued till after the event; and, moreover, how much stirring and blowing is it wise to indulge in over the votes of men who will change their ballots at an archbishop's bidding? The man who attempts to effect the Social Revolution by permission of the Catholic Church may prosper in his insane purpose for a day, but his ultimate fate will be crushing disaster as sure as eggs are eggs and superstition is superstition.

I wonder if the managers of the Schanzen enterprise intend to adopt Fourier's suggestion of marching the toilers to the places of work in regiments, with banners and bands of music. I shouldn't be surprised if such really were the intention. Yet, no matter how near they may seem to come to the realization of the desiderata of "Attractive Industry," I think that, if a popular vote shall be taken on the question, the toilers will declare in favor of marching along, from the places of work, with music and firewords, instead of from home and to the places of work. However, I may be wrong. If the Bosses of Schanzen are to have their way, the homes of the toilers are not likely to be more pleasant than the workshops.

With the end of this year the "Index" will die, after seventeen years of life, such as it was. For the first year or two it did a useful work, but since then it has been rather a hindrance than a help to Liberalism. It is to be succeeded by a Chicago weekly called "The Open Court" and edited by B. F. Underwood and Sara A. Underwood. Most of the "Index" contributors will write for the new paper. There is said to be no lack of capital behind the enterprise, but it will all be needed unless Mr. Underwood makes a very much better paper than the "Index" has been. The source of this capital has not been publicly announced, but it is generally understood that it is to come from a large manufacturer of La Salle, Illinois, named Hegeler, who is reputed to be an enthusiastic follower of Herbert Spencer. A short time ago there was a report current that the "Index" would have another successor in the shape of a journal to be published in New York under the editorship of Maurice D. Conway. This news was too good to be true. Nevertheless it is Mr. Conway's desire to edit a paper, and I hope it may be realized.

On January 4, 1887, Henry George will publish the first number of the "Standard," a weekly newspaper "for all who work with hand or brain." Mr. George announces that it is his purpose "to make a newspaper that, while keeping abreast of the times in all the main departments of human thought and interest, and affording a field for the free discussion of social and political topics by the ablest writers, shall give earnest support to the great movement that is now beginning for the abolition of monopoly and the recognition of natural rights,—a paper so full and strong and fair as to meet the desires of our friends and command the respect of our opponents." Mr. George has the journalistic faculty in a marked degree, and ought to produce a readable paper. I am glad that he makes this gesture, because it will do more than anything else to force an issue the question whether the doctrine of taxation of land values as a panacea for society's ills can retain and increase the hold upon the public mind which it has secured in such a phonematically short time. With its editor's prestige, the "Standard" should certainly be a financial success. The subscription price is $2.50 a year, and the address is "Box 201, New York."

George E. Macdonald, the "Truth Seeker"—"a man with the brows of a fiend, the blackness of a bird, and the purism of a prophet." The Social Club meetings are often the most readable part of the paper, and who, as a humorist, is worthy of rank with the best of the professionals, had an experience last election day, in the capacity of poll-clerk in one of the New York wards, which is given in "Truth Seeker" reading a long and amusing and instructive account, the upshot of which is that his experience has made him "heartily sick of the whole business," and has convinced him that "not more than half the voters vote with any object in view, and that such object is likely to be lost through the carelessness, dishonestly, or incompetence of those who receive, record, and count the ballots," although he admits that the election machinery is pretty nearly perfect. Well, Mr. Macdonald, what are you going to do about it? You cannot seriously suppose that the appointment of women as election inspectors, or the likes, would do more than slightly modify the evils of which you complain. And if this would not remedy it, what will? And if nothing will, how long are you going to uphold the political system of which such evils are the inevitable product? In other words, when will you declare yourself an Anarchist?

J. Wm. Lloyd, in "Lucifer," rightly condemns the anxiety of some Anarchists to drop the name. He holds that it accurately expresses the negative side of their principle. But he thinks that they should also have a name expressive of its positive side. Describing this positive side as "voluntary cooperative defense," he suggests the names Defencocrat and Defendencry, and calls for criticism upon them. I have heard objections to them, but my primary objection is that they are needless, for the reason that Anarchism has no positive side. The positive work of any movement is something which remains to be done after its negative work has been accomplished, or else something distinct from its negative work, but which may be done simultaneously with it. Anarchism means the abolition of invasion. In what respect is voluntary cooperative defense less distinct from invasion, or is it, after the abolition of invasion, where will the necessity of defense arise? It is true that we may wear our swords for a while after putting our foes to flight, but for so remote and insignificant a feature of our struggle we need not to trouble ourselves to find a name. Our names are all right, and we have enough of them. Our principal need at this juncture is of men who will stand consistently for the ideas which these names represent.

My Wichita Falls comrade, Mr. Warren, falls into error when he accuses me of "adopting the nonsensical tautology of a class with whom no individualist could harmonize," meaning, I suppose, by this class the Communist who calls himself Anarchist. Is Mr. Warren aware that the Chicago men never dreamed of adopting the name Anarchist until long after Liberty was started, and that the Communist Anarchists of Europe did not so style themselves until nearly forty years after Proudhon used the name, for the first time in the world, to designate a social philosophy? Proudhon was an individualist, and, to him and those who tend to think with him, belong, by right of discovery and use, the employment of the word Anarchy in scientific terminology. We individualists hold the original title, and we do not propose to be evicted by the first upstart Communist who comes along with a false claim. Mr. Warren's position in another article of E. C. Walker and Lillian Harman. He disposes of Mr. Walker's sophistry most effectively. But let not Mr. Warren be discouraged. This man and that man may drop out of our ranks, but a number of people and the party of Liberty and are disposed to stand by it is growing every day. One swallow does not make a summer, and the whole flock of snow-birds now twittering in "Lucifer's" dominions cannot make winter bare. The glorious sun of Liberty, rising in the east, and no part of the world can escape its light and heat.

Not shown the first appearance of Henry George's light above the horizon its rays been subjected to any such keen and searching analysis as that which they must now suffer under the prismatic criticisms of John F. Kelly. Ingalls, Hanson, Leavitt, Edgworth, and others have dealt Georgism some hard blows, but Mr. Kelly's acute reasoning does more — it undermines it; or, better still, it points out how completely, in his latest work, George has undermined himself. With marvellous clearness Mr. Kelly indicates that the real politico-economic alternative lies deeper than that between protection and free trade, and necessitates a choice not simply between free trade and that particular form of taxation known as a protective tariff, but between free trade and all forms of taxation whatsover, including the taxation of the tax money. On the whole, no stronger article has ever appeared in Liberty than that in which Mr. Kelly's pen, from his incidental attack at T. A. Kahn, on to his final argument in the article on self-increased value, is in striking contrast to George's; and logical solution of the tariff question by imposing a tax on land, Mr. Kelly sets up the efficacious and consistent Anarchist solution of abstaining from the tax money. On the whole, no stronger article has ever appeared in Liberty than that in which Mr. Kelly's pen, from his incidental attack at T. A. Kahn, on to his final argument in the article on self-increased value, is in striking contrast to George's; and logical solution of the tariff question by imposing a tax on land, Mr. Kelly sets up the efficacious and consistent Anarchist solution of abstaining from the tax money. On the whole, no stronger article has ever appeared in Liberty than that in which Mr. Kelly's pen, from his incidental attack at T. A. Kahn, on to his final argument in the article on self-increased value, is in striking contrast to George's; and logical solution of the tariff question by imposing a tax on land, Mr. Kelly sets up the efficacious and consistent Anarchist solution of abstaining from the tax money. On the whole, no stronger article has ever appeared in Liberty than that in which Mr. Kelly's pen, from his incidental attack at T. A. Kahn, on to his final argument in the article on self-increased value, is in striking contrast to George's; and logical solution of the tariff question by imposing a tax on land, Mr. Kelly sets up the efficacious and consistent Anarchist solution of abstaining from the tax money.
IRISH!

Translated from the French for Liberty by Sarah E. Holmes.

CHAPTER VI.

"Go! Go!"

"Without having moved you?"

"My answer is no."

"Christmas Eve, having slipped into Treor's house, during the master's absence, Sir Richard was vainly begging Marian to listen to him. She had been, on preliminary business, sent away, and he insisted, to drive him away, to give him immediately like an intruder, like an enemy; his consternation bore witness to so much trouble; she knew so well the purity of his intentions, and with that a torrid bloom which she knew would have made her blush."

"You will never be my wife!" continued Richard.

"Never!"

"Still," said he, "you have loved me, and not so long ago, a few months only. We met in the fields, in the woods where you led the children to touch them to spell the Irish books which our stupid authorities prohibited, and I helped you often in your task. Sometimes, in turning the leaves, our fingers touched. Today you would refuse to give me your hand, even as a comrade."

"You are the enemy!"

"You know well that I am not, and that I protest energetically against the persecution of the Protestants."

"That is to your credit, but the honor of the oppressed consists in not distinguishing between the oppressors, in breaking every bond of friendship with any one of them."

"Oh, the injustice which those grand, solemn words contain! So, whether I am kind or cruel to your friends, you will hate me just the same."

"I do not hate you!"

"But you no longer love me?"

"Who has told you that I loved you?" said the young girl with a start, her terror contradicting her denial and her voice quivering.

"No one has told you, least of all; but everything in your manner with me of late, the feeling in the emotion which you felt near me, in the impatience, the joy which you showed on my arrival, the sadness at my departure, gave me to understand it. Oh! I did not plume myself upon it, believe me, to importune you, to beg you to return to the fauns without the witnesses who always accompanied you."

"It is true?"

"Yes!"

"And you love me no longer?"

"Do you not see that I have deserted it?" said the young girl, "by the most atrocious means. You refuse to comprehend this, and yet a different attitude on my part would scandalize you,—yes, render you odious in your society."

"But I shall not suffer it!" said the young girl, "and by the most atrocious means. You refuse to comprehend this, and yet a different attitude on my part would scandalize you,—yes, rende

Sir Richard comprehended that the sentiment of the old time still lived within her, and, in an outburst of intense happiness, he seized her hand and covered it with tender kisses; but she withdrew it promptly, offended. After the ecclesiastical declarations which she had just made to him, this emotion constituted an offense, and now she invited him to go without delay, without respiring. She would not permit him unless he obeyed and yielded, she was capable and resolute.

He was obstinately opposed to leaving, to being dismissed. It was senseless, when they both loved each other, to sacrifice themselves to considerations of race. They would not have yielded, even if they had invited them to go without delay, without respiring. He would not permit them unless he obeyed and yielded, he was incapable and resolute.

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And she had in the bloody grave of my brothers the future which might have smiled upon me."

When the name of the Lord, Sir Richard clenched his fists, and an explosion of savage hatred shook him at the same time that a flash of wild hope crossed his mind. The dynamite had fallen from the cliff, and for his heart, he felt that he had been struck mortally at once, far from the Wall, far from the Wall. He had no time to lose, for his heart, he felt that he had been struck mortally at once, far from the Wall, far from the Wall. He had no time to lose, for his heart, he felt that he had been struck mortally at once, far from the Wall, far from the Wall. He had no time to lose, for his heart, he felt that he had been struck mortally at once, far from the Wall, far from the Wall.
THE POLITICAL THEOLOGY OF MAZZINI AND THE INTERNATIONAL

By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE.

Translated from the French by Sarah E. Holmes.

From Conteo of the International Association of Working People.

5. That, once clearly understanding itself and organized nationally and internationally, this international working class, which has been formed and is being formed, will be autonomous, and will not be subject to any sort of dominion.

6. That the proletariat ought to tend, not to the establishment of a new order or of a new class for its own profit, but to the definitive abolition of all rule, of every class domination, of every class rule, and of class society for all human beings, without distinction of race, color, nationality, or faith, in order to exercise the same duties and enjoy the same rights.

7. That the condition of the working class is, in the entire history of the world, and in all its phases, and in all its lands, is that of a working people, and that the worker, in the sense of this term, is one who makes his own living by his own labor, whether in his own household or in the workshop, and whether he is a working man or a working woman.

8. That the opposition and exploitation of which the toiling masses are victims in all countries, being in their nature and by their present organization internationally solidary, the deliverance of the proletariat must also be so; that the economic and social emancipation (foundation and preliminary condition of political emancipation) of the working people of a country will be for ever impossible, if it is not effected simultaneously at least in the majority of the countries of which it finds itself bound by means of credit, industry, and commerce; and that, according to its capacity of self-help, enlightened self-interest, in the interest of its own salvation and of their near destiny, the working people of all countries are called upon to establish, organize, and exercise the strictest practical association in order to liberate the working class from the slavery under which it is subjected, and to defend the interests of the toiling masses. The working people, therefore, must proceed with the utmost vigour, and must not rest content with the mere abolition of the剥削制度, but must go on to the complete emancipation of the working class.
Liberty.

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BOSTON, MASS., DECEMBER 11, 1886.

No Half Loaf, But a Crumb of Stale Bread.

Mr. Harman, the editor of "Lazeezer," respectfully commends the careful consideration of Comrades Tucker, Warren, Heywood, and "Tiger" in the letter from Dr. E. T. Foote, printed in "Lazeezer" of November 13. Before tendering any advice of this kind, it would be becoming in Mr. Harman to give his readers a chance for "careful consideration of the criticism points brought up in the question of the slovenly condition of their civil relations.

No, Mr. Harman, it would be becoming in Mr. Harman to give his readers a chance for "careful consideration of the criticism points brought up in the question of the slovenly condition of their civil relations."

The Faint-Hearted.

To the earnest Anarchist worker of the saddest sights is the continuous desertion from our ranks, the tendency displayed on all sides to quicken the pace of the stranger and the truth, and the language of our ideas. But they gradually come to realize that devotion to truth means the giving up of all the "prizes of life;" that they are men and women, full of all that is finest in these days, that they become sick and faint at heart, give up the labor movement altogether, or, what is far more common, turn their attention to those phases of it in which fame and popularity are more easy. It is not uncommon to hear a person say: "I am an anarchist; but I cannot help feeling conscious of the fact that this half loaf is which is which Dr. Foote thinks that Mr. Walker and Miss Foote are ready to accept of half a loaf when [be] cannot get a whole one." Looking further on to find out what this half loaf is which Dr. Foote thinks that Mr. Walker and Miss Foote are ready to accept of half a loaf when [be] cannot get a whole one.

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Inconsistency at Its Climax.

To the Editor of Liberty:

Though I have one communication lying on your table (or in the waste basket) with little prospect of its publication, I venture a few lines in another topic, a more vital one, hoping it may meet a more cordial reception.

There is trouble at Valley Falls, as your readers already know. That trouble continues as such, as it is not yet entirely extinguished, and as we are now at least generally understood as such. The trouble is not yet entirely extinguished, but it is now under the head of the San Francisco police, and the police are bound to the best of their abilities to maintain the law and order.

Well, in the plentitude of his indulgence, friend Walker has gone and perpetuated what he terms his "autocratic marriages." He has formed a sexual relation with a young woman, inasmuch as he believes, which relation it is to continue so long as the mutual consent continues, and no longer. It is also expressly agreed that the woman shall deliver her child of the marriage if she ever had, including that of forming similar relations with others. Now, everybody knows such a relation is not marriage; and, if "it is not marriage," there is no law for it; inasmuch as marriage, would have no use for it. Had this relation been formed without any announcement or ceremony of any kind, it would have been an illegitimate marriage, and not a marriage in any sense. But friend Walker was content with this. He wanted all the world to know what he had done; and he asked his friends to call the deeds of this trust. I mean, of that which he called a marriage. My letter was in form for publication, but I requested that it be withheld, if his opinion it would give too much "aid and comfort to the enemy." I received a cordial acceptance for publication.

In the mean time another issue of "Lucifer," came, with a great number of the editorials of the previous ones, and was published. I have not read it; but I have been assured that it was "the most interesting and useful publication of its kind to be issued in all the world." The number of "Lucifer," and I feel proud of our champion, notwithstanding its incertitude; but in one trial, "this cause coming on for trial," behold this value had nearly all ceased. It was the result of that which was published together as wife and wife, without being married; and not of formation; as "autocratic marriage," in the language of the law, is valid. The words of the law are not to be changed so as to be construed to mean what they would not be so construed, by the scrupulous adherence of the law, and they would not be so construed by the scrupulous adherence of the law.

The fracas reminds me of the senseless wrangle among Christians about the form or mode of baptism. Walker’s argument, like that of the New Testament, is undoubtedly the best, because there is less of it. But the game is scarcely worth the ammunition. He loaded up for a man of war, but his friend was fought off at a distance.

Mr. T. Wetsel, Shake!

Mr. Editor: Will some one kindly inform what Mr. E. C. Tuckett means by his book, Ave Verum, or free love marriages merely, for he claims an irrefutable, bullet-proof legal marriage. So far as free love principle is concerned, he succeeded at the first shot. I am surprised to see so many old so lovers getting excited over this affair. They seem to think that they have tread a cord, but, when they have cut the tree down, they find to their disgust that there is no coin in it, not even a miry possum. It is a mere quibble as to the best form for a legal marriage, a form which it would be difficult to invent, I append a little of his argument.

H. N. B. WETSEL.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, NOVEMBER 3, 1885.

What is Freedom?

And When Am I Free?

By Henry Appleton

Fifteen Cents per Copy; Two Copies, Twenty-Five Cents.

Address: BENJ. E. TUCKER, TIMES SQUARE, BOX 3060, BOSTON, MASS.
THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.

PART FIRST.

THE TRUE CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

IN THE

Sovereignty of the Individual as the Final Development of Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism.

By STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

The doctrine of the Sovereignty of the Individual—in one sense itself a principle—grows out of the still more fundamental principle of "Individuality," which underlies and is the foundation of both the state and the universe. Individuality is the unqualified and universal principle which the finite mind seems capable of discerning, and the best image of the Infinite. There are no two objects in the universe which are precisely alike during all the cycling periods of time. No action, transaction, set of circumstances whatsoever corresponded precisely to any other action, transaction, or set of circumstances. Had I a perfect knowledge of all the occurrences which have ever taken place up to this hour, it would not suffice to enable me to select the law which would be applicable in all respects to the very next occurrence which shall take place. The same law which resulted in the infinite multitudes of events which shall hereafter occur. This diversity reigns throughout the whole of nature, as I move at all human attempts to make laws, or conventions, or regulations, or governmental institutions of any sort, which are merely the human paraphernalia of the unforeseen contingencies of the future.

The idea of the individual is only found, or, at any events, are less apparent when the objects are inorganic or of a low grade of organization. The individuality of the grains of sand which compose the beach, for example, are less-marked than those of vegetables, and those of vegetables are less than those of animals, and, finally, those of animals are less than those of man. In proportion as an object is more complex, it embodies a greater number of elements, and each element has its own individualities, or diversities, in every new combination into which it enters. Consequently these diversities are multiplied into each other, in the inorganic, the organic, and the man-made. Man, standing alone, then, at the head of the created universe, is consequently the most complex creature. The individuality of every individual man or woman being a little world in himself or herself, an image or reflection of the Infinite, which, in the infinite multitudes of events which shall hereafter occur, this diversity reigns throughout the whole of nature, as I move at all human attempts to make laws, or conventions, or regulations, or governmental institutions of any sort, which are merely the human paraphernalia of the unforeseen contingencies of the future.

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George's "Protection or Free Trade."

Whatever George has to say on any subject is sure to be said in an interesting manner. No one can state the truth better than he does. The style of his book is not to be said to have his own logic. It is to those qualities, that the success of his writings is due, and one can be more concerned that in that book now before me.

Mr. George professes to be a free trader, not in the ordinary sense of the term, but he is a free trader in the broader sense of the term. He is not, however, one of those who believe that there is a free trade in this latter sense, that is, to be free in the crude sense, but he is a free trader in the broad sense, and he endeavors to show in his book that he is a free trader. He is a free trader who believes in the free trade of labor, and he is a free trader who believes in the free trade of thought. He is a free trader who believes in the free trade of ideas, and he is a free trader who believes in the free trade of goods.

George's "Protection or Free Trade."

George, the economist, is a believer in the idea that the good of the individual is the end of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society. He believes that individual freedom is the condition of all society.

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cease the rent to pass into the hands of an idle proprietor instead of remaining in those of the cultivator. In either case, the rent does not enter into prices, that being determined by the cost on the poorest land in cultivation, so that the rent would be a free gift to the cultivator or the monopolist, and it is in the natural course of things that two countries simply calls them to a difference in function; that rent enters into prices and that, consequently, the people of the poor land have a share of the profits of their neighbors. When we say that rent enters into prices, I mean that, the differences in function having been established and monopolies being gone, prices will be the amount it would have been paid to the monopolist. Accordingly Mr. George's pet theory, the people of the richer country should have paid rent to the people of the latter: might easily equalize the wealth of the two countries. But here we have the avowal that the same result is attained by the natural laws of the case, in the absence of any monopoly or certain governmental methods. It is true that as about a level of equality may not be reached by the natural as by the artificial means; it assures us of the same kind as the equality of soil secured to the two cows by the monarch in Aesop's story, in rent goes with Mr. George to show us why the laws of trade in which the conditions of two nations should not be equally efficient in internal affairs; for since, as Mr. George admits, a nation is an arbitrary political division, the natural laws of the case cannot be altered by those which we have the advantage of in the sense that it has been reduced indefinitely in size till it vanishes, and up to the limit, according to another of Mr. George's statements, the free trade argument must remain the same. In, then, rent is paid as little because the State exists? And is the State to exist merely because rent is to be collected? Mr. George attributes, and rightly, the failure of free trade to produce useful effects to a greater and over-powering evil being left uncontrolled, but being possessed by a fixed idea, he takes a narrow view of the question. He likens the produce to a traveler who at various points along his road is met by robbers who take his whole wealth. This "robbery" of all that is left is private property in land acting through rent. This illustration is peculiarly unfortunate, for more reasons than one. In the first place, the method of reforms that would suggest itself to any one is the destruction of the robber. Mr. George, however, permits him to live and follow his calling and the threat to the police and interference with him. His ill-gotten wealth, which they, the police, then proceed to use for the benefit of the traveling, say in improving the road over which he travels, so that he may be able to carry greater burden the next time to be despised of in it. It is to be noticed that, even if the police were to turn over the proceeds of their work directly to him, his pleasure he would still labor under the disadvantage, as secured in the simpler system of killing the robber, of having to support both the robber and the police.

Another weak feature in the comparison is that in real life the robbers do not rob serially, but all together, and that amount to its use is capable of entirely despoiling the traveler, though, on account of differences of strength between himself, the shares they actually get are unequal. It is therefore not true to say that we think of benefiting the traveler by attacking one of the robbers only, even though he were to be defeated, and that Mr. George does not think of doing it.

To return to the facts, any one of the various forms of unions, though they differ today in the amounts they take and may be superior, when acting alone, of absorbing the natural increase of the labor, to the extent of the producer, therefore, usefully itself must be adorned.