MOST a year before the Kansas Liberal Leaguers held their camp meeting at Valley Falls, Moses Harman had made the acquaintance of one of the most energetic young men in the National Liberal League, Edwin Cox Walker of Norway, Iowa. As secretary of the Iowa Liberal League, Walker had probably organized more local leagues over a wider area than anyone else in the country. Born in Lancaster, New York, in 1849, Walker had grown up on a farm in Iowa. Like Harman, he became a schoolteacher as well as a farmer, and for a time, he was active in the Universalist religion. At the age of twenty-six, Walker discarded these pursuits for radical journalism and the free-thought lecture circuit.

In the late 1870s Walker's articles began to appear in the free-religious Index and in the Truth Seeker. They ranged in topic from support of the beleaguered Oneida Community to criticism of the cautious policies of the Liberal League's president. He initiated a national debate among freethinkers on prohibition, arguing that "prohibition involves a principle which, if carried to its logical conclusion, would stop every press in the country, and close the lips of every Freethinker." Many reform-minded people and Liberal Leaguers supported prohibition as a matter of course, because they viewed alcohol as a primary cause of social ills.

In 1882 Walker began contributing articles to Benjamin Tucker's new anarchistic journal, Liberty, published in Boston. Walker's incisive style and "plumb line" antistatism quickly won him Tucker's respect, as well as regular space in Liberty's columns.
As his name became familiar to readers of *Truth Seeker* and *Liberty*, he began to write for Harman's *Kansas Liberal*. His reputation did not go unnoticed by the conventional press. Edgar Howe, who edited the *Atchison Globe* by day and struggled over his novel *The Story of a Country Town* by night, characterized Walker as "a fellow so intensely liberal that he opposes the law against indecent exposure."¹

Harman's acquaintance with Walker grew from friendship into partnership. They joined forces on the *Kansas Liberal* just before the beginning of the new year of 1883, or, as they would have it, E.M. 283. The *Liberal* gained an energetic polemicist, whose tours could help finance and publicize the paper; while Walker, as an editor, gained a paper of his own.

Walker's first article as coeditor expressed his journalistic philosophy. Editorials in the *Liberal* would not cater to the prejudices of the "presumably hostile majority," he wrote, nor would the paper follow the lead of metropolitan journals that "gather the news, and reflect popular prejudices by seeking to conserve that which is, instead of prophesying that which should be"; however unpopular or unprofitable it might be, the reform paper must "point to the evils existing in individual life, society and government, and labor for their elimination."²

In the next issue, Walker wrote a flowery eulogy to D. M. Bennett, the recently deceased editor of *Truth Seeker*. Bennett was no anarchist nor even a consistent supporter of sexual liberty or free speech, but his iconoclastic style as a free-thought editor and publisher set an example for the Kansas journalists. Besides distributing much of the free-thought literature in the country, Bennett's publishing house had introduced American readers to such important works as George Drysdale's *The Elements of Social Science*, a book that encouraged contraception as a means of increasing the amount of love and sexual happiness in the world, particularly for women. Bennett, one of the most famous objects of Comstock's harassment, held an important place as a near-martyr in the crusade against the Comstock laws.

Almost immediately, Walker began to make lecture tours on behalf of the paper. He stopped at settlements along the railway lines, sometimes with invitations, sometimes with only the name of a local Liberal Leaguer, and sometimes with no lead at all. The
money earned from these lectures and from the sale of radical materials—"many of the works of our most advanced English, French and American thinkers"—soon became a major source of support for the Valley Falls journal.

There were enough willing listeners to his lectures to support the paper as a weekly. Most of them wanted to hear the free-thought message; of the thirty lecture topics advertised—including "Eden and Evolution," "The New Sexual Morality," and "Medical Laws and Obscenity Legislation"—about two-thirds directly dealt with free thought. This list may be considered reflective of his hearers' tastes, since it appeared after Walker's first successful year on the road. His first lecture tour lasted a year and a half, December 1882 to June 1884. His return from the lecture circuit, combined with general hard times, forced Harman in his turn to take to the road, not to lecture, but to visit the paper's subscribers in search of funds.³

The Kansas Liberal became Lucifer, the Light Bearer on August 24, 1883. According to Harman, correspondents and patrons in other states objected to the local flavor of the name Kansas Liberal; moreover, "Liberal" was overused, Harman felt, in the names of periodicals. Lucifer made a compelling and fitting short title. As the herald of dawn after the black night of the Age of the Gods, the morning star, Lucifer, would appropriately shine forth from the Kansas plains. Benjamin Tucker exulted in Liberty over the name change: "A very happy thought! Quite the best name we know of, after Liberty!"⁴

Of course a certain calculated perversity figured in taking a name that had, in addition to luminary connotations, a diabolical one. Harman wrote that while we do not adopt the reputed character of any man, god, demigod or demon, as our model, yet there is one phase of the character of their Lucifer that is also appropriate to our paper, viz: that of an Educator. The god of the Bible had doomed mankind to perpetual ignorance—they would never have known Good from Evil if Lucifer had not told them how to become wise as the gods themselves. Hence, according to theology, Lucifer was the first teacher of science.

Henceforth the paper received many comments about its name from earnest freethinkers as well as from choleric clerics. Harman
The Sex Radicals

TRUE FREEDOM.
Is true Freedom but to break fetters for our own dear sake. And, with leather hearts, forget that we owe mankind a debt? Not true freedom is to share all the chains our brothers wear. And, with heart and hand, to be earnest to make others free!

They are slaves who fear to speak for the fallen and the weak; They are slaves who will not choose hatred, scoffing, and abuse. Rather than in silence shrink from the truth they need seem to think; They are slaves who dare not be in the right with two or three. —Lowell

A PHYSICIAN IN THE HOUSE.

The Light-Bearer.

Excerpt from front page of Lucifer, 13 July 1901

Lucifer's specialty is freedom of women from sex slavery but under our present system how is a mother to support her self and child when there are millions of able-bodied men who can't make a living for themselves? I'm ready to admit that, all things considered, marriage is no protection to a woman, but is often an extra burden. Both reforms must be brought about together. The laborers of the country should unite and contend for one thing, viz.: The referendum. When they get that, they can take the lives in their own hands and do the driving, but until they get it they may expect to be driven.

Wishing you success, I am yours for the rights of humanity, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary.

A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN. 54 years young; owner of a beautiful farm, 1,000 acres, and a small town. Both reform movements: Socialism and Woman's Rights. Join in number, namely 1. Sight; 2. Hearing; 3. Taste, or the gustatory sense; 4. Smell; 5. Touch, or the sense of feeling; 6. Gender, or the sense that finds its use and manifestation in the differentiation called sex.

Send us twenty-five cents for a thirteen weeks' trial subscription to Lucifer and we will present to you your choice of the following books, to the value of $8 cents. Read the list carefully. Every book is interesting and thought-stimulating.

John's Way: a domestic radical story, by Minnie D. Beacher. . S.
Vital Force, Magnetic Exchange and Magnetization; Albert Chavannes. . S.
Human Rights; J. Madison Hock. . S.
Prohibition and Self-Government; E. C. Walker. . S.
" " Rational Co-operation; " . S.
" " The Revival of Puritanism; " . S.
" " Love and the Law; " . S.
" " Sexual Emancipation of Women; " . S.
" " Digging for Bedrock, by Mose Harmon. . S.
" " In Hell and the War Out, by H. M. Allen. . S.

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ELMINA'S REQUEST. Women who want to be gentlemen form all relations, will send name and address to two 2-cent stamps to ELMINA DRAKE BLENNER, New York, N.Y. 4a

Mystic Science, Menoe, mental initiative, science to mystic science. Does not possess any present science. Sick persons may and should be consulted on all cases. Fee $1. Address him in care of this office.

WANTED. A friend of mine wants a life companion. A woman not over 50, not too yellow to appreciate a good, clean,
LUCIFER, THE LIGHT-BEAERER

Published at 507 Carroll Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

M. HARMAH, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

Entered at the Chicago Post Office as Second-class Mail Matter.

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European Representative, William Duff, 9 Carlfit St., Glasgow Scotland.

The New Lucifer Maintains Literary, Educational and the Paper as it has always maintained the same stands for Light against Darkness—for Science against Superstition—for Freedom against Tyranny for Liberty against Slavery,—or Justice against Privilege.

Published weekly. One dollar per year. Three months twenty-five cents.

Marriage by Compulsion.

It is not often that Lucifer publishes a cartoon, but the one printed in this issue, which appeared in the Chicago "Inter Ocean" of last Sunday, is so suggestive of one of the striking eatures of our present imperialistic government that it deserves wide circulation. The "Inter Ocean" is a staunch republican newspaper, but, in explanation of this cartoon, it gives the following account of some of the doings of Captain Richard Leary of the United States navy, who was appointed governor of the little island of Guam, one of Uncle Sam's new possessions out in the Pacific ocean:

"Captain Leary found plenty to do in Guam. He was priest doctor, judge, and emperor in that little isle. He found the natives gentle, slothful, dirty, and living in a state of Arcadian simplicity which did not call for clothes for the body or the blessing of church or state on affairs matrimonial. The ignorant islanders explained to the astonished Governor that their fathers and mothers did the same way, but Captain Leary said those days were past, and made the men and women who were living together march up in droves and get married, at the same time issuing a ruling that no more of these promiscuous unions should take place. Continuing to describe the "reforms" introduced by Governor Leary, the writer for the "Inter Ocean" lapses into verse and says:

Out among the coral islands of the sandy bottom Lebondo,
There lives Captain Leary's kingdom, where the broad Pacific means.
All the land is staid to verdure, but the people of the isle
Think they're simply dressed for dinner if they only wear a smile.

There once Captain Richard Leary, less than one short year ago,
And it made his bosom bear with grief to see things as;
But the same his bosom paused were the only "pains" in eight—

Tweny have dined a Watch and Ward man down in Guam that summer night
Drowned scarce held his series, social spirits to alarm:
Not heaven's rule extorted, when Eric Luary came to Guam
"There's no wellloomed up in heaven!" But the Taekho 8ter's power

When Captain Cook first landed on the Sandwich Islands he found them populated far more densely than they now are. The people seemed happy, peaceful, contented, and healthy. They knew nothing of the white man's religion, his morals nor his vices. After a century or two of Learyism a prime minister of King Kalakaua testified that "wherever the missionaries come, in the Sandwich Islands, depopulation ensues." The white man's vices that go with the white man's religion destroy these simple-minded children of nature.

The same thing occurred in the West Indies of the Spaniards undertook to teach marriage morality and the Catholic religion to the nakednatives. When Columbus came to the islands he found them densely inhabited by a friendly and hospitable people. In about forty years, says the historian, the original inhabitants of these islands had disappeared completely, not by emigration but by extermination.

Much the same thing happened to the numerous and powerful "Six Nations," of New York and Pennsylvania. The attempt to make them moral and religious according to the Puritanic ideas, destroyed them.

Will the Anglo-Saxon invaders and meddlers ever learn a lesson from experience? Will they learn that climate, environment and racial peculiarities have much to do with what we call morality and that nature must not be forced through rapid gradations if we would secure beneficent results?

Home Again.

After another winter's outing, of some five months duration, I find myself once more in Lucifer's office trying to settle down again to the usual routine work.

Thinking it due to those of our friends who kindly helped in various ways to make this outing possible I will try to make a brief statement or summary of results thereof, so far as results can now be seen or estimated.

Of the things accomplished by or during my vacation it is perhaps not amiss to mention the writing and sending home to the office about fifty-five columns of editorial correspondence, which if printed in book form would make a book of more than one hundred pages the size of "Hilda's Home," or "Cityless and Contryless World." Whether this correspondence has worthily filled the space it has occupied is a question for the reader rather than the editor to decide.

2. I might perhaps mention also the writing of about two thousand letters, in the interest of Lucifer and its work, a goodly portion of which letters have already brought answers more or less satisfactory to those whose business it is to see that the weekly bills are duly paid.

3. Several weeks were spent in canvassing, lecturing and visiting—making new friendships and renewing old ones—the immediate and tangible results of which efforts are not yet large, but may in time bring forth fruits a thousand fold.

4. Health. On careful examination of the patient and comparing stock in trade with what was visible last fall, the comparison seems fairly satisfactory. While no one could reasonably expect a chronic invalid—whose years are nearly three score and ten, and whose ailments are of more than forty years' standing—to recover the vigor and elasticity of youth in a few short months of vacation and relaxation, even though giving himself up wholly to the business of recuperation, nevertheless the balance in my favor, on casting up the account, seems quite encouraging. My gain in weight is about eight pounds since last November, while my muscular strength has increased to a degree quite beyond expectation; also my ability to sleep soundly at night and to digest a comfortable amount of food.

Last but not least in this inventory I am glad to be able to report substantial progress in writing the long promised autobiography. Although this progress is not what I could wish it to be—partly because of the distance from office and delays in getting the mechanical work done, yet if no further delays occur

Masthead, Lucifer, 14 April 1900

Courtesy Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries
always seemed to enjoy printing their letters and replying to them. Those who considered liberalism the work of the devil very soon had a suitably named periodical to attack. When the editors later became involved in affairs that were even more shocking to the orthodox than liberalism was, the name of the paper appeared as a burning prophetic vision.

Sometime before the change in name, Harman seemed to have tired of publishing large amounts of the standard liberal line about the evils of religion. After all, the Nine Points of Liberalism did not call for much complex elucidation, particularly since the National Liberal League had given up attempts at political organization. Deeper issues attracted Harman, who had written a criticism of conventional marriage in the paper's second issue of September 1880. He seemed ready to be influenced by E. C. Walker's anarchism and nonconformist views of social institutions.

Walker's beliefs represented the indigenous strain of American anarchism—individualist anarchism—which traced its origins to Josiah Warren and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Characterized by its emphasis upon individual sovereignty, it opposed any agency, such as the state, that either limited individual autonomy or compelled acceptance. Individualist anarchism contrasted to communist anarchism, which, in the very year that Walker teamed up with Harman, moved to the forefront as a radical cause under the leadership of the German immigrant Johann Most. Both strains of anarchism enjoyed growth in America during the eighties; anarchism rivaled socialism as an activist movement. Yet the boundaries of individualist anarchism, communist anarchism, and revolutionary socialism were not always obvious to participants or spectators. Indeed, both capitalist and anarchist laid claim to common elements in Herbert Spencer's thought, particularly his individualism and his early antistatism. Individualist anarchism, in fact, restated in radical fashion many tenets that were identified with political conservatism—belief in private property, emphasis on natural law, and opposition to majority rule. Later on in the eighties the Haymarket violence created in the popular mind the idea of the anarchist as terrorist pure and simple.

The two anarchisms held in common a rejection of constituted authority; both saw that society and its institutions must be based
upon other relationships that did not coerce; both sought workable noncoercive institutions; and both refused to work within the system in order to achieve partial or reformist ends. The communist anarchists, rejecting private property, sought to revolutionize society through the institution of collective communes; some of them advocated the violent overthrow of the existing state. The individualist anarchists rejected the idea of collectivism, holding that such a scheme necessarily implied authoritarianism, which would inevitably lead to totalitarianism. In short, to the individualist, collectivism ensured the continued life of the state.

Individualist anarchists believed in cooperating for mutual economic or social purposes, but only in a framework of strict voluntarism. An individual’s sovereignty extended only to himself, of course, and he could not infringe upon another’s rights. These anarchists believed in rights to private property so long as such property represented only the amount of one’s labor. They strictly abjured capitalism and the exploitation of a fellow’s work for one’s own profit. As opposed to the communist anarchist, the individualist anarchist sought no equalitarian society, but only one that would be free from arbitrary restriction and systematic inequality such as discriminations based on sex or race. True individual autonomy was their standard; anything more ornate or specific they left for the future to decide. In order to achieve their ends, most individualists favored passive resistance, although many did not necessarily condemn violence, particularly in extreme cases involving self-protection. Harman, writing in later years, effectively summed up the egoistic implications of this anarchism:

No outsider, unitary or collective, can rightfully interfere to prevent the sovereign individual from indulging his appetites in his own way so long as he does so at his own cost. Contingent and remote consequences to others cannot be considered when estimating the civil right of the individual to gratify his appetites.

In the eighties, Benjamin R. Tucker became an important spokesman for individual anarchism. In his journal, *Liberty*, he synthesized the doctrines of individualist forerunners and contemporaries such as Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, and Ezra Heywood, while at the same time he reflected the European influence of Proudhon, Spencer, and Bakunin. During this period,
The editors of *Lucifer*, however, followed the example of the Heywoods, who backed up their libertarian doctrines of “love and labor” with practical action.

Tucker’s urban, continental orientation led him to declare that anarchists should focus their efforts in the cities, the fulcrum of modern civilization. As an arena for social change, the countryside was a “desert.” In contrast, the agrarian wing of individualist anarchism—E. C. Walker, John William Lloyd of Florida, and Marx Edgeworth Lazarus of Alabama—argued for rural colonization, after the manner of Josiah Warren. Walker warned that “the industrial and social emancipation of the rural and village populations cannot safely be permitted to lag behind that of the cities.” Although he voiced the common argument that the farmer’s role as food producer made him essentially important to society and its reform, he did not accept the “agrarian myth” that held that those close to the soil were morally and politically superior to others. In fact he deromanticized the farmer:

We are accustomed to boast of the purity and devotion to liberty of the country populace, but never was boasting more inappropriate and misplaced. If ignorance and mis-education regarding natural law are purity, then indeed are the masses of the farming population pure; while their conception of liberty is that embodied in a majority despotism which lays its hand upon and controls every private concern of the individual.

Walker’s boyhood on the lonesome prairies of Iowa, as well as the thousands of miles that he logged as a village lecturer, colored his portrayal of agrarian life: “Necessarily scattered and isolated, farmers have not been able to co-operate to any extent worthy of mention, and the work of production is carried on in a most laborious and wasteful manner.” The farmer’s work day, twelve to sixteen hours long, surpassed that of any wage worker, to say nothing of the natural rigors that the farmer endured. Since the farmer had little time or inclination to read, was cut off from other sources of knowledge, and was mostly dependent upon church or
schoolhouse meetings for "recreation(?)," Walker did not wonder that the "farmer is old before his time, that he is away behind the age, and that the condition of his wife is still more deplorable than his."

Indeed the woman's plight drew Walker's special attention: With her it is a ceaseless round of drudgery from morning until night, and it may with absolute literalness be said of her that her work is never done. She has no time to read, no time for recreation, and her nearest neighbor may be a half-mile or a mile away. Who shall wonder, then, that she often knows nothing outside of the details of her housework and the latest neighborhood gossip? Who shall wonder that the statistics of our insane asylums show a larger relative proportion of demented from the class of farmer's wives than from any other?

Walker saw both the isolated farm and the overgrown city as doomed social institutions, and he believed that the "cooperative township" must replace them. These communities would provide economic liberation through shared labor, mutual banks, and "labor exchange" money, but more importantly, they would provide a haven from pressures that society at large brought upon radicals and their loved ones, particularly those who practiced free love. Walker recognized that public opinion could be more insidious and coercive than government; vast numbers of radicals, in fact, "are lost to us in a short time because the pressure brought to bear upon them through their families is too great to be endured." In cooperative townships, radicals and the "noncombatants" in their families would receive the social support necessary for effecting "the industrial and sexual emancipation of the race." In the city, many people accepted economic radicalism, Walker conceded, but generally these activists were "as blind as moles" to the same arguments applied to the sexual sphere. Since Walker believed that social revolution must be sexual as well as economic, he saw the rural cooperative, rather than the city, as the vanguard of the new society.

Walker and Tucker debated other important questions in the mid eighties. Walker, a neo-Malthusian, argued that a decline in family size would reduce economic pressures on the workingman, whereas Tucker argued the "iron law of wages"—that a decrease in family size would cause a reduction in the subsistence wages of
the worker. They also disagreed sharply on marriage: Walker held that a couple could freely join themselves in an autonomistic marriage, with duties and duration dictated only by mutual love; Tucker believed free marriage to be a contradiction in terms, as well as a compromise with public opinion.

With new editorial assistance, Moses Harman gave increasing play in *Lucifer* to anarchism, as well as to labor problems, the property question, and women's rights. In "Our Object," an ebullient piece in the first issue after forming the partnership, Harman extrapolated his free-thought principles to include the liberation of virtually everything that was currently being regulated by society or government—"free press, free rostrum, free mails . . ., free land, free homes, free food, free drink, free medicine, free Sunday, free marriage and free divorce." "In short," he wrote, "we advocate the Sovereignty of the Individual or Self Government. We would have every man and every woman to be the proprietor of himself or herself!" Harman's rhetoric and his insistence on the pending emancipation of man from external government could have come from Josiah Warren or Stephen Pearl Andrews a generation earlier. But the problems of postwar capitalism invested the words with new urgency. Many felt, Harman asserted, that no government at all—anarchism—would at least be an improvement over the present government, which seemed "to be chiefly employed in protecting the strong against the weak—the rich against the poor." Harman promised that the editors of *Lucifer* would use direct methods to obtain their objects; they would aim straight at the face and eyes of the opponent, rather than attacking deviously.

A month later the paper helped to promote a movement to eliminate the word "male" from the laws of Kansas, thus granting the franchise to women. This proposal accorded with Harman's belief in using the framework of government as it existed in order to phase it out, allowing the individual legally to repossess his rights from the government. Later he and Walker would disagree on this question. Walker saw participation in government as sanctioning its coercion, while Harman believed that an anarchist could vote to repeal laws.

Regarding the land question, Harman believed, after John
Locke, that an individual had the right to only so much land as he could use for his own food and lodging; man had no more proprietary right in land than he did in air or ocean; hence monopoly was wrong. Since man had no exclusive land rights, he added, no government created by him could have such either; therefore the property necessary to his existence should not be taxed. To prevent and to do away with existing monopolies, increasingly heavy taxes should be levied until this land was forfeited back to the people.\textsuperscript{10} Harman advocated a tentative sort of anarchistic cooperation, and he left \textit{Lucifer}'s correspondents to fight the ideological battles of communism, socialism, Single-Taxism, and Bellamy Nationalism. After Walker joined the paper, editorial critiques of these positions became more pointed; Walker particularly criticized state socialism and the rising Social Revolutionary press, which encompassed the communist anarchists.

At the same time, ironically, Harman reflected the inflammatory rhetoric of the Social Revolutionaries in his long "Dynamite Column," which appeared in the summer of 1883. He believed in gradual anarchism; but under the probable influence of Johann Most and Albert R. Parsons, he felt that if tyranny compelled the use of force, dynamite should be used. Dynamite would be the great equalizer, leveling the social classes and obliging the upper classes to share their education with the ignorant masses whom they formerly exploited:

Then welcome the Age of Dynamite! \ldots This latter age promises to be one of fierce convulsions \ldots it will be marked by sudden, and, for the time being, disastrous changes. \ldots The law of force against force, or the gospel of dynamite will not usher in the millenium of anarchy, but it will help prepare the way for that blessed era.\textsuperscript{11}

It was in such an expansive and reckless mood that the \textit{Kansas Liberal} became \textit{Lucifer}.

In the years 1883 to 1886 \textit{Lucifer} established itself nationally as a radical and somewhat notorious journal, despite lean finances in 1884. Benjamin Tucker, who had recommended the \textit{Kansas Liberal} to his own readers in \textit{Liberty}, heaped praise upon its successor, \textit{Lucifer}. In one of his columns he glowingly claimed that \textit{Lucifer} was "so good and true and live and keen and consistently radical" that he feared its light would eclipse \textit{Liberty}'s. Despite
disagreements between himself and Walker, he considered Walker a radical of "rare consistency," and he followed his writings "with the greatest care, interest, and admiration." These anarchist journalists reserved their flattery, as well as their toughest criticism, for their own kind.\textsuperscript{12}

Consciously or not, the foundations were being laid in \textit{Lucifer}'s composing room for a period of great experimentation. Harman busied himself with the day-to-day editorial chores, while Walker's tours, extending into Nebraska and Iowa, helped to pay the bills. Under these conditions, Walker contributed less to the paper's columns than did Harman, and much of Walker's material concerned Liberal League quibbles. Walker, however, continued to contribute articles to the eastern papers and to Henry Seymour's the \textit{Anarchist} in London, a journal of individualist anarchism that seemed to be particularly influenced by \textit{Lucifer.}\textsuperscript{13}

In 1885, after a break of some months during which \textit{Lucifer} appeared monthly, Walker went back on the road, and \textit{Lucifer} took on new life as a "weekly Anarchist-Freethought Journal." It retained a New York agency to accept eastern advertising, and it began a campaign for new readers. By fall the editors of \textit{Lucifer} had obtained pledges of $550 ($143 had been paid) toward the purchase of a $600 seven-column Prouty Press. Although at this time \textit{Lucifer}'s circulation numbered only about six or seven hundred, only a few more than Tucker's \textit{Liberty}, it would soon more than double its readership.

Spreading the anarchist word, raising money, and sparring with editors from Maine to Oskaloosa, the light bearers of Valley Falls (population 1,335) had to illuminate the most important radical questions. The editor of the \textit{Kansas City Sun}, writing in \textit{Liberty}, commented: "\textit{Liberty} attacks the State, the \textit{Truth Seeker} attacks the Church, the \textit{Word} attacks Madam Grundy, but \textit{Lucifer} is not content, in its own way, without attacking all three." Three Harmans now helped on the paper: Moses' son George served as copublisher, while his daughter Lillian—pretty, golden-haired, and sixteen—worked as compositor.\textsuperscript{14}