Liberty

Vol. VIII.—No. 5.
BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1891.
Whole No. 187.

On Picket Duty.

Since my article on the second page in answer to Mr. Westrup was put in type, "Egoism" of San Francisco has frankly confessed its error in subscribing to Mr. Westrup's opposition to the idea of a standard of value.

The State Socialists and Single Taxers are quarrelling as to which party was the object of the Pope's encyclical. Their attitude reminds one of two valets presenting their posters to a master in jealous rivalry for the honor of a kick.

D. De Leon, whom the New York Socialists have placed at the head of their Union ticket, is to lecture in Cooper Union at 7, on "What I Shall Do When Governor." Will De Leon kindly make a date to tell us what he will do when God? The equal remoteness of the two contingencies makes them equally unprofitable subjects of discussion.

"Says the Boston "Globe": "A foreign observer could easily tell that the American people were firm believers in the theory that government is best which governs least; by the sighs of relief that always go up from the people of every State when its legislature adjourns." But the intelligent foreign observer is also likely to observe that the American people strictly confine their demonstrations of disapproval of paternalism and legislative inquiry to these "sighs of relief," and do absolutely nothing to check the progress of these legislative practices which can only be justified on the theory that government is best which governs most.

Edward Atkinson protests that he has ever spoken on behalf of personal liberty, and nobody who is familiar with his conception of personal liberty will be disposed to doubt him or to withhold from him such credit as he deserves. "I maintain," says he fearlessly, "that no one has the right to say that you shall not use your faculties according to your will." Excellent! cries the innocent reader. But he is "too previous." Atkinson goes on to explain: "A man has the right to his personal liberty—to use his time, his brain, and his faculties as he sees fit, provided he is guided by the statute law!" Three times three cheers for this brave old champion of persons: liberty—such as is accorded by statute law!

"Agent Allen preaches simple living and considers luxury of any kind unworthy of true and noble humanity. It is interesting to know how he justifies the publication of his new novel, 'What's Head in the Bone,' which has no tendency of any kind and points no reform moral. The result of such a work is certainly pure luxury, whatever the writing of it may be. It is not a "useful" novel, and will not help progress in any way, though it is uncommonly bright and readable. From Mr. Allen's point of view, it is a grave offense to waste time either on writing or reading such "stuff"; and he owes it to his "true religion" and fellow-believers an apology. From my point of view it is much more useful for Mr. Allen to write such novels than to preach and try to give a definite social discipline; but this does not interest Mr. Allen.

"The Times" Labor Advocate" is moved to say something about Col. Ingenohl's proposal of his sickness article in the June "North American" Review which the average Secularist will not relish. It is for this reason, among others, that I reproduce the following statement in this letter: "In case I am at any time disabled by illness, I request that the American Review will be continued under the direction of the late Mr. John F. Kennedy. I have no authority to be committed to it. ingenohl's sins are due to his shallowness and ignorance and have no desire to the iniquities of the plutocracy. Ingenohl is a poet, but untrained in government, and the minister is of the natural history of religion. Ingenohl's ignorance, however, has no tendency to restrain him from arguing and even dogmatizing, just as the minister's ignorance fails to act as a bar to pulpit attempts at "enlightening" the church-going sim- pletons.

"Here is a rare piece of common sense from the New York "Sun": "A man who is as good a republican as he is a musician has been arrested in Munich, and will probably be imprisoned, for playing in the streets tunes which were thought too chaste by the authorities. The arrest seems arbitrary enough, but it can hardly be called irrational when one considers how inspiring and suggestive are the tunes of popular political songs in days of political excitement. Like the Marisailles in the French Revolution and Yankee Doodle in our own, the shrill quirt tune they pipe in Ireland that means the boycotting of a farm. If speech be forbidden, other modes of expression take its place, and music becomes as significant as words, and a creed, becoming a symbol, drawn from a cross on a watch chain to the shape of the beard. One might imagine a perfume being condemned, and not without reason, as seditions. From any suppression of the utmost freedom of speech to the mildest, most intolerable regulation of private life, there is logically and practically only a difference of degree."

"A bill to abolish bachelorhood among State officials will be laid before the German Reichstag. Several societies of women are in favor of the measure. The explanation "motives," which accompanies all bills before the Reichstag, will in this case read as follows: "In the interest of unmarried women, the Government is under obligation to take measures to suppress the marriages of bachelorhood, especially in view of the fact that German women are not admitted to places in the departments which were formerly open to them. The principle of the necessary marriage law must be that every official of certain grades must marry or sacrifice one-fourth of his salary and all his house and personal furnishings. For the unmarried, these penalties should be made a pension fund for the unmarried daughters of Government officials. An excep-

"It is useless to reason with people about the super-
tensions by which they are possessed," says "Today"; and I am inclined to agree with him. And it is their consciousness no doubt which led Byron to say that satire should be the song when fools are the theme. Satire, sarcasm, ridicule are the most effective weapons with which to assail superstition; and the knowledge of this effectiveness of satire is a source of immense enjoyment to those who fight superstition. The writer whom I have quoted cannot sympathize with that other writer of "Today," who lectured Uncle Benjamin for his railing at religious superstitions and swore to the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence of Uncle Benjamin. Or is it possible that the same man that turned up his nose at "blasphemous" satire is the author of the essay from the "futility of arguing with super- stitious people? Well, it is impossible: we only need to assume, in order to account for the manifest insincerity, that the writer, while appreciating, the virtue of satire in general, is possessed of the superstition that the employment of satire against religious superstitions is foolish, wicked, and malignant. And you, know, it is useless to reason with people about their superstitions, or to expect that they themselves will apply to them the test of reason.
A Necessity or a Delusion, — Which? — To the Editor of Liberty.

Liberty.

BOSTON, MASS., JUNE 27, 1881.

The necessity to organize a Mutual Bank is the opportunity of its patrons to get a monetary advantage, which is additional expression. This dearest advantage is not confined to a few individuals, but is well-nigh universal. It follows, therefore, that the starting of a bank will draw to it a large number of people, embracing producers and dealers in almost, perhaps all, commodities. One of the conditions in obtaining the charter of the Mutual Bank is that they shall be taken in lieu of current money without variation in the price of the commodities by those who borrow them, and will be accepted in exchange for the credit of the bank. At the very outset of the Mutual Bank, then, we have at least dealers in most of the principal commodities of exchange, except its subsidiary ones of current money. This certainty of its redemption in commodities at market-price in current money guarantees its circulation.

Strictly speaking, the Mutual Bank does not issue the money; it simply furnishes it and is the custodian of the collateral pledged to insure its return. It is the borrowers who bear interest and risk.

The transaction between the bank and the borrower is of no interest to the public previous to the issue of any of the money. The credit of the bank is not an actual loan, but a transfer of property from the bank to the borrower. The first act is that the bank has loaned money to the borrower in the form of current money, and the second act is that the money has been redeemed at the call of the bank.

Discussing theories more important than efforts to put in practice similar momentous reforms as the application of the mutual features to the supply of the medium of exchanges. If money is to play its part in the Mechanics of the Banks, it seems to be me would naturally discuss the practicability of such institutions. Let him point out wherein the above forecast is unsound. Let him show the necessity for a "standard of value," and suggest how to introduce one; perhaps I may become converted. I shall most sincerely acknowledge my error if I am convinced, but have no hesitancy to discard the idea that it is a "standard of value." The one question that seems to me of importance is the practicality of the Mutual Bank. If it is practical why not? It is not a pecuniary contract, and space in discussing whether the first or the second or any other commodity exchanged becomes the "measure of the medium of exchange." The title to the medium of exchange appears with the abolition of the basis privilege. This is the answer to the question, "What does this mean?" Why, simply that the patrons of the bank agree to take its notes as the equivalent of gold coin of the same face value. In other words, they agree to adopt gold as a standard of value. They will part with as much property in return for the notes as they would part with in return for gold. And if there were such a standard, the notes would not pass at all, because nobody would have any idea of the amount of property that he ought to exchange for them. The notes with which Mr. Westrup does not agree, which case shows triumphantly the puerility of his ratiocinations at the idea of a standard of value.

Indeed, Comrade Westrup, I ask nothing better than to discuss the practicability of mutual banks. But, I feel, that the liberty these past fifteen years has been directed steadily to the establishment of the conditions that alone will make them practicable. I have no occasion to show the necessity for a standard of value. Such necessity is already recognized by the people, and I am trying to convince the people of the truth of mutual banking. It is for you, who deny this necessity, to give your reasons. And in the very moment in which you undertake to tell us why you deny it, you admit it without knowing it. It would never have come to me to discuss the abstract theory of a standard of value. I regard it as too well settled. But when you, one of the most conscientious and faithful apostles of mutual banking, begin to bring the theory into discredit and ridicule by basing your arguments in its favor on a false issue of financial truths, I am as much bound to repudiate your heresy as an engineer would be to disavow the calculations of a man who should begin an attempt to solve a difficult problem in engineering by denying the multi-dimensional nature of the problem.

I fully recognize Mr. Westrup's faithful work for freedom in finance and the ability with which he often defends it. In fact, it is my appreciation of him that has prevented me from criticizing his error earlier. It was only the obstacle in the path or in any way dampen the enthusiasm of this ardent propagandist. But when I see that admirable paper, "Egoism," of San Francisco, putting forward those writings of Mr. Westrup which contain the object of the crux; and another admirable paper, "The Herald of Anarchy," of London, led by his or similar ideas to advocate the issue of paper bearing on its face the natural price of all commodities (); and when I see Individualists holding Anarchism responsible for these absurdities and on the strength of them making effective attacks upon a financial theory which, when properly defended, is invulnerable, — it seems high time to declare that the free and mutual banking advocated by Proudhon, Gracies, and the Individualists is by no means the desirability or the possibility of dispensing with a standard of value. If others think that a standard of value is a delusion, let them say so by all means; but let them not say so in the name of the financial thesaurus. The project of the original advocates of mutual banking gave to the world.

Philosophical Anarchism Indicted.

A Canadian labor paper credits the following to the American "Journal of the Knights of Labor." Whether they know it or not, the [philosophical Anarchists] — Thibaut and Yarrow, et al., as opposing the best of their class, anarchy, legislation and government control of monopolies, are doing the work of capitalists as effectively in proportion to the extent of their influence. The average anarcho-orthodox literary heraldings of the money power. The latter have at least an intelligible motive for their course, — capitalism is their platform— and they have a hard exceptionable motive. But the philosophical Anarchists appear to be exerted by sheer perversity. They are entirely out of sympathy with the struggle of men for the abstract creed of individualism which has absolutely no meaning to those crushed under the burdens heaped upon capital. Or rather, as far as I can analyze, it is a mighty and vague philosophical parallelism in justification for the worst evils of capitalism, which are nothing more than the natural outcome of the exigencies of the system, are nothing that a man is to do as he pleases, to promote his own interests regardless of the welfare of others. Whether were the faults and mis-takes of the [Anarchists of the blood-and-thunder school] as shown by Mr. Westrup and the mutual bank advocates were promptly by their inherent hatred of the wrongs perpetrated by capital, et al., to the name of law and order. The so-called philosophic Individualists have nothing in common with them but the name, and apparently no desire to better
The condition of society or to do anything but split hairs over five penny innovations. Here we have at once an indictment and a verdict. Fortunately the Socialist State is not yet with us; or, upon us, rather, and the verdict of the “Journal” threatens us no loss of liberty or opportunity. A few words, however, must be said with reference to what charges content in the indictment, which charges are just four in number.

The first is that, in opposing ammollative measures of legislation and government control of monopolies, we are doing the work of capitalism, pleading guilty to the present system, to point out the causes of existing evils, and to advance what we consider the needful remedies, is to do the work of capitalism, we plead guilty to the charge. But since the fullest jury would hesitate to convict an accused such an absence of evidence, it is claimed in the second count that, instead of pointing out evils and proposing definite remedies, we preach an abstract creed of individualism that has absolutely no meaning to those who groan under the present system. But this charge is simply an ignorant and malicious and an ignorant and malicious attack on the libertarian principle, the principle which has secured the distinctive merit and superior title to scientific consideration. “Methods that answer must be precluded by thoughts that are true,” and the truly practical reformer is he who can philosophically establish the concordance of his practical principles with the high general principles. It is better to offer principles without practical suggestions and applications than to offer, as State Socialists do, practical measures that find no warrant in any true general principles. We, however, offer both the practical and the theoretical issues of this journal will show to the unprejudiced mind.

In the third count it is charged that we are out of sympathy with the struggling, toiling masses, that we have no desire to assist them, and that we are actually working in that direction for the best interests of those farmers and lumbermen working in the woods and mines that constitute the majority of our population.

Most serious of all is the fourth and last charge in the fourth count, namely, that our “mystic and vague philosophical phraseology is a justification for the worst evils of capitalism, which are nothing less than the legal justification of the liberty of every man to do as he pleases to promote his own interests regardless of the welfare of others.” Whether our philosophical phraseology is mystic and vague or clear and real, the impartial competent jury must determine the guilt or innocence of the defendant. Let it be made clear that the whole of this charge against us is one of the many unfounded charges that will be answered on his merits and, to the best of our ability, defend the philosophy to be him, if he does not mind.

To the Editor of Liberty:

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon the recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

To the Editor of Liberty:

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.

The Power of Government over Values.

In reference to your remarks upon my recent contribution to the London "Herald of Anarchy," dogmatism of manner of dogmatism is not necessarily an assumption of infallibility. The action of governments with regard to gold is not truly arguable since the probabilities of the theoretical performances on Sunday. In the last named case, or in any similar case which we may suppose, the effect is to make it impossible for anyone to put up with less than their share. Equal liberty, of course, must be denied, and so the pleasant and with the like claims of others.

We are now content to leave the case in the hands of the competent and fair-minded jury.

V. Y.
silver, those metals immediately take on an artificial, government-created value because of the new use which arbitrary power enables them to monopolize." Mr. Fisher meets this by attempting to belittle the restrictions placed upon those who would voluntarily surrender the vitally necessary liberty to compete with the gold-bugs were even now allowed. Let me ask my opponent one question. Does the law of England allow citizens to form a bank for the issue of paper money against any property that they can be made to accept as security; said bank perhaps owing no specie whatever; the paper money not redeemable in specie except at the option of the bank; the customers of the bank mutually pledging themselves to accept the bank's paper in lieu of gold or silver coin of the same face value; the paper being redeemable only at the maturity of the mortgage notes, and then simply by a return of said notes and a release of the mortgaged property,—is such an institution, I ask, allowed by the law of England? If it is, then the argument that people en working-people of England are very great fools not to take advantage of this inestimable liberty, that the editor of the "Anarchist" and his comrades have indeed nothing to complain of in the matter of finance, and that they are not a whit less honest than they are likely to be just described. But I am convinced that Mr. Fisher will have to answer that these banks are illegal in England; and in that I tell him again that the present value of gold coin which is sustained by the exclusive monetary privilege given it by government. It may be true, as Mr. Fisher says, that just as much gold would be used if it did not possess this monopoly. But that has nothing to do with the question. Take the proposition that I have already used in this discussion when I said: "If government were to decree that all plates shall be made of tin, would not the value of tin rise and the value of china fall?" Now, if the supply of tin were limited, and if nearly all the tin of the kingdom were in the hands of one man, I had no other use of great significance, it is quite conceivable that, if the decree prohibiting the use of tin in making plates should be withdrawn, the same amount of tin might continue to be used for the same purpose as before, and yet the value of tin would fall tremendously in consequence of the admitted competition of china. And similarly, if all property were to be admitted to competition with gold in the matter of representation in the currency, it is possible that the same amount of gold would be used as before, but its value would decrease notably,—would fall, that is to say, from its abnormal, artificial, government-created value, to its normal, natural, open-market value.

Political Ethics and Justice.

In entering upon the attempt to consider and meet the objections urged by Mr. Donisthorpe, in his letter in Liberty of May 30, against absolutism in political ethics, I find it difficult to be original. Mr. Spenser has so amply and convincingly dealt with the subject, and has so patiently and thoroughly disposed of all current and imaginary objections, that one will be constrained to endorse his brain in vain to discover new arguments. And I suppose we all realize how little satisfaction there is in more restatement and repetition. The interests of truth are paramount, and if we cannot be original, there is the consolation that important truths will bear saying over and over again.

Perhaps the most important point which we must settle before the discussion of their attention on ethical politics can be advantageously resumed is that relating to the method of developed science. Asking what is Justice, Mr. Donisthorpe says:

"I am willing to agree that Justice is based on biological and psychological facts; but I deny that we can say what it is, or who is just, without a basis. This can only be approximately done by generalizing from myriads of cases admittedly just, and from those general rules the mind proceeds to the method of induction; and when we have got our concrete rules thus, we can, with great advantage, verify our conclusions, by seeing how they bear on facts of a different class, that arise under prior physical laws. This is the method advised by the empirical school, and inasmuch as it has been accepted in all the concrete sciences (without exception), all we can do before the discussion of the human mind, it would seem to be merely a question of time when it shall be accepted there also.

Upon the same question of methods I find, in Spenser's own article on "Absolute Political Ethics" in the "Nineteenth Century" for January, 1880, statements at variance with those above made. Protegism against Professor Hussey's description of his method, Mr. Spencer says:

"I ought to be described as placing faith in simple deduction from abstract reasoning; which deductions are verified by infinite numbers of observations and experiences of semi-scientific and civilized mankind. Or rather I ought to be described as placing faith in simplified reasoning which may everywhere put upon the various kinds of transgressions, and sealing in them all a common principle everywhere dictated by the same laws, and developed by the same virtue of the consequences of this common principle by deduction, and to justify both the deductions and the conclusion which logically fall as its two correspondents. This method of deduction verified by induction is the method of developed science at large."

John Stuart Mill's opinion is worth of our respect. What has he to say upon the question of occupying us? To his "Logic" he takes the position that the "deductive method is destined irrevocably to predominate in the course of scientific investigation from this time forward." He affirms that "the advances henceforth to be expected even in physical, and still more in mental and social science, will chiefly be the result of induction. In fact, the habit of regarding as a maxim, or even a dogma, anything that is based upon the general reasonings in philosophy, the reverse of that to which Bacon has attached his name. "That great man changed the method of the sciences from deductive to experimental, and it is now rapidly turning from experimental to deductive." Mill continues:

"Among subjects really accessible to our faculties, those which still remain in a state of dimness and uncertainty (the suspension of their phenomena not having yet been brought under a clear and definite definition) are of very complex character, in which many agents are at work together, and their effects in a constant state of blending and inseparability. The case of those is a task attended with difficulties which, as we have already shown, are susceptible of solution by the instrument of deduction alone. Deduction is the great scientific work of the present and of future ages. The portion henceforth reserved for specific experience in the achievements of science, is certainly the study of the deductive inquirer, and of confirming or checking his conclusions."

That Mill was right is clearly established by the notable fact that such additions and contributions to the social sciences as have been made since publication of "Logic" have come entirely from believers in absolute political ethics and in the method of deduction verified by induction. The Empirical school has continued to doubt and ridicule "absolutism in political ethics." The result of orthodoxy and of empirical school never achieve any positive results, and that economics will remain in the present unsatisfactory condition until the absolutists shall turn their attention to economic problems. This may cause some able writers on economic questions, but I am content to have it dismissed as an absurdity and trust to the logic of events for vindication."

For an explanation and defence of absolutism in political ethics I must refer the reader to Mr. Spencer's article in Liberty on this subject, here only for a brief extract. Mr. Spencer says:

"Now that an orderly civil state has been maintained for generations, new that in daily intercourse men rarely use violence, commonly pay what they owe, and in most cases respect the claims of the weak as well as those of the strong, now that they are brought up with the idea that all men are equal before the law, and daily see judicial decisions turning upon the question whether one citizen has or has not the

fringed upon the equal right of another,—there exists in the general mind material for forming the conception of a principle of absolute and vested rights unique in the history of mankind, and in which maintenance of harmony depends on respect for the limits. There has arisen an ability to see that mutual limitations and adjustments, and of like as you constituted as an occasional or of frequent trespass, may work together without friction, and with the greatest advantage to each and all."

Relative political ethics, or that which deals with right and wrong in public affairs as partially determined by changing circumstances, cannot proceed without taking into account right and wrong in various circumstances, and from given circumstances, cannot do without absolute political ethics, the propositions of which, deduced from the conditions under which any system actually exists, may take no account of the special circumstances of any particular associated state.

The act of inductions thus arrived at is verified by an immeasurably vast induction, or rather by a great assemblage of vast inductions. For what else are the laws and judicial systems of all civilized nations, and of all societies which have risen above savagery.

Since I have admitted the value of the "middle principles" reached by induction, I do not exactly understand the pertinence and force of Mr. Donisthorpe's admonition that to attempt the deductive method be useless. We have such inductions as the Descartes in the realm of mathematics, the Newtons in the physical sciences, and the Bacon's in the realm of philosophy. The inductions of all these men are in the height of baseless confidence and is bound to end in failure. Without induction, without facts and data, nothing can plainly be undertaken. But the claim is that we have ample material and abundant data that we are ready for the application of the deductive method; and that there is no excuse for delay. To expect those who deny this to view favorably the attempt at constructing a system of absolute political ethics would manifestly be illogical; but much will be gained from the clear definition of the issue. The question is, Do we know enough of the principles of life in general and the experiences of societies in particular to be able to construct a system of absolute political ethics? A negative answer to this seems to me untenable.

Mr. Donisthorpe writes:

"I believe that Justice has a connotation, but that it is still unknown. It is the general name we give to which is common to thousands and millions of decisions regarded as just. We know that there have been a dispute about the ownership of a dog or a sheep. They both think themselves in the right. They call on the passer-by, the friend, the采集者, to decide the case, but would be puzzled to state the grounds of his decision in general terms. The same kind of thing is done again and again. These cases which are generally accepted as satisfactory are called just."

It is perfectly true that the average man does not know why those arrangements and decisions which strike him as fair and just are fair and just; he does not rise to the abstraction of Justice as a general and absolute principle; but simply feels that a certain way is infinitely superior to any other conceivable way. The sentiment of justice guides him, and such guidance is necessarily limited to simple cases. But those of us who are able to see the conditions, and the feelings of men and can do what quality in action makes them just and what Justice is. As Mr. Spencer says: "Though the moral sentiments generated in civilized men by daily contact with social conditions and gradual adaptation to them are sensible as in the sciences and we should, and though the intuitions corresponding to these sentiments, have, in virtue of their origin, a general authority to be reverently received; yet the sympathies and antipathies hence originating, together with the intellectual expressions of them in their theories, necessarily are vague. To make guidance by them adequate to all requirements, their dictates have to be interpreted and made definite by science; to which end there must be analysis of those conditions to complete living which they indicate.

Those of us who have grasped the principle of equal liberty certainly know what social arrangements fulfill the essential condition of human happiness. The fact that equal liberty is not preserved after a war once in an argument against
An Amendment Accepted.

When I called S. P. Putnam a "contemptible humbug," I knew that I should displease his associate, George Macdonald; for I remembered the extravagant eulogy which the latter passed upon the former in a pamphlet. But, having formed the opinion, it was too late to retract. To use a "contemptible humbug," I felt, was an expression iniquitous and base; and I drew into a discussion of the use-inheritance. In the first place, I am certainly unfitted for such a discussion; and, in the second place, I doubt if Mr. Tandy's equipment for it is any better than my own.

T. V.

A Logical Advocate.

I had intended to make some comments upon Tak Kak's last chapter on copyright, as well as to notice the amusing passage-at-arms between Mr. Lloyd's metaphysical Own Advocate and the dull devil's Advocate in his service; but I am glad to find myself relieved from two-thirds of this task by the receipt of a letter from a friend in which the logical reasoning in many of my opponent's objections fully met and covered.

My friend writes: "It is true that the eulogy was written about the subject, and it is not fair to assume that he means something; the only question is: what? I attempt to prove three statements:

1. That biology bears a very important relation to sociology.
2. That the theory of use-inheritance, held by Darwin and Spencer, is a new idea, and has been practically ignored in sociological discussions.
3. That the overthrow of this theory, by proving natural and social forces to be of equal power, materially strengthens the individualistic position. With which of these statements does Mr. Tandy disagree?

We must refer to the letter from Mr. Tandy's hand, which he has donated to us. He will not put his foot in it more as a pledge of future good conduct than as applied to his atterne- nces up to date.

T. V.
The Society for Preventing Civilization.

(The Times of London, April 13th.)

Sir Henry, one of the leading economists in the National Socialist Alliance, has written to the Times that the society for the prevention of civilization has well begun its work. He says that the society has already made a great deal of progress, and that the results have been very satisfactory. The object of the society is to prevent the progress of civilization, and to bring about a return to the primitive condition of man, having lost his reason, being for the moment in exclusive possession, and in possession of all the means of life. The society has already established a number of colonies, and is now about to establish a large number more. The colonies will be situated in the desert, and will be peopled with Jews, who have been selected for their peculiar intellect and for their capacity for hard work. The society has already received a large number of donations, and is now in a position to carry out its work on a large scale.

This is a very important step in the history of the race, and it is of the utmost importance that the country should take notice of it. The society is not only a great step forward in the history of mankind, but it is also a step forward in the history of science. The society is not only a great step forward in the history of mankind, but it is also a step forward in the history of science.

Ingersoll's Unofficial. (London, May 10th.)

The most noteworthy feature of the "North American Review" for June is a discussion between R. W. H. H. H. and Col. Black. Col. Black states that he has had the honor of being one of the first to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country.

Ingersoll's Unofficial. (London, May 10th.)

The most noteworthy feature of the "North American Review" for June is a discussion between R. W. H. H. H. and Col. Black. Col. Black states that he has had the honor of being one of the first to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country.

Ingersoll's Unofficial. (London, May 10th.)

The most noteworthy feature of the "North American Review" for June is a discussion between R. W. H. H. H. and Col. Black. Col. Black states that he has had the honor of being one of the first to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country.

Ingersoll's Unofficial. (London, May 10th.)

The most noteworthy feature of the "North American Review" for June is a discussion between R. W. H. H. H. and Col. Black. Col. Black states that he has had the honor of being one of the first to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country. He says that he is now about to introduce the doctrine of the "North American Review" into this country.
Liberty -- Vols. V and VI.
Complete files of the fifth and sixth volumes of this journal, handsomely bound in cloth, now for sale at
Twenty Shillings Each.
People who desire these volumes should apply for them early, as the number is limited. The first four volumes were long since sold out, and the fifth and sixth volumes, which were printed paying ten dollars for a copy of the first volume. The others will be sold at a premium.

Address: BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 336, Boston, Mass.

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY.

By Edmund Burke.

Shewing the Inherent Evils of All State Governments.

36 Pages. Price 10 Cents.

English Organ of Anarchism.

The HERALD OF ANARCHY.

Seeks to destroy the authority and prestige of National Government as well as to combat all other forms of tyranny; advocating the abolition of private property and the destruction of all forms of slavery. Contains articles on revolts, crimes, contracts, and the like.

Address: BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 336, Boston, Mass.

ANARCHISTS' MARCH:

Tunes: Björnorgersnäs March. ( Finnish War Song).

Words by J. W. LLOYD.

Price, 10 cents.

Proudhon's Works.

Great Reduction of Price:

$1.00 instead of $3.50.

WHAT IS PROPERTY? or An Inquiry into the Nature and Significance of Property.


This work, written in a style uniform with that of "What is Property?" is distinguished by its simplicity, its breadth, and its logical development. It is the first systematic work on the subject, and is the result of long and careful study.

Price, $1.00, cloth; 10 cents, paper. 500 pages. 6 x 9.

SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC CONFLICT.


This work is a comprehensive statement of the principles of anarcho-socialism, and is found in a style uniform with that of "What is Property?" It is distinguished by its simplicity, its breadth, and its logical development. It is the first systematic work on the subject, and is the result of long and careful study.

Price, $1.00, cloth; 10 cents, paper. 500 pages. 6 x 9.

Lysander Spooner's Pamphlets.

SOLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE

SPOONER PUBLICATION FUND.

The undersigned has purchased from the heirs of the late Lysander Spooner all his printed pamphlets, manuscripts, and reproduction rights to all his works published during the remainder of the year. He has also purchased all rights to the publication of the latter. The list given below includes all of Mr. Spooner's pamphlets and manuscripts published during the remainder of the year. The list is accurate and complete, and is published at the request of the Spooner Publication Fund.

Price, 10 cents, each.

Price, 10 cents, each.


IMMORALITY OF ELECTING A CIVIL GOVERNMENT, and a Plain Talk to the People of the United States. A republication of the Republican party's platform of 1856. Price, 10 cents, each.

OUR FINANCERS: Their Ignorance, Usurpation, and Fraud. Exposing the fallacy of the interest-covers-bond scheme, and setting forth some of the fraudulent practices of the financiers. 1856. Price, 10 cents, each. 1856. 50 cents.

ILLEGALITY OF THE TRIAL OF JOHN W. WEBSTER, CONCERNING HIS REFUSAL TO PAY POSTAGE. This is a collection of some of Webster's most important statements, and is the result of long and careful study. 1856. Price, 10 cents, each.

The DEDICATION OF LYSANDER SPOONER'S PAMPHLETS: A publication of the Dedications of Lysander Spooner's pamphlets, as given in the Prefaces to these works. Price, 10 cents, each.

FLATLAND. By BLAVATSKY. A novel on the subject of theosophy, and theosophical advancements. Price, 10 cents, each.

Price, 10 cents, each.

Considerations for Bankers and Holders of Paper Money. The paper money question is a subject of great importance, and the following considerations are given in an attempt to elucidate the subject. 1856. Price, 10 cents, each.

SO-THEREON. No. I. 1867. Price, 10 cents, each. 1867. 10 cents.

SO-THEREON. No. II. 1867. Price, 10 cents, each. 1867. 10 cents.

A NEW BANKING SYSTEM. By BLAVATSKY. A novel on the subject of theosophy, and theosophical advancements. Price, 10 cents, each.

ADDRESS ON THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES: Shewing the outlines, advantages, security, practicality, and legal force of the new system. 1875. Price, 10 cents, each.

ADDRESS ON THE CURRENCY OF THE UNITED STATES: Shewing the outlines, advantages, security, practicality, and legal force of the new system. 1875. Price, 10 cents, each.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR BANKERS AND HOLDERS OF PAPER MONEY. The paper money question is a subject of great importance, and the following considerations are given in an attempt to elucidate the subject. 1856. Price, 10 cents, each.

MONEY'HUNGARY. No. I. 1867. Price, 10 cents, each. 1867. 10 cents.

MONEY'HUNGARY. No. II. 1867. Price, 10 cents, each. 1867. 10 cents.

A LETTER TO THOMAS F. BAYARD. Challenging his right to indorse the war, and denouncing the war as a fraud upon the people of the United States. Price, 10 cents, each.

A LETTER TO GROVER CLEVELAND. On his False Inaugural Address. Price, 10 cents, each.

THE HERALD OF ANARCHY. Price, 10 cents, each.

English Organ of Anarchism.
LIBERTY'S LIBRARY.


LAND TENURE.- An essay showing the governing principles of the most famous constitutions, and natural and political power of the subject of the "Land Tenure." By a well-known French scholar, a portrait of Robert Owen. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

CO-OPERATIVE HOMES.- An essay showing how the kitchen may be made more convenient and independent of the "Co-operative Homes." By a well-known scientist, a portrait of Louise Michel. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

CO-OPERATION: ITS LAWS AND PRINCIPLES.- A small collection of wise and timely documents of true cooperation, and against the violations of these conditions by Bent, Interest, Profit, and Morality. Price, $1.00.


THE FALICCIANS IN "PROGRESS AND POVERTY." A bold attack on the position of Henry George. Written by a well-known French author, a portrait of William E. Fuller. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

THE REORGANIZATION OF BUSINESS.- An essay showing how the principles of cooperation may be real- 
ized and how the revolutions of scientific men can be made more fruitful, by William E. Fuller. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY.- An eloquent and practical statement of the principles of science as it is in reform. By Elisee Reclus. Followed by a sketch of the criminal record of the author by E. Vaughan. Price, 10 cents.

CORPORATIONS.- An essay showing how the mon- 
opoly of capital and the trusts may be broken and the true nature of the Industry of the State. By C. T. Fuller. Containing a portrait of William Lloyd Garrison. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

SO THE RAILWAY KINGS STOH FOR AN ANARCHIST.- A reply to an article by William Morris, by the author of "Progress and Poverty." Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

PROHIBITION.- An essay on the relation of government to temperance, showing that prohibition cannot pro- 
vail in our time. Price, 6 cents; 2 copies, 10 cents.

INNOCENT IDLENESS.- An Exposition of the causes of the difficulty existing between the supply of leisure and the demand for labor. By Hugo Bismarck. Pages, 100; cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.


MUTUAL BANKING.- Showing the Radical significance of the existing Credit System, or how idleness on Money can be Abolished. By William B. Greene. Pages, 10 cents.


THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM.- By Oliver Scholte. A romance, not of adventure, but of the inten- sity and growth of the English and German people living in the United States. Pages, 350; cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.- By Stephen Pearl Andrews. This work, long out of print, is now republished to meet a de- 
mand. It is a criticism of the character of Socialism and Socialism's effect on the economy. Price, 10 cents. Cloth, 25 cents; paper, 10 cents.

STURM.- By John Henry Mackay. A collection of Euphonic and Anarchistic poems in the German language. Pages, 115; cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

STURM.- By John Henry Mackay. A collection of Euphonic and Anarchistic poems in the German language. Pages, 115; cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Price, cloth, 70 cents; paper, 50 cents.