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"For always in these eyes, O Liberty! I know that high flight where the storm-birds alight; and though thou dost ever, we will trust in thee."
—John Hay.

Extracts from the Works of Nietzsche.

[Translated from the German by George Schurman.]

THE MORALITY OF THE NATURE INDIVIDUAL.—It is the impersonal that has hitherto been regarded as the true characteristic of a moral action; and it has been shown that it was originally the regard for the general good on account of which alone the moral actions of the ancient world were regarded and exalted. Are we not on the eve of a significant reversal of these views, now that it is more and more clearly seen that the greatest personal regard also serves best the general good?—Nietzsche is convinced that the conception of a moral action that corresponds to the prevailing conception of morality (as a general good) is to make of one's self a whole person, and to have in all that one does one's highest re-stowel in which that consciousness, that compassionate impulses and actions in favor of others. We are all, of course, still suffering from the too-sight regard of the impersonal in us; it is poorly developed,—let us confess,—until there is a whole self that one has to make away from it, and offered as a sacrifice to the State, to the need, as if it were the evil that must be sacrificed. We still wish to work for our fellow-men, but only so far as we find our own highest advantage in this work, not more, not less. Everything depends only on what one regards as the advantage: the immaturity, undeveloped, individual conscience will have the same conception of it. —Menschliche, Allzumenschliche: Ein Rech für freies Geist.

OUTLOOK INTO THE DISTANCE.—If, as has been defined, only those actions are moral which are done for the sake of another and only for his sake, then there are no moral actions! If,—in another definition—only those actions are moral which are done in the free will of the will, then again there are no moral actions. And what then is that which is called so, and which surely exists and demands a respect? Is it the result of a number of ill-fellows? And, assuming that we should free ourselves from these fallacies, what would then become of "moral actions"? In consequence of these fallacies, we have hitherto ascribed a higher value to certain actions than they have: we separated them from the "esthetic" and the "free" actions. If now we coordinate them with these again, as we must do, we shall surely base their value (the sense of their value), and indeed below their fair measure, because the "esthetic" and the "free" actions have hitherto been rated too low, in consequence of the excessively deep and incorrect doctrine referred to above. Then it is distinctly these actions that will henceforth be done less often because they have suffered a depreciation? Inevitably! At least for a long time, as long as the balance of the sense of value is under the reaction against former mistakes! But our counter calculation is that we give back to man the healthy courage of actions derived as egotistical and restore the value of the latter, so to speak. And as these have hitherto been by far the most frequent and will remain so in all future time, we take from the whole scene of action and of life its esthetic / / That is a very great result! What a great and noble thing, and, besides, a wonderful thing, mankind. —Morgenrot: Gedanken über die moralische Vorwelt.

CONCERNING THE NATURAL HISTORY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES.—Our duties—are the rights of others as against us. How did they acquire them? By having ta-

(Continued on page 4.)
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Ethics Without a Basis.

Whatever appears in print over the signature of Professor Huxley produces the impression of reasonable and wonderful clearness. The critic who should be hardy enough to charge Professor Huxley with ambiguity, obscurity, phrase-darkening utterances, or doubtful statements would precipitate upon his devoted head a torrent of contemptuous or angry abuse. Yet it seems to be the case that fearless soldiers of scientific progress have far more admiring readers than disciples and followers. —I mean on questions of ethics, politics, economics. His excursions into these realms are watched with the keenest interest by everybody; but the interest is not due to any agreement with his discoveries or conclusions. Professor Huxley is plausible and apparently rational in all that he writes on politics and economics; but he is not really scientific.

Take his latest polemical performance. So far as his "Fortnightly Review" article ("An Apologetic Ireonicon") deals with the sins of latter-day Positivism, it is absolutely criticism-proof. He is eminently successful in the attempt to convert the Neo-Positivists of utterly abandoning the cardinal doctrines of Comtean and original Positivism and of using sophistry for the purpose of justifying their improper retention of the latter. Indeed, the destructive criticism of Positivism, old and new, is characterized by the matchless vigor and brilliancy which we expect to find in all his controversial writings which deal with subjects on which he is an authority. But when he ventures beyond his depth and attempts to overthrow the whole system of evolutionary ethics by a few negations and bold assertions, he displays a surprising lack of critical insight and a strange unconsciousness of his gross inconsistency that, in the broadest sense of the term "evolution," there is a moral "providence." Through this small pit of an infinitesimal fragment of the universe there runs a "stream of tendency toward righteousness." But outside the ordinary realm of a garden of Eden, thus watered, I am unable to discover any "moral" purpose, or anything but a stream of tendency towards the consummation of the cosmic process, only by force of struggle for existence, which is no more righteous or unrighteous than the operation of any other mechanism.

I hear much of the "ethics of evolution." I apprehend that in the broadest sense of the term "evolution," there neither is, nor can be, any such thing. The notion that the doctrine of evolution can furnish a foundation for morals seems to me to be an illusion, which is sustained by the uncertainty amounting to the term "fitting" in the formula "survival of the fittest." We commonly use the "fitness" in a good sense, with an understood connation of "best" and "best" we are an ethical term. But what is the "best" which survives in the struggle for existence may be, and often is, the ethically worst. So far as I am able to interpret the evidence which bears upon the evolution of man as it now stands, there was a stage in that process when, if I may speak figuratively, the "Weltgeist" repented him that he had made mankind no better than the brutes, and resolved upon a new and more equitable method. Up to that time the struggle for existence had dominated the way of life of the human, as of the other, higher brutes; since that time men have been impelled, with gentle but steady pressure, to help one another, instead of competing one with another; to restrain their passions; instead of seeking, with all their strength and cunning, to gratify them; to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the ordered commonwealth, through which alone the righteousness of his existence, instead of the exploitation social existence for their individual ends. Since that time, as the price of the high distinction of his changed destiny, man has lost the happy singleness which was the打好 maybe is a error, that which he would not do, because the cosmic process carries him away, and that which he would do does not, because the ethical stream of tendency is still but a trill. Does not all this appear very reasonable, rational, clear, and logical? Yet it is full of contradictions and vicissitudes. One of Professor Huxley's fundamental propositions may be restated as follow: Mankind has acquired an ethical ideal and a conviction that the observance of certain rules of conduct is essential to the maintenance of social existence and the gradual realization of that ideal; moreover, men are impelled, with gentle but steady pressure, to observe these ethical rules. The other fundamental propositions may be expressed thus: the cosmic process neutralizes and effects the ethical work of mankind, because the latter's social tendencies are as yet not strong enough to withstand the pressure of the cosmic process, whose consummation depends on means distinctively unethical, from mankind's point of view. Men would joyfully proceed with their ethical task and make very rapid progress, did they not find themselves constantly checked and impeded by the cosmic process. Men would gladly remove from under the jurisdiction of the struggle for existence and so arrange their relations as to secure the survival and supremacy of their "best," in the ethical sense; while the cosmic process arrests this tendency and compels them to pay a high price for each short ethical step gained in opposition to itself.

Upon such a statement of the facts two major questions at once arise. In the first place, if the cosmic process is unfavorable to men's ethical growth, how was it possible for them to make any headway at all? In the second place, how did men get their first, initial impulse in the ethical direction? It is unfortunate that Professor Huxley has chosen to speak figuratively of the repentence and new departure of the "Weltgeist." It is concealed that were on no better than the brutes; but the interesting question is, how they could ever introduce that germ into the life out of which the great differences in their nature and habits have grown, and which is the source of that germ. In addition to these two questions, there are some minor difficulties in the way of accepting Professor Huxley's interpretation. He certainly implies that in the life of the "brutes" nothing comparable to the ethical tendencies of men is discoverable; and this is a gross misstatement of fact. It is well known that brutes "help one another," "restrain their lusts," and "sacrifice themselves for the sake of the ordered commonwealth." The struggle for existence does not completely dominate the way of life of the brutes; hence even the brutes are able to emancipate themselves from the pressure of the cosmic process. In explaining men's ethical progress, Professor Huxley will do well to reflect upon the analogies between them and the brutes.

It is to be observed that Professor Huxley does not question the existence of an ethical ideal and ethical principles. But he insists that human ethics, and, inferentially, what may be called sub-human ethics, cannot be interpreted, explained, accounted for in terms of evolution and the light of the facts of evolution. But if instead of referring to the facts of evolution, he refers to his own, he leaves us in the dark. I suspect Professor Huxley wrote his criticism of evolutionary ethics in temporary forgetfulness of the very meaning attached to the term by the evolutionists. Ethics must have either a natural or a supernatural basis. The latter being something which it would be dangerous to mention in Professor Huxley's presence, or absence for that matter, we are necessarily forced to the conclusion that the ethical tendencies of men have a natural basis and ex-
planation. Given the conditions under which we live; given the factor of intelligence; and in due time ethical ideas and sentiments are evolved. Clearly the conditions under which existence is maintained are not independent of the cosmic processes. Most of what ideas and habits of living belong are not independent of these conditions; clearly the superiority of certain ways and methods over others could only be slowly discerned by the light of bitter experience; why, then, is it improper to speak of ethics as evolutionary, — meaning gradually evolved under the influence of external and internal factors.

There is no ambiguity whatever in the term "fittest." That which is fittest is adjusted to the conditions of the habitat. In every process of the growth of a nation, taught by experience that survival, rather than peace and happiness, can only be secured through observance of certain conditions. Those who most readily adapt themselves to these social conditions are the fittest, and they are also ethically the best. It is simply a question of terminology. The social conditions are termed "ethical," and the men most fitted to survive under these ethical conditions are termed "best.

Those are best who come nearest to the ideal.

V. Y.

Democracy's Gift of a Stone.

"A Puzzled Democrat" writes to the New York "World" asking enlightenment concerning the proposed repeal of the law taxing State bank notes out of existence. The "World" replies at considerable length, and especially elaborates its answer to the question: "What would be the effect of such repeal be?" It enumerates the various reasons for demanding the repeal of the law, the necessity of which is perfectly sound and valid. But in the fourth the teeth and claws of the beast begin to be seen:

The act of Congress repealing the prohibitory tax would probably be made applicable only in States whose laws provide for the perfect security of bank issues.

In a nutshell (only too literally!), then, we have the free-banking proclivities of the Democrats. There is not to be any approach to freedom, if the influence of such papers as the "World" be felt in their councils. And we shall always be at a loss to know whether it is innocent ignorance or pusillanimous perversity which prompts that paper to assert that "a well-guarded system of State-bank circulation is the best substitute for national-bank circulation which financial ingenuity has been able to devise." It would be difficult to believe, however, that the writer of that sentence has never heard of free banking, even though he may never have had the foggiest idea of the working of Liberty's tendering money.

To give emphasis to its former statement the "World" delivers itself of the following:

The only reason that all (former State bank notes) were not good was the lack of sound banking laws in a few States. This lack is not likely to occur again in any State, and its occurrence may be effectually prevented by the act of repeal itself.

But every one expected these restrictions. The only thing about which there has been any doubt or difference of opinion, even among Anarchists, is the basis for the issue of currency.

There has been a hope (or rather a doubt) entertained that it would not be uniformly gold, the action of the Georgia legislature, to which the editor of Liberty has called attention, seeming to indicate that speculative redemption is not to be invariably the rule. The "World," however, leaves no room for doubt as to what it believes to be the only sound basis for banking:

There is no reason why State bank notes should not be as secure as were those of Kentucky, Georgia, Virginia. If the "World" be heeded, the Democratic party stands in no danger of losing the support of monopoly and the gold-bugs. It has but to institute State banks on a gold basis, if, indeed, it ever repeals the ten cent tax, and the people will feel the lack of a circulating medium sufficient in quantity for the transaction of business just as much as they now do, for the power of monopoly to contract the currency will be just as great as it is at present. For free banking, consequently, the people shall find the people become as tired of State banking as they now are of the present system of currency. Doubtless longer; for it must not be forgotten that, whether or not the Democracy claims it to be freedom, the people at large are quite generally laboring under the delusion that is what they are to have when the ten per cent. tax has been repealed. It seems to me, since the realization of the hopes of the believers in free money is, by the attentions of such newspapers as the "World," becoming such a luxury, that it is the work of Anarchists not only to point out the disaster that must and will result from the parness of the plan of making the notes redeemable in gold, but to insist, and to keep on insisting, that this is not free banking. Perhaps in this way some of the evil results of the late "campaign of education" can be overcome.

Coming, as they do, from one of the most prominent and influential Democratic newspapers in the country, it cannot be unfair to assume that the people are likely to be the controlling ones in the action of the Democracy in regard to the currency question. Therefore we know what we are to expect. Instead of bread, Democracy gives us a stone. To achieve what it denies us is a great work. It is before us.

C. L. Swartz.

John Wanamaker, in his latest report to Congress regarding the post office department, makes the following statement: "The present better rate pays a cent and over, and by this overpay serves as a provocative rate to the department to cover the underpay from doing an express business for periodicals and books and carrying advertising sheets at one cent per pound, that in point of fact are nothing more than business circulars that load the mails enormously. All such mail is not only carried at a loss of six cents a pound, but it interferes materially with the business of the express and railroad companies, which are properly carriers of heavy packages and freight." Liberty has more than once made precisely this point against the governmental postal service. The people who write letters are greatly taxed for the benefit of the people who read newspapers. But never had I supposed the abuse to be as gross as it appears from the postmaster-general's confession. The government charges a cent for which it costs seven cents, and tries to make good the loss by charging two cents for that which costs it one cent. To be sure, this is no different from the practice of John Wanamaker, the Philadelphia storekeeper, as well as of other large merchants, in offering what is called a "loyal leader" at less than cost in order to draw in customers to buy other articles sold at a profit. But the customers are not obliged to buy the high-priced articles at Wanamaker's; they can go elsewhere if they choose. Letter-writers, however, are compelled to patronize the government. John Wanamaker, haberdasher, is subject to competition, but the letter-writer, generally, is protected against competition. The United States postal service ought to be abolished. For that matter, so ought the United States.

It costs seven cents a pound, complains John Wanamaker, to deliver newspapers, and the government charges for this service only a cent a pound. I answer that, whatever it may cost, a cent a pound is all that is worth and much more, as long as the service remains as inefficient as it is at present. Liberty is mailed at the New York post office every Saturday night and generally reaches subscribers within a stone's throw of that post office on the following Thursday. Heaven knows when it gets over to Brooklyn, to say nothing of San Francisco. As a test, I have a copy mailed to my post office box. The copy so mailed on Saturday night, December 10, has not up to this writing (Thursday night, December 15) found its way to Box 1312 in the same building. Perhaps I, who subject my correspondents to so many annoying delays, ought to be the last man to complain of such inefficiency; but it should be remembered that the publishing of Liberty is not my vocation, but my avocation; that I have very little time to devote to it; and that I have not at my command the Treasury of the United States out of which to pay clerks' salaries. Now, I am going to try to get this thing remedied, and to that end I want my subscribers to help me, in their own interest. I request every one of them (in this country), on receiving the next issue of Liberty, bearing date of December 24, to remove the wrapper without injuring the address, write upon the wrapper the day and hour when the paper was received, and mail the wrapper to me promptly in a sealed envelope. Perhaps with such evidence I shall succeed in making an impression upon Mr. Wanamaker's able assistants here in New York, who, in spite of their ability, cannot carry a half-ounce package from one end of the post office to the other in less than six days.

The New York "Sun" thinks it superior to complain of the cost of running Congress. "It must not be forgotten," it says, "that the value of a Congress to the country is not to be measured by the laws which it passes. Who can estimate the value of a dollar's worth of the Fifty-second Congress's services in preventing the enactment of the 12,697 bills which failed to get through at the last session?" Who can estimate the value of the services of the burgalors who leave thousands of houses unoccupied and of murderers who spare the lives of millions of
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