For always in those eyes, O Liberty! 
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved; 
And though thou sayest, we, we still trust in thee.

JOHN HAY.

The "Liberal" Love of Government.

[Reprinted by the New York Truth Seeker.]

To the Editor of the Truth Seeker:

Dear Sir:—It is a pleasing privilege to inform the readers of your excellent journal, the '<em>Liberal</em>, that I am with pleasure to state that I have been appointed to the post of Secretary of War. This is a position of great honor and responsibility, and I am determined to serve my country faithfully and honorably.

In regard to the question of the construction of a new capital, I am of the opinion that it should be located in the middle of the country, away from the influence of the Eastern political parties. I am confident that a city located in the center of the country will be a better and more just capital for the nation.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to you, Mr. Editor, for the opportunity to serve my country and to your readers for their support and encouragement.

Yours truly,

[Signature]

The "Liberal" Love of Government.

[Reprinted by the New York Truth Seeker.]

To the Editor of the Truth Seeker:

Dear Sir:—It is a pleasing privilege to inform the readers of your excellent journal, the '<em>Liberal</em>, that I am with pleasure to state that I have been appointed to the post of Secretary of War. This is a position of great honor and responsibility, and I am determined to serve my country faithfully and honorably.

In regard to the question of the construction of a new capital, I am of the opinion that it should be located in the middle of the country, away from the influence of the Eastern political parties. I am confident that a city located in the center of the country will be a better and more just capital for the nation.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to you, Mr. Editor, for the opportunity to serve my country and to your readers for their support and encouragement.

Yours truly,

[Signature]

Louise Micheli: Release.

[Extravaganza, January 16]

We announced yesterday the release of Louise Micheli, escrever friend, who will permit us to say, in a more candid tone, that the government's recent action, which was denounced by the press, was justified by the facts. The government's action was based on the necessity of protecting the rights of the American people, and the government acted in the best interest of the nation.

Louise Micheli was arrested for her activities as a writer and for her association with radical groups. Her imprisonment was a violation of her rights as a writer and as a citizen. The government's action was a violation of the principles of liberty and justice.

Louise Micheli is a fighter, a rebel, a woman who has never been afraid to stand up for her beliefs. She is a symbol of the American spirit, and her release is a victory for the principles of liberty and justice.

We are pleased to see that the government has acted in a fair and just manner. We hope that her release will be the beginning of a new era of freedom and justice in our country.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
Ireland!

By George Salton.

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

Continued from No. 76.

Many protested, without going so far as to vociferate the gentleman, simply to avoid being noticed. But they all agreed with his orator's opinion, and also to keep from giving way to discouragement.

'Twas their duty, without doubt, to attack them, and extinguish, one after another, those flames which were being fanned in the minds of the class beyond the open road, his business—especially since the last week—was clear.

Arkwlow chafed under a steep foot-path which led by the side of the farm of Nicdarthy, and heard the bandies by the wayside carol their astonishment over his canvas coat. The same coat very soon on a plain which commanded a view of an immense stretch of country, and, in the darkness which reigned, he tried to distinguish some form, to see if he were the one that was the subject of the blacksmith's? said Arkwlow, in sorrowful, wretched.

And, still vigilant, he kept peering in every direction, endued with a rare acute sense of vision, till they relented in their search, or was it not that the man who had been obliged to observe in their thick, dark, and blackness of the wind; nevertheless, Arkwlow distinguished a moving human mass.

It went along by the side of the road, as if stumbling over the stones; at last it went over head, got up again, staggered, and fell again to rise no more.

"It is prisoner," said Edith's husband.

And he scrambled down from his observatory in order to run to the spot and learn from the drunken fellow, whom he would shake, whether Harvey had joined him.

The road being winded on account of the hills, Arkwlow cut across, across, across; he was past all, leaving over nothing, and the way and over fences, in the darkness from heights of fifteen or twenty feet. Often the earth fell in at the top under the weight of his spring; and below under the weight of his fall.

Once it seemed to him as if he were leaping into space, and would break his skull on fragments of the roof; and as by the bow he dashed, his teeth and lips were broken; and the noise of his skull grunted him; the goblins, in the score of his drunkenness swept by his soul—like breath, short and oppressed, lay asleep, on his stomach, with clenched fists, and with a cold stare; but in his head, his head lower than his body.

Unquestionably, appallingly awaited him: it smelled its arteries; he would die soon, giving up its unclear life in a boisterous or a repulsive vomiting. Arkwlow asked himself if he should join him, if he should not leave him to die so, if it would not be a deathly assault compared with that which he would suffer as a traitor. Briefly, it was inevitable.

But hurriedly prevailed, as did also the desire to be enlightened, however incompletely, however stingily, on the subject of Harvey!

While helping the chained one up, the chain pressed his shoulder, and on its arm, the breast:

"Casper! Casper!" he cried in his ear, "there is a glass to drink; say, will you empty it? Where did you all come from?" he asked of the drunken man, which no other summons would have reached, moved, and a growl testified that the stupefied brain of the deplorable person had been touched by it.

At the same time, he tried to rise; with much assistance he managed to get himself in a horizontal position on the road, and his head level with his heels; but this was not at all the word except as it was, as it was with some nearness, who whipped him, defied him in v. to drink, calling him a coward, an idler, a brute at the breast, who cared more for milk than for glory.

"But his head back, tiddels face and nose with a wisp of grass moistened with dew, and graspedlocks of his hair and pulled them hard; but no result! Nothing but the snoring, which began, henceforth, guttural, hoarse,

Arkwlow surely would not get a word out of him; so,chaotically pushing him back, he asked, "Is this a carriage? May not drive his wheels into his flesh, he not out for the farm."

"but a singular phenomenon arrested his attention, puzzling him. At the dis-
A LETTER TO GROVER CLEVELAND.

On His False, Absurd, Self-Contradictory, and Ridiculous Inaugural Address.

By LYSANDER SPONNER.

[The author reserves his copyright in this letter.]

Sect. XX.

But, not content with always having sanctioned the unlimited power of the State legislature to collect the taxes necessary to make their exemptions and privileges, the Supreme Court of the United States has, within the last twenty years, taken pains to assert that congress also has the arbitrary power to abolish the same right.

The true courts have said, that, when a man has made a contract to pay a certain number of dollars, at a future time,—meaning such dollars as were current at the time of the contract,—congress may alter the value of such dollars, and make them less valuable than the one agreed on, and authorize the debtor to pay his debt with a dollar of less value than that which was originally contracted for.

To cover up this infamous crime, the court asserts, over and over again, that congress has power to contract, constitutionally speaking, to alter, at any time, the value of money, and that it is as valid as ever it was.

In reality they say that a contract to pay money is not a contract to pay any particular amount, or value, of such money as was known and understood by the parties at the time the contract was made, but only such, and so much, as congress shall afterwards choose to call by that name, when the debt shall become due.

This is saying that the obligation of a contract to pay money is not an obligation to pay what both the law and the parties recognize as money, at the time when the contract was to be performed, but substitute as congress shall afterwards prescribe, "when the payment is to be made."

This opinion was given by a majority of the court in the year 1870. In another opinion the court says:

Under the power to coin money, and to regulate its value, congress may issue coins of the same denomination that is, bearing the same name, as those already current by law, but of less intrinsic value than those of the same denomination and express the same value, and thereby enable all persons to discharge their debts by the payment of coins of less intrinsic value. To do this without injuring any person, it would be necessary that congress should, at the same time, provide that the money so paid should be recognized as money when payment is to be made.

This opinion was given by the entire court—save one—Field—at the October term of 1883.

Both these opinions are distinct declarations of the power of congress to alter money whenever they are pleased, and to make the value of the debt, the thing that is agreed to be paid.

In one of these opinions the court distinctly says that, after the parties to a contract have agreed upon the number of dollars to be paid, congress has power to reduce the value of the dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay the less valuable dollar; notwithstanding the value of money which is of consequence.

In other words, the court means to say that, after a contract has been made for the payment of a certain number of dollars, congress has power to alter the meaning of the word dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay less money than they contracted for, and less valuable than the thing that they agreed to pay.

This is saying that the obligation of a contract to pay money is not an obligation to pay what both the law and the parties recognize as money, at the time when the contract was to be performed, but substitute as congress shall afterwards prescribe, "when the payment is to be made."

This opinion was given by a majority of the court in the year 1870. In another opinion the court says:

Under the power to coin money, and to regulate its value, congress may issue coins of the same denomination that is, bearing the same name, as those already current by law, but of less intrinsic value than those of the same denomination and express the same value, and thereby enable all persons to discharge their debts by the payment of coins of less intrinsic value. To do this without injuring any person, it would be necessary that congress should, at the same time, provide that the money so paid should be recognized as money when payment is to be made.

This opinion was given by the entire court—save one—Field—at the October term of 1883.

Both these opinions are distinct declarations of the power of congress to alter money whenever they are pleased, and to make the value of the debt, the thing that is agreed to be paid.

In one of these opinions the court distinctly says that, after the parties to a contract have agreed upon the number of dollars to be paid, congress has power to reduce the value of the dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay the less valuable dollar; notwithstanding the value of money which is of consequence.

In other words, the court means to say that, after a contract has been made for the payment of a certain number of dollars, congress has power to alter the meaning of the word dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay less money than they contracted for, and less valuable than the thing that they agreed to pay.

This is saying that the obligation of a contract to pay money is not an obligation to pay what both the law and the parties recognize as money, at the time when the contract was to be performed, but substitute as congress shall afterwards prescribe, "when the payment is to be made."

This opinion was given by a majority of the court in the year 1870. In another opinion the court says:

Under the power to coin money, and to regulate its value, congress may issue coins of the same denomination that is, bearing the same name, as those already current by law, but of less intrinsic value than those of the same denomination and express the same value, and thereby enable all persons to discharge their debts by the payment of coins of less intrinsic value. To do this without injuring any person, it would be necessary that congress should, at the same time, provide that the money so paid should be recognized as money when payment is to be made.

This opinion was given by the entire court—save one—Field—at the October term of 1883.

Both these opinions are distinct declarations of the power of congress to alter money whenever they are pleased, and to make the value of the debt, the thing that is agreed to be paid.

In one of these opinions the court distinctly says that, after the parties to a contract have agreed upon the number of dollars to be paid, congress has power to reduce the value of the dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay the less valuable dollar; notwithstanding the value of money which is of consequence.

In other words, the court means to say that, after a contract has been made for the payment of a certain number of dollars, congress has power to alter the meaning of the word dollar, and authorize all debtors to pay less money than they contracted for, and less valuable than the thing that they agreed to pay.

This is saying that the obligation of a contract to pay money is not an obligation to pay what both the law and the parties recognize as money, at the time when the contract was to be performed, but substitute as congress shall afterwards prescribe, "when the payment is to be made."

This opinion was given by a majority of the court in the year 1870. In another opinion the court says:

Under the power to coin money, and to regulate its value, congress may issue coins of the same denomination that is, bearing the same name, as those already current by law, but of less intrinsic value than those of the same denomination and express the same value, and thereby enable all persons to discharge their debts by the payment of coins of less intrinsic value. To do this without injuring any person, it would be necessary that congress should, at the same time, provide that the money so paid should be recognized as money when payment is to be made.

This opinion was given by the entire court—save one—Field—at the October term of 1883.
Liberty.

Issued Fortnightly at One Dollar a Year; Single Copies Five Cents.

BENJ. H. TYLER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.
A. F. KELLY, ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

Office of Publication, 18 P. O. Square.

Entered as Second Class Matter.

BOSTON, MASS., FEBRUARY 6, 1860.

"A true man is he who enjoys the use of his reason and his mouth— who is neither blinded by passion, nor hindered or degraded by ignorance, nor deceived by erroneous opinions."—Pomponazzi.

MacDonald Once More.

The "Truth Seeker" devotes nearly three columns to answering "X" and myself. Upon the reply to "X," I shall have nothing to say, as I understand that Mr. MacDonald objects to the interposition of third parties in his controversies. Such, at any rate, was given by him as his reason for rejecting the article by Gertrude B. MacDonald, in another column. This, of course, goes still further to prove that his object in controversy is truth-seeking, and not display of skill in sophistry to achieve personal triumph. With his reply to me I am certainly at liberty to deal.

Mr. Tucker is evidently in a state of mental excitation. Without doing him injustice, I cannot help thinking he is out of his senses.

Oh, no, not anger; simply disgusted with Mr. MacDonald's trickery.

Yet why should he be? In all our controversy he has never done more than jerk out from our criticisms of Anarchism a single sentence to belabour. We did not complain, because our statements are self-supporting.

Exactly. There is no ground for complaint where the statement quoted is self-supporting; and the statements which I have quoted from Mr. MacDonald have been self-supporting, so that he has had any supporting argument at all. Pretty poor support, to be sure! But I had reason to complain precisely because the statement quoted from me was not self-supporting. I suppose it is legitimate for me to make such a statement provided I furnish accompanying statements to support and explain it. But it is entirely illegitimate for another to reprint it alone and unsupported. And that Mr. MacDonald knows this, and nevertheless did it in order to score a point, I do not doubt.

But when we give the whole substance of his remarks, the very kernel, he is brought to his wit's end, and says we have made him out a fool. We can only reply, in the words of the Hindoo poet, "You say it, and not L." But we never intended to injure the feelings of anyone. We are not his friends, and to make amends we give herewith the proper dependant upon him to support the assertion (which, standing alone, he admits is foolish) that "the truth is the government."

More pettifoggery. I have never admitted that this assertion, standing alone, is foolish. I have only admitted that, standing alone, it must seem foolish to those unfamiliar with Anarchist thought. This is another distinction too plain to have been lost sight of by Mr. MacDonald. But it was necessary to cover it up, in order to score another point.

Here Mr. MacDonald reprints the portion of my paragraph which he formerly omitted, and continues thus:—

"If this be true, Mr. Tucker's position in the slightest degree, we are glad of it. We do not want to take an unfair advantage of him. But it would be, we believe, impossible to undertake the reasoning powers of a man who can see in "stout-chief" or "highway robber" a synonym for government."

And yet E. C. Walker, junior editor of "Luculco," recently republished my argument on this point with apparent approval, and it was but a week or two before that Mr. MacDonald gave Mr. Walker a first-class certificate of his reasoning powers. I grieve over Mr. MacDonald's sudden loss of brains.

When a thick break into Mr. Tucker's railway and takes his oversteer from the rack, is he seeking to govern Mr. Tucker?—The Senator and the Editor.

III.

Hence another Affair.

"Thus Spake Our Own Editor."

We ask the reader's pardon. We have done a very stupid thing, we believe.

"We ask the senator's pardon."

We ask the editor's pardon. We are without excuse.

We confess our fault.

There is nothing so heavy we would not willingly accept it as our just due, our merited punishment.

Such is the fullness of our contrition.

But—

Let us hasten to make atonement.

The speediest thing is best.

So at once we say that sheerest heartlessness we overlooked our once report of the "Merchants' Dinner," and relied upon that of a wicked contemporary. And it was not the "Horizon," after all! That is the strangest part of it.

For excellent reasons we withheld the name of the vile sheet whose fabricated report and witless editorial we have expanded so much labor upon.

What remains has the power now give the true report of what the senator said to the manufacturers and capitalists at Hotel Vendome?

And what a relief, too, to turn to the columns of the truly independent "Horizon," and find, instead of the indefatigable, meandering, meandering sentence we have just quoted, the senator's statement, so wise, so inspiring, that we now, even mitigating our contrition, with joy present!

Thus saith our own editor: Senator Edmunds, being presented to the company, offered felicitous remarks on a variety of topics. At length he turned upon the manufacturers and capitalists present and heaved into them a tirade of abuse in which he reared and rapturously applauded his slightest period up to that moment, and overwhelmed them. Pharaoh and his hosts never flourished deeper in the Red Sea's und scaled these same solid men (merchants) of Boston, in their own now hapless, utterly confused state of mind.

Cried the senator:

"Gentlemen! One subject has not been touched upon. Perhaps it has been reserved for my friend, the distinguished senator from New York, to deal with. He, in prolixity directness and terseness of speech, informing and exhausting whatever subject he choose to treat, would accomplish. Why your ears words of wisdom and best of counsel. But I must forestall him. I cannot debar myself from the privilege of alluding to you, if in the least of phrase, contain sincere convictions which I have arrived upon in my judgment, in this puerile yet most suspicious times, express your profoundest consideration.

"Gentlemen, the subject I suggest to you for your entirely serious reflection is the one that brings to the mind that relations our industrial and capitalist sustain to those who supply the hard, and, I make bold to add, the unrequited labor that gives vigor and success to your enterprise. If, in the first place, if you gentlemen, in the second place, or should be, watching on the walls, what the signs and omens are? That there is a widespread agitation among the toiling millions to secure a more equitable compensation for their service, you require no word of mine to apprise you of.

"This agitation is the outgrowth of a fundamental sentiment. Nihilism, Communion, Anarchism,—what are these ideas, and kindred issues, but so many voices proclaiming the general discontent? Do not be deceived; do not deceive yourselves. Why your ears words of wisdom and best of counsel. But I must forestall him. I cannot debar myself from the privilege of alluding to you, if in the least of phrase, contain sincere convictions which I have arrived upon in my judgment, in this puerile yet most suspicious times, express your profoundest consideration.

"Gentlemen, the subject I suggest to you for your entirely serious reflection is the one that brings to the mind that relations our industrial and capitalist sustain to those who supply the hard, and, I make bold to add, the unrequited labor that gives vigor and success to your enterprise. If, in the first place, if you gentlemen, in the second place, or should be, watching on the walls, what the signs and omens are? That there is a widespread agitation among the toiling millions to secure a more equitable compensation for their service, you require no word of mine to apprise you of.

"This agitation is the outgrowth of a fundamental sentiment. Nihilism, Communion, Anarchism,—what are these ideas, and kindred issues, but so many voices proclaiming the general discontent? Do not be deceived; do not deceive yourselves. Why your ears words of wisdom and best of counsel. But I must forestall him. I cannot debar myself from the privilege of alluding to you, if in the least of phrase, contain sincere convictions which I have arrived upon in my judgment, in this puerile yet most suspicious times, express your profoundest consideration.
LIBERTY. 75

Friend Tucker proposes to stay in these great rotten pots of social disorder and diseased conditions, and battle the lying into shape by the competition of free labor, and a different state of mind built upon competition of free banking with slave banking. He admits that the fight will be a hard and prolonged one, but that it makes no difference if it takes a thousand years.

The thought often occurs to me, however, whether conditions at the present time do not depend on conditions that make Liberty immediately possible, and practicable, the true Anarchistic method?

I raise this question not that I am fully given over to the free township and colonization idea, but in order to provoke discussion. I know that friends of the Anarchistic principles will wholly disagree with me, but we have no infallible popes in this movement. Sooner or later this question as to the most efficient direction of constructive reform is sure to divide those of us who are thoroughly sound on foundation principles,—in fact, it does already divide us. As superb fighters, men having the temperament of Mr. Tucker may be able to do their best work in the camp of the enemy; for those of like intellectual combative power in the better climate of conviviality and more sociability and constructiveness in their make-up,—is not their proper place in the Liberty-conditioned colony, attracting the best forces of society away from these centralized hell-holes known as our great towns, and would they not be more consistent and morally-satisfying Anarchistic work? I pause for a reply.

CHRISTIAN WALLER.

Methods of Constructive Anarchism.

We Anarchists are forever accused of having no practical work, but rather of living in a living fact. We are called mere theorists, dreamers, fanatics, bruisers impracticables, etc. I never feel the indictment so keenly as when soliciting subscriptions to renew. Most of them admit that we are right in theory, but they all want to know our practical way of doing things. I confess that to my mind Liberty has been a little thin on the constructive side. But it cannot do everything with limited space and means. Whenever plen
ditous time and space, it will not be wanting in that line. Foundations first, and details next, is the logical order of things. The essential promise of practical success for Anarchism lies in the concession that its foundation principles are correct.

The method of approach is in how to abolish the State; the State being the efficient cause of monopoly, and monopoly being the direct parent of usury. Usury in its entirety covers the whole field of social slavery, mental, moral, and material. Usury is the system by which those who have money, or others, through the lever of authority and monopoly, to the end of making one portion of society the slaves and subjects of the other.

Since every branch of society is part of the whole structure, a successful attack upon one arm of the monster is sure to end in the ultimate disintegration of the whole. Friend Tucker says that an attack upon interest, through associative free banking, is the most practical method. I think that last word monopoly is the bottom curse to be struck at, and some affirm that the establishment of equity from the standpoint of labor, the source of all wealth, is the proper direction to urge us to.

I am strongly of the opinion that centralization inevitably pins us down to conditions which make the success of any attack upon the enemy problematical till a more is made to colonize the best intellect and energies and by means of that will make Liberty immediately safe and practicable. My mind drifts more and more to this direction, the longer I study this immense problem. It is possibly a sign of despair, but I cannot help it. If utter anti-individualistic conditions are to remain as exist in our great cities, how long must the fight endure till natural order is hewn out of this chaos?

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING.

My co-laborer, "X," has a most ingenious and convenient faculty, in private correspondence, of taunting a position in which he does not believe and devising all possible arguments in support of it simply to excite others to attack this position; after which, in some sort, he will come in with his pen, he will say: "No arguments advanced by them with all the added forces of their own incomparable style. What need a mind so fertile as his in original thought should feel of resorting to this process I never could see, but that such is his habit I think is not unimportant. We will not work here on this occasion. Although I must admit that he sometimes succeeds, in spite of his disinclination, in pummeling me in private, the attempt to pump me in public will fail. Nor can I see why he should desire to convince me, because he already knows what I have to offer to the colonization policy, and the readers of Liberty know them also. They were stated in those columns many months ago. With that statement I am content, my "combative" not being sufficiently armed as yet to do me the special satisfaction of specifically attacking any colonization scheme that does violate individual sovereignty.

When, however, "X" has thoroughly made up his mind that he is in favor of colonization, and has stated his position positively in all its length and breadth and depth, I may try to save him from the error of his ways, and, in the event of failure, may have to use against him those "superb" fighting powers in a manner he desirously attributes to himself. Then I must refuse to believe that he is really drifting away from the competition which he has so ably advocated in these columns into the communism which he has repeatedly pronounced upon. I am not a neutral party in the question of constructive anarchism. I am not a neutral party in the question of constructive anarchism. I am not a neutral party in the question of constructive anarchism. I am a combatant, and I combat against usury. Usury in its entirety covers the whole field of social slavery, mental, moral, and material. Usury is the system by which those who have money, or others, through the lever of authority and monopoly, to the end of making one portion of society the slaves and subjects of the other.

Since every branch of society is part of the whole structure, a successful attack upon one arm of the monster is sure to end in the ultimate disintegration of the whole. Friend Tucker says that an attack upon interest, through associative free banking, is the most practical method. I think that last word monopoly is the bottom curse to be struck at, and some affirm that the establishment of equity from the standpoint of labor, the source of all wealth, is the proper direction to urged upon us to.

I am strongly of the opinion that centralization inevitably pins us down to conditions which make the success of any attack upon the enemy problematical till a more is made to colonize the best intellect and energies and by means of that will make Liberty immediately safe and practicable. My mind drifts more and more to this direction, the longer I study this immense problem. It is possibly a sign of despair, but I cannot help it. If utter anti-individualistic conditions are to remain as exist in our great cities, how long must the fight endure till natural order is hewn out of this chaos?

Meanwhile I like to go back to Liberty of November 8, 1884, and read "X" article on "New Jersey Reformer," which concludes as follows:

"This heaven and this earth are all the material we have out of which to construct the new. They cannot be rolled over and over, but they stand where they are. Every true man must go to work upon them and transform them more, more, and not just where he stands. My plain advice to the New Jersey reformer is either to go work or
WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

A ROMANCE.

By N. G. CHEHRYEV CHESHKOV.

Translated by Benj. R. Tucker.

Continued from No. 14.

She said to herself that she wished only to convince herself that she had injured him needlessly; but at the same time she felt that she could not keep him in his place as before. And again she could not sleep, and this time it was with him that she was vexed: why had he spoken in such a way that, instead of quieting her doubts, he had strengthened them? She was vexed, and this vexation could be seen clearly enough in this motive: "How could I have been so blind?"

It was easy to think that two days later she was completely absorbed by this thought: "It will soon be over. I am sorry for my uncle." When Kirasnov returned after the first time after his conversation with Solotov, she was happy to see him, and spoke to him urgently.

"Formerly you desired to know my opinion about him," said he: "it is not as important as yours. What do you think of him yourself?"

She thought for a minute and said:

"I do not dare to press you for an answer," said he. He spoke of other things, and soon went away.

But half an hour afterwards she called on him herself.

"Give me your advice; you see that I am hesitating." "Why, then, do you need the advice of another, when you know yourself what should be done in case of hesitation?"

"Walt till the hesitation is over?"

"I cannot wait."

"I could postpone the marriage."

"Why not do so, then, if you think it would be better?"

"It seems to me that he should be taken."

"When you see in what way he will take it, you can reflect further as to the better course to follow."

"If that be the case, ask your father to do it for you; he will tell him."

"I do not wish to hide behind another. I will tell him myself." "You will get your way," he said. "I think much more the better way.

Robert said that with other persons—with Vера Pavlovna, for instance—it would not have taken so long to bring the affair to a conclusion. But each person has its own particular requirement: if an ardent nature is irritated by delay, it is all the more necessary to hurry in such a way that the person will not have the means of going back, to which his reserve and tact Solotov could not restrain himself at seeing an enormous fortune escape him, and that he permitted the escape of the few chances that were left. He had rushed out almost to look for it, and Solotov called him an intruder, telling Katërëna Vassilëvna that she allowed her father to have a free hand in the matter. Robert said that he feared that she was acting in accordance with his orders. Now, Poloscow as yet knew nothing about this resolution of his daughter; she felt that she was entirely free. The representations of her father—condemned by her injuries, and outraging her in showing that Solotov considered her a being of destitute of will and character.

"You seem to think me a plaything in the hands of others."

"Yes," he said, "the thoroughly irritated."

"I was ready to die without thinking of my father, and you do not understand it. From this moment all is over between us," said she, quickly leaving the room.

VIII.

For a long time Katërëna Vassilëvna was sad, but her sadness, which grew out of these events, soon turned to飯 thing, and she acknowledged:

There are characters who feel but little interest in a special fact in itself and are chiefly drawn by the general direction in which they turn upon them with much greater intensity. If such people possess the least kind of reserve, and they are numerous, they become reformers of general ideas, and in ancient times they became great philosophers. This is not the present, but the past. It is no use to mention the great Solotov, whom she had called an intruder, telling Katërëna Vassilëvna that she allowed her father to have a free hand in the matter. Robert said that he feared that she was acting in accordance with his orders. Now, Poloscow as yet knew nothing about this resolution of his daughter; she felt that she was entirely free. The representations of her father—condemned by her injuries, and outraging her in showing that Solotov considered her a being of destitute of will and character.

"You seem to think me a plaything in the hands of others."

"Yes," he said, "the thoroughly irritated."

"I was ready to die without thinking of my father, and you do not understand it. From this moment all is over between us," said she, quickly leaving the room.

VIII.

For a long time Katërëna Vassilëvna was sad, but her sadness, which grew out of these events, soon turned to饭 thing, and she acknowledged:

There are characters who feel but little interest in a special fact in itself and are chiefly drawn by the general direction in which they turn upon them with much greater intensity. If such people possess the least kind of reserve, and many of them are, they become reformers of general ideas, and in ancient times they became great philosophers. This is not the present, but the past. It is no use to mention the great Solotov, whom she had called an intruder, telling Katërëna Vassilëvna that she allowed her father to have a free hand in the matter. Robert said that he feared that she was acting in accordance with his orders. Now, Poloscow as yet knew nothing about this resolution of his daughter; she felt that she was entirely free. The representations of her father—condemned by her injuries, and outraging her in showing that Solotov considered her a being of destitute of will and character.

"You see that I am a plaything in the hands of others."

"Yes," he said, "the thoroughly irritated."

"I was ready to die without thinking of my father, and you do not understand it. From this moment all is over between us," said she, quickly leaving the room.
LIBERTY.

Self-Interest or Love the Foundation of Justice

This question was suggested to me recently by a citizen of Mr. Wakeman's of New York, in which he developed the Positive Idee of the Shotness of Human.

As this very question has been the foundation of all right-thinking, it seems to be so important that the sentiment of the question should not be allowed to answer the question. The question may seem trivial, and not worth being answered, but it seems on the other hand that the question may be so important that it cannot be avoided. The question is whether we are to have freedom of mind and body, or whether we are to have the machine of the Church and State, re-organized under a new form, which will teach us, guide us, and control us.

As Bakounine says, "all development implies a negation of the point of departure."

Now, if this grand idea of alienating brotherly love be the starting-point of our new ideas, the old way we are to get to the lowest and depraved selfishness. This has been already proved in the history of Christianity. What more grand and beauti

An Object Lesson

Object teaching appears to be the coming method of popular education. To see is more impressive than to hear. To feel is more impressive than to imagine sensation, at least, the memory retains the imagination longer.

A high-priced tool often forms a pattern in the memory, when more dangerous and more brilliant theories have failed to produce it.

Object teaching is very effective in reform, too. If a drunkard knocks you down, you forget his intentions by the end of the day. But if you are severely bitten, you do not fail to seek the sin of gambling. So the evil effects of all crimes may appear negligible until we are injured or some one dear to us, and then suddenly become conclusive.

I have lately had an object lesson on the criminal possibilities of government, which is something the average American can hardly comprehend, because trained to be too oblivious on the subject.

I was driving home one day in Florida, I knew nothing of its road, but took it for granted that there were a general resemblance to the road laws of the States of my previous residence. But it is safer to bet on the wronger than on the law.

Years ago, I was a gentleman on a rode on a very hot day. This I fully intended to comply with, but the fate forbade.

On the appointed day I was sick and blind with the "Florida sore eyes," and did not care whether school kept or not. I

In Florida, I was eaten to the bone and my feet were sore, and my recovery, see the supervisor, pay my dollar, and be "free from the law."

But here again I counted unmatched bread. I had scarcely recovered, and had crawled out to try my arm at one of the trade in which I was reared. In my recovery, I knew no excuses.

To do this man justice, he seemed ashamed of his errand, but, having undertaken a dirty task, felt that he must perform it.

In Florida, I was hated by the community. The presence (with rusty pistol in breast pocket) and the sad and furious male before the magistrate, also something shame-faced and apologetic, who, after hearing my case, decided that I was guilty. Guilty, not of attempting to evade road duty, nor of evading it in fact (for he admitted that I was sick and helpless, was, according to the laws of Florida, exempt from road-work), but of the heinous crime of not properly executing myself according to the method by duly made and provided for such cases, thereby putting the law of the grafted nonsense of arresting the fat thief-baker approaching, his little grey eyes peering anxiously at me through the long ears of his red-haired male, as though he feared I would explode with sudden invective or gunfire.

It was truly a "dirty" job. The portentous functionary, having tackled with grudging distance by the aid of surly artful questions on the orange business, laid his bismarck on my shoulder, and solemnly informed me that he had a warrant against me for "defining" a desperate rascal, which I had no luck to know no excuses. To do this man justice, he seemed ashamed of his errand, but, having undertaken a dirty task, felt that he must perform it.

Here again I counted unmatched bread. I had scarcely recovered, and had crawled out to try my arm at one of the trades in which I was reared. In my recovery, I knew no excuses.

To do this man justice, he seemed ashamed of his errand, but, having undertaken a dirty task, felt that he must perform it.

B. A. brother Anarchists! has it come to this complex at last, that a man who never smote his fellows in anger, never stole, or defrauded, or betrayed the innocent, or knowingly committed all my life of these crimes, and had never been convicted of them, and had been active in my defense, and had been allowed to carry on the business of the innocent, under these conditions, I did not inquire what it would cost me to be declared guilty by a jury of such apathetic ignoramuses, but humbly paid my score and departed, a man and a citizen of the United States. It must have been the natural thing to do, I guess.

B. A. brother Anarchists! has it come to this complex at last, that a man who never smote his fellows in anger, never stole, or defrauded, or betrayed the innocent, or knowingly committed all my life of these crimes, and had never been convicted of them, and had been active in my defense, and had been allowed to carry on the business of the innocent, under these conditions, I did not inquire what it would cost me to be declared guilty by a jury of such apathetic ignoramuses, but humbly paid my score and departed, a man and a citizen of the United States. It must have been the natural thing to do, I guess.

But how guilty would you have been if I had indeed refused to work on this road? I had never been convicted in the matter of its laying out. No one had ever asked my consent. But if I had not consented, and if I was convicted and imprisoned, it would have been much more degrading.

Self-Interest or Love the Foundation of Justice?
Methods of Constructive Anarchism.

Continued from page 5.

else get out of the way. There is plenty of work, and there are plenty of people to work with, right where they stand.

In leaving "N" to ponder over these words of "Philip sober," I also commend to his attention the appended comments of one of the most clear-sighted of Liberty's champions, Charles T. Fowler, upon the policy of colonization.

"The CRETUS FONCEUR of SIKALOA." [Letter]

Mr. Editor:

I was asked the other day, by one to whom I showed "Integro Competo" nation, why I did not take the colonizing movement. I told him there were three reasons.

First, I do not believe in corporations, majority rule, or compulsory labor. I regard as crimes, and criminals are the very persons we do not want to encourage.

Second, the idea of running away from the present order of things because of its "competition" is a fallacy. It is privilege that we are against, which is to be thwarted by competition. And as soon as the better is instituted in the midst of the old, the old will fall into our laps. This view of regarding the old as wholly wrong, to be antagonized, is the reason governmentalists do not see how to mend it.

Third, I have not grown, nor made, as the paternal philosophy would indicate. And it must be grown in accord-ance with the constitution of man and the law of his natural relation to the society. Such a society will be perfect or infallible, or a New Jerusalem.

Fourth.-Conclusion. Therefore, while much education-amounts to good, and, through association, economy reached, the "Credit Foncier" will be dissolved in be-coming the Exchange for the World, but will settle down into the "New Order," the new and, through association, under two parties -- representing liberty and authority, one of which will have their experience and the other will be left with the "machinery," arithmetically speaking, the organization always survi-v ing and determining the species. Mr. Owen's administrative faculties, as Harriet Martineau said of his namekose, Robert Owen, to have been developed at the expense of his reason- ing ones.

C. T. FOWLER.

"All that I have of political science," said George E. McNeill, in opposing biennial elections a few days ago at a legislative committee hearing, "I have learned because the fathers of this Commonwealth gave me the opportunity to listen to political orators who have considered yearly the great questions that have come up before us." I do not think that any one who has ever had occasion to gauge the amount of political science which Mr. McNeill has will feel inclined to doubt his statement of its origin.

Henry Appleton is to address the New York Liberal Club, on December 19, upon the subject of "Scientific Anarchism." Liberty's friends in the metropolis and vicinity should rally to hear him.

SOCIAL WEALTH:

The Sole Factors and Exact Ratios in Its Acqurement and Apportionment.

By J. K. INGALLS.

This handbook has been welcomed by 325 pages of the numerous advocates of Socialism, owing that Law and Labor are the only matters that need be discussed to render the whole question clear. It is written in a style that is original, and instructive, and contains the variances of the best minds in the world. The methods of cooperation always exist, and finding the foundation for them is a definite, the "Examinin" and the "Remedy" for the wrong done Industry by the existing regime. The ability of the people to make the world do justice to itself is the only real method of investigation for the employer or the employer's representative.

Price, One Dollar.

Address, BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 330, BOSTON, MASS.

An Anarchist on Anarchy.

By E. RICKELS.

Followed by a sketch of THE CRIMINAL RECORD OF THE AUTHOR.

By E. YARAH.

An eloquent exposition of the beliefs of Anarchists by a man as eminent in science as he is reformer. 30 pages, bound in antiquated paper. Price, 10 Cents.

Address the publisher: BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 330, Boston, Mass.

"In many respects the best Anarchist work produced in America." -- E. T. WALKER.

LIBERTY, vol. XX.

CO-OPEATION.


By C. T. FOWLER.

A PAMPHTLET of 28 pages, with a fine portrait of Herbert Spencer, showing his logical fitness and importance. Also, a complete digest of true cooperative principles of organization may be realized in the Steer, the Bank, and the Factory.

PROHIBITION:

or,
The Relation of Government to Temperance.

By C. T. FOWLER.

A PAMPHTLET of 28 pages, showing the prohibition question and why it is impossible for it to be abolished, and that it promotes the best interests of the community. Price, 10 cents.

Six Cents per Copy; Ten Cpees, Ten Cents.

Address: BENJ. R. TUCKER, 330, Boston, Mass.

Liberty's Library.

For any of the following Works, address:

BENJ. R. TUCKER, 330, BOSTON, MASS.

WHAT IS PROPERTY?


TRUE CIVILIZATION:

A Subject of vital and serious interest in all circles of British and American intellect. A real-life editor's price list, in full page, and bound in piano covers. Elegant and cheap. 25 cents.

THE TALLACIES IN "PROGRESS AND PROVINCE," AND "THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE," and "Ages and Henry George. Written for the people, and as a revolution in society, and in the same time and manner as the "New World," by William H. Jame, 100 pages, full price, 1.00.

NATIONAL LAW:

or, the Science of Justice, as taught by Natural Law. Natural Justice, Natural Law, and Natural Liberty, and Natural Society, showing that all legislation is political and all society is political. By John F. PYE. Price, 75 cents.

INTERNATIONAL ADDRESS:

An elaborate, comprehensive, and very entertaining exposition of the principles of Socialism, by William B. Green. Price, 50 cents.

SOCIALISM.


MUTUAL BANKING:

Showing the Radical Deficiency of the existing Credit Medium, and how Interest may be Abolished. By E. T. Walker. Price, 25 cents.

CAPTAIN ROLLAND'S PUZZLE: How It is Fitted and How to Solve It. By John Rankin, the first of a series of books of Leisure for leisure." Price, 25 cents.


PROSTITUTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S LEAGUE. By Henry Edger. Price, 10 cents.

THE LABOR DOLLAR. By Stephen Pearl An-

WORK AND WEALTH. By J. K. Ingalls. Price, 10 cents.