

States, Canada and other countries since they re-imposed protection ; and where an army of Christian teachers and philanthropists devote their lives and means to the amelioration of the condition of the poor and weak, where bountiful harvests and profound peace have prevailed for years, with almost a total absence of any adverse visitation ; thus indicating that this self-imposed and evidently vicious system of taxation created more poverty in these countries and consequently caused more crime, than resulted in Japan from the most awful visitations of Providence.

Ottawa, Jan., 1896.

(a) Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics.

(b) U. S. Census, 1850 to '90.

(c) Mulhall's 50 Years of National Progress.

(d) Statesman's Year Book.

(e) Appleton's Journal.

THE NATURE OF LIBERTY.

BY WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.

We are still deluded with the antique ideal of liberty, which lords it over the imagination in politics, as the antique ideal of beauty lords it over the imagination in aesthetics. Liberty is never good in itself, and is never final ; it is a means to something good, and a way to the end which its lovers are really seeking. It is provisionally a blessing, but it is purely provisional ; it is self-limited, and is forever merging into some sort of subjection. It no sooner establishes itself than it begins to control itself. The dream of infinite and immutable liberty is the hallucination of the anarchist, that is, of the individualist gone mad. The moment liberty in this meaning was achieved, we should have the rule, not of the wisest, not of the best, not even of the most, but of the strongest, and no liberty at all.

Liberty is merely choice. When a man is not free to choose he is not free at all. The earliest use that the citizen of a liberated state makes of his freedom is to give up some part of it for the common good, to exchange his advantages for rights, to find his own happiness in the well-being of others. We are false to our trust and in danger of losing our treasure even if we content ourselves with the greatest good of the greatest number ; we must not mean less than the greatest good of the whole number, nor cease to strive for it.

Liberty, whose supreme expression is self-sacrifice, is only another name for choice ; the essence of choice is freedom ; and in adverse conditions a man has no choice ; he does this or he does that because he must, not because he will.