On Picket Duty.

"There is no Country," says one of Diderot's characters: "I see, from one pole to another, nothing but tyrants and slaves."

A straw significant of the change that is taking place in the world's ideas. The municipal authorities of Paris have changed the name of the street heretofore known as the Rue de la Nativité to the Rue F. J. Proudhon. Jesus, the man who felt within his heart the sentiments of justice merely, is giving place to the man who supplemented this sentiment with the science of justice.

In criticizing Mr. Underwood of the "Index" for commenting on an article in Liberty, signed by another person, as if it were his own, I recently said that it was "altogether likely that Mr. Underwood, in committing this offence, knew what he was doing." Although he receives Liberty regularly and reads it with some diligence, he answers that he made the quotation from a paragraph which he found reprinted in another paper, and supposed that the editor of Liberty wrote it. It seems, then, that he did not know what he was doing; I am very glad to impale Mr. Underwood upon this horn of the dilemma if he finds it less uncomfortable than the other.

In a series of articles in the London "Commonweal," Mr. Edward Aveling, newly-nominated disciple of Karl Marx, discusses economic questions. He concludes each article with what he calls "a concise definition of each of the words used in it." These two definitions stand side by side: "Natural object — that on which human labor has not been expended; Product — a natural object which human labor has been expended." A product, then, is something on which human labor has not been expended on which human labor has been expended. Curious animal, a product! No wonder the laborer is not the one to hold on to. More slippery than a greased pig, I should imagine. But this is a "scientific" definition, and I suppose it is true. For its author, Mr. Aveling, is a socialist, and the subject of his articles is "Scientific Socialism," which he champions against us love-thinking Ancients.

It would be interesting to know just what Rev. C. Heber Newton means by styling Proudhon "that Jacobin of Socialism." If he means by Jacobin simply an opponent of government, perhaps no exception can be taken to such a classification of Proudhon, for he certainly was an opponent of government, and such a use of the word is not without sanction. But to so describe Proudhon without further specification is very misleading. For the word Jacobin is generally used to signify a revolutionist of the Robespierre school, and Robespierre was Proudhon's pet abomination. A Jacobin is generally opposed to the existing government, but he always believes in that political school which, to serve its end, will stop at no extreme of tyranny and dictatorship. The ideal society of a Jacobin is always held in subjection to a strong government. The demolition of Jacobinism constitutes a large and important part of Proudhon's work. Louis Blane was not more of a Jacobin than Proudhon, and yet two Socialists more antithetical than those could scarcely be named. I am afraid that Rev. C. Heber Newton's knowledge of Proudhon is of a superficial order.

The "Freihheit" announces that M. Bachmann, formerly editor of "Die Zukunft," has no editorial or other connection with the "Freihheit" and no personal association with its managers. So much the worse for the "Freihheit."

Henry B. Blackwell said before the Free Religious Association that he likes the word "cooperation" better than the word "Socialism" because he cannot forget that, while it is true we are made brothers and sisters in this world, it is also true that we are made our own. The essayist of this world, and that no man and no woman can safely trust the management and direction of his or her personal affairs to any society or any organization or any government. I believe to the very narrow of my house is in the doctrine of individualism. I stand today with Thomas Jefferson on the principle that "the best government is that which governs least." I claim that more important to secure any organic change in our duty to make government take its hand off of industry, and to do away with these legislative monopolies which bind and fetter the industry of men and the industry of nations. I want, first of all, a political society that is true to the ideal of Socialism, a society that recognizes woman as the equal of man and every man as the equal of every other man. And in the very next breath he said: "When I saw only yesterday that in Rhode Island they had adopted a ten-hour law for women and children, I thanked God." Mr. Blackwell, then, would have "government take its hand off of industry" by prohibiting it from working as many hours as it chooses, and, although wanting society to recognize woman's claim to equality of man, approves a law abridging her liberty of labor while not impairing man's. This is Jeffersonianism with a vengeance.

As Ruskin once said of that journalist's utterance on another subject, so Liberty now says of its bold stroke at corruptions in high places: "Well done, the Pall Mall Gazette!" A signal service has been done to society, a signal impulse has been given to the revolution, by the publication of these crowning iniquities practiced by the plunders of the poor. The conspiracy against labor has systematic ramifications that few have dreamed of. Not content with organizing a scheme to rob laborers of their earnings, these brutal aristocrats have lately, it seems, organized another in decay and drug the thirteenth-year daughters of these laborers and subject them to their depraved desires. Such horrors as the "Pall Mall Gazette" has unfolded to the world are almost past conception. Zola is out-Zola! his realism out-realized; truth makes its fiction tame. The morals of the bourgeoisie are infinitely worse than the wildest fancy ever painted them. Such things cannot last. They invite destruction. And the atonement will be accepted. The chief good, in fact, to be derived from these exposures will come, not through their direct effect upon the so-called "social evil," which will be very small, but through their effect upon the minds of the people, who will begin to inquire, with an earnestness born of horror, how the members of polite society get the means that enables them to spend their time in devising new deprivities instead of supporting themselves by honest work; and, when this inquiry has been answered satisfactorily, not only will the "social evil" fall, but all the social evils will go down together.

The Church Necessarily Militant.

[Harleston News]

The church is ever a contradiction. It is the church of the weak and kindly Christ, but it is the church militant, church of the God of battle, Lord of Hosts. Especially such is every national church, and its ministers in Russia or in England are doubtless as far from feeling that they believe their profession that, on the contrary, they begin to feel the call to preach fortitude, resolution, and determination. What would a national church be for if it were impartial when a nation became involved? The national churches are parts of the interest of national spirit. If war is ever to be banished, not only national churches, but state chancels and parliaments, the political metaphysician throughout, must be supplanted by individualism and the cosmospirit of fraternal good-will, reciprocal service, with a common love, choice of domicile, and freedom of trade. In other cases there would be nothing left to fight about and nobody willing to fight on a national scale.

Tithes and Rents.

[English Exchange]

Mr. Hobday is going to allow his hop poles to be mowed rather than pay the demand made upon him for what is called Extraordinary Tithe. Mr. Hobday has grown hops and is therefore liable to an increased tithe, as he would be if he grew fruit or in any other way added to the productiveness of the land. He does not see why the person s'aid benefit by his labor, and therefore, in his own way, he adopts this mode of passive resistance in order to call attention to the injustice to which he is subjected. This is the true method of resisting injustice, and a more powerful plea of action of this kind would render it impossible to collect a tax so obnoxious and unjust. It is well, however, to bear in mind that the claim of the vicar for tithe is quite as good as that of the landlord for rent. Indeed, it is better. The clergyman has to do for something for tithes, but the landlord does nothing whatever for rent. Neither is the case altered from the fact that the tithe is increased because he ground is more profitably cultivated. Exactly the same happens in the matter of rent. Let a man plant fruit trees, and how long will it be before his rent is increased? Only as long as his land produces, and he has a lease, and just as long as it may be necessary to realize the commencement of increased profit on the rent of a lease. If he goes to his landlord, and says, "I want to plant fruit trees or build houses, give me a new lease," the rent will probably be increased five-fold at once. The landlord in every way worse than a vicar, and it will not be long, we hope, before Mr. Hobday's example in respect of tithes is followed in the matter of rent.
you venture upon your acts as lawmakers, etc., not because you have open, authentic, written, legitimate authority granted you by any human being—for you can show nothing of the kind—and not because the votes given in secret, you have reason to believe that you have at your secret a succession strong enough to sustain you by force, in case your authority should be resisted.

Is there a government on earth that rests upon a more false, absurd, or tyrannical basis than that?

SECTION VII.

But the falsehood and absurdity of your whole system of government do not result solely from the fact that it rests wholly upon votes given in secret, or by means, however, it is wise to avoid as much as possible for their private use, and the acts of their agents. On the contrary, every man, woman, and child in the United States had openly signed, sealed, and delivered to you and your associates, every document, purporting to be a law, or a contract, or an agreement to pay money to a public servant, in consideration of an executive powers that you now exercise, they would not thereby have given you the right to make them. You have not the right to make any commercial or professional contract; and you have not the right to dispose of your hands all their natural rights of person and property, to be disposed of at your pleasure or discretion, would have been simply an absurd and void contract, giving you real or supposed authority over any man.

It is a natural impossibility for any man to make a binding contract, by which he shall surrender to others a single one of what are commonly called his "natural, inherent, and unalienable rights."

It is a natural impossibility for any man to make a binding contract, that shall invest others with any of his inalienable rights; for a man cannot alienate what he has not, unless it be his name, which is his hand, and which he may transfer to another. On the contrary, we shall vigorously resist the attempt to make such a contract.

As a lawyer, you certainly ought to know that all this is true.

SECTION VIII.

Sir, consider, for a moment, what an utterly false, absurd, ridiculous, and criminal government we now have.

It is a government that has come into existence upon the false, ridiculous, and utterly groundless assumption, that fifty millions of people not only could voluntarily surrender, but actually have voluntarily surrendered, all their natural rights, as human beings, into the custody of ten or twelve men. Now, a nation of the United States cannot exist without its government. If your government, or any part of it, be voluntarily or involuntarily exercised, it must be because they own us as property. If they own us as property, it must be because nature made us their property; for, as no man can sell himself into bondage, we could not make ourselves into slaves, we could not make ourselves into their property—or, what is the same thing, give them any right of arbitrary, irresponsible dominion over us.

As a lawyer, you certainly ought to know that all this is true.

You, who are all men, cannot alienate what you have not, unless it be your name, which is your hand, and which you may transfer to another. On the contrary, we shall vigorously resist the attempt to make such a contract. As a lawyer, you certainly ought to know that all this is true.

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WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

A ROMANCE

By N. G. TCHERNYCHEWSKY.

Translated by Benj. R. Tucker.

Continued from Page 345.

Rakhmistrovtz was gradually becoming animated, and already spoke with warmth. But Vera Pavlovna stopped him.

"You must not listen to such Rakhmistrovtz," she said in a bitter and discontented tone.

Vera Pavlovna, if you must not listen to this, I will not say it to you. Do you imagine that I now need to criticise the first thing I see? I know that no one can avoid a conversation with me if it seems to me indispensable. Therefore I could have said this to you before, and yet I said nothing. Therefore the fact that I have now begun to speak means that it is necessary. I never speak sooner than is necessary. You saw me keep the note in my pocket nine whole hours, although it filled me with pity to see you. But it was necessary to keep silent, and I kept silent. So, if I must say what I long ago thought about the ways of Dmitry Sergueitch towards you, that means that it is necessary to speak about it.

"You will not listen to me," said Vera Pavlovna with extreme vehemence; "I beg you to be silent, Rakhmistrovtz. I beg you to get away. I am much obliged to you for your very felicitous evening on my account. But I beg you to go away."

"Absolutely."
One of Our Foundation-Stones.

In the simple statement of facts that follow these introductory words the readers of Liberty can find much matter for wistful reflection. I am convinced for it.

It is the story of a German laborer who tried to end his life a few weeks ago by jumping from the Brooklyn bridge, but was prevented by the police and to this day, in all its details, even to the conduct of the priest who was so benevolent as to be the baby, and it was reduced to a prevention. Let us then seek the truth in its form, and not in its parts. Let us look at the baby, and the people who are responsible for it, not in an abstract way, but in the context of the whole society. Let us see that the baby is the product of the whole society, and not just the product of some bad individuals.

The baby is the baby of all of us. The baby of all of us is the result of our collective actions and decisions. The baby is the result of our collective choices and actions. The baby is the result of our collective failure to act on the facts and to change our ways.

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We have sold this much in earnest commendation of the new departure which Mr. Newton has taken to take. It remains for us to call his attention to the fact that in his investigation of the subject he has failed to acquaint himself with the true character of the New Testament. He betrays a surprising ignorance of the Scriptures and of the life and death of Jesus, and of the meaning of the words "love thy neighbor as thyself," and of the meaning of the words "to love thy neighbor as thyself.

Let Us Reason Together.

Noticing the sensible remarks of Dr. W. W. in Liberty of May 23, I would say that it is a gentleman that the casual conclusions between the personal and the political are sometimes not apparent. In the Commonwealth, the present state of power in no wise inhibits us from the mortal enemy which must exist between Anarchists and all clerical authority or the assumption of it. Nor should there be any such thing as clerical good will between friends of Liberty or anything else.

Next, as regards the policy of methods, I suggest that we should aim at the most valuable organ common to those two forms of authority. I need not say that it is the organ of the press. The key to the language of American Anarchists, after they have been impressed by the churches, as its - collectors, and now it is under secular government, for the purpose of the language in the Commonwealth. We have the scales on the back of an alligator. It rather looks the beast to have you prepare him with pistol balls. To layout death of the books, and to the clerical part, and to be sure only attack about them is rather a compliment than otherwise from outsiders. For the lack of the faithfulness, and the memory, increases by exercise, the more abused, the better. Crede quia absurdum, the most Cathoic, which they abuse with the idea that God has a good sense. Agree by the standard of the angle. After a book dishonesty.

But the theological Anarchist goes further. He aves that the Individual, and he alone, is the rightful keeper of his own spiritual welfare, and that therefore all ecclesiastical laws, however well-intentioned, are invalid, and the end, the alpha and omega of the Anarchistic dream. Not Socialist? The Anarchist believes he has dwelt in the Mount and seen the perfection of society.

It may surprise Mr. Newton still more to find that the Anarchist is the only Socialist who is not amenable to the folly of translating an ideal into a law, ethical principles into an expression. He does not propose to turn the existing order and let civilization lapse back into chaos. We feel sure that Mr. Newton can find his information at second hand, or he would not display the lack of courage and conviction which he smacks of. If he will read Anarchistic publications, he will find that a social science, a social order, the harmony of individuals dwelling together according to some fixed principle, is not a thing of yesterday nor the end, the alpha and omega of the Anarchistic dream. Not Socialist? The Anarchist believes he has dwelt in the Mount and seen the perfection of society.

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If you read Latin, you may have no space to explain here, the world is far along in its disgust with theological despotism. Hence the theological Anarchist is on comparatively safe and respectable ground. It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Newton is so far from having a rub that his Anarchist, in fact, he gets a good salary out of it. But when the political Anarchist takes up Mr. Underwood's arguments and goes for the State, he gets into danger one proximity with Joe corals of the wealthy landholders, usurers, and profit-takers who read the "Index," although he has committed no greater offense than to apply Mr. Underwood's arguments to the pockets as well as the souls of men. But there's the rub that Mr. Underwood trembles when he is asked to be consistent; for a sitting of this whole business of social robbery reveals but one efficient cause,—the political State. Culture relies for its support upon the State by which I mean the State of the people. All the churches, and the State, are built upon the people. And they know well enough what we are driving at. And they know, too, that they are playing a double game. It costs something to stand out as a thorough bodied Anarchist, but it usually costs nothing to be a skilful time-server. When political Anarchism be comes safe and popular as theological, there will be no special merit in being a man. But now, in the name of the King, you try to put some true religion into the streets of the larger cities to demonstrate what venerated liberalism is integral and genuine in the world's-reformer, or a movable capital, invested in a safe and paying trade.

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WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

Continued from page 1.

...on, so that tomorrow you will hardly have time to take breakfast, but will have to hurry to the desk; even though you should not have time to pack all your things, you must do so. Do you understand, Mrs. Mutterbelth, go directly after you, or do you prefer to come back yourself? But be careful, it is your fault for you to be in Michae's presence, for she must not notice that you are absent, and must not hear of your absence from her. For with Madame Mertzelke it is another thing. I will go to her to-morrow, but you go to the desk directly, and we need haste and must not be bored; that she must go directly to the desk instead.

"How attentive you are to me!" said Vera Pavlovna.

"Oh, but your wishes need not be so much to him; it comes from me. Except that I rebuke him for the past (to his face I said much more) on account of his conduct towards the two people as a whole. I find that, as soon as you actually began to suffer, he acted very commendably."

XXXI.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE READER WITH THE PENETRATING EYE, AND HIS EXPULSION.

Tell me, then, reader with the penetrating eye, why I have shown you Rakhmetov and Kirsanov to you in this story. I have already told you that he would take no part in the action.

"It is not true," interjects the reader with the penetrating eye. "Rakhmetov is a personage, he brought the note, which ..."

"Why, why weak, you are, my good sir, in the aesthetic discussions of which you are so fond! I have finished, those two, and the tone of human nature, the beginning of the story, brought a letter, which hit Vera Pavlovna. And perhaps it is a personage? For it was she who bought Vera Pavlovna’s bluestones. Poor girl! I would not do this in my good conscience. I would not have done this in any other way. And indeed, Vera Pavlovna is a personage, because she recommended Vera Pavlovna to Madame B as a governess, with whom, without the scene of the return from the Excurvati Korovko-Grovolovski, the two become the impassioned sources of life and love and wealth in the life of the reader. For without this bouquet, the scene of the rendezvous and the return would be much less the same, the marriage of the Borodina monk would be better, and the life of the hermit essential personage, because without it the houses situated would not have existed, including the Storechukoff house, and as a consequence there would have been a more profound and more interesting story."

"Ah! now I know," says the reader with the penetrating eye. "Rakhmetov appeared to pronounce judgment on Vera Pavlovna and Lopukhov, he would need the conversation with the reader."

Your weakness is really desirable, my worthy friend. You construe the matter to the wrong way. It is necessary to be a person that the reader, in so, that they might pronounce his opinion of the other personages. Your great artists do it, perhaps. As for me, though a feeble writer, I understand the conditions of art a little better than that. No, no, my good sir, Rakhmetov was not at all necessary for that. How many times has Vera Pavlovna herself, how many times have Lopukhov and Kinskolny, themselves, expressed their own opinion concerning their own actions and relations! They are intelligent enough to judge what is good and what is bad: they need no prompter for that. Do you believe that Vera Pavlovna has her eyes open a few days or she has turned her head through the windows, and they would not have blamed herself for having forgotten the step in the same way that Rakhmetov blamed her? Do you believe that Lopukhov himself did not think of that? Do you believe that Madame B did not think of that? And how can you think that Vera Pavlovna’s honesty people think of themselves all the evil that can be said of them? Rakhmetov is virtuous, —virtuous, honest people are honest people, and they know it? How weak you are when it comes to analyzing the thoughts of honest people! I will say more: do you not think that Rakhmetov in his conversation made it clear that he was a lonely and independent man. We fail to understand such men if it is not, at any one time, many more than enough to go round; so each man was granted, upon his request, the privilege to own one woman who was not at the time owned by any other man."

"But then," says my good friend, "male and women are equally human, and that they have equal rights in nature’s bounty. Is it not, as they can go on merrily as they like, with the recognition of all that and all that it means. You need not be shocked in the least. I can assure you that society is much purer today, even from your standpoint, than it was two hundred years ago. A man loves a woman who loves him they live together —happily so long as that love continues, and you know enough of human nature to know that, where there is love of this kind, the man and woman will be satisfied with each other and be true to each other. Where there is no love, there will be no happiness. It was so, was it not, in your case? Men and women mutually agree to live with each other as man and wife so long as they find happiness in each other."

"Do you understand that there is but or a custom in regard to marriage? It is true that one man and one woman always are satisfied to love and loved by but one another, for there is no need to hide things with Rakhmetov."

"As I said, human nature follows its own inclinations, and the custom is no cast-iron custom that places any restraint upon any individual. There are many customs in marriage in your country, but none of them prevent the right of others are not interfered with."

"Till now we have been in our few words, we have marriage without marriage laws, and divorces —not many—without divorce laws. We allow human instincts, to act without restraint or compulsion, and the result is, I can assure you, much more satisfactory to humanity than the laws under which you lived."

I take your word for it that this is so, for I have every reason to believe that he is a virtuous and honest man. It neverthelass seems strange to me that men and women can live pure and happy lives without laws to govern marriage and divorce.
Victor Hugo and His Death.

Before I group some excerpts from French journals of the recent days, called 4th by the sickness, death, a burial of the man whose France and he: is less degree the entire civilized world, weeps as a death. I do this, not only: because these matters will naturally interest the readers of the periodical press, and not out of the spirit of the noble passion of the human soul, a spirit which found response in the unransomed funeral of the people who gave him, eight hundred thousand more than that of the previous murder and the presence humiliated that he had for his peace, but he was not interested in the lines that he wrote, a thought that was his little self. The whole world Catherine concedes that the spirit that is in the imaginaire is all the more of Victor Hugo to this.

If you look at this man such as it was, the poet's doleful would receive a handsome reward, and the bishop who should offer to him would certainly be that, the man who is not the, the sight of his terror, if the death of a noble but should die of fright, and his civil burial would take hundreds of thousands of coffins from the holy war. -This spirit which art, the

HUGO'S ESCAPE FROM THE PRIESTS.

A few days before Hugo's death the archdiocese of Paris sent the following letter to Madame Lacourte, the poet's step-cousin:

ARCHHIOCEPH OF PARIS.

P. R. S., May 21, 1851.

Madame:

I share most keenly the sufferings of M. Victor Hugo and the entire family. I have prayed earnestly for the illustrious sick at the Holy Sacrament. If he should desire to see a noble man and one who can help himself, just recovering from a sickness such as this, I am so fully disposed to do for my son or sister. I am not sure if he will enter it; the world will feel it grievously, first in the influence and then in the cash-box of the..

That is why M. Galtier has been so eager with his proposal to carry his confession to the chamber of this precious sick man.

They have handed the archbishop of Paris for his kindness, but he has begged him to keep his murmurs for himself.

Y. (Y. H. C. I., A. D. G. F. R.)

M. Edouard Le. 

ARCHHIOCEPH OF PARIS.

P. R. S., May 21, 1851.

The Archbishop of Paris, who cannot leave the bedside of his step-cousin, begs me to tell you for the sentiments which you have already expressed to me, in short, that he has been to the sickroom, and that he is in the most powerful condition.

Upon this correspondence Ernest Rochefort recorded as follows in "L' Illustration":

The priests, who gave Litter, thanks to Catholic simplicity, are moving activity in the hope of getting Victor Hugo alive. Such eager prayer they cannot make up their minds to return to... To move to the bed does not seem excessive to offer the highest eulogial speeches. So the archbishop of Paris in person has written to Madame Lacourte to inform her that every morning, in saying his mass, he pray for the care of the illustrious sick.

Victor Hugo believes in the immortality of Hugo's soul and of the mandala of Hugo's last days, Maxime Du Camp, who served as a secretary at the government, did not want to be a victim of the poet's ravings.

Maxime Du Camp, member of the French Academy, holds this year the office of director of that body, and it is his duty to promote the glory of the French Academy upon any following subject. It is true that the character of the man who has been for so many years the doyen of the French literary world, and that it cannot think without blind of the illustrious mandala of our time to inform the example of the incomparable writer and to ennoble the world with his name and all his genius.

In fact, if Victor Hugo should enter Notre-Dame, it would be to the glory of the mandala of the French Academy. He would have been for Louis XVI. One cannot estimate the souls upon the earth and in the mind of a poet, and yet, after all, he is not a king. But will he not enter, and the trade in souls will feel it grievously, first in the influence and then in the cash-box of the...""
Agnostic Fear: of the Goddess Grundy.

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I am afraid that the Goddess Grundy is a bit of a heartache. She seems to be regarded as a woman who is "without God." When theology is considered from the world as completely as astronomy, there will be no need for such an idea. No one will require her to adopt any religious attitude toward the universe. We do not care what the gods of the primitive religions of the past were, or whether they were real or imaginary. We do not care what religion they worshiped, or what attitude they had toward the universe. We do not care what the gods of the primitive religions of the past were, or whether they were real or imaginary. We do not care what religion they worshiped. We simply ask that they be allowed to exist. This is the position of the Agnostic mind.

High Life.

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The Agnostic mind is such a mind as is characterized by a certain kind of skepticism. It is a mind that is willing to accept the world as it is, without the need for any supernatural explanations. It is a mind that is open to all possibilities, without the need for any fixed beliefs. It is a mind that is able to accept the unknown, without the need for any predetermined answers. It is a mind that is able to accept the diversity of the human experience, without the need for any monotheistic or supernatural explanations. It is a mind that is able to accept the complexity of the universe, without the need for any simple or uncomplicated explanations. It is a mind that is able to accept the mystery of life, without the need for any simple or uncomplicated explanations.

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