On Picket Duty.

By the tardy act of the president of France Prince Kropokkin and Louis Michelet are free. Doubtless they come out of prison tenant rebels that they went in, and will devote themselves to Anarchist propaganda with more energy than ever.

Liberty is in receipt of the first number of the "Irish Echo," an eight-page monthly journal devoted to the worthy purpose of cultivating the Irish language and popularizing its contact with the world. P. G. O'Malley is the editor, and it is published at fifty cents a year by the Philo-Celtic Society, 170 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.

I owe to Henry Appleton to state that my paragraph in the last issue of Liberty quoting him as advising the newswellers to join the Knights of Labor did not represent him accurately. He did not so advise the newswellers; I was misled by the fact that in advising the newswellers to organize, he at the same time remarked upon the power that had been attained by the Knights of Labor, as a reason for the necessity for me to make this mistake because I knew that there was talk of the newswellers joining the Knights. In his editorial in another column, "Whither are we drifting?" Mr. Appleton speaks with so uncertain sound of such organizations as the Knights of Labor, and leaves no doubt as to his real opinion of their principles and methods.

The New York "Sun" professes to think it very funny that some of John Ruskin's admirers propose to join him with a tempest as a political economist instead of as a writer. Nevertheless the time is fast approaching when it will be recognized that Ruskin's economic teachings are as much more important than his aesthetics as his aesthetics are great as the latter has been, as the subject-matter of political economy is more of vital and fundamental interest to humanity than that of either art or Literature. Mr. Dana is wise in contesting him with ridicule; Mr. Ruskin. He is too shrewd to attempt to controvert him. Ruskin's analytical exposure of the thievery by which riches are now accumulated will stand the test of ages and prove the greatest of his many services to the world.

Dr. P. F. Field told the Manhattan Liberal Club recently that the Anarchist and the State Socialist must be reconciled in order to have a harmonious society, and that to this end "the State Socialist will have to recognize that the principle of freedom or individuality cannot be ignored, and the Anarchist will have to recognize that the principle of order or government, or superiorities, etc., etc., cannot be ignored." That is to say, today John Smith is a State Socialist and John Brown is an Anarchist, and consequently there is no harmony; tomorrow John Brown must become a State Socialist and John Smith an Anarchist, and then there will be harmony. What both this eclecticism is! If Dr. Field means by the principle of government the principle at the bottom of a social order in which the individual is made subordinate to no extraneous will, the Anarchist recognizes it already and always has recognized it. But that is not all: what the State Socialists mean by government.

There is to be any reconciliation, the State Socialists have got to come to the Anarchists, for the Anarchists will never go to the State Socialists, - no, not one step.

Anarchy and Panarchy.

The article of J. Wm. Lloyd in Liberty of December 26 is so strikingly clear in its discrimination, so strong in its conclusions, and so fairly open to counter-statement when wrong, that I am tempted to take up a point of view.

The expressions that I wish to criticize are these:

And this question of human right must be studied from the point of view of needs of all individuals. Anarchists are not collectivists. There is a collective interest in the sense of a collective interest in the needs of all individuals. There is no individual interested in the need of his own function alone. That is the individual interest. It is to the needs of all individuals that the State and theabolition of the State and the State Socialists are opposed. The State Socialists are opposed to the State because it is the only mode of interference which is not to the advantage of all individuals.

This is not true. The only way to adequately understand the needs of the whole is to understand the needs of the parts. It is just as true as to adequately understand the parts that it is to adequately understand the whole, and to take always as one of our points of departure the Utilities of the Race, in respect to Religion, to Science, to Art, to Machinery, to Language, and the like; in a word, to be Panarchistic in our outlook no less than Anarchistic.

The question may arise why it is necessary to make so much ado about an abstract discrimination like that between identification, which wipes out all slavery, and discrimination, which creates it? This is obvious from the illustrations that have been made. But it should be added that in matters of this kind, the less things that are explicit, the more obvious they become. In the same way, the contrast of "discrimination," the most important, from its consequences. In this case the mere failure to comprehend this difference between discrimination and difference with reconstitutions leaves individuals incapable of the limits of Humanitarianism; while with it understood and adopted, they become one of the most wholesome and health-giving of all Panarchistic ideas. So then, "Christianity" says carry neither sword nor shield, and Anarchism says carry your sword for protection and use it only when your shield will not avail: "justice" says so as to both cases, andarchy says no to the one, and to the other, use peaceable social reconstruction, in place of either, or soldiers in revolt, and to that end study and avail yourselves of the Yogic Science of Life.

Stephens Real Andrews.

[It seems to me that Mr. Andrews himself illustrates the insignificance of the distinction by the insignificance of its practical application in the matter of the sword and shield. His familiar distinction between Panarchism's advice regarding their use and that of Anarchism is no distinction at all. Mr. Lloyd was distinguishing between Anarchy and Christianity, Christianity tells the world to beat its swords into ploughshares and your swords into ploughshares, in place of either. And that, I say, is to be peaceful social reconstruction, as a substitute for, either, or soldiers in revolt, and to that end study and avail yourselves of their Yogic Science of Life.]

-Editor Liberty.
IRELAND!

GEORGE SAUTON

From the French for Liberty by Sarah E. Holman.

The two ministers nodded assent, and the florid Englishman resumed:

"Almost as much as the government, for distributing their aid among the

most worthy."

"Perfect!" said Madame Liechfeld, whose epidermis reflected for an

instant the burning radiance of her husband's face.

"Wait," said her husband, who squared himself triumphantly with swelling

abdomen and a cunning smile on his artful face, "wait, that is not the entire

combination."

But she, having a sudden intuition of what he was preparing to reveal, imposed

silence upon him by a gesture of her hand.

"We will pack up and make into a bundle all the shop-worn goods that have

been banished to the garret: earthen-ware, broken chim, thunder, stale,

and half-a-dozen other legacies to that last hour of distress. And then we

will get rid of these in exchange for the money of those who have any, taking,
in the case of the poor, the relief money which you will have charitably poured
out; giving with one hand, and receiving with the other, and thus extinguishing

the chilling fountains of rapacious beggars, and, in return for his generosity,

which brought him bounties accompanied by flow-y tears, he pocketed sums

which would have paid for clothes to the slobs makers in London.

As for Harvey, he had several times failed to nab him, to use his expression,
misleading him only by a few hours, devouing space with his unpretenious, mortaring,

and freaky steed, which still carried something of the rapidity that had formerly

brought him wings in his progresses on the race-courses, in addition to an

extraordinary endurance. Today be counted on surpassing the agitator at Buncleedy, or

in the vicinity, and not missing him; he had even commenced a letter to Madame Liechfeld,

in which he inquired whether it was not the same hand on whose full palm the

tender outlines themselves timidly at the doors and windows, attracted by the noise

of the vehicle, and held by the spectacle of the two priests flitting Tom Liechfeld

in London.

"Permit me, gentlemen," begged the merchant, several consecutive times, speaking

to the agitator, as he was travelling along a road under a large umbrella,

as it were, as the object of all the passers-by, his close features covered

in his pockets, he effected with these shadows one of his customary

little transactions, selling at the most exorbitant prices a waistcoat, a pair of

boots, and a cap, which in the presence of the old men who were

the copper, silver, or gold of his societies jingling clear and cheerfully

in his pocket.

With the waiting at these stations, or jaded by the roll of the carriage, the

cesse of the agitator, the minister, and Archibald's mouth still stuffed

in a yawn wide enough to break his jaws, Sir Richardson's lips closed in the

piss kiss he had given his brevity, which now lay unopened. It would croak

something like a chorus of frogs and croons in a quarell, and they started up from

their sleep, diseased, livid, rubbing their eyes, not knowing what

it was only William Grubh, who, without warning, as they went through the

street of Buncleedy, caved and crooked his clap-trap merchandise.

Knives, scissors, thimbles, and pins, goslings, alebols, saucers, pincers,

brooks, dusters, stockings, cloths, spoons, caps, head-dresses, shoes,

"Be quiet!" cried out his patron.

But, bewilderment of all, he continued his enumeration, and went

through the whole customary rime: as

"Men's coats, waistcoats, browners, coffee, whisky, brandy, smoking tobacco,

and pig of all shapes.

"Silence there!" roared Liechfeld, inwardly laughing at the piteous look

of the prince; he turned away, and was sentenced among their number, and

offended in their priestly dignity by this cluster of trumpets intoned without

outference to their character before they had left the carriage!

"Knives, scissors, needles—twice again. He had gone no farther, when Liechfeld, springing from his seat, struck him a fearful blow with the strap across the calves of his legs.

But no public laughter; but the nausea of the Most High here below,

and, as they descended from the carriage with bulging pockets that they might not

have to face the scroffers, direct or swed they were, their faces were suffused with

blushes up to their ears, and even under the caps which they had pulled hurriedly

on over their heads.

Notwithstanding the clamor of William Grubh, almost no one appeared at the

doors or windows; only three or four women interrupted their preparations for

supper to turn the cause of this unusual howling.

Tom Liechfeld, who kept an eye on everything, remarked, at the first foray

examination, an abnormal anxiety on the faces, explicable only by the gravity of

the moment, the imminence of the configuration.

Press from all directions came into the picture of the holy men, who took
each other way without thinking him, the ingrates, he pushed through the village,

inviting hisclerk to recommend his song of "scissors, knives, needles," and mr g

fractioning the utensils, with a quaint fellow, in the mouth of whom he

out, his own honor, surprising in such a pumpkin.

Nevertheless, they mustered their ockle-claws in the most enticing ways, setting

themselves off with appropriate, without rousing the inhabitants, for the peremptory

reason: that the inhabitants had almost entirely deserted their houses for their

rendezvous in the woods and fields.

That morning Paddy Nell, visiting all the houses, less to stimulate their zeal

that to exhort them to prudence, had appointed the meeting for nightfall; and, in

the presence of three or four others, he delivered his harangue, denouncing dan-

erous suspicion by taking twenty different ways, directed their steps toward the

appointed place, Dead Man's Quarry.

There they reached their object, following the paths followed by stags and deers,

by almost tumbling down the steep inclines, clinging by the branches of shrubs and

the roots of trees.

The quarry, as its base, was hollowed out into caves accessible to hundreds of

individuals.

During the previous insurrections, after their defeat, the people of several ham-

lets and manns had the day before gathered by the hundred, with the return of

peace, their huts razed to the ground, and to be caught and exterminated as

mass, in consequence of regaining confidence too soon. The rest had been trans-

formed into trying.
see the next page

In the morning, as the sun was at its zenith, the swimming was excellent, and the keen, sharp air was invigorating.

The water was clear and bracing, and the fish were plentiful. The ducks and geese were abundant, and the wildfowl were calling their usual morning song, which added to the beauty of the scene.

The town was alive with activity, and the shops and stores were crowded with people. The sound of laughter and the chirping of birds filled the air.

The day passed quickly, and the sun began to set. The town was illuminated by the warm glow of the setting sun. The sky was painted with shades of orange, pink, and purple.

The people were busy with their evening work, and the streets were filled with the sound of horses and carts. The town was a picture of peace and tranquility.

As the day drew to a close, the crowd dispersed, and the streets grew quiet. The town was once again bathed in the cool, fresh air of the evening.
A Question of Construction.
To the Editor of Liberty.

Instead of hearing the effect of Bakounine's "God and the State," on State Socialism, I said, in the review of which you took notice lately, that it could be regarded as refuting State Socialism. State Socialists advocate all the liberty Bakounine asks for. The passage which you say was the basis of my reception is a part of that basis. As it is a thorough-going anarchy, I shall not be able to convince you of the truth of my point. It is, indeed, a thorough-going anarchy, but an anarchy that is based on the principle of the negation of the State. The principle is to destroy the State, but the State is destroyed only by the negation of the State, and not by the destruction of the State. The two are inseparable, and cannot exist together.

Having been asked by you to answer this, I shall now do so. I am not a State Socialist, but I am a socialist, and I believe in the abolition of the State. I believe in the abolition of all forms of social organization, and I believe in the complete emancipation of all mankind. I believe in the abolition of all forms of ownership, and I believe in the complete equality of all men. I believe in the abolition of all forms of compulsion, and I believe in the complete freedom of all men.

Whither are we Drifting?

A sort of tidal wave in the direction of labor organization seems to be in motion at present. Even the "intelligent American mechanic" is caught up in it, and rightly so. The whole system of social organization is in the process of revolution, and a new form of society is taking its place. The old form of society was based on the idea of the State, and the new form of society will be based on the idea of the individual. The State is no longer necessary, and the individual is now the true ruler of society.

The Nation, however, seems to be in a state of uncertainty as to its future. It is not clear whether the new form of society will be a success or a failure. Some people believe that it will be a success, and that the future will be better than the past. Others believe that it will be a failure, and that the future will be worse than the past. But one thing is certain, and that is that the new form of society will be different from the old form of society.

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LIBERTY.

Clear-Sighted Emergency Men.

Peter O'Neill, Crowely Branch,
Ireland National Emergency Men.

The Editor of Liberty.

To the Editor of Liberty:

Dear Sir,

I am secretary of the Ireland National Emergency Men and I write in a complimentary ticket to an entertainment which we give on the seventeenth instant, for the benefit of the Ireland National Emergency Men.

Yours truly,

Peter O'Neill.

The Establishment of the Liberty.

You are the best for the preservation of a nation, race, or creed. It is our duty to work toward the preservation of a nation, race, or creed. It is our duty to work toward the preservation of a nation, race, or creed.

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The Establishment of the Liberty.
A LETTER TO GROVER CLEVELAND.

Continued from page 3.

The idea of making a reasonable marriage contract; then presume the consent of both parties, and finally treat them as criminals, and their children as orphans, if they refuse to remain in the situation of a wife.

This same trick, of holding that the law is a part of the contract, has been made to prevent the private property of stockholders from liability for the debts of the company, and to protect special partners, so-called, or limited partners, from liability for partnership debts.

This same trick has been employed to stifle insolvent and bankrupt laws, as described, whereby a freed slave was compelled to mortgage the property of his father, that is, to allow the creditor to sell and afterward to make himself a legal non-entity, or non corpus reus; to give, up to her husband, all her personal property, and the control of all her real estate; and to part with her right to make and sell her own labor, control her own earnings, make her own contracts, and provide for the subsistence of herself and her children.

If the law were not bound to protect their private property from liability, it would be abused in the same way, and the parties entered into, or as any that courts enforce.

A natural obligation is the very right, which the constitution forbids any State law to impair.

The courts might as well have said that, if the constitution declared that "no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts made for the future," that provision could have been construed by a State court, for enabling any contract to be made for the purchase of food; and then saying that such contract, being illegal, could have no "obligation" that the State law forbids this, that by forbidding any State law impairing the obligation of contracts made for the purchase of food, the constitution prevents those contracts being impeded, the courts construe, implies, assumes, and asserts that every man has, and will have, such a right; and that this natural right is the very right, which the constitution forbids any State law to impair, in the case of any contract whatever that has such obligation.

The courts hold the direct opposite of this. They hold that, if a State law forbids any contract to be made, such a contract cannot then have any obligation; and that, consequently, no State law can impair a contract that never existed.

But if, by forbidding a contract to be made, a State law can prevent the contract from being enforceable, by forbidding any contract whatever to be made, can prevent all contracts, thereafter made, from having any obligation; and thus utterly destroy all men's natural rights to make any obligations at all.

A second pretense, by which the courts attempt to evade this provision of the constitution, is this: They say that the State law, that requires, or obliges, a man to fulfill his contracts, itself "the obligation," which the constitution forbids to be impaired; and that therefore the constitution only prohibits the impairing of any law for enforcing such contracts as shall be made under it.

But this pretense, it will be seen, utterly diversifies the idea that contracts have any obligation, that contracts have no obligation, that the laws that are made for enforcing them. But if contracts have no obligation, they have no obligation at all, that ought to be enforced; and the State is a mere, sham, and a legal fiction.

Plainly a State cannot rightfully enforce any contracts at all, unless they have a natural obligation.

A third pretense, by which the courts attempt to evade this provision of the constitution, is this: They say that "the law is a part of the contract," itself; and then proceed to show how that law is a part of the contract.

By this they mean that, if a law is standing upon the statute book, prescribing what obligation certain contracts shall, or shall not, have, it must then be presumed to have any obligation; and that the contract is made according to that law; and really to make the law a part of their contract; although they themselves make nothing of the kind.

That the law is a part of the contract, is a mere trick to cheat people out of their natural rights to make their own contracts; and to compel them to make only such contracts, and only with such parties, as it must be presumed that the parties intended to make their contracts according to such laws as may be prescribed to them — or, what is the same thing, to make such contracts as they perfectly understand to include — that parties must be presumed to "run up all their natural right to make their own contracts; to have acknowledged themselves incapable, incompetent to make reasonable contracts, and to have advertised the lawmakers to make their contracts for them; for if the lawmakers can make any part of a man's contract, and presume his consent to it, they can make a whole one, and presume his consent to it.

If the lawmakers can make any part of men's contracts, they can make the whole of them; and, therefore, buy and sell, borrow and lend, give and receive, dispose of all kinds of property, in every way, will, pleasure, discretion; without the consent of the real owners of the property, and even without their knowledge, until it is too late. In short, they can make — by any such law — any contract they please, and at such prices, as they please; without any regard to the right of the owners. They may, in fact, at their pleasure, strip any man, any woman, of his or her property; and, in a word, make any contract, or do any act, whatever, which the lawmakers may think proper.
Death of a Notable Nihilist.

On November 11, 1905, at Nijni-Novgorod, Siberia, died Doctor Weimar, who was banished on suspicion of indirect participation in Sophia's attempt on the life of Alexander II in 1881.

Since Alexander II was murdered, it will be remembered, both at his preliminary examination and during his trial, refused to betray any of his companions. He steadily persisted in saying that he had had nothing to do with the attempt of his own volition, and that his only purpose was to draw attention to a regime of injustice. With heroic stoicism he listened to the death sentence, and, when convicted of his guilt, he did not abandon his name. He died courageously, carrying with him to the grave his secret and the names of his accomplices and political fellow-workers.

As for Weimar, all that they succeeded in proving against him during the trial was the most important fact that he had accompanied Sophia on her desperate attempt, and, as his accomplice, he was convicted of having taken part in it.

Despite the remarkable fact that he was banished on August 16, 1876, in broad daylight, on one of the principal streets of St. Petersburg, the chief of the secret police was in the habit of taking a walk every morning, in company with his friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Ma.

The murder of Alexander II on the 29th of April, 1881, took place at five o'clock in the morning, and the body was brought to thezerdovtsev's house, where it was exhibited to the public. The body was found lying on the floor of the room, with a bullet wound in the head, and with two gunshot wounds in the chest.

A Woman's Warning to Reformers.

Can man be free if woman is a slave?

Claim one who lives, and breathe this booness, sir.

To the corruption of a closed grave.

Can they whose mates are beaten and condemned to wait the day of freedom—women—choose more by their marriages, and still be free?

To trample their oppressors in their home.

Among their ladies, then, at a curse would wear, hardened with the drudgery of the day.

The third of the time that neither the executors of justice have ever been disovered.

Another instance that no wrong can be done to any in society without part of the evil reverting to the wrong-doers is furnished in the fact that women always have the right to kill their husbands, one of the few instances in which they are cruelly taken for granted.

Men, for some purpose of their own, which they probably best understand, have always denied women the opportunity to think; and, if some women have had courage enough to think for themselves, they have been compelled by the idea that that most powerful weapon in society's arsenal, ridicule, that it has effectively prevented the greatest mastery from making any attempt to come out of slavery. Woman, entirely deprived of all intellectual enjoyment, and all opportunities for mental growth, and of the right to self-assertion, is so far removed from the knowledge of the sweet and good in life, that she has been for some time the slave of the task of society, without which she is not free.

Look around you, and see how many of the children of reformers enter the reform movement, and still believe in the possibility of reaching the goal. But the mother has been acting in a contrary direction. The church is a veritable prison; it knows of the ignorance of its children; it knows that a great force is needed to shut the doors of the schools, that education gives the people the power to think, that it gives them knowledge of the world, and that knowledge is the most powerful weapon in society's arsenal, ridicule, that it has effectively prevented the greatest mastery from making any attempt to come out of slavery. Woman, entirely deprived of all intellectual enjoyment, and all opportunities for mental growth, and of the right to self-assertion, is so far removed from the knowledge of the sweet and good in life, that she has been for some time the slave of the task of society, without which she is not free.

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Land Nationalization.

Dr. J. K. Ingalls's "Social Wealth," several passages leave the currency reader in doubt of the author's definite aims.

Among those, in the beginning of its criticism upon unslide, the number of capital and land monopoly, Mr. Mc-

lock, (p. 163), he writes: "Mr. Mallock thinks a remedy like the nationalization of the land, or the limitation of capital to what is necessary for the sale of the capital, honest, because they were sometimes used foolishly to take land." Here it would seem to be assumed by Mallock that the public's interests will be directly benefited, but the rule of law is not to be taken as a guide to action, because if they are sometimes used foolishly to take land, then they are not used foolishly to take land. This argument is the result of a misunderstanding of the nature of law as it is a result of a misunderstanding of what is the nature of law, and this misunderstanding is the result of a misunderstanding of what is the nature of law. Mr. Ingalls has in several places flashed out the characteristic of the public's interests in the market and in the law, but he has been more successful in showing that the same belief in the public's interest is necessary to the conduct of public affairs, and this belief in the public's interest is necessary to the conduct of public affairs.

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