On Picket Duty.

"Society," some one has truly said, "is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness."

The New England "Methodist" lawful the singular unwillingness of O. R. Frothingham to define his position, in view of the fact that he has aroused a new one, by the story of the Irish lad who fell into a deep well, and, when his father called to know if he was dead, replied: "Not dead, father, but speechless."

An exchange tells us that a rich Italian land-owner resorts to an obsolete feudal custom of making his laborers wear iron muzzles during the grape harvest to prevent them from tasting the grapes. The stockholders and directors of horse-railways who make their conductors use bell-punches to prevent them from "knocking down" fares will probably be the first to boisterously brand this Italian's conduct as a relic of the dark ages, which could have survived nowhere else than in an "effete monarchy of the old world."

"It is as safe a prediction as any that we are able to picture to ourselves in European politics to say that the Irish peasant and the Irish landlord will have as completely reversed their relations of every kind to one another between the year 1880 and the year 1900 as did the French peasant and the French lord between 1789 and 1794." Some may think this a bold prophecy on the part of Mr. John Morley, but in the eyes of Liberty it is not as bold as the truth, which is that before the year 1900 landlords of every civilised nationality will have disappeared from the face of the earth.

One of the grandest of revolutionary anniversaries again draws near, the eleventh of the foundation of the glorious Paris Commune. The Internationalists and Anarchists of New York have been actively preparing for its commemoration, and will give a grand concert and ball in its honor Saturday evening, March 18, at Irving Hall, New York. Fine musical talent has been secured, and no pint will be spared for the achievement of a success worthy of the occasion. Family tickets may be had for twenty-five cents, the proceeds of the sale to be devoted to the Asile Laissez-Faire and to the revolutionary cause in Russia. The time will come when the peoples of the earth will unite in adopting the Eighteenth of March as a day of international festival.

All believers in the State, however much they may try to disguise it, or however it may be disguised beyond their recognition, believe that "might makes right." In the last analysis, they invariably hold that the State may rightfully do what it would be wrong for an individual to do; in other words, that morality is entirely independent of justice, and may be made and unmade by the human will. Here is an instance, taken from instructions issued to General Barbrich by General Sherman in 1864, the publication of which a personal controversy has lately led to: "You may inform all your post and commandarv that guerrillas are not soldiers, but wild beasts, unknown to the usages of war. To be recog-
Liberty.

Issued Fortnightly at Fifty Cents a Year; Single Copies, Two Cents.

BENJ. H. TUCKER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.
Office of Publication, 570 F. O. Square.
Post Office Address: LIBERTY, P. O. Box 2566, Boston, Mass.

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office at Boston, Mass.

BOSTON, MASS., FEBRUARY 18, 1862.

"A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties, and is not a ward of a state, nor a slave of an institution, nor a tool of forces that have made him helpless, or driven by oppression, nor deceived by erroneous opinions." — PEPPLER.

God's Wicked Partners.

Charles Guiteau claims that he is the Lord's partner, and that the Almighy was accessory before the fact to the killing of Garfield. For this Mr. Guiteau is bitterly denounced by Christians as a blasphemer and an impious wretch, and regarded with holy horror by the Lord's people, under the righteous judgment of God. He is an inconsistent. They have addressed to the three persons grace such remarks as this: "Oh Lord! Thou hast in Thine infinite wisdom seen fit to chasten us by removing our beloved and taking him unto Thyself. Humble we bow before thee, and murmur, Thy will be done!"

If such pulpit utterances signify anything and are not mere gospel gush, intended to flatter the Almighty by conveying the impression that the speakers would not have a moment suppose that anything could be done on earth without his knowledge or consent, they mean that the killing of Garfield was the act of God, that the murder was deliberately planned by Omnipotence for some inconsiderable reason, was exalted in furtherance of and in accordance with some sacred scheme for the good of the world. If the Christian god is omnipotent, he could have prevented the killing, and the fact that he did not do so indicates that he desired the death of President Garfield. Guiteau, according to Christian doctrine, merely executed the will of God. It cannot be argued reasonably that he was merely the blind instrument of God, and that God simply permitted him to follow the course that his wicked heart had determined he should follow, leaving him responsible for the deed as for the motives that prompted it: for Guiteau had no personal motive, and has asserted repeatedly that God commanded him to kill Garfield. He was in the confidence of all sorts of adepts and was a leader of the Almighy, of whom Mr. Washington was God's will that Garfield should die, God was the instigator of the homicide, and Guiteau was his agent. If the killing was the most damnable and atrocious crime in history, then God is the most atrocious villain the world ever heard of, and Guiteau is no more responsible than the bullet which inflicted the death wound.

But God's inconsistent apostles argue that there is no evidence of the copartnership beyond Guiteau's own admission, and that the Almighy would never select as his partner a man who had committed adultery, cheated landladies, and done other disreputable, table things that Christians abhor. It is strange that God did not select as his partner some trusted preacher of his word — some holy man who never did anything wrong in his life, and whose claim of inspiration would be accepted as true. Why did he not commission some regularly inspired preacher of the gospel, who could easily be made to serve his turn as a good salary, to murder Mr. Garfield? Was it because he intended to shirk the responsibility and leave his partner in the lurch, and thought he could spare Guiteau better than Beecher or Talma or some other great and powerful follower of the Lord? No, they did not select some professional murderer, who by law ought to be hanged anyway, some "Billy the Kid," or some great military leader with the blood of thousands on his hands?

Irishman has some enough to brush aside the ridiculous nonsense of expecting an "Irish republican" to do the work. These men are exceptions, and their voice is easily rub-a-dub-dubbed down by the blantly nationalist.

It is too much to demand these rub-a-dub-dub, Irish republicans, national flag enthusiasts that this American republic has secured on the tenant class, under its laws, than is England; but perhaps we can put it in another form with more effect. Place the Irish landlord class of Ireland inside the liberal English class. Is the former any less merciful to its tenants than the English landlord in Ireland? If the Irish landlord in this American republic is a ruinous-blood-hound, would he be anything less in an Irish republic? No, this is the basic principle of the system that the Irish thrive just as successfully under one form of government as another. The fact is that the State, without monopoly and usury as its main pillars, ceases to be the State.

It will not do to get these basic facts into the heads of the masses, but such meetings as the one in Cooper Union are most gratifying helps in that direction. The masterly genius which moves the "Irish World" was never displayed to greater credit than on that occasion. Liberty about thrice, Bravo! upon the whole affair.

A Game That Two Can Play At.

Would that we could command the "awe of Voltaire and the invective of William Cobbett to play the hypocritical bigots whose virtuous indignation is stirred at the existence of polygamy in this pious nation.

ASimon-pure, honest, square monogamist is a man who "keeps" one woman, and only one, whom he calls his wife. So long as the "keeping" of this woman is voluntary and mutual, it is nobody's business, even though some crumple may score a fire-side tale out of it.

But the kind of pious fraud whose holy indignation is stirred at the lustful Mormon is not a square, open-handed monogamist. He keeps two, three, or five women. None of these in, whom he deceives and betrays and over whose liberty he wields absolute despoticism, is known as his wife. This fellow is a polygamist at heart, but in the place of the open-handed, above-board transaction of the Mormon, he substitutes "nest-hiding," fraud, cowardice, and hypocrisy.

It is unnecessary to say that Liberty, though opposed to the whole "keeping" system as the degradation of a passion that should be pure and noble, despises the right of any man to "keep" one, two, five, twenty, or one hundred women, or to any woman whether he shall "keep" corresponding numbers of men. Our pious legislators would be the very worst sufferers themselves, even if it were possible to execute it. But even those who are honestly free from the practice of polygamy are committing an unmitigated piece of impudence and despotism when they attempt to deny to any man the right to "keep" just as many women as he pleases with his own money, and at his own risk.

But the lecherous politicians of Washington, the lawyers and jurists who waste the people's wealth on women and wine,—these make up the holy conclaves that propose to visit the Mormon households and destroy their homes.

Luckily, the Mormons have hit upon a pike game. They have been carefully canvassing the number of practical polygamists among the Washington congressmen, and they are about to publish the results of their investigations to the American public, and deliver sealed copies to the accredited wives of these virtuous political saints. Ten to one that the Mormons have already effectively crippled the word's envious guns. The monogamists and polygamists threaten to become terribly mixed, and we hope that in the confusion all will conclude to mind their own business.
A Review of German Socialism.

At the last elections to the German Reichstag, thirteen candidates of the Social Democracy were successful. This fact has added to the world-wide interest in Germany the immense, and, if we may say so, irresistible sensation concerning that movement still prevails. Its true history and real significance are conceitedly and admirably set forth in the following outline sketch, which is borrowed from "La Revue Politique."

When the bold and success-crowned agitation of Lassalle had once started, the Social Democratic party of German laborers and its political propaganda of the workingmen to increase their independence and to gain the advantages in the future which it offered to the champions of the new party. These men at once ranged themselves behind the Social Democrats, under the lash of the stormy and agitated time, and, while the labor movement emerged triumphantly, though divided into two hostile factions :—

(1) The party of the Social Democrats, under the leadership of Hasenclever and Hassenclauer, whose journalistic organ was the "New Social Democrat." This party confined itself to an orthodox observance of the doctrines expounded by Lassalle.

(2) The Party of the League of Liebknecht and Bebel,—the former having converted the latter from an advocate of the ideas of Schulze-Delitzsch (industrial credit, &c.), into a political agitator, and advocate of the reformed and professional politician, and the latter entering into a host of other Social Democrats, and the new "Social Democratic League." This party, with all its journal, the "Popular State," (Volkstaat,) more and more developed and extended. It is divided into three branches: the first, the Centralization of the Popular State, the second, expressive of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and the faithful disciple, Liebknecht.

The war of Prussia against Austria and the victory of the former country, combined with the annexation of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, led to the organization of the National Assembly (der Deutschen Bund) and the Parliament of Germany (Norddeutscher Zollverein). To popularize these political associations, worked with diligence by the people, the Social Democrats gave the people universal suffrage in parliamentary elections, which Lassalle had previously demanded to elections to the Popular Chamber.

Then it was that the Social Democrats seized with enthusiasm upon "this new weapon for the enfranchisement of the people from the power of the State." Only later, then it was that these hostile brethren sought for ascendency each over the other, and that such accusations as were made against this "so-called Prussian" (the Lassalle line) and "our people" (the Liebknecht line) gave all its effect to the enfranchisement of German workingmen in the parliamentary struggle and to the choice of the largest possible number of socialist deputies as members of that parliament, where "one can only sacrifice his principle," because "principles are indivisible and must be either completely maintained or completely sacrificed for the sake of our enemies, and is who parleys compromising with them." The two parties in the Social Democracy were soon compelled to see that they principally injured themselves in fighting each other so furiously, while really having to view a common enemy with keenness and intensity.

The political attitude of the Social Democracy, especially in the Reichstag, in which it showed clear and manifestly by every effort of the people by parliamentary means and the incomparability of laborers of participation in elections, and while crying, "No peace with the press," by every effort it showed the Social Democrats, and they rapidly advanced from one "electoral victory" to another.

It undoubtedly will seem very strange to our readers that thousands of workers, thousands of workmen, who, after having fought for a, facility of participation in elections, should, nevertheless, have failed to be satisfied, as they are capable of being satisfied by any other means. Their desire for success, for victory, has been directed to the winning of elections, to the winning of elections, to the winning of elections, and they have advanced from one "electoral victory" to another.

The year 1873 followed, and the attempts of the Social Democratic League to force and lead to the life of the Reichstag. The Reichstag voted the Social Democratic league, the law which suppresses all the political press and all national societies and assemblies; the law which permits the dissolution of all political societies which are not a Socialist; the law which allows the Scottish joint-stock company, that is, the Social Democrats, and the Social Democrats, and the Social Democrats, and the Social Democrats, with the approval of the majority of the German people, the Social Democrats, who, when they come to the Reichstag, in the society of directors in the company of which they may be expected to give the government to make either its demand notes or its bonds an endorsed legal tender upon anybody. It did not add one starve to the wealth of the people, who are, under the law, not to be made more stronger, they are not to be held with more confidence, by fixing upon them any feature of compulsory acceptance, by fixing upon them any feature of compulsory acceptance, and under the law, and under the law. It is a mistake to suppose that.

The Free Religious Association, expecting to found the American or English model somewhere in the United States, artificial or natural, any set of citizens who had their money invested in bank stocks or in bank stocks, to take any obligation of government perform and under the law. It is a mistake to suppose that.

The Weakness of Compulsory Credit.

The paragraph is delivered by

Thomas F. Bayard in the United States senate shows that a voice for Liberty is sometimes heard even in the halls of power:

I argued and voted against the coercive principle which collected any citizen of the United States, may be observed in the United States, artificial or natural, any set of citizens who had their money invested in bank stocks or in bank stocks, to take any obligation of government perform and under the law. It is a mistake to suppose that.
THOMAS PAINE'S MONUMENT.

Thou hast no need of monument of brass,
Or that thy name be graven to the heavens.
Let it suffice that thy works are in the earth,
And that thy name be hereafter celebrated.

The inscription to all noble deeds—
Make berets of the good, and crowns of their lives.
To that end, plant, elevating each, a stone
Who claims to ruler over man by right divine.
Or who, by birth, or what of place, or means,
Serves in the ranks that uphold tyrants; all
Who would forge a fetter for a slave,
A sword or a fetter to be devoured:
Or fix a brand upon a bloody race
To curse and destroy, and so to the mark,
And would seal up the eyes of the mind,
That men may walk in darkness, as of old,
When heaven was darkened, and the earth in death
The penalty for knowledge. Men have built
Tumuli and thrones; all devices with art.
And worshiped with all, as God, who seem to bring,
Not without fear, but with the scowling sword;
The sacred and the safe, whose successful cry,
"Oh why, my god, hast thou forsaken me?"
Shame on the age, pitying for his life,
Hut for his works! They have been submitted to
An infamous death for one who knew
No other interest than his country's welfare;
That is, of course, his country's interest.
Yet so he lived, with all the refinement of the world,
And so he died, by the hands of a tyrant—
(approach the editor, sir)
I am compelled to believe in it, and therefore I believe this Guiteau ought to be hung.

Now, wherein is the Christian's position any different from the Guiteaus? In order to make it plain let me put the two positions side by side.

OWEN FELLWACKER

do not believe in judicial killing,
but I do believe in capital punishment, sir.
"Well, sir," he replied, "on rational, human, justification grounds I do not, but I cannot say that it is, as expressed in his Holy Word, a faithful human reason, I am compelled to believe in it, and therefore I believe this Guiteau ought to be hung."