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BOSTON, MASS., JANUARY 20, 1883.

"A free man is one who enjoys the use of his reason and his faculties; who is neither blanked by patronage, nor hindered or driven by oppression, nor deceived by erroneous opinions."—P枪DRIEU.

Notice to Subscribers.

For several months to come Liberty will appear at intervals of four weeks, instead of two; but fortnightly publication will be resumed as soon as possible. All subscriptions will be extended accordingly, and no one will fail to receive the full number of issues to which he is entitled.

Another Tyrant Fallen.

Not this time a Caesar of Russia by the hand of a Sophie Perovsky, but Léon Gambetta by the hand of Madame Léonie Léon—not a frank, outspoken, unmistakable tyrant by the hand of a woman representing the people he had oppressed, but a cunning, two-faced, plausible tyrant by the hand of a woman representing in her own behalf the people he had betrayed. It is a fitting ending to the life of one of the most dangerous characters of Europe, over whose disappearance Liberty, not in a spirit of triumphal revenge, but simply voicing a sincere desire for the public welfare, can only rejoice. And yet journals and public men the world over—professed radicals among the rest—vie with each other in doing homage to the memory of this self-seeking political adventurer!

Only ignorance can explain this senseless adulation coming from well-meaning lips. For who is this man whose praises they are sounding? Would that we had space to answer fully, to put before our readers a detailed history of the shameless career of Léon Gambetta!

Let no one think that we underrate either his abilities or the value of the services which on one or two occasions ambition, and ambition only, has led him to render. He is a thoughtful man in many ways—in some respects a giant. Immense energy, surpassing eloquence, and great ability of a certain order—these were his in abundant measure; but truth, sincerity, devotion, fidelity, the highest courage, and depth of mind,—of these there was none in him. He did many good things, but always with a selfish end. His was the 30 of "Le Réveil" in 1868 when that paper was issued for opening a subscription toward a monument fund in honor of Beethoven, his conduct while a member of the government of national defense in 1870, and his memorable struggle with and triumph over the reactionary MacMahon in 1877 deserve to be counted as great and valuable deeds well done; but the light of subsequent events has shown so clearly that good and bad were all one to him so long as Léon Gambetta’s ends were served that no credit can fairly be given him from a moral standpoint even for such of his acts as intrinsically were praiseworthy.

His greatest triumphs: to win the confidence of the people by his eloquence and fair promises of devotion to their rights; to float into power on the wave of popularity thus acquired; once in power, to break every promise he had made; to watch every chance to enrich himself and enrich his friends; and to remain in power as long as he could. To his former denunciations of the Rothschilds, and his temporary delivery from their power, he paid no attention. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. The only service his unprincipled career has rendered is by setting a bad example to the French people. And all lost the last move he so successfully accomplished. In 1862 he went before the citizens of Belleville, the stronghold of Parisian radicalism, and in a powerful discourse elaborated a complete and absolutely unequivocal programme of principles, accurately stating the views of his auditors, and, not satisfied with declaring his adhesion thereto, solemnly subscribed to it in the form of an oath. Elected overwhelmingly, he straightway went into the Chamber of Deputies, and in a parliament of twenty-five million who came to constitute nearly every one of the principles and measures which he had sworn to support. One of these principles was the separation of church and State; yet, though a pretended free-thinker, he never lost an opportunity of calling the cases levied in support of the church, and was the recognized leader of the State-church party in the Chamber. Another plank in the Belleville platform was amnesty for the exiled communists; yet he voted steadily against amnesty that is, for the continued exile of the immediate relatives of his constituents in his beloved Belleville,—until 1880, when, Belleville having declared its indignation by electing Trinquet, one of the exiles, to the municipal council of Paris over Gambetta’s candidate, Robagne, he dared not affirm it. Further in that direction, and so subjected his parliamentary followers to the support of the amnesty bill. In 1869, at Belleville, he took his stand on a squarely socialist platform, and on July 14, 1872, at a banquet, he ordered the scoccer which has since become famous: "There is no social question." He overturned and recanted ministries at his will, and at last was compelled, though not yet ready, to take the reins of government himself. Then the real incapacity of the man for actual guidance became apparent. The "Grand Ministry" was short-lived. Gambetta brought forward a bill providing for the election of a Congress to revise the Constitution, but con tinuing its revising powers solely to the question of substituting the "sénat de liste" for the "sénat de nommee," what the government would do in case this Congress, elected by the people, should decide to revise the Constitution in other points than those indicated by the Government. Then the man who, in 1877, said to MacMahon, "When France shall have uttered her sovereign voice, you will either have to submit or resign," uttered the following threat of a coup d’Etat: "We will use the right that governments have against insurrectionary forces." The people took alarm, and Gambetta continued his misadventures, and till the time that his forsaken mistress shot him he was occupied in schemes for plugging his country into trichotomy by which he might profit.

Is such a man entitled to praise and honor? Should not his decease be received with horror by those on the right side by side with the murderer Thiers,—perhaps not as bloody, but more contemptible?

Well did Henri Rochefort say the other day, when rebuked by Edmund Abbott for making light of Gambetta’s death.

"What! we have had before us a barrier which arrested the progress of our ideas, our aspirations, and our propaganda; for several years we have been doing our utmost to remove it; and now, when we see it definitely demolished, you would have us believe that it is not a step toward the path we cherish and continue to bar! Only crocodiles have such emotions."

Liberty’s Aims and Material.

The student of Liberty must constantly endeavor to dissociate his imagination from sensational dramas of assassination and revolt. These constitute an unsavory product of Liberty’s philosophy, and for which despotism, not she, is alone responsible. Liberty is the foundation-stone of a system of scientific treatment as to human relations and adjustments, and as primarily as physically. Liberty is the freedom, in thought, of the individual, from all limitations, and the freedom, in action, of the individual, from all interference by the state, to conduct his own life as he pleases. Liberty is the freedom for the individual to conduct his own life as he pleases, for the individual to conduct his own life as he pleases. Liberty is the freedom for the individual to conduct his own life as he pleases.

The home is the beginning of the State; it is the State in miniature. The enthroned monarch is here the male lord of creation. The government is, however, only the expression of individualism, and communism. Under the old Roman law the father was absolute over the wife as well as the children,—having even the power of life and death over the latter; but under the modern changes of political ideas, the wife, although less servile, is quite undefined. The com munal pair are supposed to merge into each other, and hence the children are subjects of a joint government of the parents. The functions of neither are clearly defined, this joint government is generally cut of joint, and the merging arrangement becomes a farse in practice, except to the extent that the lucky wife whose matrimonial traps have taken in a good keeper succeeds in merging herself into the pockets of her nightly companion in legislated “unchastity.”

Communism, when properly organized, is a system,—a false system, as we believe, but a system. The communism of family life, however, is not even a system, but a degrading and demoralizing chaos. Neither parents nor children have any defined rights. They all govern each other, though nobody learns how to govern himself or herself. In attempting to govern the children jointly the merged parental pair are inevitably outwitted and outworn. In the dilemma the daughters step in to govern the old folks until the gathering complications compel some big brother to step in and govern the crew. In daily life the big brothers are supposed to supervise the arrangement of the inexperienced sisters; the big sisters look after the little sisters; and thus the members of our first and last families are severally charged with the sacred duty of governing each other.

This is the blessed institution as known as the family, which learned reviewers tell us is the precious basis of the State, and must not be tampered with by usholy hands. And yet we challenge any one to refute the statement that the family is nothing more than an unlar and chaotic pot, having neither even the merits of systematized communism. Strife, bickerings, envy, jealousy, and mutual disgust naturally breed in such an institution, and no intelligent social observer need be reminded of the shameful scenes that daily before the family nest in all quarters, long high and low alike.

But it was not the especial purpose of this article to attack the family relation. The master is only touched upon incidentally in the course of the argument of Liberty that despotism lurks everywhere, and that the time has come for us to drive the door. He who already has faith enough in Liberty to practice with it experimentally may begin with his wife, children, brother, sister, sweetheart, or friend, and without doubt he will soon find a job on his hands so large that no time will be left to him in one mortal life to make himself part of St. Petersburg with a bomb in search of the czar. Perhaps, if the experimenter in Liberty should begin with himself, he would take him so long to understand the heights and depths of human life that it might not be found in him to follow even the merest of systematized communism.

The whole subject of INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY, as balanced by the Cost Principle, is one of almost infinite richness in thought and attainable benefits. The most convenient season for studying it experimentally is now, and the student need not even go outside of himself to find plenty of good material to work upon.

Liberty welcomes a stanch ally in the West. The "Kansan Liberal," always a good paper, is now made doubly so by the addition of F. C. Walker to its editorial staff. The idea of absolute individual sovereignty, and nothing else, is the keynote of all the past and present policies and acts of the State. Its teachings are applicable to every situation and relation in life, and it is an eminent truism that Liberty, like charity, begins at home.
Liberty, 32

The Arrest of Kropotkin.

From "L'Intransigeant" and "Le Révolté" we glean the following details of the French government's outrageous arrest of Pierre Kropotkin:

On Friday, December 3, Madame Kropotkin, wishing to go from Thonon to Geneva to consult a doctor in behalf of her brother who was ill, started her journey. About five o'clock the police, for some reason not given, ordered her to stop her carriage. As she refused, the police commissioner threatened her with a warrant for her arrest, should she continue her journey, and informed her that her brother was on his way to Thonon and would soon arrive, and that she would be arrested when he arrived. Madame Kropotkin, however, replied that she was not going to Geneva, and that her business in that city was of vital importance, involving, if not the salvation of her brother's life, at least a great personal benefit to her. In vain did she insist on the little basket which was filled with goodies and provisions for her. In vain did she declare that she was accompanied by a doctor when she was asked to give him the arrest warrant. The police commissioner declared that she had done this to hinder the commission of a crime and that she had been arrested.

At the appointed time I will knock at the door of the residence of her brother, and take her away.

Accept, sir, my civilities.

Elaine Rubin.

It is needless to say that this latter was not heeded. The trial of Kropotkin, Emile Gatteau, and a number of other Anarchists began on April 20, 1890, — not before a jury, but before a tribunal of three judges, — with what result we shall see further on. The whole affair was practically conducted by Pierre Kropotkin. His importance to the affair was so great that the judges, when the president of the tribunal showed his entire mastery over his judges, the ability by which he disclosed his extraneousity, and the exasperation of the court was complete. All of the defendants, it is true, gave their testimony without cross-examination, but the mere fact of the affair makes us all the more sorry to think that the court did not see fit to let the whole affair go off without notice, while all have boldly avowed their political beliefs and practices.

No Paradox Desired.

The executive committee of a revolutionary society in Rome, convened in special session to consider Victor Hugo's appeal, — the emperor of Austria to spare the life of Oberdanks the bomb-thrower, who has since been executed, passed the following resolution:

The committee, having taken cognizance of Victor Hugo's letter asking the emperor of Austria to pardon William Oberdanks, condemned to death, — in the name of the Italian party of action, which never compromises, and the intransigent pride of the condemned hero; — while rendering homage to the heart of the great poet and to the Austrian Emperor, who called upon him, does not unite in the petition for pardon sent to the oppressor of Trente and Trieste, because such a course diminishes and profits Oberdanks, who has been the instrument of many a chief instigator and organizer of this association in France, and especially of having visited Lyons to foment revolt in recent meetings. — The ridiculous allegations upon which these charges are based are the following: (1) that Kropotkin, replying to a young man of St. Etienne, who had urged him to start the revolution, added, "I would have done so if I were not afraid of being arrested, just as I am afraid of being hanged," (2) that he wrote to a committee of workmen, who had invited him to attend a private reception, that he could not give his presence at the meeting, because he was afraid of being let into an "anti-Democratic Social" declining to become a contributor to that journal. (3) that he corrected the proofs of a pamphlet on nihilism, the author of which had been a police informer, and whose error he did not reveal. And yet, held upon such trifles as these, the French magistracy declined to accept for him the comfortable and well-known condition of a less than the eminent, added an millionaire of the British house of commons, Joseph Town of Newmarket. At Rochester's request Georges Lagrange, the lawyer who recently defended the miners of Montonera with great ability, bravery, and eloquence, consented to take charge of Kropotkin's case, but Kropotkin, receiving the offer, declared it impossible. —

Dear Mr. Jov, I am much too busy to write.

Dear Mr. Jov, let me thank you for your kind remembrance and your letter, and I beg you to warn the friends of Pierre Kropotkin that I shall be as much grieved for you as they are for me. I am not quite sure who you are, but I am sure that you are a fine man. —

What is the use, indeed, of a defense based on legal grounds when the facts of the case are all against the accused? —

We are the destruction of a class, —

Pierre Kropotkin.

In consequence of his arrest, his wife underwent a severe nervous crisis, which created anxiety among her friends. Fortunately she came out of it safely.

The event caused much discussion in the newspapers, and the public was shocked. John Ruskin, however, avoided France in order to escape the frowns of his fellow-worker in the revolutionary movement. Thompson Rees wrote the following letter:

to the President of the Municipal Police at Lyons.

Sir, — I read in the "Lyonnaise" of December 25 a most gratuitous and false statement against myself, in avoiding France in order to escape the frowns of his fellow-worker in the revolutionary movement. Thompson Rees wrote the following letter:

Municipal Police, Magistrate at Lyons.

Sir, — I read in the "Lyonnaise" of December 25 a most gratuitous and false statement against myself, in avoiding France in order to escape the frowns of his fellow-worker in the revolutionary movement. Thompson Rees wrote the following letter:

Thompson Rees.

Might I have the honor to address you, sir, Mr. Rees?

I beg to refer you to my previous statement, which I will send you at once. I am most anxious to see you, but I am not prepared to leave my home until I am assured of your safety. I have received many threats, and I do not wish to take any risks. I am writing this letter to inform you of my intention to leave France as soon as possible. I am very anxious to meet you, but I am not prepared to leave my home until I am assured of your safety. I have received many threats, and I do not wish to take any risks. I am writing this letter to inform you of my intention to leave France as soon as possible.

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Kennedy had been hanged. Brackenworth swallowed dissolved matches, but the authorities saved him. All these facts are incredible. What could be added to the horrible lie.

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