The Bandit.

The bandit on the prairie said:
"I am the one that you saw.
To the east and west and south and north,
I ride to seek my fortune.

The sheriff said, "Stop!"
I said, "I am the Bandit;"
He said, "You are the law;"
I said, "I am the Bandit;"
He said, "You are the Bandit;"
I said, "I am the Bandit.

Mark Hanna, rest upon the State and
State-enacted special laws, by which they
are enabled to play the trade of legal road
agents, and rob the people to the extent of
millions. This could not exist, if the prin-
ciples of Anarchy or self-government were
recognized and all legal fictions annulled.

No one wants the dead calm of ignorant
faith. Not a human soul really desires the
locks and bars of the dungeon of intellec-
tual authority. The ship of humanity has ro-
ted too long in the barbarism of the iron bar
by the bar of authority. Give me the
storm and tempest, the raging sea and the
free winds, and I will take my chance upon
the trackless deep, with the boundless hori-
on of liberty, the storm king, and the stars,
and the dead and wounded call indeed.

Suppose a physician should be called
in to prescribe for a patient who is supposed
to be dangerously ill. Suppose that the phy-
sician found the patient maniacally
bound with cords, his feet in irons, his hands
cuffed with steel and a gag thrust into his
mouth. Suppose the physician found that
the man was perfectly sane, that he was not
considered dangerous, but that these chains
and irons and cuffs and gags were for
his own welfare—to keep him from doing
himself an injury. What would that phy-
sician say? Suppose he found that there was
nothing really the matter with the man, ex-
cept that his limbs were cramped from their
confinement, that his hands were numb from
want of use, and that he was half insane from
the gag. Now, would that doctor re-
commend a straight-jacket in addition to the
chains? Or would he not say that the man
needed to be freed from his ridiculous pre-
dicament? Would he not suspect that the
man was a born fool and the victim of a
confidence game, or that somebody had
gone crazy?

Now, poor, idiotic humanity today is
just in that very condition. Man is bound
down with legal chains, his hands are tied
with legislation; a gag is in his mouth, and
yet when the Anarchist—the advocate of
self-government—says remove the gag, take
off the shackles, poor doped humanity cannot
think, cannot even speak, and shall its gag
long enough to shriek, "traitor!"—and demands
more chains.

Government ownership of everything is
being preached on all hands, and yet it is
a doctrine at variance with all human expe-
rience, and which contradicts the wisdom of
the world's profoundest thinkers. Jefferson
said that government is best which

Every attempt to extend the sphere of gov-
ernment and to curtail individual self gov-
ernment is a step backward, for man, in his
progress from barbarism to civilisation,
has advanced just to the extent that he has
freed himself from the shackles of author-
ity. And human experience shows that as
the horizon of individual liberty widened, so
increased his happiness; and the great na-
tions are most advanced in wealth and wis-
dom.

I believe that liberty is a good thing for
everybody. I believe not only in liberty of
thought, but in liberty of action. Action fol-
ows thought; one is worthless without the
other. A free thinker shall be a free artist,
and free thought is worthless without the
right to act upon our thought.

I believe that human happiness depends
entirely upon personal freedom, and to the
extent that the individual is permitted to
exercise all his faculties, to that extent is
happiness possible for him.

I believe, therefore, that freedom is desir-
able, and whatever the future may bring to
man, whatever achievements may crown
the efforts of human ingenuity, whatever
discoveries may enrich the mass of
human knowledge, and whatever rare and
beautiful thoughts may leap from the brain
of man in all the endless cycles of the in-
finitude, this I know, it without the
achievement of self-government man kind has
lived in vain, and all the talk of human pro-
gress is but the meaningless bubble of
chattering silly—-the effusive froth of in-
tellectual vanity—and that all human intel-
lignence itself were but a colossal blunder
which, were it the work of an all-wise god,
would become a stupendous crime.

There is a remarkably close connection
between religions and political ideas, and
theological hum is to a great extent re-
sponsible for the political ideals of today.
The science of thought is the least under-
stood, or rather the least recognized of all
the sciences; and yet we cannot expect to
cope with this vast subject without some
understanding of the basis of thought.

The belief in authority is the result of that
theological bias of mind that places a con-
trolling intelligence back of the machinery
of the natural universe and this belief in au-
thority in nature is the basis of the belief in
political authority. There are two schools
of thought—the authoritarian and liber-
tarian—and the methods of

Radical Reflections.

Human authority is very old, and men re-
gard it with reverence; its horry age makes
it sacred in human eyes. Mankind desires
liberty, but it is very much afraid of liberty,
and generally each individual desires liberty
for himself, but he is very much afraid to
trust his neighbor with freedom; and all
men today would be willing to accept free-
dom, if it was not for the "other fellow."

But it is this other fellow who must be gov-
erned, must have restraint, otherwise he
will be a guerilla—he will play the very devil
if you give him liberty to govern himself.

The argument is made that men are not
capable of self-government—that there must
be restraint and that some form of organ-
ized government must be maintained for the
protection of the weak against the strong.
They forget that it is the strong who al-
ways rule—for they must necessarily take
possession of the government, and, as a mat-
ter of fact, government is in the very weapon
by which the strong enslave and crush the
weak. I do not believe that we need a gov-
ernment to protect us from ourselves, but I
do believe that we need protection from
government. It is the State that destroys
self-government, and in destroying self-
government divides society into the two clas-
s—the ruler and the ruled. The oppression
of the people through the world today is the
result of government. The trusts and combi-
ines of wealth are the creation of govern-
ment. The power of every corporation is the
aggregate of mayни and would never have
existed without the State. The social anem
thrust the world, which many believe pre-
gen a general upheaval, is due entirely to the
oppressors.
FREE SOCIETY.

The other school of modern thought holds that the universe is governed not by a central supreme intelligence, but by certain immutable laws which control its existence, not by a supreme governing intelligence—let us say, by the Absolute. **This idea** is simply the embodiment of the principle of authority, and as the human mind follows invariably the same channel, this fact of mental bias forces the believer in theism to postulate authority—government—always as the first principle of all human association.

If there existed but one individual body of **matter** in the universe, there would be nothing to attract it to another, and no such thing as gravity. But the moment another body of **matter** appears it affects the other body, and that body becomes a law. So we see that the laws of **matter** existing in and through all things are not the mandate of a supreme intelligence, but are created by the presence of the individualized matter.

As the natural universe of **matter** is composed of individual bodies which act upon each other and by such action produce and bring into being the laws which are said to govern the universe, the social association is composed of individuals whose relations effect each other and produce the laws of society of human association.

We of today are confronted with gigantic problems that no longer can be ignored. Those problems revolve themselves into the one great question of government. The issue before us today is self-government or imperialism. The world is living up to this issue, and the time is rapidly approaching when every man and woman, too, will have to take sides.

Ross Wricke

**Justice.**

L. Addison Hallam (brother of the late Sir James Hallam), in his book *Eugene Varese*, called it "Justice."
researches are here and there to be found in the works of the historians of the free cities. A few original researches upon the influence of Christian and Roman ideas also exist (such studies are of much more difficulty and always the poorer). But it would be wise to trace everything back to economics; it would be just the same sort of mistake if, studying botany, you should say that the amount of heat received by a plant determines its life and growth, forgetting humility, light and other important factors.

This historical review, short as it is, shows nevertheless how the State and the evolution of Vengeance, called Justice, are related institutions—derived from one another, supporting one another, being historically one.

But a moment of quiet thought is sufficient to understand how both institutions hold logically together, how both have a common origin in the same idea: Authority looking after the security of society and excluding vengeance upon those who break established rules. And you admit the existence of judges as specially selected members of society entrusted with the care of applying codified traditions, it does not matter by whom chosen or elected—-you have an army of men which all have power that may be gathered. On the other hand, if you admit the centralised structure called State, one of its functions will be to administer justice. Hence the judge.

But can we not have judges elected by the people? Let us see where it leads to. First it must be said that the idea of laws directly made by the people has never been seriously entertained; their drafting must always be left to some more enlightened man (hero, "Vesuvius."). Then besides the judge and the lawmaker (Legislator), other men will be needed to explain such laws, to interpret other ones, to study their connections and leading ideas; law universities with staff of teachers and students, acting like a college of philosophers with a weighted of intellec- tual traditions and their hair-splitting about the letter of the law. But that is nothing compared with the ancillary bodies. In the State there must be the police, the prosecutor, the agent provocateur on the other, the guard, the executioner and all the sequel of turbidity which necessarily accompanies them. Finally, you must suppose some supervising body to keep all that army of functionaries going. You must not forget to provide money for their maintenance and so on. In short, there is not one function of the State which cannot be disposed of if we want to keep the judge—but he elected by the people or not.

But what about the Code? The Code, all codes, represent every intention of a people in a given time, of compromises, of formulated abstractions; the absolutely repugnant to all Socialist ideas of today; survivals of our slavish, patrician, action, slavish in speech, slavish in feeling; so consequently that some of the leading moral ideas may be in accordance with our own; the moment the punishment is decreed for the non-observance of a good action we will have nothing to do with it. A Code is the past stereo-

proof and put across the path of human progress.

Every legal punishment is legalized vengeance made obligatory, and we must ask ourselves what is the use of vengeance? Does it help maintain society? To what end? Does it ever prevent the small minorities of breakers of good custom from doing so? Not. On the contrary, to proclaim the duties of vengeance is simply helping the existence of the moral code which is the seat of filthy perversion thrown into society by the police institution, far more dangerous to society than any acts committed by criminals. Think of the "well-intentioned lies" of magistrates meant to get the truth out of the criminals. Think of all that happens round us and you will understand why Anarchists have no hesitation in declaring that punishment is worse than crime. Everyone studying those questions and going to the bottom will come to the same conclusion, and will try to find some other means of protecting society against the external and internal evil.

Everyone will see that arbitration, arbiters being chosen by the contending parties, will be sufficient, in the very greatest majority of cases to quell arising disputes. Everyone will admit that the policy of non-interference now so greatly favored is a bad habit acquired since the State found it convenient to assume the duty of keeping order. Active intervention of friends, neighbors, par- ents, you would prevent a large proportion of conflicts. Let it be everybody’s duty to as- sist in the work, between well-intentioned people, and to organize not be required at all.

The student cannot help being struck by the fact that for a couple of centuries there has been a parallel development going on: one side legal punishment and vengeance have become slowly, not to say much, torture has been abolished, penalty of death has been limited to fewer cases and in some countries totally abolished; on the other hand anti-social sentiments have been developed, there is a general fear of the police in every day life than in that of our forefathers. Many factors have helped towards softening of punishment is certainly once upon. Should we not consider that a Socialist or Communist society would be inferior in that respect to a capitalistic government.

We can do without judges in society, as well as we can do without thieves in production.

---

So-called Justice is a survence from a past serison based, by the interest of the privileged classes, on the Roman law and on the ideas of living Vengeance.

In the history of society, organization of society under the name of Justice is con- trastious with the State; they imply one another; they were born together, dis- solved together and are doomed to perish together.

Curring from an age of servitude it helps to maintain society in present society; thus its police, prisons and the like, it is an open sore, throwing out a constant stream of pus into society, it is greater evil.

(Continued on next page)

One Dollar a Year.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to Free Society, S. Carroll Ave., Chicago, Ill.


Anarchist—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government control by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty. Century Dictionary.

The publishers are not responsible for any opinions expressed by the contributors.

Chicago, Sunday, January 12, 1902.

Note.

The delay in delivering our last issue was caused by a post-office blunder, which held the entire issue for several days owing to a mistake.

A new pamphlet by Conrad Peter Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," has been published in the Russian language. It was written as an introduction to a series of Russian publications on that subject by the "Russian Free Press Fund," 15 August Rd., Hammersmith, London, W. 11th, England. The Russian translations of "Conquest of Bread," and "Congress Reports," were nearly ready when, Conrade Kropotkin fell seriously ill, and the work has, in consequence, been delayed. Kropotkin expects quite a sale in the United States, and we hope all Russian controversies will order the first pamphlet, the price of which is 10 cents, either from Free Society, or M. Maisel, 170 Henry St., New York.

Current Comment.

Mr. Madden, who, to some extent, is running our Socialist postal system, announces that he has not excluded from the mails any publication on account of its policies, or the ideas advocated by it, and promises that he will not receive any publications that he considers an affront to Socialists everywhere. He hopes that the work will in the future be published under the name of the "Socialist Post Office." Mr. Madden speaks of the work as one of the greatest achievements of the movement.

While I should hesitate to prescribe Cline E. Moore's "Blue Grass" as a remedy for insomnia, it is one of the few books that have been written on the subject which I have been able to read with interest and profit. The author has succeeded in his effort to put into a form that can be understood by the less intelligent reader, the information contained in the works of the great masters of the science.

What to do with the Christians was the problem of the Roman empire in the days of Nero. While the Anarchists are not the question now agitating the wise statesmen of the American republic, in these days of Teddy the Terrible. Does history repeat itself? Look over her pages and see what Rome really did with her handful of despised Christians.

The pulp刊物 have amended themselves to the Herculean task of solving the "Anarchist question," and with the sky black with private war, it is high time for the "Red" to take to the woods, cry "Peacocks," and flee from the wrath to come. It is bad enough, in all conscience, to be clamped by the unsympathetic police, bombarded with pages of popular magazine hogwash, not to mention the direful fate in store for us when congress tackles its island scheme; but all this fades into nothingness in the presence of this threatened flood of pulp eloquence.

The United States seem to have annexed the Philippine Islands very much after the manner of a dog that has annexed a crawfish to its tail. The East Indian archipelago is a lost potato, in the handling of which Uncle Sam has lopped off his fingers, albeit he is rather lontée to admit the fact. Even the Church, which, as an organization, supports the imperialistic policy of the government, are now cool in their condemnation of the Bible declaration that the way of the transgressor is hard.

No doubt justice is a fork-worshiping public would tolerate the Malehmannite of Anarchist conspiracies, with which he has daily with time to stuff his innocent readers, conspiracies that never exist outside of the fictile intellect of some scribbling, half-starved penny-odler of the daily press. According to these reports, the Anarchist-puttan is an innocent jew, who forms his darkest conspiracies so clumsily that they are discovered as soon as planned—himself being the nominal of his cause. The average newspaper reporter lacks the moxie to get his hands open the merly of being a good liar.

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mte. Peter's pennies are millions in the ag-
aggregate. We rejoice that the Police Gazette is
safe from the danger of suppression, because it affords us the unceasing pleasure of gaze-
ging upon legalized beauty unadorned, not to
mention the postures ridiculous assumed by
somebodys going play chess with detailed
particulars in poetry and prose. What a
shame it is that the Irish womanherman is
not as strongly enthranced as the Police Ga-
lette, but Brother Cookston would not dare
try any of his wheeling games on her.
The times work great changes in our society.
Society calls for new interpreters. It is
fancy to think that necessity compels indi-
viduals to lecture Christians on how to lead a
better life. But of course we know that when
a man is in getting $2,000 he is leading a
better life already even though he supple-
theth the digging dago with bread made out of
adulterated flour. In his official capacity
man bow to his superior officer, and
2,000 is his superior officer towards whom a
proper respect is preserved thru and
thin. We are blinded by greed as much as
by zeal. The universal spread of Carnegie
libraries enables us to develop a sort of tele-
pathetic way of thinking and expressing
ideas. Newspapers are the beacon lights of
history. How would the Republicans like
to have the Democrats donate their glasses!
How would they want us to imagine the rain
on the treasury would be led by a differ-
cent. In ann 1840 men dig gold out of
the ground easier than they dig it out of a
burglarproof vaults in ann 1800. One was
muscular horse-like work, while the latter is
purely mental effort. We need to be athletic
financiers to perform the feat. Commer-
cialism puts a terrible strain upon the Holy
Bible. Attention is called to the Decalog:
"Thou shalt not!" should be changed to
"Thou shalt not!" which is briefer and nearer
the truth as she's acted. Men receive a larger
salary for doing "Thou shalt!" than for
"Thou shalt not!" Blessed be the fine art of
dissimulation. It is the key to Heavenly
shades, it filleth our coffers with gold and
the minds of slaves with hate.

GEO. WHITTEER.

A Society Worth Having.

One in which everybody would have
equally easy to eat and to wear.
And good comfortable housing, and time
to get sleep enough.
In which everybody could work at
what nature fitted him for, instead of at things
he does not like.
In which no one would need to ask for
a job, but would be free to use his labor power
at any time.
In which there would be no bosses and no
foremen; only fellow-workers cooperating freely.
In which no aristocracy of labor would
exist, but all necessary service be considered
equally honorable.
In which the school which nobody made
would be equally open to everyone to use.
Which would naturally bring about that
there would be no huddled up cities with
out breathing space or elbow room, and no
great stretches of fertile land with nobody
on them.
In which every invention would be bless-
ing instead of as a curse to most and a

FREEDOM.

In which it would not be considered econ-
omy to waste men and women and children
in order to save things.
Nor to spend nintenths of our lives fig-
turing and calculating, when there are
other things so much better worth doing.
In which there would be time for a worker
to develop all necessary knowledge and above
the mere skill in his trade.
In which there would be a wider notion
of what education should be than pinning
children down; that they be shown the story
when they should be out reinsing the story of the
world in rocks and streams and trees.
In which every one could speak his
mind freely without offense, and listen with-
out prejudice to others speaking theirs.
In which the principle that "governments
derive their just powers from the consent
of the governed" would be carried to its final
conclusion, which is, that each individual
shall govern himself.
In which, consequently, there would be no
necessity for politicians, lawyers, policemen,
or hauntrous, nor almshouses, courts and
prisons.
In which self-regulation would be recog-
nized as the highest morality.
Would you like such a society? The An-
archists believe it is possible, and work to
spread that ideal. All persons willing to co-
operate with us are invited to make them-
selves acquainted with us and let us develop
fraternity of spirit and effort. —Social Science
Journal, Philadelphia.

Individuality of a Socialist.

I cannot let this little experience with one
good step-brother, the Socialists, pass by
without letting them know that their indi-
viduality and independence does not appeal
to an Anarchist as being worthy of eleva-
tion.
As a member of the agitation committee of
Germans debating club, which happens to
contain a few Anarchists among its members, I
was asked to secure speakers of different
views. I invited Mr. Ernest Un-
ternam (who occasionally calls himself pro-
fer, to address a meeting of our club,
and he accepted immediately, as of course
a socialist considers Anarchists intellectually
inferior; taking as his subject "Socialism
as a World Power."
Meanwhile the debate between Commade
A. I. Sosik and A. M. Stottum took place, and
apparently the Socialists did not know
whether they were alive or dead. A few
days later I received a letter from Mr. Un-
ternam, stating that he had consulted the
executive board of the Socialist party, and
thought it impossible to speak before An-
archists.
Now Mr. Utternam, as a professor, must have a
due conception of individual-
ity and independence, which I as a laborer
would not care to waste my time and en-
ergy in striving for, as it is too narrow and
tyrannical.

ALFRED SCHNEIDER.

HERE AND THERE.

The so-called Industrial Commission has
cost the American people about one million
dollars, and is of very little practical val-
ue," as one of the Senators said. But since
care are a necessary evil under government
and the ignorant slave pays the bill will-
ingly.

"Anarchists should have free rein to
preach, to teach, and to publish their doc-
trines," according to the verdict of the judges
in the Illinois College of Law debate, a few
ights ago.

"Anarchism is liberalism," said O. L. Rankin,
who opened the debate for the favoring restriction. "It
is license and freedom. It should not be left to
States, which have so many different laws as there are
States. These laws have a theory that admits of error.
Yet, unless that act is communicated they cannot
be prevented from trading in many of our States.
It can be restrained by national law, and that is the only
way.

"Anarchism is not what popular conception
supposes it to be," said Garrett D. Allen, who was against
restric tion. "It looks toward an ideal state. It had its
real home with the Utopians, and is as necessary to the
world as anti-aristocratic force."

Authority has nothing more than in-
dependent thinking and disobedience. In
France the government has become alarmed because of the young people in
military service; and in Belgium the Social
Democracy are also "alarmed," because the
influence of Anarchist literature is beginning to
relax the strict "discipline" in the party.

The Anarchists have now four periodicals in
their propaganda in Belgium: La Bataille,
in Namur; Le Revue des Travailleurs, in
Luttrich; Outworking, in Antwerp; and L'E-
municipale, in Brussels. The last ap-
pears tri-weekly.

Even in Germany discipline seems to be on
the decline. About a year ago a new
movement, the German Federation of Revo-
lutionary Workers, was called into life, which
has now 15,000 members.

Prof. Herve, professor of history in Paris,
France, "has been dismissed from his posi-
tion for advocating ideas opposed to mil-
itarism."

Forty-nine Anarchists were arrested in
Spain in one day last week, yet "law and
order" has not been restored. Farmers
flock to the cities to aid the workers in their
struggle for better conditions, and trouble
seems to be spreading. The Spanish govern-
ment will, of course, protect the weak, as usual—that
is, the non-working class.

Organized Vengeance Called "Justice."

(Continued from second page)

than the one it is supposed to fight against.
Any society founded on better economies
than ours will certainly come also to the
conclusion that it is wise to keep any
punitive institution.

The way of doing without will be found
in voluntary arbitration, in larger effectual solidarity, in the powerful educa-
tive means which a society will have that
does not leave to the policeman the care of her
public morality. —Peter Kropotkin.

The inhabitants of the Danish West Indies
vigorously protest against being sold to
the United States claiming that they have no
"claiming for American liberty" as ex-
hibited in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philip-
ines and other lands, and the same people prefer
the "protection" of a monarchy rather than that of the "free republic," as sub-
ject for reflection for the American patriots.
What Would Roosevelt Do With Emerson?

On Sunday, we had much discourse on a very rainy day. My friends asked what there was about the American idea—any theory of the right future of that country? Thus challenged, I bethought myself neither of emirates nor congress, neither of presidents nor of political movements, nor of such as would make of America another Europe. I thought only of the simplest and purest minds; I said, "Certainly yes; but those who hold it as the fanatics of a dream which I should hardly care to relate to your English ears, to which it might be only ridiculous—and yet it is the only true." So I opened the dogma of non-government and non-resistance, and petted the objections and the lie, and procured a kind of hearing for it. I said, it is true that I have never seen in any country a man of sufficient value to stand for this truth, and yet it is plain to me, that no less value than this can command my respect. I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar, musket-worship—the great men must be musket-worshippers—and this certain as God liveth, they must need another, for the law of love and justice alone, can effect a clean revolution—"English Truths," Chapter XVI.

Is not the State a question? All society is considered in opinion on the subject of the State. Nobody loves it; great numbers dislike it, and suffer consequences to escape from it; and the only defense set up, is the theory of self-government, Congress is the democratic party—"Representative Men," Montaigne.

Every actual State is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well. What satire on government can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word "politico," which now for ages has signified cunning, intimating that the State is a trick. This undertaking for another is the thunder which stands in colossal effect in the government of the world. It is the same thing, in numbers as in a pair, only not quite so intelligible. I can see well enough a great difference between my setting myself down to a self-control, and my going to make some better piece of staying. It is more than likely, that a large portion of the human race assume to tell me what I must do, I may be too much disturbed by the circumstance to see clearly the absurdity of their command. Therefore, all public ends look vague and quixotic beside private ones. For any laws but those which men make for themselves are bugbear. This is the history of governments—men cannot do anything which is to bind another. A man who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that, that cultural end, not as it was my own, but not as I would. Behold the consequence. Of all debts, men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they trust and command their money's worth except for these. We think our citizenship nears its meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star. In our barbarous society, character is largely a vanity. As a political power, as the rightful lord who is to tumble all rulers from their thrones, their presence is hardly yet suspected. The tendency of the times favors the idea of self-government, and lessons the individual to the rewards and penalties of his own constitution, which work with more energy than we believe, while we depend on artificial restraints. We must not imagine that all things are attempts to make him pass into Congress. Every tender protestant be not compelled to bear his part in such certain social conventions; nor doubt that roads can be built, letters carried and the results of labor and art, can be transferred; government is a force at an end. Arecon methods now so excellent that all competition is hopeless? Could not a nation of friends even devise better ways? On the other hand, let not the conservative and timid fear anything from a premature surrender of the bayonet, and the system of force. For according to the order of nature, which is quite superior to any artificial system of changeth all always be a government of force where men are selfish; and when they are pure enough to abjure the code of force, they will be wise enough to see love these public ones. Out of the highway, of commerce, and the exchange of property, of museums and libraries, of institutions of art and science, can be answered.

We live in a very close state of the world, and pay unwilling tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most religions and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations, a reliance on the moral law, as is evident in the truth of things, to persuade them that society can be maintained with out artificial restraints, as well as the solar system; or that the private citizen might not be considered; nor, in any sense, the word, out the limit of a jail or a combination. What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of reductio to inspire him with confidence in the broad design of reversing the State on the principle of right and love. All those who have pretended this design have been partial reformers, and have admitted in some manner the supremacy of the State. I do not call the seat of a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws, on the simple ground of his own moral nature. Such designs, full of genius and full of fate as they are, are not entertained except avowedly as air-pictures. If the individual who exhibits them dares to think them practicable, he disgusted scholars and enrichedmen; and men of talent, and women of superior sentiment, cannot hide their contempt. Not the less does nature continue to fill the heart of youth with sensations of this enthusiasm; and there are now men—indeed I have hitherto dismissed numbers, I have just been conversing with one man, to whom no weight of adverse experience will make it for one moment appear impossible that government is a thing might be executed toward each other the grandest and simplest sentiments, as well as a knot of friends, or a pair of lovers. —Essay "Politics."

The world is wrangling to the idea of union. All society is exhausted. Man will live and communicate and love, and rep, and govern, as by added electrical power, when once they are united. But this union must be inward and not one of the consequences, and is to be reached by the remorse of the methods they use. The union is only perfect when all the units are isolated. It is the union of friends who live in different streets or towns. Each man, if he attempts to join himself to others, in so many sides cramped and diminished of his proportion; and the trier the smaller and more pitiful he is. But leave him alone to recognize in every house, in every street, in every town there will go up and down doing the works of a true member, and to the astonishment of all, the world will be done with concert, the no man spoke. Governing will be done under the influence of no great law. The union must be ideal in actual individualism.—"New England Reformers."

Emerson's Americanism in American, not as an importer article; it is absolutely thorough, modern, and up-to-date; he has no system to impose on any one except on himself: all reform starts with the reform of the individual by himself in the absolute. He knows the only source for the growth of character: from character will follow order, method and peace: from force government only disorder and confusion everywhere follow.

Of freedom he said: "Its institutions should be as flexible as the wants of men." Again: "Why cannot some little community of men leave others to see and control themselves to be?" Roosevelt, in his message, mixes up Americanism (which is the basic social thought of the great Americans, Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman,) with assertions of the popular nature of his views. If he knows only that the whole of the section of his message in which it is referred to is a deliberate and medallious misrepresentation. If he does not know what Americanism means he has no business to make any elaborate statements about it until he has learned. A few years back, when Roosevelt was a candidate for the governorship of the State of New York, a well-known editor wrote me the following article by speeches and such like electrification work. In his campaign talks Roosevelt used to refer to "my Anarchist friend," Now that he has got there and has no need of further help (except the much prestige as he can get by playing to the gallery) he can write such a deliberate misrepresentation as was contained in his message, and declare that the Anarchist is a subverter and nothing else.

What would Roosevelt do with the "male-factors," Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman: what would he do with his "Anarchist friend"? Roosevelt himself has shown that he cannot coexist with Anarchists, "directly and perfectly," when it suits his purpose. What would Roosevelt do with Roosevelt—deport him or punish him by act of congress, or how? Is he anything but a "malefactor" on his own showing? Well may Walt Whitman talk about the "never-ending authority of elected persons!" C. G. C.
More on the Enemy.

Since the crisis of September, I have repeatedly had the pleasure of pointing out that the bourgeois papers are at last awake to the danger which they have, for twenty-nine years, threatened their liberties—threatened them by the high-handed postal legislation of congress and by all the monarchical acts of the department. The bourgeoisie are in a state of excitement, and resistance to any more inebriating statutes appears entirely feasible, and is an object worthy the serious consideration of all anarchists. By far the most important indication of this is furnished by General C. H. Howard, a Chicago publisher, in the Arena, December 1. He gives the history of the fracture awakening to those abuses associated with the telegraph monopoly of Comstock. As early as 1868, it was remarked that the pettiest post-office employee could stop an edition of a paper until the department at Washington was heard from. This sort of "holding" process, General Howard remarks, is a frequent occurrence, and that the American journals, which collectively, could make and unmake a dozen better presidents than Tilden, have since been subject to the same torment from their own government. They may not be identifiable with the business. Their standpoint, as a class, is one of the most straightforward in the world. They make their resistance to any measure that is dangerous to their interests, and they do not care what time it takes for the department to act. They simply demand that it act. They may not be identifiable with the business. Their standpoint, as a class, is one of the most straightforward in the world. They make their resistance to any measure that is dangerous to their interests, and they do not care what time it takes for the department to act. They simply demand that it act.
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