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THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

A Discussion of the Recent Outrageous Utterances and Actions of the Anarchists.

SOME RESTRICTION NECESSARY

To Strengthen the Foundations and Insure the Perpetuation of the Republic-Old and New Candidates.

H. C. Adams, in the Forum.

"In regard to liberty of writing and speech," says Jeremy Bentham,"I would place matters on exactly the same footing as that in which they are in the Anglo American United States." The practice thus heartily indorsed consists in perfect freedom of utterance. By the first amendment to the federal constitution congress is forbidden to encroach upon this fundamental right of personal liberty, and the policy which finds such expression in the organic law of the central government may be accepted as properly portraying the practice in the several states. As is well known, the early federalists endeavored to introduce unusual punishments for the offense of criticising either the policy of the government or the conduct of officials, and the "sedition law," as it was termed, passed during the administration of John Adams, met with the approval of the court. But the reception of this law by the people emphatically declared that they believed in no sort of censorship, for the indignation which it aroused could not be allayed except by the humiliating defeat of the party that passed it. So far as I am aware, there has been no subsequent attempt on the part of civil authority to control the expression of opinion, or to limit the sphere of critieism upon the government or upon the existing order of society. It is true that during the late war certain papers which advocated the cuase of rebellion were suppressed in districts where martial law had not been declared; but such acts were defended as war measures, and proceeded from the military authority. It may then be said without reserve that the American people have, thus far in their history, acted upon the belief that individual freedom, exercised under conditions of strict responsibility, is sufficient guarantee for that personal security the enjoyment of which is the best test of a just society.

Have we now, after a hundred years' experiment, come to a point in our development as a nation when this policy must be reversed? It seems unnecessary to remark that the occasion for undertaking such an inquiry is the disclosures that have been made in Chicago concerning anarchist organizations, and the perpetration of the crime, altogether unual in the United States, of using infamous weapons to strike terror into the minds of a peaceful community. We can no longer treat with amused indifference We can the threats of those who propose to establish a new heaven upon this old earth by means of indiscriminate murder. How then shall we treat them? The necessity of answering this question brings again into review the theory of personal liberty which secures to every man the right to express his opinions. Was this theory rational when established; and, if so, have new forces of any sort been introduced into our modern life which should lead us to modify the

old defense of freedom of speech? Although Bentham's praise of the policy adopted in this country is fully merited, it should not be forgotten that the principles of personal liberty enjoyed by the American people were received by them from England herself. The eloquent argument of Milton against public cen-sorship may be said to have determined

settle more firmly what is true. But of these agitators than the establishment language which goes beyond discussion of some method of procedure, or the neites to civil crimes comes to be an offense accessory to the crime, and so far as moral right is concerned may be prohibited, in order to prevent the crime to which it leads. The reasoning upon hich such a conclusion rests is the same is that which allows the law to prohibit as such he carrying of concealed weapons.

There is but one conceivable condition n which the warfare of terrorism may be defended by the moral code of liberty and that is when the organic law of th country fails to provide for peaceful revolution. But this is not the case in the United States. Here the will of the people when legally expressed becomes the supreme law of the land, and, when a set of desperate men endeavor to cowardly compliance with their wishes, tey act in a manner for which no theory of liberty makes provision. They place themselves outside the law by refusing to carry on their agitation according to the law; and the law is not to be blamed if it accepts the sentence which such men pronounce against themselves and treats them as outlaws. And I cannot forbear saying n this connection that the laboring men are of all citizens the most interested in maintaining this distinction. The solu-tion of the labor problem lies in a further development of certain proprietary rights which shall be to the advantage of workmen; but should these rights be developed, they must rest for heir enforcement upon the same form of legal procedure with which we are now familiar. It would be suicidal for working men to adopt the methods of anarchists, for in so doing they would destroy the only means of defending such

rights as they may acquire. Giving, then, a definite answer to the question first asked, we may say: Free discussion is essential to a society that seeks the enjoyment of the liberty and consequently finds support in sound reason; but the doctrine of free discussion does not contemplate such license to press and speech as will endanger the peace and tranquility of the community But have any new forces been introduced into our modern society that call for a modification of the rule of liberty? It is natural that the factors that make up society should change, and that principles should present themselves to eeding generations in slightly modified ights. Milton did not write for a people of mixed education, nor did Mill con-template a rapid increase of the foreign lement. It is a significant fact that he anarchists now lying under arrest in hicago, not one is a native American. It has been assumed that the United States, with her boundless opportunities for industrial development, could easily absorb all immigrants and instruct them in the ways of free institutions. For the most part this expectation has been met, but of late certain Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians (many of whom, it must be said, were imported by labor-contract-ors), as well as some Germans who left their country for their country's good, have proven to be a hard meal to digest. They congregate in sections of our crowded cities or work together in mines; they are slow to learn the English language, and easily fall the prey of designing men. A speech which all Americans would laugh at rouses them to frenzy, and because the arm of the government is not ever visible they are quick to presume that nothing stands between them and lawless intimidation. The invention of dynamite also changes somewhat the argument for freedom speech. The significance of dynamite as a means of enforcing convictions consists in this, that it may be employed with less danger of discovery than a Winchester rifle or a dirk; and the power of destruction which it places in he hands of a single man far exceeds the just weight of that man's opinion in shap-ing public sentiment. These are facts which lead us to be a little more severe in guarding public discussion than might

otherwise be necessary. But the most important question yet remains. Assuming that an archist not look toward the adoption of police

of some method of procedure, or the adoption of a policy of police super-vision, which might give color to the claim that the offenses committed by their followers are political offenses. Th truth is, that anarchist rioters are

nary criminals and should be dealt with The theory of criminal procedure is not difficult to understand. It starts with the assumption that every man who knows the law is free to obey it or not as suits him best, but to this liberty there is attached full responsibility for all acts which affect in any way other members of society. That is to say, every man is permitted to do as he pleases on con-dition of receiving the approval or cen-sure of the law. Tais arrangement is sure of the law. Tais arrangement is regarded by English jurists as the most practicable method of preventing wrongs, for if men can only be brought to act under a keen sense of personal responsibility it is believed they. deavor to keep within their clear legal rights. It thus appears that personal liberty and personal responsibility are the counter forces which hold the units

of our nebulous society in their proper spheres. It is, however, by no means easy to apply this theory. The perfection of its working depends upon the certainty and swiftness with which justice is executed But it is not always possible in case of incendiary publications or of speeches followed by riot for the law to lay its hand on the real principal in the offense. It is the action of mind on mind that must be traced, and the difficulty of ap-plying the rule of responsibility arises from the fact that such action leaves be-hind itself no visible evidence. Still it lies in the purpose of the law to over come the difficulty thus suggested, and to that end three steps are recognized in the perpetration of a crime; the intent the plan, and the execution of the plan For offenses such as we are now consider ing, the basis of intent is the opinions which anarchists entertain. But our law does not undertake to question individual opinions; for not only would such ques-tioning be useless as leading to no practical measure for granting protection to society, but it would encroach upon that somewhat vaguely defined territory in which a man is bound to recognize no responsibility except to himself. On the other hand, it is impossible for men of same mind to escape responsibility for overt acts. But the wrong committed by those who propagate the doctrines of anarchy lies between these two extremes. It pertains to the crystallization of opinion and to the formation of plans. here are, however, two ways in which the law may make its appearance on this debatable ground between intent and act. If several persons "combine to carry into effect a purpose hurtful to some individual, or to particular classes of the community, or to the public at large," they are individually subject to

indictment as members of a conspiracy. Or suppose some offense to be committed in the course of a riot; provided only a jury may be convinced upon reasonable evidence that the perpetrator of the rime was at the time acting under the influence, or at the instigation of another man, although the individual who commits the deed is held to answer for his act, the principal in the offense is not permitted to escape. The indictment in permitted to escape. The indictment in such case would hold the conspirators or instigators as "accessories to the crime prior to the fact," and the punishment allowed would vary with the degree of responsibility, One feels a natural disinclination to

recognize that his investigation leads only to negative results, but in the present in stance it seems necessary to rest satisfied with such a conclusion. I cannot think with such a conclusion. I cannot think that the events which have lately oc curred show that the doctrine of fre speech, which properly understood is the doctrine of responsible speech, exposes society to unnecessary dangers, or that established criminal procedure is unable to cope with such dangers as exist. At least there is no modification of the system with which we are familiar that does

The Romance of the Pathfinder in Love, in War, in Politics and in Business.

ROBUST HISTORIC FIGURE.

A Pathfinder in Extension of Empire as Well as in Politics.

Philadelphia Times: The announce ment that General John C. Fremont is engaged upon his antobiography, with the assistance of his accomplished wife, reminds their countrymen that even this noted couple have grown old. General Fremont is in his seventy-fourth year. His wife is twelve years his junior, although she was little more than half nis age at the time of their marriage. Both show the marks of time in whitened hair. but the general is still lithe and wiry as of old, and Mrs. Fremont is a plump and well-preserved matron, almost as vivacious as when as a girl of lifteon sae captivated the young soldier-scholar who dared to steal away the daughter of "Old Bullion." Colonel Benton is one of the few robust figures that stand out boldly in American legislative history. From 1820 to 1850 he sat in the United States senate, where he was the peer in argument, if not in oratory, of the brilliant leaders of a brilliant era. It grieved the sturdy western statesman sorely that his daughter should run away with and wed a young teacher of mathematics and surveyor, who had only two years before been appointed a second licutenant of topographical engineers. That event oc curred forty-live years ago, but Jessie Benton Fremont's enthusiasm for her husband has never abated, and now she is determined that he shall have a memoriat of his career not less enduring than the "Thirty Years' View" proved for her father's fame. The work is now passing through the press and will be ready for the public in September, when it will appear in two large octavo volumes. romantic record it must prove, for whether engaged in exploration, brought forward as a leader in polities, invested with command in war, or vainly striving It was a fatality with General Fremont to succeed in business, General Fremont's to be tried by hostile courts and con-victed. After the close of the war for the career was a romantic one that has interest alike in its failures and its successes.

union General Fremont undertook to build the Memphis & El Paso railroad It often happens, as in General Fre-mont's case, that it is the romance of a under a grant from the state of Texas, and bonds based on the Texas, and bonds based on the Texas land grant were sold by his agents in Paris. These bonds were represented by the French brokers as guaranteed by the United States. This was a mistake of his agents, life that lifts a career ordinary enough in itself out of the regions of commonplace. From the moment that young Fremont stole away old Benton's daughter he was set apart as a hero by h's admiring countrymen. Other men might have sought and found an overland route to the Pafor which Fremont was in no way responsible, but rival railroad interests reprecific, even at the time the far west was sented the matter in its worst light, and the subject was investigated by the Pa-cific railroad committee of the senate and still a mysterious wonderland, without achieving any marked distinction, but considered by that body in the summer of Fremont almost at the outset of his explorations and conquests received from 1870. Fremont's connections with the his countrymen the significant title of transactions in France were fully justified by the action of the senate. Senators Summer, Trumbull, Cameron and Nye "The Pathfinder." The name was an in spiration and the events of a long life have justified it. "He has been the path-finder always, buflike most of those who ook an active part in his defense. ceedings were nevertheless begun in the go before he left the fruits of his leaderrench courts during his absence from ship to be gathered by others. He led the way to the Pacific over the peaks and France and without any notice to him. In 1873 he was accused of fraud in conthrough the canyons of the Rocky mounnection with the sale of the bonds in tains, but while to him was granted the glory of heing "the pathtinder." others Paris, tried as in contumation, because o his absence, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. As before, while it was his fatality to be convicted, it was his can c in for the more substantial rewards of the conquest of California, the discovgood fortune to escape punishment, his presence in France being necessary to ery of gold on the upper fork of the Sacramento and the founding of new states on the slopes of the Slerras. It is to Fregive effect to the sentence of the court. mont most of all that we owe the acqui-sition of California. His only reward It is said General Fremont hopes, with was to be made United States senator from the new state, but, drawing the short term, he sat in that august body he money derived from the sale of his book, to be able to prosecute his claim against the government for the property known as Black Point, which it has occuabout half as many days as his distin-guished father-in-iaw had been years in pied for military purposes since the days of the Argonauts. The general has long

GEN. FREMONT'S MEMOIRS. successful army disappointed for the heartened to rust in inactivity or rein-force the commands of his military ri-In vals. his autobiography it is to be expected that General Fremont will tell the whole story of his Missouri campaign.

The life story of a pathfinder must be one of exposure, of hardships and toil, and all these go to make up General Fre-mont's romance. When, as a youngster of twenty seven, he was courting Jessie Benton, just blooming into womanhood, he was suddenly hurried away to make a survey of the Des Moines river. Proba-bly Colonel Benton had a hand in the order. Fremont obeyed, of course the survey was rapidly executed. It was on his return that the lovers were secrety married. With them it was not to be love in a cottage, however, for it was in the summer of 1842 that he explored the the summer of 1842 that he explored in Wind River mountains, making a report to congress that attracted much attention. The young wife was delighted and even the stern father was mollified. In 1843 Fremont began a still more ambitions undertaking, exploring the Great Salt Lake valley and pushing as far north as Fort Vancouver, near the mouth of the Columbia river. On his attempting to return he encountered snows that threatened the destruction of his entire party. Between him and California lay range of mountains which, the Indians leclared, no man could cross in winter, but he undertook the passage without a guide and reached Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento, early in March, 1844. Having returned, after an absence of fourteen months, he made his reports, and in the spring of 1845 started on his third expedition. It was on this occasion that he came in conflict with the Mexican authorities. The next year, 1846, he was directed to watch the interests of the United States in California, fears being entertained that the province might be transferred to Great Britain. On the 4th of July of that year he was elected governor of California by the American set tlers. In the conquest of that province he co-operated with Commodore Stock ton, and during the conflict of authority between Stockton and General Kearney ie refused to obey Kearney's orders, fo which he was tried by court martial at Washington in 1848, found guilty of muany, among other offenses, and sentenced o be dismissed from the service. President Polk refused to confirm the verdict convicting him of mutiny, and remitted the penalty as to the rest of the offenses.

SHORT ANIMAL STORIES. From the Phoenixville Star: Engineer

Jacob Hoopes and some of the employes of the P. S. V. R. R. went to Frazer on Sunday for a load of stock, and on their return they noticed a large chicken hawk sailing away with a pigeon in its talons. Just then the engineer gave a loud blast of the whistle of the engine for a road crossing, which evidently scared the hawk, as it let loose from its prey and the igeon sailed away in one direction and the tawk in another.

A stage driver and two tourists, while near Yellowstone lake, claim to have en an enormous reptile which, while running through the grass, carried its head ten to fifteen feet above ground. They think it must have been at least thirty feet long. A party was organized to pursue the reptile. Col. Wear, superintendent of the park, and his assistant, Captain Barronette, while near the cave of an extinct geyser in the vicinity of the lake, heard a hissing and saw the head of the reptile thrust out some fifteen feet and immediately withdrawn. Parties are watching for another sight of the

monster. Myriads of small frogs were deposited in various parts of California last week during a severe rain storm.

Two horned toads were received at the Minneapolis postoflice. They were in a paper box and were on their way to Fairbault, Minn. As live animals are classed with unmailable matter, the package was withdrawn from the mails. Murphysboro dispatch to the St Louis

Globe-Democrat: The Big Muday river is at a very low stage now, and fish are confined to deep holes, being unable to pass the shallow places. Either low water or its being the spawning season has made the fish sluggish. A few days ago two young sons of Mr. Reynolds were swimming, when Marshall Reynolds, who is about 12 years old and weighs about thirty-five pounds, felt a large fish strike him. He jumped on its back and held on while the fish carried him thirty-five or forty yards. The boys then called for assistance, and the fish was secured with a gig. It was a catfish weighing fifty-one pounds, and was brought to Murphysboro and sold

West Chester Local News: We have heard of hawks eating chickens, but we do not remember having heard before of a chicken eating a hawk. The story comes to us in the following shape: Evan Atkins, West Brandywine township, found a hawk's nest and brought one of Atkins, West Brandywine \$1.00 the young hawks home. After exhibiting it to his family and neighbors he killed the bird, which was not yet fledged, and threw it out. Shortly afterward found one of his chickens chocking, and going to its relief was surprised to find \$3.50 that it had been trying to swallow one leg of the hawk. The thigh and lower par of the limb had passed into the gullet of the chicken, but the sharp claw had cut through the ambitious young rooster's gills. He succeeded in relieving the chicken and drawing the leg of the hawk from its mouth, otherwise the chicken would have soon died. Once relieved it \$3.00 was all right again in a few minutes. Representative Hiseock has a family

of cats domesticated under his hotel window at Washington, and much enjoys watching the mother drive away the stray dogs that now and then intrude. A large Newfoundland dog belonging to ex-Alderman Love, of Port Huron, Mich., saw one of its owner's children fall into the water. The dog sprang after it and rescued it from drowning.

Pro

A young woman of Potstown, the other day, found a cent of the date of \$2.0 1881 in the yolk of a hen's egg that she had broken for cooking purposes. Th date of the egg was not given

A two-foot alligator and two big artifi-cial swans are in a fountain basin in Macon, Ga. The other day it was noticed \$1.50 that the alligator was not to be seen and that one of the swans seemed to be an-chored close to the fountain. Investiga-\$1.00 tion showed that some boys had tied the alligator to the swan to see him drag it around the basin, and that the 'gator had

other snake, of a dull lead color, in th West Indies, that does the same way

A snake measuring seven and a half feet in length and nine inches in circum-ference was recently killed in Monroe West Virginia, by a nine-year unty, old garl.

Orange City (Fla.) Times: While Judge A. M. Bailey and Captain Frank P. Crain-A. M. Bailey and Captain Frank P. Crain were returning Thursday evening from DeLand, they came upon, about two miles north of Orange City, two immense snakes in the road in deadly combat. They had their teeth buried into each other's necks, and were apparently in the last agonies of death. Both snakes were willed and there and a sattler and a killed. and proved to be a rattler and a high-land moccasin, the former six and the latter seven feet in length.

Franklin Repository: In answer to a correspondent who asks: "Will you in-form me if there is a snake called a hoop snake? If there is such, what is its man-ner of locomotion after it has assumed the shape of a hoop? How does it manage to propel itself forward, supposing the snake to be on level ground?" The Philadelphia News' scientific editor says there is no such thing. If the aforesaid scientist should attempt to make Franklin county people believe that he would soon get weary. He is right, however. There is no such reptile known to students of natural history.

Atlanta Constitution: Dr. J. W. Bradlev killed a rattlesnake last Wednesday afternoon that measured eight inches around and four feet long. He had eight rattles. The doctor said he had to fight a long battle before he could conquer his snakeship. He says that he saw another track across the road that would measure at the very least seven inches. This was some time ago.

Hagerstown (Md.) Globe: A moun-aineer, who was in town selling whortleperries, said that, taking into account the risk he and others ran in picking the berries, he should have \$1 per quart. The risk will be better understood when it is learned that he has already killed eighteen copperheads and three rattlesnakes. And for this he had trouble to get six cents a quart for his berries.

> Wage Scale of Civilization. Philadelphia Press

- When the daily wage thernometer gets up here it must either overflow into private isiness or co-operation.

Feels pleasant. Owns his place in the suburbs, free and clear. Takes several papers and monthly magazines. Has shorter hours and talks of gong into business for himself

 Owns his little place, but trying to lift the mortgage, with good prospects. Is happy, and sometimes contented. Has his little office and library, and tries to have his boys go to college. Is generally liked. Comfort.

Is independent and imbued with American ideas. Has a small library, and wants his children to have a good education. Takes the newspaper regularly and believes in geting a home of his own.

\$2.50

50e

Not afraid to get married. Sends children to school. Buys a newspaper pretty often. Fairly well posted and has one or two books. Poor, but honest and hard-working, and makes a gallant light for his family.

A bite and a sup and a place to lay the head. Generally lots of children.

Contractors' wages. Living in gangs. No homes.

Misery and vice. Pauper

English thought respecting freedom of utterance, and it is a cutting from this plant, of liberty removed to the virgin soil of the new world which has grown into that freedom which we now enjoy In Mr. Mill's "Essay on Liberty," met with hearty approval from American readers, we find the thoughts writ by the old Puritan expanded and reduced to argumentative form; in this essay, therefore, may we expect to find the most per-fect expression of the theory of free

speech. The considerations by which Mr. Mill urges that government should interfere as little as possible with public discussion are the following:-1. By interfering to suppress opinions or experiments in living you may resist truths and improve-ments in a greater or less degree. 2. Constant discussion is the only certain means of preserving the freshness of truth in men's minds and the vitality o its influence upon their conduct and motives. 3. Individuality is one of the most valuable elements of well-being, and you can only be sure of making the most of individuality if you have an atmosphere of freedom, encouraging development and expansion. 4 Habitual resort to repressive means of influencing conduct tends more than anything else to discredit and frustrate the better means, such as education, good able

example, and the like. The readiness with which we admit these propositions shows that they form a part of our inheritance of thought; and yet we demur when the principles pro-pounded by Milton, Erskine, Bentham and Mill are urged to shield the utter-ances of anarchists, whose avowed purpose is the destruction of that personal security now guaranteed to every citizen by a carefully developed system of constitutional law. Listen, for example, to the following, which is said to come from the pen of a respectable citizen of Toledo,

Ohio: "The capitalists' golden bags and the bon d holders have denied us all rights. They would make us slaves. Our only hope is in earnest, organized action. Burn, kill, and destroy buill we force the autocrats to terms, We have lost hope in God, hope in humanity. and hope in the world at large. Let every man do his duty. This is a time when the working man will either become a slave or a master. Choose between the two, and choose at once. Let us give no quarter and ask none; only let us stand by each other, and each man at his post. If we must die, let us die like men and hot slaves." Would the denial of the right to use

Would the denial of the right to use such language tend to "resist truths?" Does discussion of this sort preserve the "freshness of truth in men's minds?" Does it savor of the "atmosphere of freedom freedom," or would its suppression "frustrate the influence of good example?" It seems evident that the argu-ment of Mr. Mill is addressed to a different sort of expression from that which is disclosed in the quotation thus casually selected. He refers to discussion, and to such exhortation as may properly follow impassioned discussion; he would not lend the authority of his name to the free use of language which becomes the first step in crime. So far as the expression of opinion is concerned, I see no reason why the theory of free discussion is not as fully applicable to the anarchists to-day as to those who dissented from the day as to those who dissented from the established order of society at any time in the past; but having made this con-cession, it seems that the full require-ments of the doctrine of liberty have been complied with. The right of self-protection is as essential a part of the doctrine of liberty as the right of self assertion. It is not the accompany that assertion. It is not the argument in the above quotation which would give the law of a free people just cause of action who wrote it. Discussion respecting the nature of property or the equity of modern methods of distribution deavor to define a new crime. Nothing would play more directly into the hands cannot fail to disclose more clearly and

pinions, when expressed in such a manner as to incite naturally to crime. can claim no protection from the doc-trine of liberty, would it be wise for the police authorities to enter upon a policy of repression?

There are two reasons why such a proposal cannot meet with hearty approval The racticability of a measure cannot be fully determined by the immediate re sults that may be expected from it, but ts probable remote effects must likewise be taken into the account. It cannot be denied that public opinion fails to distinguish clearly between the ends for which working men are striving, which n themselves are perfectly legitimate, and may be attained in a legitimate manner, and the purposes of those men whose theory of agitation implies the destruction of the law which guards personal security. And there is great danger that a policy of public surveill-ance established over the latter would be gradually extended in the former, and so ultimately result in the curtailment of such agitation as lies wholly within the boundaries of liberty. This may be a remote contingency, but it suggests a thought worth considering. But, in the second place, there is danger that a policy of repression would strengthen the hands of the anarchists themselves. It is because the poor have a just complaint against the existing order of society that men who talk murder and riot are to gather a tolerant audience; but should the police authorities undertake to suppress the speakers, there is reason to fear that this bare tolerance warm into genuine sympathy. As .Lord Bacon truly remarks: "The punishing Bacon truly remarks: "The punishing of wits enhances their authority, and r forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them that seek to tread it out." Laborers as a class do not perceive any more clearly than the public in general the necessary antagonism between interests and the methods by which they may be the best served, and the purposes and methods of anarchists. But being conscious of bearing unusual burdens, and having perhaps grown morbid under this sense of wrong, they stand ready to join hands with all who cry out that the power of the state is turned against them. In my opinion an uenc industrial revolution must be accom-

plished before we may hope for plenty with peace, but the fate of Christian society depends upon the manner which it shall be accomplished. greater misfortune could befall our civilization than the union of all the discontented classes under anarchist sentiments; and our safety against such a calamity lies in holding clearly before the minds of men the fact that the law itself provides for peaceful revolution, and that a reign of terror is not only unnecessary but would be disastrous to the establishment of a new order of industrial society. The chief objection, fore, to the adoption of unusual methods in dealing with the comparatively small number of anarchists that exist is, that such methods would tend to obscure the real point at issue in the great contro versy now engaging public attention It is never wise to sit for any considerable length of time on the safety valve. consider I would not, however, leave the in pression that the law should der deal iniently with anarchists, as though their opiuions were their misfortune, or the casualties which follow their speeches an accident. Whether sane or reason, when men mix dynamite with the pyrotechnics of their oratory, society has the right to take measures for self-pro-tection. But this protection, as it appears to me, may be the best secured by a rigorous enforcement of the laws now upon our statute books, rather than by the enactment of new laws that shall enby

urveillance as practiced in continental Europe. To say nothing of its influence on character, it is quite doubtful if Americans would submit to the petty

annoyances necessary for rendering police surveillance effective. A much nore pertinent suggestian is made by Jeremy Bentham. In his "Principles of Penai Law" there are mentioned twelve 'indirect means of preventing the will to commit offenses." the most important of them being "to diminish the uncertainty of procedure and punishments." This proposition exposes the weakness of criminal practice in the United States The efficiency of our penal system, and n consequence the security of all lawabiding citizens, depend upon creating in the breast of every man a keen sens of personal responsibility for all his acts; and this can only be done in case each in fraction of the law is followed by sure punishment. If, however, justice frequently miscarries, men come to re gard a criminal court as a sort of lottery in which they may reasonably take their With what reason may we exchances. pect that a law against bribery should keep public officials in the course of honesty, when the fact is, that until the present year, the criminal proceedings of he state of New York never recorded a conviction for bribery. But the offense of anarchists, which

consists in spreading terror in a peaceful community, is one with which our court ave seldom been called upon to And though the law itself is perfectly clear, it may be doubted if they who commit the offense are fully aware of the degree of their responsibility. Most of them come from countries where police surveillance is rigorously enforced, and t is not surprising that they fail to un derstand the Anglo-American doctrine of freedom or speech. It is the duty of the prosecuting attorney to teach them this doctrine; and this he can do provided only the court will give him a tair chance to trace such crimes as are perpetrated to the men who are in reality responsible for them. Our system of liberties is endangered by the freedom granted to press of speech, but by the prevalent practice of criminal courts which so frepress of quently defeats justice, and in conse weakens the sense of personal reponsibility. I have sometimes though might be well to allow indictment against certain criminal lawers as "ac cessories to crime after the fact."

He Didn't Blame Them Merchant Traveller: The new baby

had proved itself the possessor of extraordinary vocal powers, and had exer-ensed them much to Johnny's annoyance. One day he said to his mother: "Ma, little brother came from heaven didn't he?" "Yes, dear."

Johnny was silent for some time, and then he went on:

"Say, ma." "What is it, Johnny?" "I don't blame the angels for bouncing him, do you?"

What a Wife Should Know,

Cleveland Plaindealer: 1 think that wife's opinion should always be consulted by her husband on important matters. She should know all the ins and outs of his business, if he makes or if he loses thereby gauging her own and household expenditures. If this were more the case there would be less disagreements in families and fewer divorces. Let them begin right begin right. A good wife can govern a husband in almost everything if she has tact and knows how to go about it with-out his knowledge. I have a husband, and know this is the true secret of our nover having a disagreement. The wife should have an allowance each week or month, and all over and above house expenses should be hers in every sense of word.

of his achievements resulted from his ascent of the highest peak of the Wind River mountains in 1842, which was named in his honor, "Fremont's peak."

the senate. A more enduring monument

Active as Fremoat's life had been and great as were his services, his nomination for the presidency in 1856 by the newly formed republican party, was something of a surprise. But that nomination was in keeping with his destiny. He was to be the pathfinder in politics, as he had been in the extension of empire. His services, however, had made him a fit leader for the new party. If his political career had been a brief one, it was because of his early opposition to the ex-tension of slavery in California. That opposition had cost him his re-election to senate and driven him out of poli tics. Born and educated in a slave-holding state, allied by family and personal associations to slave-holding interests, his hostility to slavery was purely a mat-ter of conviction. He was still a comparatively young man and had all the ardor, impetuosity and independence of youth. His character, his attainments and his principles all united in arousing the enthusiasm of the young republicans, who chose him as their standard-bearer, and though he failed of election, his candidature payed the way to the subsequent successes of the new party. History will never overlook the fact that John Charles Fremont was "the pathfinder" who led the way to the destruction of slavery.

Again, in the war for the union, he was the pathfinder who pointed the way to emancipation. General Fremont was in Paris at the time of the capture of Fort Sumter, but he immediately sailed for home to take part in the struggle, arriving at Boston June 27, 1861. Having been appointed a major-general by President ncoln, he was assigned to the command of the western department on the 6th of uly and arrived at St. Louis on the 25th. In a little over a month after assuming his command-to be precise, on the 30th of August-in proclaiming martial aw in Missouri, he declared all slaves belonging to rebels in arms free. Indeed, he tollowed up his proclamation by actually freeing many of them, among them the slaves of Thomas L. Snead, the author of a recent book entitled "The Fight for Missouri." The formal deeds of manumission that he issued in freeing Snead's slaves as historical documents are not less interesting than the original drafts of President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation, because in the matter of emancipation it will thus be seen that Fremont was again the pioneer-the pathfinder. But the country was not yet prepared for the inevitable, and President Lincoln revoked his decree. It was perhaps this proclamation that prevented General Fremont from realizing a great career in the war for the union. He was too radical. As Whittier sings:

Thy error, Fremont, simply was to act The brave man's part without the statesman's And, taking counseibut of common sense

Besides, Fremont indicated a purpose to be too vigorous to suit other generals nearer headquarters. With an army of nearer headquarters. forward to sweep 56,000 men he started forward to sweep willow of rebels. "My the Mississippi valley of rebels. "My plan," he wrote to the government, "is New Orleans straight. I would precipi tate the war forward and end it soon victoriously." It was not to be. Detrac-tion's busy tongue had already begun to seek his destruction Men who were jealous of the success he might win as a soldier, and men who had been opposed to him in the political campaign of five years before, became his accusers. They sought and too readily obtained the ear of poor old General Scott, and without good reason Scott removed Fremont from his command, and not only blasted his career, but destroyed his plan of cam-paign and turned pack his confident and

vainly sought to recover this property but he was more successful with the Mar iposa estate, a large tract of land which he bought in 1857. His title was contested by the state, but finally in 1855 the supreme court of the United States de ided in his favor. In spite of the acqui sition of property in California and his determination to make that state his home, General Fremont never really became a Californian. In 1853 he was in Paris. In 1855 he was living in New York with his family. In 1860-1 he was again in Paris. Within thel ast few years he was accustomed to make New York his home in winter and to spend his summers at Mount Desert. Now, however, he occupies a cosy house in Washington, where, with his wife, he is hard at work upon the biography which is to relate the story of a career singularly interesting, unusually successful, and yet marked by failure and disappointment.

SMITH'S SALOON.

Why a Pittsburg Man Went Out of the Liquor Business.

Pittsburg Dispatch: "I hear that Smith has sold out his saloon," said one of a couple of middle-aged men, who sat sipping their beer and eating a bit of cheese in a Smithfield street saloon last riday night.

'Yes," responded the other, rather

slowly. "What was the reason? I thought he

was just coining money there." The other nibbled a cracker abstractedly for a moment and then said: "It's rather a funny story. Smith, you know, lives on Mount Washington, right near me, where he has an excellent wife, a nice home and three as pretty children as ever played out doors. All boys, you know, the oldest not over nine, and all about the same size. Smith is a pretty respectable sort of a citizen, never drinks or gambles, and thinks the world of his

family. "Well, he went home one afternoor last week, and found his wife out shopping or something of that sort. He went on through the house into the back yard, and there, under an apple tree, were the little fellows playing. The had a bench and some bottles and tumb They lers and were playing 'keep saloon.' H noticed that they were drinking some thing out of pail, and that they acted tipsy. The youngest, who was behind the bar, had a towel tied around his waist, and was setting the drinks up pretty free. Smith walked over and ooked in the pail. It was beer, and two of the boys were so drunk that they stag-gered. A neighbor's boy, a couple of years older, hy asleep behind the tree.

"'My God, boys, you must not drink that.' he said, as he lifted the six-year-old from behind the bench.

"We's playin' s'loon, papa, an' I was sellin' it just like you, said the little sllow. Smith poured out the beer, carfellow. ried the drunken boy home and then took his own boys in and put them to bed. When his wife came back she found him crying like a child. He came back down town that night and sold out his busines and says he will never sell or drink another drop of liquor. His wife told mine about it, and she broke down cry-ng while she told it." This is a true story, but the name was

not Smith.

It is said that Maurice Strakosch has dis It is said that Maurice Strakosch has dis-covered another nightingale. This one, like Mme, Christine Nilscon, is a Swede. Her name is Mile. Sigrid Arnoldsen. She is still in her teens, and is remarkable both for her beauty and a superb sobrano volce. It is now fully thirty years since Mr. Strakosch discovered the greatest of all song birds in his voung sister-in-law, Adelina Patti, but long as is her reign, and great as has been the flight of time since his first marvelous discovery, he is still anwearied in the search for great singers. for great singers.

himself up around the fountain wound and could not come to the surface, and not only that, but had wound the string tightly around his mouth. When released he showed great pleasure, opening his jaws to their full extent, lashing the water with his tail and barking like a dog.

Sacramento Record-Union: Frank Foster, son of Captain Albert Foster, of this city, recently came across the nest of a mink at a place above Colusa, where a barge was being loaded, and found in it two of Mrs. Mink's children, queer-look-ing hitle fellows, so young that their eyes were not yet open. They were brought to the captain's residence, and are thriving finely and seem full of play. At first they were fed with a bottle, but since their eyes opened they help themselves to their milk, and like meat. The captain's little spaniel, now quite advanced in years for a canine, took a great fancy to the little strangers from the first, watched over and slept with them, and is full of fight if a cat attempts to go near them.

A remarkable Maltese cat is to be found in Toronto. While sitting sunning itself the other day, all unconsc game near by, a large rat that had been watching it stealthily from under an adjacent shed suddenly darted out acros a narrow passageway about six feet from piss' nose, and through a friendly knot-hole in the fence. At a glance the cat took in the situation. With one bound she topped the fence, some five feet high and with the second she lit upon an caught Mr. Rodent just as he through the knot-hole on the other side The owner submits that it was the smart est feat that or any other cat ever accom plished.

While Robbins' circus was on the way from Manor to Sag Harbor, Long Island via the Long Island railroad, a large elephant in a car with two camels attacked the latter, killing them both. The keeper, who attempted to quiet the elephant, was driven from the car, narrowly escaping with his life. The noise made by the el phant excited the lions and tigers to such an extent that they attempted to break out of their cages, and a terrible uproar prevailed for some time.

TALK ABOUT TURTLES.

A turtle three feet in length was caught at Half-Moon lake, Wisconsin.

Dublin (Ga.) Gazette: Master Hugh Moore and a negro boy last Tuesday morning heard the squalling of a chicken, which seemed to proceed from the branch just below Stubb's mill in this town. They proceeded to the spot from whence the sound issued, and were surprised t see just the head and neck of a half grown chicken protruding from the mud An examination was made, which pro-duced the disclosure that the foot of th chicken was firmly fastened within the jaws of a huge turtle, measuring fifteen inches across the back. A compromise was effected, which gave the chicken to the negro and the turtle to Hugh, which

he now has, alive and active as ever. In is suppossed that the chicken had walked the mud where the turtle had across buried himself, and his turtleship tool this opportunity of obtaining a dainty meal

A turtle of the species popularly known as "rubber turtle" in southern latitudes where its home is, was captured off the Massachusetts coast recently. Was twelve feet long, and when it was landed a tent was erected over it and a big business done.

SNAKE STORIES.

Freezing point. Chinese 32clabor. 0

Glued to Their Pews.

Great must have been the delight of the organist of a parish church near Liverpool, England, recently, who during the rendering of a particularly happy im-provisation, looked about and beheld the congregation still seated, seemingly awestruck with astonishment, and great must have been his disappointment when the actual reason was discovered to be a really painful one, calculated to put his listeners in a condition of displeasure under any circumstances.

It seems that the church had lately been undergoing repairs. Among other improvements a new coat of paint was placed on the pews, followed by a coat of varnish. The result was most pleasing to the eye, but unfortunately the varnish had been applied so late in the week that it had not time to become hard before Sunday, when the congregation flocked to their seats. No apparent inconvenience was suffered until the clergyman was about to deliver the benediction, when the congregation were horrified to find that they were unable to stand up-they were, in fact, glued, or rather varnished, to their seats. Their spasmodic efforts to rise were most distressing to witness. In vain did the clergyman exhort them from the pulpit to resignation. They were seized with a kind of panic, all the more frightful because they were for the moment powerless. At last, by what seemed to be a simultaneous and herculean jerk, hey managed to tear themselves from their sittings; but at what a sacrifice! The pews were literally covered with Sunday apparel. Shreds of silk, lawns, calicoes, broadcloth and cassimeres were left as souvenirs of the tenacity of var-nish used in beautifying that church, and hapless congregation, rushing from the doors, hurried homeward with an expression on their faces as though their hearts were even more severely rent than their garments.

Dips in the Sea.

Philadelphia Times: French maids at the seaside hotels, as a rule, put on an old skirt, without stockings, and go trooping into the ocean about dusk.

The Baltimore beauty plunges boldly in and is generally seen head under water with symmetrical incarnading hosiery waving high above the waters blue.

The New Jersey girl is timid and usually requires a pair of stout arms to hold her. If there is no gallant on hand to toss her through the breakers, she hugs the rope.

The Virginia girls at Old Point and Cape May swim and tumble like doi-phins, and love to swim out to the lifeboat, and clambering into it take a long dive, coming up close to shore.

The fashionable Philadelphia girl is very particular to have somebody ' to in with her, and is usually so exclusive that she won't even bathe in the same beean with any one not of her set.

The Boston belle prefers to take her ablutions in private, but her favorite wrinkle at Narragansett is to lie at the edge of the surf, and when it wets her on one side, then roll over and get wet on the other.

SNAKE STORIES. Snakes that eat poisonous snakes by choice aiways catch them by the nose, so they cannot open their mouths. Then they swallow them, nose and head first, and the reptile never has a chance to bite. King snakes, the black snakes with white marks, do that way. There is an-