The End of the Storm.

Anarchism. His characterizations of Anarchism are as unworthy notice as Tumid Teddy’s. But his practical proposals, and his facts, deserve a little consideration. His main important statement is that for fifteen years the monarchist gang at Washington has been trying to obtain “national legislation against Anarchism.” In 1894, during the case which followed Carrott’s execution, Senator Hill introduced a measure of which Burrows complimentily says that had it passed, “most would have been sent back to Germany, where the authorities are anxiously waiting to lay hands on him.” This bill, which is not reprinted, but seems to have been of the most loose and dangerous character, got thru the Senate, but was de-
among other things, that no “avowed Anarchist or Nihilist” should be allowed to enter the United States, even tho he had been there before. In the busy year 1894, Representative W. A. Stone introduced a bill containing the following humorous proviso: “Any person or persons (wild suf.) who shall belong to, or who shall be appointed, designated, or employed, by any society or organization in this or any foreign country which provides in writing or verbal agreement for the taking of human life unlawfully or for the unlawful destruction of buildings or other property where the taking of human life would be the probable result, shall be deemed an Anarchist” (sic). This bill, remarks the logical Burrows, is interesting principally because of its attempt at defining the term “Anarchist.” It certainly would include members of the Chan-n-a-gnel, Ku-Klux Klan, White Leagues, vigilantes, or other organizations not unknown to our laws, and therefore happen to be no Anarchists at all; no societies which “provide in writing or verbal agreement” as above, on “any person holding office, elective, or appointive, or committing crimes under the Constitution and laws” was to be death by hanging. Mr. Hill, in defending his bill, stated that it was “not proposed . . . to make belief in Anarchia a crime . . . but provision is made that such a person [sic] know as an Anarchist shall not land in this country, and if he does, he, by certain proceedings to be taken by or thru the secretary of the treasury that person” (the secretary?) “must be deported.” Several last bills for the protection of the president also followed Garfield’s assassination. One, on which Senator Burrows lays emphasis, was fathered by Senator Lapham (New York). It only provides for the perpetual imprisonment of any person who shall assault an individual in the line of presidential succession, with intent to kill except under such circumstances as would render the attempt justifiable.
Free Society.

The eloquent author of "Ben Hur," and "The Fair God" is where he was at the battle of Shiloh. He is behind his time.

- C. L. James.

Anarchy and Law.

Ignorance and fear, ingrained by authority, threaten to be delivered of legislative measures that are abhorrent to every true man of freedom, as well as a direct violation of human rights—rights our brave forefathers the above age supposed they had stamped indelibly upon a young nation founded in the blood of brave rebels, but which the statesmen of our generation are boldly questioning as impracticable.

"Free speech and press must have proper limits," they declare. Yes, but whose is to control the limit? Those in authority of course, and the weapon that shall enable them to act, our law makers are already fashioning in congress under the direct encouragement of the executive head of this nation. The end sought is the "stamping out of Anarchy." To attain this end they propose to declare all persons who avow the principles of the Revolution as criminals, and prescribe penalties for the "crime." In short, our wise men hope to legislate an idea out of existence. The plan is not original with them; it is an old and oft tried method. While its immediate results are deeply gratifying to tyrants and bigots, I may say, and history bears me out, that the ultimate results are such as to encourage any holder of an outlawed idea to resolutely resist by every means in his power the attempt to destroy his so-called inviolate personal liberty and rights, and to likewise resolutely persist in the advocacy of a "crime" that is not a crime in nature, but only legally so in the eyes of conservative ignorance. To think and speak and live in line with our highest thought and sympathy in spite of all infamous stamping out laws, is the course of action, and the only one by which to meet these threatened laws, whose message is an echo of barbarism.

Why should the American people, who have suffered so much, think that the immediate results of brute force legalized by tyranny, where every operation of that force but hastens its own downfall? Repression increases resistance. The sparks struck out by these operations of the free exercise of personal liberty in human minds. Persecution causes agitation which is productive of thought, and sweet pity and reason at last unite to the final stamping out of legislation so revolting to the finer instincts of humanity.

Before proceeding let us glance at the ideal of Anarchy, which impels our law givers to special legislation. Every age has produced men and women who were largely endowed with the power to think, and a corresponding sympathy which ever urged them to seek a remedy for the miseries of the people and their wrongs. To this end their whole lives were devoted to the exposition of rights they deemed essential to human existence. We need not add that the advanced thoughts of these pioneers of progress were always at variance with the law-guarded institutions of their day. Therefore it is only too true that the "true spirit of liberty is inevitably threatened in the blood of its martyrs," but step by step thru each succeeding age has the love of liberty advanced; and the horizon marking the boundaries of human rights in one age widen and extend in the next, to a far more rational and comprehensive view of the basic principles of those rights, as the progress of humanity, in the nineteenth century, gave birth to Anarchy; a societality which holds that the "abuse of direct government of man by man," a natural harmony and order would prevail. The Abolition movement is typical of the social inequalities among men, and the blind faith and allegiance to a power outside of their authority is delegated; which can only act through the licensed efforts of hired men; and that their delegation of authority fosters privileges and creates class interests; and that the class who control legislation shape the laws to further their own material advantages.

Three years ago in the North American Review charged out of the 14,000 laws enacted by congress and the legislative and municipal bodies in the United States, the previous year, the greater part of the crime was in the hands of the government; it is its own condemnation. These systems of government are to foster and protect an economic system that is based upon the hells of the poor.

Anarchy repudiates this arrangement, and demands that government be done away with. We hold it to be a self-evident truth that a system which forces the producing classes to pay tribute to a few men for the privilege of working, that dictates the amount of labor exacted, and that even how the power to deny work altogether, thus placing the lives and comfort of thousands and thousands of working men and women in their famines at the mercy of capitalistic interests, cannot be a true system. No man should be compelled to pay another man for the privilege of producing the necessities of life. It is human ignorance alone which permits the insolent demands of law protected monoply; ignorance of the fundamental principles of our natural rights; ignorance of the remorseless law of cause and effect; the observance of which is man's only safeguard amidst the storm and stress of life. To abolish this ignorance; to awaken in men a dim sense of their natural rights; and to teach them that the free exercise of the free exercise of personal liberty in human minds. Persecution causes agitation which is productive of thought, and sweet pity and reason at last unite to the final stamping out of legislation so revolting to the finer instincts of humanity.

The primary object of the Anarchist is to eradicate from men's minds respect and reverence for the law as a decisive standard of right and wrong. We say to all men that reverence but investigate the law, and you will discover far more reason for contempt than reverence. Substitute reason for blind faith in authority; and remember that the most revolting crimes against individuals and nations have been perpetrated in the name of law.

This is Anarchy's crime. These are the fundamental truths that threaten the institutions of this rotten society; and for this reason alone the Anarchist is a revolutionary. Among the absurd legal penalties prescribed, the list is to be a favor.
Anarchy." They propose to load a few transports with obnoxious ideas, properly embalmed in the wash-off of their outcries. We who advocate the same, and sailing away to a "dark and desolate isle," there make a final dump of this miserable social problem that is continually sending cold chills of horror thru the vitals of the club who having the power, have ever betrayed humanity. It may look "dead easy" in the eyes of our superficial statemen to "maroon" an idea on an island; but we who regard that idea as a part of our life's work, contemn upon the project; and our souls are filled with pity for a people who allow themselves to be governed by a class of brainless apes.

Meanwhile, in spite of all laws and all tyrants, we will continue the work of creating a nobler ideal of life, and inspiring a love of liberty that will make its realization possible.

As for this abortion of law now brewing in congress, should it reach the world and proceed on its mission of extermination, up from the ruins of its work, inspired with more pride in the rise than the fall, the immortal spirit of Anarchy born of intense and love, far more powerful and menacing to its old enemy ignorance than when the "stamping out" began.

KATE AUSTIN

The Island Scheme.

Senator Howard's proposition to purchase an uninhabited island to which all anarchists are to be deported is causing a good deal of comment, favorable and otherwise, in the capitalist newspapers. Some of them think the scheme would afford an excellent opportunity for the anarchists to put their theories into practice; others regard that the scheme would not fail to be abolished by the end of the first year the inhabitants would be divided into warring factions, that the weakest would soon succumb, and those most "fitted to survive" would inaugurate a despotism of the like of which has never been seen on earth; others again declare that the anarchists would starve to death, or be exterminated by smallpox, and similar diseases, and ferrets (for want of capital to give them employment, no doubt), while a few editors mildly criticize the proposition, mainly on the ground that it is a waste of too much money to try the experiment. All seem to admit that the plan would be attended with considerable difficulty; and unite in declaring that the anarchist problem is a hard one to solve.

As the anarchists themselves are to be the persons principally interested in the scheme, it strikes me that they also should be given an opportunity to make a few comments, and that perhaps they might be able to offer some practical suggestions, and give our Wise Men at Washington a few valuable hints in the way of helping them out of the difficulties with which the problem suggests. I therefore submit the opinions of a few of them for what they are worth, having it to the judgment of readers of Free Society and the already Wise Men to decide whether they have merit in them, or not.

Said one who thoroughly knows the ways of politicians: "The scheme is all right with us, and it could be based upon coveted property that is necessary to carry out the terms of the contract. If the authorities would agree to furnish us supplies and facilities to enable us to keep house as we were at home, we might not grumble. Rigidity excludes politicians and all persons officially connected with any government, to let us alone absolutely in no manner whatever. In that case, we might manage to scratch along pretty comfortably; but Lord bless you I know these politicians. No sooner would we have the thing nicely going than under one pretence or another, one of them would come along and rob us as bad or worse or they do here, as they did they did the Mormons in Utah. Suppose we should find precious metarocks on our island, how long do you suppose we would be let in peaceful possession after the governments learned of our discovery?"

"As this measure is calculated to include all anarchists," and one who is quite well off in worldly goods, "and many comrades are fairly well off if not rich, while thousands own their little homes, I suppose the governments would make some restitution who would be compelled to sacrifice what they have honestly and laboriously earned. To confiscate our wealth would brand them in the eyes of all honest people as robbers indeed, and the bad opinion which we already have of them would be widely confirmed. This would add thousands to our ranks, and the difficulties of the problem already confronting our wise legislators would be increased a hundred fold."

Said a bold anarchist who is no respector of persons: "If this deportation scheme is to include all anarchists, I fancy the authorities will not find the task easy. Of course the poor devils who haven't a cent or influential friends will be gathered in without much difficulty; but how about those who are well off, those who have become famous or account of their great talents, those who have multitudes of friends, and friends in high places? Men, for instance, like Reclus, Kropotkin, Carpenter, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and our own Elbert Hubschman. The last mentioned is declared to be a good citizen that he is an anarchist, and I presume wouldn't deny the self-imposition, no. Then there is Julian Hawthorne, who about a year ago wrote as an anarchist and he actually stated that all the best men and women everywhere are anarchists. How will the politicians deal with these? And if they propose to discriminate we will show them the law! It is not true, as someone has said, that the anarchist with a book is far more dangerous than the anarchist with a bomb, those I have already mentioned should be the first victims."

A somewhat facetious but long-headed anarchist had this to say: "If the authorities are to provide us with an island I propose that we ask to have some choice in the matter of location. Just then they might send us to some little barren fever infected spot under the equator where we would die off as fast as they planted us, and as we are a pretty numerous body, some of the good old boys might rise up and have us vote at such cruelties on the part of their rulers. If they wish to colonize us, let them do it somehow—purchase for us the island, or sell one to us, which would be something; or we might take the Sandwich Island group as a second choice, or Cuba or Porto Rico; but these last two would I fear, be too close to the United States for our comfort. We are the salt of the earth, and the best that is going is none too good for us. Anarchists will multiply from our own ranks, but if they do not they will multiply from the ranks of the ruling class."

"There is one thing that can be said in favor of this island scheme," said a bookworm anarchist, "it would bring together all the really progressive people in the world; most of the men and women of genius, learning and goodness in the field of literature, art, science and the various handiworks. We might even have a sort of monopoly of the brains of the world (excepting, of course, the Wise Men at Washington), since the difficulty would be to keep the best people out of the island. And then," continued this bad anarchist, gloatingly, "the people that would be left would of course be those who would of course be of much interest, much of Anarchist breeding, literature as the works of Spencer, Channing, Paine, Emerson, Tolstoy, Carpenter, Morris, and dozens of others that I might name, and many that have not written books, but whose writing might possibly take along with us or have sent to us. Such reading would have the effect of making us worse anarchists than we are, and as we would be the only ones of the world that could do none of the good people who were left behind any harm."

One anarchist ironically proposed that the ships which are to be used to deport his comrades might be ordered scuttled and sunk in mid ocean as one of the most effective means of getting rid of the present dead weight of radicals; another suggested that we petition the government to send the Wise Men at Washington, including the chief, as a sort of 600 feet long, with us, to the island, that it might learn some lessons in true republicanism, agreed still another, a bright little woman anarchist, that we petition the government to organize an agrarian commune or a few economic kindergartens, where these Wise Men would have an opportunity of learning the rudiments of economic science, and save the schools from the usual fate of other schools. And still another, a teacher who still identifies herself as one of the teachers.

I am not at all certain that any of the above suggestions will be adopted by the Wise Men at Washington, but they are offered in perfect good faith, and with sentiments of profound pity and charity for their absurd predicament.

W. H. F. A.

Missouri Politics.

The grand old Democracy of Missouri got together the other day, and enthusiastically endorsed all Democratic administrations of the State government, past and present, and all future Democratic administrations, in anticipation. That's the way they do it down in good old Missouri, and where they have politics uptodate. And why should they not? They have the best intelligent radical machine will go on in the future on precisely the same lines, with exactly the same net results, and with the same blind or openheartedness. Great things are the American system of popular government.
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Kellogg, Geo. P. Burn, M. D., and Viroqua Danica.)

Current Comment.
"Anarchy must be stamped out," hysterically shriek the daily press. Well, Russia has been "stamping out" nihilism for a few decades, but somehow those principles continue to "boil up serenely," with uncomfortable frequency in this country's dominions. The American imperialists might profit by the experience of Russian autocracy.

Free speech in America, the sacred-guaranteed by the blessed "Constitution," is fast becoming a fleeting myth. Meetings of the Social Science Club of New York have now been suppressed by the police of that city, because, I presume, there was too much of the Anarchist flavor in the discussions. It is Anarchist now that is under the bar, tomorrow it will be anything and everything that is ominous to the rulers. Still we must have government to protect our liberties, don't we know?

The suppression of three Florida newspapers by the Biscayne authorities indicates that the czar is studying American methods and proposes to keep up with the times. The necessity of government to protect our liberties is becoming more apparent every day.

And the Italian monarchy is trying hard to keep up with the American republic in the suppression of radical ideas. In Rome the production of Gabriele D'Annunzio's tragedy "Francesca da Rimini" has been prohibited on grounds of "morality." Republic or monarchy the spirit of government is identical the world over.

The carnival of murder and rape now in progress in South Africa is the work of government, and for this reason Christian civilization has raised no voice of protest. But should a single individual happen to be murdered by an irresponsible fanatic, calling himself an Anarchist, a churl of blood would swear along the world's spinal column, and press and pulpit would shriek in unison for vengeance. Murder is murder only when committed by those not provided with an official uniform and a government license.

Our National Museum of Fossilized Incompetency, sometimes designated as the American Senate, will shortly grapple with the momentous problem, "How to suppress Anarchy?" Judging from the character of the various bulls already introduced, the suspect(?) body is going to startle us with something rich, rare and rare in the way of legislation. We can certainly expect something unique and original; and, even if the Anarchists are not permitted to make a scandalous holiday, the dignified senators may add some valuable contributions to America's humorous literature.

The following report of American military rule in the Philippines, from the Chicago Chronicle, of Dec. 27, needs no comment:

General Hughes believes that "war is hell," as Sherman said, and he is giving the people of Cebu a taste of the latter. Only a few days ago an army officer boasted that he is known as the Weyer of the district where he is in command. He also said that it may become a very bad country for Chinese to live in.

Let us now take back all that we once said about the infallibility of General Weyer, and admit that, had he been American instead of Spanish, he would have been a noble type of soldierly heroism.

The cheering news comes from Gen. Chaffee in the Philippines that the Filipino rebellion is at present time than ever before. Our world empire business seems to slip its trolley, and we are looking for better prestige.

Ross Whin.

"Full Dinner Pail" Philosophy.

In a discussion which followed a lecture on Mazzini, the Italian revolutionary, which was held before the Chicago Philosophical Society, some State Socialists asserted that in all ages all actions of men, whether emperor, capitalist, reformer, or laborer, were inspired by but one motive: the fear of an empty stomach.

How pleasant to contemplate a cooperative commune with ignoramuses of the right and the left equally scattered and living in peace, with no one thinking of anything but to eat and drink.

Happily there is an intelligent minority whose active influence is sufficient to make its realization impossible, therefore we need not to drink or commit suicide on account of the future.

H. W. COHN.

Are Economics Important?

In reading C. L. James' critique on Waut Tyler's recent series of lectures, which included a review of the article somewhat, "Economics," says Waut Tyler, "are not all of the social question, but they are a great part of it," and both these propositions James pronounced sound. I disagree. Economics bear about the same relation to social questions that the nine digits bear to arithmetic. I agree with James that the trend of "An Era of Transition" was to the effect that Anarchists might expect to find them all the solution of all their problems. It may be well for Anarchists to study economics and have their views about it. But inasmuch as no two can agree about it, it is folly to expect it to solve any question. In my reading of political and social economy, I conclude that it is a sort of algebra where words and phrases are used to designate equivalent, where the unknown quantities have no real value but depend entirely upon assumption. Our Anarchists should not be so ridiculous as to attempt, start their calculation with an assumption, then proceed to figure out their result. "Competition reduces price to cost of production," says Tyler: and...

reserves the necessary value for..."
terms of money—money therefore had no price. But money has value. To see the economist giving the terms different definitions without altering the meaning. Where markets exist prices are established, and our money markets are no exception.

I remember a long discussion in Liberty by prominent economists, whether money was capital. It was settled as all such questions are by individual definitions. But what a waste of ink and paper! J. K. Ingalls in “Social Wealth” shows the idea of interest, rent, and profit. These are forms of interest for essential one, and yet he justifies an “economic rent” which includes an economic interest and economic profit. James would make Wat Tyler count interest and taxes, and “resolves profit into the elements of wages, interest, insurance against risks and the enforced tribute of monopoly,” and farther on “In opposition to Henry George that rent is, at least here, little else than interest on the price of land.” “Roscher,” he says, “has shown that rent and interest, the two nearly measure each other, do not quite;” and Ingalls supposes “there may be an enforced tribute of monopoly which does not enter into profit, a thing distinguished by every economist from rent.” Well! we'll give a fine discrimination these economists must have, we say, these economists are dependent variable’s, and I think this may be said of every factor of this “damal science.” Does competition reduce value or the cost of production? It never did; in the days it was the rule goods were higher than now, when it is fast disappearing. Competition is a trick to get advantage trade; combination springs from it and converts it to monopoly. Wat Tyler would have free competition. So would I; I hate freedom he would die and monopoly never exist.

I think James is mistaken in asserting that the rate of wages is increasing “absolutely and relatively to the value of products.” This can only be made out by ignoring the vast number of laborers thrown out of employment, and the addition of salaries to the wages of laborers. Salaries have increased, wages have increased, but adult laborers have been superceded by machines, women, and children, and the “natural wage,” James quotes from Adam Smith as being “the whole product” has very much decreased. Here James was as much mistaken as was Wat Tyler in asserting that the laborer was increasing his savings bank deposits. It is about as easy to establish proof by statistics as to prove a thing by economies. Some years ago while investigating the polices of politics I sent for and received the statistics to prove the beauties of free trade and tariff. It was astonishing to see how easily both sides proved their points. Economies is essentially political. Given a policy, the various factors are marshaled. Inequality sets out to gather statistics. A proper gift of gab and anything can be proven.

I would echo the words of James in his praise of Marx. He did much for Anarchist, and I was surprised at the attitude assumed. Wat Tyler when I remembered what the year 1885 was: “By the labor has

lost one of the most faithful friends it ever had.” What was the economic theory developed by Karl Marx? We give below an admirable outline drawn by Beato Milon, a prominent French Socialist, in sympathy with Marx’s thought. It being in the main a succinct and complete statement of the true principles of political economy. Then follow the arguments and theories of Marx, endorsed as follows: “The foregoing is an admirable argument, and Liberty endorse the whole of it, excepting a few phrases concerning the nationalization of industries and the assumption of political power by the working people.”

James’s idea is almost exactly when he says: “Holding as I do that speculation is to the essence of commerce, rests on monopoly, and causes interest. I identify all with government, the true point of attack... The Anarchist with a book is more formidable than the Anarchist with a bomb. But the Anarchist with a book or a phalanx is, I fear, but a poor critic.” The bank and the phalanx represent commercial and organization. The latter is government and the former is the government; and James is right in his closing paragraph: “Time enough to discuss the merits of Communism and Mutual Banking when the removal of government has made it possible to try them out one on the other.”

But Wat Tyler attacked Communism as detrimental to the economics of Anarchy, which he contended would remove government. Is it not really essential to have some well defined ideas of state of freedom of anisogunda? Can we not convert the government until you can convince him that your society in freedom is superior to society under government. But I would suggest that as much is convinced in his own mind, let him work in his own way. It is of great importance to teach the enlightened classes to regard government as an exploded superstition, and show the State Socialist how government is to be put aside. The “late pleasantness” has given us all alike. Let us work on educational lines.

The world begins to know its needs and souls are crying to be free.

A. L. Lipton.

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MODERN FABLES.

THE POOL AND THE STATESMAN.

A certain simple fellow, who had often voted the Republican ticket and shouted for national honor and prosperity, died. When his spirit presented itself at the heavenly gate and knocked for admittance, St. Peter surveyed him critically turning his golden rimmed spectacles, and asked him if he was riding or walking.

“I am walking, your saintliness,” answered the honest fellow.

Then,” said St. Peter, “I shall turn you away, as we are admitting today only those who are mounted.” The fellow turned sadly away, when he encountered a certain great statesman he had often voted for in life. “You can’t get in today unless you are mounted,” said the statesman.

“I’ll tell you what,” said the Great Man, “you take me upon your back, and we will both get in.” Much pleased at this wise suggestion, the simple fellow complied, and mounted upon his back the great statesman presented himself at the gate and demanded admission.

“Riding or walking?” inquired St. Peter.

“Riding,” boldly replied the statesman.

“Oh, I see,” said the old gate-keeper, as he took the situation. “Well, just don’t make your horse too tired for you.”

Moral: Statesmen who ride into offices upon the shoulders of the fools voters generally do the same way.

THE ARCHER.

A Fairy Tale.

Once upon a time, in a kingdom situated between two seas, the people kept a great monster, called an archer. This archer was a most ferocious beast with great iron claws and teeth, and a mouth large enough to swallow a dozen men at a gulp. The people held this monster in great esteem, although it was a great burden to them, for it had to be fed constantly upon the very fat of the land, and demanded human flesh and blood, as well as all the choice fruits of the soil, and it was always hungry.

This beast had to be kept securely chained, and a vast number of men, called archers, or officers of the archer, were required to feed and care for the monster. Every one of them while the archer would keep him in chains and do much harm among the people, but at all turns he had to have human blood to satisfy his ravenous appetite.

The people were all afraid of the archer, but they agreed that it was necessary to keep him in chains and feed him, and that it was not possible to do without him, as he was a great help to the country. But the people who were afraid of the archer were the same people who had complained that the archer was a great burden and that it was not possible to do without him.

But the people, tho they were afraid that the archer was a useful and necessary evil, were not satisfied with the manner in which it was kept, and they were all the time devising new methods of feeding him, and new ways of utilizing his usefulness.

Some wanted to curtail its liberty as much as possible, while others wished to lengthen its chain, and give it more scope and power.

But there were a few individuals who said that the archer ought to be killed. These persons were called Anarchists; and the vast majority of the people looked upon them as very bad and wicked, especially the archers, or officers of the archer, who said that the Anarchists should all be given to the archer as a sacrifice to law and order.

But the Anarchists continued to reason with the people, and at last so many of them were convinced that they began to ignore the archer, and refused to contribute to its support. The result was that the archer, deprived of its daily food supply, sickened and died; and when the people discovered that it had been a great curse, and an unneeded evil that was not in the least necessary to these happiness and well-being, but on the contrary, had made life miserable for all the people without their knowing it. And there was great rejoicing, and everybody declared that they had always been Anarchists to the third and fourth generation of ancestors.

Ross WW.
A Rocket of Iron.

It was one of those misty October nights — from the north, the white fog creeps up the river and winds itself like a cold, unwonted blanket over the whole; and I am reminded of human insignificance, a cold menace from Nature to Man, till the foreboding of that irresistible fatality which will one day lay us all beneath the ice. Old Death sits upon your breast and keeps you company, till you see-pall these miseries and piteously cry: "let me out, let me out!"

For an hour I had been staring thru the window at that chill steam, thickening and blurring out the lines that signified thru it indistinctly, pale drunken images of facts staggering against the invisible vapor that wafted me in, — a sublimated grave marble! Were they all ghosts, those figures wandering across the white night, hardly distinguishable from the poets and pictures that wave in and out like half-dismembered bodies writhing in pain? My own fingers were curiously numb and inert; had I, too, become a shadow?

It grew and piled at last, the pressure of the foreboding at my heart, the sense of that one-crowning of Universal Death. I ran out of doors, impelled by the vague impulse to assert my own being, to seek relief in struggle, evidently, in death. But my companionship, fellowship, somewhere, the but with those ineffective pallors in the mist, that dissolved even whilst I looked at them.

Once in the street I ran on indifferently, glancing thru the piles of smoke and dogs and the curses of laborers calling to one another. The pænury of the mist, that menacing dim foreground, had not chilled these, then! On, on thru the alleys where human flesh was close, and when one listened one could hear breathings and many feet, — drifting at last into the current that swept thru the main channel of the city, and presently, whirled round in an eddy, I found myself among the great Iron Works. Perhaps it was the sensation of warmth that held me there first, some feeling of exhilaration and waking desire in the flax and steel of yellow laces — this mingled with something, anything, that was stationary in the midst of all this slipped and waved and fell away.

I remember now: there was something more to it; there was a sound — a sound that had stopped their feet in their going away, and note me with a long shudder, — a sound of hammering, hammering, hammering, a terrific hail, momentarily faster and louder, and in a mounting sense of some great effort, reaching breath beneath the driving of that iron rain. Faster, faster, — CLANG! A long reverberant shriek! The giant had rolled and shivered in his pain. Involuntarily I was drawn down into the Valley of the Sound, words muttering themselves thru my lips as I passed: "Forging, forging, — what are they forging there?" Frankenstein makes his monster. How the iron screams! But I heard it no more now. I saw sawing, chafing, sawing, and the red hot iron that panted, and the masters of the hammers. How they moved there, like demons in the abyss, — their bodies swinging, their eyes tense and agile, their faces covered with smoke and ashes, or the features ash-black.

Only once I saw, young and fair — a girl, and feel the Vengeance of Beaten Iron before the mist comes and swallows all.

I had forgotten! Upon that face, that young, fair face, so smooth and fine that even the black smoke would not rest upon it, there bloomed the flowers of Early Death. Hot-house flowers!

VOLTAIRE: DE CLEVRE.

Legal Powers of the Police.

The subject of police power and duty in local communities is one of very grave importance. The exercise of it in this country has gone to an extreme never before known under free government. Jealousy of personal liberty has been the origin and foundation of all the free constitutions in the world. It has been the origin of the idea of government by the people whenever government by the people exists today. The distinction between a free government, a government by the people and a despotism is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the tax-power and what is called the police power — not in its widest sense, but in its restricted sense. There is where the government touches the individual constantly, thus taxation and the force which the government commands. It reaches thru the community and enforces the criminal laws.

Free government allows those in power to do only what the people prescribe. The people say: Here are the laws that we enact, and we will only take our property for taxation; here are the laws of our passing which say to what extent you may take our property for taxation; here are the laws of our passing which say to what extent you may put your hand on us in the way of arrest or prosequeus us for crime. What, then, is the power of the organized police force which we find in every locality? To what extent have the police the power to interfere with us as citizens?

First, let us see to what extent our citizen receives the mercy of the law with which it is supplied; what is the power of the individual to interfere with his fellow-citizens? Every citizen has the power to arrest for crime. The statute says: A private person may arrest another (1) for a breach of the peace, (2) when the person arrested has committed a felony, although not in his presence. Any citizen therefore, is armed by the law with power to arrest anyone whom he sees committing a crime.

What is the power of the police in the same respect? The statute says: A peace officer may, without a warrant, arrest a person for a crime committed or attempted in his presence, when the person arrested has committed a felony, tho’ not in his presence, when a felony has, in fact, been committed. It is the same as a private individual — no more or no less. There is this thing added, however, that, in case of a policeman, if a felony has in fact been committed, and he has reasonable cause to believe that a person committed it, he may arrest that person without a warrant, and he is not afterward liable to be sued for false imprisonment if he has that much advantage over a private citizen in regard to an arrest for a felony which he did not see committed. Otherwise his power is the same as that of any citizen. So we see that the power of the law is not independent of the power of the citizen.
The police force should be made to remember by those in authority over them that in making up this fund to hire policemen we do not put them under obligation to our masters. On the contrary, we give them only the power that we have ourselves, and we make them our honorable servants. But we see power exercised by the police here in New York which makes it unsafe to arrest people without warrant, or where they do not see them commit an offense at all. They assume to go into people’s houses without right. They assume to interfere with our morals in ways which the law does not justify. I have seen things done by the police in New York and in other cities in the United States, which, if done in London, would endanger the throne. I need not to intelligent men that when this arbitrary power begins to grow, it grows very rapidly, and it grows very imperceptibly. All the free nations in the world have lost their freedom under the same circumstances. And I have seen, and I have seen them grow in this community since my boyhood beyond what I could tell in this article.

For much of the power to arrest without a warrant, a warrant is quite another thing. You may go before a magistrate and obtain a warrant by making a sworn complaint against anybody, and that warrant goes to the constable or to the police. It is the absolute power as it were, to arrest. That is an entirely different branch of the law of arrest—an entirely safe branch. Nobody’s rights in that way can be very greatly interfered with.

I will mention two or three things which I think exhibit abuses by the police force in our large communities. One of these abuses is the extremely large number who are locked up for petty offenses, or committed some iniquity. The other is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work. The third is that the police force is not sufficient to keep order, and that they are not trained in their work.

When a man is a repeater or who is going to vote fraudulently knows that when he arrives at the polls the policeman stationed there is his friend, he will walk up boldly and swear to any number of oaths and vote early and often. If the policeman were not at the polls there would be but little repeating—but these frauds in the polls are the most extraordinary thing in the way of legislation ever done in regard to our cities we unite to waste the election machinery with the police machinery. If I had my way no policeman would come within one hundred feet of the polling booth. The law in this State is careful to give all election officers the power of arrest, and in my judgment anyone committing a breach of the peace or fraudulently voting should be arrested by the election officers and not by the police.

Crassals for better municipal government and all the genuine reform movements are made upon a high moral plane. Policemen with clubs in their hands will never reform the community. The morals of a city can be uplifted more by education than by any other influence, and the place to begin is in our public schools. All movements in this way, whether in individual politics or in government, are ruled by high principles. If you want to reform the government, commence on a high plane. Set in motion sentiment, set the moral law, human laws, which will inevitably have influence the whole community. But whether we want to reform poor women or whether we want to reform gamblers, or whatever we want to do in the way of reform, we must not resort to that dangerous expedient, the police.

The social problems now before us must be solved by moral forces, not at all. Neither the policeman nor the policeman’s club will do it. — W. J. Gaynor, judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in Social Service.

By the Wayside.

Unless trades unionism is rotten to the core, San Gompers has dug his own grave by embracing Mark Hanna and Schwab.

"There is surely something wrong with Gompers," exclaimed a prominent trades unionist. "He has always been against arbitration; and suddenly he is in favor of the outrageous scheme. But so long as the majority of the workers stand by him, he will remain in office."

"You ought to know that the majority of the workers have absolutely nothing to do with the question," replied a bystander.

"You know from experience that the big employers and table talkers always sweep the meetings their own way; consequently as soon as this minority, the leaders, so to speak,—against Gompers, he will be buried." After a little meditation, the trades unionist said smilingly: "I guess you are right: it is not the majority after all!"

"Let government be just and humane, and there will be no Anarchists," says Dr. J. B. Wilson in the Blue Grass Blinde. Perhaps so: but as a "just" government is an impossible proposition, I suppose we will have Anarchists. Governments cannot exist without force,—violence,—and to justify the exercise of violence upon an innocent people is rather a hard task even for doctors, except doctors of divinity.

Being a "shrink", Socialist Democrat, the editor of the New York Weekly People, is fired up against Free Society, "an irresponsible and vicious Anarchist paper," he says, reported with entire approbation the opinions of Thomas M. Morgan, who is a "knower of Social Democracy in its worthy aspect, cannot understand the hind, of course, that the readers of an Anarchist paper are mentally not endangered by reading the utterances of a vicious anarchist. Morgan's opinion was given in a recent meeting, where neither approval nor disapproval was called for.

While our humble servant, "the chief of the nation," was enjoying a cake walk on Christmas Eve, a young father of this city committed suicide because he saw no Christmas for his wife and children. "Some children have less kindness than you show me you cannot," he said before he took the poison. How is that for "universal prosperity," says Morgan? The Anarchist is striving for a society in which there shall be no grief and tragedies on account of poverty, and for this reason the paper shall not be stamped out.

interloper.
FREE DISCUSSIONS IN CHICAGO.

Pertinent questions are discussed in the following meetings, of which the Comrades can avail themselves to disseminate our ideas.


Free speech without an exception clause. All welcome.

The Chicago Anthropological Society meets every Sunday, 3 p.m., at the Masonic Temple, Hall 618. Subject for January 9 is “Dangers to American Liberty.” Speaker: Dr. Julia H. Beveridge.

Chicago Commons, Cor. Morgan St. and Grand Ave., every Tuesday evening.


Mar. 21 „The Machine,” by Lloyd Wright.


Apr. 11 „Charity or Justice,” by Prof. Franklin G. Hirsch.

Apr. 25 „The Future Militarism,” by Prof. Edmund J. James.

Freimütige Gemeinde, (Germ), Schopenhauer’s Hall, Cor.


Debatz Club, No. 1, (German), Temple Press, every second Wednesday night, at Fryman’s Hall, Halsted, Cor. North Ave. Themes for the 15th Januar: Die Dichter der Blends. Lecturer: Martin Drencka.

Free Lectures given every Sunday at 3 p.m. at Handel Hall, 40 Randolph St., by Dr. O. Hanisch.

FOR NEW YORK.

Comrade H. Grossmann speaks every Sunday evening at Brooklyn, Watkin’s St., cor. Belmont Ave. Subjects:


M. H. Sacramento, Cal.: Thanks for subscription and donations, and also for addresses of liberal-minded people, will be supplied with samples, copies, and postcards.

At-Home Parties: You can have the “Catherine O’Connor N. N. Retif.” Society 618, Philadelphia, Pa., for the postage.

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Dollars: Science Club, Philadelphia, Pa., 83, Breda, Heidrick, each $1.

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