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When the Chicago Tribune—one of the most virulent papers in the whole plutocratic collection—undertakes to warn Prof. Herron against the policy of using “harsh language,” it is a reasonable inference that Herron has said something that hurts.

Pitiful accounts come from Russia of the suffering from famine in the eastern part of the European end of that empire. So great is the lack of food there that the miserable peasants devour all kinds of garbage; and as they have been compelled to sell everything, they are trying to live in cold, damp and filthy cabins. Scurvy and typhus have consequently set in among them, and the horrors of a plague threaten to supplement the miseries of famine. Yet these poor peasants could live in comfort if allowed to retain their earnings instead of being forced to bear the enormous expenses of a devastating army, an idle nobility, and a horde of landlords.

Government by injunction has advanced another degree in Texas. The wholesome rule once prevailed that injunctions must not be issued to prohibit criminal acts; because, under cover of proceedings for contempt of court in disobeying such injunctions, men might be convicted of crimes without having the benefit, constitutionally secured, of indictment and jury trial. But in the effort to embarrass striking workmen, this rule was abrogated as to labor organizations. And now Judge Morgan, of Texas, logically following the principle of abrogation, issues an in-

junction forbidding a man from alienating the affections of another man's wife! If government by injunction goes on at that rate, injunctions will soon take the place of all indictments, and contempt proceedings of all criminal trials. The resulting gain in simplicity would be great, no doubt; but the Russian czar's system of government is characterized by even greater simplicity.

One of the results of the administration confab at the millionaires' rendezvous on Jekyll island is the putting out of a gentle feeler in the direction of the Albany capitol. Mr. Hanna, with the acquiescence of Vice President Hobart, wants Gov. Roosevelt for McKinley's running mate next year. Roosevelt's military dramatics have made him a formidable competitor for McKinley's own place, and this is the first plan proposed for getting him out of the way. It may work. But not unless Roosevelt has changed his spots. With a chance at the presidency staring him squarely in the face, he is hardly the man to file himself away in the office of vice president, from which no one in the present century has risen to the higher office. Yet, if he declines Hanna's cooing invitation, some other device will doubtless be tried upon him. Hanna is as full of devices as he is empty of principle. It is quite within the possibilities, however, that Hanna with McKinley in front of him, and Platt with Roosevelt to the fore, will meet in terrific combat at the next republican convention.

Attorney General Griggs, of Mr. McKinley's cabinet, declares that the federal government cannot prosecute the trusts that are forming for controlling the manufacture of necessities of life. They do not come within the inhibition of the Sherman anti-

trust law, he says, and he refers their prosecution to the several states. We are not inclined to criticise this conclusion. The federal government has gone so far recently in the direction of overturning the fundamental principles of American government that it is refreshing to note a disposition in this administration to hold back a little, even though the hold-back be in the interest temporarily of trusts.

Certain monopoly interests in Detroit think Gov. Pingree inconsistent because, though professedly an advocate of the referendum, he opposed referring the question of municipalizing the Detroit street car system to a vote of local “taxpayers.” When did those monopoly interests ever before favor the referendum? And when did they learn that the referendum would refer questions to what they call “taxpayers”? Gov. Pingree has earned the confidence of municipal and social reformers the country over, and they will trust him. Whether the monopolists trust him or not is of little moment. Nor is their opinion of his consistency at all important.

As we write, the American war against the Filipinos is at its height. It may be that when these lines reach the reader the Filipino capital will have been captured, the Filipino army dispersed, and the Filipino republic crushed in its infancy by the imperial army of the imperial republic of North America. At present, however, our shameless war of conquest is proving to be anything but a holiday job. The first part of the American military plan is conceded to have failed. It contemplated the cutting of the Filipino army to the north of the Pasig river in two, and surrounding and destroying the southern part of it. But the Filipinos were more alert than the American

plan had given them credit for being, and they kept open their line of retreat. Thus far the fighting has been with their rear guard; and that has been hard enough. But owing to the failure of the original plan for cutting them in two, much harder fighting must be undergone before the capital of the brave little republic falls. And even when it falls, if the Filipinos keep their line of retreat open, they will realize their plans; for their evident object is to draw the American troops into the interior, where they may be worried by hard marching, desultory fighting and disease. Meantime the American list of killed and wounded is sadly growing, and further reinforcements are demanded; while Filipino cities and villages are smoking ruins, and, if American reports be true, thousands of the people have been killed. It is a terrible lesson that imperialism has to teach. And to us it is a humiliating lesson also. Heretofore, if American warfare was sanguinary, it has with one exception been honorable in purpose, as well as courageous in execution. But in this war, the courage of our troops but emphasizes the shamefulness of the cause in which they die.

Further evidence of prosperity has been telegraphed from San Francisco. Leland Stanford's widow is richer by \$1,000,000 than she was four months ago—all on account of this era of marvelous prosperity. Four months ago her Central Pacific stock was worth only \$20 a share; but it has risen now to \$52, at which figure Mrs. Stanford has sold enough shares to give her \$1,000,000 more than she could have got for them four months ago. She certainly will not join the calamity howlers in complaining of continued hard times. With an increase in her fortune in four months equal to the earnings of 5,000 Central Pacific brakemen in that time, or as much as one brakeman would get in nearly 2,000 years, the business situation must be highly satisfactory to her. She ought to be gratefully willing to

contribute to the McKinley-Hanna campaign fund for 1900. We have yet to hear, though, of any increase in the wages of Central Pacific employes. The glorious sun of our marvelous prosperity shines only on stockholders; workers remain in shadow.

Fifteen hundred employees in the tin can factory at Maywood are testifying vigorously to their extraordinary prosperity by striking for a restoration of the higher wages that they received in the dark days of 1896.

Every now and again complaints are made of the superfluity of professional men. Not long ago a metropolitan paper, in calling attention to the subject, strenuously urged professional schools to advance their standards and expand their terms of study, so as to discourage the multiplication of doctors, lawyers and clergymen. Its idea was that this would force young men into "productive industries and scientific vocations" where they are needed." And that is a general supposition. The notion prevails that opportunities are few in the professions, but abundant in other callings. But it is a false notion. Opportunities are no better, if as good, in the so-called productive occupations than in the professions; while in the latter the prizes are more alluring and numerous. A lawyer or a doctor of ordinary abilities, has as good a chance of making a living, as a civil, mechanical or electrical engineer or even a mechanic, of ordinary abilities. If of extraordinary abilities, his chance of a prize in life is infinitely greater. There is nothing exceptional in the fact that the professions are crowded. They are crowded because all vocations are. Trade union restrictions in the mechanical trades are just as necessary for the protection of those already inside as they are in the professions.

Altgeld has made a strong fight, and the indications at this hour are that it will be successful. He has forced both opposing candidates into adopting the principle of municipal

ownership of public utilities, and he has made it clear that but for his candidacy there would be no democrat in the field for the Chicago mayoralty. The nominal democratic candidate avoids all reference to democracy either as a party or a principle. This fact alone caused such influential democrats as William P. Black and William Prentiss to come out for Altgeld as the only democratic candidate. That occurred last week. This week, the Altgeld forces are being strengthened by men who like to be on the winning side. Upon the result of this Chicago election depends in great degree the complexion of the democratic national convention; and it looks now as if that convention would again take its color from Bryan and Altgeld rather than from Flower and Croker.

In California, church property is not exempt from taxation; but some churchmen there are now agitating for exemptions. They would be offended if the essential similarity of theirs to other schemes for public plunder were frankly pointed out; yet such similarity exists. A church is not a public institution. It is private property. While it may be useful to the public, so are stores and factories. There is no better reason, then, for exempting the one than the other. And the exemption of either, unduly burdens the other. True, church buildings and books and furniture ought not to be taxed. They are produced by the congregation. The state does not provide them, nor give value to them, nor otherwise acquire moral rights in or to any part of them. But then that is also true of factory buildings and machinery and stores and store goods. It is not true, however, of church sites. Church sites, like factory and store sites, are secured to the occupants by the state, and their value is caused by the community without special effort on the part of owners. Those sites should be taxed in proportion to their value. The fact that a site is used for a church should make no difference. Exemptions on that account would unjustly discriminate not only

between church people and others, but between the churches themselves. When churches are exempt from taxation, rich congregations are favored in far greater degree than poor ones; and the members of poor ones have to help make up the difference.

One of the Washington correspondents has discovered in the record of American exports and imports from the beginning, what he naively calls "an interesting showing of stupendous prosperity." According to this exhibit, the people of the United States, from the adoption of the constitution to the present time, have exported more than they have imported, to the amount of \$972,241,493 in merchandise, and \$1,460,473,261 in gold and silver—an aggregate excess of exports of \$2,432,714,759. That is called "stupendous prosperity"! But in what does the prosperity consist? If we have sent out more than we have taken in, for a century, it can hardly be argued that a debt has been accumulating abroad in our favor. For if our foreign debtors do not balance accounts in a hundred years, but "get into us" in that time to the lively tune of \$2,432,714,759, we have no reason for ever expecting a settlement. And as to having the balance paid to us in gold and silver, why, of gold and silver as well as of merchandise, we have been sending away more than we have been getting back.

The truth about our exports and imports is that our excess of exports goes largely to pay dividends, interest and rents to foreign owners of American stocks, bonds and lands. Instead of implying that we are growing prosperous, our excess of exports goes to prove that we are being drained. For 100 years our wealth has been flowing to Europe in a steady stream at the rate of nearly \$25,000,000 a year in excess of the return stream; and our business men tell us that therefore we are prosperous! If this indicates the quality of business brains, it is not strange that 95 per cent. of our business men fail every generation. Men

who think that they prosper by their outgo instead of their income might be expected to fail.

It is observed in Washington official circles that a strong sentiment in favor of annexation to the United States is spreading through Cuba. Washington official circles would be the most likely place for observing the Cuban pulse in such a matter. Let us hope, though, that the Manila method will not be adopted at Washington for promoting the Cuban sentiment.

THE MENACE OF HERRONISM.

In George D. Herron, professor of applied Christianity at Iowa college, plutocracy recognizes a dangerous character. He says too much, writes too much, thinks too much, and worse than all else stimulates too much thought among the impoverished people. Therefore plutocracy sets out to silence him.

Before we speak of this in detail, however, let us stop to explain what we mean by "plutocracy." We do not mean the rich merely because they are rich. It is quite possible for men as rich as Croesus to be democrats; and it is certain that there are men as poor as Job's turkey who are plutocrats. Plutocracy means not the rich class, but government by or for the rich; and he is a plutocrat, be he rich or poor, who gives aid and encouragement to that idea of government.

It is, then, not to the rich that we allude when we say that plutocracy has set out to silence Prof. Herron. Far from it. There are among the rich those who sympathize with his work, just as 19 centuries ago some of the rich stood by the Carpenter whose message Herron bears. But rich men who regard their wealth as giving them authority to govern, in state and college and church, together with a host of middle class and even impoverished worshipers of wealth, do fear the effect upon disinherited mankind of Herron's searching moral probe and his bold social diagnosis. It is to them that we refer. They are the plutocrats who aim to silence him.

For more than a year plutocratic

efforts have been made to oust Herron from his chair in Iowa college. The ostensible reason is that his theories of Christianity as applied to modern life prevent graduates of the college from getting employment as teachers and preachers, and consequently deprive the college of student material. This, however, is evidently only a pretext. The real reason comes now and then to the surface like a whale to blow. Prof. Herron's teaching in the college discourages plutocratic rich men from making endowments. It is lack of endowments and not of students that gives offense. The fact that Iowa college is the only western college of wide repute which is under no obligations to mammon, is felt as a blemish. It is in truth a glorious distinction.

Some idea of what it is in Prof. Herron's teachings that so disturbs the placidity of plutocrats and staves off coveted endowments, may be derived from a Chicago episode of the past week.

Herron had been invited to supply the place temporarily of Rev. Dr. Thomas before the congregation of the People's church, which meets Sunday mornings in McVicker's theater. Dr. Thomas is a man of liberal ideas, a democrat in the fundamental as distinguished from the party sense, and a religious as distinguished from a pietistic preacher; while his congregation has regarded itself and been regarded as devoted to the truths of Christianity rather than the pretenses of churchianity.

Meetings of this congregation, filling the large theater, sat under all the sermons that Herron preached. The congregation was not only satisfied; it became enthusiastic, as all audiences do that surrender to the persuasiveness of Herron's arguments and the charm of his oratory.

But on the last Sunday but one that Herron was to supply Dr. Thomas's place, he made some of his offensive applications of Christian principles; and upon the demand of one aggressively plutocratic trustee, seconded by others of the subservient type, he was forbidden to complete his engagement with Dr. Thomas.

Strangely enough the trustees themselves invited the reporters into their confidence, and the whole story came out. Prof. Herron gave it connected form in the following interview:

I had made up my mind to say nothing about this, and insisted that the committee of the Christian Citizens' league say nothing, but as the trustees have given you the matter for publication, I can say all there is to say.

There is no trouble between the People's church and myself, and I have no relation to the People's church to sever. I am lecturing Sunday evenings and Monday noons in Central Music hall, under the auspices of the Christian Citizenship league. While here, I preach in different churches Sunday mornings. Dr. Thomas needed rest, and left the city, asking me to preach for him till his return, one week from next Sunday. I have been doing so, and had one more Sunday to preach. Last Tuesday two of the trustees waited on me and said they did not wish me to preach the remaining Sunday, as certain things I had said drove away some men of wealth whose money they needed to run the church.

I replied that we would have no trouble on that score, as I did not care to preach to men who could not bear to hear opinions contrary to their own opinions or financial interests. It seemed bewildering to me that a few men of wealth should assume it to be their right to direct what sort of message 2,000 or 3,000 people should hear preached to them on Sundays. I wonder how the people like it. But such is the way the present day church is governed. I took it all as a matter of course, and I have only the kindest feelings to these trustees. They do not represent the church or Dr. Thomas. They represent the money which rules.

Fortunately for a clear understanding of the objections to Herron's ideas of applied Christianity, the trustees in this case made specifications. Now, specifications are dangerous; and heretofore Herron's plutocratic critics have shrewdly generalized. Even when professing to specify they have been vague. But in the present case no fault can be found upon that score. The specifications are specific. There are two general charges, and no more; political preaching, and preaching socialism; and these charges are supported each by a single specific quotation from his sermon.

In support of the charge of political preaching it is stated that Prof. Herron used the following language:

This is a perjured nation. It has been

untrue to its promises to the natives of the islands of the sea.

In support of the charge of preaching socialism, the following utterance is specified:

It is complained by givers of charity that the poor are ungrateful. This is not to be wondered at, and is a mark of latent manhood. The poor want justice.

One might ask, If these things, so gravely charged to Herron as pulpit crimes, are unworthy of utterance from a Christian pulpit, what is a Christian pulpit for?

No candid man who remembers 12 months of American history denies the facts from which Prof. Herron concludes that ours is a perjured nation. Did we not declare that Cuba is and of right ought to be independent? and go to war with Spain to make her independence secure? Did we not disclaim any intention of sovereignty? Did we not proclaim that forcible annexation is criminal? And did we not make these declarations on the basis of principle?

Yet have we not ignored Cuba's independence? Have we not forcibly annexed Porto Rico? Are we not rushing our soldiers to their death in an effort to forcibly annex the Philippines?

If this be not national perjury what could be?

And is not perjury like that a fit subject for pulpit condemnation? Or is the Christian pulpit reserved for the bloodthirsty invectives which from many a one in these United States have been levelled at natives of the islands of the sea for fighting against awful odds for their God-given liberty? Is it Christian patriotism in the pulpit to preach death to Filipino patriots, and offensive politics in the pulpit to preach against American bad faith and invasion? Does Christ indeed keep step to the deadly music that Otis makes? or is he as Lowell described him, still "agin war and pillage"?

Herron offended a spurious patriotism and a counterfeit Christianity by naming the crime of which this nation is guilty. In righteous wrath he thereby followed the example of his Master. Jesus unreservedly denounced the plutocrats

of his day. Herron has merely used more and milder words than his Master, whose simple expression was: "Hypocrites!"

And if the specification of political preaching so weakly supports the charge, what shall we say of the specification of preaching socialism?

That their ingratitude for charity is, as Herron says, a mark of latent manhood in the poor, few would deny except those degraded souls that seek salvation by grudgingly relieving the necessities of people whose impoverishment they defend as necessary to afford them opportunities to practice charity. But Herron added that "The poor want justice." Was that, then, the sting in his words? And why should that remark sting? Was it because it is true?

Justice is what the poor do want. If the poor had justice there would be no very poor. Neither would there be any very rich. For great poverty in the midst of great wealth, particularly as the poor are the workers as a class and the rich are the idlers as a class, signifies one thing with tremendous emphasis—it signifies that the poor are poor because the rich are rich.

Doubtless that explains the sting in Herron's words. "The poor want justice"—what if they should come to realize their want! What if they should not only want justice in the sense of lacking it, but should come to want it in the sense of consciously desiring it! Should that happen, how would plutocracy fare?

Men who are poor because they lack justice, and come to consciously desire justice, would be a dangerous element—men with votes; they would soon sweep away the cobwebs of privilege in which plutocratic spiders entangle their spoil. There you have the reason, then, for the plutocratic objections to Herron's applications of Christianity. He interprets the poor to themselves. He shows them that their destitution in the midst of abundance is not a mark of divine disfavor, but a result of human injustice. And he implores mankind to remedy the injustice as an act of Christian faith.

Herron's remark about the poor wanting justice, was loaded; and plutocrats who therefore resent it

show that though they be lacking in Christian spirit they have a full share of Yankee wit.

Though the quotations from Prof. Herron which are made above serve well the purpose of indicating the grossly irreligious character of the pious hostility to his theories of applied Christianity, they are only barely suggestive of what he teaches. An elaborate expression is to be found in his new book, published by Crowell, of New York and Boston, under the title "Between Caesar and Jesus." This little book comprises a series of eight lectures, the burden of which is that Jesus' law of love is a veritable law, to which mankind must conform under penalties for disobedience similar to those which attach to the law of gravitation.

In the conflict between existing civilization and an awakening conscience respecting social relations and obligations, Prof. Herron in this book unfolds what he calls "the ethical tragedy of the economic problem." It is impossible, he argues, for any man, under existing social conditions, to live his own life in society without participating in social wrong. He cannot, for example, so much as clothe himself, either in expensive or cheap clothes, without patronizing sweat shops; nor could he refrain from patronizing them without depriving their miserable victims of the boon of work. "If we stay at our posts in order that we may change the system, we are on the backs of our brothers; if we desert our posts, in order that we may get off our brothers' backs, we take bread from their mouths, from the mouths of their children, and add to the army of the workless and hopeless." Thus we are deprived of the highest of all rights—"the right to do right," the right to earn our living "in such a way as to help the living of every other man."

In this dilemma, which forces upon us the alternative of remaining upon our brothers' backs so as to change the system, or getting off their backs and leaving the system to itself, Prof. Herron urges that we choose the former. We must remain at our posts in society though that involve a social sacrifice of conscience. For

"a social problem can have only a social solution for each individual member of society." "An individual," for illustration,

cannot practice national ownership of land, except the land be owned by the nation; if his zeal be at bottom a spiritual self-deceit and cowardice, he will spend his time discussing ways whereby he may individually escape the curse of private ownership; if his zeal be social and Christian, born out of love for his brethren, he will spend his life in bearing away the curse from his nation and from the world.

There can be no individual extrication from responsibility for a wrong social system. "They who stay in the existing order of things because they do not believe in it, are the ones who will make way for the better order." It is by this sacrifice of the individual right to do right, in order to give our lives to procuring a common righteousness for all, that the new social movement is to be promoted.

Nor does the argument ignore individual responsibility for wrong. What determines the individual's spiritual status in sacrificing his conscience for the common well being is his purpose. "The soul that consents to existing social or political or economic arrangements, whereby some of the sons of God are given privileges and opportunities above other sons of God, is a lost soul." It is acquiescence, not participation merely, in the social wrong that makes it an individual crime.

The one final answer, then, "to the question of the relation of the disciple of Jesus to the laws of Caesar," is that the disciple "must conquer Caesar's realm, and transfer the law-making function to Jesus." And to do that he must participate in the reign of Caesar. To this social sacrifice of conscience even Jesus is no exception. He is indeed a concrete example, for he identified himself with the common lot. It is, therefore, the mission of the Christian reformer "to preach what he cannot yet practice."

Prof. Herron now advances his theme from a consideration of the necessity, in existing social conditions, of sacrificing the right to do right, to the question of how to obtain the right to do right. He finds this right to be dependent upon liberty, and lib-

erty to be fundamentally inconsistent with private ownership of public resources. Whoever "sells his labor power under the compulsion of necessity, for the mere means of existence, is in no sense a really free man;" whence it follows that "the common ownership of the earth is the only ground upon which true property and liberty can be built, the only soil in which individuality may take root."

Having reached that conclusion, Prof. Herron makes an extended examination of church authorities to show that genuine Christian experience always manifested itself in the early days in a reaching after economic brotherhood, the practicability of which, he insists, depends upon whether Christianity itself is practical.

That it is not practical to base Christianity upon existing civilization, he not only concedes; he asserts it. It was because Christ was in conflict with civilization, he argues, that they crucified him. Christ's claim to the Messiahship did not concern the political and ecclesiastical powers; they were disturbed not by that, but because his teaching threatened the existing order of things, because "he was aiming at the wrong at the heart of the nation," and the different parties therefore instinctively "knew him at once as the enemy of their order." And so has it been since. "The history of Christianity is the book of an unrelenting conflict between Christ and civilization."

Nor between Christ and civilization alone, but between Christ and Christianity also. "It was as a teacher of elemental life and law that Jesus came," and the era that finally changed his revelation "from a social ideal to an official religion, from a mode of life to a theological system, was one of moral and religious anarchy, insanely wicked and licentious." Then Christianity's "springtime of moral glory had gone, while the summer was soon ended and the long winter of the faith of Jesus began." Before he can again "have his day and social way, there will have to be done for Christianity what Jesus did for Judaism."

Herron adopts no sectarian label,

religious or economic. In economics he objects to socialism not because it is too radical, but because it is not radical; because he "can see in it at best but a transition method and period, a new wilderness journey and discipline, on the way to liberty." He rejects Christian anarchism as exemplified by Tolstoi, "the lofty Russian prophet," not because its program is extreme in the direction of the future, but because it seems to him to be very reactionary. He keeps out of the single tax camp—

Not because that camp is too far in the social advance, but because it occupies no more than the place of a surveying or engineering corps; when the land is once free, and the depraved system of force, fraud and perjury which we call taxation is removed, with the parasitical governmental functions which the system entails, we have then merely cleared the ground for the social problem; the question of human relations and destiny remains to be answered, and to this Mr. George would agree.

Herron stands "simply as an interpreter of Jesus, as an advocate of his ideal of human relations." This is an attainable Christian brotherhood, he holds, a brotherhood ruled by the law of love, the firm foundations of which can be fixed, and if we become really Christian will be fixed, in natural economic law.

To close his plea for this Christian renaissance Prof. Herron discourses on "the victory of failure." Measured by conventional standards the life of Jesus was a failure from beginning to end. It was without a single complete example of success. Yet, had his life been otherwise he could not have been the savior of men. So has it always been. "It is through the sacrifice and failure of the individual idealist that human emancipation has proceeded from the beginning." And now, "the supreme need of the social crisis is that of strong men willing to fail, that they may prove the justice of love and the wisdom of love's sacrifice. Above all else, society needs deliverance from the impracticability of the practical man, from the failure of his successes."

To read Herron's book is to understand why he is feared. It is not

because he advocates violence; in fact he condemns that. It is not because he advocates expropriation of just property; he does not. Neither is it because he holds up an ideal of social life in which equality holds sway; privileged orders never fear ideals if they be preached merely as ideals. It is because he recognizes and advocates as the first and fundamental thing to be done to realize the ideal which Jesus proclaimed, a perfectly practicable economic reform whereby the privilege of private ownership in land would be abolished. He is an idealist with a practical method, an idealist with the sword of justice in his hand and his feet upon the ground. For that reason he is a menace to plutocracy, and for that reason plutocracy fears him and seeks to silence him.

NEWS

Fighting in the Philippines has been shifted from the region of the Pasig river and the lake, to the north in the direction of Malolos, the Filipino capital. The river and the western shores of the lake being in control of the American forces, the Filipino army, as will be remembered, was cut in two. This was the first step in the American plan for conquering it piecemeal. At our last report, that had been accomplished; and after the 19th fighting in the Pasig river region stopped, except for desultory firing upon the Americans by Filipinos. After two or three days of comparative quiet, the next movement in the American plan began. This contemplated a campaign against the northern wing of the Filipino army, with Malolos for the objective, it being understood that with the fall of that city the Filipino army would disintegrate and the war be ended.

While apparently inactive for several days after the 19th, the American force was being reorganized for the Malolos campaign, and on the 25th the first advance was made. At day-break 11,000 American troops moved upon Malabon, a town about six miles north of Manila, which the Americans were reported to have captured more than six weeks ago (see No. 46, page 8), but where the Filipinos were now so securely entrenched that a hot battle was necessary to dislodge them. The news reports describe the result

of this battle as "a sweeping victory." Three lines of Filipino trenches were taken and the Filipinos retreated northward along the railroad toward Polo. As the main body of the Filipino army had been moved down from Malolos to Malibon, it was part of the American plan to surround it there; but the Filipinos succeeded in keeping open their line of retreat, and this part of the American plan wholly failed.

Though the Filipinos retreated, they did so slowly, fighting every inch of the ground from successive lines of trenches. On the 26th the Americans closed in on Polo, and the Filipinos resumed their retreat, firing as they went. They would fire a few volleys from their cover, and then hurry back to other cover. These tactics they repeated, so that the day's work for the Americans consisted in storming successive trenches. Before vacating Polo, the Filipinos set it on fire, and when the Americans came up they found it deserted and burned almost to ashes. The Americans pushed on beyond Polo, after the Filipino rear guard; and on the 27th they captured Meicauayan, a place about two miles beyond Polo, but not without a fight, and advanced to Marilao. All along the way, the Filipinos fought desperately, and the country between Marilao and Manila is described as presenting a picture of desolation. "Smoke curls from hundreds of ash heaps, and the remains of trees and fences torn by shrapnel are to be seen everywhere. The general appearance of the country is as if it had been swept by a cyclone. The roads are strewn with furniture and clothing dropped in flight by the Filipinos. The only persons remaining behind are a few aged persons, too infirm to escape. They camp beside the ruins of the former homes and beg passers-by for any kind of assistance. The majority of them are living on the generosity of our soldiers; who give them portions of their rations. The dogs of the Filipinos cower in the bushes, still terrified and barking, while hundreds of pigs are to be seen searching for food." Upon abandoning Marilao, the Filipinos set it on fire and continued their retreat.

It had by that time been found impossible to pen in the Filipinos between two advancing lines, as had been designed, and the decisive battle which the Americans had been trying to force was considered as like-

ly to be delayed until the retreating and the pursuing armies should reach Malolos. Malolos is out of the range of the guns of the fleet, which had thus far supported the American advance. One of the naval movements was to send gunboats up the estuary to Bulacan, about midway between Marilao and Malolos. Upon discovering this movement the Filipino garrison burned that town and withdrew beyond the reach of naval guns.

A new and evidently unexpected move on the part of the Filipinos was discovered on the 28th. They were then found to be shifting their seat of government from Malolos to San Fernando, a town some 20 miles northwest of Malolos, and off the line of railroad. It was inferred from this that they would not accept pitched battle at Malolos, as had been hoped, but were pursuing their plan of drawing the American army farther into the interior, and away not only from the possibility of help from warships but also from its base of supplies. This change, if carried out and supplemented as it likely would be by the burning of Malolos, would deprive the capture of that place by the Americans of all military and moral advantage. On the 28th, the day of this discovery, the Americans followed the retreating Filipinos to Cavite, fighting all the way as before, and captured that town; and on the 29th, after fierce fighting, they had advanced as far as Guiguinto, which is less than four miles from Malolos. Dispatches of the 29th confirm the report of the removal of the Filipino government from Malolos to San Fernando.

The American casualties reported up to the 27th from the beginning of the war were 157 killed and 864 wounded. But these reports, owing to the cable censorship at Manila, are not trustworthy. Newspaper reporters are forbidden to cable casualties in advance of official reports. The losses will probably prove to have been much greater than the number now conceded. This opinion is based in part upon the indications that the fighting was hard and the admissions in the reports that Filipino marksmanship had improved, as well as upon the reports that the Filipinos had the advantage of position; and in part upon the fact that mail advices as to the casualties at Manila when the Philippine war began show that in the censored cable reports those cas-

ualties were grossly underestimated. For example, a mail correspondent of the Minneapolis Journal—A. A. Law, captain and assistant surgeon of the Thirtieth Minnesota—writes of finding 15 American dead in one place; of the complete wiping out of company M of his regiment, 26 of its members having been killed; of the wounded dying on the table and even after having their wounds dressed. He counted 49 in the deadroom of the hospital. His letter indicates still greater slaughter, but these figures alone exceed those that were reported by cable. Gen. Otis's official report of the deaths up to February 7—the date of Capt. Law's letter—put the number at only 51. Among the killed in the battles of the present month were Col. Egbert, of the Twenty-second, and the German prince Lowenstein, formerly a volunteer aid on Gen. Miller's staff.

In the island of Negros, the disturbances to which we referred last week appear to continue, though the Manila censor forbids the cabling of facts. On the 28th censored press dispatches from Manila asserted that late advices from Negros were to the effect that all was quiet, and that the American battalion which had been sent there had been received by the natives with every manifestation of joy. But a dispatch of the 29th from Singapore to the Associated Press reports that "the inhabitants repudiate the self-constituted authority of the provisional government to arrange affairs with the Americans and have attacked the Americans." This dispatch adds that "the censor at Manila has suppressed the details."

Efforts to terminate the Philippine war by friendly negotiations appear to have been set on foot by British authority. This is reported in the Associated Press dispatch of the 29th, from Singapore, quoted from above, which says:

The insurgents in Luzon sent a message to Lieutenant-Commander Cowper, of the British gunboat *Plover*, when the latter endeavored to effect a compromise, suggesting that they were ready to treat for peace through a neutral great power.

The United States has now entered upon another war in the Pacific islands. This war is against the Samoans; and the United States is cooperating with Great Britain in prosecuting it. A full account of the

relations of the United States to Samoa, together with the circumstances leading up to the present war, was given in these columns two weeks ago (No. 50, page 9). The native election of king had resulted in the choice of Mataafa by 75 per cent. of the voters. But the American chief justice, who holds his place under the protectorate treaty between England, Germany and the United States, held, for some as yet unexplained reason, that Mataafa was disqualified, and awarded the native throne to young Malietoa, son of the late king, who had contested the election with Mataafa and received 25 per cent. of the votes. Thereupon Mataafa made war upon Malietoa, defeated him, and established a government which the three treaty powers have since recognized provisionally, though it has been understood that they would support young Malietoa. Upon the arrival of Rear Admiral Kautz, in command of the American warship *Philadelphia*, a conference of the consuls and senior naval officers was held, at which it was decided to put down the Mataafa government; and on March 15, Admiral Kautz issued an ultimatum commanding Mataafa to withdraw from the municipality of Apia by one o'clock on that day, and threatening bombardment at that hour in case of refusal. The ultimatum was ignored, and, according to the report of the 23d, which reached New Zealand on the 29th, and was then cabled from there, Mataafa began an attack about 12:30 upon Apia "in the direction of the United States and British consulates," whereupon the *Philadelphia* and two British warships opened fire on the distant native villages. At the time of the report the bombardment had continued intermittently for eight days. Several native villages had been destroyed, and there had been much destruction of life; but upon these points details are lacking.

A long stride in the direction of Americanizing municipal ownership of street railroads has been taken in Michigan. A bill was passed by the legislature on the 23d authorizing the purchase by the city of Detroit of the street railway system now in operation there under private ownership; and on the 24th Gov. Pingree signed the bill. This bill, now a law, provides for the appointment by the Detroit city council of a street railway commission which may, in its discretion and upon such terms and conditions as it may deem advisable for

the interests of the city, acquire any street railway now in existence and lying wholly within, or partly without the city, together with its property, assets, rights, privileges, etc. The commission is to provide for the payment of all obligations, and may establish a sinking fund for the discharge of liens upon any of the property acquired, and pledge the earnings and receipts of the railways for these purposes. It is given no power to incur any obligation on behalf of the city except such as shall be chargeable only upon the railway and property so acquired and the earnings, increments and extensions thereof. Once acquired, the street railway system is to be operated by this commission, which is authorized to purchase with the revenues thereof all lands, tracks, cars, motors, etc., to be used in connection therewith, and to establish the rates of fare. The commission is further empowered to exercise such other general powers as are possessed by boards of directors of corporations of street railway companies. The common council is given power to at any time examine the books, etc., of the commission, and the commission is required to make annual reports to the council showing a detailed statement of the receipts and expenditures. This Michigan measure is evidently drawn with a view to giving to Detroit much the same street car system that has proved so successful in Glasgow.

In the direction of social agitation, Prof. Albion W. Small created a sensation on the 28th at the Methodist ministers' meeting in Chicago. The significance of what Prof. Small said will be appreciated better if it is known that he is head professor of sociology in the University of Chicago, the university that is so closely associated with Mr. Rockefeller's name, on account of the heavy endowments he has made for its support. The drift of Prof. Small's talk may be inferred from the following extracts:

The social system in which we live and move and have our being is so bad nobody can tell the full measure of its iniquity. In this age of so-called "democracy" we are getting to be the thralls of the most relentless system of economic oligarchy that history has thus far recorded. That capital from which most of us directly or indirectly get our bread and butter is become the most undemocratic, inhuman and atheistic of all the heathen divinities. It breeds children but to devour the bodies of some, the souls of others and to put

out the spiritual eyesight of the rest. The socialistic indictments of our civilization are essentially sound. Mind, I do not say the remedies are sound, but the indictments are true.

Following that astounding description of social conditions, Prof. Small told his clerical auditors that

There are clouds on the social horizon already bigger than a man's hand, foretelling changes of which no one is wise enough to predict the end. If present tendencies continue it will not be long before the men whose business is to communicate ideas will be gagged by those who publish ideas, and the publishers will be shackled by the makers of paper, and the paper manufacturers will be held up by the transportation lines, and the transportation corporations by the producers of steel, and the steel industries by the coal operators, and the coal miners by the oil producers, and the oil magnates by the stove makers, and the cook-stove men by the sugar trust, and the sugar interests by Wall street, and the stock brokers by the labor unions, and they by the farmers, and the farmers, God help them, by everybody. I am not throwing the dust of my library in your faces, but if you heed the symptoms from bank and office, factory and railroad headquarters and daily press you have discovered that the very men who made these combinations are beginning to be frightened at their shadows. These very business men who claim a monopoly of practical "horse sense" have involved themselves and all of us in a grim tragedy. They are asking in a quiet way how it is all going to end. Whether they realize it or not, our vision of freedom is passing into the eclipse of universal corporate compulsion in the interest of capital. The march of human progress is getting reduced to making time in the lock-step of capital's chain gang. It would make infinitely more for human weal if every dollar of wealth was cleaned off the earth, if we could have instead of it industry and homes and justice and love and faith, than to be led much further into the devil's dance of capitalism.

NEWS NOTES.

—Secretary Alger has gone to Cuba.

—The British house of commons has adjourned till April 10.

—President McKinley returned to Washington on the 28th from his vacation in the south.

—A bloody battle between two African tribes is reported as having just occurred on the Moroccan frontier.

—W. B. Addington, a leading business man of St. Louis and well known in single tax circles throughout Missouri, died suddenly on the 25th of cerebral hemorrhage, at St. Louis.

—From Moscow it is reported that a fierce fight between Christians and Muslims has taken place in Smyrna, with heavy loss on both sides.

—The central council of the National Sound Money league met on the 28th at New York. J. Sterling Morton was re-elected president of the league.

—A regular American post office has been established in Cuba in place of the New York city station which has thus far represented the American postal system there.

—Prof. Robert Koch, the celebrated bacteriologist, who in 1883, at the head of the German cholera commission, visited Egypt and India and then discovered the so-called "comma" cholera bacillus, will start with an expedition next month for the tropics to continue his investigation as to the nature and origin of malaria. The reichstag has made a grant of \$15,000 in aid of the undertaking.

—A public demonstration of Tripler's liquid air discovery has been made at Washington. Mr. Tripler takes 800 gallons of ordinary air and by reducing its temperature to 312 degrees turns it to a liquid. As it warms it expands into air again just as water is expanded into steam by heat. By controlling this expansion Mr. Tripler proposes to furnish a new motive power. The first gallon or two is made by the use of coal or any other ordinary fuel, as ice is made in a factory, but thereafter ten gallons of the fluid may be produced by the expenditure of two.

—Successful experiments with wireless telegraphy were made on the 28th between Dover and Boulogne in the presence of a commission of the French government. The inventor, Sig. Marconi, uses a vertical conductor at each terminus, and he finds that the distance to which signals can be sent varies according to the square of the length of these conductors. With a conductor 80 feet high, signals can be transmitted 18 miles. The conductors used for the Dover-Boulogne experiment were 114 feet high.

—It is reported from Dawson that two Swedes mining on a gold claim on lower Dominion creek, Klondike, on February 5 struck the well-preserved body of a monster mammoth at a depth under the surface of forty feet. So well preserved was the monster that the hind quarter, weighing 8,642 pounds, was taken to Dawson in sections and served in a restaurant in place of moose meat. The animal had apparently been caught in a glacial slide. It weighs between twenty-five and thirty tons, with a length over all of forty-four feet and six inches. Its right trunk is broken, but the left is in a perfect state of preservation, measuring fourteen feet three inches in length and thirty-eight inches in circumference.

MISCELLANY

THE BEARERS.

For The Public.

Who bears the White Man's burden?
Who bends beneath the load,
When nations press for payment
Of homage never owed?
The crafty chiefs in council?
The petty prince in power?
Or rests its weight on shoulders
Made strong against that hour?

Made strong through years of labor;
To swift obedience trained;
A fettered host of freemen;
A people free, yet chained.
Free to be led and follow
Blindly where banners lead;
Yet none the less in bondage—
Slaves to the White Man's greed.

These bear the White Man's burden
Through all the days of wrath.
These, in the wild and desert,
Make smooth and safe the path—
Safe for the White Man's coming
In fields not yet his own,
To reap a golden harvest
Where lead and steel were sown.

Send forth your best and bravest
To swell the sacrifice,
Draw on the boundless future,
Its sons shall pay the price
In days when this, their country,
Of its defense thus shorn,
Falls easy prey to passions
Of nations yet unborn.

TOM CARDER, JR.

"SEPARATE FROM SINNERS."

I said, "I will separate myself from the world. O Lord, my soul is white and I am weary of the sins of men."

God said, "Your hands are red, how came your soul so white?"

I answered, "Lord, it is a bloody world and generations of men have suffered from their sins. I have profited by their errors; have I not seen how evil spots the soul? I have kept mine white."

"Are all your brethren's souls now white?" said God.

I hung my head.

"Go back to your work," said God, "you have learned in their pains and you must suffer in their penalties."—Bolton Hall, in *The Kingdom*.

BABIES CHEAPER THAN PUPPIES.

In any great city of the world you can buy a first-class human baby for less money than will buy a second-class dog. Usually you can get a first-class human baby for nothing. You can never get a fairly good dog on such terms. You can't get any kind of a monkey without paying a good price. The joke seems to be on poor old mother Nature. She has spent many, many long millions of years producing man. She probably spent five million years perfecting his hand alone, to say nothing of the time spent on his brain. She was nursing

him along in the warm corners of the earth during the twenty thousand glacial years when the ice was a mile deep where we are now living. And after all her trouble she discovers that human babies are cheaper than puppies! It's a very good joke on her.—*New York Evening Journal*.

"THE SIN OF BEING RICH."

Notwithstanding that our churches are full of them, the term "millionaire Christian" is an utter absurdity. Such gigantic riches can be produced only by the "unearned increment" of land values, which of right is the common heritage of all men, or by the monopolistic system by means of which the commercial spirit robs alike of their just proportion of profit both inventive genius and individual thrift. This is very conclusively shown in the *New York Tribune's* list of 4,000 American millionaires. Well has Bolton Hall said: "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar. Scratch a millionaire, and you find a monopolist." Building churches and contributing liberally to charity soup-houses, on the corner of Misery street and Starvation alley, does not make that kind of riches Christian. Founding an institution of learning does not justify ill-gotten gain, nor does the endowment of a university with millions sanctify the hypocrisy of the giver.—*Rev. J. Hoffman Batten, of Peoria, Ill., as reported in the Peoria Star of March 13.*

LINCOLN ON THE PREAMBLE TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of man. . . . They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage

to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the human and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

OTIS AS A HEAD HUNTER.

This pleasant information is permitted to leak out of the war department through the medium of a special to the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*. It certainly should give zest to our merry pursuit of imperial glory through "benevolent assimilation:"

It need not surprise the American people to hear any day that the body of Gen. Aguinaldo has been brought to Manila. Although this government has set no price on his head, it is well understood here, in inside military circles, that Gen. Otis has been taking measures to capture alive, if possible, the notorious rebel leader, and that, failing to take him alive, means will be taken to kill him and bring his body to Manila.

Gen. Otis, it is said, is of the opinion that Aguinaldo alone is responsible for the present insurrection and for the destruction of thousands of his unfortunate countrymen, as well as the sacrifice of the lives of many American soldiers and hundreds of helpless women and children. His whole career is regarded as one of treachery, and it is felt that his capture or death is essential to the peace of the Philippines and the ending of the war. While no detailed statement can be given in regard to the instructions that Gen. Otis has given in regard to Aguinaldo, the *Dispatch* correspondent is reliably informed that he has in his employ a number of daring men, both natives and Americans, who are devoting their whole time to the pursuit and capture of Aguinaldo.

It is the belief of Gen. Otis that the insurgent chief, with his usual cunning, is keeping safely away from the firing line, and that he is in hiding in some safe retreat, away from danger. Here they expect to find him, and, as stated, it is expected that the news of his capture will be flashed across the cable at an early day.

So America has joined the head hunters. But has she forgotten that a price was set on the head of her own George Washington and that he was regarded by George of England as Gen. Otis seems to regard Aguinaldo?

But in connection with this inspiring news let us read what Capt. John McCafferty, a San Francisco business man, has to say concerning Aguinaldo and Otis. Capt. McCafferty visited the Philippines last November for business reasons and he writes thus to the *San Francisco Bulletin*:

On my arrival at Manila, United States Consul Williams gave me a letter of introduction to President Aguinaldo, from whom I desired a permit to visit the mountain ranges of the island of Luzon. Aguinaldo, however, refused me permission to go over the island, reluctantly assigning as a reason that his relations with Maj.

Gen. Otis were so unsatisfactory that trouble might come at any time, and therefore he did not think it advisable to let an American travel about in the interior. Necessarily I deemed it best to return to Manila and await further developments. . . .

I shall here say if the people of the United States understood the situation as I do, they would insist upon the withdrawal of our forces and in the establishment of a strong and sympathetic protectorate over the Philippine islands, leaving the government there entirely to the people. Such a policy would place the Americans unapproachably and everlastingly on top. But I now greatly fear that, owing perhaps to mischievous intrigues, McKinley's administration is drifting the American people into the treacherous eddies of the European grab policy, from which our nation will emerge smirched beyond recognition.

I have no doubt that this serious outbreak with the Filipinos could be traced to Maj. Gen. Otis. He has for months studiously subjected Aguinaldo to unmerited insolence. Through our incompetent representatives we have treated those people outrageously. The people of the United States do not understand the situation, because news has been suppressed. The Filipinos are a calm, peaceful, industrious and fairly intelligent people. I have often heard them say: "The Americans are very foolish, because they swear a great deal and drink too much liquor." Again, we have broken our promises with Aguinaldo; we have gone back on our word. He would never have returned had not Consuls-General Pratt at Singapore, Wildman at Hong-Kong and Consul Williams, now at Manila, urged him to do so, giving him to understand that the Filipinos would become independent; that the government of the United States would establish their independence when the war with Spain was over. Such was the nature of that understanding, on the strength of which Aguinaldo returned and reorganized his people; he even received arms and ammunition from the United States for that purpose. I shall assert that, but for the Filipinos, we might yet be trying to beat the Spaniards in the Philippines. Aguinaldo confined them within the city of Manila until we captured it.

Yet now we learn that this same Aguinaldo, this chief who helped us whip the Spaniards, is being hunted as though he were a wolf; that he is to be taken alive or dead and that brave Gen. Otis "has in his employ a number of daring men, both natives and American, who are devoting their entire time to the pursuit and capture" of the man whom Dewey armed and whom our consuls endorsed only a few months ago.

We hope Otis is proud of his distinction in infamy.—Daily Democrat, of Johnstown, Pa., Mar. 20.

DEMOCRACY—SPIRITUAL, POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL.

Extracts from the address on Municipal Ideals, delivered in Central Music Hall, Chicago, March 27, by Prof. George D. Heron, as reported in the Chicago Record.

The problem that has been working itself out in history, that really lies at

the heart of every great political struggle, every great religious improvement, every movement for new liberty in any form, is the realization of the democracy of power—a struggle for distribution of the power by which men live and organize their own lives. The revolt against religious dogmatism has not been, as men think, due to an elemental skepticism of any sort, but because the creed becomes a sort of impersonal, spiritual tyrant, dictating what men shall believe, how they shall worship and what they shall think. This revolt against dogmatism is thus an everlasting struggle of men to be free, to have their own souls in their own hands, to see God and individualize God for themselves in their own lives.

The same thing is true in politics and political revolutions. The real struggle for political liberty is a fight for distribution of power. It is a protest which must last as long as the Deity lasts against any man being subject to another man. There can by no possibility exist a stable order in the world when that order subjects men in any form whatsoever to each other. There never lived a man who could be trusted to rule another man. There never lived a man into whose hands the welfare, religious, political or economic, of any other man could be committed. This distribution of power is the meaning of all historic struggle. It lies at the root of spiritual aspiration, of what we call revolt.

Any sort of power which subjects the mind or the interests, the economic or political well being of one to another, always destroys those who are ruled over. No man was ever ruled or ever felt himself obliged to adjust his thinking and his working to some other man or some class of men without having every citadel of his soul attacked. On the other hand, no man ever ruled another man or used him to do good, even in the kingdom of God, without striking at his own soul and committing spiritual murder. Thus wherever any class has power over another class that class itself becomes enslaved. A ruling class first destroys the power of the unprivileged classes for self-government and then in turn becomes self-enslaved. Nero had power, yet he lived in constant fear for its stability. So is the modern plutocrat afraid to have a word spoken; so afraid that the existing order of things will be destroyed that he subsidizes newspapers, writes the editorials and even the dispatches from country towns; so afraid of what shall be spoken that he buys up the colleges by giving them rich endow-

ments; so afraid that he controls the organization of churches. And what are these men afraid of? They are afraid to have free men speak the truth that is in them.

Any system that rests upon special privileges, that has a privileged class, is a system that has in it all the elements of corruption and destruction. A privileged or a ruled class is the seed that has been the destruction of every civilization. Special privileges have been the poison which has killed every civilization that has come into the world, and they are the poisons that are eating out the virility and manhood of this civilization.

Power can reside only in the common life. Any sort of a system, political or religious, which places men under the rule of other men, is elementally immoral. Where, then, must it reside in this day? There was a time when power resided in the throne, when it was vested in the sovereigns, but to-day it is not the divine right of kings; it is the divine right of privately-owned public property that we have to deal with. In modern civilization property is concrete power. All legislation, all powers of judiciary have to do with property. Property centralizes power. The kings are gone. People are no longer afraid of creeds, but property, which De Tocqueville long ago said would give to America the worst despotism it ever knew, to-day brings us face to face again with the old problem of absolutism, for the monopolist of 1899 is simply Caesar come down through state and church to land finally upon his solidest basis upon the face of God's earth, which belongs to the people. Unless we have democracy in natural resources there can never be religious or political democracy.

I would say a word anent the modern "moral crusade" extant in such cities as Chicago and New York. Crusades against those who are already helpless victims of the existing order are simply ghastly in their immorality and damnable in their moral ignorance. If preachers would crusade against gambling, let them commence with the gamblers in their own pews, and not with the souls that are the inevitable grist of latter-day civilization's mills. I agree with the protest against gambling, but let these crusaders look into their own pews some Sunday morning to discover, let us say, an imaginary gambler—one who had waxed rich through franchises or one who through real estate gambling, which is the most vicious of all gambling, had invested funds to raise nothing upon his land except the devil.

Think of how people had toiled and created his land values for him and how he had endowed pretty nearly every college in the west with the profits the people earned, and had been enshrined as a patron saint in that church or in this doctrine of divinity. I would say this gambler had debauched every educational institution, the whole religious denomination, the manhood of every teacher and preacher and every thought in this western civilization. If we are to attack civic evils, then, attack them at the root. Begin to attack gambling where gambling begins.

A business is either public or private. If it is public, private interests should not be concerned in it. If it is private, the public has no right to arrogate to itself powers of control. Attempted municipal regulation of a natural monopoly in private hands must result either in injustice and useless irritation to the holders of such privileges or, on the other hand, in debauchery of municipal servants. If the municipality must enter the field of electric lighting in order to insure justice to its citizens, it cannot secure that result by assuming to dictate the policy of a private business. Justice does not spring out of injustice. The municipality may perhaps in justice buy the plant of a private corporation at a price which it would cost to duplicate it, and grant no further privileges; but it cannot, in reason, expect private interests to continue in such business harassed by the unintelligent and often stupid restrictions imposed by ignorant legislators.—F. H. Wentworth, in *Western Electrician*.

The principal plank in the next liberal (English) platform will be to raise the needed revenue by the taxation of ground values, the absence of which relieves the immense wealth of ground landlords from its fair contribution to both the local and national revenue.—N. Y. Times.

What becomes of the enormous wealth which is created by the improved technical agencies of our times? It is being concentrated and massed in the hands of a comparatively small number of individuals, who, by combining, are gradually getting to control, not only the chief business enterprises of the land, but who, by the gigantic power which they wield and which reaches out in every direction, are making themselves felt at the seat of government and in the councils of the nation. It is almost an open secret that the moneyed magnates of the land are shaping the present policy of our coun-

try. We do not complain of the wonderful development of the technical and mechanical agencies which distinguish our age, and which have multiplied the wealth of the nations, nor would we, if we could, return to the more simple and primitive condition of our ancestors, but we do deplore the fact that the immense resources of wealth are so unequally and unjustly distributed in the world; we lament a condition of things in which it is possible for a few to amass fabulous millions, whereby they can control the very sources of life, while millions of human beings must live from hand to mouth, if not in a state of actual need and starvation, and must at all times be beholden and subservient to money-bags for the miserable pittance to keep body and soul together.—Rabbi S. Safe, of St. Louis.

JOHN P. ALTGELD.

For The Public.

A brave, determined advocate of right,
Standing like adamant 'gainst lawless
might;

A broad-brained, level-headed statesman,
he—

To vindicate the truth, to aid the free,
To battle for mankind 'gainst tyrants
strong;

A living barrier 'gainst the hordes of
wrong;

A pillar holding up fair Freedom's tower;
A bulwark 'gainst imperial pomp and
power;

An anchor for fair Freedom's ship of state;
The man of destiny that tyrants hate.
Yet freemen love the man, revere his name,
Now written high upon the roll of fame.

CHARLES J. BEATTIE.

An Iowa judge relates an amusing incident that occurred in his court when a colored man was brought up for some petty offense. The charge was read, and as the statement "The State of Iowa against John Jones," was made in a loud voice, the colored man's eyes bulged out of their sockets, and he seemed perfectly overcome with terror and astonishment. When he was asked if he had anything to say, or pleaded guilty or not guilty, he gasped out: "Well, yo' honah, ef de whole State o' Iowa is agin this one pore nigger, I'se gwine to give up right now?"—Ex.

If raising an army and paying wages will create good times, why not raise an army of 5,000,000? Why not the greater the army the greater the prosperity? Who will pay the expenses?—Cleveland Citizen.

The landlord is recognized as a costly anachronism, whose moral claim, even to compensation for expropriation, is constantly getting weaker.—Matthew Arnold, as quoted by *London Daily News*.

Arctic Exploration.—For forty-five years we had been imprisoned by the ice, and our situation was become desperate. It was not likely that we could hold out forty-five years longer. In this juncture a ship appeared. An officer disembarked and came to us. "Who are you?" he asked, anxiously. "We are the Smith party," we replied. "You, doubtless, are our relief expedition." "No," said the officer, "the Jones party are your relief expedition. We are the relief expedition of the Jones party. So long." Merciful heavens! If we were not rescued soon, we should be too old to lecture!—*Detroit Journal*.

There are people in New York making pants for 12 cents that sell for \$4 to \$6—but they don't wear them. There are people in New York making suits for 69 cents that sell for \$18 and \$20—but they don't wear them. There are people in New York making shirts for 29 cents a dozen that sell for \$1 each—but they don't wear them. Only two classes of persons will defend a system under which such conditions exist—the brutal and the ignorant.—*Social Dem. Herald*.

"I thought I had him silenced," remarked the man whose mind stoops to small things. "But I hadn't." "To whom do you refer?" "That old inhabitant who is always declaring it's the hottest or coldest weather the city has known. I strolled up to him and said: 'This is very moderate weather we're having.' 'Yes,' said he, 'to my personal knowledge, it's the moderate weather we've had in sixty years.'"—*Washington Star*.

Dick Turpin is blamed (suppose) by some plain-minded person for consuming the means of other people's living. "Nay," says Dick to the plain-minded person, "observe how beneficently and pleasantly I spend whatever I get!" "Yes, Dick," persists the plain-minded person, "but how do you get it?" "The question," says Dick, "is insidious and irrelevant."—John Ruskin.

"There goes the most remarkable man in this town."

"What's remarkable about him?"

"He's the only successful merchant we have who doesn't claim to be a self-made man. He says he got rich through the faithfulness of the men that work for him."—*Chicago Tribune*.

Son—I don't want to go into any occupation that is overcrowded.

Father—Well, it's much better to go into some occupation that is overcrowded than to waste your time looking for one that isn't.—Puck.