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Were the relative superiority of the white race and the black to be decided by impartial judges upon a comparison of what white writers say against the Negro race and what Negro writers say for it, the day would be a frigid one for the white race. Compare Bishop Brown's and Thomas S. Dixon's effusions with those of Booker T. Washington, and answer for yourself whether Washington is not superior to the others—not as a barbarian but as a civilized man. They are the barbarians.

The Royal Tea Co. asks the courts of Chicago for an injunction prohibiting a former salesman from soliciting orders among its customers. The tea company alleges that this salesman while employed by it became "conversant with the whims and caprices" of tea buyers on some of its routes, and that knowledge of these "whims and caprices" is one of its valuable assets, which its ex-salesman threatens to dissipate, to its irreparable damage, etc. One might think this a travesty on "government by injunction" if there were any margin for satire.

We learn from the Boston Transcript that there are three bills before the Massachusetts legislature dealing with the tramp problem. The bills are superficial and technical, such as the inspection of lodging houses and the application of the Bertillon system of measurement. "The local agitation," says the Transcript, "is part of the national movement which has extended to most of the large cities in the

East and middle West. . . . The hopefulness of the situation," it continues, "lies in the growing recognition of the fact that the tramp is not a national, or rather continental, phenomenon." How long has the tramp been a national phenomenon? Human nature has not changed—why is the phenomenon modern? If the conferences of charity and correction, in their contemplation of the tramp, would seek to study out the economic causes that have produced the tramp, they might do more good than by urging the passage of fad laws, and inspiring a paper like the Transcript to talk about the "hopefulness of the situation."

The March number of Hammer and Pen, published at New York, contains the sad news of the death of Kemper Bocoek, secretary of the Christian Social Union. He was nephew of Gov. Kemper, of Virginia, and belonged to one of the best known families of that State. His career at college was brilliant, especially in the languages, and when he entered on a career of journalism in Philadelphia and New York, his friends expected from him conspicuous success. Soon, however, he entered the Episcopal ministry, and, becoming interested in industrial questions, devoted himself to social work in the church. The more the churches can become imbued with his spirit, the less will be heard of the divorce between them and the people.

If the Republican members of the House of Representatives cared less for their obstructive rules and conventional dignity they might care more for their honor. A notable instance of their having cloaked dishonor in pretentious dignity was their action (p. 802) in the Baker-Babcock

matter. Babcock is a leading Republican Congressman who appears, upon the uncontradicted evidence, to be a corrupt man and faithless official. Baker is a Democratic Congressman who has "queered" himself with the pass-taking members of both parties by refusing a railroad pass and publicly exposing the corruptionist who offered it to him. Mr. Baker introduced some of the evidence against Babcock into the Congressional Record. He did so under "leave to print," a custom which is utilized by all members to fill the Record with undelivered speeches and campaign documents. In these supposititious speeches and these documents it is not uncommon to reflect upon private citizens and public officials. If Mr. Baker had done that, however vituperatively, provided his language had been parliamentary—or at any rate, if a pass-taking member had done it—the speech and document would have remained in the Record. But Mr. Baker's document reflected upon a member of Congress, and his speech called for explanation from that member. This was Baker's offense. So another pass-taking member, and one whom Baker had badly worsted in debate upon the floor, moved solemnly to strike Baker's speech from the Record. Not because it was slanderous. Not because the accused member denied it, for he did not. But because it reflected upon a member. This action of the Congressional majority could be approved as a matter of enforcing parliamentary decorum, if the accused member had been thereupon properly called to book. But no. Though charged with corruption in the interest of pass-giving railroads and against the postal department of the government in whose legislature he sits, Babcock is immune. The House by majority vote soothes its wounded hon-

or completely by rebuking the somewhat unparliamentary but honest member who exposed the parliamentary but dishonest one. Oh, that Congress might have in its membership fewer parliamentary Babcocks and more unparliamentary Bakers.

What with his Babcock exposure and his railroad pass exposure, Congressman Baker has become persona non grata to pass-taking members of both parties. So restive are they that they accord him none of the favors of the floor, and none of the rights of a member when they can avoid it, and some of the worst hit are in their manner insulting besides. An instance may be found in the Congressional Record of March 23 at pages 3760, 3762 and 3765. Mr. Baker had secured the floor in committee of the whole as matter of right, upon the familiar evasive motion to "strike out the last word" of a line in the pending bill, and had spoken on the subject of wages for postal employes. The point he had made, and ably made, was that the majority, though lavish in the extreme with public money for privileged corporations, for a big navy, for a large army, for royal decorations at the White House, are extremely economical when it comes to recompensing government employes for hard labor. Instancing the income of rural carriers, which had been shown upon the floor to net only \$300 to \$325 a year, he reminded the majority that this is only half what they have claimed that every man can get in these days of "prosperity." Mr. Baker was forceful, yet entirely parliamentary. But when he asked unanimous consent for an extension of his time for a further five minutes, a courtesy that is almost invariably granted to other members, and was granted to one a few minutes later, the Republican leader objected. And when, to get the time he needed, Baker moved to strike out the two last words of the line in the bill then being considered, he was ruled out of order. Whereupon he

remarked: "It has been done before, Mr. Chairman, and I shall notice the fact in future." The animus of the Republican leader's objection (Overstreet had charge of the pending bill and he objected), is manifest from the report in the Record taken together with Baker's active hostility to the corruptionists. Baker has made himself obnoxious to the friends in Congress of the corrupting railroad interests, because he has made himself dangerous to the corrupt railroads. It is satisfactory, therefore, to see from the Record of the 23d, at page 3774, that he intends to fight these corrupting influences in Congress even if he fights alone. He has taken up the only weapon that is available under such circumstances—his right under the rules to deny to others the courtesies which are thus denied to him.

This policy appears to have been adopted by Mr. Baker in two instances on the 23d. Unanimous consent to consider private bills out of their order was asked and Mr. Baker's objection headed them off. To keep this up will be hard work. Mr. Baker will have to be in his seat every minute of the day from the opening to the close of the session. Otherwise unanimous-consent legislation may slip through. How easily that may happen is evident from the fact that Mr. Baker was recently the only member who voted against an Indian land bill which was so corrupt that the President has given warning that unless it is modified before it comes to him he will veto it.

In an interview a political friend of Mr. Baker's now in Washington makes this explanation of Mr. Baker's position:

It is quite obvious that the leaders have a wholesome dread of Baker and have practically decided to curtail his opportunities to speak. They realize he is without fear, or, rather, that he does not weigh the consequences to himself when he feels impelled to expose official rottenness, and with this the post office department reeks. They make no concealment of their purpose to give strict interpretation to the rules whenever

Baker seeks recognition. He is, however, unruffled and undaunted by the rather summary manner in which his Babcock exposure was expunged from the Record by the majority. He proposes to force a change of attitude on their part so that he may receive such courtesies as are due to a member of Congress; and for this purpose he will, if need be, sit daily in the House from opening prayer to adjournment and seize upon every opportunity to block the wishes of the majority and force a change in their line of campaign. From letters received by him from constituents of Representative Babcock, and also from other letters and newspaper clippings that come to him, it is very evident that Mr. Baker's action in getting the Babcock matter into the Record meets with wide and pronounced approval. If properly utilized by the Democracy next fall the Babcock episode should not only result in the defeat of Mr. Babcock, but add upwards of 100,000 votes to the Democratic party column. As I have said, Baker will be on guard from the convening to the closing of each day's session, and it will be interesting to watch which side first cries "quits."

This is the way in which the Washington staff correspondent of the Brooklyn Eagle, a paper that fought Baker's election because he is a democratic-Democrat, and is far from friendly to him now, sums up Baker's contest with the Republicans for the week ending last Saturday:

Representative Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, is engaged in a warfare with the rest of the House, or, at least, with the 206 members who compose the Republican majority. He has just closed a week of strenuous battle, coming out of the fray somewhat the worse for wear. Here is the list of casualties sustained by him in successive skirmishes with the oppressive majority:

Monday—The House, by a party vote, expunged from the Record a speech inserted by Mr. Baker under leave to print.

Tuesday—Persistent refusal of the chairman to recognize Baker, who is still under displeasure by the majority.

Wednesday—Ditto, in addition to taunts from Sibley and other leaders for his so-called paternalistic bill. [This bill was introduced by Mr. Baker at the request of a constituent, and the fact that he introduced it by request appears upon its face. Mr. Baker is not a paternalist. He is an individualist, believing that that government is best which governs least.—Editor Public.]

Thursday—Double reprimand from the chairman for transgressing the rules of the House.

Friday—The chairman chokes off Baker's anti-Roosevelt amendment to the post office bill, after it is only half read.

Against this array of disasters, Baker places the following achievements to his credit:

A published attack on Chairman Babcock, of the Republican Congressional campaign committee; a speech attacking the extravagance of the administration and its parsimony toward the letter carriers; holding up of half a dozen private bills of Republican leaders; general fear of him on the part of the majority.

At present there is a truce between Baker and the Republicans. He has compelled them to treat him with a little more consideration than was accorded to him earlier in the week. • He can now occasionally get recognition from the chair. If things continue favorable, Baker will let the Republicans pass some of their private bills, but if the policy of suppression is resumed the warfare will be reopened, and there will be no unanimous consent for consideration of pet Republican measures.

Baker believes there is an organized movement on the part of the majority to suppress him. He has been told this by a dozen or more of his Democratic associates who have urged him to assert himself.

The Brooklyn man was particularly incensed over the action of Chairman Boutell in publicly reprimanding him on Thursday for insisting on speaking in the absence of recognition. Baker says the chairman repeatedly ignored his appeals for recognition in the most unfair manner. He believed the rebuke to be unmerited and laid himself out to get revenge. He systematically objected to every request that came up for consideration of Republican bills. He stuck faithfully to this task, even refusing to answer telephone calls for fear of a ruse to get him out of the House. Yesterday morning the Republican leaders came to him with offers of peace. They tried to make him think reprimands and the expunging of speeches are mere trifles in the life of every Representative. Baker was obdurate to all appeals to withdraw his objections, and served warning that until he received better treatment he would make it his business to see that not a single Republican private bill got through. "I can afford to sit here five hours a day for this purpose," he declared. "I haven't a single bill before the House in which I am interested, and am not concerned in any log-rolling scheme. Until I get my rights and privileges the blockade will continue." After this defiance Baker noticed a change in sentiment toward him. Late yesterday [Friday] evening the chairman recognized him to submit an amendment to the Post Office bill. It was a proposition to reimburse the railroads for the expense of the trip taken by the President last year. After

about two lines of the amendment had been read the leaders caught on to its purport, and the reading was instantly stopped, the amendment being declared out of order.

Baker says he is fairly well pleased with the situation to-day. Hostilities will be reopened at the first sign of a renewal of the effort to squelch him.

From the Record of the 26th it would appear that Baker's tactics have won. He is there reported as having made a 15 minutes' speech on the floor, and at its close to have asked unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record—that is, for "leave to print." The unanimous consent was given.

If William Allen White's "sermon" on the conviction of Senator Burton fairly indicates the Republican ideals that hold sway in Kansas, Senator Burton's real offense, according to those ideals, is not that he was a corrupt corporation tool, but that he acquired a bad reputation and then allowed himself to get caught red-handed.

Mr. White tells us that Burton has been notorious in Kansas for corruption for 20 years and that his election to the Senate "was due to the influence of railroads" in Kansas politics, "peremptory orders" having come out of Chicago and St. Louis in the campaign which ended with Burton's election demanding that Kansas railroad lawyers "support Burton or lose their places." Mr. White observes incidentally and suggestively that Burton has been of no assistance to the railroads that elected him, "because he could not be trusted with any important work and his connection with even a minor measure subjected it to suspicion." The moral of it all for railroads would seem to be this: When buying a legislator of the party in power, buy one of bad character but good reputation. Mr. Burton made the fatal mistake when he set about building up a bad character to build up a bad reputation also. He was therefore at a disadvantage when caught with incriminating goods in his possession. How he must have yearned at that dread moment to be able to exclaim

defiantly, as do pass-taking Congressmen, judges, etc.: "Who dare accuse me of corruption? The corporation booty has been found upon me, do you say? Granted. But who dare charge a man of my reputation with being corruptly influenced by corporation booty in my possession?"

So much has been said recently by the "remorganizing" newspapers about an alliance between Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst for the nomination of the latter, and so many rather well-intentioned but somewhat unsophisticated citizens are fooled by this species of journalistic skulduggery, that it is worth while to state again Mr. Bryan's absolutely defensible position. He has very definitely and frequently drawn the line as to the kind of man who, in his judgment, ought to be available for the Democratic nomination. On one side of this line he has named some names—Cleveland, Hill, Parker. On the ground that these men are not really Democrats but are agents of plutocracy, Mr. Bryan rightly regards them as ineligible. On the other side of the line, he has named many names, absolutely without regard to his personal preferences; and as to these he has consistently and persistently refused to make any choice or indicate any preference. Mr. Hearst's name is one of the many whom Mr. Bryan has placed in that group—it should be plain to anyone that he could not do otherwise,—and that is the sole basis for the assertions that he has an alliance with Mr. Hearst for the latter's nomination.

In a letter of February 29, part of which is now telegraphed from San Francisco, Mr. Bryan distinctly declared his position, evidently in answer to a question. He said:

I have called attention to certain men who are not to be considered because opposed to the party's position. I regard Mr. Hearst as one of the men who are to be considered, and at present he has the largest following of any person mentioned and is the only one who heartily supported the ticket whose

friends seem to be active. As I have said several times, while regarding him as one of the men who are to be considered, I have not attempted to discuss the relative availability of himself and others whose sympathies are with our side.

A month later in an interview at New Haven Mr. Bryan expressly denied the asserted alliance between himself and Hearst. It was in connection with his answer to a question as to his attitude toward Judge Parker:

I am against Judge Parker. Why nominate an interrogation point? I am not in alliance with Mr. Hearst. I do not indorse him more than others I have named as available candidates.

Mr. Bryan is reported to have added this very significant warning:

The coming campaign will not be for the election of a President, but for the election of a Supreme Court. If the corporations succeed, they will have the people at their mercy for the next ten years. There are going to be interesting times at the St. Louis convention.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE TARIFF

Preoccupied by war and rumors of wars, thinking of Panama and the canal, trying Smoot and finding a candidate for the Democrats, we have been too busy of late to give much thought to the question which has been rather tacitly admitted as destined to be the leading issue in the approaching Presidential campaign.

Thoughtful men who have been watching us from abroad seem also agreed as to what the leading issue is to be. The distinguished author, Mr. Sydney Brooks, in the *Fortnightly Review*, writes as follows: "Does the tariff foster the trusts, and whether it does or not, has the time come for revising it? These are the issues that in my judgment the coming campaign must infallibly make clear. That is to say, the tariff will be attacked, not only as 'the mother of the trusts,' but on the ground that it is now unnecessarily protective. . . . Most Republicans admit, in private, if not in public, that the Dingley rates are in many respects now obsolete and out of touch with the actual business conditions of to-day. . . . But they have differed, and still differ, among themselves, as to when the

plunge should be taken, and Congress invited to overhaul the act of 1897. They differ still more in their views as to the responsibility of the tariff for the trusts."

Mr. Brooks has shown himself to be a close observer of American politics, and he is quite correct in noting these differences among Republicans at the present time. Indeed, there are reasons for believing that the feeling of disagreement is more acute than his simple statements would indicate. The leaders are heartily afraid of the question. Not that there is any confession or suggestion of dissatisfaction with the sacred doctrine of Protection, but there has evidently been for several years a growing discontent with the Dingley act, and there is no doubt that many Republicans, especially in the West, have an increasing suspicion that there is an inner connection between the tariff and the trusts.

Where does the President, the inevitable candidate of the Republicans in the coming contest, stand as to these two questions? Does he hold the tariff in any way responsible for the trusts, which he professes to oppose? Or, irrespective of the trusts, does he think that the Dingley tariff is excessive, and is he ready to take the plunge?

In his salad days he seemed to be a good free-trader. A noble free-trade sentiment of his headed the quotations in the excellent *Free-Trade Almanac for 1903*. As to these early opinions, he has been quoted as having remarked facetiously that he is a Republican and party man first, and a free-trader secondarily; but if any free-trade spot still has lodgment in his brain, he has certainly succeeded in keeping it dark.

He has put himself squarely on record that trusts are not to be attacked through a lowering of the tariff. Mr. Brooks, in his article, which is as a whole highly eulogistic, says: "The President denies with emphasis that the road to the regulation of the trusts lies through a reform of the tariff. Here, I believe, he runs counter to what is already a belief, or at least a suspicion, and may possibly develop into a conviction, on the part of a majority of his countrymen."

As to the second question—does the President wish to reduce the Dingley duties?—the probability is that he does, but is afraid to say so. Therefore he resorts to the ancient dodge of suggesting the reference of the whole question to a commission of experts. "He is not opposed," says Mr. Brooks, "to revision per se, . . . but he would like to have the whole subject taken out of party politics. That, of course, is Utopian. There is little enough as it is in American politics; there would be nothing whatever without the tariff."

But not even this has been done. We have no commission considering the tariff "scientifically." Here at least the President has not been strenuous, but singularly half-hearted; and whether willingly or not, he finds himself "standing pat" on the Dingley act, along with the older leaders of his party and against the conviction of some of the newer men.

"Official Republicanism," says Mr. Brooks, "is largely in the hands of a group of elderly and conservative politicians, deeply committed to the ancient ways and answering comfortably to all demands for fresh legislation: 'Oh, let well enough alone.'" It is evident that the President, by his nature, does not belong with this elderly group, and by standing with them on the tariff he has put himself on the defensive.

Thus it is that the weakness of the party, the one point of probable disagreement in the ranks, namely, the Dingley tariff in itself and in its relation to the trusts, is also sure to be the weak spot in the armor of the party's candidate. Where the Republicans are weakest, Mr. Roosevelt himself is also weakest.

Democrats, therefore, in the search for their candidate, need most of all to find the man who by sincere conviction and aggressive argument can keep the Republicans and their candidate on the defensive along this line, and can lead a bold fight against their weakest points of defense. Such a plan of campaign was cleverly suggested by Mr. Edward M. Shepard in his Boston address before the Free Trade League. In this address Mr. Shepard showed how absolutely and ludicrously indefensi-

ble the Republicans can be made to appear in certain features of the present tariff. That such a tariff and its accompanying trusts should be the inseparable and leading issue of the approaching election is to be as warmly welcomed by the Democrats as it is to be dreaded by the Republicans. Certainly no other issue and no other plan of campaign would cause so much worry to the Republican candidate.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON.

Washington, D. C., March 27.—Another week of post office! While the week was taken up in discussing its various provisions, little material change was made in the bill; the most important being the adoption of an amendment by Mr. Robinson, of Indiana, to strike out the \$45,000 subsidy to the Oceanic Steamship Company. In view of the action of the members the next day in sustaining the provisions for the railway subsidies one is naturally curious to know whether this indicates a different view of ship subsidies than of railroad subsidies, or merely that the Oceanic Steamship Company has been less industrious in extending "courtesies" in the form of passes than have the great railroads.

The corrective influence of publicity was clearly shown in the vote in the House on the two railway subsidy provisions of the bill. The practical effect of Mr. Moon's motion to recommit would have been to eliminate the appropriation of \$142,728.75 (none but an artist could figure so accurately) for "special facilities" to the Southern Railroad and the \$25,000 for "special facilities" from Kansas City to Newton, Kan., as the Postmaster General had in effect declared that the matter must be decided by Congress. Mr. Moon called for the yeas and nays, only 76 members arose, while in response to Mr. Overstreet's demand, 179 stood up to oppose the proposed roll call. The roll was called, 76 being sufficient to order it. As 114 voted in favor of Mr. Moon's motion to strike out the subsidy clause, and as but 121 voted for these subsidies, it will be seen that about 40 who opposed being placed on record voted against these provisions, while the 179 in favor dwindled to 121, when they had no choice but to be put on record for or against the steal. Such is the effect upon weak-kneed members of the lime light of publicity.

The action of the Republican leaders when the clerk read this amendment which I offered:

To reimburse the great railroads for the cost of supplying the President of the

United States with special trains, cars, and the food, wines, cigars and service therewith, not to exceed \$50,000; provided, that this appropriation shall be divided pro rata among such railroads only as shall within 90 days of the passage of this Act, file with the Post Office Department an itemized account of all such service supplied by them; and provided further, that this shall not be construed as conferring power upon the President to contract for any similar service during the fiscal year covered by this act without the express authority of Congress—

was most amusing. For two days Mr. Mann, of Illinois, and the chairman of the post office committee, Mr. Overstreet, had been openly at daggers drawn, largely on account of the attitude of the committee towards the demands of the city letter carriers for increase of compensation. The moment, however, that enough of my proposed amendment had been read to indicate its purport, all personal differences were cast aside, and a half-dozen leaders—each anxious to protect the "honor" of the President—were on their feet simultaneously, shouting: "Point of order!" and demanding that the amendment be ruled out without further reading. The manner in which the chairman (Mr. Boutell) banged his gavel and, declaring it out of order, refused to recognize me, was peculiarly interesting, as indicating the condition of terror which the majority had been thrown into by this innocent amendment. If an actual bombshell had been dropped into the Republican camp, it would not have created greater consternation. No other amendment during the entire two weeks was thus summarily treated on point of order. In every other case a proposed amendment was read through and the mover of the amendment was nearly always permitted to discuss both the point of order and the amendment itself. But the frantic efforts of the Republican leaders on the floor to prevent this amendment being read were no more significant than the action of the chairman (Boutell) in turning his head swiftly from one side to the other so as not to see the proposer of the amendment, who stood immediately in front of the desk demanding recognition for the purpose of moving "to strike out the last word," in order that in the five minutes' time which, if recognized, he would then have he could read the amendment himself to the House. The incident also indicates that the Republicans were presumably off their guard, as a result of the ultimatum sent to them the day before through two of their own members to the effect that if there was no manifest repetition by the leaders of their previous evident determination to prevent my securing a hearing, that then I should refrain from continuing my objections to "unanimous consent," which is necessary under the rules for the immediate consideration of bills not on the special calendar.

Of course this was not the most direct method of calling the attention of

the country to the fact that the President—despite the continual homilies which he delivers to all kinds of delegations and organizations; despite the lecturing on civic virtue and national righteousness which he inflicts upon almost every body of men that call upon him—has so little regard for the eternal verities that he can see nothing wrong in accepting such "courtesies" as special trains from the railroads. While it may not appear to be the most direct, yet it is apparently the only method which could have been adopted with any prospect of securing even the limited reading which it did receive. It is unnecessary to say that no bill to appropriate the money to reimburse the railroads for these special trains could be got out of committee. A similar fate also awaits any resolution calling for information as to the cost of these special trains.

The rules of this Congress are so rigid and drastic that they occasionally prevent even Republican leaders themselves from doing the things they desire to do. This was noticeably so in the case of that paragraph of the post office appropriation bill providing for the increase of the pay of rural letter carriers from \$600 to \$720, but withdrawing nearly all of the present privileges to do an express business and to act as messengers for the residents along their routes. This paragraph having been ruled out on a point of order raised by Mr. Mann, it became necessary, if the Republican party was to live up to any part of its pledge to the rural free delivery men, for a special rule to be brought in which would restore that paragraph and make it not subject to a point of order. I, therefore, could not refrain from availing myself of the opportunity to point out that the Republican members had deliberately voted for rules which would prevent the consideration of any legislation increasing the pay of city letter carriers, or any other bill affecting labor, unless favored by the autocrats of the House, the committee on rules, composed of the Speaker, Dalzell and Grosvenor.

The matter of the impeachment of Judge Swayne, of the Federal Circuit Court for the Northern district of Florida, is causing the Republicans great anxiety. At the demand of the President the Republicans are not only rushing through the supply bills with unprecedented haste, but are absolutely refusing to consider any general legislation whatever, so as to bring the session to an end at the earliest possible date. The order to "do nothing and go home!" is still in force; but the leaders are confronted with a very delicate situation from the party standpoint in these Swayne proceedings. To carry out the orders from the

White House it will be necessary either to postpone this matter until December, and thus run the risk of the wicked Democrats charging that this is further evidence of the determination of the Republican party to suppress any attempted fraud, corruption and "graft," or else appoint a committee to prosecute the impeachment proceedings against Swayne in the Senate, and then adjourn. The other, and, for them, unpleasant, alternative, is for the House to continue in session with the very serious danger ever before them that the President may "break loose" at any moment, commit some act of egregious folly which Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, and other Democratic leaders in the House would naturally expect to exploit to the fullest extent. This is a reversal of conditions which have occasionally existed here. It has sometimes been said that a President "has Congress on his hands!" In this case the party has "the President on its hands!"

ROBERT BAKER.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, March 31.

No change in the situation at the seat of the Russo-Japanese war (p. 808) has been reported during the week. The regular succession of rumors of naval skirmishing before Port Arthur is at hand; and these have been supplemented with indefinite reports of land skirmishing near Chongju, Korea, about 50 miles northwest from Pingyang. If the latter reports are true, the Russians are in Korean territory as far as 20 or 30 miles to the east of the Yalu river. But the censorship on both sides is so strict that no inferences can be safely drawn from any reports.

Martial law has been declared by the Russians in Newchwang, and all foreign flags over consulates, including the British and the American, have been lowered.

Another disorganizing occurrence in Parliament (p. 809) again directs attention to the confusion in British politics. It occurred in the Commons on the 29th. The Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, and the Premier, Mr. Balfour, had measured swords in debate over the policy of the ministry, which the distinguished Liberal described as indecisive, confused and vacillating, when Winston Churchill, Conservative,

pressed the Premier for further explanations of the fiscal policy of the Ministry. He declared that the Ministry's vacillation had caused him to become one of its opponents instead of one of its supporters. Owing to his previous opposition, Mr. Churchill is not in favor with the Ministry; and while he was speaking the Premier and all but 10 of his party significantly left the House.

An advance in the drastic legislation of France against the Catholic religious orders (vol. v, p. 822) was taken in the Chamber of Deputies on the 28th. Notwithstanding the narrow majority of the Ministry (vol. vi, p. 810) last week on another question, this measure against the religious orders was passed by 316 to 269.

The first law against these orders (vol. v, p. 295) suppressed the unauthorized teaching orders, which had for a long time carried on their vocation despite the lack of legal sanction. The new law does not make any distinction between authorized and unauthorized congregations, but sweeps away the whole system of teaching by religious orders, thus in effect substituting the system of state schools for those heretofore conducted by the Church. The parliamentary battle over the bill is described by the dispatches as one of the severest which the Chamber of Deputies has seen in recent years. Premier Combes suffered severely by defections from his own side, such leaders as George Leygues (radical Republican), minister of public instruction in the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet; Alexandre Millerand (radical Socialist), and Joseph Caillaux (Republican) carrying amendments which considerably modified the drastic character of the original measure. The bill still has to pass the Senate, though no very serious opposition to it is expected there. It forbids all teaching by religious orders in the territory of France proper, and provides for the suppression within ten years of all orders actually holding an authorization to teach. An amendment which was carried despite the wishes of Premier Combes renders the measure inapplicable to the colonies, but as the Premier pointed out in the

final debate, this does not affect the power conferred on the government by the law of 1901 to close such schools in the colonies.

In the United States there are some further developments in connection with the local war in Colorado (p. 713) which grew out of the strike of the mill men in the mining regions and is supported by the miners. Militia detachments have again been sent both to Telluride in San Miguel county and to Trinidad in Las Animas county.

Those going to Telluride are reported to have been sent by Gov. Peabody for the purpose of preventing the return of residents who have been expelled from the county as vagrants. The circumstances of their expulsion were described on the 21st editorially by the Daily Denver Times, which said:

During the military occupation of Telluride the troops expelled from the town a number of men who declined to go to work in the mines until the union's demand upon the reduction works had been complied with. After martial law was ended these deported persons returned to the town. They were arrested by the civil authorities and carried before a justice of the peace, who sentenced them as vagrants. A number of them were compelled to work on the streets. One man, Harry Maki, who declined to fill a cesspool at the order of a deputy sheriff, was chained for an hour to a telephone pole. The truth is that the men were not vagrants at all. Some of them owned mining claims and real estate in the town and none of them was in danger of becoming a public charge. The cases were appealed from the justice of the peace to the county court where Judge Wardlaw held that the men were not vagrants, were illegally held and must be discharged. No attempt is made anywhere to claim that his decision was anything but absolutely sound. One night a week ago an armed mob, led by some of the most prominent citizens of the town, visited the houses of sixty-two of these men and compelled them to march to the depot, where they were placed on a special train and deported at 2 o'clock in the morning. In securing the men houses were broken in and some of the prisoners were maltreated. The entire proceeding was outside the law, there being no warrants or other legal authority for any of the arrests. During the past week other men have been notified that it would be to their advantage to leave Telluride and they

have done so. As a matter of course these proceedings have aroused bitter feeling. The miners' unions of Ouray, Silverton and other points near Telluride have held meetings and have agreed, according to the reports, to furnish certain numbers of men to act as escorts to the deported citizens of Telluride and return them to their homes by force if necessary.

It was to prevent this that Gov. Peabody sent 300 troops to Telluride on the 24th. A second appeal to President Roosevelt is reported to have been made by the Western Federation of Miners, supplementary to a previous one which he has ignored. The Federation is said to take the ground that Gov. Peabody put martial law in force at Telluride only to prevent injunctions against the Citizens' Alliance from becoming operative. It is further stated that the Governor has prevented the deported men from enjoying their full rights as loyal American citizens, and the call on the President for aid contends that Gov. Peabody is violating the provisions of the Federal Constitution. The president of the Federation has been arrested by the militia at Telluride and is now in prison. The charge against him is not reported.

Martial law is in full force in Las Animas county, of which Trinidad is the capital; and on the 26th the military deported several persons under orders from Gov. Peabody. The persons deported were "Mother" Jones, of New York; W. R. Fairley, of Alabama; William Wadjen, of Iowa; Christopher Evans, of Indiana, and Edward Demolli, of Utah, all organizers of mineworkers. The mining companies urged that if these persons were taken out of the Trinidad district, two-thirds of the strikers would return to work. They were not only ordered out of Trinidad; but, as the reports have it, were expelled from the State by the militia. It is believed that this expulsion of citizens of other States from the State of Colorado may raise a Federal question under the 2d section of the 4th article of the Federal Constitution, namely: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Denver, the capital of Colorado, has now a charter under the system of local constitutions. Under the constitution of the State, Denver is empowered to adopt a charter by municipal convention and popular vote. Such a charter was framed last summer, but was defeated at the polls (pp. 394, 413). Another municipal convention has recently completed another charter, and at a municipal election held for the purpose on the 29th this charter was adopted by a majority estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000. About one-third of the registered vote was cast.

Relative to the referendum "public policy" vote in Chicago, to be taken on the 5th, efforts for the obstruction of which have been made by attacking the validity of signatures to the petition (p. 810), the board of election commissioners has sustained the petition. Its decree was made on the 28th. It held:

We are inclined to the opinion that a fair construction of the law is that the voter must be registered at the time he signed the petition. Of course, if on the register at his old residence, he would still be a valid signer, if he already had moved at the time he signed, and registered at another place at the recent registration. . . . Of the number of names that have been investigated by the board the conclusions reached by the objectors have been found to be inaccurate in a large percentage—so large a percentage that the weight of the objectors' evidence is substantially nullified. In matters of this nature this board always has felt that it should not reject any petition unless the evidence clearly preponderates against its sufficiency. In this case it cannot find that the evidence does so strongly preponderate.

NEWS NOTES.

- Sir Edwin Arnold, the author, died in London on the 24th.
- John J. Brennan, the Chicago alderman convicted of election bribery (p. 598), has been granted a new trial on appeal.
- In England the House of Commons on March 16 adopted, by a vote of 182 to 62, a resolution in favor of granting Parliamentary suffrage to women.
- Lord Curzon, viceroy of India, has been promoted to the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, as successor to the late Marquis of Salisbury.
- Gov. Garvin, of Rhode Island, is to speak on the 13th at the Iroquois Club,

Chicago, on "Democratic Success, and What Elements Are Essential to It."

—The Abilene, Kansas, Democrats, upon electing delegates to the State convention, have demanded absolute free trade with all the world, like that between the States.

—At the Democratic convention for South Dakota, held at Sioux Falls on the 30th, the eight delegates to the national convention were by resolution instructed to vote for William R. Hearst for President, "first, last and all the time."

—Burton Harrison, of New York, husband of Mrs. Burton Harrison, the novelist, and father of Congressman Harrison, died at Washington on the 29th. During the civil war Mr. Harrison was private secretary to Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy.

—Joseph Ralph Burton, United States Senator from Kansas, was convicted in the Federal court at St. Louis on the 28th upon an indictment charging him with accepting bribes, nominally as a lawyer's fees, for using his influence as Senator to procure favors from the department of the post office.

—It was reported on the 27th that the mayor of Adelaide has forbidden John Alexander Dowle the further use of the town hall, or any other corporation building, because of his having said that the King had no religion to spare; and the superintendent of public buildings, instructed by the prime minister, has prohibited Dowle from using any building under the government control.

—From Bombay it was reported on the 28th that the latest available bubonic plague returns for the whole of India during the week ending March 19 show the mortality of 40,527, an increase of 7,000 over the preceding week. In the Punjab and the northwest provinces there is a death roll of 20,000 weekly; in Bombay presidency the deaths number 8,500, and in Bengal 5,000.

—Indictments were returned by the grand jury at St. Louis on the 29th against labor officials for an assault upon a non-union man, during the recent teamsters' strike in that city. The indicted officials are Cornelius P. Shea, Indianapolis, general president International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Albert Young, Indianapolis, general organizer; Charles Robb, Chicago, sixth vice president; William Rowbotham, Indianapolis, corresponding secretary; Daniel Thurman, Chicago, general secretary; George Innes, Indianapolis, one of the general organizers, Ernest Ruck, Chicago; Michael Ryan, Chicago; William Kelly, Chicago.

PRESS OPINIONS.

BAKER'S EXPOSURE OF BABCOCK.
Albany (N. Y.) Argus (Dem.), March 28.
—Was Mr. Baker wrong? The House of Representatives refusing to discuss the

question, it is for the country to decide. If he was wrong, why was he wrong, and how?

Detroit Tribune (Ind.), March 22.—In the name of God, what railroad does Congressman Hepburn, of Iowa, represent? Last Friday, in the House of Representatives at Washington, Congressman Joseph W. Babcock, of Wisconsin, was charged with the violation of a law of the United States relating to railway mail contracts, the maximum penalty for which is a fine of \$20,000 and imprisonment at hard labor for five years. Babcock makes no defense. He offers no explanation. He sits silent. He is a stand-patter. The only voice raised in his behalf is that of Congressman Hepburn, and his sole request is that the charge against Babcock be expunged from the record! . . . There has been altogether too much "expunging from the record" when the railroads were concerned.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), March 23.—The matter inserted in the Record under this "leave to print" is certainly interesting and instructive. It puts Hon. "Joey" Babcock, of the Republican Congressional campaign committee, in a remarkably queer light and it raises the suggestion that what Hon. "Joey" is alleged to have done in the interest of Wisconsin railroads other able statesmen of the same immaculate school may have undertaken for the benefit of the railroads in other States. [March 26] Speaker Cannon refused to permit Congressman Baker to say a word when he tried to explain his alleged "abuse of privilege." They are afraid of Baker down there. He has thrown the whole pack of thieves and grafters into a panic more than once since he entered the House a few months ago.

(Phil'a) City and State (Ind.), March 24.—Mr. Baker was undoubtedly guilty of a violation of the rules of the House, and the House has been prompt and inexorable in its own vindication in that respect, but its greater vindication cannot be accomplished unless it makes an investigation, which Mr. Babcock should have been the first to demand, into the exceedingly grave allegation that tons of public documents that were nothing more than junk were loaded into the mails last year for the purpose of swindling the government by setting a false and fraudulent standard by which the payments by the government for railroad mail transportation were to be fixed for the ensuing four years, and that this was done under Mr. Babcock's orders, direction and superintendence. This is not a question of party, but of plain, common honesty.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), March 25 (weekly ed.).—On Friday last Representative Baker, of Brooklyn, the anti-free pass "crank"—would that all Congressmen were such—called the attention of the House to a pamphlet finding circulation in the Third Wisconsin district, represented by J. W. Babcock, who has for some years been chairman of the Republican Congressional committee. . . . Mr. Baker . . . asked leave to insert the document in the Record as a part of his remarks, and then said: "It would seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that the charges of collusion to defraud the government which are there set forth in such circumstantial detail are of such a nature as to call for an investigation by a special committee of this House. I say this because there seems no disposition on the part of those directly involved to call for an investigation. . . . And the Congressional Record of Friday, following these remarks, contains the said papers which have found a circulation as wide as that of the Record. The resolution to expunge is therefore, for all practical purposes, a shot in the air. Mr. Baker's conduct would not appear to be very censurable. . . . He simply called attention to the fact that certain charges against a Wisconsin member were finding general home circulation, and that they had been put into print and kept in cir-

ulation for four months without any notice having been taken of them by the member attacked. He thought such notice should be taken, and that the House should investigate of its own motion if the member himself did not ask that this be done. And anyone who will read what was printed in the Record Friday will think so, too."

THE HEARST CANDIDACY.

Pendleton (Ore.) Daily East Oregonian (Dem.), March 23.—Hearst is already nominated by the national Democratic convention. The popularity of the man and the vigorous, sincere policy of his papers in taking up the fight against the trusts are winning friends every day everywhere.

Nashville (Tenn.) Daily News (Dem.), March 23.—This talk of Hearst as an unknown quantity or nonentity seems rather an insincere and ineffective objection to bring against a man whose views on all issues of the day have been so freely and emphatically proclaimed and widely circulated. We venture to say that there is no one before the public to-day whose political opinions are better known than are those of William Randolph Hearst.

Goodhue County (Minn.) News and Red Wing Argus (Dem.), March 26.—We don't know anything in Hearst's favor except what his own newspapers tell us. And they may not be perfectly impartial. We don't know his attitude on any great question. He says he is something of a trust buster, but so does Roosevelt say that he is a trust buster. He says he is a Democrat, but so does Dave Hill and so does Gorman. We read a lot of stuff put out by his advertising bureau, but it is not convincing. All we have to go by is the St. Paul Globe, in whose judgment we have not the least confidence, and Mr. Hearst himself in whom we have not learned to confide.

San Francisco State (Dem.), March 26.—It is natural that California Democrats should inquire concerning the position of Franklin K. Lane on any question involving the party honor or the party future. More than perhaps any other man in the State, he enjoys the confidence and love of Democrats worthy of the name. He led the party in as brilliant a campaign as it has ever made in this State, and failed of success by the narrowest of margins, in spite of a normal Republican majority of 40,000, and in spite of the basest treachery within his party. Such Democrats do not support Hearst. Franklin K. Lane, as he has very frankly stated to us, is not in favor of the nomination of Hearst, nor does he regard it as a possibility.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph (Dem.), March 25.—No word but "sweep" fitly describes the progress of the Hearst boom for the Presidency. Yesterday's dispatches brought the news that the California State committee had voted him unanimous indorsement, that George Fred Williams, the leader of the Massachusetts Democracy, had declared for him and will endeavor to secure an instructed delegation to St. Louis, and that ex-Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota, had come out for Hearst with the prediction that he will have 300 votes on the first ballot. These announcements may be taken to mean that the three States, California, Massachusetts and South Dakota, will instruct for the editor-Congressman. To these States may be added Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Kansas, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Ohio, probably Indiana and Rhode Island, which has already instructed for him. Ohio is swinging more and more into line for him every day and we have little doubt that the convention will instruct for him.

"If I understand you, so long as I eat nothing, I shall be well," said the natural man, in a sarcastic vein.

"If you chew it thoroughly," said the food crank, guardedly.—Puck.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the page of Vol. 38 of that publication.

Washington, March 21-26, 1904.

Senate.

No business of general interest was done on the 21st; but on the 22d the Indian appropriation bill was considered (p. 3665), as it was also on the 23d (p. 3730) and on the 24th (p. 3783), when the bill was (p. 3796) passed. The Senate bill for the repeal of the desert land act was under consideration on the 25th (p. 3841), as was the District of Columbia appropriation bill (p. 3852). Consideration of the latter was continued on the 26th (p. 3922).

House.

On the 21st Representative Baker's speech of the 18th charging official fraud by Representative Babcock (pp. 3603, 3604) was expunged from the Record by a party vote, 130 to 92 (pp. 3639, 3642), after lengthy debate. Consideration of the post office appropriation bill was resumed on the 23d (p. 3753), continued on the 24th (p. 3797) and 25th (p. 3884), when the bill was passed. The 26th was devoted to consideration of the sundry civil bill (p. 3948).

Record Notes.—Speech on post office appropriation, by Representative Sulzer (p. 3723). Speech of Senator Gibson on the repeal of the desert land act (p. 3825). Speech of Senator Bacon on the selection of Federal officials (p. 3913).

MISCELLANY

LEST WE DO.

For The Public.

What can we say to the Elder Brother,
The Prince of Peace?
How can we lift our arms entreating
That war shall cease,
Harkening the while with hearts fast
beating
His trump afar,
Rising above the moans of crushed ones
Beneath his car?
Lo, in sweetest hymns of the Easter Morn-
ing
A strain of pain!
On whitest lilies for its adorning
A blood-red stain!
Our ears are deaf with the angry clashing
Of arms so nigh;
Our eyes are blind with the lurid flash-
ing
From war's black sky.
Did angels roll from the rocky portal
That stone in vain?
Did He bear in vain, that every mortal
At last might reign?
Not theirs alone the sin and sorrow
Who strive to-day,—
Our yesterdays have made this morrow;—
Dear God, we pray:
O, give us strength to see our duty,
And seeing, do;
To find in beauteous things the beauty,
In truth, the true.
Help us, O patient Elder Brother,
To crush all greed;—
In loving Thee, to love the other,
Work for his need;
All sin-infested lowlands scorning,
Rise to be free,
Lest we do make our Easter Morning
A Calvary!
GRACE ADA BROWN.
Mount Lebanon, N. Y.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY INTERNATIONAL CATECHISM LESSON.

What is the first duty of a nation? To glorify itself and serve itself forever, and by any means which may not bring it in conflict with a more powerful nation.

What are Christian nations? Nations with large armies and navies.

What is a treaty? A solemn agreement between two or more nations, which the weaker are in honor bound to obey.

What is arbitration? A means of settling disputes between nations so equally matched that one is afraid to go to war and the other does not dare to.

What is benevolent assimilation? The process of adapting the resources of the weak to the benefit of the strong. It is practiced by lions and tigers towards lambs and deer, and by Christian nations (see def.) towards barbarous and semi-civilized peoples. Also sometimes known as the spread of civilization. The most efficient and generally used instruments for this beneficent process are missionaries, rum and rifles.

What are rules of war? Certain humane regulations which are binding on all civilized nations not engaged in actual warfare.

When is a rebellious province entitled to recognition as an independent nationality? Within 15 minutes from the breaking out of the rebellion, provided it is situated on an isthmus and the mother country is lacking an efficient army and navy.—Edwin J. Webster, in *Life*.

THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

Editorial in the *London New Age*, of Mar. 17.

Some recent bye-elections have been significant, and some divisions in the House of Commons on the Fiscal question have been remarkable, but nothing in our recent political history surpasses, or even equals, in importance the fact that in a Tory House of Commons a Bill embodying the principle that land values are a proper subject of rating apart from buildings and improvements has been carried by a majority of sixty-seven. It is true that the proposal is limited to municipal areas, but it is certain that its application must quickly be extended to the whole country. It is a great triumph for those who have given the best years of their lives to the education of public opinion upon the question, and common justice demands that one man should be named in this connection as deserving above all others

honorable mention in this campaign—Mr. John Ferguson, of Glasgow. Mr. Ferguson has been an ardent land reformer for half a century. When Henry George came to this country he found a warm supporter in Mr. Ferguson, and from that day to this Mr. Ferguson has been unwearied in his endeavors to persuade the Glasgow Corporation to adopt the principle of the taxation of land values and give the municipalities of the country a strong lead. The cause has been so well served by Mr. Ferguson and those of like mind that the measure presented to the House of Commons on Friday last, by Mr. Trevelyan, had the hearty support of no fewer than two hundred of the principal rating authorities of the United Kingdom.

A very remarkable feature of the movement in favor of this Bill is that it is supported by many Conservatives, both in and out of the House of Commons. Mr. Rutherford, for example, the second-order of the motion on Friday, is one of the Unionist members for the City of Liverpool, and has filled with distinction the office of Lord Mayor. His speech embodied the reasons which have led many Conservatives to support this measure. Mr. Rutherford declared that the Bill simply involved a rearrangement of existing taxation, and that is true. The new arrangement provides that land values shall be separately rated, and that unoccupied land or land not fully used shall be rated on its selling value, rather than on its letting value. He pointed out that during recent years the local burdens and the debts of our great cities and urban districts had grown to an enormous extent, and declared that it was simply just that unoccupied land, which daily grew in value, should no longer be allowed to escape taxation, but should be made to contribute its fair proportion to the local revenue.

That there is urgent need of new sources of revenue no one will dispute. The present Government has looked in another direction—that of taxing industry and the people's food, but has not so far dared to make a definite proposal. It never will. The fact that it has sympathized with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, however, has no doubt given a great impetus to the movement of which this Bill is the definite expression, and we may take it now that, the principle of the taxation of land values having been approved in the present House of Commons by so large a majority, the country will look more and more steadfastly in this direction for the additional revenue of which it stands in such sore need. And gradually the con-

viction will gain ground that the taxation of land values will not only provide additional revenue, but will accomplish this purpose without laying any burden on industry or placing any limit on the food supply.

It is not necessary to discuss the details of Mr. Trevelyan's very moderate Bill. We shall probably never hear of it again. Its introduction has served its purpose. We may be sure the municipalities will persist in their endeavors to have its principle embodied in legislation, and when a Liberal Government comes into power that end will be attained. What we have to keep clearly in mind is the supreme advantage of the adoption of the principle. It is not merely that additional revenue will be provided. It is that the land monopolists, who keep land out of use in order that they may take advantage of the added value accruing to their land by reason of the improvements made in the vicinity at other people's expense, will be compelled to put their land to its most effective use. Land now idle, or only partially used—as, for example, when a lot of tumble-down buildings occupies an area that might be put to much better service—will be forced into use, will be available for all sorts of building and other purposes at much more reasonable prices than at present. The Housing problem exists because under present conditions land at reasonable prices is not available. The moment that condition is reversed, the Housing difficulty will tend to disappear. When land is available at reasonable prices, the building of houses will at once proceed. Labor will be in more active demand, and wages will tend to rise. The checking of land monopoly means, therefore, larger opportunity for labor, and that again means a more equitable distribution of wealth. It is the economic effect of the taxation of land values that constitutes its supreme advantage to the community. But clearly, that advantage cannot be adequately realized by a merely partial application of the principle such as Mr. Trevelyan's Bill proposes. As municipal development now adds value to land adjacent to municipal areas, so increased municipal development will mean increased value, and land owners adjacent to towns will reap a rich harvest. Under the operation of the principle the municipal areas will soon find their population increased and the necessity for extending their boundaries urgent. Then the adjacent land will be greatly enhanced in value, and the expansion of towns will not be easily affected. That is why the principle

ought to be made of universal application at once. That it should be applied even in a small degree, however, is something gained.

JOHN TURNER ON "SIGNS OF THE TIMES."

John Turner, the English trade unionist and anarchist, gave a lecture in Cooper Union, New York, March 24, 1904, on "Signs of the Times." Mr. Turner, it will be remembered, was arrested last October by Federal officers while delivering a lecture on "Trade Unionism and the General Strike," and Secretary Cortelyou ordered him to be deported for "disbelieving" in government. The Circuit Court having dismissed a writ of habeas corpus, he appealed, and was detained on Ellis Island, in a 9x6-foot cage in the basement for nineteen weeks. Then the Supreme Court ordered his release on bail pending a decision on his appeal, which will be argued before the Supreme Court April 4th by Clarence S. Darrow and Edgar L. Masters.

Affidavits submitted to the court with the application for bail showed Mr. Turner to be highly respected by his fellow unionists in Britain, that he had never been molested by the English police or excluded from continental countries, that his family was deprived of support by his imprisonment, and that the food allowed him was so insufficient that sympathizers were compelled to send him money in order that he should have enough to eat.

Portions of Mr. Turner's Cooper Union address follow.

The claim that the tendencies of the times are all towards greater individuality will to many probably sound strange. We are so in the habit of hearing that the individual is being absorbed by society—that there is less and less opportunity for the development of individuals—that the economic situation crushes out all desire for personal liberty and initiative, that one is almost inclined to believe it. But while the position of vast masses of the population of all civilized countries is still deplorable, and intelligent interest in life and its activities is almost a blank, yet there is undoubtedly a strong current of self-assertion running through every phase of human activity.

Never before in history was the average individual as independent as now. The last half century has seen a complete break-up of old ideas in every direction, and each person has been left free to accept or reject the new. The common conception of the universe, and man's place in nature, has been entirely revolutionized by the theory of evolution. It is quite impossible that the old checks upon conduct can continue. Everywhere men and women with free ideas are reducing their thoughts into practice and slowly modifying social life. Many things that half a century since would

have shocked all the conventions, are now accepted as a matter of course.

In the realm of art and literature, this spirit has naturally found expression. Old traditions have been abandoned, new schools and styles adopted; in fact every artist is now expected to express himself along new lines to obtain recognition. And especially in literature does this hold good. Conservative as are the English as a people, it does one good to compare the relative boldness of writers of to-day with the insipid stuff poured forth in the early Victorian era. Only the genius and sympathy of Dickens makes his subjects readable at the present time. Compare the deeper and broader views of life from such men as Meredith, Hardy, Grant, Allen, or George Bernard Shaw with the puny ideas of the period named. One cannot help feeling that progress has been made, and that a stronger note is being struck.

Perhaps, however, it is the growing independence of women, particularly here in America, that stands out as something accomplished of the character making for stronger individuality. The larger half of humanity has begun to assert itself. And to all lovers of liberty what an encouragement it is. For while women were willing to remain slaves, there was little hope for the men. Just reflect what advances have been made in the matter of women's enfranchisement, the holding of property by married women, facility for divorce, as proof of how far society has advanced on this question during the last half century. And when one knows that these are but the first feeble and timid steps it is indeed encouraging to those who feel that the old family traditions—with the woman and children absolutely subordinate to the man—were the very nursery of slavery in social life.

And as always happens this new spirit has found expression in the modern drama. Ibsen, Sudermann, and in a milder manner as becomes the people for whom he writes, G. B. Shaw, have expounded the feelings of women for a free, full, individual life. We are only on the threshold of this new development, but we may rest assured there will be no going back. There may be considerable suffering caused in its working out—that is inevitable with every new departure—but freedom once tested can never be resigned. The woman of the future will assert herself more and more, and men will learn to respect her strength.

Speaking of women reminds one that

even children to-day are expected to have some individuality. It is not so long since children were considered to be entirely without social rights of any kind. The parents, especially the father, were supposed to be their sole arbiters. The cruelties inflicted were supposed to have divine sanction. Absolute subjection to parents in everything was considered the correct thing in the home, and cruel punishments at school were believed to be both right and necessary. To-day, cruelty to children has become so repugnant to the social conscience that the law has reflected the change of idea and now retaliates by punishing parents for excessive cruelty. In some cases it will even take the children from their care altogether. Teachers are now hardly considered competent for the profession if they cannot bring out the best in the child without corporal punishment. And so each child is now enabled to develop more and more its own individuality. With women and children living a larger and freer life the race is bound to be benefited. After all, men and women are only children grown big, and it will be very difficult to enslave the children of the future, brought up in the atmosphere of freedom.

There has been one field of human activity—a horrible, a fearful one—where all questions of individuality were supposed to be abandoned, like hope on entering the gates of the inferno. It is the military profession—the art of war! Even here, where discipline in the past has crushed out all individuality, where organization and initiative came from above, where to obey was the only virtue, yes, even here individuality is becoming a necessity. Overwhelming numbers and wealth can of course still win victories, but the recent Boer war taught the proud English ruling class that a number of relatively free men, with little or no military training, but possessed of great initiative and individuality, could hold in check a vastly superior horde of hired and disciplined soldiers who dared not act without orders. And already the government, quick to learn the lesson, is trying to solve the problem of how to preserve discipline, and grant a larger measure of individuality and initiative to the private soldier at the same time. Anyway, the soldier of the future will have to be thought of as an individual; the general and his staff will no longer be the whole show. So we see individuality asserting itself in the most unsuspected quarters. And soldiers with initiative are a double-

edged weapon in the hands of the ruling classes.

Anarchism sees in the signs of the times—in the steady growth of individuality in every direction, and in every phase of life—every indication of the triumph of its ideas. But it also recognizes that in the case of the workpeople, this personal liberty can only be secured as they recognize their common interests, and can prove themselves capable of conducting industrial undertakings as well or better than they are managed to-day. This they are steadily showing they can do. In spite of opposition of the employer and the government, labor organizations grow apace. The continued growth of individuality in association, of a fraternal basis to organization in place of authority, leads directly to anarchy.

NOW.

For The Public.

Our children's children hear it
 From their fathers' fathers' lips;
 In the schoolroom, in the poolroom,
 Each the cursed poison sips,
 Linked with antique, honeyed phrases,
 Bitter 'neath their sugar'd coat,
 Bind the slimy lie upon them
 Till it fit the youngest throat.
 In the hands of press and teacher,
 Book and precept, creed and fashion,
 Children of the world but wax are—
 Fluent wax all stain'd with passion.
 Rouse ye, then, O Hosts of Evil!
 Would ye raise your hell to earth;
 For the Kingdom of the Devil
 Takes away the right of birth;
 Robs the unborn of his freedom;
 Builds the prison, then the babe;
 Moulds the palpitating jelly
 In the matrix of the grave.

Now, while minds are young—unguarded—
 Ere they learn the shams of life,
 Tell them love of country bids them
 Wallow deep in blood and strife.
 Paint the snowy bars of Glory
 With the gory brush of power;
 With the wool of great traditions
 Card the shoddy of the hour.
 Poison all the children's readers
 With the "patriotic" taint,
 Till they think the only future
 Is the future of red paint.
 "War is hell," but never mind it,
 'Tis the strenuous life we'll court,
 Till each paper print its carnage
 In the column of its sport.
 "Let us then be up and doing,"—
 After seven all's veneer, —
 If we but corrupt the infant
 Hell shall triumph, never fear.
 Haste ye, then, O Powers of Evil!
 Catch the children ere they see!
 Shake on ev'ry opening eye!
 Some few scales of leprosy,
 Lest in this, our strenuous present,
 Some weak scholar, some poor fool,
 Sees athwart our lurid pages
 Shadow of the Golden Rule.

God of the wolf-pack on the 'change—
 Our God of gods to-day—
 "Commercialism" is thy name,
 And naught shall say thee nay;

And naught shall be thou mayst not take,
 Of freedom, life, or foreign land;
 Before thee are no other gods,
 O thou god of yellow sand!
 Is there aught that's said against thee?
 Find the culprit; cut his wind;
 Anarchist he must be surely,
 Else he'd dare not speak his mind.
 Stricter make the laws against him—
 Speed the evil we've begun!—
 Till our millions crowd the limit,
 Like the Mayor of Paterson.
 Narrow brow'd, unpainted savage
 Is the man who fears reply,
 Pinched in brain, in greed plethoric,
 All his methods of the sty.
 Yet we need this cheap stuff, sirrahs,
 For the officers and claqueurs;
 So they fool the simple people,
 Pennypackers or pork packers
 Are to us all of one color.
 When we would enslave a nation
 We must pick the men who'll do it,
 Irrespective quite of station.
 Chock the press, then, hired lackeys,
 And each Turner, turn him back
 To the land where speech has freedom,
 And opinion fears no rack!
 There be men still left among us
 Who with safety can't be heard;
 Prate of guarding our officials
 While we stifle ev'ry word.
 Let Great Britain bid her people
 Have a say, if she desire;
 In *this* country only Mammon
 Wears the appellation: "Sire!"

In *this* country but a handful—
 Some sixteen or so—must rule,
 Bleed the people, steal their birthright,
 Poison press and church and school.
 In *this* country rosy goggles
 Must be put upon the masses
 Till, as daft as richer noodles,
 They'd accentuate the classes.
 And should any man of vision,
 Any "blatant pessimist,"
 Dare to ask for aught that's better,
 Or in hardness insist,
 Brand him straight as an "alarmist,"
 "Sore dyspeptic," "chronic kicker,"
 "Cankered failure," "unbeliever!"
 Man of Christ, not of the Ticker,
 What have we to do with such one?
 One who dares to think and *tell*
 Has no place in proposition
 That has purposes so fell.

Ideals fall and sell at auction;
 Highest bidder takes the lot.
 "They all do it," says the merchant;
 "Great success must stop at naught.
 There is oil for roughened places—
 Standard Oil to ease the smart—
 Libraries and church donations,
 Buying back a saintly heart.
 Lack of wealth 'tis makes the fellow,
 Be he dolt or be he sage;
 Blue blood gives the place to yellow
 In this plutocratic age!"
 Pray ye, then, good fallen angels,
 That we still may keep the helm
 Till Statecraft break upon the rocks
 And trait'rous waves o'erwhelm.

God of the nether evangel,
 We kiss thy glittering cup;
 We spew its venom on the air;
 Speak, Lord! is the charm wound up?
 MELVIN L. SEVERY.
 Arlington Heights, Mass.

"Let me know when we get to Mars."
 "We passed Mars ten planets ago,
 ma'am."—*Life*.

One of the stock jokes of the very funny man used to be the "Band-box and Budget Woman on Her Travels." Now, listen to this from an authority—the station-master of the Northwestern railway in Chicago: "A woman can travel in more comfort for less money and with fewer questions than a man." Isn't that restful?—*San Francisco Star*.

"That Mr. Galley must be very poor."
 "Why?"

"I asked him how he made his money, and he said he earned it."—*New Yorker*.

Passive disregard of a neighbor's rights precedes active encroachment on them.—*Diary Consolidated Stock and Petroleum Exchange, of New York*.

"What do they mean by the word 'civilized?'" asked the simple barbarian. "To be civilized," answered the chief, "is to own up once for all that you're whipped."—*Washington Star*.

Mr. Chic—My automobile nerves didn't cut any dash at all at the sanatorium.

Mrs. Chic—Why not?

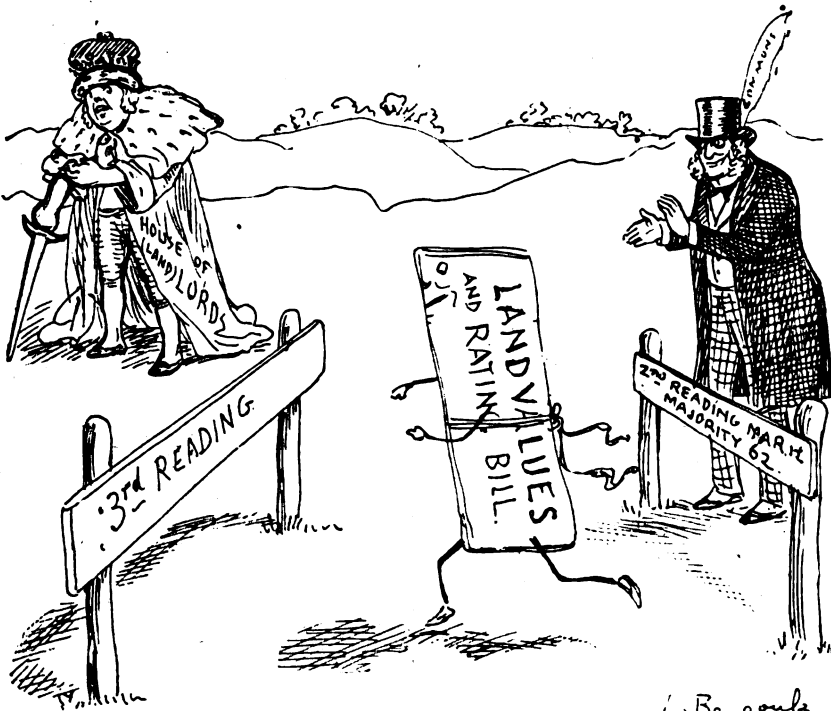
Mr. Chic—Oh, the doctors were all wildly enthusiastic over a man who has flying-machine nerves.—*Puck*.

BOOKS

THE STANDARD SECOND READER.

Very admirable from a literary and an artistic point of view is the second of the series of school readers (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company) presented by the publishers of the Standard Dictionary. The first lesson, on the flag, is not a favorable specimen of the prevailing tone of the little book, and here and there elsewhere is a touch of the formalism and pedantry which were once considered proper in the preparation of text books. Much more effective as a lesson in patriotism is the condensation from Henry Watterson's oration on Lincoln, which is not at all beyond the understanding of young children, and gives more of essential truth than the usual bald primer-biography. The selecting, condensing and simplifying of good literature for the use of children is the most successful feature of this book. The field covered is large and varied, including Greek myths and tales from Shakespeare, contemporary lyrics and simple classics.

Selected passages from the Scriptures are paraphrased in blank verse by Edwin Markham, with a footnote appended expressing approval of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Hebrew divines. It does seem a somewhat unnecessary conces-



THE REFORM IS MAKING PROGRESS.

sion to paraphrase the hallowed simplicity of the Lord's prayer.

The phonetic drill which is a prominent feature of the book will commend itself unequally to various kinds of teachers. The art of clear and correct enunciation is surely to be desired and to be attained as early as possible. But whether this end is best accomplished by imitation or by some analysis on the part of children in the first and second year is not so certain. There is no question that the study of phonetics is a good one for the teacher, and for the more advanced pupil. On the other hand I remember once seeing an argument for phonics in the first year based on the natural love of children for curious noises.

The teacher's manual which accompanies the reader is intelligent and suggestive. The Standard Series is evidently to prove a sincere and serious effort in the direction of more perfect primary text books, perhaps an epoch in the evolution of the "Reader."

A. M. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Young America, in the Hands of His Friends. A Political Drama. By Arthur W. Sanborn. Boston: John H. West Company. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The Strand Magazine for March contains the translation of an article by a Russian explorer on the "Forbidden City of Lhasa." The editor states that this paper is the first written by an actual visitor since 1845. The city, according to this writer, has a population of about 10,000, at least two-thirds being women. "In no country in the world," he continues, "do women play a greater part in business than in Tibet. I can recall no occupation that is carried on in the country in which

women are not actively engaged, and they often conduct great undertakings quite independently of men." J. H. D.

A writer in the Cornhill Magazine, in an article entitled "Among Japanese Hime," makes a point with reference to missionaries in the East that explains a good deal of failure, if it be true. He says that "what they are commending to their Japanese audiences is not so much Christianity as Race." Yet he reminds them that, however superior the West may be in high energy, it is not out of Western races that has come "that store of comfort for the soul which the nations treasure as their chief possession." J. H. D.

A very significant bit of school news is contained in a Boston letter to the New York Herald. It seems that the school authorities of Brookline have issued a circular to parents begging for their assistance. "It advises parents to see to it that the children read aloud at home, that they practice letter writing or other similar work, having their spelling and methods of expression revised; that they be drilled in the multiplication table and other rudiments of arithmetic at the time that they are engaged in these studies at school." The simple meaning of this is that the schools of that town, as of every other town, are trying to teach so many things that they are finding inevitable failure in getting satisfactory results in the old definite subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. J. H. D.

AMERICAN PAUPERISM AND THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY

This new book by Isador Ludoff is the most complete and thorough analysis of the census figures of 1900 that has yet appeared. The mass of statistics concerning the condition of the working class constitutes one of the most powerful indictments of our present social system that has ever been published. The book contains 230 pages, including a supplement by J. Felix entitled "Jesus or Mammoth." It is handsomely bound in cloth and will be mailed to any address for 50 cents. CHARLES H. KERR & CO. (Co-operative), 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

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is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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