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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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"When I grow up," asked an observant little girl of her mother, "shall I have to marry a man like pa, or else be an old maid like Aunt Kate?" "Yes, my dear," replied the mother. The child's comment was thoughtful and deliberate: "Well, Ma, it's a tough world for us women, ain't it?" Somewhat analogous must be the feeling of Democrats who care less for the Democratic label than for the democratic principle, when they contemplate the baffling alternative of Parker or Hearst.

To that alternative there is not even a Hobson's choice. For, let Hearst be what he may, Parker is no better unless in a purely social sense; and social considerations are not properly controlling ones in choosing a President. If Parker has ever given utterance to a political sentiment, the fact has missed the record. He has always voted the Democratic ticket, we are told; but that is true of "Bathhouse John." The only indications of Judge Parker's trend of thought in matters political are such as are afforded by the character of his political friends; and those indications, however satisfactory to men like John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan and James J. Hill, are far from reassuring to the people whom these parasites are plundering.

Judge Parker was taken up by David B. Hill, who is now managing the campaign in his behalf. He is primarily Hill's chosen candidate, and Hill is his chosen manager; which ought to damn his can-

didacy with every one whose sense of political decency is not hopelessly blunted. He is August Belmont's man, and the favorite of every big financial conspirator of Wall street; which ought to discredit his candidacy with all voters who revolt against the plutocratic tendencies of present day politics. He is the second choice of the conscienceless fox of Maryland, Senator Gorman; which ought to cast a shadow over his candidacy with all believers in candid politics. He is Grover Cleveland's own substitute for himself; which ought to and doubtless will insure the hostility to him of every independent voter who would vote against Grover Cleveland. Any man who conceals his political opinions from the public, as Judge Parker does, yet is heartily supported by Hill, Gorman, Cleveland, Belmont, and the Wall street "business classes," as Judge Parker is, may be reasonably suspected of having confided acceptable opinions to them.

Nor are those suspicions allayed by the circumstances under which this man of no general fame has suddenly become the favorite of what the distinguished Howard Crosby used to describe as "the dangerous classes." Hill had him in training. But Gorman was for Gorman, Cleveland looked on, and Wall street was doubtful. Then August Belmont, a Wall street financier, with inherited traditions of the Rothschilds resting heavily upon his shoulders, appeared upon the scene. In some way he seems to have touched an electric button. Gorman and Cleveland promptly put the stamp of their approval on Parker, and forthwith the plutocratic air of Wall street was fairly ablaze with responsive signals. Behold! David B. Hill, Grover Cleveland,

August Belmont, and the corruption-fund gang of Wall street have agreed upon a "harmony" candidate! His name is Parker; his well worn label is "Democrat;" and his political opinions are a secret, unless you are in Mr. Belmont's confidence or know how to take a hint.

With the alternative of such a choice on the one hand, and Mr. Hearst on the other, there is probably no better candidate for the purpose of pushing them both aside than John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi. Mr. Williams has proved himself a competent leader. He is a man whose Democracy yields much more upon examination than a chemical trace of democratic principle. He has won a national reputation, and not had one handed him on a golden platter by Wall street financiers. He is not in sympathy with plutocracy, nor is he objectionable to any Democrats, however divergent their opinions, if the divergency is upon principle and not for revenue. The only objection to him is that he is from the South. That in itself is not a valid objection. The Civil War is over, and damned should be the man who tries to revive its bitterness. In only one contingency could the fact that Mr. Williams comes from the South be a legitimate objection; and that would be the revival, not as a Civil War issue but as a present day issue, of the race question. Yet on that very question Mr. Williams could take no stand against the legal rights of Negroes which plutocratic Northern Democrats (Republicans, too, for the matter of that), do not take with less reason than Southerners have, and from a lower human impulse. If the representative Southern men, hostile as they are to Cleveland and suspicious as they ought to be of Parker, will suggest Williams, they will be surprised by the en-

thusiastic welcome their suggestion will receive.

The Brooklyn Eagle replies with characteristic candor to our criticism of its insinuation (p. 3) that Bryan demoralized the Democratic party in Illinois in 1896. In support of that contention it compared Cleveland's victory in 1892 with Bryan's defeat in 1896 and 1900, but said nothing of the utter break-up of the Democratic party at the intervening Congressional elections of 1894 while Cleveland was President and before Bryan's advent as a national leader. We supplied its very significant omission in that particular. Now observe the amazing effrontery of its reply:

The Eagle said that the Democracy carried Illinois in 1892 and lost it in 1896 and in 1900. In 1892 Cleveland was the candidate. In 1896 and in 1900 Bryan was the candidate. But, ah, says the Public, the Democracy lost Illinois in 1894 when Cleveland was President! Precisely, and when, and because. Altgeld was Governor, and when, and because, Altgeld pardoned anarchist murderers in a manner to show that intellectually he sympathized with them. The Eagle jumped the space between Presidential elections because it was considering those elections alone. We did not refer to State elections between Presidential elections, for we were not considering State elections, but only Presidential ones.

Humbly begging the fluttering Eagle's pardon, it was not considering Presidential elections at all as the issue or question in controversy. It was considering them only as evidence bearing upon that controversy. The gist of the question in hand was its contention that Bryan found a Democratic majority in Illinois when he succeeded Cleveland in the leadership of the Democratic party in 1896, and that under his leadership, and in consequence of it, this majority disappeared. It was in support of that contention that the Eagle pointed to the election returns for Illinois in the Presidential year 1892, and compared them with those of the Presidential years 1896 and 1900. For a very obvious reason, the same reason that tempts attorneys in lawsuits to ignore evidence

that tells against their clients, the Eagle "jumped," to use its own language—"the Eagle jumped the space between Presidential elections." It jumped that space not because those elections were the subject under consideration, but because that space had to be jumped in order to give any force to the evidence it offered. Without "jumping" this most important interval between Presidential elections, it could not hope to deceive its readers as to the matter in controversy. Without that "jump" it could not point to Bryan as the disrupter of the Democratic party.

And now, in its reply to The Public, the Eagle "jumps" again. It "jumps" the point that when Cleveland was elected in 1892, Illinois elected 11 Democratic Congressmen out of a total delegation from the State of 22; whereas, in 1894, while he was head of the party and head of the nation, Illinois elected only 2 Democratic Congressmen. It "jumps" once more when it suppresses the fact that two years later, under Bryan's leadership in 1896, Illinois returned 3 Democratic Congressmen—a gain of 1 over Cleveland's disastrous legacy. In 1900, still under Bryan's leadership, Illinois returned 11 members. What does all this imply but that Cleveland had demoralized the party in Illinois on national issues between 1892 and 1894; and that Bryan began to revive it in 1896, and in 1900 had restored its Congressional membership fully? The Eagle cannot twist itself out of its self-made dilemma by objecting to our bringing into the case pertinent evidence which it chose to leave out. Nor can it escape by calling the Congressional elections in Illinois "State elections." Congressional elections are national elections as well in politics as in law. They are as commonly accepted barometers of national sentiment as Presidential elections are.

As to the Eagle's gratuitous sneer at Altgeld, we shall not be tempted into allowing Mr. Cleveland's Brooklyn organ to shift its

ground. Its mendacious use of an epithet here is only another symptom of its unhappy malady, groverclevelanditis. Victims of that disease are frequently observed to shriek "anarchist!" whenever argument fails them. But there is no question here of Altgeld's views on anarchism. He was not a candidate in 1894. When he did come before the people of Illinois, in 1896 and after that pardon, he polled, notwithstanding his defeat, 47,000 more votes than Cleveland had polled in Illinois four years before. If the Eagle wishes to debate the merits of the Altgeld pardon, it will give us pleasure to accommodate it. Meantime we recommend Altgeld's pardon message as wholesome reading, even if irritating, for jury fixers and corporation judges, their apologists, their newspaper organs, and their beneficiaries in general. But the question here is not Altgeld's pardon. It is whether that pardon accounts for the Democratic collapse at the polls in Illinois in 1894. That is the question the Eagle raises when it explains the reduction from 11 to 2 in the Democratic representation in Congress from Illinois that year by attributing it inferentially to Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists. To that question it is a sufficient answer to say, what is the fact, that the issue in the Congressional elections in Illinois in 1894 was not Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists, but Cleveland's administration. Passing this point, however, with a mere mention, let us ask the Eagle a question. If it believes that it was Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists and not Cleveland's administration, that reduced the Democratic representation of Illinois in Congress from 11 in 1892 to 2 in 1894, then how does it account for the reduction in the Democratic representation from other States? Was it Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists in Illinois, and not Cleveland's administration, that reduced the Democratic representation in Congress from New York, the Eagle's own State, from 20 in 1892 to 5 in 1894? Does that pardon by Altgeld, instead of Cleveland's ad-

ministration, account for the reduction of the Democratic representation from the Eagle's own city of Brooklyn, from 5 in 1892 to 0 in 1894? Was it Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists in Illinois, and not Cleveland's administration, that reduced the Democratic membership in the lower House of Congress from 219 (a plurality of 95) in 1892, to 104 (a minority of 140) in 1894? Dare the Eagle answer these questions frankly?

We challenge The Brooklyn Eagle to face its readers squarely with a publication of the plain facts, and all of them, "jumping" none, together with a repetition of its assurance that Bryan took over a healthy Democratic party in 1896 and ruined it. Let it accompany such a statement and assurance with a table showing the Democratic membership of Congress resulting from the elections of 1892, 1894 and 1896, and even the most unsophisticated of its own confiding readers, other than those who are actually down with groverclevelanditis, will readily see that Cleveland began his administration with a strong and healthy party in March, 1893; that he had completely demoralized it when the Congressional elections of 1894 came off; and that Bryan recovered very much of the lost ground in Congress at the elections of 1896. If, in addition to the Congressional returns, the Eagle also compares the popular vote for President in 1892 with that of 1896, it will remind its readers that in spite of his defeat Bryan polled nearly 1,000,000 more votes in 1896 than Cleveland polled in 1892; and that Bryan's vote was a larger percentage than Cleveland's of the total vote cast. But the Eagle will do nothing of the kind. Having groverclevelanditis in malignant form it will elect in the future as in the past to "jump" all the facts that go against its case.

It is a significant fact that all the political spoilsmen of Chicago condemn the referendum vote in favor of electing instead of appointing the school board, on the

ground that it would make party spoils of school-board seats! The school book pirates object on the same grounds.

Emma Goldman was advertised to lecture on the 9th at a public hall in Philadelphia, rented for the purpose, on the subject of "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation." An orderly crowd gathered, seeking ingress into the hall. It was an absolutely peaceable and lawful assemblage. But the "Director of Public Safety," for no other reason than that somebody had told him the speaker was an "anarchist," and absolutely without proof of any possible, much less probable, lawlessness of word or act in connection with the meeting, ordered the police to prevent its being held. Accordingly the lecturer and the attendants were forbidden to enter their own premises, which they had hired for this occasion. Two attendants, Frank Stephens and Samuel Milliken, insisted, though without violent behavior, upon entering the hall. They were thereupon arrested and imprisoned. When so flagrant an invasion of one of the simplest rights of citizenship can be perpetrated by the officials of an American city, with the approval of the local press and "our best citizens," it is gratifying in the highest degree to be able to quote such sound American sentiment so eloquently and courageously expressed as appears in an extract from Mr. George Gluyas Mercer's speech before the magistrate in behalf of these prisoners for liberty's sake. Mr. Mercer is that rare bird, a leading lawyer who dares to defend free institutions against anarchistic official attacks. He said:

Yesterday's newspapers announced a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple to be addressed by Emma Goldman on "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation"—certainly a peaceful topic. Those who attempted to attend the meeting, among the number being my clients, were met at the door by policemen, who ordered them away, saying that the authorities would not permit the meeting. According to the primary meaning of the word an anarchist is one who advocates a social theory of absolute individual liberty and who believes in the beautiful

ideal of the self-government of man without the necessity of any forceful enforcement of the law. I have never seen Emma Goldman, have never heard her speak, and have no belief in the present practicability of her political ideal; but, if I rightly understand her position, she is the peaceful advocate of a state of society in which government, as we understand it, would be unnecessary. In one of this morning's newspapers I read her statement that she had always been permitted to speak on this topic in the city of New York. As a citizen of Philadelphia, who was born here and have lived here all my life, I hang my head with shame to think that this woman, when she comes to the city where the Declaration of Independence was made, is denied the right of free speech on another topic simply because she is known to believe in anarchy in its higher and better sense. In its secondary signification the word anarchist means one who promotes disorder, who overturns by violence constitutional forms of government, and who interferes with the individual rights of man. In this second class we find the policemen who made the arrests last night; above them the lieutenant of this district by whose orders the arrests were made; above him the Director of Public Safety who ordered the lieutenant to deny the right of free speech and to prevent the holding of a peaceful meeting; and above the Director the Mayor of Philadelphia, who has done more, by this one act, to promote anarchy in its worst sense than all the speeches of Emma Goldman could have done in years. Certainly, this high handed outrage of the Police Department of Philadelphia shows that here, in this American city, is anarchy in a sense as bad as it could possibly exist in Russia; namely, a state of society in which the functions of government are performed badly or not at all, and in which there is no capable supreme power.

In connection with the question of municipal ownership and operation of municipal monopolies we are glad to be able to direct attention to a judicial opinion of the highest character in support of our contention that the distinguishing test between public function and private business is the source of power to act. If, in the nature of things, that power is in the individual as to any business, then such business is a private business; but if, in the nature of things, power to act must be derived from the government, with reference to any business, then such business is a public function. An individual needs no authority from government to

engage, for instance, in the grocery business, unless government first forbids. In the nature of things that business is open to anyone. But nobody can engage in the street-car business without getting authority from government; and that is according to the nature of the business, and not a result of prior interference by government. This distinction is made unanimously by the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, the highest court of that State.

These Massachusetts judges gave their opinions upon a formal application of the legislature. It was in the Winter of 1903, and with reference to a proposed establishment of governmental agencies for the buying and selling of fuel. The court judicially advised the legislature, as appears by House document No. 511 of the session of 1903, that this could not be done constitutionally; because it would involve the expenditure of public money, derived from the taxation of individuals, for other than a public use, which the Massachusetts constitution forbids. It was in coming to that conclusion that the court noted the distinction between public function and private business to which we refer above. "The business of selling fuel," reads the opinion, "can be conducted easily by individuals in competition. It does not require the exercise of any governmental function, as does the distribution of water, gas and electricity, which involves the use of the public streets and the exercise of the right of eminent domain."

A suggestion regarding government railroads comes from an unexpected source—for such a suggestion. It is the proposal of a former member of Congress from New York, a man of importance for many years in metropolitan business circles, Mr. William J. Coombs. Mr. Coombs submitted his suggestion to the Manufacturers' Association of New York last February. It was published in the *Manufacturers' Journal* for March,

where we find it, together with a note that Mr. Coombs invites "correspondence and advice from those who approve or disapprove, at his address, 63 South Portland avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y."

It is to be observed that Mr. Coombs is not a socialist, nor an anarchist, and that he holds to the business men's and lawyers' superstition about the virtues of "vesting,"—namely that wrongs become right by "vesting." Such rights are distinguished from rights that are not wrong, by the term "vested rights." This attitude of mind adds force, however, to Mr. Coombs's suggestion, because the suggestion thus comes well recommended to the conservative intellect. What Mr. Coombs proposes is nothing less than a system of continental railroads, to be built, owned and maintained by the general government, and to be open to competitive use, under appropriate regulations as to safety, etc. They would be great public highways.

Mr. Coombs bases his suggestion upon a pertinent and very searching question. Listen to him:

It has been considered proper and legitimate for any State, or for the general government, to construct canals in the aid of commerce. It has occurred to me of late to ask: Why, if it is legitimate for the government to construct a waterway through land in aid of commerce, through which any citizen or company can upon paying toll and complying with strict regulations, convey his or its boats or barges, is it not just as legitimate and feasible for it to construct a steel way over land, upon which any railroad company, new or old, any corporation or private individual, can convey a car or train of cars to the desired market?

Sure enough, why not? For no other reason under heaven than that all the pathetic "widows and orphans" of the stock-watering world would oppose it. They would oppose it because it would ruin—not their legitimate properties, but—their illegitimate monopolies.

Precisely such a solution of the railroad problem has long been

advocated by Tom L. Johnson. He was in Congress with Mr. Coombs, and it is to be hoped that these two may proceed more urgently to press their idea upon the public mind. Mr. Johnson has made a considerable elaboration of his plan. The substance of it is that there should be a main line from coast to coast, and another from Canada to the Gulf; that no attempt should be made to touch cities, each city being left to make its own connections with these two great intersecting continental highways, which should be built as straight as possible; and that there should be several tracks, according to the necessities of classes of trains—some tracks for the highest speed and on which there should be no stoppages, some for high speed with stops, some for lower speed, and some for strictly way trains. Mr. Johnson has carefully calculated the practicability, the economy, and the problem-solving possibilities of such a system, owned and maintained by the general government so far as the highway is concerned, but operated by individuals and corporations in competition so far as trains and transportation are concerned.

Such seems also to be Mr. Coombs's conception in the main. For purposes of illustration he tentatively describes the system he suggests as follows:

Beginning at the Atlantic seaboard in the neighborhood of 40 to 41 degrees of latitude, passing westward through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, Nevada and California, all on that parallel or as nearly so as physical conditions would permit, to the Pacific coast. At a point near 78 degrees longitude it would be joined by a road passing through West Virginia to Washington and another going northeast through Connecticut and Massachusetts to Maine; also at a point near 108 degrees longitude in the State of Colorado by a road running northwest through Idaho, Montana and Washington to Puget sound. This road would penetrate the anthracite coal regions, through the wheat, corn and mineral belts, as well as through large manufacturing sections, and supply a route for the increasing trade of Alaska and the Orient.



### AMERICAN FARMS AND THE CENSUS REPORTS.

The figures regarding farm values presented in an article in the "Good Roads" department of the New York Tri-Weekly Tribune of March 2, quoted and commented upon in The Public of March 12, (vol. vi, p. 771), fairly illustrate the mistaken conclusions commonly drawn from census statistics.

The Tribune is undoubtedly correct in its contention that good roads increase farm values. But the Tribune is certainly grossly in error in its quotation of census figures as showing a general increase in farm values.

In four of the seven States in which, according to the Tribune's figures, there was an increase in farm values, the census shows a decrease in the average value of land and improvements per acre, and in two of the States where the census indicates an increase the increase was much less than is asserted by the Tribune.

For New York, the only State for which the Tribune presents figures as indicating a decrease in farm values, the census shows a decrease in the average value of land and improvements, per acre, from \$44.08 in 1890 to \$39.21 in 1900, a decrease of 12.4 per cent., and not of 6.1 per cent. The Tribune's figures are taken from table 57, p. 702, Part I, of the agricultural census, and represent the increase or decrease in the total value of all farm property enumerated in 1900 in comparison with the total value of all farm property enumerated in 1890. Except for Rhode Island and the District of Columbia the figures compared represent the value of an increased number of acres. This appears from the same table, which, besides the figures quoted by the Tribune, shows the increase or decrease in the number of acres.

Table 54, of the same volume, shows the average value of land and improvements per acre, but even these figures cannot be relied upon as showing an increase in farm values, because they include the value of improvements, and therefore the increase shown may represent nothing but an expenditure for improvements. The figures quoted by the Tribune include

also the value of machinery and implements, and of live stock, and in every State for which it has presented figures the census shows a large increase in the value of implements and machinery, and in every State but one there is shown also an increase in the value of live stock. However it may be as to live stock, the increase in the value of machinery represents only an increased expenditure of capital.

The most glaring error of the Tribune is its statement as to the general increase in farm values according to which "the total increase in all the States and Territories in the United States of farm values in the ten years was 27.6 per cent." Were this ridiculously false statement true, it would fully justify the assertions so persistently made that census statistics demonstrate unparalleled agricultural prosperity.

The census, it is true, shows the value of all farm property as enumerated in 1900, to be 27.6 per cent. greater than the value of that enumerated in 1890, but the present census includes 1,175,016 more farms and 217,882,927 more acres than were enumerated in 1890.

With an increase in farm area of 35 per cent. and a decrease in the average value per acre from \$21.31 in 1890 to \$19.28 per acre in 1900, the census, instead of showing an increase in farm values of 27.6 per cent., as is asserted by the Tribune, appears to indicate a considerable decrease.

These figures, however, cannot be taken as conclusively demonstrating a general decline in farm values, for the reason that the present census includes many millions of acres of land of relatively low value that were excluded from enumeration in 1890 as not being farming lands. On the other hand, the present census also includes a vast number of tracts of land of small area and relatively high value that were excluded from enumeration in 1890 as not properly constituting farms.

Whether these changes in census methods have resulted in a fictitious increase or decrease in the average valuation per acre of farms of the country as a whole, it is impossible to determine.

It appears evident, however, that in many localities where the increased acreage is manifestly due to the inclusion of small tracts of relatively high value, the result has been a fictitious increase in the average value of farm property.

The stupendous increase in farm acreage from 1890 to 1900, which is two and a half times the increase from 1880 to 1890 and greater than the entire increase from 1860 to 1890, is doubtless in some measure due to a deficient enumeration in 1890. This great increase, is, however, chiefly due to the fact that, unlike preceding censuses, the present census includes as farms thousands of cattle ranches and sheep ranches of tens and hundreds of thousands of acres each.

In one instance a whole county is enumerated as a single farm of 3,500,000 acres. This farm is located in Montana and embraces the Crow Indian reservation. In this territory we find an increase in acreage from 1,964,197 acres in 1890 to 11,844,454 acres in 1900, with but 84,674 acres of improved land.

Not only has the census enumerated lands owned or rented by ranchmen, but, where their cattle graze upon the public domain, the land thus occupied has also been included as part of their farms.

The extent to which the farm area of the country, as reported at the present census, has been increased by this change of methods of enumeration cannot be discovered from the census. It seems quite evident that the census office has been more anxious to conceal than to reveal the facts as to the matter. The census, however, shows an unprecedented increase in the number of farms of 1,000 acres and over, the principal increase being in regions devoted to the grazing of cattle and sheep. The increase in the number of farms of 1,000 acres and over, according to the census, was from 31,546 in 1890 to 47,276 in 1900, the average size at the latter census being 4,237 acres and the total area of 200,324,045 acres. This is nearly one-fourth of the entire reported farming area. No figures are published in regard to the average size or total area of farms of 1,000 acres in 1890.

Further light on this matter is obtained through an analysis of census figures, comparing separately the increase in improved and unimproved acreage as shown for different localities as well as for the United States. Such analysis shows that the increase in the number of improved acres was considerably less in the last than in the preceding decade, and that the great increase in farm area from 1890 to 1900 is chiefly of unimproved land in localities where there are immense cattle ranges.

The following table shows the number of improved and unimproved acres, as reported at the last three censuses, together with the increase during the last two decades:

Year.....	Improved No. of acres.....	Improved Inc. during decade.....	Unimproved No. of acres.....	Unimproved Inc. during decade.....
1900	414,793,191	57,176,436	426,408,355	160,886,491
1890	357,616,755	72,845,713	265,801,864	14,391,071
1880	284,771,042		251,310,793	

Thus, according to the census, the increase in unimproved acreage during the last decade was nearly three times the increase in improved acreage, though from 1880 to 1890 it was less than one-fifth as great. Thus the relative increase of unimproved to improved acreage of the last decade was about 15 times that of the preceding decade.

Of this mythical increase of unimproved acreage, 75,570,219 acres appears in Texas, where we find 30 counties for which the average number of acres per farm is reported as over 10,000 acres, and 22 counties in which the average acreage per farm is over 20,000 acres. The average for each of these 22 counties ranges all the way from 20,070 to 450,000 acres. In one of these counties we find a single farm of 140,000 acres, for which the value of land and improvements, except buildings, is reported as \$9,780, or less than 7 cents per acre, the value of buildings being \$300.

As a result of this enumeration of vast tracts of unimproved land at the present census that were excluded from enumeration in 1890, we find an apparent decrease in the average value of land

and improvements during the last decade from \$9.20 to \$8.04 in the south central division, and from \$23.16 to \$13.80 in the western division, notwithstanding that there was unquestionably a decided increase in land values in the sections.

As the ranch industry is not a new one, and was in fact more important in former years than at present, there is neither propriety nor honesty in remarks found in the text of the census regarding changes in the average size of farms. After grossly misleading remarks in explanation of the decrease in the average size of farms in other localities we find it remarked as follows: "In sections better adapted for grazing than for the cultivation of crops, as in western Kansas and Nebraska, North and South Dakota, western Texas, and in most of the semi-arid portions of the West, the average area of farms is much larger than in other parts of the country, and has tended to increase in the last decade. Throughout the United States, the increase or decrease in the average size of farms, therefore, is due to the changes incident to the adjustment of the agricultural operations of each locality to those branches of husbandry to which it is best adapted. It may be said that the area of farms tends to approximate the area from which the farmer possessing average capital can secure the largest returns."

As a matter of fact, the changes in the average size of farms, which census statistics appear to indicate is chiefly due to radical changes in census methods of enumeration, resulting in the inclusion in the farming area as reported at the present census, but excluded at previous censuses, not only of a vast area of grazing lands, but also of hundreds of thousands of comparatively small tracts. These small tracts were excluded from enumeration at former censuses because of the census requirement that farms of this character should be "cultivated for pecuniary profit and employ as much as the labor of one able bodied workman during the year."

The facts regarding this matter can only be discovered from a thorough investigation of census

statistics and census schedules and of instructions to census enumerators at the different censuses. Were it possible to discover the exact facts, it is altogether likely that we should find that in many localities where, according to the census, there appears to be a decrease in the average size of farms, there was really an increase. Limitation of space does not permit a satisfactory discussion of this phase of the question at this time and it is therefore reserved for a future article.

Consideration of the indisputable facts already disclosed shows the impropriety of taking the difference in the value of farm property as enumerated in 1890 and 1900 as representing the increase of farm values in the United States. Only on the score of ignorance is it possible to excuse such a use of census statistics. While this excuse may serve the Tribune, no such excuse can be advanced in defense of the chief census statistician for agriculture. He is also guilty of this error in a computation of the average labor income in the United States, and in the several States, presented in Table CXXIII, Part I, Statistics of Agriculture. This computation was criticised by the writer in The Public of October, 1902 (vol. v. p. 452). For the purpose of arriving at the average labor income the census statistician first obtains what he terms the "gross farm income" by adding to the value of the agricultural product not fed to livestock the sum of \$445,763,349 as representing the "annual increase in the value of farm property." This amount he obtains by taking one-tenth of the difference between the total value of farm property as reported in 1900 and as reported in 1890. From the "gross farm income" the statistician deducts the amount of six per cent. on the value of all farm property and thus obtains what he terms the "labor income." This he divides by the number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits as reported on the population schedules, and thus obtains the sum of \$288.26 as the "average labor income." The items are as follows:

Gross farm income, including additions to the value of property.....	\$4,187,892,706
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Product not fed to live stock.....	3,742,129,357
Annual increase in value of farm property.....	445,763,349
Interest on value of farm property at 6 per cent.....	1,226,394,070
Labor income.....	2,961,498,636
Number of persons engaged in agriculture.....	10,273,770
Average labor income.....	288.26

The absurdity of these figures is seen when we discover that though the average value of land and improvements in Montana, as enumerated at the two censuses, had fallen from \$12.99 in 1890 to \$5.24 in 1900, the statistician figures out an annual addition to the value of farm property in this territory of \$6,937,079. By adding this amount to the value of the product the statistician has figured out the average labor income as \$850.23, which is an average income greater by \$250 than the average Montana farm laborer would receive were it not for this great increase in the value of farm property.

As we have seen, this increase is fictitious and due to the inclusion as farm property of lands leased from Indians and railroads and of the public domain occupied without compensation to the government.

That there has been an increase of farm values in some localities is unquestionably true. But where such unearned increment exists it is a profit of investment and not a reward of labor. By including it as a part of the labor income the statistician has succeeded in increasing the average labor income which he figures out for the United States to the extent of over \$43.

For New York State the income obtained by this method is less by over \$18, for in that State there is found an annual decrease in the value of farm property of \$6,958,682.

It may be noticed that the agricultural statistician makes no deduction from the "gross farm income", although the census reports the sum of \$54,783,757 as expended for fertilizers, and that there are other deductions that should be made of expenses of which the census makes no report, such as the cost of repairs and renewal of improvements and implements.

This computation fairly illustrates the lack of intelligence, if not lack of honesty, with which the agricultural reports have been compiled.

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

BUFFALO.

Buffalo, N. Y., April 10.—The recent Democratic primaries in this city throw light upon the real meaning of the apparently successful Hill movement for an instructed delegation for Parker from New York to the Democratic national convention. There was no contest whatever of a national character. It was a contest, and a bitter one, between two local factions—the Mack faction, represented by the Times, and the Conners faction, represented by the Courier.

Both factions are attached to the "reorganizer" wing of the party. The former tends toward Hill and the latter toward Cleveland, but the struggle between them is simply for local power. A mild demonstration was made by a third faction for Hearst; but without money no headway could be made against the other factions, and this demonstration was practically abandoned. The contest settled down, therefore, to a struggle between Mack and Conners for local supremacy.

Notwithstanding the purely local character of the fight, however, each of the factions adopted a national slogan. The Mack faction demanded a delegation instructed for Parker, and the Conners faction, like the Tammany faction in New York, opposed instructions. Having the advantage of a positive programme, to say nothing of a larger corruption fund from outside, the Mack faction won. That is the inner meaning of the Parker victory in Buffalo; and, in all probability Parker victories elsewhere in the State mean no more.

Some rather remarkable criticisms are current here relative to the recent appropriation of \$101,000,000 for enlarging the canal from Lake Erie to Albany.

The ostensible object of the appropriation is to perfect this old waterway as a competitor of the Central railroad for the purpose of holding the railroad in check with reference to freight rates. The canal can be operated possibly eight months in the year; and, though much slower as a means of transportation from the lakes to the seaboard, it is supposed that boatmen will haul at rates low enough to regulate railroad rates during those eight months, even though the railroad have a free hand during the other four. In order to accomplish this result, the boatmen must have some rates and the taxpayers must expend \$101,000,000 to enlarge the canal.

In view of the offer of the president of the New York Central railroad, that vast expenditure would appear to be somewhat in the nature of a huge bunco. For this railroad man publicly offers for \$101,000,000 to carry by rail,

in perpetuity, from the lake to the seaboard, all the freight, year by year, that could be transported by canal. In other words, for the annual income of \$101,000,000 the New York Central railroad would bind itself to do all that this canal could do, and thereby save the boatmen's freight charges.

It does not follow, of course, that it would be wise to accept that offer. But the offer indicates that enlarging the canal is probably not the best way of checking the aggressions of the railroad. That there is a better plan is said to be evident. Experts assert that \$40,000,000 would be enough to build a first-class State railroad along the canal bed from Buffalo to Albany, inclusive of the cost of such additional land as might be necessary to straighten and shorten the route. They say, moreover, that the interest on \$61,000,000 would maintain this road as a free highway, on which railroad trains could be operated in competition by individuals and corporations. And they add that under that competitive system of operation freight could be carried from lake to seaboard, including transshipment at Albany, for one-quarter the cost of carrying it by canal boat. It is thus possible, at no greater outlay than is proposed for deepening the canal for competitive boating, to turn it into a rail highway for competitive railroading.

The latter plan would make effective competition with the present railroad monopoly, at only one-quarter of canal boat rates, for 12 months of the year instead of 8, and at no greater outlay by the State than the former plan requires. In addition, the railroad could be finished in two years, while the canal improvement would take ten or fifteen. Further, the railroad would not cost more, whereas the cost for the canal will probably double the appropriation.

But these very advantages seem to be objections. The longer job and larger probable cost of deepening the canal appeal to the spollsmen, while its ineffectiveness as a competitor with the present railroad monopoly appeals to financial interests. Yet why should an antiquated water highway be maintained at great expense by the State, when the latest and best kind of rail highway could be established at no greater and probably at less expense?

L. F. P.

CLEVELAND.

Cleveland, O., April 12.—That the railroad monopolies are not insensible to the great advantages of old canal beds for rail highways, even if the people who own them are, is evident from one of the legislative steals which are now seducing the late Senator Hanna's eager Ohio legislators.

The best railway terminal-site in Cincinnati is an old canal, and it is wanted for that purpose by the Pennsylv-

vania Railroad and by the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton. Boss Cox, the manager of southern Ohio politics, is too shrewd a man to have overlooked so good an opportunity for vitalizing Republican politics with commercial opportunities. Consequently a dead set has been made by a corporation of which Cox is the guardian angel, for the transposition of the canal bed into a railway right-of-way.

The first successful step consisted in securing authority from the legislature to build a tow-path track for "electric mules"—a system of trolley traction for canal boats. A first class trolley road was the result. But the speed of the "electric mules" was limited by the law to four miles an hour, and the trolley could not be used for railroading. However, the camel's nose has got into the Arab's tent, and now it is proposed to remove the speed limit and to authorize the "mule" track to cross from bank to bank. A bill permitting this has been before the present legislature. It was defeated because the C., H. & D. road detected the presence of the Pennsylvania under Boss Cox's friendly skirts, and met the Pennsylvania's corruption fund with one as large. All the Democratic members voted against the bill; although it is reported that two or three of them were barely saved from selling themselves through the accident of encountering a C., H. & D. bribe to vote right, which was exactly as big as the Pennsylvania bribe that had almost seduced them into voting wrong.

Another effort to carry this measure for turning over canal beds to railroad companies is to be made, it is said, and this time the Pennsylvania lobby promises prizes big enough to make the most virtuous pocket gap.

Those Republicans of Cleveland who really want good government but were fooled by Hanna and Herrick into filling their legislature with grafters and corporation tools, have begun to realize that it was a gilded brick that these high priests of monopoly pawned off upon them. Their local school system is menaced now by spoilsmen, and there is a probability that their control over their local public utilities will be wholly taken away from them and placed in the hands of a State commission whose salaries are to be paid by the corporations. This bill was drawn by the attorney for the Cleveland street car system, it was introduced by a country member last week, and it is believed to be backed by a boodle tank of unusual dimensions. The bill was not introduced until the Cleveland courts had dissolved an injunction against the three-cent-fare street railroad which Johnson is trying to establish.

It is probably the last play of the Hanna street car combine of Cleveland; for it is hardly probable that this extreme exposure of their own hand would

have been made had any other recourse remained.

While this carnival of Republican corruption goes on, Mayor Johnson observes the transformation scenes with complacency, realizing that after all there can be but one climax, and that the discomfiture of the corrupters of all grades and the crooks of both parties is in the end inevitable.

In his own party he is making special efforts. The telegraphic reports that he has united with McLean are utterly false. No one who knows his consistent attitude toward Democratic politics in Ohio can suppose for a moment that he has made peace with McLean; and there is no other basis for the reports than his opposition to indorsing Hearst (or anyone else, for that matter), and the accident of an agreement on that solitary point between some of his friends on the State committee and some of McLean's friends there.

Those who know Mr. Johnson best know that his opposition to endorsing William R. Hearst for the Presidency is too easily accounted for on rational grounds to need any such explanation as that he has either united with McLean or looked with favor upon the "re-organizers."

Among Mayor Johnson's visitors on the 11th and 12th was L. F. C. Garvin, governor of Rhode Island, who stopped for a visit on his way to Chicago, where he is to speak on the 13th at the banquet of the Iroquois club. Much local gossip was excited by this visit, upon the supposition that it had reference to pushing one or the other forward for the Presidential nomination. The fact is, however, that both Johnson and Garvin are attending to their public duties and allowing Presidential nominations to take care of themselves.

The visit was purely personal. As both men are old single taxers, however, its personal intimacy was rather deeper than is usual with a mere social or political call.

L. F. P.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, April 14.

In connection with the Russo-Japanese war (p. 9) nothing especially notable was reported during the week until the 13th. An official confirmation, from Japanese sources, of the retirement of the Russian troops across the Yalu river into Manchuria had been made on the 9th by Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese minister to Korea, who officially informed the Korean foreign office on that day that the

Russians had crossed the Yalu and that the Japanese were in full possession of the Korean frontier along that river. But on the 13th dispatches from St. Petersburg told generally of a great sea battle raging at Port Anthur, and specifically of the loss of the Russian Vice Admiral Makaroff, who went down with his flagship, Petropavlovsk, and over 700 men. The ship struck a mine, and almost immediately turning "turtle" she carried down nearly every one on board. Only 5 officers and 32 men, out of a crew of 800, escaped. Vice Admiral Makaroff was in command of the Pacific station.

Russia was reported on the 12th to have renewed her demands upon China (vol. vi, p. 791), that the Chinese troops be withdrawn from the Manchurian frontier.

The possibilities of a conflict between France and Great Britain, incited by international complications in connection with the Russo-Japanese war, but growing out of irritating colonial disputes between France and Great Britain themselves, seem to be generally regarded by the London newspapers as having been removed by a treaty made on the 8th between France and Great Britain relative to their respective colonial claims. This treaty covers six geographical points of dispute. It recognizes French claims with reference to Morocco, and British claims with reference to Egypt; it concedes French rights in West Africa and British rights in Newfoundland; and it provides for amicable adjustments as to Siam and the New Hebrides.

The New Hebrides form a group of islands in the Pacific ocean to the east of Australia, about 15 degrees south latitude. By a Franco-British treaty of 1887 these islands have been under the government of an extra-territorial commission composed of French and English naval officers on Pacific stations. Civil and criminal jurisdiction as regards British subjects was provided for by a British order in Council in 1893; and a similar decree as respects French citizens was made by the French government in 1901. Two French trading and mining companies have been at work in the



islands, and serious land title disputes have arisen between the French and British inhabitants. These are to be decided by a joint commission to be appointed by the two governments under the treaty just signed.

Some portions of Siam, another of the subjects of this Franco-British treaty, have been a French protectorate since 1893. An arrangement was made in 1896 between France and Great Britain whereby they guaranteed to Siam the integrity of the territory embraced in the basins of the Megam, the Meklong, the Pechaburi and the Bangpakong rivers, together with the coast from Muong Bang Tapan to Muong Pase, including also the territory lying to the north of the Menam basin, between the Anglo Siamese border, the Mekong river, and the eastern watershed of the Me Ing. It is needless to say that this guaranty of territorial integrity was, as usual, for the benefit of the two European powers rather than the protection of the native people. But friction has resulted, and the present treaty is to determine amicably between these powers the precise meaning of the treaty of 1896 with reference to the matters in dispute.

Regarding Newfoundland, another subject of this new treaty, the island is under British jurisdiction; but by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France retains some fishery rights which she has insisted upon as exclusive, thereby perpetuating ill-feeling among the inhabitants and disturbing amicable relations between the two European powers. Under the treaty just reported, France relinquishes her claims to exclusive fishery rights, in consideration of indemnities to the private owners. Some additional adjustments of disputes are made.

So much of the new treaty as relates to West Africa is supplemental to the Franco-British treaty of 1898-99, which provided for the determination of the respective possessions and spheres of influence (vol. i, No. 8, p. 10, and No. 11, p. 10) of these two Powers in that part of Africa. By this supplementary adjustment France acquires access to the Zambesi river where

it is navigable by ocean-going vessels, she secures certain islands on the Lagos coast, and she is to have the benefit of such a readjustment of the frontier line between the river Niger and Lake Tchad as will open up to her a fertile country her claims to which Great Britain has hitherto disputed.

Egypt and Morocco are the other portions of Africa to which this Franco-British treaty relates. Great Britain has occupied Egypt for a quarter of a century under pledges to withdraw when a stable Egyptian government should have been established there. France has not been inclined to look with satisfaction on the failure of Great Britain to redeem these pledges. But by the treaty now reported France appears to acquiesce in the British occupation of Egypt in consideration of Great Britain's approval of the French pressure (vol. iii, p. 152, vol. vi, p. 152) upon Morocco. In making their concession regarding Morocco the British exact of France an agreement not to erect any fortifications on the Morocco coast between Melilla and the mouth of the Sebu river, it being the object of the British in this respect to retain exclusive control of the mouth of the Mediterranean.

Reports of another collision of German troops with Hereros in German Southwest Africa (vol. vi, p. 809) have been received. It occurred at Oksharui on the 2d, and lasted more than three hours. The Hereros were at last driven off, leaving 92 dead behind them. The German losses were 33 killed and 16 wounded.

The British expedition into Thibet (p. 9) was virtually approved by Parliament on the 13th. After a debate, the use of Indian troops in connection with the "political mission into Thibet" was sanctioned by a vote of 270 to 61. Mr. Balfour, the premier, explained in the course of the debate that the mission has no ulterior objects and that the last thing the Ministry desires is to add to its Indian frontier responsibilities. A dispatch from Col. Younghusband, the leader of the expedition, was read on the floor by Mr. Broderick. It was to the effect that Col. MacDonald, in command of the escort, reached

his goal, Gyantse, Thibet, on April 11, without the loss of a man, and that the Thibetans, highly demoralized, were fleeing from the Gyantse valley.

An incident of the Mexican war with the Yaqui Indians (vol. v, p. 171) recalls the fact that this conflict of generations still drags its bloody length along. The chief of the Yaquis, Manuel Guavesi, who was identified among prisoners captured early this month by the Mexicans in an engagement near Bolomote, was shot off-hand by his captors under orders from the captain in command.

The war in Colorado (vol. vi, p. 822) has reached the stage of a conflict between the judicial and the military authorities of the State. Upon the arbitrary arrest and deportation of Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, by the militia at Telluride, Judge Theron Stevens, of the district court at Ouray, issued a writ of habeas corpus for Moyer, directing it to Gen. Bell and Capt. Wells, in whose custody Moyer was alleged to be. They refused to obey the writ; whereupon, on the 11th, Judge Stevens imposed a fine upon them for contempt and issued an attachment for their arrest. In taking this action Judge Stevens spoke from the bench, saying—

A grave question is presented as to whether it is the striking miners or the Governor of Colorado and the national guard that are engaged in insurrection and rebellion against the laws of the State. If there is to be a reign of military despotism in this State and civil authority is to have no jurisdiction, the latter might as well go out of business.

Referring to Judge Stevens's action, Gov. Peabody is reported from Denver as saying:

We shall not recognize the attachment writ, neither shall we obey it, and Adj. Gen. Bell and Capt. Bulkeley Wells will not report in court. The military is not subject to writs of attachment or injunctions. If we recognized the action of Judge Stevens there would be no reason why any justice of the peace could not exercise equal authority and issue writs controlling movements of the military, and thus rendering martial law absolutely impotent and inoperative.

Gen. Bell's reported comment was as follows:

If Sheriff Corbett takes us to Ouray it will have to be over the dead bodies



of all the soldiers under my command in this county. He has not got men enough to do that. The situation demands that we stay in Telluride. Mr. Moyer will never be produced in court until Gov. Peabody orders me to do so unless he escapes and goes over the range on snow shoes.

The sheriff essayed to serve the attachments on the 13th, but after conferring with Gen. Bell and Capt. Wells at a dinner, he decided to abandon that purpose.

In the Presidential politics of the United States (p. 8), news of the most important State convention of the Republicans is at hand. It was held at New York city on the 13th, and Senators Platt and Depew, Gov. Odell and ex-Gov. Black were named as delegates at large from the State of New York. There was no discord in any particular, the action of the convention being absolutely harmonious. The convention endorsed Roosevelt for the party's Presidential candidate, and instructed the delegates at large to support him; but it did not instruct the district delegates, its omission to do so being explained by Gov. Odell as follows:

Since 1880, when we abandoned the plan of selecting the district delegates, the State convention has not, and, indeed, cannot, instruct the district delegates. This direction of the convention to the delegates at large to secure Mr. Roosevelt's nomination is the strongest possible way in which the matter could be put.

The only Democratic State convention of the week was that of Kansas, which met at Wichita on the 7th. It endorsed—

the Chicago platform of 1896 and the Kansas City platform of 1900,—

expressed—

appreciation of and admiration for the candidate of our choice in two great campaigns, the Hon. W. J. Bryan.—

avored—

the nomination by the next Democratic convention of men for President and Vice-President who are in sympathy with these principles and who supported the candidates who represented them.—

and declared that—

In William R. Hearst we recognize one of the foremost Democrats of the nation. He uses his great opportunities and

power in all cases in behalf of the common people without counting the cost to himself. His single-handed contest with the coal trust, just successfully concluded in the Supreme Court, is the most signal triumph of Democratic principles since the trusts seized the business of the country. We indorse the work he is doing in the interest of his party and his country, and commend his example to good Democrats everywhere.

Of the 20 delegates elected by the convention, 10 are pledged to Hearst. No attempt to pass a vote of instructions was made, a compromise agreement having been effected between the Hearst and the anti-Hearst men to make no effort to secure a vote for instructions of any kind. David Overmeyer, chairman of the delegation, though an anti-Hearst man, is also what is known as an "anti-reorganizer," as are most of the delegates.

What is evidently regarded by Democratic leaders as a triumph in tactics which may play an important part in the Presidential campaign is the concession by the Republicans of the Senate of a full investigation into the affairs of the post office department. The Republicans of the lower House had refused to permit such an investigation; but when the post office appropriation bill came before the Senate the Democratic members of that body, taking advantage of its liberal rules of debate, forced a compromise. They refused to permit the appropriation bill to pass until the Republican senators agreed to a complete investigation of the department.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—Isabella, former Queen of Spain and grandmother of the present king, died at Paris, France, on the 9th.

—The state council of Switzerland unanimously adopted a bill on the 8th making the glorification of anarchist crimes punishable by imprisonment.

—Two thousand pounds of powder exploded in the aft turret of the United States battleship *Missouri* during target practice at Pensacola, Fla., on the 13th, and killed five officers and 25 men.

—On the 8th the committee on labor of the lower House of Congress refused to endorse the long pending 8-hour bill, but recommended referring it to the Department of Commerce and Labor.

—The Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 11th that the or-

der of 1902 of the Postmaster General, excluding from second class mail privileges books published periodically, is valid.

—A referendum system on the granting of street franchises has been adopted, by a majority of 4 to 1, by the city council of Houston, Texas. J. J. Pastoriza led in the agitation for it and it was bitterly opposed by the local street franchise corporations.

—The Supreme Court of Kansas decided on the 9th in the case regarding religious exercises in the public schools (vol. vi, p 804) that the particular exercise complained of in that case, repeating the Lord's Prayer preparatory to regular studies, does not constitute religious worship.

—In Congress on the 9th Bourke Cockran moved a resolution of inquiry into the pension-office order making old age a pensionable disability, for the purpose of determining whether it is a usurpation of legislative powers. After a debate, in which Cockran made a powerful speech, the resolution was tabled by 103 to 100, three Republicans voting with 97 Democrats against tabling.

—Before the United States Supreme Court at Washington on the 6th and 7th, the habeas corpus case of John Turner, ordered to be deported as an anarchist immigrant (vol. vi, p. 826), was argued for Mr. Turner by Edgar L. Masters and Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago. Decision was reserved and may not be rendered for several weeks or even months. Mr. Turner is announced to speak at 27 N. Clark street, Chicago, on the 17th at eight p. m.

#### PRESS OPINIONS.

##### THE PRESIDENCY.

Clay's (Denver) Review (Ind.), Apr. 9.—A week ago Judge Alton Parker had a probable chance of being nominated for President and a barely possible chance of being elected. To-day all this is changed. Grover Cleveland has come out for him. The natural consequence is, he is no longer in the running.

New Orleans Harlequin (Ind.), Apr. 7.—Bryan, Hearst, Tom Johnson—these are your Democrats—your genuine article. Grover isn't a Democrat. He is a stomach. Parker isn't a Democrat. He is a ladada. Hill isn't a Democrat—and it grieves me to say so of a man who has often said he is one—he's a self.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Apr. 7.—Mr. Cleveland says Judge Parker is an admirable candidate. There is danger in such testimony and praise, for what is meat to the reorganizers is poison to the anti's. But aside from this, may not "real and intelligent Democrats" ask for a bill of particulars from Judge Parker's friends?

(Pendleton, Ore.), East Oregonian (Dem.), Apr. 5.—Roosevelt not having a million dollars to give for the nomination for President, must seek it from outside sources. Hearst, having it, is willing to pay the price. What is the difference in the tactics? Is it any more reprehensible for Hearst to spend a million dollars of his own for the office, than it is for Roosevelt to spend a million of Carnegie's money for the same

place? Carnegie has offered a million for this purpose.

The Commoner (Dem.), Apr. 8.—Mr. Hill has made himself the champion of Mr. Parker in New York, and it is not likely that he would do this without having an understanding with Mr. Parker as to his position with the administration. It can be safely taken for granted that in case of Judge Parker's nomination and election Mr. Hill would be the controlling figure in the administration, and that would mean that those who attempted to reach the White House would have to wade through peanut shells knee deep.

(East Aurora, N. Y.) What's the Use (Ind.), Apr.—As to Parker: The Democrats are invited to declare for a man who never has declared for himself, and whose sponsor is David B. Hill. Now whom did Hill ever declare for before convention, whose election would be for the public interests? As to Uninstructed: The Democrats are invited to send to the national convention men who are to be mere automata, to be manipulated by men who dare not proclaim their real principles or policies. As to Hearst: By the way, why cannot we have a chance to nominate Lucius F. C. Garvin, or Edward M. Shepard, or John Sharp Williams, or any one of fifty men who are thoroughly democratic? As to Roosevelt: Well, "we are all poor critters," as the Widow Bedott used to say.

**CRIMINAL SENATORS.**

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Apr. 7.—In passing sentence upon Senator Burton of Kansas, Judge Adams delivered a very interesting lecture. On the whole it was an excellent lecture, and yet, it might be improved by slight amendments. . . . But while it seems now to be the duty of everyone to strike a blow at this prostrate man, because, while serving as a senator, he acted as attorney before a Federal department, we do not hear of any protest against some other men who, pretending to serve as senators, stand upon the floor of the Senate as recognized attorneys for powerful interests. Where the cheap and luckless Burton made his hundreds, these men make their hundreds of thousands. They are not called to the bar of justice; they are not bereft of friendships. On the contrary, they hold high positions in their party's councils and are pointed to every day as fit models for the rising generation!

**TURNER, THE ANARCHIST.**

(New Bedford, Mass.), Standard, Apr. 6, 1904.—John Turner, the English labor leader who was held up by the immigration authorities at the port of New York on the allegation that he was an anarchist, and who has been released pending a hearing on his case in the courts, has been making speeches in which he has been airing his conceptions of society. The indifference with which he is received ought to convince the most timid that a man with an opportunity to freely talk absurdities falls to become the martyr that he seems to be when he is locked up for opinion's sake. Mr. Turner on the platform holding up the idea of a society that will be so perfect that it will need no courts and no police seems only a harmless visionary, even if some of us wish that his ideal might sometimes prove true. But Mr. Turner, prevented from speaking about his millennial conception, becomes at once an object of sympathy to a good many people who believe that government is on the whole a pretty good device at this stage of the game for the interest of humanity. He is a deal less harmful on the platform than he is in the lockup on Ellis Island.

Don't waste on the dog in the manger the sympathy you should feel for the under dog.—Diary Consolidated Stock and Petroleum Exchange, of New York.

**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 pages of Vol. 28 of that publication.

Washington, Apr. 4-10, 1904.

**Senate.**

Consideration of the post office appropriation bill was resumed on the 4th (p. 4395). It was further considered on the 5th (p. 4466), after some attention had been given to the Panama canal question (p. 4467), and was again under consideration on the 6th (p. 4530). Memorial addresses on the late Senator Hanna occupied the day on the 7th (p. 4591), and on the 8th consideration of the post office appropriation bill was resumed (p. 4669), and continued on the 9th (p. 4751).

**House.**

The Military Academy appropriation bill was taken up on the 4th (p. 4437), and its consideration continued on the 5th (p. 4477), when it was passed (p. 4490). No business of general interest was transacted on the 6th. But on the 7th the act to regulate shipping between the United States and the Philippines was taken up for consideration (p. 4623), and on the 8th it was passed (p. 4691). A privileged resolution on the order of the pension office as to old age as a disability was debated by Representative Cockran and others on the 9th (p. 4762), and laid upon the table (p. 4767) by a vote of 103 to 100. Memorial services for deceased members were held on the 10th (p. 4773).

**Record Notes.**—Speech of Representative Grosvenor in answer to criticisms of Republican position (p. 4362). Speech of Representative Suizer on the merchant marine (p. 4575). Speech of Representative De Armond on the Military Academy bill (p. 4578). Speech of Representative Quarles on the rural free delivery service (p. 4581). Speech on party politics by Representative Grosvenor (p. 4755). Speech of Representative French on repeal of the land laws (p. 4741).

**MISCELLANY**

**A CREATION CATECHISM.**

Lord, when the time is ripe,  
Said a frog through the quiet rain,  
We take up the silver pipe  
For the pageant again.  
  
When the melting wind of the South  
Is over meadow and pond,  
We draw the breath of thy mouth  
Reviving the ancient bond.  
  
Then must we sife and declare  
The unquenchable joy of earth—  
Testify hearts still dare  
Signalize beauty's worth.  
  
Then must we rouse and blow  
On the magic reed once more,  
Till the glad earth-children know  
Not a thing to deplore.  
  
When rises the marshy trill  
To the soft spring night's profound,  
We are the type of thy will  
To the tribes of the ground.  
—Bliss Carman.

**LITTLE TRUANCY AMONG COLORED CHILDREN.**

The school statistics compiled by the Superintendent of Truancy in Chicago, bearing upon the number of truants arrested by the compulsory education officials during the last year and the number of black children reported absent

from the school, show that the Negroes attend school more regularly, are more punctual, and, in general, better disciplined than the white pupils.

It is rare that a colored child is reported for truancy. Of the 238 truants committed to the Parental School since it was opened, only 12 have been colored. The attendance of the Negro pupils throughout the city is excellent. There seldom is a morning that all are not to be found at their desks.

I attribute this fact largely to the desire of the parents of the colored children to have their boys given the education which was denied themselves. The Negroes manifest deep interest in the progress of their children in school and seldom send them to factories and workshops instead of to school. No matter how poor the black man may be he usually finds some way by which he can afford to send his boys and girls to school.—Unity.

**UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.**

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John:

I notice the little girl stumped Theodore with the question how to salute the flag. Of course he couldn't tell her. I wish I could have a president once more that knew his Declaration of Independence. Blamed if I ain't bone tired of this imperialistic slush the little gold Demmies and Republicans are a teachin' the children. The way you salute a flag is the same as you salute any other joss, and nobody but flunkies do it at all. The flag is an emblem—not the thing itself. If you want to salute your Uncle Sam, read his Declaration. No flag worship, no Kowtowing to the flag, will wash. 'Tain't good goods. You can feel good under the flag, and love it, and know your liberties are safe if its friends are a runnin' the administration; but salute it? Pshaw! Read your Bible about worshipping graven images, and read my Declaration of Independence again! It won't hurt ye. That's what I tell 'em. Man and boy, I've had my flag a hundred years, an' never saluted her yet. It will be a long while before she gets bigger than me. When aged and infirm, I get to salutin' my old hat, on a pole, and Gessler-like require others to, then I'll salute the flag, maybe; but I hope I'll never be that old. I see pretty clear yit, an' things, I admit, ain't a runnin' my way.

Lord! for one year of the Signers whose picters are up in Independence Hall! It gives me new life and vigor jist to walk through Independence Hall at Philadelphia, and look up at them old fellers, who fought flag worship and

imperialism and kings with a rope around their necks, never knowin' fer certain just when it was a goin' to be pulled. Look at 'em! Ain't they fine figgers? Nary one of 'em afraid of a rich man! No little Supreme Court questions of who goes first among them! Where ary one of them old McGregors sits down is the head of the table, an' right well he knows it; and he ain't botherin' his head about precedence. They were men, these fellers, free men. They were American citizens and honored the function. Land! I wisht I had a couple of hundred like 'em now! It would leaven the whole lump.

Instead of that, what have I got? Chaff, John, and peanut hulls! Fellers like G. Cleveland, who got rich bein' president, goin' around with an air of conscious holiness among sinners. Chaps like Theodore, who go about with the railroads a payin' their freight, and they with money in their pockets, and unashamed, leaders! Why, they cheapen humanity.

Well, I don't see, John, that you are a doin' any better. What possesses you, man! What made you slaughter those four hundred Thibetans? They were at their own home in their own country; you traveled thousands of miles away from yours, and went with superior arms in your hands. You know well what that means. If the English common law of murder were enforced by inflexible power, and with universal venue, thousands of gibbets would arise in Britain, and hundreds of thousands of your reputable citizens would be hanged by the neck until they were dead. What do you mean by havin' one law at home and another abroad? Eh! Same with me, I know, and lots of my boys would be hanged that ain't expectin' it, and think they are of the Lord's anointed; but I'm not a restin' easy under it—  
I tell you that.

UNCLE SAM.

#### MUNICIPAL ART.

An extract from an article on "The Importance of Municipal Improvement," by Hon. John De Witt Warner, published in *The Craftsman* for Jan., 1904.

It can never be too often recalled that Art is not a thing to be done, but the right way to do whatever is to be done. Municipal Art is, therefore, simply the best way to make a city what it ought to be—best fitted for all ends of a city—a city of to-day—a city of the future.

First and most important of all are the means of ingress and egress, and of transport within the city. Upon such development of the former as makes it a center for a locality, a state,

a continent, a world—absolutely depend the possibilities of any given city. Upon the latter equally depends the economy of a city's life and business—in the long run the extent to which its possibilities shall be realized. These, therefore, are the first essentials of a city plan—the data with relation to which all development must be had.

These possibilities, however, are those of a home, a shop, a caravansary, a place for the life, the work, the culture and the entertainment of human beings, ever more and more free to choose the best opportunities anywhere offered. The prosperity of a city will, therefore, ever more and more depend upon the extent to which such demands are met. Next after the general features of a city's plan come, therefore, bright skies and abundant water; and—scarcely less essential—cheap fuel and clean streets.

No mistake could be greater than that which assumes Municipal Art engrossed with, or mainly interested in, mere decorative features. Rather is it true that in its more essential features, a city must fairly have achieved dignity and beauty and order and cleanliness and convenience, before it is fit to be generally decorated, or decoration can be made really effective. These essentials provided for, the beautiful—not as opposed to the useful, but useful in whole or in part because it is beautiful—can then well be sought, and such civic adornment had as shall serve religion—as at Athens; civic pride—as in Florence or Budapesth; or offer hospitable welcome and attraction for residence and amusement—as at Paris; or express national ideals—as at Washington or Berlin; or more or less equably meet or serve all these—as at Rome or Vienna.

Of this, perhaps the most essential item is proper emphasis of civic centers—the architectural treatment of the city considered as a whole. Indeed, this might well have been included in the prerequisites for adornment. And the finest examples of such emphasis, serving as they do the convenience and the dignity of the city, are striking arguments for the truth that, in its last analysis, fitness for use is the normal of beauty. That public business can best be transacted at the most natural place for greatest public resort; that the various classes of such business can be transacted most conveniently in the neighborhood of each other; that, in proportion to the variety and amount of public business to be provided for, economy permits and

popular sentiment dictates extensive and imposing architectural groups, with park and plaza treatment; and that foci thus developed are the points at which may best be located the more important transport connections—each is obvious. Combined, they show the ideal of a city to be that of an organism, rather than of an aggregation. From the standpoint of utility as well as of art, a thoroughly developed and dignified civic center with secondary local ones, as naturally characterizes an ideal "city" of to-day, and distinguishes it from the mere massing of humanity that has sometimes been called such, as does a definite head with well-defined subsidiary vital centers a man, as distinguished from a jelly fish.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAND QUESTION TO THE ENGLISH LIBERAL PARTY.

A portion of an editorial on "The Coming Budget" in the *London Speaker*, of March 12, 1904. It is to be noted that in Great Britain "rates" are local; "taxes" are imperial.

The secretary of the Tariff Reform league has stated in a recent address that the taxation of land values is the only alternative which Mr. Chamberlain's opponents can find to his proposals, and adds that he is entirely opposed to any such reform. We welcome this challenge, and we are exceedingly happy to know that as we go to press important legislation on the subject is being submitted to the House of Commons. The Prime Minister said the other day that the taxation of land "may or may not be wise." Doubtless he has submitted at least two memoranda on the subject to the Cabinet—one for and the other against. Now, we suppose he will make his election, and we fancy that the lilies of the field will win the day. But whatever may be the result of the division, the principle has made great way in England during the last few years. Its history is curious. In 1871 Mr. Goschen introduced a bill to divide rates between the owner and the occupier; but the landed interest was too strong in the House of Commons. In 1885 Mr. Chamberlain worked up popular feeling in the towns on the question of unearned increment. The question was pretty thoroughly discussed, and was never forgotten, though for a decade the Irish question kept it in the second rank. But the Local Government acts of 1888 and 1894, which extended popular self-government from boroughs to parishes, districts and counties, have given an enormous impetus to local activity, and, incidentally,

to local expenditure. Local bodies have emulated one another's improvements. At great cost parks have been made and improved, public baths and conveniences of all kinds erected, new systems of sanitation introduced, streets widened and better lighted. In less than 40 years local debts have risen from 50 to 400 millions, and local taxation from 40 to over 100 millions. But among other consequences this expenditure has improved property and enabled landlords to increase rents. The cost of improving a town falls on the occupiers, and the pecuniary proceeds go into the pockets of the ground landlord. It is high time that the unearned increment should be made to flow automatically into the local exchequer of the community by which it has been created, and is constantly being augmented. There are pitfalls in the way of the reformer, and a Liberal government will have to proceed with wariness, as well as with resolution. But the principle of rating the landowner has already been applied in an act of 1889, by which the owners of land used for advertisements were made liable to rates. An obvious extension of the principle to which absolutely no valid objection can be offered is to rate owners of unoccupied building land on its selling value. This will not only relieve the ratepayers of many urban districts and boroughs; it will also tend to reduce rents and to solve the housing problem.

Besides the principle of rating ground values in towns, which has been recognized by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Edward Hamilton, and innumerable authorities upon local finance, there is the kindred problem of restoring the land tax to its original importance in the financial system of the country.

On going to war one of the first steps taken by the Japanese was to double the land tax, just as Mr. Gladstone's first step in 1854 was to double the income tax. In the eighteenth century the land tax used to be the most important source of revenue, and Adam Smith used to say that on this account the country gentlemen were generally much less inclined to war than "the monied interests." But, unfortunately, at the end of the century, when war became chronic, the country gentlemen who supported Pitt insisted that the land must not be further taxed, and so, when taxes had been laid on every article of consumption, and the Minister was still at his wits' end, he had to invent the income tax instead of developing and improving the system of land taxation. But we believe the Radical financiers in the im-

mediate future must, after retrenchment, look for national revenue to the license duties and for local revenue to a rate upon the owners of ground values. A reform in the land tax is required; but it cannot be undertaken at present, or until it has been carefully considered by a commission of legal and financial experts. Further, since the demand arises from the municipalities and the ratepayers, it will be far better for reformers to concentrate their present energies upon the rating of site values in towns.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.  
PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF CANDIDATES.

Mayor Johnson is making himself personally acquainted with the entire staff of assistant city engineers. Under the guidance of Chief Engineer Carter three of his assistants called upon the mayor yesterday. Each was closeted in the inner office for a considerable time.

It is Mr. Johnson's intention to become perfectly familiar with the qualifications of each of these assistants before recommending one of them to the board of public service for appointment to take the place of former First Assistant Engineer T. H. Ogden, who resigned last Saturday.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Feb. 4.

A NIGHT SCHOOL AT THE CLEVELAND WORKHOUSE.

Member Harris R. Cooley of the board of public service has established a night school at the workhouse, with H. D. Crane, a night guard, as instructor. All the more elementary branches are taught by Crane, and many of the prisoners have taken up the work with avidity and zeal.

The attendance at the night school is entirely voluntary. The pupils are largely foreigners, young men ignorant of the customs, language and institutions of this country. To these the most rudimentary branches are taught. Some of the men cannot even read or write their native language, and these are being taught by Crane to read and write English, in some cases with remarkable success. To those who have received a primary education Crane teaches such branches as arithmetic and geography. School Director Cadwallader has furnished Crane with a quantity of ragged and cast off text books for the use of his classes.

"The interest displayed by many of these men is very remarkable," said Member Cooley yesterday. "The star

student is a young Italian, who is serving a long term. The ignorance of this man was of the densest character. He was entirely unable to read or write his own language and he could not speak or understand a word of English. This man, after about three weeks' instruction, is able to write, and can talk enough simple English to make himself understood. He is so engrossed in his work that it is almost impossible to make him go to bed at night. He displays an intense desire to sit up all night to study.

"There are a number of other young foreigners who have taken hold of the work in a most earnest manner. Any who do not evince the desire to learn are not taught.

"In a year I hope to have a regular night school, under the authority of the school government, established at the workhouse. The present work is merely experimental, but it is proving successful beyond expectation."—Plain Dealer of March 31.

The success of the night school at the workhouse, which was instituted a few weeks ago by the board of public service, is greater than even Mr. Cooley expected. A number of the prisoners, many of them foreigners of complete illiteracy, have taken hold of the work with a will, and have made remarkable progress under the tuition of Night Guard H. D. Crane.

The most remarkable student is Tony Casseno, a young Italian. Tony could not speak or understand a word of English, and, what was worse, he could not read or write his native language. In three weeks his progress has been remarkable. Yesterday Member Cooley was amazed to receive a letter from Casseno. Following is a verbatim copy of the epistle:

Mr. Cooley—Dear Sir: In Italy where I come from I no went to school. I no write Itallo and no read—I gied to study nights in work House Mr Crane teach me study 3 weeks. I know my letters and can write some. I can read my book. When I come too prison I no speak or write no things Two more from my country study hard too. We get a good job. I fight no more I stay a long time

I much glad to study I get along in this cowntry

Thank you for the school. Yours truly Tony Casseno Work House.

Night Guard Crane, who is the sole instructor of the prisoners' school, yesterday made a written report to Mr. Cooley. Crane is very well pleased with his work, and satisfied with the results already accomplished. Mr. Cooley is more than pleased. Following are extracts from the report of

Crane, showing the method of instruction which is followed:

During the ten evenings since the school opened we have held five two-hour sessions for study of English grammar, five one-hour sessions for same, two one-hour sessions for study of spelling, three one-hour sessions for study of arithmetic. Twenty-one pupils participated in each of the above sessions on alternate evenings.

Also, ten two-hour sessions for class in three grades for study of alphabet and first and second reader. Twenty pupils have each night attended this class. Two able prisoners have gone from scholar to scholar in this class and faithfully aided the work while the advanced class was at recitation.

Among the classes are numbered three Germans, four Italians, three Bohemians, three Negroes, two Slavonians, one Russian, one Austrian, eight Irishmen and two Jews.

Nine have mastered the alphabet, 11 are studying arithmetic and grammar for the first time in their lives. One pupil who did not know the alphabet three weeks ago is reading with fair understanding on the twentieth page of the first reader. Six pupils are reading the fifth study and two are on the tenth.

Our roll is now 31. We have had to refuse a number of applicants for admission to the school on account of the limited seating capacity of the school room. We have selected as far as possible those most deficient for membership.

There has been no trouble with discipline. Scholars have been placed upon their honor. It pays well to arouse honor here. The boys have in most cases been found very eager to learn. I am trusting that in time this study and training will mean much to many here.

—Plain Dealer, of April 3.

#### BACK TO SANITY.

Defeat is bitter. To have your hopes blighted, your ideals shattered, is hard enough on the ordinary mortal. But when years after the strife you are told by one who should know that you and your comrades have been only mentally deranged; that you really should have been in a padded cell and not on the field of battle; when you are told that what you supposed was a glorious uprising of a people was only an hallucination, a passing madness, a phantom such as comes to the dancing Dervish or the dopy Chinaman, then the milk of human kindness, even in the veins of a harmless imbecile, will turn to dragon-blood and he will fret and foam and babble and muster the remnants of his former intellect in a defense of his special mania.

The "Sage of Princeton" has spoken and the echo of his words is still vibrating, bounding and rebounding in the hollow skulls of six and one-half millions of men, declared insane by their former idol.

Come back, he says, cut your hair and trim your whiskers, get out of the storm of ideas of fads and issues.

Come back by the pleasant road of original principles to the fold and learn from your old shepherd the gospel of conservatism.

Learn that while there must be two political parties there should be but one issue.

Two parties in a loving strife for jobs or, as the poet says so beautifully:

Two souls without a single thought  
Two hearts that beat each other.

There must be two parties, so that if one party is voted out of power and offices, there is another party to fill the vacancies made by the first party; but both parties must be alike so as not to change the existing order of things or conditions.

This is the sum and substance of Mr. Cleveland's advice.

He does not ask, have we not one conservative party already—an ideal conservative party which has repeatedly affirmed, pledged and sworn that it would stand pat, let well enough alone, and keep "hands off"—a party that stands for vested rights and vested wrongs, for special privileges, graft, grabs, grants, franchises and everything else dear to the hearts of the most conservative exploiter, stock gambler and franchise pirate.

No! Mr. Cleveland, the Republican party has cornered the conservative market, has appropriated, adopted, copyrighted and patented the conservative sentiments of this country. There is no conservatism left for the poor Democrat and he must do as he has done during the last eight years—he must remain radical.

The Democracy of Mr. Cleveland resembles Republicanism too much. The Democratic eggs hatched by him and his kind follow not the call of the Democratic rooster but go swimming like thankless ducklings in Republican waters, and large as this country is there is not room enough for two Republican parties within its boundaries.

But Mr. Cleveland not only gives advice, he also has a candidate of his own; but, while we forgive him for accusing us of being insane, we are unwilling to enter his private sanitarium for feeble-minded Democrats and we also object to taking the Parker pill, not that we have anything against the pill, but because we have lost confidence in the prescriber.

Mr. Cleveland wants us to come back to sanity. He has advice and a candidate, so there is nothing wanting but an issue.

He hints that the platform must be sane, temperate, conservative and acceptable to all the people.

Would Mr. Cleveland pardon the attempt of a befogged intellect to furnish him with such a platform?

We don't insist on its adoption; but simply, and in due humility, ask for a favorable consideration on the part of conservative Democrats of Mr. Cleveland's type.

#### THE PLATFORM.

1. The Democratic convention assembled in a back room of No. 711 Wall street, eleventh floor, pledges itself to maintain the gold standard without the consent of other nations and the people of the United States.

2. The word silver is to be stricken from the dictionary and the numbers 16 and 1 from the multiplication table.

3. We accuse the Republican party of being dilatory and insincere in the extermination of the Filipinos. After expending over \$500,000,000 and some lives on the work we are credibly informed that quite a number of Filipinos are still hiding in the jungles of some of the backwoods counties. We therefore pledge ourselves to finish the job.

4. We sympathize with the heroic struggles of anybody.

5. The Suez canal still being in the hands of a foreign power, we propose to stick a flag in its bank and swipe the property.

6. We believe in a uniform income tax, incomes over \$10,000 to be exempt.

7. We believe in an increased tariff for revenues only, the revenues to be divided between our struggling infant industries. Infants capitalized for less than ten million excluded.

8. We affirm our undying devotion to the sacredness of property, the divinity of vested rights and the immortality of franchises.

9. We are greatly moved by the splendid growth of labor organizations and advocate the purchase of more Gatling guns for the state militia.

10. The business methods of the trust should be closely scrutinized, their bookkeeping reported daily by the Associated Press, and then left alone.

11. We advocate the return of the great Democratic party to its "original principle," modifying the fugitive slave law to fit modern labor conditions as exemplified in Colorado and Idaho.

12. We stand for anything the Republican party stands for with a ten per cent. increase.

This platform ought to meet with an enthusiastic reception by the sane conservative element of both parties, and its success would be assured if it were not for six and one-half millions of insane Democrats who know just enough to—vote the other way.—Oscar Ameringer, in Columbus (O.) Press-Post of April 10.

Let breakfast food inventors all  
In stocks grow interested  
And give to us securities  
That have been predigested.

—Puck.



**BOOKS**

**MONKS AND MONASTERIES.**

A trustworthy story of such an institution as monasticism, identified as it must necessarily be with deadly political and religious controversies that are not yet quite divested of their bitterness, is almost more than can be expected of any student. Especially is this true if the story be critical. As such stories must be written either by actual or traditional friends or foes, a bias one way or the other is hardly avoidable. Yet the effects of bias seem to have been pretty well avoided in "A Short History of Monks and Monasteries" (Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt), by Alfred Wesley Wishart, of which a second edition has been recently published.

Wishart begins his interesting story far back of the Christian era. Even then he fails to discover the origin of the monastic institution, which, as he says, is lost in antiquity. It is known to have been legendary among the Hindus as far back as 2400 B. C.; and among the Jews the Essene sect, numbering some 4,000 at the time of Christ, was monastic in character.

There was really no common origin for Christian monasticism. It slowly evolved, and gradually assumed definite organization as a product of a curious medley of "Heathen-Jewish-Christian influences." But the place in which it first took root was Egypt; Anthony, "the patriarch of monks," born in Upper Egypt about 251 A. D., being its virtual founder. It was introduced in Rome about 340, by Anthony's intimate friend, Athanasius. Rome, dying of luxury for the few and misery for the many, was then ripe for this ascetic novelty, and as the empire decayed monasticism grew and strengthened. "The story of Anthony admonished Rome that a life of sensuous gratification was inglorious, unworthy of the true Roman, and that the flesh could be mastered by heroic endeavor. Women, who spent their hours in frivolous amusements, welcomed with gratitude the discovery that they could be happy without degradation and joyfully responded to the call of righteousness." Out of this revolution came Jerome, "the champion of asceticism, the biographer of hermits, the lion of Christian polemics, the translator of the Bible, and the worthy, brilliant, determined foe of a dissolute society and a worldly church."

In spite of opposition, "like a mighty flood the movement swept on." The Benedictine order was formed, and "its rule spread with wonderful rapidity." In every rich valley arose a Benedictine abbey. In time, however, it declined in the spirit of devotion as worldliness got within the abbey walls. The church itself was permeated with the same corruption. Reformed orders

were consequently established, but without avail, until Dunstan's time, when the principle of celibacy was strictly enforced and the Carthusian order, with its extremely solitary ideal and its severe discipline, was established. The monastic institution seems to have been "never free from serious inconsistency, from moral dualism. But the power of reform prolonged its existence. It was constantly producing fresh models of its ancient ideals. It had a hidden reserve force from which it supplied shining examples of a living faith and a self-denying love, just at the time when it seemed as if the system was about to perish forever."

The Franciscan orders were founded in the thirteenth century by a young man who revolted against the pious luxury of his day. At about the same time the Dominican orders were established by Dominic, who is accused by Protestants of responsibility for the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition. But in defense of Dominic's memory he is described as "a minister of mercy, not an avenging angel, sword in hand;" and it is argued that "while the Pope and temporal princes carried on the sanguinary war against the heretics, Dominic confined himself to pleading with them in a spirit of true Christian love." The author inquires into this dispute and concludes that Dominic cannot be wholly absolved.

In due time the mendicant friars developed "insolent, contemptuous, rich" monks, whom the people loathed, over the "poor, sad-faced, honest, faithful" friars, whom the people loved, and the resulting monastic reform was the organization of the Jesuits, which occurred at the beginning of the protestant Reformation. The "idea of retirement from the world for the purpose of 'acquiring holiness,'" was repudiated by the Jesuits, constant intercourse with society being provided for in the constitution of the order. While this order varies from the old monastic type, the author concludes that it would "never have appeared had not the way for its existence been paved by previous monastic societies, and that "its aims and its methods were the natural sequence of monastic history."

Finding the culmination of monasticism in the Jesuit order, the founder of which he pictures as "the last type of monastic life, or changing the figure, the last great leader in the conquered monastic army," of which he believes the good will survive and its truest followers "will still fire the courage and win the sympathy of the devout," the author proceeds with the history of the fall of the monasteries and closes with a discussion of the causes and ideals and the effects of monasticism. Without minimizing the outrages perpetrated upon monks and nuns under Henry VIII., he recalls the

circumstances for the purpose of showing that Henry was less a wanton brute than a great politician contending with other great politicians, and freely resorting to political methods that were less culpable in his day than in ours. To attempt a brief summary of the author's discussion of the causes, ideals and effects of monasticism would be unjust to him. It is enough to say that, like all the rest of the book, it appears to have been conceived in a spirit of fairness and to have been worked out with scholarly judgment and care.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—The Darrow Enigma. By Melvin L. Severy. Illustrations by C. D. Williams, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. To be reviewed.

**PERIODICALS.**

Apropos of the celebration of Dr. Eliot's thirty-fifth year as President of Harvard, the Boston correspondent of the Springfield Republican calls attention to the fact that Harvard was for a few years a State institution, but soon ceased to be such. "Harvard," he says, "distrusted the people, and the people distrusted Harvard, even as it

*IN PRESS.*

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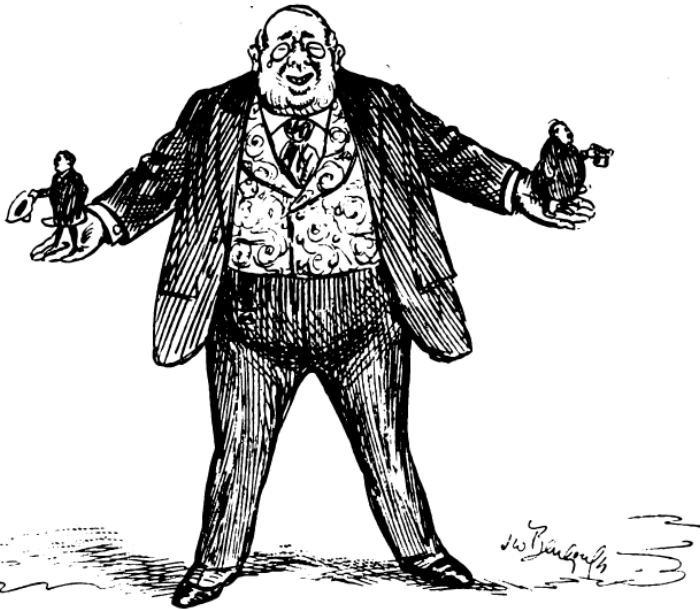
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Mr. White will complete his New York engagement on April 30. He devotes the entire month of May to New Jersey. The first fifteen days in June will be given to a tour throughout the cities of the New England States. On June 20th he begins a thirty days' engagement among the Summer Chautauquas of South Dakota and other Western States. For particulars address, F. H. MONROE, Prest., Hotel Empire, Broadway and 63rd Streets, New York City, N. Y.



"HOBSON'S CHOICE."

Plutocracy—Take which ever one of 'em you prefer; either of 'em will suit me.

was with Dartmouth in New Hampshire. President Elliot has made great efforts, and has partly succeeded, to restore Harvard to the democratic confidence of the people of the country at large. But against him has been this swelling tide of wealth and social exclusion, which his very success as a financier and adviser has caused to swell higher." J. H. D.

In the recent celebration in London of the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society Mr. Choate, the American

Ambassador, was one of the leading speakers. He took occasion to speak for peace. "If," he said, as reported in the Spectator, "the public opinion of each nation behind the government was for peace, there would be no war. In this, our two nations ought to set the finest examples, and other nations would follow. Public opinion should be based upon the Book which said nothing to the world but a message of peace and good will." Since its foundation the Society has collected \$70,000,000 for the dissemination of the Bible. J. H. D.

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