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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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After much heralding of President Roosevelt's proposed policy of tariff revision, the President himself offers no tariff policy when his message reaches the delivery stage. He treads softly, very softly, and carries no club wherewith to whack tariff robbery.

The dominant note of the Presidential message is paternalism. Weaker nations are to be bossed by us, to make them safe and sane and good according to our standards as interpreted by our rulers; and our own inferior classes are to be bossed, benevolently, according to the ideals which the better classes set up for the lower in order to do them good and regulate their lives. The message looks like a chunk of the political philosophy of Alexander Hamilton, dressed in khaki and showing its teeth.

So frank a challenge of paternalism to democracy might be welcomed, on the theory that a drowsy democracy will awaken when paternalism gets upon a prancing horse and proclaims itself. But there are touches in the message which indicate that this paternalism is not unmixed with plutocracy. A paternalism that clings to institutional privilege and offers benevolence to the wretched victims of that privilege, may be understood as an honest social philosophy; but paternalism undiluted with plutocracy, wouldn't brazenly propose to exploit with plundering railroad and mining corporations a people who had just come under its tutelage,

as Mr. Roosevelt proposes regarding the Filipinos. We can understand a Hamilton who distrusts the people; we cannot understand one who calmly proposes spoliation, such as railroad and mining monopoly in the Philippines would be. It is to be feared that Mr. Roosevelt's Hamiltonism is charged with a strong infusion of Hannaism.

The Philippine "grafters" in Congress are preparing to civilize the Filipinos by forcing on them a public debt for a private railroad enterprise. Why is it so good a thing for governments to build private railroads with public money, yet so bad a thing to build public railroads with public money? If there were no "graft" in the former, would there really be much objection to the latter?

Never before were so many wars launched by this or any other nation in one year, as by the United States last year. This is the official boast of Mr. Roosevelt's secretary of the navy. Apart from the "graft" in this wholesale creation of civilization destroyers, is the fact that they are civilization destroyers, and that our own country, whose mission and glory it has been to set an example of justice, liberty and peace to the world, assumes the lead in setting an example of international swashbuckling. It is part of the McKinley-Hanna-Roosevelt policy of changing our republic from a civilization builder to a world power.

Men who have not only read history, but have digested it, foresaw that the subjugation of foreign peoples, and the abandonment of our democratic traditions in order to do it, must sooner or later react upon our own liberties. In many respects this prophecy has

been verified; but in none has the verification been so marked as in President Roosevelt's imperial punishment of the Boston Herald, by denying it public rights by way of penalty for a private offense.

One of its reporters had misrepresented, so Mr. Roosevelt asserts, the behavior of some of his children. According to the reporter they had proved that they were no molly-coddles, by robustly hunting down a doomed Thanksgiving turkey. Somewhere hereabouts Mr. Roosevelt drew the line between manliness and cruelty, and denied the story of cruelty as slanderous. Had he then forbidden the reporter access to the family apartments of the White House, he would have been entirely within his rights. The President's privacy, and that of his family, is as sacred as that of any other citizen. But he was not content with asserting his private rights; he appealed to his own official powers. Instead of punishing this purely private offense, if there was an offense, by personal penalties, Mr. Roosevelt resorted to his authority as President to punish both the paper and its reporter by locking against them the official doors of all executive departments—doors that remained open to other papers.

One of the Washington correspondents, writing on the Boston Herald episode, evidently by inspiration, endeavors to assure the public that the President's imperial order was directed only "against the class of malicious writers who need to be taught the lesson that the President of the United States in his official capacity is one thing and that the President of the United States in his home life is quite another personage." But the lesson Mr. Roose-

velt has assumed to teach is the very reverse of this. He has assumed to teach that the President in his official capacity is so far inseparable from the President in his private capacity, that he may use his official authority to resent a private offense. The Emperor of Germany could hardly have gone so far to resent an insult to the royal family.

So seriously did the heads of departments take Mr. Roosevelt's imperial order against the Boston Herald, that even the routine reports of the weather bureau were withheld from that paper. This was done upon orders from Washington. The orders were afterwards changed, with an explanation that the withholding of routine information was not intended by the imperial order. But the flunkeyism of the department could not be erased. Moreover correspondents of the Herald are still denied "facilities for information" at the executive departments, facilities which are afforded to other reporters. If this can be done with reference to one paper to gratify a private grudge, whether just or unjust, it can be done with reference to all papers and for any reason or no reason. The President could thus become a press censor of the most objectionable and dangerous kind. Only subservient reporters and papers would have access to the sources of executive news and the public would get only the toady kinds of news. It is becoming tolerably clear that Mr. Roosevelt's soft tread and big stick are not intended for international use alone.

Organized workingmen are often criticised with bitterness for their low opinion of the courts. But have not the courts themselves gone a long way to earn this contempt? Recently the Court of Appeals of New York decided (p. 553) that the 8-hour labor law of that State, which makes all public work contracts subject to a condition that the contractor must observe the 8 hour labor day,

invalid, because it restricts freedom of contract. Hardly had the wires ceased ticking the news of that decision against workingmen and in favor of freedom of contract, when an appellate division of the Supreme Court of the same State decided another case against workingmen and in favor of restricting freedom of contract. It held that a contract between an employer and his men for a "closed shop" was invalid because contrary to public policy. Don't these decisions indicate anti-labor bias rather than judicial balance?

If it is against public policy for an employer and his men to agree that none but union men shall work in that employer's shop, why is it not against public policy, especially when the legislature so declares it, for an employer to work his men more than eight hours a day on public work? If the legislature cannot limit private contracting powers for labor on public work, how can courts limit private contracting powers on private work? If restriction of freedom of contract in the direction of protecting workmen from being ground between the under millstone of their necessities and the upper millstone of their employers' greed, is not against public policy, why is it against public policy to allow them to make contracts with employers for such protection? In a word, why did labor lose the second case, in which it stood for freedom of contract, as well as the first, in which it stood for restricting freedom of contract? Are workingmen very much to blame if they suspect that they lost at least one of these cases because the court was less solicitous for legal consistency than to rebuke "labor" and weaken its power of organization?

The Japanese are to be next in order for exclusion from this country. They are "taking away work" from the American, who prizes work above all things. F. P. Sargent, chief of the immigration bu-

reau, is the principal sponsor for this new development in American demagoguery. He fears the coming here of Japanese immigrants in large numbers as soon as they are released from army service. "This may complicate the labor problem of the country," he fears, "unless Congress takes some radical action in the way of an exclusion act." That workingmen should be fooled by this kind of playing upon race prejudices is one of the saddest of things. The exclusion of Japanese will surely serve as an anesthetic to quiet labor while it is robbed of its earnings more cynically than ever.

What enormous humbuggery all this talk about enormous immigration is. One hysterical press correspondent makes the wires hot from Washington with the announcement that 22,000,000 immigrants from foreign ports have come into the United States since 1820, and that they are coming now at the rate of about 2,500 a day. These figures have an ominous sound, simply as figures. But if it is a bad thing for a country to have new-comers in large numbers, it must be noted with fear that the gates of birth are unloading immigrants upon us in numbers vastly greater than foreign ports. The prejudice against immigration, so far as it is a labor question, is nothing but a phase of Malthusianism. It assumes that there isn't enough to go around, nor room enough to work in, and that therefore a check must be placed upon increasing population. But it is not numbers that needs checking. If, instead, we check our systems of legally plundering laborers, we shall accomplish naturally and justly what Malthusianism tries to accomplish unnaturally and unjustly. There is room enough and working opportunity enough in this country for the population of the whole world, if we only get rid of monopoly. Monopolists, not immigrants, they are the bane of our republic.

A brutal whipping bee took place at Wilmington, Delaware,

on the 3d, under the auspices of the people of that State. One of the victims had stolen a 5-cent loaf of bread. This sort of thing is what we flatter ourselves with, by calling it "civilization." Sometimes we call it "justice." When we do we ought to see how the goddess of that name lifts her bandage and winks one eye, while her scales tip as her attention is thus diverted. The savagery of these whipping bees is not merely in their brutality—degrading alike to whipped and whipper as that is; but in the fact that only petty offenders are punished in this way. Big offenders are never whipped and seldom punished at all. They are not so much as interfered with in their depredations. Injustice is a truer mark of barbarism even than brutality. The brutality of the just is consistent with advancing manhood; but deliberate injustice implies moral degradation.

It may be that the Chicago alderman who makes accusations of corruption in connection with local traction matters is actuated by malice and is wanting in proof. We suggest, however, that some of the aldermen upon whom his accusations reflect, and some of the local newspapers that have rushed to their side, would make a better impression if, in referring to the matter, they distributed their emphasis more judicially. So much emphasis on the possibility of the accuser's having indulged in slander, and so little on the possibility of his having let the public into a traction secret, is not without significance. The innocent attitude would be one of judicial poise until the evidence is in. And the investigating committee itself should understand that its duty does not begin and end with the accuser. Merely to discover and report that he does not prove his charges, would be generally regarded—and properly so, under the suspicious circumstances in which traction matters are being pushed by certain financial interests and certain aldermen—as a case of "whitewash."

Sydney Smith was at times prophetic in his wit. Take for example his division of mankind into classes, among which were the "noodles," the "sheepwalkers" and the "let-well-aloners." He described "sheepwalkers" as "those who never deviate from the beaten track, who think as their fathers have thought since the flood, who start from a new idea as they would from guilt." The "let-well-aloners" he regarded as "cousins-germane to the 'noodle,' yet a variety; people who have begun to think and to act, but are timid and afraid to try their wings, and tremble at the sound of their own footsteps as they advance, and think it safer to stand still." Smith might have added that the "let-well-aloner" perpetually exemplifies the adage that "the good is the worst enemy to the best;" but even as it is, what a prophetic description he made of your good honest American Republican who was as yet nearly a century in the future.

Republicans are again threatening to cut down Congressional representation from the South on the ground that Negro citizens there are disfranchised. This is right. It is fair in itself, and it is in accordance with the provisions of the Federal constitution. But the question must not be made either a sectional or a race question. Every State that restricts the franchise in violation of the same provision of the Constitution, must suffer reduction in Congressional representation in the same manner and to the same proportionate extent as the Southern States.

Now that Congress has resumed its sessions, attention may once more be appropriately called to the excellent bill, sleeping in one of the convenient pigeon holes of the Senate, which provides for the circulation of the Congressional Record on reasonable terms. The terms proposed are one dollar for the short sessions and two for the long sessions. At present the price is so high as to be

practically prohibitive, and few see the Record except through the favor of a Congressman. Yet it is a paper with which every public-spirited citizen should be familiar. In France, the daily *Journal Officiel*, which contains in full the parliamentary debates of that country, as does the Record of Congressional debates here, is sold throughout the French republic for the equivalent of an American cent. This is about the price proposed for the Congressional Record, and there are good reasons for adopting the proposition—which may be the reason why it has not been adopted.

If it is true, as has been reported in this country, that Alfred Trombetti, a great Italian philologist, has discovered and demonstrated the unity of origin of human speech, the anthropological science of our materialistic age has another problem to wrestle with. Unity of language origin is very significant of unity of race origin; and if it be conceded that the Aryan, the Semitic, the Hamitic, and a variety of minor races are one in origin, as Mr. Trombetti's discovery indicates, it may become progressively more difficult to believe that races still lower are later evolutions from the animal.

The enthusiastic burial of plutocratic Democracy by democratic Democrats is not yet so remote historically as to deprive Samuel E. Moffett's opinion at the autopsy of timely interest. Mr. Moffett, a nephew of Mark Twain and a democrat after Twain's own heart, accounts for the demise as a case of "fatty degeneration of harmony."

INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT ON CLASS PREJUDICE.

Northern men who remove to the Southern States frequently suffer a revulsion of feeling on the race question, and the tolerance that they had in the North becomes a strong antipathy to the Negro in the South. This phenomenon is made much of by op-

ponents of true democracy, but in reality it illustrates merely the weakness of human nature and not the unsoundness of democratic philosophy.

Long residents of any given locality become hardened to such social problems as specially threaten it, just as they do to the eccentricities of the climate. Such optimism as they possess has become accustomed to discounting the familiar perils and drawbacks; but when one of them removes to another section of the country the different problems that are there at the front have to him the added menace of the unfamiliar and unprobed. The French Canadians of New England, the millionaires of New York, the Hungarians of the Pennsylvania coal regions and the Negroes of the South seem more forbidding to Americans fresh from other localities than to resident natives. And the newcomer thinks that he ought to understand the situation better himself after living in its midst, so he yields deference to local public opinion. This places him at a disadvantage in combating in his own mind any grave errors that may prevail in his new home. He must grapple with such conditions as are new to him and see his way in the direction of a solution before he can enjoy the optimistic, the democratic view. With some men this requires years of contact with the situation, and others are never capable of it after the flush of youth is passed.

Other men are impracticable idealists whose bubbles never stand the shock of reality. They are enthusiastic democrats in their dreams of future Utopias that more practical men cannot see at all; but in actual affairs these dreamers work and vote for the trusts and all that they imply to-day. They sympathize strongly with the Negro or the Hindu so long as they are at a goodly distance from the great body of them; but if by any chance his own residence is changed to India or the Southern States the dreamer becomes the oppressor and his theoretical philosophy seeks other fields distant from his daily life. The Negro that these men sympathize with has never existed in real life except in scattered instances, and

such theoretical democrats must be counted on as thorough-going opponents of justice in practical affairs. They may fit into the orthodox heaven all right, but in this every-day world they are the main prop of the devil. Their idealism breaks down in the attempt to digest great masses of ignorant people, because they are unable to grasp the significance of the "saving remnant" of virtue immanent therein.

Many other conversions in the Southern States are due to a lack of interest in democracy and a want of any deep-seated principles on the subject. A man cannot really be called a hypocrite if he obviously has no principles worthy of the name and therefore has none to conceal. Such a man will gladly swap off most of his ideals of social rights and duties and never miss them, if he gets an additional five hundred dollars a year in exchange. In a mercenary age, when so many leading men of brains put everything on a cash basis, their followers are not likely to give much attention to abstract ideas of justice. The money mania brutalizes individuals and nations for race subjugation, and the decay of the old religions removes a check the world over.

The majority of people are superficial thinkers and so to great degree fall victims to their environment, however seriously they may take themselves and their principles. A change of residence may bring to light the fact that a man's views are mere echoes of local public opinion, with no basis in his own mind except parochial prejudice and incoherent fragments of reasoning. In that case there is nothing but sheer prejudice to prevent his falling under new leaders in his new locality, and in both places the chances are that his leaders will be those representing the most popular view. It is safe to say that most men who change their opinions with their residences are privates in the great army of thought or mere camp followers who have never done any real first-hand thinking on the subject in hand.

Then, of course, there are the conversions due to plain hypocrisy—a determination to get ahead in business or polite society regardless of justice to others. But back

of and beneath all these reasons for such changes of opinion is the tendency of what for want of a better term may be called "reversion to type"—toward that natural selfishness which tugs at every man like gravitation. The wild beasts habitually immolate themselves on their hatreds. Race and class antagonisms, cooperative expressions of individual selfishness, are and always have been great springs of human action. They lie just below the surface of civilization, and are ever ready to debase the most highly civilized type of man if his judgment weakens or his ideals relax.

HERBERT FOSTER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

COLORADO.

Denver, Dec. 5.—In the Philadelphia Press of the 26th of November there is a misleading letter on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's work in this State, which ought to be exposed. It is from William E. Curtis, that tireless space-writer, who reels off yarns like so much spaghetti. I shall try to straighten out some of his complicated puffs of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, by quoting his points seriatim, and replying to each separately.

Curtis:—The model hospital of the United States, and I am assured it is not surpassed in any other country, may be found at Pueblo. It is the achievement of Dr. R. W. Corwin, surgeon in chief of the Colorado Fuel & Iron company, and he built it with funds furnished by that corporation.

Facts:—The corporation did not furnish the fund. The employes furnished it out of their own pay checks at the rate of one dollar a month on each check. As the company has been in existence over 20 years, and has in that time employed certainly an average of 10,000 men, the contributions of the men must really stand as follows: \$10,000 a month for 240 months, \$2,400,000.

Curtis:—The methods and policy of the company are not approved by a great many people, and are severely condemned by the leaders and advocates of organized labor, who have several times endeavored to change them by strikes and other means.

Facts:—Organized labor does not oppose the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in its efforts to care for the sick and injured. It opposes the excessive and unequal charge of one dollar a month per capita, without regard to salary of employe or to hospital attention. It opposes any hospital plan that is not based on cost of administration. Organized labor is opposed to paying money back into the treasury of a company on the hospital plea, when the same is neither needed nor used for that purpose. It's the same as the

company store scheme of this and other big corporations.

Curtis:—The company still continues to run its business in its own way, regardless of criticism. It declines to recognize any union or other organization; it employs both union and nonunion labor on equal terms, just as it employs representatives of all races and religions—Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Gentiles, Mormons and pagans, works them eight hours and a half a day and pays them a scale of wages adopted in conference with committees representing the men.

Facts:—The company does recognize the union. How could it help doing so? The men in the tonnage departments of all parts of the mill work on the Pittsburgh scale, which is a sliding scale, fixed by a conference of owners and members of Shaffer's organization (the Amalgamated Iron Workers, I believe it is). The company could not profitably make steel rails or merchant iron in any other manner, and in this department it certainly employs only "card" men. It "recognizes the union," if I understand the meaning of that expression.

Curtis:—It provides not only hospitals, but libraries, reading rooms, lecture courses, schools, concerts, manual training teachers, gymnasiums, playgrounds and various other educational institutions and amusements, at its mills and mines; but requires the men to pay their share of the expense.

Comment:—It has always been a wonder to me why the company did not pay its proper share of school tax, and take the consequences, as all other citizens have to do. This is the only place where a private corporation is permitted to interfere with the conduct of the public schools. Can it be only for the benefit of the schools?

Curtis:—The sanitary and medical service at its mills and mines is performed by 42 salaried surgeons, and each employe is taxed one dollar a month to pay a part of the expense. That entitles him and his family to medical attendance and all the other privileges offered. Last year 82,821 patients were treated.

Comment:—The company employs about 16,000 persons. This means that every person in the employ of the company was treated for something or other during the year five and one-eighth times. But many persons were not treated at all. Most of the treatment was for accidents. It would appear from this that accidents are singularly numerous.

Curtis:—The sociological department is also under the supervision of Dr. Corwin, but under direct charge of Walter Merrill, and is very comprehensive in its work. The corporation provides schools in all its mining camps and mills, and has a corps of teachers who have been educated especially for the work. For example, every teacher has spent two weeks at the St. Louis exposition this summer, at the expense of the company, studying particularly the educational and sociological exhibits; and each has been required to make a report upon them and their application to the schools and benevolent work of the company.

Facts:—The corporation does not provide schools in all the mining camps and mills. There are only two mills—not that many. It's nearly like Josh Billings' hatrack. It had two pegs. One was broke off and the other was lost out. Now while this work of the company is really a good one, the men furnish the money. They pay it in for hospital dues. There is so much more of it than is necessary to conduct the hospital that some of it is used for other purposes. To collect money for one purpose and use it for another goes against the grain; and if labor unions do not protest against it they ought to.

Recently many Japanese have been brought to Pueblo to find places in the works. Americans will not work in such a place till they are driven to it by lack of employment elsewhere. I have no statistics as to the average length of time an employe stays with the steel works. I fear no such statistics exist. But from a personal observation as to length of time men stay at the steel works and the length of time they stay at work on a railroad grading camp, I should say that the time is about the same. Statistics show that the average time a man stays on a railroad grade is eight days. A good man once told me that labor at the steel works was only a little better than "bumming;" that the only difference was that in "bumming" you were not always sure of a place to sleep at night, whereas at the works you were sure of a place to sleep at night, but at the end of the month you had no money—you had only had during the month enough to eat, and you could always get that at "bumming."

I have no desire to criticize the works, but I think that some competent and trustworthy person ought to be given a chance to describe the true inwardness of that whole concern. It never has appeared to me to be a really legitimate business enterprise. I suspect that it is more a stock gambling concern for the benefit of New York speculators.

OTTO F. THUM.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Dec. 8.

The third session of the 58th Congress of the United States began on the 5th with Speaker Cannon in the chair of the House, and Senator Frye, as president pro tem., presiding in the Senate. Beyond the introduction of numerous bills and the adoption of resolutions of respect to the memory of the late Senators Hoar and Quay, no business was done in either House. On the 6th the prin-

cipal work done was listening to the official reading of the President's annual message.

Beginning with the statement that while our "noteworthy prosperity" as a nation "is of course primarily due to the high individual average of our citizenship, taken together with our great natural resources," President Roosevelt's message declares that "an important factor therein is the working of our long continued governmental policies," of the underlying principles whereof, "the people have emphatically expressed their approval" and "their desire that these principles be kept substantially unchanged, although of course applied in a progressive spirit to meet changing conditions."

Proceeding from this introduction the message discusses the industrial question at great length in various aspects, especially with reference to organized labor and organized capital. Organization of labor is defended, subject to interference by State and national governments, in their respective spheres, in cases of lawlessness. For great corporations national supervision is urged, and strict laws against discrimination on railroads is recommended. "The government must," says the message, in this connection, "in increasing degree supervise and regulate the workings of the railways engaged in inter-State commerce, and such increased supervision is the only alternative to an increase of the present evils on the one hand or a still more radical policy on the other. In my judgment the most important legislative act now needed as regards the regulation of corporations is this act to confer on the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to revise rates and regulations, the revised rate to at once go into effect and to stay in effect unless and until the court of review reverses it."

To the question of urban poverty considerable space is given in the message, and Congress is advised to make of Washington a municipality which shall be a model for all others regarding methods of ameliorating the suffering and degradation of poverty.

Discussing this subject the message proceeds:

The death rate statistics show a terrible increase in mortality, and especially in infant mortality, in overcrowded tenements. The poorest families in tenement houses live in one room and it appears that in these one room tenements the average death rate for a number of given cities at home and abroad is about twice what it is in a two-room tenement, four times what it is in a three-room tenement and eight times what it is in a tenement consisting of four rooms or over. These figures vary somewhat for different cities, but they approximate in each city those given above; and in all cases the increase of mortality, and especially of infant mortality, with the decrease in the number of rooms used by the family and with the consequent overcrowding is startling. The slum exacts a heavy toll of death from those who dwell therein; and this is the case not merely in the great crowded slums of high buildings in New York and Chicago, but in the alley slums of Washington. In Washington people cannot afford to ignore the harm that this causes. No Christian and civilized community can afford to show a happy-go-lucky lack of concern for the youth of to-day; for, if so, the community will have to pay a terrible penalty of financial burden and social degradation in the to-morrow.

The Congress has the same power of legislation for the District of Columbia which the State legislatures have for the various States. The problems incident to our highly complex modern industrial civilization, with its manifold and perplexing tendencies both for good and for evil, are far less sharply accentuated in the city of Washington than in most other cities. For this very reason it is easier to deal with the various phases of these problems in Washington, and the District of Columbia government should be a model for the other municipal governments of the nation, in all such matters as supervision of the housing of the poor, the creation of small parks in the districts inhabited by the poor, in laws affecting labor, in laws providing for the taking care of the children, in truant laws and in providing schools.

In this connection the message recommends for Washington, juvenile courts, a systematic investigation into and improvement of housing conditions, and compulsory school attendance.

After dealing with such departmental matters as the work of the Department of Agriculture, including the irrigation of arid lands; the forest reserve policy, the Indian problem, and the postal service, the message disposes

of the currency question as follows:

The attention of Congress should be especially given to the currency question and that the standing committees on the matter in the two Houses charged with the duty take up the matter of our currency and see whether it is not possible to secure an agreement in the business world for bettering the system; the committees should consider the question of the retirement of the greenbacks and the problem of securing in our currency such elasticity as is consistent with safety. Every silver dollar should be made by law redeemable in gold at the option of the holder.

To this is added the following brief recommendation with reference to ship subsidies:

I especially commend to your immediate attention the encouragement of our merchant marine by appropriate legislation.

Immigration, naturalization, honest elections, and Alaskan conditions are then considered and followed with an explanation of the President's foreign policy.

In dealing with matters of foreign policy, the message stands for what it describes as peace with justice, and on the question of regulating the affairs of other peoples says:

All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation; and in the western hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

The message concludes with an expression on the Philippine question, after devoting some attention to the rights of citizens abroad, and the strengthening of our navy. Of the Filipinos the message says:

The Philippine people, or, to speak more accurately, the many tribes, and even races, sundered from one another more or less sharply, who go to make

up the people of the Philippine islands, contain many elements which we have a right to hope stand for progress. At present they are utterly incapable of existing in independence at all or of building up a civilization of their own. I firmly believe that we can help them to rise higher and higher in the scale of civilization and of capacity for self-government and I most earnestly hope that in the end they will be able to stand, if not entirely alone, yet in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands. This end is not yet in sight and it may be definitely postponed if our people are foolish enough to turn the attention of the Filipinos away from the problems of achieving moral and material prosperity, of working for a stable, orderly and just government, and toward foolish and dangerous intrigues for a complete independence for which they are as yet totally unfit. On the other hand, our people must keep steadily before their minds the fact that the justification for our stay in the Philippines must ultimately rest chiefly upon the good we are able to do in the islands. I do not overlook the fact that in the development of our interests in the Pacific ocean and along its coasts the Philippines have played and will play an important part and that our interests have been served in more than one way by the possession of the islands. But our chief reason for continuing to hold them must be that we ought in good faith to try to do our share of the world's work, and this particular piece of work has been imposed upon us by the results of the war with Spain. The problem presented to us in the Philippine islands is akin to, but not exactly like, the problems presented to the other great civilized powers which have possessions in the Orient. There are points of resemblance in our work to the work which is being done by the British in India and Egypt, by the French in Algiers, by the Dutch in Java, by the Russians in Turkestan, by the Japanese in Formosa; but more distinctly than any of these powers we are endeavoring to develop the natives themselves so that they shall take an ever-increasing share in their own government; and, as far as prudent, we are already admitting their representatives to a governmental equality with our own. There are commissioners, judges and governors in the islands who are Filipinos and who have exactly the same share in the government of the islands as have their colleagues who are Americans, while in the lower ranks, of course, the great majority of the public servants are Filipinos. Within two years we shall be trying the experiment of an elective lower house in the Philippine legislature. It may be that the Filipinos will misuse this Legislature, and they certainly will misuse it if they are misled by foolish persons here at home into starting an agitation for their

Dec. 10, 1904.

own independence or into any factious or improper action. In such case they will do themselves no good and will stop for the time being all further effort to advance them and give them a greater share in their own government. But if they act with wisdom and self-restraint, if they show that they are capable of electing a legislature which in its turn is capable of taking a sane and efficient part in the actual work of government, they can rest assured that a full and increasing measure of recognition will be given them. Above all they should remember that their prime needs are moral and industrial, not political. It is a good thing to try the experiment of giving them a legislature; but it is a far better thing to give them schools, good roads, railroads which will enable them to get their products to market, honest courts, an honest and efficient constabulary, and all that tends to produce order, peace, fair dealing as between man and man, and habits of intelligent industry and thrift. If they are safeguarded against oppression, and if their real wants, material and spiritual, are studied intelligently and in a spirit of friendly sympathy, much more good will be done them than by any effort to give them political power, though this effort may in its own proper time and place be proper enough. . . . Unfortunately hitherto those of our people here at home who have specially claimed to be the champions of the Filipinos have in reality been their worst enemies. This will continue to be the case as long as they strive to make the Filipinos independent, and stop all industrial development of the islands by crying out against the laws which would bring it on the ground that capitalists must not "exploit" the islands. Such proceedings are not only unwise, but are most harmful to the Filipinos, who do not need independence at all, but who do need good laws, good public servants, and the industrial development that can only come if the investment of American and foreign capital in the islands is favored in all legitimate ways. Every measure taken concerning the islands should be taken primarily with a view to their advantage. We should certainly give them lower tariff rates on their exports to the United States; if this is not done it will be a wrong to extend our shipping laws to them. I earnestly hope for the immediate enactment into law of the legislation now pending to encourage American capital to seek investment in the islands in railroads, in factories, in plantations, and in lumbering and mining.

Official Presidential election returns, (p. 551), show that Parker's plurality in New York county, New York, was 34,631. The plurality against Bryan in 1896 was 36,984 and in his favor in 1900, 28,

766. The Socialist vote (not including Socialist-Labor) was 16,472, and the Prohibition, 526.

The official vote reported from Pennsylvania (p. 519) as compared with 1896 and 1900 is as follows:

	1904.	1900.	1896.
Republican	840,949	712,665	728,300
Democratic	335,430	424,222	433,328
Prohibitionist	33,717	27,908	20,144
Socialist	21,863	4,831	.....
Socialistic Labor	2,211	.....	1,683

Vermont's (p. 356) official returns, are:

	1904.	1900.	1886.
Republican	46,459	42,368	51,127
Democrat	9,777	12,849	10,637
Socialist	859	.....	.....
Prohibition	792	368	733

Official returns from Illinois (p. 551), as corrected on the 1st by the State board of canvassers, are as follows:

	Vote.
For President:	632,645
Roosevelt, Rep.	327,606
Parker, Dem.	69,225
Debs, Soc.	4,698
Corregan, Soc. Lab.	37,770
Swallow, Pro.	6,725
Watson, Peo.	830
Holcomb, Cont.	.....
For Governor:	634,029
Deneen, Rep.	334,880
Stringer, Dem.	59,062
Collins, Soc.	4,970
Vall, Soc. Lab.	35,309
Patton, Pro.	4,364
Hogan, Peo.	786
Specht, Cont.	.....

Returns from Congressman Robert Baker's district in Brooklyn, N. Y., (p. 520), make possible the following comparison on the Congressional and Presidential vote:

	1904.	1902.
Baker (D), for Cong.	19,432	17,888
Parker (D), for Pres.	18,889	.....
Calder (R), for Cong.	22,121	.....
Roosevelt (R), for Pres.	22,359	17,421
Bristow (R), for Cong.	.....	467
Baker's plurality	.....	.....
Baker's adverse plurality	2,689	.....
Baker over Parker	543	.....

One of the local surprises of the Presidential campaign was the reelection of Levi McGee as judge of the seventh circuit of South Dakota by a majority in round numbers of 400, although the Republican majority for President in the same territory was about 800. What makes this discrimination politically significant is the fact that Judge McGee is a pronounced and well known single tax advocate.

Another incident of the campaign is the election of a woman, Mrs. Lucy Cole, to the office of county assessor of the county of Owsley, in Kentucky. Her husband had held the office, and upon his death last Spring the county

judge appointed Mrs. Cole as his successor. Having served under that appointment she became a candidate before the people at the November election, and won, after a hard fight in which she canvassed every precinct of the county.

The official results of the referendum "public opinion" vote in Buffalo, N. Y., (p. 455), are just at hand. The question was: "Shall an ordinance be adopted by the Common Council permitting the use of public school buildings by citizens for the discussion of public questions, under proper restrictions." Although the affirmative polled a majority, the total vote on the question, 11,510, was small in comparison with the total vote cast for candidates—70,382. For the affirmative the vote was 6,983, and for the negative 4,527—an affirmative majority of 2,456. The vote is regarded as encouraging because the campaign was short, and the question was obscurely placed in the voting machines.

The referendum movement has been advanced by the action of the Federation of Labor at its convention in San Francisco (p. 553), which, prior to adjournment unanimously adopted the following resolution introduced by H. F. Sarman, of Jefferson City, Mo.:

Whereas, Experience demonstrates that the line of least resistance for the enactment of measures in the interest of the people is the establishment in them of a right to a direct ballot, as has been accomplished in Switzerland, Oregon, South Dakota and promised by all the parties in Montana; and, whereas, the line of least resistance for the establishment of the proposed system of government in State affairs is that throughout the State there be circulated for signature petitions to the legislature, asking that a constitutional amendment be submitted in order that the petitioners (the people) may vote upon the question of establishing their own sovereignty, urging upon the legislature the fact that it is the unquestioned right of the people to amend their State constitution whenever they so desire; this campaign of petitioning for the educational effect and interest that it will create should be followed by the questioning of candidates for the legislature, thereby preventing an evasion of the issue, and the candidates' self-interest will compel them to pledge; therefore, be it

Resolved, That each of the coming State conventions of organized labor is

requested by the American Federation of Labor to consider and vote upon the advisability of instructing the affiliated central and local unions to conduct the proposed campaign for the people's sovereignty in State affairs; and

Resolved, That for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs our President is requested to frame at the earliest practical day a petition incorporating a request for the immediate establishment in Congress of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, as described in the July 15th extra number of the American Federationist, and that copies of the petition be distributed to affiliated unions, with request to circulate for signatures and return to the central office at a specified time that the petition may be filed with Congress; this to be followed by the early questioning of Congressional and legislative candidates who are striving to secure the nominations, and later the nominees shall be questioned, if not already pledged; and

Resolved, That wherever a central or local trade union fails to circulate petitions or questions to candidates when requested by the National Federation or State Federation the National or State body shall instruct a local representative to do the work in the name of the American Federation of Labor or State Federation of Labor, and to sign as "Local Representative;" and

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirms the referendum resolutions of previous conventions which declare, in effect, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue (Resolution 270, Boston Convention; 121 New Orleans Convention;) and

Resolved, That every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. To-day, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

In the progress of the traction controversy in Chicago (p. 521) an accusation by one of the aldermen on the 5th has had a startling effect. An ordinance for the "Ravenswood extension" of the Northwestern Elevated railroad came before the Council, whereupon Alderman Herbert W. Butler offered an amendment requiring the company, within five years, to extend the line from the proposed terminus to the city limits through his ward, as a surface line. In speaking to his amendment Alderman Butler said, as reported in the press:

Arguments and assurances have been made to me for the passage of this ordinance that are far from meritorious. Arguments have been made that were not in the interest of the city or the Twenty-seventh ward. There seems to me to be a number of lawyers on the floor of this council who will do for a client that which they will not do for themselves. I am not an alarmist, but if this ordinance is passed it will show what a certain number can do with the traction question. It will show how many votes they have for a traction ordinance. I ask the gentlemen to go slow, lest they put themselves on record. I cannot understand why the local transportation committee is so much interested in the passage of this ordinance. The real issue is whether or not a certain element of this Council can put any traction legislation they choose through this Council.

This speech was resented by Aldermen Badenoeh, Bennett, and Foreman, the two latter being closely identified with the policy of extending traction franchises. Alderman Eidmann moved to lay Butler's amendment on the table, and this was done by a vote of 56 to 2. The main ordinance was then put on its passage, and when Alderman Butler's name was called, he rose and said:

I will say I was offered money for my vote. For that reason I vote no.

The ordinance was carried—51 to 11. This and other regular business having been concluded, Alderman R. R. McCormick moved a committee of investigation. The resolution as passed recited that Butler had made—

certain innuendoes reflecting on the aldermen of this Council, in which he charges:

That inducements and arguments were made or offered him which were not for the interests of the city or the Twenty-seventh ward;

That certain lawyers in this Council will do for clients what they are not willing to do for themselves;

That a certain element in the Council want to show what they can do on the traction situation in connection with this ordinance;

That he was offered money for his vote.

The investigating committee thereupon ordered was appointed by the Mayor. It consisted wholly of aldermen who had voted for the ordinance. On the following day, being pressed by newspapers for interviews, Alderman Butler said:

Every word I uttered on the Council floor last night is the gospel truth, so help me God. To-day the only thing I

regret is that I did not make my statements even stronger than they were. As a lawyer, I know what it means when I say that I can produce proofs of attempted bribery. I have gone into this matter knowing well what the consequences would be if I failed to make good. Every man is entitled to fair play, but when the Mayor named the investigating committee he overlooked that principle. It takes nerve to fight the whole City Council—to do what I did last night—without flinching.

Alderman Butler is charged by other aldermen with having made these accusations in resentment for the defeat of his amendment, which, as they assert, would have added to the value of vacant land owned by him in the region into which he wished the extension to be carried. A preliminary hearing was had by the committee on the 7th and adjournment was taken till the 28th, Alderman Butler refusing to furnish evidence until he could have time to prepare his case.

An adjustment of misunderstandings regarding Panama (p. 521) between that country and the United States, was reported on the 4th to have been made by the American secretary of war, Mr. Taft. Secretary Taft sailed for Panama in response to an official request on October 18 from President Roosevelt. In this letter the President referred to his having by executive order of May 9, 1904, placed the work of the Isthmian Canal Commission, "both in the construction of the canal and in the exercise of such government powers as it seemed necessary for the United States to exercise under the treaty with the republic of Panama in the canal strip," and, after referring to some disquietude on the part of Panama as to the intentions of the United States, instructed him to proceed to Panama and advise the president of that republic "what the policy of this government is to be, and assure him that it is not the purpose of the United States to take advantage of the rights conferred upon it by the treaty to interfere with the welfare and prosperity of the State of Panama, or of the ties of Colon and Panama." On the 3d of December President Roosevelt received and approved Mr. Taft's report; and on the 4th from Panama it was reported that an executive order signed by Sec-

retary of War Taft for the United States and President Amador for Panama, was issued that day settling all the differences between the two countries incident to the construction and maintenance of the interoceanic canal by the former. As so reported the order—

gives America complete jurisdiction in the harbors of Colon and Panama as to sanitation and quarantine regulations, and provides for absolute free trade between the little republic and the canal zone. The United States is given authority to establish and maintain harbors at either end of the canal. It is further declared that no trade for the canal zone or the republic of Panama can enter either of these ports, supplies for the construction of the waterway and articles in transit being excepted. Custom receipts of both these ports are, therefore, turned over to Panama. Panama agrees to reduce her tariff from 15 per cent. ad valorem to 10 per cent. This applies to all goods except wines, liquors, alcohol, and opium. Consular fees and port charges are to be reduced to 60 per cent. of the present rate. Vessels entering the canal ports are granted free entry to those of Colon and Panama and vice versa. Panama reduces her rate of postage to 2 cents, and is to furnish all stamps in the republic and the canal zone, the officials of the latter being required to purchase from the republic at 40 per cent. of their face value. The order is subject to the action of the 58th Congress, and to be ineffective unless Panama shall put into effect the gold standard. Provision is made for the maintenance by the United States of important highways partly in and partly out of the canal zone, and also for the building of a hospital.

NEWS NOTES.

—James N. Tyner, formerly postmaster general of the United States and recently acquitted of postal crimes (p. 121), died at Washington on the 5th.

—Gen. Diaz was inaugurated for the seventh time as President of Mexico on the 1st. Ramon Corral was at the same time inaugurated as vice president.

—A French inventor, Mr. Andrew Gambin, claims to have invented a vessel on the pneumatic suction principle capable of making 500 knots an hour.

—Gov.-elect Douglas, of Massachusetts, has selected Byron W. Holt as his private secretary, and has appointed Gen. Nelson A. Miles as adjutant general of the State.

—John Most is reported from St. Louis to have been released from arrest (p. 553) on signing an agreement in the police blotter to leave St. Louis city and never return.

—Mrs. George Henry Gilbert, the oldest actress on the stage, died on the 2d

while filling an engagement at Chicago. She was 83 years of age and had been a famous actress for 60 years.

—A biography of the late Henry D. Lloyd by his sister, Mrs. Caro Lloyd Wittington, is in preparation, materials for which are solicited by Mrs. Wittington, to be sent to her in care of Henry W. Goodrich, 49 Wall street, New York.

—William C. York, superintendent of the municipal lodging house of New York, reported on the 6th that "there are at least 40 per cent. more idle men in the city of New York this year than there were this time last year.

—Hugh McLaughlin, Democratic boss of King's county (including Brooklyn) for a third of a century, having been succeeded by Senator McCarren, after a contest in the last local convention, died on the 7th at Brooklyn, aged 80 years.

—The Samuel M. Jones Memorial association was formally organized at Toledo on the 4th, with Mayor Robert H. Finch as its chairman. James R. Kilbourne and Tom L. Johnson are two prominent Ohioans who have joined the association.

—On the 6th the Court of Appeals of Kentucky reversed the decision of the Circuit Court in the case of Caleb Powers, now in jail at Louisville under sentence of death for complicity in the murder of William Goebel (vol. iv., p. 489). This gives Powers a new trial.

—Chauncey F. Black, son of Jeremiah S. Black, of Buchanan's cabinet, and himself a public man of high position, having been lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania in 1882-86 and Democratic candidate for governor of Pennsylvania in 1886, died at York, Pa., on the 2d. Mr. Black was a democratic Democrat.

—The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, which opened at St. Louis on the 30th of April, 1904 (p. 73), closed on the 1st of December. Charges of fraud in awarding certain premiums have been made by Thomas H. Carter, president of the national commission. They are denied by David R. Francis, president of the exposition company. The total attendance at the exposition was 18,741,073.

PRESS OPINIONS.

LAWSON'S EXPOSURES.

New York Nation (ind.), Dec. 1.—Mr. Lawson may be the most prodigious liar that ever put pen to paper. His lies may be like the father that begat them—gross as a mountain. That is not the thing which really signifies. People do not greatly care whether his particular stories are true—whether this and that plunger in the market actually played the infamous part alleged; whether brazen promoters really bought a legislature in the way described; they believe that other stories of the kind are true, if Lawson's are not. He gains the credit of a millionaire turning State's evidence. The impression made is as unmistakable as it will be indelible. That there is a class of rich men who carry into enormous operations the methods of the sneak thief and the card sharper; that they rob the widow and take away the portion of the or-

phan with no more scruple than a burglar; that honor and good faith are as unknown among them as among jail-birds—this is the popular conviction upon which Lawson has so skillfully played. He has heightened it, but he did not create it. Now the existence of such men is the great social menace. They are the blackest embodiment of that spirit of materialism which fears not God and regards not man, and which it is our immense task to-day to resist and drive from us, if we would not see it drag our whole civilization into the pit.

WATSON AND DEMOCRACY.

Goodhue County (Minn.) News (Dem.), Dec. 3.—Mr. Thomas Watson, who wrote a corking good life of Thomas Jefferson and also ran for President, has his plans for organizing a new democratic movement. He argues that while the plutocrats can't win elections they can control the machinery of the party. They did it this time and they will start with full control in 1908. The radicals can keep them from winning the election, but that does not worry them. Therefore the only chance for the radicals is to start new. He wants Bryan and Hearst and George Fred Williams to join him in the movement. Then he adds that in Georgia the Democratic machinery is now controlled by Morgan and Belmont and that sort, and the first thing he is going to try to do is to take it away from them. That is suggestive. Democrats who expect their party to occupy radical ground should begin by inculcating radical doctrines in their own neighborhoods. Watson can do more for radicalism by building up a radical movement in Georgia than by talking about what the party ought to do in the Nation. With all due respect to him, he is a little thin, spread over the United States. If he can unhorse Morgan and Belmont in Georgia he will have done his full share. And perhaps others in other States will be able to do likewise. And if Georgia and every other State sends a radical delegation to the national convention, the convention will come pretty near having a radical cast. Democratic leaders have been too apt to save the whole country and let their own precincts go by default. The party will be what its components make it.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

Grand Forks (N. D.) Evening Press (Dem.), Nov. 30.—It is not more than a year since we were treated, in the columns of an Eastern periodical, to a learned disquisition on the "plight" into which the Democratic party had fallen by reason of its endeavor to stand as the representative of the interests of the people and its failure to measure up to the requirements of the "financiers." The author of that article, a gentleman who had twice been honored by the Democrats with an election to the Presidency, undertook to show the party the "error of its way" and to point out the "path of success." . . . The Democracy, in a fit of "temporary aberration," listened to his counsels and acted upon his suggestions. As a result of this course the party has sustained the most overwhelming defeat in its history. . . . The lesson of the eighth of November was costly, but it was worth the price. As we read it, it teaches that only in the paths of true democracy can the party of Jefferson and Jackson expect to find either service or reward. As an organization begging for the support of the class interested in maintaining special privileges the Democratic party is without the slightest hope of securing public approval or support. As a party of the people, devoted to the securing of equity of opportunity and the establishing of constitutional government, the Democracy has a great mission and a glorious opportunity.

THE GENESIS OF PARTIES.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 1.—Henry George once got a carpenter

to build him a chicken coop. After the carpenter had finished the coop, Mr. George turned to him and said: "Now build me a chicken." But the carpenter was too wise to undertake this job. And his wisdom may safely be commended to certain estimable persons who, having built a very good political platform, are now about to undertake the building of a party to stand upon it. They do not know that parties grow; that they are not built.

A CENTER OF DEMOCRATIC FORCE.

Malone (N. Y.) Forum (Dem.), Nov. 30.—Although his enemies have killed off W. J. Bryan every new moon since 1896, he needs killing again. He stands to-day the uncrowned king of the American Democracy, the one grand majestic figure around whom are rallying all the reform elements in the nation.

AIM TO SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM.

The (Indianapolis) Freeman (Negro), Dec. 3.—The South has tried everything else to get rid of its "race problem," and admits failure. Now, just for a change, try the simple remedy of equal and exact justice in all affairs of life and see if it does not work a cure. The golden rule is worth all the preventive medicine of the doctors.

A WITCH OF FINANCE.

Columbus (O.) Press-Post (Dem.), Dec. 1.—In these days of large combinations of capital, we are accustomed to look for large things; but after all, what do large combinations of capital matter if one poor little lone woman by the name of Cassie can borrow hundreds of thousands with no capital at all?

MISCELLANY

CHRIST UN-CRUCIFIED.

The redemption of mankind in the name of Christ consists not in crucifying, but in so following the dictates of justice and kindly affection that there need be no crucifixion.

Through the wastes the Spirit crieth,
Near at home and far abroad;
"In the death of him that dieth
Have I pleasure?" saith the Lord.
In your breast, O man, I planted
Conscience of love and peace;
Gave my *Heart* for your redemption,
Hoping He might teach you peace.
Even when rage wrought crucifixion;
In remorse for such a past
Might you not have learned the lesson
Of redeeming love at last?
Rich His life, and just, and gentle,
Who proclaimed my holy laws,
Had I pleasure in His dying,
Whom you slew without a cause?
Aye, and Whom you still are saying—
On Manchuria's distant plain;
In the trenches of Port Arthur,
Where you pile the heaps of slain;
By the mines of Colorado,
Where you herd my souls like sheep;
In the marts of Christ-called cities,
Where you sell my virtue cheap;
In the tramp of homeless wanderers,
Whom you leave no decent place,
Still the beast works crucifixion,
And my grace is made disgrace,
Shameless drones the dull, thanksgiving
That the scores of gain increase,
That the restless poor are humbled
By the power of your police,
Was not He, your worshiped Master—
To the poor a power to save—

Crucified, and it was written:
With the rich was made his grave.

With the chains of unjust measures
You have bound whom Christ would free;
Oh, for tongue of Christ to curse you
As He cursed the Pharisee.
It was you who crucified Him,
And have kept Him crucified;
Lest He rise you keep Him guarded
In your sepulcher of pride;
But there was a resurrection,
Is a resurrection now,
And the Christ is ever rising,
Though the thorn-crown wounds His brow.
Passing through the crucifixion
Justice shall make real her dream,
And with Christ shall be their portion
Who in dying must redeem.

O my Christ, when men shall learn You,
Though they should forget Your name,
Learn the spirit which removes You
Far beyond the herd of fame,
Then God's very heart shall lift them,
Till above the beast they rise,
Till they learn that love unifying
Is God's perfect sacrifice.

CHARLES HOWARD FITCH,
Nov. 26, 1904.

"EDGEWATER WISDOM."

1. As fast as some men make opportunities, others grab them.
2. When the girl tells you to save money she means business.
3. Don't ask the small boys about a noiseless Fourth of July.
4. Success worth having never arrives unexpectedly.
5. People accept you at your own estimation—have no time to investigate.
6. In all affairs of men and of nations there is a grim, relentless "logic" hidden from the "stomach thinkers."
7. Slaves need not think—their "masters" do that.
8. The bug thinks "his" world is big
So does the eagle. Same thing among men.
9. Silence is a mighty weapon. Did you know it?—A. Wangemann, in Vermont Union Signal.

MUNICIPAL LIGHTING OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND.

A portion of the report of J. Martin Thumm, Superintendent of Lighting, in the Annual Report of the Board of Public Service, Division of Engineering, of the City of Cleveland, Ohio, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1903.

The superintendent of lighting feels greatly encouraged over the showing made by the department since the municipality undertook the operation and maintenance of all gas lamps in the city. Careful examinations and comparisons show that since the city of Cleveland has cut away from the contract system of lighting with gas lamps and undertook the work itself, a saving of \$5.18 per lamp per year has been made. Considering the fact that the city operates

and maintains 6,500 gas lamps at the present time, this shows an aggregate saving to the city of \$33,670 per year.

The decrease in the cost of operation by the city presents an interesting study. When the municipality took over the work and abrogated its contract with the private companies, 5,516 gas lamps were in commission. For maintaining and equipping these, the city had to pay \$16.10 each per year, or a total of \$88,807.60. These same lamps for maintenance and equipment, if they had to be erected, would cost the city, after it took over the work, \$12.78 per lamp per year, making an aggregate of \$70,494.48, a net saving to the city in this item of \$18,313.12.

In the item of cost of gas, the city, since it undertook the work of lighting the lamps, has made a saving of \$1.86 per lamp per year, which makes an aggregate saving in this department, figured on a basis of 6,500 lamps, of \$12,090 per year. This, too, is cost without impairing the candle power of the lamps. The superintendent of lighting has limited each lamp to 2½ feet of gas per hour since the city took hold of the work, while the contracting companies burned three feet per hour in each lamp while they were in charge.

The total cost to the city, while under the contract system, for a gas lamp per year was \$22.56, \$6.46 of this amount being required for gas, we having no way of figuring out the cost of the other expenses of the contracting companies. Since the city has taken charge of the work, the total cost per lamp per year has been \$17.38, divided as follows: Equipment, \$5.12; maintenance, \$7.66; gas, \$4.60.

TENANT FARMERS.

There is a general impression that the American farmers own their own farms. Until recently the tenant farmer was a curiosity, but of late years the number of tenant farmers has greatly increased and is increasing rapidly. It is surprising to learn the number of tenant farmers in Wisconsin. An insurance solicitor who recently made a canvass of the farming section of Rock county says that there are more tenant farmers than there are farmers owning their own farms — at least, that was the impression that was created by the interviews had with the farmers in that county.

It seems incredible that a State like Iowa should have such large numbers of tenant farmers that alarm has been created as to its effects upon the State's future, yet the Des Moines Leader and Register declares that it promises to

become a serious problem in the near future. It says:

Possibly in one generation the same problem is likely to be presented in the Mississippi valley that Denmark wrestled with 100 years ago. And Iowa and all States situated like Iowa, may have as much difficulty in shifting from non-resident landed estates to peasant proprietorship as Denmark had; in fact, they may find it as impossible to shift without a revolution, as England is finding it, either in Ireland or at home. There is a much more important lesson for the new West in Prof. Kennedy's letter in yesterday's Register and Leader than appears at a glance. No land, however fertile, will ever be successfully and profitably cultivated by tenants. The land must be owned by the men who till it, and in the end will be owned by them if national prosperity endures. While the country is yet new and the fertility of the soil seemingly inexhaustible, the problem of land ownership is not pressing. But the benefit that may be derived from the experience of others is the ability that is acquired to foresee unfavorable conditions before they are pressing and to ward them off. Prof. Kennedy's letters will contain no more valuable hint to the farmers of Iowa than the hint given to them in the experience of Denmark, to make it their main business in life to own their own farms.

This tendency is likely to become more marked as the field for investments is limited through the centralization of wealth. So far, the men of great wealth have found outlet for investment in industrial enterprises, but it is only a question of time when the Rockefellers, Morgans, Goulds and their associates will turn their attention to the soil. They must find a place to invest their rapidly accumulating incomes and the creating of great estates is certain to result. As a rule, the tenant farmers of to-day rent from retired farmers, but it is only a question of time when the landlord will become distinct and entirely separate from the farmers as a class.—Milwaukee Daily News.

BURMAH BEFORE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

The most successful of the world's great visionaries seems to have been Buddha. In Burmah, where the faith in his doctrine has been kept comparatively unceiled, something like an ideal state of society has been realized for centuries past. With the British occupation of the country I fear the sorrows of the Burmese have already begun. Until we invaded their land and stole it from them they managed to exist without a military system, without a state church, without an aristocracy, without stock exchanges, or gambling halls, without land monopolists,

and without poverty. Mr. Fielding, in his inspiring book, "The Soul of a People," which has never been refuted, states that before the British occupation there was no man, woman or child in Burmah who had not enough to eat and wherewithal to be decently housed and clothed. Though there were degrees of wealth there was no pauperism, and if one man became more fortunate than his neighbor by reason of his superior ability or business capacity he devoted his surplus wealth to public purposes without a murmur, and as a matter of course. If he brought out a new invention he published the fact to all the world, that the whole community and not himself exclusively might profit by it. Moreover, the system of the administration of justice was based upon the principle not of revenge, but of reformation. Offenders against the laws of the community were not subjected to cruel punishments, but taught to be better men and women. To take life, whether of man or beast, on any pretense, was a crime; licentiousness did not exist, and the fear of death was unknown. These were the people whom we marched against with horse, foot and artillery.

Our excuse for this high-handed procedure, which inspired Mr. Kipling to sing "On the Road to Mandalay," was simply a lie. The people at home were assured that the king of Burmah was a drunken despot, who wasted the substance of his people in riotous living. Yet Mr. Fielding who, I understand, has held a high official position in Burmah, declares that King Theebau strictly adhered to the Buddhist teaching on temperance, and allowed no intoxicants to enter either his kingdom or his palace.

For Mr. Kipling to glorify a military expedition such as the invasion of Burmah only proves that even an alleged poet can sometimes be destitute of the moral sense. Nothing can be more cowardly than to invade a country whose people are prohibited by their religion to fight.

There are, however, ruby mines in Burmah, and that explains the whole disgraceful business.—A. E. Fletcher, in the New Age, of London.

THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE MOSAIC LAND LAWS.

It is plain that the method adopted in the commonwealth of Israel for the practical assertion of equal right to the use of the earth, however good for the time and place, could not be followed in a modern nation, with its complicated social organization and

its varied agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial interests. But "God fulfills Himself in many ways," and it is quite possible to believe that the Mosaic land laws were absolutely right in principle, and also right in method for their own time, without thinking it either desirable or possible to graft the details of early Hebrew legislation on a later and alien western civilization.

Although the actual division of the land in equal shares among a people is one of the possible ways of asserting the doctrine of equal rights, it ceases to be a convenient or a just way as soon as civilization passes beyond the pastoral and agricultural stage. The special position of the tribe of Levi in the Hebrew State led to the introduction of modifications which directly suggest the methods of modern land reform. Fortunately it is quite possible to assert an equal and common right without resorting to equal physical division. If a father gives his children a cake, they naturally assert their equal rights by cutting it up into equal pieces. If he gives them a pony, they divide, not the pony, but the use of it. If he leaves them a house in equal shares, they may either divide the occupancy of the house equally, or divide it unequally according to the need of each for accommodation, paying the rental value into a common fund, from which each takes equal shares; or they may let it altogether to some one else and divide the rent. A proposal to divide a railway—permanent way, buildings and rolling stock—equally among the shareholders, would meet with scant favor at a shareholders' meeting; they know well that they divide the railway best by dividing its earnings in the shape of dividend. So with the land. It is still true that all men have equal rights to the use of land. It is no longer true that men all require to use land in equal portions, or that equal portions of land are even approximately of equal value. We can now assert our equal rights in land by having the rent of land paid into a common fund, and either divided equally or spent for the common benefit. The modern method of removing our neighbor's landmark is to put the rental value of land into private pockets instead of into the public exchequer, and the first step, in modern times, towards reasserting the ancient and eternal principles which underlay Mosaic land laws is the taxation of land values.—The London Echo.

KING BY RIGHT DIVINE.

For The Public.

The crown prince was two years old; and so was Rab, the washerwoman's son. Now these urchins played together often in the palace garden. It happened one day that they chased butterflies far afield. And that was when the wolves got them. But the she-wolf suckled, instead of eating them.

Ten years passed. It was a cold winter, and slim picking in the woods. The she-wolf said:

"Hear me, cubs. I'm going to guide you back to your old home. Food is scarce; and why should I let the pack eat you, whom I love so dearly? I sat up all last night guarding you from the death that looked from two score eyes upon you! Come, let us make haste before the first prowler returns from a fruitless hunt!"

The lads did not stand upon the order of their going, but flew!

An hour later the trio halted close by the postern gate of the palace. The old she-wolf licked the hands of the boys and tenderly bade them farewell.

"Go," she said, "straight to the hovel door in the rear of the palace. That is the only door unlocked on all the place. There's nothing inside that any thief would covet; for the woman earns her living. And she's the mother of one of ye—I don't know which. Make haste! I hear the gray wolf's cry; he's hot upon our trail!"

The boys sprang over the gate and the she-wolf vanished into the night. Two flames of fire flashed above the wall as the boys burst through the hovel door and slammed it behind them!

"Mother!" they both cried in a breath.

The frightened woman, recovering her courage at the word, hastily arose from her bed of straw and cried:

"What? 'Mother,' did ye say?"

"Aye, for I am thy son, returned from the she-wolf's den," made they both answer in concert.

The overjoyed dame gathered them both in her arms and wept for gladness.

Next morning, after breakfast, the dame addressed the lads, saying:

"O, my children, one of you is Prince John, and the other is my son; I know not which. But the Queen shall choose, and I will take my son. Come, let us to Her Majesty."

So they went to the Queen, who fainted for joy at the unexpected return of her son, the sole heir to her dominions.

But alas! upon regaining consciousness, she was unable to distinguish the prince from the pauper. The distressed Queen was as much at fault as the wash-

erwoman. Whereupon the King's jester (who had, till now, been walking about on his head, for the entertainment of the company), fell up, and blithely sang:

"Where wisdom wobbles, well, I ween,
For lowly dame or haughty queen,
It were to let the dice decide;
And by the cast let each abide."

So they played a game of craps, and the washerwoman got Prince John!

Then sang the merry jester (aside):

"The cowbird's egg was hatched in the warbling vireo's nest,
Sing heigho, sing ho!
The prince shall pull his forelock and obey
his thrall's behest,
For the right divine of kings, forsooth is but
a tyrant's jest,
Sing heigho, sing ho!"

HORACE CLIFTON.

SELF-GOVERNING ABILITY.

Editorial in issue for November 15 of Farm, Stock and Home, of Minneapolis, Minn.

The Republicans do not assert that they will refuse independence to the Philippines when their inhabitants are "prepared for it," while the Democrats, according to Judge Parker, would promise independence at once, to be given when the people are "prepared for it." In either case our people, or their representatives, are to be the judges to pass upon the preparedness of these people for independence. Probably no one will dispute that the standard the Filipinos will be measured by, which ever party does the measuring, is that attained by our own people in the arts of self-government. It could hardly be expected that "the best people on earth," who have made "the best government on earth," would be willing to judge the capacity of another people to govern themselves by any lower standard than their own, nor would they be likely to exact any higher standard. Hence to secure independence the Filipinos must accept our style of self governing, and to that end they should at once begin to study. And what they will learn may surprise them and shake their faith in our superiority as self governors, but to our complexion they must come if they would be free—in name.

To realize our ideals they will find that vast areas of their territory must be used to subsidize railroads, and the roads must be allowed to create millions of dollars of fictitious values, interest and dividends on which the people must pay forever.

They will learn that tariff for protection, and many other special privileges, must be granted, so that their

country will develop a goodly number of enormously rich men, for it is our theory that no country can be truly great unless a few of its citizens, relatively, own the major share of its wealth and all of its natural resources.

They will learn that if they would "enlarge their industries and expand their commerce," combinations of the capital they have allowed the fore-going to accumulate from the earnings of the people are necessary; necessary even tho they do make a monopoly of every industry in the islands, which is what such combinations are made for.

They will learn that they must have banks, and that the banks must be given the power to substantially mold the money system of the islands, and the people must be taxed unnecessarily by their government so that it may get millions of dollars to loan to the banks, without interest, that they may be able to give more assistance to the monopolistic combinations of capital previously referred to. And in the banks the people must have such "confidence" that they will be willing to pay the banks interest on many times more money than there is money in their country.

They will learn that the representative government that this country—their present master and future judge—will approve of is the kind that allows the people to elect representatives and then the people allow the elected to accept railroad passes and other valuable favors from the corporations and monopolies that the people are in fear of. This may strike the Filipinos as absurd if not dangerous, but it is one of our cardinal tests of the ability of a people to govern themselves, and hence the Filipinos must be able to stand that test or remain our subjects.

They must understand that to satisfy us of their ability to govern themselves they must resolve to allow private parties to own all public utilities, telegraphs, telephones, street railways, etc., for if the people own those things there will be fewer opportunities to make the multi-millionaires that we believe are necessary to true national greatness and power.

They must acquiesce without a murmur in seeing their post office department pay railroads an annual rental for postal cars greater than the total value of the cars.

They must learn that the chief end of town and city government is to facilitate the game of "graft," to be

played by those chosen to do the governing, for that is our idea of how towns and cities have to be governed, and ought to be.

The foregoing are only a few of the points on self governing that the Filipinos must learn, and show their disposition to abide by and accept without question, as evidences of what constitute a self governing people and a best government on earth. Before they can hope to pass a satisfactory examination in the science of self government, from our standpoint, they must learn many more strange lessons, which will be submitted when those given herewith are mastered.

THE CITIZEN AND THE NEWSPAPER.

By the time the very young reporter reached the spot of the accident the victim had been bundled into an ambulance and the ambulance itself was rapidly jogging out of sight.

A talkative and important group stood half on the walk and half on the roadway. As the very young reporter drew out notebook and pencil the group, by common consent, opened and then closed about him.

"Are you a reporter?"

"Yes. What was the man's name?"

"Johnson."

"Say, I want you to put a piece in the paper about that drug store over there. Just as soon as I saw he was hurt I went over to the telephone and Hines—he keeps the place—says: 'Oh, I guess it ain't so bad but what he can wait. You don't need no doctor.'"

"What is his first name?"

"His first name? Eddy—Eddy Hines. He was named after his uncle, who used to own the brewery on State street. They thought if he was named that—"

"Hold on. I don't want Hines' name. I want the name of the man who was hurt—Johnson."

"His first name? I guess it was John, wasn't it, Billy? Wasn't Johnson's first name John?"

"Sure it was. Who wants to know?"

"A reporter over here."

"Are you a reporter? You know, I seen the whole thing. I was standin' here with Pete Perry when he fell. I says to Perry just the minute before, 'Perry, that man's going to hurt himself.' And, sure enough, down he went."

"How did he happen to fall?"

"Well, I was standin' with Perry and I says, 'Pete, that man's overbalancin' himself,' and just then he went down. Just look at this scaffolding,

will you? Do you call that good scaffolding, huh? What kind of scaffolding is that? You write that up when you write about it."

"Yes, and put in that piece about Hines. I says to Hines when he wouldn't let me use his telephone. 'Hines, I'm going to have you roasted in the papers if I have to go down and see the managing editor himself.'"

"Excuse me, but as I understand it this man Johnson didn't fall from a scaffolding. He tumbled from the sidewalk into the cellar."

"Why, sure he did, but what kind of scaffolding is that, anyhow? Is that any good? It's rotten. You can say I said so too. Print my name if you like. Smith is my name—William P. Smith."

"Yes, and you can use my name, James F. Dolan. And tell 'em that I went up there to telephone for a doctor and Hines says, 'Aw, I guess you can wait. You don't need no doctor.'"

"Where did he hit when he fell?"

"Right on that pile of rocks. Two days ago I says to Pete Berry, 'Pete, them rocks ought not to be there.' It's Jackson's fault. He's buildin' the house. I knew somebody'd get hurt. And look at that scaffoldin'. Ain't that the limit? You roast 'em good, now."

"Yes, and—say—are you going already? Well, don't forget to put in that about Hines. 'I'm goin' to show you up,' I says to him, 'if I have to see the managin' editor myself.' Dolan—James P. Dolan, that's me; tried to telephone, but was refused the use of the instrument. Put it that way and use my name. It's D-o-l-a-n. You write it, young fellow, and show that Hines up. Good-by. Show him up, now."—The Chicago Chronicle.

HISTORY OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.

Editorial in Chicago Chronicle of November 28, 1904.

The insistence of the Chronicle that our habeas corpus law needs enforcing rather than amending has attracted no little commendatory attention, a fact which goes to prove that the public takes a lively interest in the theme, as, indeed, it should. One gentleman well learned in the law, while entirely approving the spirit and meaning of what the Chronicle has said, thinks it regards the writ as more ancient than it is. Let us see about that.

The idea of liberty is very old, much older than the idea of parliaments or constitutional governments. The latter came in to formulate, regulate and preserve liberty. The great English

sources of liberty are well defined and readily recognized.

First is Magna Charta, granted in 1215. King John, prior to granting this charter, had exercised almost unlimited power. The greatest provision of Magna Charta is: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized or outlawed or banished or anyways destroyed, nor will the king pass upon him or commit him to prison, unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land."

Upon this foundation constitutional government was erected. This guarantee of uniform administration of law was many times violated, but the people never yielded the rights won by the guarantee. By the Petition of Right in 1628, 413 years after, in the reign of Charles I., the rights gained under Magna Charta were reaffirmed and strengthened.

The Petition of Right prayed "that no man be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge without common consent by act of parliament; that none be called upon to make answer for refusal so to do; that freemen be imprisoned or disseized only by the law of the land or by due process of law, and not by the king's special command without any charge."

The provisions of both these charters of liberty were constantly disregarded, and the people complained that unless there were some way to enforce the rights granted, arbitrary kings would deny them; that they should have some way of showing that men were imprisoned without a trial by their peers, and that they were passed upon by the command of the king, and not by the "due process of law."

The habeas corpus act was adopted to meet the condition and to relieve the people from all unjust imprisonments. It compelled judges and other officers to give deliverance where it appeared that the law of the land had been disregarded in their imprisonment. The habeas corpus act came in 1679, 51 years after the Petition of Right and 464 years after Magna Charta. It is a great charter of constitutional liberty.

There is a common belief that the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus frees the prisoner. This is not so. The petition for a writ of habeas corpus states in substance that the petitioner is illegally restrained of his liberty, and prays that the court will issue its writ directing and commanding that the custodian of the petitioner bring the body before the judge, and that inquiry be made as to the petitioner's imprisonment. The judge issues the writ, for it is all but compulsory upon him to do so. Upon

a hearing the prisoner is remanded or released, according as the judge decides upon the facts and law. The writ is used to inquire into and determine the custody of children. It is the great writ of inquiry as to how and why anyone is detained in custody.

But while it is true that "the habeas corpus act" was passed in 1679, that act, in the opinion of the Chronicle, was merely declaratory of what had been English law for longer than there was any record of. Lalor's Political Encyclopedia says it was "one of the great, unrepeatable laws which, without the aid of legislation, became part of the common law of England and is of greater age than Magna Charta itself." Hallam, in his "History of the Middle Ages," declares that whether the courts framed the writ after Magna Charta, according to the spirit of its declaration, or "found it already in their register, it became from that era the right of every subject to demand it." He also says that "from the very earliest records of English law" any freeman might as matter of right demand the issuance of this writ.

There was more or less of evasion and dodging by imperious kings and truckling judges, and during the stormy reign of Charles I. this increased, for Charles was a bigot and had less tact and more courage than had James I. In carrying out the methods of the Scottish Stuarts, which James had introduced. The famous Petition of Right did ask for the express recognition of this right, among others, in 1628, but the act was not passed until 1679 under Charles II. Cromwell's legislators did not enact it.

Of this act of 1679 Lalor says that, though the origin of the writ is sometimes erroneously stated to have been in this act, the fact is that this act "neither added to nor detracted from the fundamental principles of that efficacious writ, but was passed in order to define with clear precision the appropriate remedies attendant upon the invasion of personal rights."

The thing had existed for centuries. In 1679 it was given a new suit of clothes, and it was not until George III. had been king for 56 years that the right was extended to civil causes in the courts.

An English coal porter is credited with a clever retort to a member of parliament who was pushing his way through a crowd at a show:

"Make way there! Don't you know," cried the pompous M. P., "that I'm a representative of the people!"

"Well," retorted the porter, "Don't you know that we are the people?"—Danville (Ill.) Free Citizen.

PRO PATRIA!

I.

Back from the quaking walls the Russians reel.

—The festering remnant of a garrison,
Then whirl again to ply the bloody steel,
While o'er each fort the man-fed vultures wheel.

Glutted of carrion.

SCENE.—The palace of Tsarskoe-Selo. Enter the Emperor Nicholas, followed by the Czarina, a nurse bearing the infant heir, and a guard of gigantic Cossacks.

NICHOLAS—How precious is the helpless life of this frail babe;
What power in the grip of these small hands;

How dear this tiny entity—

Enter messenger.

MESSENGER—Dispatches from the front, your majesty.
Stoessel is in dire straits.

NICHOLAS—Send him an ikon and the royal word: Not to give up while there's a man to die.

II.

Across the Manchurian wilds the ice-winds fly.

Shrieking a new note in the chant of doom;

The freezing legions clash in sheer misery.

Stagger to deadly shock and fight and die,
Each trench a hecatomb.

SCENE.—The royal chrysanthemum garden of Perfect Delight, Tokio. Enter the Emperor Mutsuhito, with attendants.

MUTSUHITO—Look at these gorgeous flowers, emblems of that sun
That warms us to a blessed sense of life.

Enter an Elder Statesman, who prostrates himself and presents dispatch.

MUTSUHITO (reading)—News from Oyama, repulsed at Da I see.

A temporary check, for Nippon fights so long as Nippon lives.

III.

God save the czar! and the mikado, too!
They'll need the prayer in that great Day of Dread

When naked souls before their Maker go,
When sanguine battlefields and seas of woe
Give up their murdered dead!

—Thomas J. Vivian, in Chicago Examiner.

First Little Boy—Hello! How's Sarah Jones?

Second L. B.—You lie.

—Life.

BOOKS

THE NEW LIGHTS.

In a little four-act drama, "The New Lights," (Boston: Richard S. Badger, Gorham Press. Price, \$1.00). Hugh Mann illustrates the life of the New Mennists, a secession from the Pennsylvania Mennonites, and at the same time emphasizes his view of the law of love and the scriptural doctrine that the truth makes freedom.

Such a book must be read to be appreciated in any degree. To describe or attempt to analyze would be like attempting to expound psychology by anatomical dissection. It is enough to apprise possible readers that the story is beautifully and vividly told in the dia-

logue form; that it draws aside the veil for the outside world to look into the comings and goings of this non-resistant and non-civic sect, and that the human element is not suppressed in the story. The book is a neatly printed volume of 51 pages.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Every Day Essays." By Marion Foster Washburne. Illustrated by Ruth Mary Hallock. Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Co. To be reviewed.

—"A Little Fountain of Life." By Marion Foster Washburne. Chicago, New York and London: Rand, McNally & Co. To be reviewed.

—"The Art of Wise Investing;" a series of short articles on investment values, pointing out the essential characteristics of safe investment securities, with a review of the financial pitfalls into which superficial examination inevitably leads. New York: Moody Publishing Co. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS.

An essay by William Grant Sawin, of San Francisco, published originally in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for November, 1901, has been reprinted by the Academy in pamphlet form. Mr. Sawin rightly concludes that "the solution of every economic problem must rest on an ethical basis; that it is only by determining right and applying justice that the well being of man may be increased." He seems, however, to be struggling against odds. His essay reads like that of a naturally clear-cut mind befogged with scholastic economies. For instance, by accepting the scholastic notion of rent—a perversion of Ricardo's statement—that it is a free gift of "the indestructible properties of the soil," instead of what Ricardo plainly meant that it is a premium for monopolized natural advantages, he falls naturally into the other scholastic fallacy that the benefits resulting from monopoly are earnings of capital, instead of labor. The latter fallacy appears prominently in his essay when he uses a fishing net as illustrative of capital, suggesting that without the net a man may catch only ten fish, but with it, 100. "Obviously," he comments, "ten fish is still his wages, as before, and 90 fish is the gross profit of his net." But this assumes that his right to make nets is restricted. Consequently, the illustration is in the domain of monopoly, and not of capital. For if net-making were not restricted, some laborers would make nets while others used them, and wages would rise to some point between ten fish for each, the catching power without a net, and 100 fish for each, the catching power with a net if some of the fishery labor were not necessarily diverted from catching fish to making nets. Mr. Sawin falls into another scholastic hole when he distinguishes concrete capital from value-forms of capital. Value forms are only the commercial (as weights, measures, etc., are the physical) modes of measuring concrete capital. At this point Mr. Sawin exhibits the fallacy that has

entangled him, by saying that concrete capital—a ship, for instance, "is the same capital the day it loads its first cargo as it is the day it discharges its last cargo," whereas its value varies. But its value varies because the usefulness of the thing itself varies. A ship is not the same when it falls to the low value as when it had a high value. Utility is the soul of all concrete forms of capital, and the ship would never discharge its last cargo, for it would never have a last cargo, if its utility were always the same. But Mr. Sawin clears away the scholastic fog when, in referring to the trusts, he turns away from all the confusing artificialities of economic thought and plainly asserts that "the evils of monopoly arise from the private ownership of natural elements." In many other respects he deserts economic scholasticism with gratifying results.

PERIODICALS.

Under the standing caption of the Philosophy of Freedom the Nebraska Independent publishes two cogent articles on the single tax in its issue of Nov. 17. E. B. Swinney, New York, tells "How Mr. Smith Became a Single Taxer," and W. H. Booz, Milford, Del., writes of the fundamental character of the proposition to abolish all taxes on improvements and personal property. "It is an error," he writes, "to think of single taxers as people of but one idea, but they do believe it must be that before any other reform can be possibly beneficial to all; it is fundamental."

J. H. D.

The Christmas number of Leslie's Magazine is mainly a story number. The most notable feature is otherwise Mr. Ellery Sedgwick's brief but very striking article on the neglect of the American public in regard to accidents on common carriers. The fact seems to be that the public is not aware of the growing frequency of these accidents. It is only the most glaring fatalities that are very generally heard of and produce any great impression. No one can read Mr. Sedgwick's earnest appeal without feeling that something ought to be done.

J. H. D.

The Outlook, of December 3 is a handsome holiday book number, full of interesting literary notes and reviews, and profusely illustrated. Mr. Krehbiel, the well-known musical critic, writes on "Christmas Carols and Customs;" Elizabeth McCracken tells what children like to read, and there are other contributions on favorite books of childhood. Perhaps the most noteworthy contribution is the short paper on Mark Twain, by Richard Watson Gilder. Speaking of Mark Twain's world-wide fame, Mr. Gilder thinks it is partly due to his having traveled widely; but he rightly adds: "It is more particularly owing to the fact that though his writ-

ings savor so intensely of their native soil, their appeal is universal, both in relation to nationality and to individual culture."

J. H. D.

The Outlook of November 26, speaking of John Morley's address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, in which he dared to assert his belief that American prosperity is independent of a protective tariff, says: "Mr. Morley approached this statement in a very tactful and semi-humorous way, but was instantly assured of his ground by the spontaneity and heartiness of applause with which his frankness in declaring his position as a free trader was met." This, however, is not to be taken to mean too much. It may be due rather to the good humor of the diners than to their conviction. I have seen Henry George loudly applauded at a dinner where protectionists were in the majority.

J. H. D.

The November-December issue of St. Andrew's Cross (Pittsburg), the organ of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in the Episcopal church, is an illustrated double-number giving a full report of the convention recently held in Philadelphia. This organization, founded by Mr. James L. Houghteling, of Chicago, now numbers many thousands, and is one of the most active religious associations in the country. Its primary profession of service is to get men to go to church, but its activities are more extensive. If such a body, composed mainly of young men, could be induced to study the social causes which really lie at the bottom of the separation of the masses of men from the church, one cannot but speculate how much greater might be the service rendered.

J. H. D.

The Craftsman, published at Syracuse, N. Y., becomes more beautiful and more valuable with every issue. The December number includes a most fascinating portrait of William Keith, the California artist, with reproductions of two of his paintings. These can only be suggestive, lacking the color which seems to contain the whole vitality of Keith, but they give an impression of the poetic quality of his vision. In connection with an article by the editor, Gustav Stickley, "From Ugliness to Beauty," are entertaining illustrations, comparing rooms furnished showily and fussily, though according to generally accepted styles, with the same rooms furnished simply and harmoniously. In this number of The Craftsman are included red carbon reproductions of four Indian heads after the well-known painter of Indian types, Elbridge A. Burbank.

A. T. P.

In the Cosmopolitan for November appears a poem by Richard Le Gallienne, entitled "Omar Repentant." To one who thinks of him as a writer of light, graceful, flowing style and airy, old-time subjects, this will come as a surprise. For this poem is modern, powerful—even bitter in tone, and

is a plea to the young man for temperance, purity and moral courage. The picture of New York streets at night—"Broadway like a lane of fallen stars;" the night-watchman, and those beings who prowl at night and sleep by day; the "smart saloon" where the two men have stopped to talk and drink the night away—these make a vivid setting for the scene the older man paints of the pit whence the reckless young man is tending. Written in the meter of Fitzgerald's Omar, the poem is a revolt against the teachings of that much lauded philosopher.

What is the book I saw you with but now?—
"The book of verses underneath the bough!"

So that old poison pot still catches flies!
The Jug of wine, the loaf of bread, and
Thou!"

The Grape! the Vine—O what an evil wit
Have words to glid the blackness of the pit!

Said thus, how fair it sounds—the Vine!
the Grape!

O call it whisky and be done with it.

It is a long poem and deserves wide reading and thoughtful consideration. The illustrations by Charles Sarka are in perfect keeping with the poem, suggesting things bacchanalian and sardonic.

M. H. LEE.

H. M. Holmes, of Detroit, writes to the Nation of Nov. 17, a brief, well-written letter in reply to an Australian correspondent, who had classed Henry George among those who "purveyed the Socialist policy which New Zealand and the Australian states are carrying out." After asserting that George "could see no way out of our troubles with the railroad corporations other than to have government own and

NOTICE TO READERS.

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SOUTHERN TAX REFORM BUREAU

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