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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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It is encouraging to learn from the new secretary of war, Mr. Taft, through a speech he made before leaving the Philippines, that the American-Philippine policy is to be "The Philippines for the Filipinos." Better late than never. Yet thousands of lives might have been saved—to say nothing of American ideals—had this policy been adopted when the Filipinos had the Philippines and were governing them better than they have ever been governed before or since. But that might have prevented franchise grabbing by American capitalists, which was the vital force in our policy of Philippine subjugation.

The real danger of the Hearst movement is its possibilities with reference to a vice-presidential nomination for Mr. Hearst. Should his managers discover, as they are very likely to do in good time, that his nomination for first place is impossible, but that he may secure the nomination for second place by throwing his strength to some plutocratic candidate for the Presidency, there is very grave danger of their striking a bargain. But for this danger, the Hearst boom might be contemplated with considerable satisfaction. The scare it has given the piratical contingent of the Democratic party is not without value.

When Mr. Bryan predicted, upon his return from Europe, that the Democratic candidate for President will probably be a "dark horse," he made what is perhaps the surest possible prophecy. It is inconceivable that a man like Parker, who not only has no known opinions on public

questions, but is suspiciously popular with the great-grafters of Gotham, can be nominated. Gorman is objectionable for the same and other reasons. Bryan is, upon his own assurances, positively out of the list of candidates. Johnson's defeat last Fall makes him unavailable at present, according to the ordinary political tests. Shepard's defeat for Mayor of greater New York in 1901 and his failure to come to the front in 1903 are almost certain to rule him out. Olney's career is so entwined with Cleveland's blighting record that his name can hardly receive more than passing notice. And so it goes. A "dark horse" is almost inevitable. One possibility of this kind is Gen. Miles. Hearst can hardly be called a "dark horse" any longer, except upon the theory that every impossible candidate belongs in that category; and he is out of the question, for many reasons. Even his service in Congress is against him. A Congressman who is recorded as "not voting," on almost every roll call since he has been a member, would not make a very desirable Presidential candidate, even though there were no other objections to him. The only man whose name now looms up, not as a candidate but as a possibility, is Gov. L. F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island. He answers to every requirement of the "reorganizers" except that he is not a plutocrat; he answers to every requirement of the "regulars." No other man could so certainly unite all Democrats who want to get together to win for principle and not for pilage. If party harmony with honor is what is wanted, Garvin is the man. He is a party Democrat; he is fundamentally democratic; he has had many years' experience in public affairs, in both houses of a State legislature and as governor; he has twice in succession carried a Northern State during

the so-called "Bryan years"; and he has become famous as a fighter of political corruption and a clean and able public administrator.

Mr. James H. Eckels (financier by the grace of Grover Cleveland, and Chicago's leading Rockefeller-Morgan Democrat), has chanced upon a method of uniting Democrats for victory. It was at a meeting on the 3d of the Illinois Democratic committee, into which Mr. Eckels had come as a proxy to plead and vote for a fusion of the Democracy with Wall street. Mr. Eckels stated that he would rather have Roosevelt for President than Gen. Weaver or Senator Teller. He came as near adding Bryan's name to Weaver's and Teller's as he dared under the critical circumstances. His preference is suggestive. Just as Eckels would rather have Roosevelt than Weaver, Teller or Bryan, so would every democratic-Democrat rather have Roosevelt than any Wall street parasite labeled "Democrat." Consequently there would seem to be a possibility of uniting these two factions upon Roosevelt. And now that Elihu Root has assured Wall street that Roosevelt is the "safest man" since McKinley, doubtless Wall street also would come into the fusion and allow the Republicans to renominate Roosevelt. With this universal compromise we should have another "era of good feeling." But what is more to the purpose "our candidate" would certainly win the election. That is the principal consideration with all the corn-crib politicians. Indeed, Mr. Eckels suggested in his speech nothing for Democratic guidance except the corn-crib ideal of political success. "Do you want to win?" "How can you win?" "Who can carry New York?" These were the coaxing

words with which he held out his handful of plutocratic corn to the hungry politicians of Illinois.

Some idea of the nature of that mysterious influence which monopoly corporations seem to exert upon business interests that are not monopolistic, was inadvertently given at a public dinner in Newark, N. J., a few evenings ago, by Thomas N. McCarter. This gentleman has been attorney general of the State, an office which he resigned for the purpose of becoming president of the Public Service Corporation, a gigantic body corporate which controls imperial franchise grants,—a profitable species of graft on a Brobdingnagian scale. Said Mr. McCarter, in his speech at the dinner mentioned, as subsequently verified by himself:

If the Public Service Corporation goes down as a result of movements to which I referred a few moments ago, down go the underlying securities, down goes individual after individual. Show me the bank in Hudson county that can stand up under it. That is the serious aspect. The banks have got these securities as collateral, the individuals have got the securities as investments.

Thus is lucidly explained the mystery of this nation-wide collusion between business interests and monopoly interests—two things that are in their nature absolutely hostile.

Monopoly interests rest upon grants of public rights as private privileges. These privileges can be made to hold much "water." Business men, instead of contentedly pursuing their legitimate business callings, invest in this "water," and banks accept it as collateral for business loans otherwise legitimate. Consequently, great volumes of legitimate business come to rest upon monopoly privileges, and monopolists are able to frighten masses of business men and their employes by threatening disaster to all business as a result of attacks upon privilege. Thus do the lion of monopoly and the lamb of business lie down together, with the lamb inside.

Congressman Baker should have the cordial support of every honest citizen, whether in or out of Congress, and of every honest newspaper, in his efforts (pp. 274, 289, 498) to break up that form of bribery which consists in giving railroad passes to public officials. It is useless to say that this is no bribery. Railroad corporations are not likely to load down public officials with passes unless it pays, and it can pay in only one way—by making the favored officials friends of the favoring corporations. Congressman Baker refused the pass that was offered him. He went further, and brought the matter before the Democratic caucus of the House. Most of these members were, like their Republican associates, well supplied with railroad passes, and they served the railroad interests by pigeon-holing Mr. Baker's resolution. Mr. Baker now challenges the House itself to take up the matter.

He has done this by offering a resolution, calling upon the judiciary committee to make an inquiry into the question of the lawfulness of pass-bribery. Mr. Baker's resolution, introduced on the 26th, is as follows:

Whereas, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, through its division counsel, George E. Hamilton, on July 21, 1903, did send and tender to Robert Baker, a member of this House, representing the Sixth New York district, a card of travel good for 1903, the same being a free pass over all the lines of the said company east of Pittsburg; and whereas, the letter accompanying such card of travel declared that "heretofore, under the regulations of the company, annual passes have not been issued to members-elect until the Congress to which they were elected had convened," and that "this regulation has been modified, and from now on annuals will be sent to members residing in company's territory the first day of July following their election," thereby admitting that the sending and tendering of such passes had become an established practice of the company; and whereas, the tendering by and receiving of passes from common carriers appears to constitute a contravention of chapter 382, of the act of March 2, 1889, and of other United States statutes; therefore be it—

Resolved: That the judiciary com-

mittee of the House be and are hereby directed to forthwith investigate, and report at the earliest practicable moment, in what manner and to what extent this act of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, through its division counsel, constitutes an infraction of chapter 382, of the act of March 2, 1889, or any other statute of the United States. And that, if it shall find that such tendering of a pass is a violation of law, that the judiciary committee shall advise the House what action, if any, should be taken to instruct the attorney general to criminally prosecute the said Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company and the said George E. Hamilton, or any other officer or officers of said railroad company. And be it further—

Resolved: That in order to enable it to make the fullest investigation and report at an early date, the judiciary committee is hereby empowered to compel the attendance of persons, to send for papers, to take evidence under oath, and to sit as a full committee or by a subcommittee during the sessions of this House.

In the language of the street, it is now "up to" the judiciary committee of the House, some of whose members are doubtless well supplied with railroad passes, to put an end to this scandalous even if petty iniquity.

Senator Tillman is both right and brave in condemning Congressional appropriations for local fairs and shows. He is right in calling this a steal; for Congress does steal when it diverts public funds to private or local use. He is brave, because he does not allow his own vote for such a contribution to the metropolis of his own State to silence him. That is one of the good things about Tillman; no one can frighten him into approving wrong things, by pointing at him an accusing finger.

Following the completion of the tax assessment of New York city under the new system, which distinguishes land values from improvement values and is based upon full value (pp. 659, 676), the New York Tax Reform Association, 52 William street, has published a significant compilation relative to each borough, of the statistics revealed by this new

and enlightening assessment system. We tabulate the totals:

Valuation of real estate.....	\$1,798,344,789
Valuation of land.....	\$3,697,686,935
Valuation of improvements.....	\$1,100,657,854
Percentage of land valuation to valuation of real estate.....	77 per cent.
Area in acres.....	209,218
Population, census of 1900.....	3,437,202
Population per acre.....	16.4
Acreage value of land per acre..	\$17,673
Average value of improvements per acre	\$5,213
Average value of land per capita	\$1,075
Average value of improvements per capita	\$320

It is difficult to realize the magnitude of values when they run into billions, without some concrete example. To say, therefore, that the bare land of greater New York is worth \$3,697,686,935, makes no great impression. Let us translate it, then, into farm values. Almost anyone can recall some well improved farm of say 100 acres and worth about \$50 an acre. Suppose we translate into such farm values that \$3,697,686,935 of New York land values, and see how much of the earth's surface those farms would cover. This would give us 738,537 \$5,000 farms of 100 acres each. As the area of about 6½ of these farms would make a square mile, we should have a path of those farms one mile wide and 113,621 miles long. Thus the naked land values of New York city represent a path of \$5,000 farms of 100 acres each, one mile wide and extending more than four times around the globe. When it is considered that other cities, towns and villages yield similar results in kind, and that hardly a foot of the habitable globe is left which does not command its price for the privilege of mere occupancy, there is something queer about the familiar contention, especially common in universities, that land is a factor of but little importance in modern industrial life.

The value of this new mode of assessment, simply as an improvement in fiscal methods is well expressed by the New York Commercial Advertiser of January 12, which says editorially:

The assessment figures made public yesterday show no startling general increase in realty valuations, and, but for

the novelty of the new plan of stating separately the value of the land and the total value of the real estate, would have aroused little interest. Even the new feature seems already accepted as a matter of course. The quietude of this reception is in remarkable contrast to the storm of opposition which was evoked by the mere suggestion of doing exactly what has been done. All sorts of objections were raised to the plan of making separate valuations and publishing the details of the work of the assessors. And yet, like that other remarkable reform of the Low administration—the assessing of real estate at its full value—it was the only intelligent thing to do. Quietly as the reform has been ushered in, however, its importance will be increasingly appreciated as time goes on. It is obvious, for instance, that the deputy tax commissioners cannot very well discriminate in assessing land values, when they are obliged to state these values, regardless of the improvements. Mere slavish copying of previous assessment rolls will no longer be sufficient. Taxpayers can readily make comparisons between the assessments on their own and their neighbors' property. Furthermore, in the event of legal proceedings being instituted by a taxpayer, better evidence will be available for substantiating such claims, and conversely, for upholding the valuation if it be right. The reform is another notable legacy from Mayor Low's administration to the cause of good government. Nor should the New York Tax Reform Association, which for years had been recommending it to previous administrations, be forgotten in the general congratulations.

This system has been adopted also by Detroit; and the results there show that there is nothing peculiar to New York in the vast difference between land values and improvement values. In New York, as shown above, the land values are 77 per cent., while the improvement values are only 23 per cent., of the total real estate value. In Detroit the proportion of land values is 59 per cent. and of building values only 41 per cent. The Detroit figures for 1903 are as follows:

Land	\$112,677,700
Buildings	77,519,360
Total real estate.....	\$190,197,060

These figures from Detroit and New York should be extremely interesting to those farmers who have been buncoed into believing that the exemption from taxation

of all property but land values would burden them with more taxes and let off the cities with less. The very reverse is the fact.

THE IMPRESSMENT OF ENEMIES INTO THE SERVICE OF TRUTH.

The Truth is ingenious in its manner of working. In presenting a new phase of itself to mankind it begins by choosing a few earnest workers who are ready to see it. But it does not trust the whole propaganda with them. It presses its enemies into its service by methods which lead them on to work even more vigorously for its cause than do many of its followers. One of these ways is the supplying of its advocates with a new set of telling phrases; these soon become current and reach the ears of the conservatives; the shrewd ones among them who fear loss to themselves from the triumph of the new truth immediately recognize danger; they see that the people will be won over if they are not blinded to the real meaning of these truth-carrying mottoes; so, with an air of great candor, they adopt the phrases themselves, giving them a meaning of their own. They thus lead their forces directly up to the stronghold of their enemy; and the fair-minded of their followers, at this close view, recognize the firmness of the ground on which their opponents are established, and, one by one, drop over to the other side.

Among those phrases is "equal opportunities." The conservative means, by this, equal opportunity, to each, to strive to monopolize everything himself. Under our government every person may be said to have equal opportunity to try the fight for the gain of those special privileges which will land him at the top of the pile of his prostrate companions, fallen in the struggle. This is what the advocate of special privileges means by the adopted phrase; but the progressive man means by it that special privilege shall be banished from the economic system.

Every time the conservative utters these words, or any others with which Truth is revealing a greater depth of its own nature than men have known before, that conservative is loosening a stone in the old landmark. It is

an element of his peculiar myopia that he does not see what he is doing.

All of which principles Lowell has boiled down into two lines:

"You will have to get up early
If you want to take in God."

You can't get away from truth, whether you work for or against it. Now, as of old, "God maketh the wrath of man to praise Him."

JANE DEARBORN MILLS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, O., Jan. 30.—The supporters of Mayor Johnson are already realizing that his defeat in the Fall elections was not so deplorable as it seemed at first. If Johnson had carried the State, the hard times that have now set in would have been charged to that result.

Did not Senator Hanna warn the working classes of Ohio that if they elected Johnson, or a Johnson legislature, they would lose their jobs? Did he not predict that the "good times" would go, turtle like, back into its shell, if it were even threatened with Johnsonism, and that they must "stand pat" and "leave well enough alone," or see the charity soup houses opened again? What a complete verification of that dire prediction the present hard times would have afforded had Johnson won. Even if he had only cut down the ordinary Republican majority, which was all his friends hoped for, the cry of "We told you so!" would have gone up in great volume from Republican throats.

But Johnson was overwhelmingly defeated. In fear of Republican prophecies of the business disasters Johnson would bring on, a host of deluded Ohioans voted against Johnson. He lost by a majority so large that the Republicans hopefully boasted that it would end his career. The legislature returned was Republican by a majority so enormous that the opposition has no voice in it. Everything went Hanna's way, and the Republicans and pluto-Democrats were jubilant.

But, all the same, workingmen are now losing their jobs, and charity soup houses have again made their appearance in Ohio. In some trades unions the "out-of-work" statistics are already as bad as in 1893.

Whether the Republicans are responsible for this unhappy condition or not, they cannot throw the burden of blame upon Johnson, as they would have done had he made even the faintest appearance of success at the elections. Whether they are, responsible or not, they have insanely invited the charge of responsibility for it, and they are being held to account. There is no more effective way of silencing Republican "rooters" in Cleveland to-day than by

reminding them of Hanna's campaign speeches. Precisely what he predicted as the result of a Johnson victory has followed his own victory. The burcoed workmen of Ohio are finding it out, and the business classes are shamefacedly acknowledging it.

The politico-industrial situation would be much more prominent even than it is, as a subject of popular discussion in Cleveland, but for the acuteness of the street car controversy here. This controversy, which began with Mayor Johnson's first mayoralty campaign, in 1901, and has gone through a variety of phases (p. 666), now bids fair, owing to several causes — principally to the defeat in Cleveland, last Fall, of the legislative candidates who represented Mayor Johnson's views on the street car question—to culminate in a compromise.

Mayor Johnson set out to establish in Cleveland a 3-cent-fare street car system, with universal free transfers, together with the reservation of a right to establish municipal ownership as soon as enabling legislation could be secured. This was the issue upon which he was elected Mayor in 1901 and reelected in 1903; and he fought for it without faltering or even suggestion of compromise until last Fall's elections. But when the voters of Cleveland then indicated, by their defeat of the legislative candidates whose election was known to be necessary to success in the street car fight, that possibly they were no longer in favor of an uncompromising policy, Mayor Johnson (who is a thorough believer in the referendum principle) concluded that he could not properly treat any further offers of compromise with the same unyielding persistence with which he had treated previous offers. Consequently, when compromise propositions were renewed, he responded with an offer to secure an expression of public opinion on any reasonable proposition that might be made.

In that spirit he has been engaged in compromise negotiations for about two months. But no conclusion has been reached, nor has he nor will he promote the final acceptance of any compromise which shall not first have had the sanction of intelligent public approval.

The present negotiations were opened by Horace A. Andrews, the president of the consolidated street car systems. Mr. Andrews is one of the few large capitalists of this era of boodle and graft, who are confiding enough to believe that "business" can be done honestly, and have moral stamina enough to hold out against doing it otherwise. The latter wholesome characteristic is sufficiently unique to make Mr. Andrews, who is still a young man, a notable figure in the high-business life of Cleveland. His discouragements have been as pronounced as they were surprising, but he is still faithfully struggling.

Since becoming president of the Cleve-

land street car companies Mr. Andrews has frequently endeavored to effect a compromise with Mayor Johnson, who has heretofore refused to consider anything short of 3-cent fare, universal free transfers and ultimate municipal ownership. Meanwhile, the Mayor was working to establish a 3-cent fare company, while the old companies were obstructing him with injunctions and other court proceedings. In this contest Mayor Johnson soon discovered that the wide ramifications and affiliations of the Cleveland street car interests would necessitate control of the legislature in order to win the street car fight. Once he succeeded in securing the legislative delegation from his own county. But the legislature was still strong against him. Nevertheless he fought on confidently, believing that with the support of his own locality an uncompromising victory would be only a matter of time. In the Fall of 1903, however, he was defeated at home as well as over the State, and then he listened to Mr. Andrews's pacific overtures.

Mr. Andrews, on his part, had been driven to make these overtures by the disastrous failure of some of the companies' plans for circumventing Mayor Johnson, and the probability of even worse disaster in the future. Six tickets for a quarter and universal transfers (voluntarily granted to head off Johnson) had resulted in greatly lessening the price of rides without increasing their number, thus diminishing the aggregate income by hundreds of dollars a day. They will be abolished if the compromise falls through. Johnson had procured the extension of expiring franchises of the old company for the new 3-cent-fare company, and had procured the passage of an ordinance immediately reducing all fares to 3 cents. Against this assault there was no buffer but a dubious question of law. Moreover, the new road had partly laid its tracks, and only the Winter season and an injunction prevented completion of the work. Therefore Andrews proposed negotiations for compromise.

With the legislature so overwhelmingly Republican, it may seem strange that he should be willing to compromise at all, and much more so that he should be willing to compromise on better terms than ever. But this is explained by his personal character, already referred to. While the legislature is Republican, and of the Hanna brand, it would not be inclined to strengthen Mr. Hanna's "savings bank" without sharing in the savings; and this is a kind of business in which Mr. Andrews will not participate. If the transaction cannot be clean he will have nothing to do with it. "I cannot get legislative relief," said he, "without boodle; and I will not consent to the use of boodle." This attitude of Mr. Andrews is very well known; and it is an open secret that unless he succeeds in effecting an honorable compromise he will have to yield

the presidency of his company to some one who is less squeamish about the use of boodle in the street car business.

The negotiations between Andrews and Johnson have as yet come to nothing definite. But some general possibilities may be outlined.

It is understood that whatever compromise may be acceptable to Andrews, Johnson and the city council, shall be subjected to an actual and fair trial for two or three months, at the end of which time the city shall decide whether to adopt it or not. Such decision will have to be made, of course, by the city council, but Mayor Johnson will use his veto if necessary to prevent final adoption until the people manifest their satisfaction in some way—by postal card referendum, mass meetings, or other unmistakable means.

The city having finally adopted the plan, the street car companies are to have the same additional time—two or three months—to determine by actual trial whether they will finally adopt it. The reason for giving this extra time to the companies is almost obvious. While the people will know very quickly whether they like the plan, the companies have not only to decide whether they like it but also have to calculate on its possibilities of profit or loss.

Upon that basis, Andrews proposes a zone within the city, inside of which zone the cash fares shall be 3 cents. Johnson urges that the 3-cent zone should coincide with the city limits. To that the objection is made that the companies are under contract with outlying towns to concede the same rates they concede to Cleveland; and that consequently, if they voluntarily grant a 3-cent rate to the whole city of Cleveland, they will have to grant a 3-cent rate to all the outlying towns, where distances are great and population sparse. Conceding the validity of this objection, Johnson concedes the reasonableness of the demand for a zone, but insists that its margin shall be only slightly within the city limits. Andrews, on the other hand, insists on a wide space between the 3-cent zone and the city limits. This is the vital point of contention at present. Johnson positively refuses to recommend any compromise whatever which does not contemplate a zone nearly coextensive with the city limits; while Andrews is as yet unable to bring his board of directors to the point of accepting a zone so large.

Although fares are to be 3 cents in the zone; riders who go farther are to pay 5 cents. They are also to pay 2 cents for transfers, excepting transfers to railroad stations. The effect would be that all rides within the zone—about 85 per cent. of the traffic—would pay only 3 cents. This would include riders who take transfers to railroad stations. But riders within the zone who take other than railroad station transfers would pay 2 cents extra, while those from without the zone would

pay 5 cents without a transfer and 2 cents extra (7 cents in all) with a transfer. To this 7-cent proposition Mayor Johnson objects. But not strenuously, because only about 3 per cent. of the riders would be affected by it. A rider who should ride through the zone to a place outside of it, would pay 5 cents, as now; but if it were necessary for him to change cars in this journey, as it sometimes would be, the transfer would cost him 2 cents extra. To avoid this, Mayor Johnson proposes a round-trip 10-cent ticket in such cases. This proposition, however, has not been accepted.

Johnson requires a stipulation for municipal ownership at the end of the proposed grant—20 years—and to his proposal in that respect the companies agree. The companies are in that case to be paid for their plant its cost value, less depreciation and plus 20 per cent. The 20 per cent. premium is inserted for the purpose of encouraging the companies to keep their plant in good condition to the end of the term. But nothing is to be paid for franchise value. No specific provision is made for municipal ownership prior to the end of the 20-year term. Mayor Johnson very wisely leaves that matter absolutely free from contract, so that it may be made subject to the police power of the legislature. It is his view that if a legislature can at any time be elected which will pass a municipal ownership enabling act in good faith it will also provide for the condemnation of franchises upon the principle of eminent domain. Consequently municipal ownership can be established whenever the people want it, and at a cost for damages which is limited fairly by the provisions of the proposed compromise, under which the franchise value will diminish as the 20-year period shortens.

As to the new 3-cent fare road, its promoters are under obligations to make no sale to the old companies without the city's permission. If a compromise is effected, that permission will be given. But any sale during the trial period mentioned above must be only tentative, to be abrogated if the compromise is not finally adopted. Otherwise the new road is to be free to sell or not; but transfers must be mutually accepted by all the roads.

Such is the general outline of the negotiations as far as they have extended; the principal point of difference, as noted above, being the extent of the 3-cent zone. Should the disagreement on that point be overcome, Mayor Johnson will doubtless recommend to the city council a two or three months' trial with a view to securing a popular verdict by the expiration of that time.

To this policy there is very strong opposition from two general sources—financial and political. And each of these two types of opposition may be divided into two or three different species.

The financial adversaries of the enter-

prise consist in part of street car riders who get petty advantages out of the free transfer system now in operation, by defrauding the companies, and in part of the owners of outlying land which will not be so valuable if a 3-cent zone is established within the city. Its political adversaries consist in part of Hanna politicians who "have it in for" Johnson on all occasions and at all costs, and in part of many of Johnson's own friends who "have it in for" the street car companies on all occasions and at all costs, and who, while they love Johnson some hate the street car companies more.

The most plausible argument they all advance is that Johnson would by any compromise recede from his original position. This he concedes. But he explains that he has always treated the question as one for the people of Cleveland, and not for himself to decide. The real question at this time, he contends, is not whether he is receding from a former position, but whether the people want the fight to go on uncompromisingly. In this fight they have been met with injunctions, with the "ripping" of their city government, with all manner of arbitrary obstacles that could not have been foreseen. A friendly legislature was absolutely necessary, and with full knowledge of that fact the people of Cleveland voted for an unfriendly one. What did that mean? Did it mean that a compromise is desired by the people? There is only one way of finding out, and that is by giving the people the best opportunity legally possible of passing upon a reasonably fair compromise. Therefore, although Mayor Johnson does not personally approve a compromise such as he is negotiating, he does approve of submitting it to the people of Cleveland by means of an actual trial for a limited time.

While opposition is vociferous, the probability is that it is by no means general. The opposition is of a kind that naturally expresses itself upon the least provocation; whereas the favorable sentiment is of the silent kind. Hence, to the observer who watches "letters to the editor" in newspapers and listens to the bustling "man in the street," it would seem that all Cleveland is opposed to Johnson in his effort to give the people what they want regardless of what he wants. But observers who have noted the ineffectiveness of the "letters to the editor," etc., type of public opinion, and who understand the essential character of the compromise Johnson is endeavoring to negotiate, are confident of the satisfactoriness of the outcome.

Should the compromise negotiations fall through, Johnson will go on with the fight. He will push the 3-cent road enterprise and the ordinances reducing all fares to three cents. On the other side, Andrews will doubtless be obliged

to make way for a boodle president, the tickets and transfers now in vogue will be abolished, and not only the courts but the legislature will be called upon to help the existing monopoly.

One of the mirror ill-results of Hannaistic legislation for Cleveland is the abolition of the power of paroling workhouse prisoners, which had vested in the mayor under the former municipal charter, and was supposed to have been reposed in the board of public safety under the new charter, but is now discovered to have been totally abrogated by that wonderful civic product of the combined business sagacity of Senator Hanna and Boss Cox.

Since Mayor Johnson came into office, Harris R. Cooley has had charge of the workhouse and through his wise and beneficent use of the parole has made of that institution an elevating reformatory instead of a degrading jail. His success has attracted favorable attention among the students of perology everywhere. Although his pardons and paroles were numerous, but few who received them were again convicted of crime—fewer than under the previous restricted system.

It was also Mr. Cooley's practice to parole prisoners who were held for fines alone. He maintained that this was imprisonment for debt, and that as it held in prison the man who could not pay his fine, while releasing the one who could pay, it was in reality punishment not for crime, but for poverty. Mr. Cooley's policy was especially effective with men imprisoned for not supporting their families. By means of the parole he secured this support in many cases apparently hopeless.

But now the Hanna-Cox code has taken away the power of parole, and the workhouse is overcrowded with prisoners who cannot pay fines and with thriftless heads of families whose effective desire to support wife and children is certainly not increased by imprisonment.

L. F. P.

Toronto, Ont., Jan. 31.—A pronounced advance in the popularization of single tax principles has been made by the Single Tax Association here, under the active management of Walter H. Roebuck. A series of successful popular meetings in the opera house, has followed in the Winter an equally successful street campaign during the Summer. Among the prominent opera house speakers have been Dan Beard, of New York; John Z. White, of Chicago, and Harris R. Cooley, of Cleveland. A growing roll of over 300 active paying members has been secured by the association; and some excellent civic agitation has been promoted through its efforts.

One important sign of the effectiveness of its work is the considerate reception given by the city council to an ordinance introduced by Dr. Noble for the

exemption from taxation of \$700 of the value of dwellings. This has brought the whole principle of the single tax into discussion.

Toronto furnishes many fine object lessons in unfair taxation. Most of these may be duplicated anywhere, but it is unique in its treatment of church property. Such property in the United States is exempt if used for purposes of public worship; in Toronto it escapes taxation, no matter to what use it is put. In consequence, some denominations, owning immense values in real estate used for residence and business purposes, and in vacant lots held only for the increase in value, are wholly free from taxation. While these instances make fine object lessons for agitating purposes, they indicate something of more importance. When the day for legislation in favor of the single tax arrives, it will be safe to count upon the opposition, bitter, relentless and powerful, of these extraordinarily favored land monopolists.

L. F. P.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 31.—That my exposure on the floor of the House of the rotteness of politics in Cincinnati has struck home, is clearly evident from the elaborate preparations by the two members from that city to reply to my accusation that that corruption is mainly due to the fact that for years the so-called Democratic party in Cincinnati has been a mere adjunct of Cox's Republican machine. It is also indicated by what took place in the House on December 28. The Cincinnati Post of the day before had a telegraphic dispatch from its correspondent here, stating that it was my intention to insert in the Congressional Record a statement drawn up by the Democratic candidate for prosecuting attorney last Fall, showing how the so-called "non-partisan" board of elections there had protected false registration while hounding whoever dared to expose or present evidence of repeaters who had registered. Late in the afternoon of the 28th, the Democratic leader yielded me time to make a few remarks on this subject, at the conclusion of which I was to make the usual request for unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record. This was to enable me to cover not only Mr. Oppenheimer's statement of illegal registration, but also part of an article from Frank Leslie's Monthly on George B. Cox, and two speeches in denunciation of Cox's methods delivered four and six years ago by one of the Cincinnati members (Judge Goebel) who, when replying to my speech on this subject, said that "the character of George B. Cox needed no defense by him." Upon concluding my brief remarks (delivered 26 hours after the time when the Post was being sold on the streets of Cincinnati, announcing that I was to insert these matters in the Record), I made the usual formal re-

quest for permission to extend my remarks in the Record so as to include the statement, speeches, etc. Was permission granted? Oh no! For the first time since Congress convened on November 9, objection to such a request was made. It was made by a member from Pennsylvania, not from Ohio, and was persisted in. I therefore at once gave notice that "hereafter there will be no more unanimous consents to extend remarks in the Record," and am awaiting the outcome with entire serenity. It would be interesting to know who inspired Mr. Palmer, of Pennsylvania, to object.

One subject has engrossed the thought of practically the entire membership all through the week. "Are we going to get extra mileage?" No matter what the subject publicly debated, the ever recurring question as men conversed on the floor was, what is the prospect of the extra mileage clause staying in the urgency deficiency bill as reported by the appropriations committee. Judging from the number of those who privately expressed their intention of voting for this "grab"—for that is the only word that adequately characterizes the provision in the appropriation bill to pay members a second mileage on the plea that this is the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress—it appeared sure of adoption by at least two to one. Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, had been the only member of the committee to vote against reporting the clause to the House; and in the general debate he was the only member who discussed the subject, citing the action of previous Congresses against allowing such second mileage.

When the matter was reached late on the 29th, three-fourths of the members were in their seats. The discussion was renewed on the 30th, and at least 250 members were present—a most unusual number for a Saturday sitting. The one plea most frequently advanced was that the mileage was a part of the "compensation" of the members. In common with others I combatted this, contending that it was obviously intended to equalize the cost of reaching Washington, and that compensation must be the same for all members.

When the ayes and nays were called for, on Mr. Underwood's motion to strike the appropriation from the bill, almost as many stood up to oppose as to favor his amendment. Tellers being called for, probably one-half of those present immediately arose and formed in line to pass between the tellers. As soon as it was apparent that the amendment would carry, everybody hastened to get into the "band wagon;" and the "aye" line became two long and converging streams from both sides and consisted of nearly all who were in the House at the time. Not more than 20 remained in their seats. Even these

did not have the courage of their "convictions"—or shall I say determination to get the mileage if possible? The faces of those who refused to vote to strike out the clause were a study, disappointment and chagrin being clearly portrayed. To the Pacific Coast members it meant a "loss" of \$1,200. This chagrin was not, however, confined to them, but was apparent among those who had announced their determination to vote for the mileage, but who did not propose to go on record as favoring it if they were not going to receive it. They are not inaptly described in to-day's *Washington Post*, which says:

House in Stampede! But it was a stampede not of those who had suddenly become virtuous, but rather of men who did not propose to be found out so long as they could not "get the goods."

Everybody's attention having been concentrated on the mileage question for the entire week, it is perhaps not surprising that I was unprepared to discuss the "Rosebud Indian reservation bill" in the manner and to the extent that its importance warranted. This bill proposes to follow the established (and therefore "venerated") practice of selling reservation land outright when acquired from the Indians. As this is the policy (as I said in my speech) which has produced such disastrous results, has transplanted to America and built up here the landlord system of England and continental Europe, and is the primary cause of the fearful inequalities in wealth-possession which prevail in the United States no less than in other civilized countries, I was in duty bound to oppose the principle of the bill even though quite unprepared at the moment to do so in an effective manner. I was thus forced to make my first speech along single tax lines under the most unpropitious circumstances and without preparation.

Fortunately for the cause I represented, the member having charge of the bill—Mr. Burke, of South Dakota—was so confident that no one would support me in my contention that the land should be leased and not sold, that he attempted to drive the bill through at once and would not permit me to offer an amendment providing for leases with reappraisements at the end of five-year periods. As he persistently refused me an opportunity to offer my amendment, I demanded a division, and on its result being announced as 110 to 1, I raised the point of "no quorum."

Instantly Mr. Burke begged that I withdraw my point. He even offered then to ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to prepare my amendment. "All right!" I said; "all I want is the opportunity to record my protest against your plan, and to give members an opportunity of going on record for or against the leasing system."

Objection to his request that I have

unanimous consent to offer my amendment being made by a Democrat, I renewed my point of "no quorum," and the House was declared adjourned.

No objection to my request for unanimous consent to extend my single tax speech in the *Record* was raised. This could not have been due to ignorance of the notice I gave in the House on the 28th, for that notice appeared in the *Record* and was the subject of much private discussion.

ROBT. BAKER.

Topeka, Kan., Feb. 1.—In no other State would such a revolution be possible as the one just consummated in Kansas by the withdrawal of Governor Bailey as a candidate for re-election.

It has been the custom in Kansas to give two terms to all State and county officers; and Bailey was serving his first term, as were all the other State officers. Yet, in a campaign of only 22 days, led by a Quaker farmer and a railroad contractor, with practically all the politicians and corporations against them, the rank and file of the Republican party have smashed the strong State machine and rendered the re-election of any of the present State officers impossible.

For two years, corruption and incompetency have thrown off the mask and planted their shame openly as they asked: "What are you going to do about it?" The utter demoralization of Republican State politics began several years ago in the effort of the railways and other corporations to oust the fusionists from power and to elect J. R. Burton to the United States Senate. This culminated in the infamous election law, which denied a place on the official ballot to the strongest in numbers of the political parties of the State, and in a trick ballot and dishonest counting of votes, made possible by the absurd technicalities of that law, whereby 50,000 Democratic ballots were thrown out. Burton was elected Senator, though he could not have carried one of the 106 counties by the popular vote of even his own party. How the Rock Island and Missouri Pacific railways did all this is but too well known in Kansas.

Next came the election of another Senator—one to succeed the exceptionally able and clean Democrat, W. A. Harris. This new Senator had been allotted to the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railways. But there were several stronger and more popular candidates for the place than the Congressman they had selected; so it became necessary to secure the votes of members of the legislature elected in the interest of and pledged to other candidates. Enough such were secured, but by methods peculiar to large corporations and only through the active assistance of the State administration and a legislative session of unparalleled corruption and extravagance. It was safer as well as cheaper to make the taxpayers of the State foot part of the bribery bills; so

hundreds of useless offices were created and the wives and children, the uncles, cousins and nephews of members placed on the pay roll during the session at three dollars per day, along with "straw" men who have never been located outside the pay roll. Incompetence was as rife as corruption. Nearly one-half the laws passed have proven to be defective and others conflicting. State taxation was fully double what it had been under the fusion regime, while all public institutions were in a demoralized state. The two large insane asylums furnished scenes of horror and infamy, by reason of the incompetence and corruption of administrators and employes.

What a lesson is all this respecting our method of electing United States Senators and of the corrupting nature of corporation politics. Many predict that it will result in a Democratic victory at the polls next November. At any rate it shows that there is a limit to what even Kansas Republicans will stand. * * * *

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Feb. 4.

The British parliament, prorogued in August, reassembled on the 2d. The ceremonies were impressively monarchical. King Edward, attended by the Queen, read his speech from the throne in the House of Lords, where the Lords and Commons had assembled. His speech dealt with various subjects, foreign and domestic, but not at all pointedly with the tariff issue which Mr. Chamberlain has raised (p. 665), and over which factional divisions in the Commons are certain to occur as the session advances.

Seven factions may now be distinguished: (1) The followers of Balfour, the premier, who favor a policy of tariff retaliation, but who object to the protection principle; (2) the Chamberlain faction, which insists that protection is necessary to the unity of the Empire; (3) out-and-out free traders who have been with Chamberlain heretofore, but are opposed to any tinkering with the tariff system; (4) the home rule Liberals under the Campbell-Bannerman leadership, who for the most part propose meeting Chamberlain's protection policy with a demand for land value taxation; (5) the imperial Liberals, under Rosebery's leadership; (6) the Labor party mem-

bers; and (7) the Irish party members. Campbell-Bannerman intimated the purpose of his party by announcing in the Commons on the 2d his desire to question the ministry regarding their attitude on the policy of protection. In concluding he stated that John Morley would in a few days offer an amendment to the address of the Commons in reply to the King's speech, which would bring the tariff question to an issue. The text of the amendment thus referred to is cabled in advance as follows:

It is our duty to present to your majesty that our effective deliberation on financial services is impaired by conflicting declarations from your majesty's ministers. We respectfully submit the judgment of this House that the removal of protective duties has for more than half a century actively conducted to the vast extension of the trade and commerce of the realm and the welfare of the population, and this House believes that, while the needs for social improvement are still manifold and urgent, any return to protective duties, and more particularly when imposed upon the food of the people, would be deeply injurious to the national strength, contentment and well being.

At the meeting on the 3d of the executive council of the Liberal-Unionist party, called to consider the advisability of dissolving (p. 646), Mr. Chamberlain presided and made a speech urging the importance of maintaining the organization so long as the Irish party continues to demand home rule. Only two members voted against the resolution declaring for the maintenance of the party: Another resolution instructed the council to assist Liberal-Unionist candidates without regard to their opinions on the tariff question, the only condition being their readiness to support Bal-four as premier.

One of the references in King Edward's speech from the throne upon the reassembling of parliament, was to a British expedition into the mysterious Chinese region of Tibet, to the north of India. The King described this as a—

political mission which, with the concurrence of the Chinese government, has entered Tibetan territory in order to secure due observance of conventions. He added that a Chinese official had been despatched from Peking

to meet the British mission in Tibet, and expressed the hope that an arrangement may be made which will peacefully remove the sources of constant friction.

The expedition thus alluded to is under the command of Col. Younghusband, who was reported on the 24th to have had a friendly interview with a Tibetan general from Lhasa, the Tibetan capital. Accompanied by several lamas (Buddhist monks) he had come out to offer Col. Younghusband favorable terms to retire. Upon the refusal of his terms he warned Younghusband that the British advance would be opposed. Three days later, on the 28th, it was reported from Chumbi, British India, that Col. Younghusband had received a personal visit from the Depon Lama, one of the five great lamas of Tibet (who delivered an ultimatum warning him to return to Gnatong and promising that there would be serious trouble if he did not do so), and that large reinforcements of infantry and cavalry had already reached the Tibetan camp, and more were coming from Lhasa and Shigatso, the western capital. It was expected that an attack would be made on the British camp at Tuna when the Tibetans were sufficiently reinforced. In the meantime the British were pushing the work of road making through a gorge north of Lingmathang, which is said to be more difficult to traverse and higher than the Kyber pass. The military telegraph was keeping pace with the roadmakers.

Concern has been felt in Germany regarding an expedition against hostile natives in German Southwest Africa; the expedition, which is 3,000 strong and under the command of Col. Theodore Leutwein, governor general of German Southwest Africa, not having been heard of for two weeks. German Southwest Africa extends along the Atlantic coast of South Africa for about 930 miles north from the Orange river (exclusive of Walfisch Bay, which is British), to the Cunene river. It runs inland as far as Bechuana and Rhodesia and comprises about 322,450 square miles. Most of the inhabitants, numbering some 200,000, are Hottentots, Bushmen, Bantus and Damoras. The Euro-

pean inhabitants number 4,674, of whom 2,595 are German. The German military force consists of 825 Europeans, and an unreported supplementary force of natives. The seat of German administration is Great Windhoek, about 180 miles inland from Walfisch Bay. Advices of the 25th were to the effect that Col. Leutwein's force had made several unsuccessful attempts to relieve the settlement station of Okahandja and with considerable loss of life. According to dispatches of the 1st not only had he not been heard of since those losses, but the settlement station of Windhoek was then beleaguered. But a dispatch of the 3d from Berlin repeats the following cablegram received that day from the commander of the German gunboat Habicht:

The garrisons at Windhoek and Okahandja have been relieved by Franke's company with two guns. The relief of Okahandja occurred January 27, Emperor William's birthday, and was without losses. On January 28 there occurred a terrific battle between the gallant little German force and the enemy, who numbered thousands. The engagement lasted for six hours, and ended with the storming of the main camp of the enemy, situated on Kaiser Wilhelm mountain. Four Germans were wounded. After this defeat the enemy withdrew to the Otjisangati hills, but we succeeded in getting away all the stolen cattle. The enemy devastated all the farms and the railroad stations in the Windhoek and Okahandja districts, a portion of Karibib, and the barracks of the mountain battery at Johann Albrecht's heights. The losses so far are known to be 44 settlers, including women and children, killed, and in most cases the bodies were mutilated. The military losses amount to 26, and there have been 50 other fatalities. It is probable that Gobaldis has been besieged since January 16. The march on Omaruru will begin to-morrow. Col. Leutwein, governor of German Southwest Africa, is expected here by steamer on February 5. Lieut. Winkler has arrived here with aid.

NEWS NOTES.

—Miss Nannie Bryan, sister of William J. Bryan, died at Lincoln, Neb., on the 30th.

—The coroner's official list of deaths in the Iroquois theater disaster at Chicago (p. 674) reports the number as 570.

—The resignation of John D. Rockefeller from the board of directors of the steel trust was announced at New York on the 1st.

—Bourke Cochran was nominated on

the 1st as the Democratic candidate for Congress, to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Congressman McClellan to be Mayor of New York.

—William C. Whitney, secretary of the navy under President Cleveland, and a noted millionaire politician, died at New York on the 2d. He died under the influence of ether while undergoing an operation for appendicitis.

—Mrs. Florence E. Maybrick, under sentence of imprisonment for life in England, upon conviction of having murdered her husband, was pardoned by King Edward on the 3d, after she had been in prison nearly 15 years.

—William H. Taft took the oath of office as secretary of war (p. 648) on the 1st. The retiring secretary, Elihu Root, was conducted from his house to the railroad station by a troop of cavalry, the new secretary of war, and the chief of staff and assistants.

—The Chicago petition for a referendum vote, under the public policy law, on the subjects of municipal ownership and the board of education (p. 486), was completed on the 1st. The number of signatures required is 100,000. About 125,000 have been secured.

—Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, of Boston, secretary of the National Peace society, lectured before the Twentieth Century Club of Chicago on the 3d. He is to lecture at the Womans' Club rooms in the Fine Arts building, Chicago, on the 6th, at eight p. m., when his subject will be "International Arbitration."

—Ex-Mayor Ames, of Minneapolis, convicted of corruptly receiving money while Mayor, for protecting crime (p. 102), has been released from the penitentiary by a decision of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, which holds that his conviction was technically invalid. The error consisted in charging in the indictment that a specified bribe was given him by several persons jointly, whereas the proof showed that it was given by them in different sums individually.

—The Federal High Court of Venezuela, sitting at Caracas on the 28th, made its decision in the American asphalt case (vol. iv., p. 171). The decision was given unanimously. It holds that the claim of Messrs. Warner and Quinlan, of Syracuse, N. Y., to possession of the Felicidad asphalt mine, a portion of the asphalt lake in the State of Bermudez, claimed also by the New York & Bermudez Asphalt company, who hold a concession to work the lake, is null and void.

—After a heated discussion on the 2d at Newcastle, Del.; the Newcastle Presbytery of the Presbyterian church found the Rev. R. A. Elwood guilty of preaching a sermon inciting the lynching of a Negro (p. 411), and condemned him to be cautioned to be more judicious in his utterances in the future. Mr. Elwood is reported to have given an in-

terview in which he summed up the result of his trial as follows: "Finding of Presbytery, guilty; punishment, none; benediction, go thy way in peace."

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE NEWS OF THE DAY.

Life (Ind.), Jan. 28.—Somehow, the times seem dull. Discussion of things that don't happen is all very well in Mr. Henry James's novels, but newspaper readers get tired of it. If Russia and Japan would only go behind the barn and settle something! And it isn't Russia and Japan alone. All the news is concerned with backing and filling and the discussion of preliminaries, and what is in the papers one day is denied the day following. There will and there won't be a war in the east; Mr. Hanna will be a candidate, and again he won't; the Democrats must come back to Cleveland, and again they can't; Mr. Bryan is going to support Hearst; but, no! it is inconceivable that he should. The Panama complication is all right; the Panama complication is all wrong; the Panama complication is going to be arranged so that Colombia will be measurably satisfied. Mr. Chamberlain is going to bring over Great Britain to a policy of protection; Great Britain won't have protection on any terms. It is a time of talk, and back talk; a time to let the talkers have the floor and spend their strength; a time to go to Florida and sit in the sun and let the world wag on. All the big questions will be settled presently, but Heaven knows how.

HEARST'S CANDIDACY.

The (San Francisco) Star (Dem.), Jan. 30.—Hearst has "money to burn," and he never hesitates to "burn it, if it will subserve his purpose. He has already bought many so-called "labor" men and "labor" or "independent" papers, and is reaching out for all the rest that are for sale—particularly on the Pacific Coast. This we know, and proclaim it as a positive fact. . . . Hearst has no support in the Democratic party except such as he buys with money or newspaper advertising. He is thoroughly obnoxious to both the "re-organizers" and the democratic Democrats. The former distrust and despise him because he and his papers are always ready to join in any mob cry against capital and capitalists, especially if it be entirely unjust. The latter distrust him and abominate his papers, for the reason that they have always been ready to advance the cause of imperialism. The conquest of the Philippines and the larceny of Panama have had no more strenuous defenders than Hearst's papers, and Mr. Bryan and his doctrines have been abused and vilified by the organs whenever it seemed that Mr. Bryan was losing his influence. California Democrats will also remember, and will find the means to cause Democrats in other States to remember, the treachery of the Examiner in the State campaigns of 1898 and 1902, and in the city campaigns of 1901 and 1903. A so-called Democrat who has assisted in keeping alive a bogus Union Labor party, wholly controlled by a cast-off Republican boss, is hardly the material of which to make a Democratic candidate for the presidency. Hearst has millions, but that is all. He can hire men to write and speak for him, but he can neither write nor speak for himself. He is a nonentity, or, rather, would be but for his inherited wealth. . . . Mr. Hearst may buy newspapers for which he has not the ability to write, but we do not believe that he can buy his way to the presidential chair; and he can get there in no other way.

MUNICIPAL HOME RULE.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Jan. 29 (weekly ed.).—This evil of State

interference in municipal rule is common with most of the American commonwealths; and agitation is spreading out through them all for the relegation of the State authority to its own proper and particular sphere of action. The Citizens' Union of New York city, for example, now has before it a report from its committee on laws and legislation favoring a constitutional amendment which shall empower municipalities to control through public ownership and operation or otherwise such public service enterprise as street railways, gas and electric light plants and so on, and which shall make the cities independent of State interference in purely local affairs. Home rule in the fullest measure is the demand in New York, and it is the need everywhere else. We shall never obtain good or the best city government until the State ceases to compel the city to lean upon the State government and shall place the whole power and responsibility squarely upon the local electorate. By so doing we shall not only make possible a great improvement in municipal government, but we shall end this business of electing legislatures of indifferent quality every year to dawdle along for six months piling up in the blue books a mass of petty interferences, restrictions and allowances regarding what the people of the various municipalities shall do in matters that concern them and not the State at large.

BRYAN AND THE POLITICIANS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 30.—There are the common people, where Bryan goes it seems a pretty plain proposition at this writing they will follow. And that's what makes some folks scratch their heads. The politicians never did like Bryan. They didn't like him in 1896. They didn't like him a whit better in 1900. And if they could tie a stone about his neck in 1904 and cast him into the deep sea, that is what they would do as a preliminary to the great things they have in contemplation. Mr. Bryan makes the politicians tired by talking of the "Moral Issue." They don't know anything about the moral issue. It is the campaign fund issue which appeals to their imagination. They would like to follow a leader who can make the trusts and the combines cough up a few millions for distribution where it will do the most good. And as Mr. Bryan is not such a leader the honest Ohio legislator is naturally anxious to repudiate Mr. Bryan and all for which Mr. Bryan stands.

AIR (ALIAS LAND) FAMINE.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Feb. 2.—Figures from the reports of the city health departments in New York and Chicago amply sustain the contention made by the officials of this city that pneumonia is more deadly than consumption. The weekly health bulletin records this statistical confirmation of its position and also expresses gratification over the increasing attention that is being given to the dangers of pneumonia by the medical associations and medical journals. . . . Of special interest to the layman is the statement in the bulletin that "air famine is the most potent cause of pneumonia, as it is of consumption." Pneumonia is a disease of modern architecture, says the report, resulting from the custom of using every available square inch within the walls of buildings for little cubby holes in which human beings are to work and live and sleep. Attention is called to the statement of Edmund Parker, the famous authority upon hygiene, that 3,000 cubic feet of air per hour is necessary for healthy life indoors. As modern architects have gone farther and farther from this standard, pneumonia and consumption mortality has steadily increased.

TRUE PROGRESS.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Jan. 31.—When we shall have impressed upon

the crowd gone mad in the race for wealth that violation of moral law will mean censure and rebuke before the bar of public morality, as well as soul damnation at the bar of the highest court, we shall have made for highest morality. Better be without colleges and churches if to have these we must give gratitude to the social highwayman. Education at the expense of morals is a blight to right progress. There is no right progress, there can be no right progress, except along the way of righteousness.

IN CONGRESS.

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

Washington, Jan. 25-30, 1904.

Senate.

With the exception of the speech of Senator Morgan (p. 1179) on the Nicaragua canal, nothing of general interest was done on the 25th. Senator Stone (p. 1251), and Stewart (p. 1255), spoke on the Panama question on the 26th. On the 27th further discussion of the Panama question took place (pp. 1347-48-51); and a bill providing for the naturalization of "persons not citizens who owe allegiance to the United States" (p. 125-61) was passed. Further discussion of the Panama question occurred on the 28th (pp. 1400-01), and also on the 29th (pp. 1451, 1456). Adjournment was taken on the 29th to the 1st of February.

House.

Consideration of the army appropriation bill was resumed on the 25th (p. 1204) when the bill was passed (p. 1225). The urgent deficiency bill was taken up for consideration on the 26th (p. 1282). Its consideration was continued on the 27th (p. 1367), the 28th (p. 1415), the 29th (p. 1458), and the 30th (p. 1497). On the latter day the bill was passed (p. 1511). It was in connection with this bill that a clause recommended therein by the committee (against a minority report from Mr. Underwood), allowing double mileage on account of the extra and the regular sessions, was debated (p. 1504). When the viva voce vote was taken on a motion to strike out that clause (p. 1509), the chair announced that "the noes appeared to have it," but a division being demanded and tellers appointed, 167 voted "aye" and no one voted "no." So the clause was struck out amid "great applause," as the official report states, "on the Democratic side."

Record Notes.—Speech of Robert Baker against army appropriations (p. 1153). Speech of Senator Morgan, with documents, on Nicaragua canal (p. 1179). Speech of Senator Patterson (p. 1229), and Senator Stewart (p. 1311) on the Panama question. Speeches of John S. Williams on the political situation (pp. 1312 and 1335). Speech of Senator Bacon on the Panama question (p. 1440). Speech of Robert Baker on Cincinnati machine politics (p. 1429) and on the mileage question (p. 1507).

MISCELLANY

A LOVELESS FAITH.

For The Public.

He died in the faith, indeed,
But the worth of a man to his creed
Is to practice as he conceives,
And to live the faith he believes.

If Faith is a garment put off
We may welcome the infidel's scoff;
Not a sword to sheathe or unsheathe,
Is Faith, but an air that we breathe.

And if Faith be loveless, 'tis shorn
Of its worth on the day it was born,

And the world were better without,—
In its breast but a Sunless Doubt.

For Doubt may help while it sorrows,
And into the dark of its morrows,
And in its black night of Despair
Place Love as a Star even there;
JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

GIFTS TO THE PRESIDENT.

From Menelik, the compliments of the season, with a brace of Ethiopian lions.
From Minister Reyes, a treatise on international law.

From Senator Platt and Gov. Odell, jointly, a copy of "The Gentle Art of Making Enemies."

Making a group of Wall street magnates, a handsome pair of blinders.

From the offended chivalry of the South, a collection of burnt corks.

From Senator Hanna, a copy of the song, "Darling, I Love You in the Sime Old Wye."

From the republic of Panama, a new arrangement of the popular chorus, "He Certainly Was Good to Me."—New York Evening Post.

60,463 EVICTIONS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1903.

The annual report of the judges of the municipal civil courts of the borough of Manhattan shows that during the year 1903, 60,463 heads of families were unable to pay rent or thought it cheaper to move than produce to the landlord. The total of 60,463 evictions is larger by far than that of any other year in the history of the local courts. It was asserted to-day that during the eviction period in Ireland, when the whole world rang with stories of the poor turned out of their homes by landlords, there was no one year in which the number of evictions was one-twentieth of those in Manhattan during 1903.—Chicago Record-Herald of Jan. 22.

BAREFOOT BOYS RUN AROUND IN THE SNOW.

Dispatch from New Castle, Pa., to Pittsburgh Post of January 18.

Happy and apparently contented are hundreds of poor children, who run about barefooted in the snow during the winter weather. William Streib, a well-known business man, was out taking winter scenes with his camera yesterday when two little Italian boys jumped upon the runners of his cutter to steal a ride. Both were barefooted and were dressed in clothing scanty even for summer weather. He took their photo and then bought good warm shoes and stockings for both. They had never worn such things before and the

smaller boy in the picture could not wait, after he put on his new possessions, until his companion was similarly fitted out, but ran out to see how they seemed in the snow. There are scores of children here who are daily seen sledging on the hills without either shoes or stockings in the districts given over to foreigners.

THE PRESIDENT'S HURRAH.

The president is right when he says that "we are neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such." But he is not right when he says: "We are for the upright man, rich or poor."

When we are talking economics we are for man. We are for justice. We are not to quibble over a question of private virtue. We are to subserve the articles of justice.

A man who is entitled to a fair wage is entitled to it bad or good. It is no defense of piracy to say that its victims fall short in the virtues.

The labor question so-called is a question of figures. Not only figures. For our figures must be moral. We want to know who is our producer and to see that the product or its result goes to the right man. . . . The president is still fingering antique wage-lists and doctrines which no living economy can longer take seriously. The causes of privilege and poverty are not one. The causes of the unholy rich and the holy poor are not one. Rich and poor as men are one. But rich and poor as economic entities may be at war.

No suave phrase will at this late day pierce the epiderm of privilege. No vague lecture and no indeterminate charity will settle fundamental difficulties. Fundamental disturbances are only reached by fundamental remedies. You cannot patch up the foundations of a house by mending its roof and hurrahing for the flag.

The president believes that "we still continue in a period of profound prosperity." Whose is the prosperity? That is the question civilization must answer. It is not enough to tell us how much wealth there is in the country. You have got to tell us who has the title to it. And if the titles are few civilization has failed. And if the titles are many civilization has done better than if they were but few. But only when these titles are universal will civilization have won out its fight. . . . —Horace Traubel, in The Conservator.

A commuter's suggestion for suburban lines:

"Why not heat the corners, instead of the trolleys?"—Life.

THE RECEIVER OF A GIFT BECOMES THE APOLOGIST OF THE DONOR.

Probably many of the readers of The Public are following Miss Ida M. Tarbell's history of the methods of John D. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company, now appearing serially in McClure's Magazine.

The Omaha World-Herald telegraphed Miss Tarbell, as an admitted authority on Mr. Rockefeller's methods and motives, to ask her for her opinion in regard to Chancellor Andrews's proposition that the State University of Nebraska accept a donation from Mr. Rockefeller to be applied to the erection of a building to become the property of the university.

MISS TARBELL'S REPLY.

New York, Jan. 28.—To the Editor of the World-Herald: In my opinion the chief duty of an institution of learning is to train young people to think things through their legitimate conclusions, and to inspire them with moral courage to fit their conduct to those conclusions.

Money is one of the minor necessities in making honest thinkers and courageous actors. It is useful in an educational institution only in the hands of men who prefer to do without it rather than to dull the conscience of faculty, students and friends by compromising with any kind of moral or intellectual subterfuge.

If the acceptance of the gift from Mr. John D. Rockefeller brings with it tacit recognition of the commercial principles which he has employed with more conspicuous success than any other man in the country; if it closes the mouth of any man in Nebraska to the corruptive influence of those principles, no greater calamity could befall the University of Nebraska than to accept his money.

Human experience seems to show that the receiver of a gift becomes sooner or later the apologist of the donor and his methods. Where there is a possibility of such a result, jealous regard for the moral atmosphere of the institution makes the refusal of the gift an imperative duty.

IDA M. TARBELL.

THE GREAT STANDARD OIL COMPANY HAS WON ITS FIGHT AGAINST MEL HOSSLER.

Special dispatch from Chardon, Ohio, to The Cleveland Press of Jan. 30.

Mel Hossler's oil wagon has stopped!

The Standard Oil company has won one of the most bitter fights of its career of over a quarter of a century. That career has been punctuated by broken hearts. Along the way of the huge corporation wounded people are lying.

When agents of the Standard Oil company approached Hossler with golden offers, he drew himself up, curled his

lip in scorn and turned from the polished lawyer who called to see him, in disgust. Then he paused and sang out over his shoulder:

"Go back and tell John Rockefeller that all the wealth he has would not tempt me to give up to him."

Then the assault began afresh, but Hossler's townsmen rallied to his assistance and bought his oil at the market price when the Standard Oil company offered oil free.

For two years the Standard has kept agents in Chardon trying to drive Hossler out of business. He was attacked in every conceivable way. He was harassed all day, night was made hideous for him, and the sanctity of his home was invaded, and not even was he allowed to mutter his evening prayer in quietude.

Yet Mel Hossler would not give up. Doggedly he held to his determination to live in spite of the Standard.

But last night under the awful attack which never stopped the end came.

Mel Hossler's mind snapped.

It came after business reverses. Winter came on and food for his family and his horses was high. Then sickness came and medicine and doctor bills were higher. Finally his daughter, 16 years old, his inspiration in the fight, fell ill. That blow was the last.

He went to the jail last night and gave himself up. He said brokenly: "I have lost."

His friends say he wanted to be locked up.

ROCKEFELLER AND CARNEGIE. SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

Extract from McClure's editorial announcement of the second part of Miss Ida M. Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil company. See McClure's Magazine for November, 1903.

Mr. Rockefeller's success in circumventing the efforts of the Oil Regions to obtain fair play on the railroads was phenomenal. In six years after the South Improvement Company, which gave him his first start, was broken up, he had succeeded in obtaining contracts similar in every point to these of that company, even to the clause which gave him drawbacks on other people's shipments. It was as quick and effective a method of putting competitors out of business as it would have been for the banks in which they had deposits to have handed over to Mr. Rockefeller a part of their deposits, and ethically it was quite as unrighteous.

The result of these advantages was naturally and inevitably a practically

complete monopoly of the oil business—crystallizing into the Standard Oil Trust. The same practice would have given Mr. Rockefeller the control of wheat or corn, beef or iron. A variety of the same practice created Mr. Carnegie.

It is now twenty-one years since Mr. Rockefeller completed his trust. Alarmed by the injustice which he and others were able to do in business by the illegal acts of the railroads, Congress took fright, and in 1887 passed an interstate commerce law forbidding railroad discrimination and appointing a commission to see that fair play prevailed. It is a well-known fact that in spite of the most faithful efforts of the commission railroads still systematically favor one shipper to the harm of others—build up one locality to the ruin of others. Because no such wholesale and unrighteous acts of stealing are possible as that on which the Standard Oil Trust was founded, it cannot be argued that the public is to-day receiving fair play from the railroads. One has only to study the reports of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, of the recent Industrial Commission, to study the phenomenal growth of certain businesses, as the so-called beef trust, to know that evasions of the laws against railroad discrimination are incessant. Indeed, it is less than five years since the business of the country was thrown into confusion by Mr. Cassatt's announcement that henceforth the law would be obeyed on the Pennsylvania system and no rebates would be granted to any one. Such a revolutionary policy was this announcement of obedience to law that Mr. Andrew Carnegie actually refused to do business henceforth with the Pennsylvania, and began to build his own road. He created a commotion which has resulted in the monstrous steel trust, an organization which may be said to be a monument to Mr. Carnegie's unwillingness to do business if he could not enjoy illegal privileges. Indeed, there rests with the public to-day no less than in 1882, when Mr. Rockefeller completed his dazzling conquest, the imperative duty of continuing its struggle for justice on the railroads. The railroads exist by the consent of the people. The gentlemen who control them are allowed their franchises, allowed the great fortunes they make from them, on the theory that they can give a better administration than can be obtained by State administration. And unquestionably these gentlemen can do so if they will. It seems to have been pretty clearly demonstrated, however, that they will not—unless forced to it.

FIFTY-FIVE DAYS A SERF.

A portion of a sermon delivered on Sunday evening, January 31, in the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, O., by the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow.

Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all.

These words are found in the book of Ecclesiastes. What this author knew about political economy we cannot say. But it is possible, without straining the words, to put a great truth into them.

The profit of labor is for the individual who labors. But the profit of the earth is for all. In these two propositions lies the solution of the problem of the just distribution of wealth. Private property in the products of labor, and public property in the profits of the earth. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

What is the profit of the earth? A striking answer to this question may be found in a speech of Congressman Baker, of New York, reported in the Congressional Record of January 18.

Some time ago a law passed the Albany legislature requiring that in the tax duplicates the value of the bare land and the value of improvements should be shown in separate columns. The first assessment has been made under the new law, so that it is now possible to tell what the profit of the earth is to the owners of the land on which New York city stands. From the official reports we learn that the value of that particular spot of the earth's surface is \$3,697,686,935. Over three and one-half billion dollars! At five per cent. this means a ground rent of nearly 185 millions a year which that great city pays to those who own the land beneath it.

One hundred and eighty-five millions! Let us try to comprehend it. Suppose every bread-winner in that city earned three dollars a day. Suppose one in every three were a bread-winner. These estimates are too high, but it is well to keep on the safe side. Now, then, it takes the combined labor of all the toilers of New York city, for 55 days in every year, to satisfy the claims of the landlords. The last bulletin of the department of labor contains the results of an investigation of the land values of Philadelphia. This investigator shows that the land there is owned by less than ten per cent. of the people. If this percentage holds good in New York, it means that less than 350,000 people collect of the other 3,500,000 who live there a toll of \$185,000,000 a year, which is a kind of first mortgage that they have upon the industry of that mighty city, and which amounts to the

complete enslavement of that entire population for 55 days in every year.

Suppose that by some right of conquest the city of Cleveland were to collect an annual tribute of the citizens of New York. Suppose New York were a vassal of the Forest City. Suppose that every year \$185,000,000 in coin were loaded upon express cars and shipped from the metropolis to the city on the lake. Or suppose this tribute were paid in the form of labor, and all the workers of New York were deported to Cleveland to work in chain gangs for two months in every year! If that were the form of our slavery it would be apparent to all. If that were the form of our slavery the blood of our fathers would assert itself and we would make short work of our tyrants.

But it is encouraging to know that there are some men who see through this subtle form of slavery, and who are beginning to take the necessary steps for its overthrow. I have just looked through the last New Zealand year book. There they recognize the fact that ground values are created by the general development of the community. They, therefore, have a local option law by which any community may abolish all other taxes and raise its necessary revenue by a single tax on the value of land. Already 59 cities and villages have voted on this measure, and all but nine have adopted it.

There we see the first fruits of the teachings of Henry George. That light in New Zealand will spread until a new day will dawn; a day when men will act on the principle that the profit of the earth is for all and not for a few.

AS TO A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

An editorial in the Springfield (Mass.) Republican of January 13, 1904, on the Oregon decision in the Initiative and Referendum case. (See The Public of January 9, page 627.)

The present constitution of the State of Oregon contains an amendment providing an initiative and referendum by which the people can initiate legislation or compel a reference to popular vote of any legislative act. This amendment was attacked in the courts, and a lower tribunal declared it to be invalid on the ground that it had been irregularly adopted. The case went to the state supreme court on two contentions: First, that the legislature had submitted the amendment to the people when another proposed amendment was pending, contrary to constitutional provision; and, second, that it was in conflict with the United States Constitu-

tion which guarantees to every State a republican form of government. Both objections are overruled by the supreme court, it being held as to the first that the obstructing amendment had lapsed from legislative inaction. Regarding the second objection, the court speaks at some length, raising questions of general interest.

It is held that the purpose of the Federal constitutional provision is to protect the people of the several States against aristocratic and monarchical invasions and against insurrections and domestic violence, and to prevent them from abolishing a republican form of government. It does not prevent the people from changing their State constitutions in any way they see fit so long as none of the above results is effected. But what is a republican form of government which must be observed? The court says it is a government "administered by representatives chosen or appointed by the people or by their authority." This is very well so long as emphasis is laid on the word "administered;" and the court quotes Madison on republican government as:

a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.

Then the court goes on to speak of the initiative and referendum principle, as follows:

Now, the initiative and referendum amendment does not abolish or destroy the republican form of government, or substitute another in its place. The representative character of government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place. The government is still divided into the legislative, executive and judicial departments, the duties of which are discharged by representatives selected by the people. Under this amendment, it is true, the people may exercise a legislative power, and may, in effect, vote or defeat bills passed and approved by the Legislature and the governor; but the legislative and executive departments are not destroyed, nor are their powers or authority materially curtailed.

There runs through this whole quotation the implication that legislation through representatives elected by the people is, in some considerable measure at least, an essential feature of a republican form of government, and that a form of government without that feature would be unrepresentative and contrary to the provision of the United States Constitution. It is evident that at this point the court has

blundered badly. Are we to understand, for example, that a New England town run on the town-meeting principle has an unrepresentative form of government? Here the people legislate for themselves directly and without the agency of chosen representatives. They have no legislative branch in their government outside of the whole body of the people. Have they, then, "overthrown the republican form" because their government is not "still divided into the legislative, executive and judicial departments," but goes along without a legislative branch in the common meaning of the term?

We do not imagine the Oregon supreme court would venture to assert that this town form of government comes into collision with that idea of what constitutes a republican form which was held by the framers of the federal Constitution. And if so, then the court would have to concede that the people of a whole State might, if they chose to and it were practicable, abolish legislation through representatives entirely and exercise the power directly by themselves, and still violate no provision of the federal Constitution. And through such devices as the initiative and referendum this assumption by the people in large masses of power directly to make their own laws is to a very considerable extent made practicable, and might possibly be extended to the entire abolition of the body of legislative agents.

Nor would this abolition bring the form of government into conflict with the Madison definition which was at first accepted by the court before it went on to expand its argument into the creation of another and unwarranted definition of what constitutes a republican form of government. It would still, and even more emphatically, be a government deriving all its powers from the great body of the people, and still a government administered—though not necessarily legislated for—by persons chosen by the people rather than by some other power. To imply, even in the remotest degree, that the extension among the people of a more direct control over their government, tends to the creation of an unrepresentative form of government in the meaning of the federal Constitution, is to give evidence of possessing decidedly unrepresentative leanings.

Fond Parent—I understand the faculty are very much pleased with your work.

Dropped Junior—Yes, they encored my sophomore year.—Princeton Tiger.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Remarks of Gov. L. F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island, at the banquet of the state executive committee of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Y. M. C. A., held in Tremont temple, Boston, Mass., January 27, 1904.

The Young Men's Christian associations throughout the land are doing a noble work. They are overcoming the prejudices and jealousies which have long existed between the different religious sects, and are providing a refuge and a home for a multitude of young men who otherwise might stray from the path of rectitude. But notwithstanding the wide influence of these and other beneficent agencies, it remains true that in some directions degeneracy increases.

I am an optimist. I believe that the world is growing better, but I am forced to admit that certain law-created classes do not participate in the advance.

Public life is deteriorating, public servants are yielding more and more to the greater temptations put before them, the spoilsmen have gotten hold of our political machinery and are using it for their own emolument.

I presume that most of you here present are members of the Y. M. C. A. from altruistic motives. You have good homes, whilst many of your fellow members live in uncomfortable tenements or boarding houses. Your attempts to ameliorate their condition are made difficult, almost nugatory, by unwise legislation. Good laws would do more for the very people you are trying to help than all that your efforts can possibly accomplish.

The aim of the Y. M. C. A. is the building of character. To this end the great forces of civilization, intellectual, moral and religious, have almost exclusively been devoted. And yet, so far as the extremes of society are concerned, advance has been slow and success exceedingly imperfect. The wealthiest few and the poverty stricken many, have furnished a barren soil for the development of high character. Vices, on the other hand, have found a rank growth. Thus slaves, because of their impoverishment and lack of responsibility, have ever possessed a low grade of morality—and slavery is purely a creature of law.

An improvement in the material condition of the masses is a prerequisite to a wide diffusion of the virtues. But no one agent has so powerful an effect upon the material welfare of a people as the government under which they live. Transplant a man from Ireland or

Italy to the United States and he is transformed instantly from a drone into a worker. Under our free institutions his hopes, energies and ambitions are aroused, as becomes manifest in every act.

But even here we fall lamentably short of what might easily be were our laws founded upon justice rather than special privilege. Paupers and millionaires, like slaves, are the product of bad laws.

Does not the duty, therefore, devolve upon you, as citizens, if not as members of an organization, to see that the good you would do is not counteracted by that most powerful of agents, the state?

In order to bring about any real change for the better in the legislative department of the government—a department which underlies and in the end shapes the others—it is necessary to inaugurate a reform more radical than any which has preceded. The wise John Stuart Mill once said, in substance, that a little reform did not merely little good, but no good—any seeming benefit being offset by its indirect disadvantages.

By a republic we understand a government whose sovereignty is in the people, and whose administration is vested in the chosen representatives of the people. Such is the theory, but in fact to-day the people of our States have no way of exercising their sovereignty, and the legislators serve, not their constituents, but a few monopolists and bosses.

The remedy lies with the young men of the nation. They must demand, and demand effectively, that the people's law, the State and national constitutions, be placed under the absolute control of the people—a control equally direct and complete with that exercised by a legislature over statute law.

Massachusetts, it may be said to her credit, is taking a step, however halting, in the right direction. If the General Court now in session does its duty, hereafter 50,000 voters will be enabled to initiate future amendments to your State constitution. Given this power effectively, and all else will follow. There will ensue a genuine representation of the people in legislative bodies, both municipal and State, such as the past has never known; and to that will succeed other social reforms which, securing a more equal distribution of the enormous wealth produced by our people, will supplant the few thousand millionaires and a multitude of wretched tenants by a mighty middle class possessing the comforts and amenities of life, unmarred by anxiety for the future of themselves or their children.

In this good time, which is surely coming, and which is at hand if you young men are prepared to do your duty as citizens of a self-governing state, the Y. M. C. A. will not cease to exist, but its functions will be modified. With none suffering from the ills of poverty except those who will not work—and whose status should be "root hog or die"—the philanthropic features of your organization will be little in demand; but its social, educational, liberalizing and religious departments will take on a new and higher development.

I bid you God speed in your work through this great organization, but beg that you will not fail to perform your full duty in that still greater, though neglected field of labor, the citizenship of our endangered republic.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

HE RECALLS MORE ABOUT HIS EARLY RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John:

Another thing that showed I had more influence than all the world powers combined, was the wreck of the American bark Chevalier. It was in '62, and the Japs of some provinces had been potting foreign ships from their shore batteries. The British legation, you'll remember, was under heavy guard night and day. Col. St. John Neale was British charge d' affaires, and he had a mixed guard of 585 Japanese and 30 British marines. The foreign legations traveled abroad with guards armed to the teeth with revolvers and sabers; and my minister, Pruyn, slipped along on horseback every day, with a Jap or two along, and never so much as a hoss-pistol to defend himself with.

That was the shape of things when, in June, the British legation was attacked at night, and two British marines were killed before the door of Col. Neale. Then there was the mischief to pay again; and it wasn't fixed up before, in December, this American ship went ashore in a gale.

Well, on hearin' it the foreign legations were interested right away; and honest, there didn't seem to be much show for poor ship-wrecked sailors among such savage barbarians.

Duchesne de Bellecourt, the French minister resident,—he was a fine feller, and sympathetic,—he comes over to Pruyn, my minister resident, and offers a ship for protection.

"Pruyn," he says, "your government has no ships in these waters. Take the Duplex and run up the coast to this province of Hitals, and rescue the crew."

But Pruyn thanks him kindly and declines.

"I'm quite sure, Bellecourt," he says, "that the Japanese government will do everything they can; and I have perfect confidence in 'em. Much obliged; you are a good neighbor!"

The Japs were tickled at this, and the Japanese governors for foreign affairs told Pruyn they were pleased that he had declined French aid and relied on them, and he could have anything he wanted, and offered him a warship to take anybody he pleased to the wreck. So next day George S. Fisher, one of my U. S. consuls, with a pilot, an interpreter, etc., was sent up the coast in a Japanese steamship of war, the Tsho-yo-Marō. It was bad weather and a rough trip and they were several days gettin' there; but finally made the wreck and a landing. The Chevalier was a total loss. The crew had saved their effects by throwing their trunks and boxes overboard and lettin' them wash ashore, and the savage Japs hadn't stolen a thing. In fact, they hadn't done a thing to 'em but help 'em raise a flag staff (fer my flag, John, not yours), give 'em a temple to live in, and feed 'em with the best the country afforded.

Consul Fisher reported:

"Wherever I went the utmost deference was paid me by officials and the people, and the same deference and respect paid me as to the governor of the province. Eggs, chickens, ducks, fruit, rice, oysters, sweet potatoes and fish were supplied in abundance and without charge."

Fisher was enthusiastic, and wanted the Japs taken right into the Christian church. He said it proved 'em a Christian country. I dunno; it might one time; but I remember a matter of two year ago, a passenger train was snowed in, in Christian Pennsylvania, and the natives organized a sandwich trust, and charged the starving passengers all the traffic would bear.

Say, John, this world is gettin' pretty well civilized when the barbarians outpoint the Christians in ethics. Hey? I think so, too.

Well, finally, these Japs had carried the flag of the Chevalier overland hundreds of miles to Yedo, to show the American minister it was an American ship that was wrecked. Whatever you call it, their conduct was certainly exceedingly white for yellow folks, and I had no war fleet, John, to exact a thing. The Wyoming was on the China coast, but when Pruyn did ask her over, she was in dry dock, and couldn't come. What's the good of a war fleet these times, anyway? Fact is, John, I'm gettin' a little uneasy in my mind. When I was an

honest man I didn't have to carry no gun, an' I wasn't afeard of anything, either.

Bellecourt, I mind, got a little jealous, and took it up with the Japanese ministers for foreign affairs.

"What's the reason," says he, "you say it isn't safe for me to travel on the highway, when the American minister does it every day?"

"Well," says the Japs, "our people discriminate between the Americans, and the French and British, because the latter have so many men of war."

And there you have it! I wasn't wearin' no chip on my shoulder. I was friendly, and I had a good name, which I'm sorry I lost.

America, with her principles, has no need of a big navy, except to do somethin' she has no right under her principles to do, seems to me; and this whole business shows that a good minister resident abroad, or consul with good sense,—one sound on the American—is worth more than a whole fleet of war-ships, and cheaper, and,—John! what the dickens is the use of keepin' a war-ship in front of a nation, at great expense, when, if you behave nice, she'll lend you hers? Hey? I want to know?

UNCLE SAM.

The old-fashioned fellows who founded this land,

Who turned the first furrow and broke the first sod,

Emblazoned this motto on every hand:
"Our trust is in God."

But should they come back from their bowers of bliss,

Should they rise once again from the mouldering dust,

They'd find their old motto reads something like this:

"Our God is a Trust."

—Denis A. McCarthy, in Life.

"What's the row, old man? Don't you like the ship's fare?"

Suffering Editor—Oh—it—isn't that I don't like it! the rejection of anything does not necessarily imply that it is lacking in merit; any one—of—a—a—number of reasons may render a contribution unsuited to our present uses.—Life.

In the last letter Thomas Jefferson penned, dated June 24, 1826, and written to Roger C. Weightman, who, on behalf of the citizens of Washington, had invited Jefferson to share in the Fourth of July celebration of that year, he wrote: "The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind have not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred.

ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God."

First Stranger—Do you think it wrong for a Congressman to accept a railroad pass?

Second Stranger—Sir! Do you want me to tell an untruth or incriminate myself? I am a Congressman.

G. T. E.

"I wonder if Uncle Sam would recognize me if I should be born?" naively cooed the spirit of the budding republic.

"H'm!" coughed Liberty; "what would you have to sell?"—Puck.

BOOKS

MORS ET VICTORIA.

Marguerite, daughter of a country gentleman, and maid of honor to the Queen of France, in the year 1576, was faithful throughout her court life to her Huguenot lover, Vallon. Tormented by the attentions of the Duke of Guise, she withdrew to her country home. The Duke made it convenient, during an expedition, to stop overnight at her father's, and the thought came to him to murder the Huguenots of the place at their worship next morning. Marguerite tried to persuade Vallon not to attend, but, falling in this, determined to die with him. The slaughter took place. As Vallon is dying, he suddenly sees Marguerite, who says:

"Thank God, I, too, can die and go with you.
See, Vallon, this harsh wound, this crimson stream.
I faint—I fall—O Vallon, hold me close."
Vallon (half rising, with a great effort takes her in his arms)—
"Close, O my love, so close our mingled blood
Makes but one tide as it flows on to death.
Sweet, have no fear; the Everlasting arms
Are stronger than your lover's. Lift your head—
Your face to mine."
Marguerite—
"Vallon, that kiss compensates for the pain.
You told me once—do you remember?—long ago,
That I had taught you how to love; and now,
Beloved, you have taught me how to die."
Vallon—
"And God has taught us both—love—conquers—death. (Dies.)
In a few moments Marguerite also dies.

Such is the story of the poem, a short drama of undying love in three acts. *Mors et Victoria*, published anonymously by Longmans, Green & Co. The lines quoted give also a fair sample of the

verse, which is quite uniformly smooth, clear and accurate. Not for some time in fact has a poem appeared, of equal strength, which has given us such stately, smooth-flowing, and, as we may say, old-fashioned lines. The story, too, as we have seen, is old-fashioned. There is no new problem in it—just the old tale, very beautifully retold, of love faithful unto death.

J. H. DILLARD.

CONQUERING SUCCESS.

Timothy Titcomb's letters to young folks contributed their mite toward bringing up the young man of 50 years back in the way he should go. Dr. Mathews's "Conquering Success, or Life in Earnest" (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Price, \$1.50 net. By William Mathews, LL. D.), offers a similar service to the young man of to-day. "Conquering Success" is a volume of essays, much more interesting than Titcomb's would be in these times of "hustle and bustle or bust;" but it is veritably the same old Titcomb divested of moral reflections, written in stronger English, and brought down to date. Titcomb told the young man how to win success by deserving it, which was the old ambition. Dr. Mathews tells him how to conquer it, whether deserving it or not, which is the new one.

As a collection of apocryphal and half-true stories of the early lives of self-made men, Dr. Mathews could hardly have an equal. He seems to have gathered them all in. His book fairly bristles with names, and is full to overflowing with anecdotes of encouraging experiences at getting on in the world. Nor are any of these anecdotes too raw for the author to swallow them whole. Every yarn goes, if it but gives point to the only moral of the book, which is "get there."

To that low ideal everything is sacrificed. The young man who makes it his own, must advertise his claims without modesty. He must adopt new ways, merely because they are new and popular. He must get a good character, for no other apparent reason than that it is a valuable commercial asset; for which, let us interject by the way, good reputation answers as well (and often better) than good character. He must, in brief, subordinate every impulse, bad or good, to the policy of push.

One of the conditions of success which our author insists upon is punctuality; and in support of this insistence he quotes Mr. Charles M. Schwab, president of the steel trust at the time the book was written. Had the book been delayed somewhat in publication, the author might have had an opportunity to note that punctuality is not the most profitable thing of which Mr. Schwab could tell in explanation of spectacularly successful careers. This is not suggested in derogation of the virtue of punctuality, but in criticism of the attitude of mind which attrib-

utes to that virtue results that are attributable in greater degree to more or less reputable rascality.

Subordination of the moral law as a condition of success in the world as it now is, is slurred over by Dr. Mathews. He also falls to napping over at least one change in industrial methods. For he would have boys bound out as apprentices to trades, though few trades are any longer to be learned in shops. Technical schools now serve the legitimate purposes of the old apprenticeship; while apprenticeship, if still in vogue, would only enable employers to extend the deadly influence of child labor in routine work.

It must not be supposed; however, that Dr. Mathews's book is without merit. Although the moral note is lacking, these essays may be considered as a specialization of the material side of life, and not at all as positively rejecting the moral side. Repulsive as is their strenuous and plutocratic tone, the specific teaching is for the most part sound and wholesome. Unity of aim, energy, thoroughness, tenacity, punctuality, character, etc., are all worthy of inculcation, and an appreciation of their importance and power is sorely needed by young men—and older men, too. A different spirit in the teaching, and less obtrusive worship of the kind of self-made man of whom it might be said that he had to make himself for God didn't think it worth while, would have added much to the value of Dr. Mathews's essays.

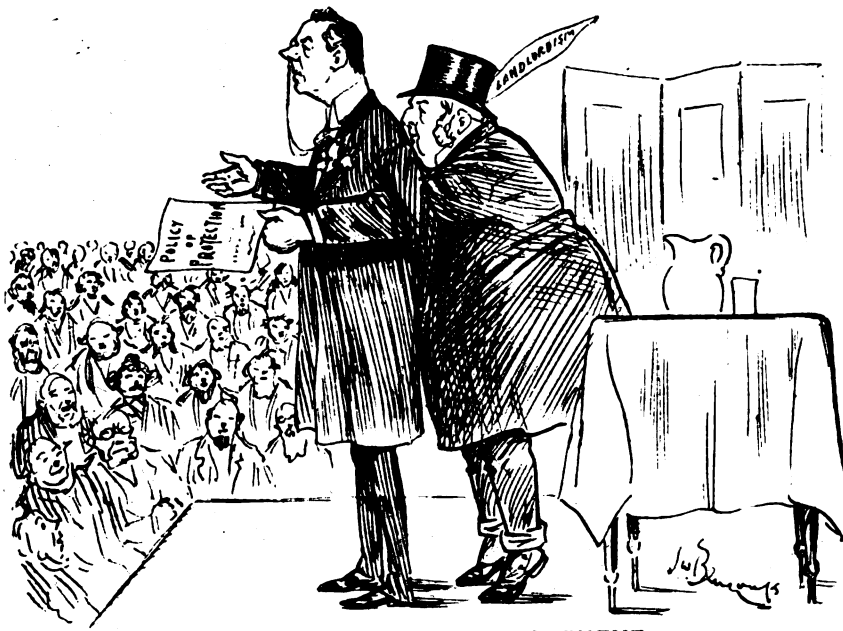
As it is, the discriminating reader will find them richly stored—inconsistent as that may seem—with excellent lessons. A father wishing to help his son on the threshold of life, might very well give him Dr. Mathews's book with this admonition: "My boy, this book is without moral incentive, it appeals to low ideals, it honors unworthy men, it is not calculated to stimulate the most worthy motives, and it falsely implies that everybody can win in the present abnormal struggle for business success; but if you read it, realizing and guarding against these grave faults, you will get from it very much in the way of useful advice and valuable suggestion."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Do You Want Free Speech?" By James F. Morton, Jr., Home, Washington. Price ten cents. A timely essay on American progress in the suppression of free speech. The "abuse of free speech" is well described as a "popular catch phrase among those who have not the honesty and courage to admit openly that what they are really attacking is all freedom of expression that does not accord with their own views."

—The Recognition of Panama. Address delivered at Massachusetts Reform Club, December 5, 1903, by Moorfield Storey. An able and luminous discussion of the Panama question as a problem in international law, by a distinguished American expert.

—How England Averted a Revolution of Force: A Survey of the Social Agitation of the First Ten Years of Queen Victoria's Reign. By B. O. Flower. Trenton, N. J.:



THE MAN BEHIND THE MOVEMENT.

Chamberlain—What I have chiefly in view are the interests of the working classes—the toilers of the United Kingdom—etc., etc., etc.

Albert Brandt. Price \$1.35 by mail; \$1.25 net. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

Apropos of the text-book of general history by M. Herve, of which mention was made in a recent Public, the Nation says that it "is arousing intense hostility in certain quarters. The committee of inspection of primary schools in the Department of the Seine has just refused to put it on the list of the public schools of Paris." The author's offense is that for young people he strips war of some of its glories. J. H. D.

If Shaksper's public had thought as much of Shakespeare as we think of him nowadays, we should not now be worried so much about who he was. But that is too often the trouble. People do not find out who it is that they ought to know until the neglected one has passed into the unknown. Then he is turned over to antiquaries, whose chief delight is to discuss something that is of no possible importance. As to whether Shaksper wrote Shakespeare, we shall perhaps never know. The question is dealt with afresh by Hon. J. Warren Keifer in the January Open Court, with some very telling arguments against Shakespeare. J. H. D.

Dr. Roger S. Tracy, writing in the February Century on "How to Live Long," laughs at the queer ways of men in the matter of exercise. "They never walk," he says, "when it can be helped; they take a car to go four or five blocks, an elevator to go up one story of a building; have valets and waiters to brush their clothes, to black their boots, to serve their meals, to carry their bundles, and when they feel the lack of physical exercise, play golf or bowl, or put up dumb-bells, swing Indian clubs, or pull away at weighted ropes in their bedrooms." He shows, furthermore, that lack of time is not really accountable for such perversity. J. H. D.

"The way Gen. Early's little army," says the Springfield Republican, "turned Sheridan's left flank in the morning battle at Cedar Creek, is hardly a circumstance to what is now presented to our gaze. For Bryan has done it simply by his personal audacity." The writer thinks, however, that there is no cause for the East being thrown "into such a cold sweat," since it is not possible that free silver will be again indorsed. But why do the papers say so little about some other things that Mr. Bryan says, and forever prate of silver, free silver? Is it

perhaps due partly to the fact that Mr. Bryan has not been so definite and specific on other subjects? J. H. D.

Under the title "A Rich Man's Government," the New York Independent makes President Hadley's recent talk to Harvard students the subject of an editorial. It will be remembered that Hadley is reported to have said that politics as a vocation in America should be left to rich men. Now the Independent can account for his making such a statement only by supposing that he thinks we have gone so far on the wrong road that a poor man in politics cannot get on "save at the expense of his moral manhood." But how does the rich man get on and preserve his manhood? By having money. With money he is safe and will not be bribed. The poor man, without money, is hard up, and may be bribed. Money is the difference. Money is character. The moral is, thinks the Independent, that we must have an increase of salaries all around, beginning with the judges. J. H. D.

Let us hope that Mr. Loomis will continue his charming conversations with Miss Flutterly in Frank Leslie's Magazine. Her discourse in the February number on politics and the drama is even more delightful than the previous one: "Brother Tom says that he is sure Roosevelt will either be renominated, or else he won't, and all on account of his fighting the trusts. I think it would be an awful pity if he wasn't elected again, because it is so interesting to read what his children are doing." He isn't a bit handsome, but I think he would have made a splendid actor, because he is always doing something that makes people admire him, and his being a cowboy that way during the Spanish war—although a gentleman born—I think it was just splendid. The important sociological articles of this number are the "Fight for Copper," the continuation of Rose Fortune's story, and "Imported Americans." J. H. D.

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

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JOHN Z. WHITE'S MOVEMENTS

Mr. White completes his engagement at Minneapolis and St. Paul, Sunday Evening, Jan. 24. He begins a week's engagement in Detroit, Monday Evening, Jan. 25. He has a few open dates between Feb. 16th and 29th. On Feb. 11th, 12th and 13th he is busy in Winona, Minn., and on Monday, Feb. 15th, Stillwater, Minn.
Friends in Wisconsin or Minnesota who wish to secure Mr. White for open dates before or following his Winona, Minn. appointments please write at once to
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A RECEPTION AND BALL

(Postponed from January 15). Will be given by the Ladies of the Henry George Association, at Schiller Hall, 103 Randolph Street, Friday Evening, February 26, 1904. Tickets: Gentlemen, 50 cents; Ladies, 25 cents. Tickets of January 15 will be recognized.

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