

The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1904.

Number 307.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post Office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

Even the rascals in politics are obliged to admire John F. Shafroth, the Democrat who voluntarily relinquished his seat in Congress as soon as he discovered that his right to it rested upon fraudulent election returns. Both parties in Congress generously applauded his resignation speech.

A general feeling of admiration has gone over the country for this man who rises superior to the "get there" ethics which just now seem to dominate political as well as commercial life. In that kind of public feeling—and there is more of it than the superficial suspect—there is hope for the future.

What of it if the party in power in Congress has, in contested election cases, systematically unseated its adversaries and seated its friends, regardless of the evidence? What of it if this custom has become so common in all legislative bodies and party committees that the decisions of contests have come to be regarded as questions of majorities in the body or committee instead of majorities at elections or primaries? What of it if this idea of "pull" and "get there" prevails from White House ante-rooms to tavern caucuses, through all the intermediate ramifications of corporation directorates, business conferences, society functions, and church gatherings? What of it if our whole social life is saturated with this deadly gospel of ignoble success? What of it if the very election frauds that Shafroth has refused to profit by were fostered by the

respectable business interests of Denver (whence he was returned to Congress), to effect private ends? What of it all? No degree of this corruption can long withstand the moral forces by which Shafroth has been guided. As ten righteous men would have saved Gomorrah from the destruction to which the corruption of the respectable classes had doomed it, so a few Shafroths may yet save this Republic from the destruction which its corrupting ethics of "get there" invite.

Lincoln's birthday was very generally celebrated last week, by Republicans and Democrats alike. No, not quite alike. The Democrats celebrated the man as an incarnation of fundamental democratic principle, while the Republicans celebrated his dead body as a fetish which they have inherited. They applauded his name, but were discreetly silent about both the letter and the spirit of his utterances.

In view of the more recent record of the Republican party, under its plutocratic leadership, one can easily imagine the embarrassment into which the quotation of almost any Lincolnian sentiment would throw almost any Republican gathering. Take this, for instance, from Lincoln's celebrated Cooper Union speech:

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

How would that sound to those Republicans who have given the party over to the socialist doctrine that moral righteousness and justice are mythical, and hold that "destiny determines duty"?

Then again, to our latter-day Republicans who sneer at the axioms of the Declaration of Independence as "glittering generalities," how would this quotation

sound? It is from Lincoln's letter of April 6, 1859, replying to an invitation from the Boston Republicans of that period to celebrate Jefferson's birthday:

It is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail utterly with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One despairingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government and restoring those of class, caste and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism.

It is impossible to think of applause for such sentiments from a modern Republican audience.

Yet those are the sentiments that Republican audiences of the 'fifties and 'sixties, and even of the 'seventies applauded most vigorously. What is the meaning of this radical change? Lincoln himself almost prophetically explained its meaning when he told his followers why the young Republican party of the 'fifties celebrated the memory of Jefferson, while the old Democratic party that Jefferson had founded celebrated only the corpse of Jefferson, as a fetish, carefully suppressing the Jeffersonian axioms. Said Lincoln, in this explanation:

I remember being once amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engage in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own great-coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really

identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

Following that parallel we of to-day may explain the different ways in which the Republican and the Democratic parties now celebrate Lincoln—the former as a fetish and the latter for his Jeffersonian principles. We may paraphrase Lincoln and say: "If the two leading parties of this day are identical with the two in the days of" Lincoln they must have changed overcoats again. The Democratic party (its Bourbons and "reorganizers" excepted) has returned to the axioms of Thomas Jefferson which Lincoln loved; while the Republican party (its deluded members excepted) have returned to the federalism and imperialism and state socialism and class privilege ideals of Alexander Hamilton.

So different is Lincoln's party of to-day from Lincoln himself, that Miss Ida M. Tarbell actually created a sensation by truthfully describing his character to the Chicago Society of New York when it was perfunctorily celebrating his memory at a dinner on the 12th. Being a guest, she was urged to say a few words at the close of the dinner and reluctantly consented. This was her speech as reported in the press dispatches:

I have never made an impromptu speech in my life, but when you speak of Lincoln you speak of a character with which I have spent five years' hard study looking up his life in Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana and at Washington, and in all that time I must say I never knew what boredom was. I think I can say Abraham Lincoln is the only man, living or dead, with whom I could have spent five years and not known boredom. Lincoln was a man who never pretended to be anything he really was not. He never found time to conform to the usages of society; he did not understand or care for its amenities; he never learned to wear his clothes properly; his trousers bagged; his coats did not fit. You may remember the eminent Massachusetts statesman who spent an hour with Lincoln and the only entry he made in his journal after their discussion of great national affairs was that Lincoln wore yarn socks. Lincoln always was

anxious to get things just right. Sometimes, in consequence, he seemed slow to the country, but he always insisted with himself that his acts must conform to moral law. You cannot conceive of Lincoln trifling with his conscience or breaking an international law even for the sake of an international canal. He wanted to be sure always that his decisions should ever stand as just in the annals of the world and the history of human endeavor. There are several instances to prove this. He was told by his supporters he would lose the election by taking a certain stand. He did lose, but he said: "We are right; the people will recognize it by and by," and they did, and four years later he was in the White House. Lincoln had real goodness; not the kind of goodness that preaches only on Sunday, but the kind of goodness that reaches out and embraces all one's fellow men. He was the tenderest man that ever lived. No one suffered more than he did during that awful civil strife. Lincoln was the best man American institutions ever produced. It would be indeed a sad thing if our institutions failed at any future great crisis to produce such as Lincoln.

How manifestly impossible it would have been under the Lincoln regime to maintain such a law as that under which John Turner is imprisoned at Ellis Island, in New York harbor. As has been already explained in these columns (p. 713), Turner is an Englishman who came to this country to perfect an international trade union of retail clerks. He was arrested upon a warrant issued by a cabinet officer. The object of his arrest was to secure his deportation to England. The charge against him is that he "disbelieves in all organized government." For this disbelief he calls himself an anarchist, a word which describes his doctrine merely because "archy" means government and "an" means without—"anarchy," without government. But because Turner therefore calls himself an anarchist, the opportunity is afforded to people who dread free opinion and free speech, to appeal to the ignorant and bigoted with flamboyant descriptions of Turner as a fiendish assassin. He is in fact a disciple of Tolstoy, also an anarchist—that is, one who "disbelieves in all organized government,"—and so far from being an assassin is devoted to a philosophy which re-

quires its devotees to face death peaceably themselves rather than cause death violently to others. Turner's appeal to the lower courts has been fruitless and his case has been carried to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile he is held in a barred cage under the surveillance of guards, night and day, without intermission, and is allowed no confidential intercourse with anybody, not even with his counsel.

The law which thus attempts to shackle free opinion, was enacted under the insane excitement of the panic following McKinley's assassination. As enforced it violates long established American ideas of liberty in many ways. By denying to a prisoner confidential intercourse with his counsel, it overrides one of the simplest of established rights. By authorizing arrest upon the warrant of a cabinet secretary—an administrative officer—it destroys the wholesome and long established American distinction between judicial process and administrative process, and suggests the future possibility in this country of something like the old lettres de cachet of French despotism. By authorizing an arrest at all for "disbelieving in all organized government," it abridges the fundamental American guarantee of freedom of opinion. To this latter objection the answer is made that our government guarantees freedom of opinion only to its own inhabitants, and that it may properly exclude aliens to whose opinions it objects, even though it may not suppress the same opinions at home. Could the subtleties of despotism go farther into the mystical realm of the absurd? In fact, however, this law coerces not only aliens, but citizens also. While it only requires the deportation of aliens for "disbelieving in all organized government," it makes it an indictable crime for citizens to invite such aliens into the country. If, for illustration, William J. Bryan were to return Tolstoy's hospitality to him by inviting that distinguished Russian to visit his home in Nebraska, and

Tolstoy were to accept the invitation, not only could Tolstoy be stopped in New York harbor, under the darkened torch of the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," and be shipped back as a "disbeliever in all organized government," but Mr. Bryan could be sentenced to a long term of degrading imprisonment for having invited this peace-loving anarchist to our shores.

To bring about the repeal of this utterly un-American law was one of the objects of a delegate meeting called by the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 14th. At that meeting steps were taken to raise a fund to carry Turner's case through the Supreme Court, and a petition for the repeal of the law was adopted, and ordered to be circulated for signatures. The petition is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: It having come to our knowledge:

1. That John Turner, a British subject, is imprisoned in a Federal prison at Ellis island, N. Y.;
2. That he was arrested while in this country upon a warrant issued by the United States Secretary of Commerce and Labor, a member of the President's Cabinet, and not a judicial officer;
3. That he is held under said warrant for deportation from the United States upon conviction of "disbelieving in organized government;"
4. That upon habeas corpus proceedings a Federal judge has sustained the constitutionality of the act of Congress authorizing arrest and deportation for such cause, and has remanded the prisoner.

And inasmuch as, in our opinion, any law which interferes with mere opinion, or authorizes restraints upon personal liberty for opinion's sake, is at variance with the principles upon which this government is founded, while any law that authorizes administrative process or executive warrants in time of peace for the arrest of persons is hostile to American polity and condemned by our political history;

Therefore we hereby petition the Congress of the United States to repeal so much of the immigration law:

1. As vests in any administrative officer the power to issue warrants of arrest for the apprehension of any person within the United States in time of peace.
2. As authorizes any interference with the personal liberty of any person, citi-

zen or alien, on account of mere opinions on any subject whatever.

This petition has been already signed by several leading Chicago men. Their names are Edgar B. Tolman, the corporation counsel of Chicago; Thomas M. Hoyne, a prominent lawyer of Chicago recently elected to a judicial position; Thomas S. Windes, one of the judges of the Appellate Court at Chicago; and Edward F. Dunne, Edward Osgood Brown, and Murray F. Tuley, all judges of the Circuit Court of Illinois for Cook county. Judge Tuley is also justly the most distinguished jurist of the West.

When these signatures to this petition were made public, an attempt was begun through the local Republican press to discredit the non-partisanship of the petition, by calling attention to the fact that all the signers are Democrats. It may be proper, therefore, to explain that a prominent Republican judge was asked to sign the petition before any of the signatures were made public, and he declined. His reason was that he did not know the facts of the case. This naturally discouraged any further efforts to get the signatures of Republican judges. Since the one approached pleaded ignorance of the merits of the Turner case as an excuse for refusing to petition for the repeal of a law of which—as a citizen if not as lawyer and judge—he is presumed not to be ignorant, the possibility of getting other Republican judges to sign seemed unpromising. It was altogether too suggestive of the widening suspicion that Republican office holders are not at present strenuously interested in preserving the old American doctrine of liberty of opinion. However, if this suspicion be ill-founded, the petition in question is open to all. No Republican who wishes to sign it, be he judge or lawyer, will be debarred.

When Congressman Baker, of New York, recently introduced a bill for the regulation by governmental bureaus of pretty much

everything under the sun, doing so expressly at the request of a constituent, the press of the country threw at him shafts of sarcasm heavy-weighted and sharp-barbed. They were probably trying to earn the railroad favors which they secretly accept and Baker openly refuses. But Mr. Baker comes out of the affair not only unscathed but justified.

It is a common custom in Congress for members to introduce bills "by request." This they do though they wholly disbelieve in the bills, as was the case with Mr. Baker in this instance. And Mr. Baker makes a defense of that custom and his compliance with it which it is not so easy to answer. Writing to one of his journalistic critics, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, he said:

I recognize that in introducing this bill I have laid myself open to such editorials as that of the *Eagle* of yesterday, but holding as I do the theory that every citizen has a right to present his views on governmental affairs, even when presented in the form contained in this bill, I did not feel justified in refusing to introduce it, especially as its author, a Mr. Cowdon, of Washington, consented that I should mark it as being introduced "by request." To my mind, Mr. Cowdon is as much entitled to a hearing in Congress as the American Protective Tariff League; the only difference being that Mr. Cowdon voices the opinions of many honest, well-meaning, if, from my standpoint, misguided people, as to what constitutes the proper functions of government, but who do not expect that their ideas will be adopted until a majority of the American people formally indorse them; while with such people as the American Protective Tariff League, the ship subsidy "beggars" and others who are trying to raid the Treasury, they care nothing about a formal indorsement by the people.

Inasmuch as a great deal of the criticism of Mr. Baker in the matter has assumed that he was a socialist, Mr. Baker retorts in a way which ought to make his critics think and do them some good. He writes:

Permit me to say I am, if anything, less of a socialist than the editor of the *Eagle*, as I would draw the line very sharp and very distinct between those things which are essentially governmental functions and those which indi-

viduals should be permitted to do without interference from government, those things which individuals have an inherent right to do and government has no right to prevent their doing. For instance, I regard tariffs as essentially socialistic. If there is any distinction, then ship subsidies and other forms of bounty are doubly and trebly socialistic. This is true also of all forms of excise taxes, of licenses, whether issued for peddlers or for dogs as well as of poll taxes. Each and every one of these being either the conferring of a favor, a special privilege, at the expense of the many, or, as with dog licenses, the conferring upon those who can afford it the privilege of maintaining a nuisance, or, as in the case of excise taxes and peddlers' licenses, a restricting of the individual from doing those things which he has an inherent right to do and which the community has no moral right to interfere with.

Returning to the principal subject of his letter, Mr. Baker makes this stinging comparison, which it is safe to say his critics with railroad passes in their pockets will be glad to ignore:

As I have said, while I am opposed to paternalistic legislation and would if I could repeal all such now upon the statute books, yet the author of this bill, Mr. Cowdon, has a right to be heard just as much as these powerful influences, the trusts, et al., which are constantly knocking at the doors of Congress asking for legislation in their interests. I regard many of the provisions of his bill as fantastic in the extreme, but can not understand how any one who favors, for instance, the continuation of the present power of private individuals—i. e., railroad corporations—to "hold up" the traffic of a nation and exact such tribute as they care to levy; who build up one community at the expense of another through lower freight rates; who build up foreign trade at the expense of domestic trade as in the case of the 33 1-3 per cent. reduction granted to the steel trust on its exports, how, I say, can those who favor this system consistently oppose the provision of Cowdon's bill, which proposes to establish a government system wherein all would secure an equal service.

Official errors were made, as now appears, in the New York tax report (pp. 690-91) under the new system of assessment. These have now been corrected as accurately as the data permit. It seems that the total valuation of land includ-

ed such as is exempt from taxation. To correct this error, the value of all exempt real estate—land value and improvement value included, has now been deducted from the total value of land, with the following result:

Assessed value of taxable real estate (land and improvements)	\$4,798,344,789
Assessed value of all land	\$3,697,686,935
Assessed value of all land, less value of exempt real estate (land and improvements)	\$2,871,408,726
Assessed value of taxable improvements	\$1,926,936,063
Percentage of value of taxable land to taxable real estate	59.8
Area in acres	269,218
Population	3,784,853
Population per acre	18
Average value of taxable land per acre	\$13,725
Average value of improvements per acre	\$9,267
Average value of taxable land per capita	\$759
Average value of improvements per capita	\$509

It is to be noted that inasmuch as exempt real estate has been deducted from total land values, the taxable land values appear to be somewhat less than they really are; while the taxable value of improvements, nothing being deducted from the total, appears to be higher than it really is. But it is explained that "the error cannot be great, as the value of improvements is a small proportion of the value of exempt property, of which public parks alone constitute more than one-third."

Judging from the reports of the grand jury investigation into the Iroquois theater disaster at Chicago (p. 713), that body is very likely to do its work better than the coroner did his. At any rate there appears to be a disposition on the part of the grand jury to bring out instead of concealing the facts regarding an explosion. From this feature of the disaster the coroner's jury seemed to turn persistently away. But several witnesses before the grand jury have given testimony which tends to confirm the theory of those who from the outside saw the exploding gases burst through the stage roof in a high column of fire,—their theory that the whole force of the explosion did not go through the roof, but that it shot out a similar column of fire at an angle through the

auditorium. This witness, George C. Berry, is reported to have said:

My wife and brother and sister and I attended the performance. They were killed before my eyes and I was burned the way you see me here in trying to get away from the awful gases and flames. We had seats in the balcony on the north side nearest the alley exit. We were crowded almost out of our seats by the people who were standing. The space back of the seats and in the aisles was packed with people standing. The crowd was so great that the aisle arm of my chair was used as a seat. We all noticed the sparks falling on the stage, and I feared a panic worse than I did the fire. I had all I could do to make my wife and brother and sister sit still. We obeyed "Eddie" Foy's command and sat quiet until something awful shot into our faces. It was like an explosion of gas to me and it came with such force that all four of us were knocked from our seats. I was the first up from the floor and I reached down to pick up my wife. She was lying still and white. I was crowded away from her side to where my sister lay. I attempted to raise her up and she was crowded from my arms. I tried to get back to where I could see my wife lying, but I could not get to her side. I tried to, but, my God, it was awful the way the fire and heat beat me back. Fortunately, I had taken fresh air into my lungs when that awful explosion occurred and I escaped its suffocating blast. When it got so hot and the flames so thick about me, I started for the exit, which was open. When I got to within a few feet of it, I saw men and women and children piled up in a twisted mass of arms, legs and heads in the doorway. They were burning then. None of them seemed to be struggling. I did not wait any longer then to get my wife and relatives, but climbed up on top of the people jammed in the doorway and pulled myself out over them to the fire-escape. It was the inhalation of the gas in the explosion that killed my people.

Another witness, John Haney, is reported to have told the grand jury of an odor of chemicals and gases, which he asserted almost completely overcame him. He said the sensation was not an unpleasant one and that he did not fully realize the horror of it all until he reached the fresh air and recovered his senses. This corresponds with the statements of others who assert that the sensation was like that of anaesthesia. Altogether the probability is strong that the explosion was caused by chemicals, and that many in the theater were instantly killed by the

explosion and its deadly gases. To these the best of exits would have afforded no escape. It is, therefore, not sufficient to trace responsibility to builders, owners and officials with reference to construction and precaution. The cause of the explosion ought also to be clearly ascertained; and the responsibility for it—if there should prove to be any peculiar responsibility for that phase of the disaster—should be definitely fixed. There has seemed heretofore to be an inexplicable indisposition to take up this line of inquiry with any vigor.

Nations have this advantage over individuals, that they can know just what their friends think of them. It is not always a pleasant experience, but oftentimes the frankly spoken word, however unpleasant, is wholesome. Observe, then, how one of the principal and most thoughtful papers of Great Britain, the *London Speaker*, regards our new venture in Panama. Describing President Roosevelt—quite appropriately it would seem in the light of what he and his other boasting friends say of himself—as “the genial buccaneer” who at present guides our destiny, the *Speaker* proceeds to comment with wholesome severity upon his message in justification of the Panama affair. “His explanation,” it says, “does not justify an act of brigandage; it is merely an insistence upon the expediency which tempted the United States, in lawless defiance of the rights of nations, in aiding and abetting the revolt of Panama from her sovereign.” Then comes the rebuke that stings because it speaks truth plainly: “The United States has shaken the confidence of the civilized world in her honesty; the acquisition of the Isthmian canal a little earlier, and on easier terms, has cost her very dear in that moral prestige which is the truest wealth of nations. We do not wonder that a government committed to this buccaneering policy is straining every effort to build up a great navy. And yet there is a deep pa-

thos, almost a tragedy, in the pride with which this once peaceful democracy is aping the militarism of effete Europe.” For this ape-like world-powerism of ours, we have given up the glorious distinction of a world pioneer.

SENATOR HANNA.

“Of the dead, say nothing but good.” This is one of those precepts which live because there is the wisdom of truth in it. It is also one which, like most true sayings, is often perverted in application.

The personality of the dead should indeed be sacred. For that matter, so should the personality of the living. Death can add nothing to the sanctity of the individual. What death does is to dramatize the humanities in such manner as to place unusual emphasis upon the human quality of personal kindness, a quality which ought to be as active in the presence of the miracle Life as under the shadow of the miracle Death.

Quite as true is it that we should say nothing but good of the living, as that we should say nothing but good of the dead. If the evil that the living do is not harmful to others, it is something about which we should be silent; if the evil that the dead have done dies with them, it should be buried with their bones in the grave.

But some men are conspicuous representatives of great human currents or forces. They are types of social tendencies. In this position they personify to the multitude something which, if it happen to be evil, does harm to others while the man lives and does not die when he dies.

To say that such a tendency or force must not be criticized in connection with the personality of its conspicuous representatives when they die, is to exalt persons above principles and the dead above the living. To make their dying the occasion for emphasizing their good personal qualities in such manner as to seem to justify the evil principles they may have personified with distinction, is to pervert the old precept. While careful to say nothing but good of the dead, we must be care-

ful to say nothing that is good of the evils with which in the public mind the dead may be identified.

This distinction can be easily made with reference to the late Marcus A. Hanna, United States Senator from Ohio.

In his private relations Mr. Hanna is described by those who knew him intimately, as a man of lovable personality.

In his private conduct he appears to have been beyond reproach, so that even if evil reports might be properly sought for they could not be found.

He seems in business to have been not only diligent and progressive, but upright according to the best ethical standards of his business environment.

And if in the warfare of politics he may have used munitions and strategy that would not stand the test of the higher laws of moral philosophy, it is to be remembered that individual behavior must be tried by existing codes of honorable conduct and not by ideals. Moreover those evils are of the kind that usually die with the doer. If their influence survives at all it is because more profound evils perpetuate it.

With reference, then, even to this larger field of private conduct, where accusations against Mr. Hanna are most numerous and weighty, we may all unite in burying those accusations along with the body of him against whom they rose; and with deep sympathy and profound sincerity we may agree neither to say nor desire to say anything of the dead Senator but good.

His greatest rival in Ohio politics, Tom L. Johnson, did not wait for death to come before recognizing and acknowledging the virtues of Senator Hanna. In the very thick of a political fight, in which Mr. Johnson was the target for volleys of unjust and violent epithets, he frequently took occasion to refer to Mr. Hanna as a good neighbor, in whose private life and character he saw no faults that he would exploit. If Johnson could find it in his heart to say nothing but good of Senator Hanna then, why may not the dead Senator's bitterest enemy rise to the level of saying it now?

But the social tendency or force

which Senator Hanna so conspicuously personified is a different matter. This cannot be forgotten while it retains vitality, nor can Senator Hanna's personification of it be ignored. Much less may Mr. Hanna's personal virtues be so emphasized and elaborated as to augment the vitality of the evil he represented. We must not allow personal sympathy and tenderness to close our minds to the fact that the Ohio Senator was the most conspicuous personification of the most evil tendency of our time. He personified that tendency in public affairs which substitutes the doctrine of might under the forms of law, for the essential principle of right.

Mr. Hanna perceived no other standards of right than the conventional ones. That these are subject to an analysis under which the false in them must be rejected while the true is preserved, exceeded his powers of comprehension.

He believed, for instance, in the sanctity of property rights. But of property rights as moral rights, in contradistinction to legal or institutional rights, he had no notion. To him everything was justly property that the law recognizes as such, and nothing else was.

He was incapable of seeing that property in what men produce and voluntarily exchange is fundamentally different from property in advantageous privileges which the law grants. Thus, a street franchise and the rails or cars, a building and its site, a miner's wages and a mine-owners royalty, a structure of any kind and a monopoly privilege created by naked law, were all property to him and all equally sacred. Had he lived in Mississippi in slavery days, his economic philosophy—if philosophy it may be called—would logically have prevented his seeing any difference in sacredness between property in a horse and property in a Negro. Conventional laws and institutions, regardless of justice, were his only standards.

Nor in altering those standards did broad moral considerations seem to have any influence with him. Success alone was his ideal. Charitable he was, as charity goes; and upon a generous scale. But power was what he sought—power for his country, power for his party, power for the business in-

terests of his class, power for himself. He did not recoil from the obliteration of republican land-marks and the subjugation of "inferior" peoples, when imperialism was to be set up and his country made a world power. He saw nothing wrong in taxing one man for another's profit, and so had no hesitation in boldly advocating subsidies out of the public treasury for the private interests with which his business prosperity was allied. He saw nothing wrong in bending legislative bodies to his will by any means when there were legislative ends he desired to attain. Though he would not defy the law, he would make of law-making his weapon of might. To "stand pat" was his motto and to "get there" his ambition; not alone for himself, but for all that seemed to him as part of himself—his class, his faction, his party, his country. He believed that we must make our own destiny, and that our destiny determines our duty.

To understand this attitude of Senator Hanna's mind is to understand much in his career that engendered personal discredit in his life time and will probably bring his fame, should it long survive him, under general condemnation.

It is also the key to an understanding of the meteoric success of Mr. Hanna's career in public life. Doubtless his attractive personal ways in many respects contributed largely to that success. But it was chiefly due to the fact that with great ability, unflagging energy, and exceptional singleness of purpose, he united his feeling for the sacredness of established institutions as the repository of all the rights there are and the expression of all the justice that can exist. His narrowly utilitarian philosophy was the prevailing philosophy of his generation, and his personal qualities enabled him to become its very conspicuous, perhaps its most conspicuous, exemplar in public life.

What Abraham Lincoln was to the last era of democratic revival, almost that was Marcus A. Hanna to the present era of plutocratic dominance. And for corresponding reasons. Each possessed and

utilized the personal qualities that made him a protagonist of the spirit of his time. Opposites in principle, the two men were nevertheless much alike in their personal adaptability to the hostile ideals for which they respectively stood.

With the friends of Senator Hanna who mourn for him, all may sympathize. No one can stand in the presence of death without sorrowing, nor think of its be-reavements without sympathy. But with the tendencies in business and political life of which Mr. Hanna was so distinguished an exemplar, none can sympathize who intelligently love their country, who deeply love their kind, or who look with optimistic eye to the unfolding of God's beneficent purposes in the social sphere of human life.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 14.—Some months ago The Public commented upon certain correspondence between the vice president of a Cleveland corporation and the L. M. Whiton company of New London, Conn. (p. 322), in which the former endeavored to enlist the cooperation of the New London firm in a movement having for its declared purpose the placing of a secret agent of the Cleveland organization among the employees of all large industrial establishments in the East, whose business it would be to report and checkmate as far as possible any movement among his fellow employes looking to an organized effort to secure increased wages, shorter hours, etc.; also to report the proceedings of the labor organizations to which these employes belong so far as it affected their relationship with their employer. It will probably be remembered that the New London company refused to subscribe to this service and denounced the whole plan as un-American.

On Thursday of this week the House committee on labor was favored with a harangue by a Daniel Davenport, who announced himself as an attorney of Bridgeport, Conn., stating he was general agent of the American Anti-Boycott Association. Apparently devoid of all sense of humor, Davenport announced that the ground of his opposition to the proposed 8-hour bill was that the bill "was not wanted by either the employer or employe." Incidentally, he denounced it as socialistic legislation of the worst character. Of course, no one should question Mr. Davenport's authority to speak for the tens of thousands of employers and millions of employes in the United States, but singularly enough he

did not state when and under what conditions the plebiscite was held at which this decision of the employers and employees of the country was arrived at.

The interesting point to be borne in mind is the known existence of a corporation, having its headquarters in Cleveland, which is secretly organizing the manufacturers of the country against labor legislation, and is adopting Molly Maguire and Ku Klux methods in bringing this result about. It is hardly necessary to add that Davenport declined to state the specific membership of the organization he represented, saying it was necessarily a secret organization. And yet we are told that it is only socialistic leaders and agitators who are attempting to array class against class!

It is very doubtful whether a Congressional majority was ever guilty of a more shameless exhibition of partisanship than was exhibited on Wednesday when all but three Republicans voted to seat William Connell in place of the Democrat who, as every fair minded, unbiased person must agree, was elected in the 10th Pennsylvania district in 1902.

When it is stated that Connell was one of the largest individual coal operators in the anthracite region, and had made himself particularly objectionable to the miners during that titanic struggle, immediately preceding as it did the election in November, 1902, it is not surprising that a county normally Republican should have been carried by the Democratic Congressional candidate. It was carried by the Democratic candidate for governor by 5,000 majority.

For years Connell has degraded and debauched that constituency with a most lavish expenditure of money in Congressional campaigns. It is charged and not seriously denied that he spent 60 to 80 thousand dollars to secure his election and nearly as much more to set aside the vote of the people and have Howell unseated. It is striking proof of the demoralization which protection has produced in inducing its chief beneficiaries to contribute millions to campaign funds to perpetuate that policy that there was but one voice raised on the Republican side (Geo. Shiras, 3rd) against this shameless sale of a seat to one who had been and was still expected to be a wholesale contributor to Republican campaign funds, both national and local.

Overwhelming evidence was furnished showing that Connell tapped his "barrell," opened his "savings bank," and provided practically inexhaustible funds for any and all who could be induced to distribute them—no matter whether Republican or Democrat. A veritable saturnalia of corruption reigned. Men were told, "Here is a thousand dollars; go and 'work' for Connell!" Foremen of gangs of Italian workmen who were known only by numbers, most of whom had only been in the country a few

months, were given what to them must have seemed princely sums to vote their gangs "en bloc" for Connell. The cry of the Connell heelers was for votes. Votes, votes, votes, were what they wanted they said, and there was no question of how or by what means they were obtained. Any Democratic election official could get the equivalent of half a year's wages if he would but deliver the "goods."

When this wholesale bribery failed of its object by less than 500 votes, then Connell with brazen effrontery sets up the cry of fraud! Of course there was fraud. Fraud on a gigantic scale was the natural outcome of this general debauching of the suffrage and of election officials. Why, fraud was planned and bribery practiced long before election day. Fearing the wrath of the miners and doubtful of the sufficiency of the Republican nomination, Connell sent his agents into the Democratic convention and bought up a part of its delegates, so that 32 of its 160 delegates withdrew after Howell had been nominated for Congress and another man had been nominated for a judgeship. These 32 and others formed a rump convention and nominated Connell, thereby shutting Howell out from the Democratic column, as Connell carried his contest to the Dauphin County (Harrisburg) Court, created by Quay and manned by one of his creatures for the express purpose of doing what was done in this case, viz., depriving a Democratic nominee (Howell) of a place in the Democratic column on the official ballot.

How general the revolt in Lackawanna County—the 10th district—was, is shown in the election returns. Although his name appeared in an independent column, and despite the use of an enormous corruption fund, Howell, who was a poor man, having been a school teacher there for 17 years, received a plurality of 461.

The mere fact, never denied, that Connell has repeatedly spent scores of thousands of dollars to secure his election, should of itself have debarred him from a seat in Congress. But what monopolist could be expected to contribute to the campaign treasury of a party which should thus fail to "stand by its friends?"

Three hundred and twenty private pension bills enacted into law in 155 minutes is the record so far of this Congress. In the face of this, who will deny that the 58th Congress is composed of a most industrious body of men. None but a confirmed cynic would cite the fact that the 320 bills were passed in the House during a day when the average number of members present was about forty.

The Baltimore conflagration has again demonstrated the indestructibility of land-values—except from the with-

drawal of population. Although some \$75,000,000 worth of labor products in the form of stores, warehouses and their contents were destroyed, we find that the land upon which these structures were built has been enhanced, rather than lowered, in value by the fire. Increases of 25 per cent. and even 50 per cent. are reported. One property is cited for which the present owner, who only a few months ago paid \$7,500 for it, has been offered \$40,000; but like Oliver Twist he cries for "more." The same thing is seen in Brooklyn, where about a month ago fire destroyed its Academy of Music. The stock of the company which owned that building and site was in the market at \$115 a share before the fire, against which there was no insurance; but almost immediately thereafter it rose to \$225 a share.

ROBERT BAKER.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Feb. 18.

Reports from the Russian-Japanese war (p. 710), are still untrustworthy as to much of the detail; but it is now possible to gather out of the complexity of rumors, confirmed and unconfirmed, a reasonably probable account of the opening of hostilities.

As indicated by the reports of last week, the war began near midnight of the 8th. The Japanese made the first attack. They made it with torpedo boats at Port Arthur. Six of these boats crept close up to the Russian warships in the harbor, and before they were discovered began firing torpedoes. Three torpedoes took effect. They struck the Russian battleships Czarevitch and Retvizan and the cruiser Pallada, all of which retreated into the harbor in a sinking condition. The Japanese torpedo boats were subjected to a continuous fire from the Russian forts and ships, but four of them escaped. One of the six was sunk; the other, deserted by her crew, was captured in a sinking condition by the Russians. This fighting ended about 3 o'clock in the morning of the 8th after a Russian loss of 8 killed and 20 wounded. The Japanese loss, if any, has not been reported.

About 11 o'clock on the morning of the 9th a Japanese fleet of 15 ships appeared off Port Arthur in two lines of battle. Outside of

the harbor, about two miles from shore, there were 13 Russian warships. The Japanese fleet steamed slowly past to the westward, about 4 miles from shore, each vessel beginning to fire when opposite the Russian ships. A general engagement resulted, in which over 300 shells were thrown on both sides. Very few reached their mark; although some damage was done in the town and also to the defending fleet, while 22 Russians were killed and 64 wounded. At noon the Japanese withdrew to the southward. They claim to have suffered but little injury to their vessels and to have lost but 4 men killed and 54 wounded. War correspondents at Port Arthur report the destruction of a battleship and the disablement of a cruiser, as part of their loss.

While this engagement of the 9th at Port Arthur was in progress, another occurred off Chemulpo, a city on the western coast of Corea. Two Russian war vessels, the Variag and the Korietz, left the harbor of Chemulpo at about 11:30 on the morning of the 9th. They were attacked about 12 o'clock on the outside by a Japanese squadron, and for half an hour the fighting was furious. The Russian vessels then retreated into the neutral waters of the harbor. But they had been so badly damaged that their crews were ordered to destroy them. The Korietz was accordingly blown up by its escaping crew and the Variag was burned. The Japanese claim heavy loss of life on the Russian vessels and none on their own. The Russians concede 41 killed and 10 wounded.

Many reports of naval engagements have appeared in the daily press during the week; but, except as outlined above, the news in these reports is of the kind known as "headline news." It consists altogether of variations in accounts of the affairs of the 8th and 9th at Port Arthur and Chemulpo and of unconfirmed rumors of subsequent happenings. Among the more probable of these reports are those regarding movements of troops on land with reference to the Yalu river region. In this connection it is reported that the Japanese made an effort on the 10th to land two forces simultaneously

in the rear of Port Arthur, on opposite sides of the Liaotung peninsula, but that the movement was repulsed with serious loss to the Japanese. It must be remembered, however, that the censorship on each side is enforced with such extreme severity that no reports that are subject to it can be accepted without careful consideration of the probabilities or satisfactory confirmation.

Japan's formal declaration of war was proclaimed on the 10th. For purposes of comparison with the Russian declaration (p. 713), we append the text:

We, by the grace of heaven, Emperor of Japan, seated on the throne occupied by the same dynasty since time immemorial, hereby make proclamation to all our loyal and brave subjects as follows: We hereby declare war against Russia, and we command our army and navy to carry on hostilities against her, in obedience to their duty, with all their strength, and we also command all our competent authorities to make every effort, in pursuance of their duties, to attain the national aim with all the means within the limits of the law of nations. We have always deemed it essential in international relations, and have made it our constant aim, to promote the pacific progress of our empire in civilization, to strengthen our friendly ties with other states and to establish a state of things which would maintain enduring peace in the far East, and assure the future security of our dominion without injury to the rights or interests of other powers. Our competent authorities have also performed their duties in obedience to our will, so that our relations with all the powers had been steadily growing in cordiality. It was thus entirely against our expectation that we have unhappily come to open hostilities against Russia. The integrity of Corea is a matter of the gravest concern to this empire, not only because of our traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Corea is essential to the safety of our realm. Nevertheless, Russia, in disregard of her solemn treaty pledges to China and her repeated assurance to other Powers, is still in occupation of Manchuria, has consolidated and strengthened her hold on those provinces and is bent upon their final annexation. And, since the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of China, and would, in addition, compel the abandonment of all hope of peace in the far East, we were determined in these circumstances to settle the question by negotiations, and

to secure thereby permanent peace. With that object in view our competent authorities by our order made proposals to Russia and frequent conferences were held during the last six months. Russia, however, never met such proposals in a spirit of conciliation, but by wanton delays put off a settlement of the serious questions, and, by ostensibly advocating peace on one hand, while on the other extending her naval and military preparations, sought to accomplish her own selfish designs. We cannot in the least admit that Russia had from the first any serious or genuine desires for peace. She rejected the proposal of our government. The safety of Corea was in danger and the interests of our empire were menaced. The guarantees for the future which we failed to secure by peaceful negotiations can now only be obtained by an appeal to arms. It is our earnest wish that by loyalty and valor of our faithful subjects peace may soon be permanently restored and the glory of our empire preserved.

The bearing of the war upon the interests of neutral nations has been a matter of news concern during the week. Corea's interests are peculiar. It was reported last week (p. 713) that Japan had taken possession of her capital, the city of Seoul, on the 11th. This was confirmed by dispatches from Seoul of the 12th, which reported that the Japanese minister there had informed the Emperor of Corea that Japan would appoint a member of the Japanese imperial house as viceroy, and that he would come to Seoul merely as adviser to the Corean government. The Emperor was assured that there was no cause for alarm, as the appointment would be but temporary. On the 16th further dispatches from Corea reported that the Corean government had granted Japan the right to traverse the country. All this followed a military occupation of the city by the Japanese, which began on the 9th.

China is reported to have ordered troops into Manchuria for the protection of her own sovereignty there and at the same time to have proclaimed neutrality. Great Britain also has proclaimed neutrality. She is urging Russia to relinquish Manchuria, in fulfillment of international pledges, and has asked Denmark whether the Danish government is prepared to defend Denmark's neutrality. Den-

mark has replied in the affirmative. The United States proclaimed neutrality on the 11th.

The subject of chief interest to the United States, however, with reference to the war, is Secretary Hay's diplomatic note (p. 713) regarding a proposed delimitation of the fighting territory. As unofficially (but probably correctly) reported on the 13th, Mr. Hay's note instructed the American representatives to Russia and Japan as follows:

You will express to the minister of foreign affairs the earnest desire of the government of the United States that, in the course of the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan, the neutrality of China, and in all practical ways her administrative entity, shall be respected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and intercourse of the world will be occasioned.

At the same time, Mr. Hay notified of this action all the Powers that participated in the Chinese adjustment at the close of the "Boxer" trouble, and requested similar action on their part. Great Britain, France, Germany and Austria-Hungary are reported to have fallen in with the suggestion. Japan has notified the United States of her assent; but Russia has not yet replied.

A significant dispatch comes through the Reuter agency from Moscow, Russia, under date of February 15th. It speaks of the degeneration of patriotic demonstrations at St. Petersburg into riotous scenes in which "seditious proclamations" play a conspicuous part. The police are reported to be making domiciliary visits and arresting many persons. As Russia is believed to have been on the verge of revolution at the outbreak of the war, the reported circumstances may have peculiar importance.

In British politics the most important event of the week was the defeat on the 15th of John Morley's amendment (p. 696) to the address of the Commons in reply to the King's speech. This amend-

ment, intended to raise the issue of free trade or protection directly, was 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 conduced 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.

The defeat of the proposed amendment was by a vote of 327 to 276. The Irish vote was cast solidly against the ministry, for the reason, as Mr. Redmond, the Irish leader explained, that—

Ireland has suffered in the past equally from the protectionist as from the free trade policy of England. We are determined to use the complications which have arisen in the English parties solely for the purpose of forwarding the cause of home rule. We voted against the government to-night not on the merits of Mr. Morley's amendment, but because we regarded it a vote of want of confidence in the ministry. We shall strike in the same way against every ministry so long as home rule is refused.

For the same reason, namely, that a vote for the amendment was regarded as a vote of want of confidence in the ministry, many ministerialists who oppose protection, voted against the amendment. The debate disclosed a hopeless division of opinion in the ministry itself.

Attention has again been drawn to the principle of home rule in American municipalities, by an apparent rivalry of both parties in the New York legislature to promote home rule legislation. The Republicans, under the lead of Gov. Odell, are reported to be contemplating laws which would delegate to municipal control not only the Sunday question, but most other subjects of local concern, such as the regulation of local finances, the granting of local franchises, etc.

In the same general direction, though more advanced, was the action of the League of Michigan Municipalities at its meeting at Ann Arbor on the 13th. The following report by the committee on resolutions, of which Frederick F. Ingram, of Detroit, was chairman, were adopted by the League unanimously:

Whereas, It is the purpose and object of this League to further efficiency and progress in municipal government, and believing that such ends will be promoted by creating interest in the vital municipal problems of the day; therefore be it resolved, that this League take official action favoring and encouraging the adoption of the following:

First. A complete and efficient direct nomination law, whereby all nominations throughout the State shall be made by single blanket ballot.

Second. That the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities be fostered and encouraged.

Third. That public rights should be zealously guarded; therefore, ordinances alienating any public rights or granting so-called franchises should be given the strictest scrutiny and opportunity for discussion, in which the public should be invited to participate. Therefore, with that end in view, no ordinance granting such rights should be put to final passage until due notice of at least 30 days shall have been given to the public, and not then, if in the meanwhile a petition containing a fair percentage of the qualified voters shall have been received by the common council asking for its reference to a popular vote.

A programme for securing immediate municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago street car systems (p. 705), was adopted on the 14th at a special delegate meeting held under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The plan proposes—(1) That the Mueller law be adopted at the April election. (2) That the city acquire "as much of the tangible property, unexpired franchises and ninety-nine year act rights as may be a necessary part of an ideal system" by purchase or condemnation. (3) That the city council then submit to a vote of the people the question of issuing certificates to pay for the system and the question of municipal operation. (4) That in the meantime the council permit cars to be run only by revocable licenses.

NEWS NOTES.

—Alderman William Mavor, leader of the city council of Chicago, died on the 12th.

—On the 13th the Emperor of Japan celebrated the 2564th anniversary of his dynasty.

—John H. Hamline, a leading lawyer of Chicago who was prominent in civic affairs, died on the 14th.

—The Republic of Panama promulgated its constitution (p. 665) on the 16th. Dr. Manuel Amador has been elected president.

—Senator Hanna, of Ohio, died of typhoid fever at Washington on the 15th. Official funeral services were held in the Senate chamber on the 17th. Mr. Hanna was 67 years old.

—The first congregation of Swedish Unitarians in Chicago has just been organized, with the hall at 1631 North Clark street as a meeting place and the Rev. Augustus Dellgren as pastor.

—The lower house of the Massachusetts legislature rejected a bill for woman suffrage on the 16th, by a large viva voce vote. Only 24 members asked for a roll call, and 30 were necessary.

—At the woman suffrage convention at Washington on the 16th the Rev. Anna Shaw was elected president of the Association, Mrs. Carrie Catt having declined reelection. The color line in the Association was abolished.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 666) for the seven months ending January 31, 1904, as given by the January Treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M . . .	\$128,764,887	\$365,365,625	\$363,399,262 exp.
G . . .	13,602,160	59,517,150	45,914,990 imp.
S	27,748,130	16,602,586	11,145,544 exp.
	\$970,115,177	\$641,485,361	\$328,629,816 exp.

—A press dispatch of the 14th from New York reports that—

Edward Anthony Spitzka, the brain anatomist, has completed an analysis of the brain of George Francis Train, whose eccentricities were known on two continents. Broadly speaking, Dr. Spitzka finds that Mr. Train's brain, as an example of the brain of a man of unquestioned mental vigor and superior mental capabilities, is one of the best on record. The measurements of the head show a very large expanse of cranium and the measurements of the face show that it was normal. Judging from the cranial and cerebral measurements it is supposed that in middle age Mr. Train's brain weighed about 1,600 grammes, or about 56 or 58 ounces.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE LATE SENATOR HANNA.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Feb. 16.—We cannot conclude that Senator Hanna was an influence for good in the nation, unless we are to consider good as worked through evil,—evil continued so long and flagrantly as to produce revulsion of feeling and precipitate a wave of reform. Mr. Hanna was the agent of the influences that

make for the corruption of legislators and of the people. In the measure that he was, he was a baneful force. His imprint is the mark of the dollar sign. The badge put on him by Davenport upon his entrance into national politics, remained with him until death.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Feb. 16.—He bore the brunt of the assaults of democracy upon the plutocratic stronghold. To the democracy he was what Mr. Bryan has been to the plutocracy. To those that are Democrats, as Jefferson was a Democrat, and as Lincoln was a Democrat, Mr. Hanna was an unmovable person and the representative of destructive forces stealthily working to undermine democratic institutions. He was an Alexander Hamilton with none of Hamilton's mastery ability. But he made no concealment of his methods and his purposes. He was not a hypocrite or a pharisee. He firmly believed that wealth should rule and that the government's policies should be shaped to enrich the few at the expense of the many. He was neither better nor worse than the forces that are uppermost in our national life. In an age of sordid commercialism he entertained no illusions. Where other men in other times have taken up the sword to put an end to argument, he made appeal to the potent force of the almighty dollar.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Feb. 16.—In politics Mr. Hanna represented a system with which compromise on the part of those who are opposed to that system is impossible, even in the presence of the death chamber. His great ability and genius were employed to fasten upon this government a system which, sooner or later, the American people must reject if popular government is to prevail. Perhaps Mr. Hanna was entirely honest in the royal support he gave that system. Perhaps he was perfectly sincere in his declaration that the cause he championed is the better cause for the welfare of the American people. Those who believe in that system must be eternally at war with popular government; those who believe that the public measures Mr. Hanna advocated were for the benefit of the few to the disadvantage of the many could hope that the rare talents of this man had been devoted to the cause of the people as we learned it from such men as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, rather than as we learn it from such men as J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller.

OBEY THE LAW.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind., Rep.), Feb. 13.—The criticism of the county board by Miss Margaret Haley for its failure to provide in its appropriation bill for the printing of the real estate assessment, as required by statute, calls attention in a forceful way to this inexcusable dereliction on the part of that body. . . . The principal reason why the tax lists should be published is because the law requires it. If the board is not disposed to regard this as a weighty reason, however, there are abundant arguments in favor of it outside of the plain legal obligation that rests upon the county commissioner. . . . The excuse offered by the board is lack of funds to pay for the publication. But lack of funds does not prevent the board from doing many things not specifically required by law. Publication of the lists is made the plain duty of the board by the statute. If this excuse were valid it would leave all other duties involving expenditure of money wholly optional with the board. Moreover, the printing of the lists for public information tends to relieve the poverty of which the board complains by securing full and fair valuations.

SOCIALISM AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The (Milwaukee) Catholic Citizen (R. C.), Feb. 13.—We are obliged to protect ourselves

against habits of thought on the question of socialism that are imported from the seat of conflict in Germany. The German court and German officialdom recognize in socialism the great enemy to their privileges; and they have passed the word down to the state clergy that the peasantry must be warned from the pulpit. The alliance which now exists between the Center party and the party of the Kaiser, by which such measures as the recall of the Jesuits to Germany are to be favored by the government if the Center party will, in return, favor the military and anti-socialist policies of the Emperor, constitute a situation which explains, in a large degree, the German Catholic preoccupation on the subject of socialism. But the reasons of this situation do not extend to this country. Here the question must be discussed on its merits disembarrassed of prejudices and pacts.

GARVIN'S AVAILABILITY.

San Francisco Star (Dem.), Feb. 6.—Many genuine democratic journals are advocating Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island, for the Presidency. His is a name to conjure with (from the standpoint of expediency as well as principle), for, as one of our exchanges says, he has carried his State twice for Governor. He has been making a steadfast war on hoodlars and grafters. He has always been regular, standing faithfully by the party. He has, for a score or more years, upheld, in season and out of season, the standard of human liberty, of equal rights, and of opposition to special privileges. He would be a candidate whom every progressive Democrat in the nation should be proud to work for, conscious that if he were elected a steady progress would be made towards the ideal which Democrats have in mind—the complete extirpation of monopoly through the repeal of every law which favors the few at the expense of the many and denies the Jeffersonian principle of "equal rights to all, special privileges to none."

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, D. C., Feb. 8-13, 1904.

Senate.

On the 8th Senator Hopkins spoke on the Panama question (p. 1797), and was followed by a discussion over a proposed appropriation to the Oregon exposition. The diplomatic and consular appropriation bill of the House was considered on the 9th (p. 1853), and with amendments adopted (p. 1854); after which Mr. Overman (p. 1855) discussed the Bacon resolution regarding relations with Colombia. He was followed by Mr. Carmack (p. 1856), and Mr. Fulton (p. 1868). The 10th was devoted to pension bills coming up from the House, after a discussion of the Panama question. No business of general interest was done on the 11th. Mr. Carmack read a speech on the 12th by Mr. Morgan on the Panama canal question (p. 2025). Mr. Morgan's throat being in bad condition; and soon thereafter adjournment was taken to the 15th.

House.

Most of the day on the 8th was spent in considering Senate amendments to the urgent deficiency bill (p. 18717). The Connell vs. Howell contested election case from the Tenth Congressional district of Pennsylvania (p. 1874), was taken up on the 9th and continued on the 10th (p. 1959), when the contestant was seated and sworn in. Thereupon consideration of the Senate amendments to the urgent deficiency bill was resumed (p. 1870), and was continued on the 11th, when the House decided (p. 1938) to non-concur in all the Senate amendments but one. An immense number of private pension bills were passed on the

12th, after which the House adjourned to the 15th.

Record Notes.—Speeches of Senators Clay (p. 1845), Clarke, of Arkansas (p. 1906) and McCumber (p. 1937), on relations with Colombia. Text of Panama correspondence of Baltimore American (p. 1862) and Portland Oregonian (p. 1870), on the origin, etc., of the Panama secession.

MISCELLANY

LINCOLN: AN ODE.

Read at the Banquet of the Seventh Ward Democratic Club of Chicago on the Eve of Lincoln's Birthday, February 11, 1904.

Forth from the dust and heat of busy years,
The lurid smoke of civil strife,
One figure stands, for pity even to tears;
But more, far more than that, great Lin-
coln cheers

All those who, loving Liberty as life,
Stand armed to-day for the long fight
Of Right against sheer Might.

He was a People's Man, so humbly born
His very parentage was food for scorn;
No college smiled upon his youth;
His grip on Truth
Rose from hard facts, not easy learning;
What books he knew came from an inward
burning

For broader views and bolder thought
To voice the Truth he feared might else be
wrecked;

By moonlight and by candle-light he
wrought

His own salvation out and, to correct
The inevitable defect
Of knowledge gained from books alone,
He had the virgin forest to lay prone,
Broad streams to conquer, lesson best of
all:

Hard work done with the hand.
He had in Poverty's close-ironed band
To strive, lest he in common error fall
Of thinking that soft palm, and polished
nail,

Linen unflecked,
And broadcloth coat
Deserve the best of this wide world's re-
spect,

Or sound the dominating note
When naught but naked Truth should
e'er prevail.

Tall, gnarled, and gaunt,
Homely in thought, and face, and form,
A figure fit to make the genteel smile
And men of culture laugh,
With tales upon his lips that still,
Like ghosts, the fastidious haunt,
He learned his trade, with granite will,
The trade of separating wheat from chaff,
Upon that simpler, older plan
Where human hearts are warm
And kindness halves full many a weary
mile:

His one fine trade, of knowing men—and
Man.

Now, they, who closeted in well-warmed
rooms
'Mid hot-house thoughts as well as hot-
house blooms

Pretend to hold o'er daily life the rod
Of what 't is well to know,
Would make of him a god!
Now, those whose mental kindred years
ago

Could find in him only the mean and low,
Exalt him, and where once the halter
Was far too good, would set him on an
altar!

But how, and for what end?

They would not have us like him—that's
absurd;

They would smooth out the ruggedness
And honesty, would chasten every word,
With nice refinement blend
The scorn servility in him bestirred,
Turn robust curses to sweet words of
bliss—

A Samson sheared through their Delli'ah
kiss.

The deathless word of Jefferson
Which was in Lincoln's very soul—
That Man is one

And men are equal, all, before the Law,
They call an outlived, outgrown thought, a
saw

Gleaned from a meaningless and mildewed
scroll!

They've set in Lincoln's chair what hideous
thing

Of him who would be rich, or would be
King,

Who would have war to bring us better
trade

And make the money easier flow,
Exchanging dollars for the woe
Of mother, wife, and maid!

Aye, they would barter
For fat concessions every true Ideal
And our grand Declaration make unreal
That is the nation's one thrice-holy char-
ter;

Poor swine, its pearls they cannot know!

Would that our Lincoln lived to-day
To look upon degenerate sons of sires
Who lately stood as bold
As noon against the accursed fires
Of greedy and regardless gold
Burned before idols made of paltry clay;
To scourge, as once before were scourged,
The money-changers, those who glib have
urged

Us on the downward path
Where all the nations slip and fall,

Who preach that power and lust for goods
are all

And the Man nothing—tempting God to
wrath,

Who place in judgeships those that love the
rich

And scorn the poor, who Mft above
The people to a brazen niche

Inviolate from criticism
Our rulers, as if hallowed by some chrism
Distilled from station, wealth, or birth,
Not worth,

Ignoring the one Law—of Love!

Ah, what would Lincoln do?
God, what would he not do!

He who called forth to desperate war
A freedom-loving nation in its might
With Liberty for Man its guiding-star
To make that Declaration nobly true,
And so fought out and won his fight;
What stinging ridicule

Would not be his for all that school
Of shrewd, self-advertising fool
And "world-power" statesman, too,
That learns from Europe all the Fathers
died

To keep us from and teach a better pride!

Learning of him, the humbly-born, the
great

Through his own deeds, let us exalt the
State

Not for itself but what it does for Man;
Let us exalt the Flag on which he wrote
"Freedom" that it may always keep us
free;

Let us with eager jealousy
The act of every vaunting ruler scan

And for our vengeance note
Those who clasp hands with Mammon,
place

His filthy lucre in the van,
And so would bring the American
To levels of some effete, dying race.

Aye, let us stand, with cheers
For Lincoln's memory
And tears

For his embittered life,
Each man an actor in the tragedy
That brought him ail his strife;

Inspired by him to wage the long, long
fight

Of Right against sheer Might,
Pledging our very breath

To keep the nation and our children free
Even, like him, to the death!

WALLACE RICE.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John:

Don't imagine that I do not like the
British. The British are the salt of
the earth—likewise the pepper. It's
only their greed and sordidness that
I abominate, as I do my own. Next
to Palestine, Britain has given us nigh
about our highest ideals of life, seems
to me. To the world's great demo-
crats, like Victor Hugo, she has con-
tributed such names as Milton and
Charles Dickens. She has given the
world one of its greatest literatures—
prose that is sterling and strong and
true, and poetry sweet and pure as
the white clover honey of American
intervales. Our young women think
in the liquid numbers of Tennyson.
Our young men, all unconscious, are
stiffened in character by the down-
rightness of Carlyle and the upright-
ness of George Fox. The leaven of
Britain's great men has raised the
world! That's why I complain. It's
because I liked you so well that your
Jingos led me off. You flattered and
fooled my inexperienced boys like
Hay, who forgot, if they had ever
known, my past, and I put my
money into bein' a world power,
tossed my reputation to the winds,
built a lot of sheet iron tanks, filled
'em with powder, set 'em afloat and
called 'em a navy, an' I see it's an
even toss whether they go up or
down.

I see it all now plain enough. I've
been buildin' a lot of warships that
are jist big Chinese firecrackers that
anybody can let off that can buy or
steal a torpedo, or ram 'em with a
scow.

I think I've been a runnin' wrong.
My full dinner pail has a dint in its
stomach; and my Republican prosperi-
ty is changed to "an apathy in
stocks." I was afraid of bein' called
a little American onct; but I'd ruther

be a little American than a Big Thief, and it's more economical.

After all there ain't anything in violatin' the commandments of God. What's the spoon value, anyway, of the stuff I've stolen? The Philippines are an annual debt; and the Panama canal is a fish-trap for money, set and tended by financiers.

Well, this Japanese-Russian war has saved me a pot of money anyway. I don't dig taters no more, an' save up, to build a lot of tin warships, vulnerable without and within', to go fightin' in. The tin warship business is over fer me; and it looks the same fer the rest of you fellows. Say, John, what's to 'become of great naval empires if the ironclads can be blown out of water' by any little antimere of a torpedo boat? What becomes of you if warships won't float? Where's your Indian empire, and South Africa? Why it reconstructs Christendom, and countries will begin to govern themselves. The South American republics won't need no warships, nor no Monroe doctrine. All they'll need will be a half dozen torpedo boats apiece along shore, and Europe will be so courteous that The Hague court can do all the business; or, if not, and a warship menaces 'em a torpedo fleet or a submarine, swarming it some dark night, will do the business.

Anyway I've got the lesson. I may lay in a few torpedo boats to have along shore to keep foreigners from bein' too fresh, but as for sheet-iron powder tanks as fightin' machines—I save the price.

Torpedo boats may venture more,
But big warships must keep near shore.
UNCLE SAM.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

Believing that the publicity given to the question of paroling prisoners from the workhouse would be of general interest, a correspondent recently called on Harris R. Cooley, who has charge of the departments of charities and correction under the Johnson administration, and asked for a statement from the standpoint of the administration, to which he replied in part as follows:

"When Mr. Johnson was the first time elected Mayor of Cleveland, he asked me to accept the position of director of charities and correction. For 21 years I had been pastor of the Cedar avenue church, and now I suddenly found myself face to face with the problem of the poor and the criminal. Very early in our conversations

concerning the work of my department the question of kindness and mercy toward the so-called criminals was considered. I said that a radical change in the manner of dealing with this class of people would frighten many good people, and would bring much adverse criticism. In his characteristic way the Mayor said: 'If it is right, we will go ahead and do it.' He not only gave to the movement his support and sympathy, but he himself led out in the work far beyond the old traditional methods. He has never hesitated to give his hearty approval. During his first administration, we pardoned and paroled 1,160 prisoners. The fact that during the previous administration only 84 were pardoned indicates the departure from the established method. In the political campaign much was said about his dealing with crime 'with a kind and considerate hand.' He is not the first man who has been called 'a friend of publicans and sinners.' I think much of the fear and dread which were in the hearts of good people has passed away, and that there is a growing feeling that mercy and kindness are elements of strength in the reformation of men.

"At first there was much interest in the meetings of the pardon board and the room was crowded with spectators. I invited a number of my brother ministers to go out and see for themselves. As different cases would come up before us, the individual human history would be brought out by the quick, skillful questions of Mayor Johnson, so that you could see, as Victor Hugo says, 'the path up which the crime had come.' Here is a man in prison for neglect of his family. The wife and little children are present. The child innocently climbs on his father's knee. I would ask my minister friend what he would do. 'Oh,' he would say, 'I would give that man another chance.' He had passed unconsciously from the conception of prisoners as an outcast class by themselves, to that of so many individuals, each with a human history.

"We found that many prisoners were in the workhouse because they had no money to pay their fines. The Mayor took the ground that this was practically imprisonment for debt, which our civilization is supposed to have outgrown. Out of 1,160 pardoned and paroled, if they could have raised the money over 900 would have gone out before we even considered their cases, and, as the lawyers say, 'the ends of justice would have been satisfied.' If a man ought to be kept in prison for

30 days, he ought to be kept there the same, whether he has \$5 or \$5,000.

"The cases of intoxication were dealt with leniently, with the feeling that there ought to be kinder and more rational treatment. Many men have committed suicide in their desperate struggle with drink.

"In our conversations the Mayor has often expressed himself as becoming more and more convinced that most of the so-called crime is the result of bad environment; that the great, underlying cause of crime, misery and wretchedness is the lack of opportunity to earn a comfortable and honorable livelihood. He has the feeling that most of these people have not had a fair chance in life; that they are the victims of unjust social and industrial conditions. He sees clearly in the single tax movement the fundamental remedy by restoring to all the children of men their birthrights in the earth and its natural advantages. He believes that with better opportunities for all, the world would progress beyond our fondest dreams, industrially, socially and morally.

"Time will tell whether kindness and mercy are not stronger elements in human reformation than severity and brutality of punishment."

STATUS OF THE PANAMA CANAL QUESTION.

The following article, written for The Public, is from the pen of a man of national reputation, whose familiarity with the subject is highly exceptional. In transmitting the article its author describes the canal question as "not yet a closed book although it may be very soon."

For more than 75 years citizens of the United States as well as of foreign countries have vainly endeavored to open a waterway across the American isthmus. The carrying trade of the world has now reached such proportions as to demand the introduction of the economies which would result from its construction at the earliest practicable date. It is estimated that these economies would save not less than \$200,000,000 to the trade of the world every year, or more than the entire estimated cost of the largest canal ever projected. Foreign governments are debarred from undertaking the work by the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, and our own citizens have been prevented from completing a canal by adverse legislation, so that the duty has now devolved upon the general government in response to a popular demand that such an interoceanic waterway should

be built, owned and controlled by the United States.

This demand led to the passage of the bill known as the Hepburn bill, by the house of representatives, in the session of 1901-2, by a vote of 302 to 2, thus demonstrating the absence of all partisanship; but the senate thought it wise to substitute a totally different measure requiring the president to proceed first upon the Panama route under the following conditions as specified in the act;—

Sec. 4. That should the President be unable to obtain for the United States a satisfactory title to the property of the New Panama Canal company and the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia, and the rights mentioned in sections one and two of this act, within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms, then the President having first obtained for the United States perpetual control by treaty of the necessary territory from Costa Rica and Nicaragua, upon terms which he may consider reasonable, for the construction, perpetual maintenance, operation and protection of a canal connecting the Caribbean Sea with the Pacific Ocean by what is commonly known as the Nicaragua route, shall through the said Isthmian Canal Commission cause to be excavated and constructed a ship canal waterway from a point on the shore of the Caribbean sea near Greytown, by way of Lake Nicaragua, to a point near Brito on the Pacific Ocean.

Under this act therefore it became a *sine qua non* that the title should first be secured and also that perpetual control be obtained of the right of way. The practical difficulties in the way of securing these fundamental rights may best be stated by reference to the treaty stipulations made in conformity with the constitution of Colombia.

Article XXXV. of the treaty made in 1846 between the United States and New Granada (now Colombia) reads:

The government of New Granada guarantees to the government of the United States that the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States, etc. . . . And in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages, and for the favors they have acquired by the fourth, fifth and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and, in consequence, the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.

Under this treaty the concessions

were granted to a corporation chartered by the State of New York to construct a railroad across the Isthmus, but it was "absolutely prohibited" from selling or transferring its rights to any foreign powers. The same care was exercised in the concessions granted in 1836 for a transit-way across the Isthmus, and also in the concessions for a canal, executed in 1878, to the French company.

The contract of 1850 as modified in 1867, for the Panama railroad, Art. XXVIII., provides;—

The present privilege cannot be ceded or transferred to any foreign government—that is to say, to any government existing outside of Colombian territory—under pain of forfeiture of the said privilege by the mere act of attempting or verifying such cession or transfer, which act from the present time is declared absolutely null and of no value or effect.

The contract for the canal, dated 1878, says:

Art. 21. The grantees, or those who in future may succeed them in their rights, may transfer these rights to other capitalists or financial companies, but it is absolutely prohibited to cede or mortgage them under any consideration whatever to any nation or foreign government.

When testifying before the inter-oceanic committee of the senate in reference to the proper means by which the government of the United States might acquire title to construct the canal under the Spooner act, ex-Senator Pasco, the member of the Isthmian canal commission, having charge of the investigations of these matters, stated in reply to the chairman of the committee, as follows:

The Chairman—What action, if any, is necessary on the part of the Colombian Government or the French Government to secure to this Government the perpetual control, management and ownership of this Panama route?

Mr. Pasco—I do not understand that the French Government has anything to do with the matter. It is a private corporation, and it is organized under the laws of France. The interest that the liquidator has in it is controlled by the court having jurisdiction in the matter; but the property lies in Colombia, and of course no transfer of title can be made except in accordance with the laws of Colombia and in accordance with the authority of the Colombian Government; and the concession, as I said, would make it impossible for the French company to transfer its rights without the consent of the Colombian Government. The United States can never go there at all unless the terms by which it can occupy the country and construct and carry on the canal after it is completed can be arranged with the Colombian Government. It can never be done without the consent of Colombia, and that, of course, is a matter for treaty arrangements.

The sequel has shown that Colombia was unwilling to part with her

sovereignty under the terms of the Hay-Herran treaty, which was negotiated but not ratified, and hence there was apparently no legitimate way whereby the government of the United States as such could acquire title without doing violence to the laws of nations, for which she should at least render just compensation.

Hence it would appear that private parties have been debarred from constructing a canal by the powerful opposition arrayed against all efforts, and that the rights of sovereignty have prevented the government from undertaking the work, as was evidently foreseen. It follows that the most practicable as well as the most honorable course to pursue would be to exercise the discretion vested in the chief executive of the United States and proceed to build the canal by way of the Lake of Nicaragua.

BRYAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF TOLSTOY.

Extracts from "Tolstoy, Apostle of Love—A Study by William Jennings Bryan," published in the Chicago Sunday American of February 7. This article is one of a series of foreign articles written by Mr. Bryan, now appearing in the Chicago American.

New York, Feb. 6.—Count Leo Tolstoy, the intellectual giant of Russia, the moral Titan of Europe and the world's most conspicuous exponent of the doctrine of love, is living a life of quiet retirement upon his estate near the village of Yasnaya, Poliana, about 130 miles south of Moscow.

I made a visit to the home of this peasant philosopher during my stay in Russia, driving from Tula in the early morning and arriving just after daylight. I had intended remaining only a few hours, but his welcome was so cordial that my stay was prolonged until nearly midnight. Count Tolstoy is now about 76 years old, and while he shows the advance of years he is still full of mental vigor and retains much of his physical strength.

As an illustration of the latter I might refer to the horseback ride and walk which we took together in the afternoon. The ride covered about four miles and the walk about two. When we reached the house the count said that he would take a little rest and insisted that I should do likewise.

A few minutes later, when I expressed to the count's physician, Dr. Burkenheim, the fact that he might have overtaxed his strength, the doctor smilingly assured me that the count usually took more exercise, but had purposely lessened his allowance

that day fearing that he might fatigue me.

Count Tolstoy is an impressive figure. His years have only slightly bowed his broad shoulders, and his step is still alert.

In height he is about five feet eight, his head is large and his abundant hair is not yet wholly white.

His large blue eyes are set wide apart and are shaded by heavy eyebrows.

The forehead is unusually wide and high. He wears a long, full beard that gives him a patriarchal appearance.

The mouth is large and the lips full. The nose is rather long and the nostrils are wide. The hands are muscular and the grasp bespeaks warmth of heart.

Tolstoy presents an ideal, and while he recognizes that the best of efforts is but an approach to the ideal, he does not consent to the lowering of the ideal itself or the defense of anything that aims at less than the entire realization of the ideal.

He is opposed to what he calls palliatives, and insists that we need the reformation of the individual more than the reformation of law or government.

He holds that the first thing to do is to substitute the Christian spirit for the selfish spirit.

He likens those who are trying to make piecemeal progress to persons who are trying to push cars along a track by putting their shoulders against the cars.

And the religious spirit he defines as "such a belief in God and such a feeling of responsibility to God as will manifest itself both in the worship of the Creator and in fellowship with the created."

He is not a believer in protection and regards a tariff levied upon all of the people for the benefit of some of the people as an abuse of government and immoral in principle. I found that he was an admirer of Henry George and a believer in his theory in regard to the land tax.

He is opposed to trusts. He says that the trust is a new kind of despotism and that it is a menace to modern society. He regards the power that it gives men to oppress their fellows as even more dangerous than its power to reap great profits.

He referred to some of our very rich men and declared that the possession of great wealth was objectionable, both because of its influence over its possessor and because of the power it gave him over his fellows.

I asked him what use a man could make of a great fortune, and he replied: "Let him give it away to the first person he meets. That would be better than keeping it." And then he told how a lady of fortune once asked his advice as to what she could do with her money (she derived her income from a large manufacturing establishment), and he replied that if she wanted to do good with her money she might help her workpeople to return to the country and assist them in buying and stocking their farms. "If I do that," she exclaimed in dismay, "I would not have any people to work for me and my income would disappear."

As all are more or less creatures of environment, Tolstoy's views upon religion have probably been colored somewhat by his experience with the Greek church. He has, in some instances, used arguments against the Greek church which are broad enough to apply to all church organizations. He has not always discriminated between the proper use of an organization and the abuse of the power which a large organization possesses.

While animated by a sincere desire to hasten the reign of universal brotherhood and to help the world to a realization of the truth of the central thought of Christ's teachings, he has not, I think, fully appreciated the great aid which a church organization can lend when properly directed. In the work in which Tolstoy is engaged he will find his strongest allies among church members to whom the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is not merely sound philosophy, but a divine command. These will work in the church, and through the church, while he stands without, raising his voice to the same God and calling men to the same kind of life.

His experience with the arbitrary methods of his own government has led him to say things that have been construed as a condemnation of all government. He has seen so much of violence and injustice done in the name of the government that it is not strange that the evils of government should impress him more than its possibilities for good. And yet those who believe that a just government is a blessing can work with him in the effort to secure such remedial measures as he asks for in his letter to "The Czar and His Assistants."

Tolstoy's career shows how despotic is the sway of the heart and how, after all, it rules the world, for while his literary achievements have been admired,

the influence which they have exerted is as nothing compared with the influence exerted by his philosophy.

People enjoy reading his character sketches, his dialogues and his descriptions of Russian life, but these do not take hold upon men like his simple presentation of the doctrine of love, exemplified in his life as clearly as it is expressed by his pen.

Many of his utterances are denied publication in Russia and when printed abroad cannot be carried across the border, and yet he has made such a powerful impression upon the world that he is himself safe from molestation.

He can say with impunity against his government and against the Greek church what would be perilous for others to say, and his very security is proof positive that in Russia thought inspired by love is, as Carlyle has declared it to be everywhere, stronger than artillery parks.

OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE EXPORT BARGAIN COUNTERS.

The American Economist, organ of the Protective Tariff league, attempts to justify the action of the protected manufacturers in selling goods to foreigners at half the prices charged at home, by declaring that this same evil practice prevails in other countries and, to some extent, even in free trade Great Britain.

When two wrongs make one right, then, and only then, can we hope to eradicate this great economic evil by pointing to the same evil in other countries. The Economist cites Germany and Great Britain. Of course Germany, being a highly protected country, sells goods to foreigners at greatly reduced prices. In all highly protected countries there are bargain counters for foreigners only.

Thus German sugar is now being sold in Germany for 6.5 cents per pound, and for export to England at 2 cents. The tariff duty on sugar imported into Germany is 4.3 cents per pound. It is this duty, and this alone, that enables the German sugar trust (Cartel) to thus discriminate against the German consumers. No such discrimination as this exists, or can exist, in Great Britain or any other low-tariff country.

The only specific instance of discrimination in England cited by the Economist is that of the Taff Vale railroad, which charges "37 cents a ton for (Welsh) coal shipped over the road, while the same kind of coal pays only 25 cents a ton when shipped to go out of the country."

The London Colliery Guardian is quoted as explaining that "the railroads sometimes favor the foreigner because they have the home trader in a corner, and he cannot get away."

This is an explanation which explains not only the slight difference of 12 cents a ton in coal rates in England but the great difference between our own export and home prices. Our borax trust, protected by a duty of 5 cents per pound, has us in a corner and compels us to pay 7½ cents per pound for borax which it sells in England at 2½ cents. Our wire nail trust, protected by a duty of one-half a cent per pound, has us in a corner and makes us pay 1.9 cents per pound for nails that are sold in all other civilized countries at 1.3 cents per pound. And so on with the other trusts.

Of course not all of the hundreds of protected trusts that have us in a tariff corner compel us to pay the foreign price of their goods, plus the tariff duty and plus the cost of transportation; but the most of these tariff progeny work with this ideal price in view, and are mortified if they cannot succeed in attaining it. Practically all of them make us pay "corner" prices for their goods. And why shouldn't they, when we deliberately elect to put ourselves in a tariff corner and at the mercy of these tariff cormorants?

When will the people get tariff sense?

BYRON W. HOLT.

"What kind of man," asked the high official, "is this James Jewell—straight and trustworthy?"

"Absolutely," replied the assistant. "Why, there's a man who wouldn't even rob an Indian."

The high official looked somewhat skeptical of this, but made allowance for customary extravagance in speech.—Kansas City Journal.

A typographical union in North Carolina has found a practical way to help a few of the child workers in that State. It has instructed its secretary to select some of the little girls who are working in the cotton mills and send them to school, paying them their salary from the treasury of the union. The first child selected was nine years old—the only support of a sick mother and a baby brother. She was getting \$1.20 a week in the mill, but the union voted to raise her wages. This kindly act has created a great deal of attention from all classes of people in the South. One Southern labor leader

proposes that all the children who are working in the cotton mills be sent to school and have their wages paid by the State.—Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin.

"Do you believe in expansion?"

"Do I believe in expansion? Why, I believe in it so thoroughly that I hope to see the time when the Monroe doctrine is expanded to take in China and Japan."

Vandervelde, the Belgian socialist leader, said recently in an address to the strikers at Brussels: "Let us take the motto which the Christians have abandoned: 'Thou shalt not kill!'—The Whim.

The Plain People, retaining some sentiments of religion, regarded Mammon with cold distrust.

But the fiend was nothing daunted.

"I have only to disguise myself as a Savings Deposit," chuckled he, "and they will worship me."—Detroit Free Press.

BOOKS

THE BEING WITH THE UPTURNED FACE.

Clarence Lathbury is described as having escaped the title of poet only by writing in prose. The truth of this description is especially evident from his latest work, "The Being with the Upturned Face" (Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, and The Nunc Licit Press, Philadelphia and London. Price, \$1; postage, 10 cents extra), in which the strain of prose-poetry seems somewhat overdone for a philosophical theme not more generally accepted and understood.

Mr. Lathbury's theme is "the upsweep of human life from protoplasm to angel." Alike upon evolutionists whose faith is strong enough for protoplasm but blind to the angelic culmination, and to religionists whose faith is strong enough for angelism but not for protoplasm, the beauty of Mr. Lathbury's periods and the power of his poetic epigrams are likely to be lost. It is enlightenment rather than exaltation that they crave for, if they crave at all; and prose-poetry is not well adapted to demonstrating either angelhood at one extreme of human life or protoplasm at the other.

The same kind of criticism will probably be even more widely appreciated, not only with reference to these extremes of human life but also with reference to many of Mr. Lathbury's allusions to facts along the path of the supposed upsweep. For instance: "There was a point in prehistoric times when the animal reached its culmina-

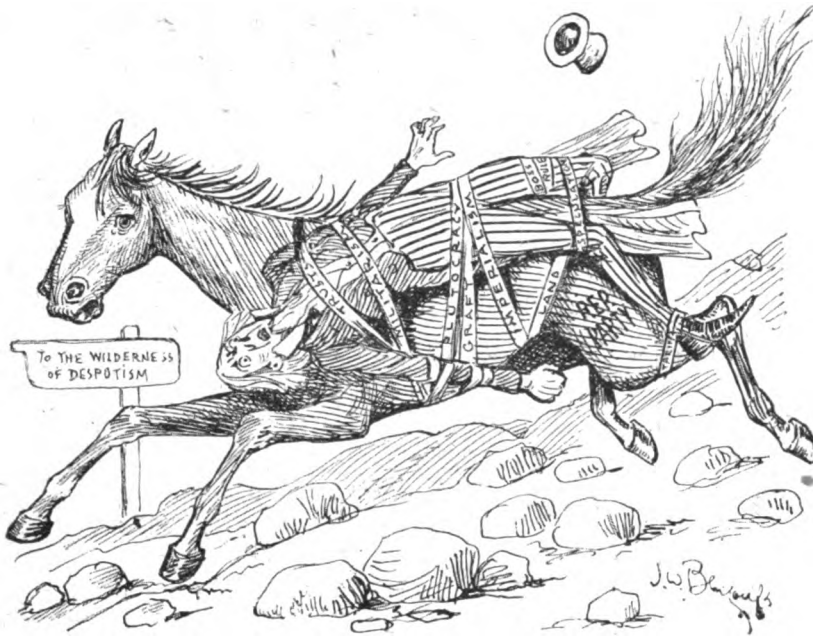
tion, and the elusive element called consciousness stole imperceptibly in; here the brute ended and the man began." How does Mr. Lathbury know that? Scientifically? Certainly not. It is only "scientific" speculation. The fact that it happens to be a "scientific" fad of the present does not make it true. We have had "scientific" fads before. Again: "Anatomy places man at the head of the brute creation, and tells us that with him the series comes to an end; he is not only the highest branch, but the highest possible branch." This is an assumption—none too violent for poetry, but hardly axiomatic enough for philosophy. In some such manner we find evolution, heredity, and much of the fatalism which they involve, accepted by Mr. Lathbury as scientific demonstrations and turned to account as the basis for a spiritual climax. Such a theme, to make it acceptable to independent rational minds, requires more philosophical treatment than it receives in "The Being with the Upturned Face."

This, however, is not a denial of Mr. Lathbury's postulates or conclusions. It amounts to no more than saying that poetry, even in prose form, is a different thing from either science or philosophy. Much less do we condemn Mr. Lathbury's book. However defective that book may be as a biological monograph, it must none the less appeal with great force not only to readers who are already in harmony with its philosophy, but also to many who, though their heads reject philosophy have souls that are full of poetry. That this must be so may be seen from a few typical extracts.

How, for example, could spiritual involution as the necessary prerequisite of material evolution, be more strongly expressed than at page 38? "Power and purpose ride on matter to the last atom, and arrive at man." Or, what more poetic expression of supreme creative intelligence and beneficence acting by evolution from involution could be desired than that at page 41? "An exquisite and puissant moral order seems to have delegated to the cosmos the office of stairway to a temple of worship." And it would be hardly possible to suggest more comprehensively in fewer words or stronger phrase the true explanation of the tumultuous spirit of our time—aye, of all time of which we know, for each age has had its own peculiar unrest—than Mr. Lathbury has done it at page 106: "We are athirst for the Infinite and do not know it."

PERIODICALS.

Speaking of the religion of imperialism the Nation says: "It is an eminently practical religion, dividing with absolute precision the elect from the non-elect. . . . How absolutely repugnant to democracy and to Christianity this new religion is need not be remarked. . . . Never in the past have such elaborate pains been taken to prove that whatever is right, how much more wholesome, nay, how much more humane, than this ethnological clapnet is Machiavelli's conception of the world as one great cockpit." At least it can be said that Machiavelli was no



THE MODERN MAZEPPA.

hypocrite and did not sniffle over his policies with pharisaic pretenses J. H. D.

The writer of the regular Boston Literary Letter in the Springfield Republican, in speaking of Rev. Lyman Abbott's Life of Beecher, is rather hard on the author. "Beecher," says he, "hated slavery which Dr. Abbott now does not, whatever he may have done before he became a sophistical defender of imperialism, which is simply slavery by nations, not individuals. He desired justice to the freedmen, which perhaps Dr. Abbott also does—though with very muddy notions of what justice may be." Of course, Dr. Abbott, in spite of what this writer says, would deny emphatically that he has ceased to hate slavery or to love justice; and yet Dr. Abbott's case is most interesting as typifying a change of attitude that has gone on among many thinkers in recent years. That this change of attitude is away from belief in democracy, and tends towards imperialism and pharisaic paternalism, no one can deny. J. H. D.

The January-February number of the American Law Review contains as its leading article the beginning of an address by Hon. John Goode on the Electoral Commission of 1877. Mr. Goode was a member of Congress from Virginia at that time. Mr. Blackburn Esterline, of Washington, D. C., contributes a paper on Acts of Congress declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Speaking of the famous decision in Marbury vs. Madison he says: "If that decision was, as is contended by some even in these later days, a usurpation of power not delegated to the court, it was the act, though a usurpation, of a Good Samaritan that rescued the constitution from a destructive blow, and the people of America can ever rejoice because of such acts of usurpation on the part of the court all along the highway of the nation's progress." What a difference it makes all along the highway who does the usurpating! J. H. D.

The Negro of To-day. Is the title of a wholesome article by Joel Chandler Harris in the Saturday Evening Post of January 30. "The Negro," says Mr. Harris, "is acquiring an education, slowly, as a matter of course, but surely." And in this connection he proceeds to make a few general comments which are well worth quoting: "So far as education is concerned, I am fully persuaded that both blacks and whites are getting too much of the wrong kind and not half enough of the right kind. There seems to be an educational craze on all sides that must be left to wear itself out. Such has been the nature of the popular clamor that the real purpose of education

has been lost sight of, and we are turning out heathen by the million, who enter on the business of life with the dimmest ideas of religion or morals. Education for its own sake—the education that more than compensates, for the time and effort necessary to acquire it—has been put bodily out of the schools. And we are in such a furious hurry about the education that has become the national fetish, for the reason that it is quickly over with, that we are impatient with what the Negro has accomplished." J. H. D.

At the January meeting of C. A. I. L. (Church Association in the Interest of Labor) Mr. Jacob Panker, organizer of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, made some interesting remarks on child labor, reported in Hammer and Pen, the organ of the Association. Among other things he said: "The labor of children is often due to the fact that, in a great many cases, even in this city, the legal age is sworn to by parents, sealed and signed by a notary public, when the children are not more than ten years of age. The parents will perjure themselves. They do this, because they are so ill paid for their own labor. Children are not sent out to work when the father is able to support them. When I was working in southern New Jersey, in my department a child fainted. I jumped up and took the child from the floor. I asked him why he did not go home. 'If I do not work, I shall have nothing to eat or wear,' he said. I asked: 'Have you a father?' 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Why does he not go to work?' 'He has been out of work for two years.' The child received \$1.50 a week, working from seven to six, on Saturday until three. Twenty-five cents a day, two and one-half cents an hour! I asked him how the family were supported. 'Ma goes out washing,' he answered. If that father were able to find work at good wages, I do not believe he would send that child to the factory. On the Nile children die of old age at 15. Children working in southern New Jersey do not live more than seven years after going into the factory." What a glimpse this gives of the "other half" of New Jersey—the home of trusts and the whooper-up of protectionist prosperity. No wonder the speaker said that in spite of Mr. Hanna he believed that "society is divided into two distinct classes." J. H. D.

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.

The Public

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.

TERMS:—Annual Subscription, \$2.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, \$1.00; Quarterly Subscription, 50 cents; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cents; Single Copies, 5 cents. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO. Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

ATTORNEYS.

EWING & RING,

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS,
HOUSTON, TEXAS.

Presley K. Ewing, Henry F. Ring.

FRED CYRUS LEIBUSCHNER,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW,

BENNETT BLDG.,
99 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan,
Tel. Call, 4004 Cortlandt, Rooms 1011-1012,
NEW YORK.

CONTRACTORS.

GEORGE H. ATKINSON,
CONTRACTOR.

Telephone, Electric Light, Trolley Roads built
Trolley and Municipal complete and
Work. financed.
56 Liberty Street, New York.

SOCIALISM vs. SINGLE TAX

The Turner Hall Debate between Post, Harding and White for the Single Tax, and Untermyann, Stedman and Simons for Socialism, is now ready and selling rapidly. It is a handsome book of 72 pages, including eight full-page portraits. Price 25c, five for a dollar, a dozen for two dollars, postage included. Address
CHARLES H. KERR & CO.
(Co-operative)
56 Fifth Ave., Chicago

FOURTH DEBATE

There will be a debate between the Socialists and the Single Taxers at the Vorwarts Turner Hall, 1159 West 12th Street, near Western Avenue, on Sunday, February 21st, at 2:30 p. m. Western Starr, member Henry George Association will represent the Single Taxers; A. M. Simons, Editor "International Socialist Review" will represent the Socialists.

JOHN Z. WHITE'S MOVEMENTS

Mr. White begins a week's engagement at Milwaukee on Friday, Feb. 19th. On Sunday, March 6th, he begins a week's engagement at New Orleans, La. The intervening dates between Feb. 27 and March 5th will be filled with addresses in and around Chicago.

Friends in the Southern States are invited to correspond for open dates.

F. H. MONROE, President,
Henry George Association,
184 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Progressive Religious Literature free,
Apply Mrs. C. F. Wetmore, 4432 Sidney Avenue,
Chicago.