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In his keynote speech at New Haven on the 11th William J. Bryan again touched the chord to which the moral sense of the American people is certain sooner or later to respond. Evidences of that response are even now not lacking.

Both as sound political principle and good party tactics Mr. Bryan lifts aloft the banner of elemental democracy, in renewed challenge of plutocracy to that world-wide and time-long struggle between right and wrong, of which, as he truly says, questions of taxation and finance and trusts and labor are but phases. It is good party tactics because it tends to arouse a response that is irresistible; it is sound in political principle because it is morally right.

To quote Mr. Bryan himself: "It is good tactics to strike the enemy where he is weakest and to use the weapons that are most effective. The weak point of every bad policy is that it sacrifices human rights to selfish interests, and to-day to prove its system evil we only have to show that it violates that sense of justice that is satisfied with nothing less than equal rights to all and special privileges to none. The only appeal that is permanent in its effectiveness and enduring in its usefulness is the appeal to conscience; and, while it may seem weakness to the brutal and folly to the sordid, it arouses a response that is at least irresistible." So much for policy. As for principle, we must view every question, says Mr. Bryan, "from a moral standpoint and arraign

every evil at the bar of the public conscience."

In this keynote speech Mr. Bryan has distinguished more clearly than ever before between the two great methods of social progress, the economic and the moral, and the two human forces out of whose conflict progress is evolved—selfishness and righteousness. Of the economic method—implied in the inquiry, Does it pay?—Mr. Bryan says that it "involves so much of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division that many get lost in a maze of mathematics." That is what makes the method—good in itself and as true as the other when accurately worked out—the favorite one of the forces of selfishness and greed. It lends itself so easily to the wiles of the fraudulent. Not so with the moral method. As Mr. Bryan observes, "to say that 'the wages of sin is death' is to give an epitome of history that accords with each person's experience." About this no one, not even the simplest, can be long deceived.

Abstract moral principles do not make appropriate political issues, as a rule. But that is because abstract moral principles are not as a rule flouted or ignored. So long as abstract moral principles are sincerely recognized as standards for political conduct, political issues turn upon concrete details. But when these standards are trampled upon, the supreme political duty of the hour is to lift them up again. Until they are lifted up, the battle for righteous political conduct is baffled by labyrinthine mazes of commercial mathematics. If the Amoritical hosts of privilege are to be destroyed, the sun of righteousness must stay high over Gibeon while the battle proceeds. In raising the standard of moral principle, there-

fore, as the test for all problems of public policy, foreign and domestic, Mr. Bryan has proved his superior qualities of statesmanship and leadership for his time. Your Hamiltons, and Clays, and Websters are types of great statesmen and leaders in the eras of commercial mathematics; but when commercial mathematics have deadened the social conscience and turned the language of righteousness into by-words and cynical puns, the statesmanship of your Hamiltons and Clays and Websters loses its virility, and true leaders of the people, like Jefferson, and Lincoln, and Bryan, come forward to restore the moral equilibrium.

We have said that evidences of this restoration are even now not lacking. The most notable of these signs appeared in the very city in which Mr. Bryan spoke and on the same day. Our allusion is to the New Haven petition to the Senate on the subject of the Panama treaty. This petition is under the signatures of Theodore S. Woolsey, professor of international law at Yale; Franklin Carter, formerly president of Williams college; Henry Wade Rogers, dean of the Yale law school; Frank Sanders, dean of the Yale divinity school; and Profs. Sumner and Schwab, of the department of political economy of Yale. In addition the signatures of several prominent citizens of New Haven are appended. Sanctioned by such names, the petition is obviously one of great weight for good or evil according to the nature of its request, and in that respect it is full of encouragement. We quote its substance as briefly reported in the press dispatches:

After declaring that there is a recognized body of laws which ought to govern the conduct of nations irrespective of their strength, the petition says that a belief has arisen in the minds

of many in this country and abroad "that in our dealings with the state of Colombia we have violated and are about to violate the rules of international law, and that we are adopting a line of conduct toward that country which we would not have taken against a stronger power." The petition further says that the fact of Colombia's comparative weakness should make us the more careful to avoid the suspicion that we are making an unjust use of our great power and that the mere existence of such a suspicion is injurious to our honor and self-respect. It concludes by saying: "We therefore respectfully ask that before final ratification of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty our action in Panama be carefully and deliberately investigated, to the end not only that the Republic may do no wrong, but that its good reputation in the world, which is dearer than any gain of lands or trade, should suffer no loss."

One report on the Iroquois theater fire in Chicago (p. 632) was made on the 12th. It is the report of a committee of experts—builders and architects—appointed by Mayor Harrison to answer the following questions: (1) What was the primary cause of the fire? (2) Why did the fire extend? (3) Why did it spread to the auditorium? (4) What caused the loss of life? The inquiry by this committee has been made with evident skill and care, and the report appears to be conscientious and candid. Yet there is a plain minimization of the fact, which can be proved by abundant evidence, that the fire was attended by an explosion so tremendous that it rose in a pillar of fire-flash through the stage skylight to a distance of 70 or 80 feet above the stage roof. The experts' report does, indeed, account for the spread of the fire to the auditorium in part by "air pressure producing friction against brick wall, due to expansion of air or gases resulting from burning of scenery"; but it does not appear to have considered whether this "expansion of air or gases"—of sufficient force to break through the skylight and rise high in the outer air explosively—may not also have flashed into the auditorium explosively. Again, in assigning causes for the deaths, no account appears to have been taken in this report of the apparently reasonable sus-

picion that the expanding gases may possibly have been of such a character as to suggest the advisability of organizing a supplementary expert committee composed of chemists. The causes of death suggested by this report are panic, asphyxiation, and burning; and it is implied that these resulted from flame, smoke, and gas produced by the natural progress of quick combustion in a confined place. Yet there is reason for grave suspicion, at least, that many of the deaths were caused by the fumes of an explosion produced by other causes. This is a view of the catastrophe that ought not to be neglected by the coroner's jury. The facts that give rise to the suspicion may not lead to important results, when considered by experts; but they are facts, highly significant facts to the non-technical mind, and their significance or lack of it ought to be clearly disclosed by competent expert witnesses.

Great disasters to civilization are predicted by the London Spectator as the possible outcome of the possible discovery that experiments with radium may lead to the transmutation of metals. As quoted by a Canadian paper, it ruminates in this wise:

If it became possible simply and expeditiously to transmute lead and iron into gold or silver, the basis of our civilization would disappear. Wealth in kind would become the only form of riches. The stores of bullion at the banks would become simply heaps of scrap-iron. The great financial centers of the world, which owe their importance to their gold reserves, would lose the basis of their preeminence. A sovereign would become no more than a dishonored bank note, representing, it is true, a certain amount of labor or produce, but incapable of realization in any known value, because the basis of values had fallen. Banking would come to an end; reserves of capital would cease to have any practical meaning; all forms of investment would cease; the gold-producing countries, like the Transvaal and West Australia, would be bankrupted; and the elaborate system of commerce which mankind has built up during a thousand years would crumble about our ears, for there would be no standard, no little rod, by which to measure prices.

One must hesitate to deal seri-

ously with that paragraph, it has so suggestively the flavor of a satire upon the "gold bug" fanatics. Yet it may be well, even at the risk of falling a victim to a subtle joke, to observe that so long as there are men to do the work that they themselves want done, and no legal obstructions are interposed between them and the natural sources of supply nor between them in their mutual trading, they will manage to get along very comfortably though gold becomes as cheap as dirt.

New York's genial and eccentric district attorney, William Travers Jerome, a man-about-town-turned-reformer-of-other-folks, who is so suggestive of a paper-bound and slightly reedited edition of Roosevelt, has blown through Chicago with the mild cyclonic force of a Manhattan gale, and like a wandering comet has left behind him a dizzy dazzle in the civic atmosphere. If this rhetoric is flamboyant and mixed and perhaps incoherent, it is for that reason all the better adapted for its descriptive purposes. For a public character more flamboyant and mixed and incoherent than Mr. Jerome, it would be difficult to find anywhere within the generous covers of "Who's Who in America."

Mr. Jerome is a stickler for enforcement of the law as it is, regardless of whether it is right or not. Indeed, he is rather contemptuous of the idea of rights, as being youthfully academic. But he holds that laws must be enforced, wherefore he devotes his energies to the suppression of illegal gambling, illegal prostitution, illegal beer-drinking, etc., which is all very proper and commendable for an administrative officer as such. Not district attorneys, but legislatures, are responsible for the wisdom of laws. Yet Mr. Jerome, an administrative officer, confesses to encouraging the police in brutal crimes against persons charged with crime; and this is at least as illegal as dealing faro to men who want it dealt

or serving beer to men who want to drink it. Here, for example, is his declaration, as reported in the Chicago papers, of the way in which policemen in New York treat their prisoners, with the evident knowledge and encouragement of this rattle-de-bang district attorney:

One thing I will say for our police. They are brave, efficient men; they are not afraid of anything. Should any thug be so unfortunate as to stab, or shoot, or in any way injure a police officer, that thug is brought into headquarters in fragments. He gets badly hurt, if not killed, while resisting arrest. He resists arrest whether he wants to or not.

"He resists arrest whether he wants to or not"! What does that mean? It can mean nothing less than that the policeman criminally treats an unresisting prisoner as if he were resisting, and then falsely reports that the unresisting victim did resist. Of which District Attorney Jerome approves.

Severe but just were the comments which Edward F. Dunne, one of the circuit court judges of Chicago, made upon Jerome's view of police criminality, when a case of the same character came before him upon an application for the protection of two men under arrest from police violence. The police officer had beaten a fellow prisoner with the butt end of a revolver; and though the beating had not reduced the prisoners "to fragments," as appears to be customary within Mr. Jerome's jurisdiction, Judge Dunne took occasion to say:

I would like to say in connection with the abuse of prisoners that the statements attributed to District Attorney Jerome are law-defying, crime-inciting utterances from a public officer charged with the preservation of the peace. They simply incite officers to commit crime. Men in his position should not be guilty of uttering such incendiary and illegal statements. It is most outrageous, unworthy of the man and a disgrace to his office. I have made these statements concerning Mr. Jerome on the assumption that he was correctly quoted as follows: "Most of the men charged with crime, with us, when brought into court, bear evidence of

resisting an officer. We see to it that these men do resist an officer or we force them to and then bring them into court in fragments." I am astounded at Mr. Jerome, as I had always believed him to be a vigorous prosecutor and an honest man.

Judge Dunne was not mistaken in his original estimate of Mr. Jerome's personal character and official vigor; but he had evidently known nothing of that agile public servant's intellectual and ethical eccentricities.

The following extract from Mr. Jerome's speech before the Chicago Merchants' Club makes him seem an entirely different man from the inciter of police to crime which his incendiary interview revealed to Judge Dunne:

I was puzzled for a long time to think why it was that good men were not found in public life, and I said to myself: "This seems a strange thing that among 80,000,000 of people corruption should be found only in public life. What is this mysterious virus that a man becomes inoculated with when he goes into public life that makes him a 'crook'?" It dawned on me on reflection that the corruption of public life was perfectly rational, because it was nothing but the reflection of commercial life. Now, you know the business world better than I do, but I know it well enough to know that there is hardly a concern that manufactures that does not have to bribe the purchasing agents of the people that they sell to; and it is not right, and it is not honest, and it is no defense to the man that does it, to simply say that they are all doing it. Nor is it any defense for a man to say: "I shall be ruined in business if I don't." Isn't there something in this world higher than not being ruined in business?

It is hard to realize that those sane sentiments could spring from the same brain that so ignobly encourages brutal crime by the police, or that could immediately emit this incoherent mixture of false democracy and brummagem aristocracy:

We have got to get the men, and we will get the men when we get away from this farcical doctrine that there are no classes. I tell you there are classes and there will be to the end of time. There are brave men and cowards; there are true fellows and liars; there are honest men and thieves. God Almighty did not make all trees to grow to the same height, nor all mountains of the same altitude. And, it is class that has got to save the classes if this

democracy or any other democracy is going to be saved.

It is evident from this that eccentricity is not Mr. Jerome's only fault, for eccentricity is not necessarily incompatible with at least enough clarity of thought to see that the question of classes in a democracy is not a question of "brave men and cowards," "true fellows and liars," or "honest men and thieves," but of equality of legal rights.

In commenting approvingly upon Mr. Jerome's speech, Mr. Walter L. Fisher, of the Municipal Voters' League, judiciously selected its best part and gave it more concise expression in these emphatic words:

There can be no doubt that, in the broad view, political conditions are but a reflex of commercial and social conditions. Dishonesty and corruption are no more universal in commercial life than they are universal in political life, but it is only too true that political corruption exists because commercial corruption exists and to the extent that it exists.

We heartily commend that true indictment to the prayerful consideration of "business classes" everywhere. The distinguished and courageous Howard Crosby, writing many years ago in the *North American Review*, was almost prophetic in his characterization of what we should now call the wealthy business classes. He plumply called them distinctively "the dangerous classes." Even then the moral putridity which permeates these classes—making their codes of ethics even more offensive than their boasts of virtue—which Mr. Jerome deplored and Mr. Fisher describes, was perceptible to men like Crosby. Such social phenomena are inevitable, however, where the law makes privilege and the privileged rule the law.

It may be proved, with much certainty, that God intends no man to live in this world without working; but it seems no less evident that he intends every man to be happy in his work. It was written: "In the sweat of thy brow," but it was never written: "In the breaking of thy heart."—John Ruskin.

"AESCHROECERDIA."

Questions of ethics, fundamental in their nature, involving the great phenomenon of moral order in the universe, have arisen and are under discussion by the people of Chicago as a result of the Iroquois fire horror. Few seem to regard the fearful punishment inflicted on people seemingly innocent, chiefly on women and children, as an indictment against the prevailing spirit of the American people; few, perhaps, are able to extract from the situation as it has been disclosed by the holocaust the slight comfort it affords in demonstrating that there is still in the world a mighty force, not ourselves, working for righteousness.

The Greeks had a single word for that covetousness or greed which is regardful only of self in the present. It may be rendered into English as "aeschroecerdia," with the accent on the "i" before the final letter. It is translated as "sordid love of gain," or, in Paul's noted injunction to Timothy in its adjectival form, as "greedy of filthy lucre," with even more regard for its etymology. Sophocles uses it with great force in the "Antigone," Plato reprobates it; and the ancient Greeks, at least, like Paul, had the full consciousness that it sums up the root evil of civilization, the somewhat that destroys individuals and nations alike. It signifies that shameless anxiety for material possessions which sticks at nothing, and is even stronger as a word than that "love of money" which Paul, in the same epistle, declared to be "the root of all evil."

We all see clearly now, as some of us saw before, that the condition of affairs that brings the constant attention of theatrical managers to the box-office where money is to be found, and permits them to dismiss as unworthy their attention all thought of precautions for preserving human lives, is essentially a greed for gain that is sordid to the point of filthiness. Some of us are saying that the loss involved in the destruction of property, the damages to be assessed for human lives destroyed, and the closing of playhouses and dance-halls subsequent, is greater than the amount needed to have

guarded both lives and property. But it is seldom that the moral comes so quickly on the heels of the narrative; and the realization of the connection of the two is not even half of the comprehension necessary for grasping the great principles involved.

It is easy to see a fault in another; difficult to turn the criticism for another's wrongdoing home upon ourselves. "Yet—
Seest thou a fault in any other?
Look in, not out: he is thy brother;
Thou hast it, too—and yet another.

And this is a time for individual searching of hearts, and for inquiry into the hearts of the community, and how far it is prepared to purge itself of its greed for filthy lucre. Beyond that we must reach the heart of the nation itself, for Chicago, the most American of cities, is typical of the country as a whole. History repeats itself, and there is no people in the past that has not gone down into the dark because of this sin. Byron writes:

There is the moral of all human tales;
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the
past,
First Freedom, and then Glory—when
that falls
Wealth, vice, corruption,—barbarism
at last.
And History, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page.

In Chicago there is "graft"—that modern equivalent for "aeschroecerdia"—everywhere; not alone among politicians, but in all the walks of business and professional life men and women are actuated by that "lively sense of future favors," if not favors in the immediate present, which is a part of this crime against righteousness. Christmas has had its best significance prostituted to this end. "Charity" needs to be placed in quotation marks, because that real charity, which is human sympathy, is out of fashion. Lawyers, upon whom both Bryce and De Tocqueville found our institutions to depend, can be found in and out of the legislatures of the land to defend any villainy—and found in direct proportion to the emoluments. The principles of plunder actuate all politics—and Reid was right when he observed that statesmen are merely dead politicians—to such an extent that no voice was raised assignable to

public sentiment when McKinley first and Roosevelt afterward threw down the barriers of civil service that alone stood between the public pirate and his prey. Many of our courts are a laughing stock among great masses of the people because a corruption more subtle than that of mere gold has actuated them in recent decisions of the most revolutionary character, and a Yates can be found to put back in place a judge deliberately rejected by the people of Chicago in the most solemn manner. The New York World is fully justified in its saying of more than a year ago that when making money the American people could not be expected to think.

As reflected in national political platforms, from 1864 when the Republican party asked the suffrages of the people to aid in preserving the nation and setting the Negro free, for thirty-six long years until the Democratic party asked for votes in 1900 to keep us from enslaving an archipelago of men and women of darker color, there was practically no issue before the citizens of this country that was not essentially sordid in its nature and designed on both sides to catch votes by an appeal to selfish interests. High tariffs and high wages, low tariffs and smaller prices, gold and national honor, silver and more money for the commonalty, these have been the catch words in which a long generation of Americans have been educated.

During this same period the character of immigration has changed completely. From the Germans who came over to this asylum of the oppressed because of a hearty love of liberty and all that it implies, from the Irish who left a dearly loved home to escape British tyranny, we have descended to those who seek our soil for the mere betterment of material conditions. To-day the Jew fleeing from Russian despotism is the only immigrant who looks for asylum as distinguished from dollars. And the sole qualification placed upon entry to this favored land is the ownership of so much wealth: love of freedom is not even considered. And who is there to call a halt?

Neither from the American of old descent, who has been elevated into the status of a governing

class by the character of immigration in this time, nor the American by adoption, who is content to be governed if only he be allowed to make more money than European conditions render possible, is help to be expected. There are some signs that a partial awakening is at hand; but this, alas, is merely because one or the other or both of these classes is to be pinched in his pocket-book. Therefore we offer a hecatomb to Moloch in Chicago, and the offering at that altar is the offering of the nation.

But is there less a God in Israel?

Have all our boasts of material possessions, our colonies denied self-government and representation, our voting masses debauched by huge campaign funds and threats of personal loss, our general substitution of quantity for quality, made greed for filthy lucre any less a crime? Have we permitted Moloch and Mammon to usurp the seat of the Most High? Are the heavens obscured because we choose to look at them through opaque plates of gold? Must these women and children perish in vain? And was their slaughter a denial of a moral order in the universe?

A thousand pities it is that such a calamity should be one of God's instruments for awakening human hearts. But greed of filthy lucre is at the root of their destruction, and their deaths are simply a concentrated example of what has been going on for years. In our sweatshops, our factories, our railway service, our ships on the high seas, in our efforts to reduce wages and withhold better conditions from the laboring classes, in our growing love for manifest power, for war, for territory, for fashion and aristocracy, extending even to distinctions of birth based upon ancestral services in the War of Independence, we have a disregard for human lives and for that humanly catholic sympathy that makes such disregard possible by which scores are made to perish every year for one who was lost in the Iroquois theater in open disaster, and hundreds, chiefly women and children, are doomed thereby to a fate compared with which death by fire is humane.

And which of us is guiltless when

we search our hearts? Who is there that does not say, "This law was made for others and not for me," "This is the deed of my neighbor and not of myself"? Not those who are living on investments, whose one anxiety is for the size of their dividends at whatever cost secured. Not those whose chief interest it is to obtain higher wages, regardless of the means taken to obtain them. Class and mass we have forgotten; and Kipling's "Recessional" is good only to be read—in England.

Our literature is rotten with self-seeking. The church is silent. Not hymnology, but secular poetry alone preserves the spirit of humanity—and poetry is not read. But God has not forgotten, nor need man despair. "For," as Thomas Hardy sings:

For, in unwonted purlieus, far and
nigh,

At whiles or short or long,

May be discerned a wrong

Dying as of self-slaughter; whereat I

Do raise my voice in song.

This much is certain: Whether wholesale death brings us reform or leaves us torpid, all that "aeschrocerdia" implies is death to the individual, to the community, to the nation.

WALLACE RICE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

London, England, Dec. 29.—All the reactionary tendencies which you denounce in America are rampant at the present time in Great Britain. But I am firmly convinced that the return swing of the pendulum will take us far in the other direction. Beneath the surface the democratic social philosophy is steadily gaining converts. It is molding the thought even of those who would indignantly repudiate being influenced by it.

As it seems to me, the possession of India has been and is still the main factor in hindering the advance of Great Britain along the path of true progress, civilization and peace. True it is, and ever will remain, that "free nations cannot govern subject provinces." Their own freedom, or a substantial part thereof, is the price they must pay if they attempt to do so. This, indeed, is the Nemesis of history, is the lesson which all history teaches, and which the history of Great Britain sufficiently verifies. For the sake of the future of the world, and more especially of your great country, it is to be hoped that Americans will learn to appreciate its truth before it is too late. They may do so if only some few of your public men remain true to the high

traditions they have inherited from the past.

The mission of the Anglo-Saxon race may be to teach the people of the world how to govern themselves; but this can only be achieved if they themselves remain true to their ideals, and base their foreign as well as their domestic policy on the glorious democratic principles they have as yet accepted in the abstract only, blindly and stupidly disregarding their teachings when they appear to conflict with what they regard as their immediate advantage.

Recent events in South Africa also corroborate this lesson. They certainly seem to have perverted the judgment and deadened the conscience of this nation. The gold of South Africa, which was, of course, the immediate cause of the late war—or rather, perhaps, the prospect of huge accession of wealth without having to work for it—has not only corrupted and debauched large numbers of the upper and middle classes, but has thrown its glamour even over those who have no reasonable prospect of ever receiving any share of it. Hence it is that what is called Imperialism is, as I have said, just now rampant in this country. The big drum of Empire, which always arouses a ready response amongst the ignorant, is being pounded by interested parties for all that it is worth.

It was in the name of Empire, of Imperialism, that the nation was induced to go to war to conquer the Boers. It is in the name of Empire, of Imperialism, that the same men are to-day endeavoring to induce the people to forge chains for their own enslavement and impoverishment. Of course, if they are successful, there will be, as there was in South Africa, lots of plunder for some. But not for those to whom they are appealing, not for those whose labors will have to provide the plunder. They and their children after them will have to pay the price of Imperialism; they and their children after them will have to pay the price of their ignorance.

Needless to add that we are doing what we can to stem the tide. Since July last the Scottish and the English Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values have managed to sell over 26,000 copies of Henry George's classical work, "Protection or Free Trade;" and if only we can secure the necessary financial assistance, we shall sell another 50,000 or 100,000 before another twelve months have elapsed. To my mind this is the best work we can do; for the political education of the masses is, as I take it, the only work to which single taxpayers can profitably devote themselves for the next few generations. Moreover, this book is not only, as we advertise it, "The cure for fiscalitis;" it is also a cure for the more deep-seated and dangerous disease of Imperialism, containing as it does a lesson in the fundamental principles of democracy. The strain upon our very limited financial

resources has been and still is almost more than we can stand. But, as we can tell from our correspondence, as well as from the increased demand for other literature it has created, the book is doing its work.

We shall pull through somehow. This optimism seems to me warranted by impartial and philosophic inquiry. Though in times of depression one is inclined to think that it is our desires and inclinations, rather than the evidence of existing facts, that impel us to accept it as true, yet all past history teaches us that in the eternal struggle between the social and the predatory instincts of man, the former must eventually gain the victory. To promote this end, however, is the highest duty, as well as the most satisfactory and elevating work to which any of us can devote our lives.

LEWIS H. BERENS.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Jan. 14.

Between Russia and Japan (p. 630) the issue of peace or war still hangs in the balance. Diplomatic notes appear to be passing between the two governments, and ominous naval movements are in progress; but nothing at once definite and authentic is as yet reported.

In British politics another landmark has been made, by the disruption of the Liberal-Unionist party. This party was formed in 1886 under the leadership of Mr. Chamberlain, who had been a leader in the Liberal party under Gladstone. In his last administration save one, Mr. Gladstone introduced in parliament a measure of home rule for Ireland, whereupon the anti-Irish, or imperial Liberals, followed Chamberlain's lead in the formation of the Liberal-Unionist party, which entered into a coalition with the Conservative party. At the ensuing elections, those of the Summer of 1886, this coalition drove Gladstone from power and formed a coalition ministry, with Salisbury as premier. The coalition held office until 1892, when the Liberals, under Gladstone, were returned to power for a brief season. They were again defeated, however, in 1895, and the coalition secured possession of the government to hold it ever since, their latest triumph at a general parliamentary election having occurred in 1900 (vol. iii, p. 441). Mr.

Chamberlain himself did not become a member of the coalition cabinet until 1895, notwithstanding the earlier temporary victory of the coalition of which he was the master spirit. In the Summer of 1902 Salisbury withdrew from the ministry (vol. v, p. 295), Balfour taking his place as premier; and in September, 1903, Chamberlain resigned from the ministry (vol. vi, p. 391) for the purpose of relieving the premier of embarrassment in connection with the Chamberlain protection policy. Since then Chamberlain has actively promoted this policy in a political campaign made with reference especially to the next general elections. At the by-elections (pp. 598, 629) thus far this policy has not been endorsed by the voters. The latest of these by-elections was in the middle division of Devonshire on the 8th, when the Liberal candidate was elected over the coalitionist by an increased majority of 100 per cent. Immediately afterward a correspondence disclosing the disruption of the Liberal-Unionist party, noted above, was given out for publication.

The letters had been written from October 23 last to January 4, and were between the Duke of Devonshire, president of the party organization, and Mr. Chamberlain. As reported by cable—

the Duke states that Chamberlain, in forcing his protection policy as a paramount issue in the next general election, places the Liberal-Unionist organization in a position of great embarrassment, since the organization disburses funds to local associations and assists candidates in their campaigns. The Duke points out that the party is irreconcilably divided on the protection issue and that he does not see how the Central Liberal-Unionist organization can usefully continue its existence or equitably distribute the funds among candidates who are antagonistic on the present question before the country.

Mr. Chamberlain, replying—advocates a conference with representatives of the Liberal-Unionist associations of London to vote on how to continue the central body, the minority to retire, and, if they wish, to start a separate organization.

To this the Duke responds:

The Liberal-Unionist association, which has done its work in averting home rule, and which has maintained the Unionist party in power for the greater part of seventeen years, should

recognize that under present conditions its existence is no longer necessary and should be dissolved with as little bitterness as possible.

Mr. Chamberlain thereupon declares that in his judgment a continuation of the association is possible, and announces his purpose—

on his own responsibility, to call a general meeting at as early a date as possible to decide upon the course to be taken. If the meeting resolves to continue as an association he does not feel that the resignations of some of its members would deprive it of its representative character.

Elections were held December 16, for the Commonwealth parliament of Australia; but only meager reports have as yet been published in this country. The best information thus far available shows a Labor party land-slide. The Labor party gains 9 seats in the Senate and 13 in the House, while the party in power in the last parliament (vol. v, p. 503) loses 6 seats in the Senate and 5 in the House. The result reported by Reuter to the London papers, December 18, is as follows:

Senate: Ministerialists (protection), 6; Opposition (free trade), 13; Labor party, 17.

House of Representatives: Ministerialists, 27; Opposition, 26; Labor party, 29.

On this result the Melbourne representative of Reuter comments:

As regards the fiscal question, the Laborites are, speaking generally, strongly protectionist, but parliamentary history in Australia shows that they have been willing to reinforce either side provided they have been able to secure their own legislative ends. There is no likelihood of the fiscal issue being raised, inasmuch as, in addition to staunch protectionists, who form the working majority in the house of representatives, a good many theoretical free traders declare for fiscal peace. The attitude of the Labor party towards preferential trade will still be to increase the tariff wall against the foreigner without making any reduction in favor of England.

In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the Ministerialists were defeated in the House last September by the adoption of a railway employes' amendment to the Ministerial labor arbitration bill. Having opposed this amendment the Ministry dropped the whole bill when the amendment carried, thereby incensing the Labor members

and evoking from them charges of bad faith. Two months afterwards parliament was dissolved, and it is probable that the bitterness among workingmen, engendered by the attitude of the Ministry described above, accounts for the Labor party's victory.

Apart from the issues raised by the Labor party, the questions at issue were chiefly between protectionists and free traders, the latter advocating a revenue tariff, and the former urging "fiscal peace,"—or, as we should say in this country, a "stand pat" policy. The elections were very much confused, as there were several factions. In some places it was Labor candidate versus anti-Labor. Then there was a good deal of sectarianism, an organization called the Australian Protestant Defense Association having sought to stir up strife against Roman Catholics. Women voted at this election, for the first time in most of the States. The women candidates, however, were all defeated, though more women voted than men.

The principal event of the week in American politics was the return from his European observation tour (pp. 613, 632) of William J. Bryan and his delivery of two important speeches on the political situation. The first was delivered at a reception at the Victoria hotel, New York, immediately after he had landed, which was on the 9th. Among those who participated in this reception to Mr. Bryan were Dr. Girdner, John S. Crosby, Senator McCarren, Bourke Cockran, Charles A. Towne, General James B. Weaver, and Edward M. Shepard, all of whom delivered appreciative speeches of welcome. As reported, Mr. Bryan said he intended to keep away from any personal identification with the campaign of 1904, and dwelt upon the idea that a high moral principle of equality and justice must hereafter form the basis of all party contests in this country. His second speech was made at a banquet at New Haven on the 11th, at which the other principal guests were Congressman De Armond of Missouri and Governor Garvin of Rhode Island. It was in this speech that he defined the great

political issue of the time as being—

the issue between man and mammon, between plutocracy and democracy. All surface questions of policy, of taxation, and of regulation of finance are but phases of that century-long, that world-wide struggle between the common people and organized wealth. To say that it does not pay for a nation to violate the rights of the people of another nation involves so much of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division that many get lost in a maze of mathematics. But to say that "the wages of sin is death" is to give an epitome of history that accords with each person's experience. In dealing with the trusts, with finance, with labor problems, and with all the other questions at issue, we must view them from a moral standpoint and arraign every evil at the bar of the public conscience. Will it win? Nothing else will give permanent success. As the martyrs who, eighteen hundred years ago, kneeling in prayer while hungry beasts devoured them, invoked a power mightier than the legions of Rome, so to-day it is not only possible, but necessary to appeal to that moral sentiment which when aroused will prove more potent than the purse.

St. Louis has been decided upon as the place and July 6 as the time for holding the Democratic national convention. This decision was made by the national committee of the party at Washington on the 12th. Both New York and Chicago were in the contest, and the selection of St. Louis is reported to have been effected partly in the interest of Mr. Gorman, as the Southern candidate, and partly in fear of Mr. Hearst, in whose favor it was supposed the galleries in either New York or Chicago might be packed, and whose claims have developed into a serious problem for the party.

An arbitration conference, also held at Washington on the 12th, adopted resolutions urging the government of the United States to endeavor at once to arrange arbitration treaties. These resolutions were submitted to a mass meeting in Lafayette theater in the evening of the same day and were accepted with enthusiasm. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That it is recommended to our government to endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constituted for the case, all differences

which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiations.

Resolved, That the two governments should agree not to resort in any case to hostile measures of any description till an effort has been made to settle any matter in dispute by submitting the same either to the permanent court at The Hague or to a commission composed of an equal number of persons from each country of recognized competence in questions of international law.

It is further resolved that our government should enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as possible, with other Powers.

Among the notable speakers were Gen. Miles, Cardinal Gibbons, Andrew Carnegie, Edward Everett Hale and Rabbi Silverman. John W. Foster, former secretary of state of the United States, was president of the conference, and Thomas Nelson Page was secretary.

News from the San Miguel mining strike in Colorado (p. 631) must be read with caution, since this strike region is subject to press, telegraph and telephone censorship; but such as has been allowed to go out is to the effect that since the declaration of martial law and down to the 7th, 56 men had been expelled from San Miguel county by the military authorities, and that the search for firearms had resulted in the confiscation of between 600 and 700 weapons.

Similar efforts to drive men out of the Cripple Creek region have been met—whether successfully or not, does not appear—by an injunction. This was issued on the 7th by Judge Seeds of the District Court on the application of the Western Federation of Miners against the State militia, the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance. It enjoins them from driving union miners from the district. Adjutant General Sherman M. Bell was reported on the 7th to have said that he had given instructions to Colonel Verdeckberg, commanding the State troops in the Cripple Creek district, to permit no service upon himself and other officers of the guard in the injunction suit, and he declared that no attention would be paid the writ.

Regarding the Cleveland, Ohio, traction question, Mayor Johnson appears to have scored a pro-

nounced victory in his 3-cent fare fight. The proposed ordinances described a week ago (p. 632) were passed by the city council on the 11th. One of these ordinances confers upon the Forest City Railroad company, the 3-cent fare line, the franchises now held by the Cleveland Electric railway, the monopoly line, upon Woodland and Central avenues. The contention of Mayor Johnson is that one of these franchises will expire next September and the other next year. The condition of the granting of the franchises is that passengers be carried for 3 cents. The other ordinance establishes a zone within which only 3 cents fare can be charged by any company. This zone extends about four miles from the center of the city and would affect about 85 per cent. of the travel from home to work place. The probable completeness of Mayor Johnson's victory in the matter is indicated by the press dispatches of the 13th. We copy that which appears in the Chicago Record of the 14th:

After four years' bitter fight the three-cent-fare men, led by Mayor Tom L. Johnson, have won. It was announced to-day that the Cleveland Electric Street Railway company would present a proposition to the Mayor providing for three-cent fares for 85 per cent. of the people of the city, five-cent fares for 12 per cent. and seven-cent fares for the remaining three per cent., on which the request for a 25-year extension of existing contracts is asked. The Mayor will accept this proposition. The granting of franchises Monday night to companies proposing to parallel the important lines of the existing company demonstrated to the latter that "it was useless to maintain the present rate of fare, which is six tickets for a quarer and universal transfers. The three-cent fare zone embraces all the territory covered by the rival companies. The concessions granted do not include transfers. The railway officials declare that the giving of universal transfers has been extremely unprofitable. The announcement had a bull effect on the stock of the Cleveland Electric on the stock exchange, where it advanced $4\frac{1}{2}$ points on very heavy trading.

In Chicago the traction question (p. 594) has been invested with a new element, through a definite proposition as to compensation to the city made by the Chicago City Railway company to the aldermanic committee on the 12th by

its lawyer. On the basis of the tentative ordinance now pending he offered 5 per cent. of the gross receipts for 20 years, as estimated by the company's experts (\$197,000,000), and 20 per cent. on any excess over that estimate. These receipts, said the company's lawyer—

are to be computed annually, and if in any one year the receipts run beyond our calculations the city is to get 20 per cent. of the excess. It is to get 5 per cent. anyhow, whether they come up to our figures or not. This payment is, of course, to be in lieu of all other public charges against the company, except taxes on our tangible property. We will agree to pay our regular real estate and personal property taxes as heretofore, but will ask to have the amount of our capital stock tax deducted from the compensation paid the city.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Iowa legislature assembled on the 11th.

—Myron T. Herrick was inaugurated as governor of Ohio on the 11th.

—Maj. Gen. Chaffee was appointed lieutenant general on the 8th in place of Gen. Young, retired.

—Ruth Cleveland, 13 years of age and daughter of ex-President Cleveland, died of diphtheria at Princeton on the 11th.

—Gen. John B. Gordon, the last of the great Confederate generals, died at Miami, Fla., on the 9th, at the age of 72.

—Charles Foster, ex-governor of Ohio and secretary of the Federal treasury under President Harrison, died at Springfield, O., on the 9th. He was 76 years of age.

—The number of deaths in consequence of the Chicago theater fire (p. 632) is now estimated by the police at 598, while the records of the coroner show but 571.

—Jean Leon Gerome, the famous French artist, died at Paris on the 10th, at the age of 80 years. He was found dead in his bed, having died alone during the night.

—On the 11th the Senate confirmed the appointments (p. 632) of William H. Taft as secretary of war; Luke E. Wright as civil governor of the Philippine islands, and Henry C. Ide as vice governor of the Philippine islands.

—In the Straits of Juan de Fuca, between Seattle and Victoria, the Puget Sound Navigation company's steamer "Clallam" went down on the 9th, with every passenger on board, 56 in number. Ten of the crew lost their lives in efforts to save passengers.

—Senator Hanna, of Ohio, was re-elected on the 12th by the Ohio Senate and House sitting separately. The vote

stood 86 representatives and 29 senators for Hanna and 24 representatives and 4 senators for Clarke. The election was confirmed on joint ballot on the 13th.

—Gov. Yates has appointed ex-Judge Elbridge Hanecy to a vacant judgeship in Chicago, and on the 11th Judge Hanecy accepted. Judge Hanecy was overwhelmingly defeated for reelection last June. In a poll of 28 candidates for 14 places (p. 130) he was returned as the twenty-sixth.

—British reports of the 11th by way of London tell of the recent defeat of the Mad Mullah's main army in Somaliland, Africa (p. 200), 5,000 strong, by a British force of 3,200. At least 1,000 of the Mad Mullah's dervishes are said to have been killed and his army to have been dispersed, "for the present at least."

—The United States has concluded commercial treaties with China and Japan, as announced on the 12th, for opening Mukden, Antung and Fatung-kow, cities of Manchuria, to the trade of the world. It is predicted from St. Petersburg that this will directly involve the United States in the Far Eastern question of the European Powers.

PRESS OPINIONS.

CRIME.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 11.—The New York Journal of Commerce, commenting upon the Iroquois theater calamity, says: "Graft and unscrupulous greed among people who are not yet rated as belonging to the criminal class are getting to be the source of as much peril to the community as that underworld of vice and crime against which penal legislation is mainly directed." There is a world of truth in this pithy comment. It is the crime at the top as well as at the bottom which is responsible for most great disasters. It is greed, the demands of which are often accomplished by graft, sometimes by influence. The Mayor himself, in an interview the other day, hinted at the same thing when he said: "I am blamed for not enforcing the law. Every time there is an attempt made a delegation of prominent business men travels to the City Hall and protests. There are always prominent citizens to ask that ordinances be suspended for their benefit."

THE PANAMA SECESSION.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Jan. 1. (weekly ed.).—Commerce appears to lord it over us all, not recking of precedents, treaties or justice. An American writer on the isthmus, studying the origin of the "ditch-delivered" republic, reports that it "owes its existence to nothing that bears any resemblance to Panamanian patriotism. The new nation is the child of greed," he says, "conceived of the project for the ship canal," at that particular point. It was born as the result of no genuine uprising against tyranny, but of the open and unblushing bribery of officials, and an unlawful protection extended at a critical moment by a great foreign power. The real inspiration came from no impulse of nationalism beating in the heart of an oppressed people, but from the pocket nerve of the Panama railroad company and a French canal engineer, who was not even a resident of the Isthmus. Sordid, corrupt, tricky in most particulars.

the few men who brought the "nation" into existence, of course, were capable of inspiring a campaign of defamation against the unlucky parent state and filling our credulous and eager ears with charges of attempted "blackmail" and "robbery," none of which can stand analysis in the clear light of reason and the acknowledged rights of a sovereign government. On top of all, our own government has so acted as to outrage the national honor of a country with which it maintained friendly diplomatic relations and to give that country a cause for war, which can be overlooked only on account of the utter feebleness of its military resources.

New York Times (ind.), Jan. 5.—That this "revolution" was a plot hatched by a little group of Panama Canal speculators, and was in no sense a popular uprising, is a fact established by testimony so abundant that we must decline to accept the President's theory that he has been dealing with a revolution in the ordinary and noble sense. As to the President's further belief that we in no wise encouraged this little speculative plot, we must again depend upon the evidence, rather than upon his assertion. In order, then, to answer in the negative the question whether we went beyond the line of right and duty in giving encouragement to these rebels, we must have other and better evidence than is to be found in the message of the President. The President now publicly and in terms avows that in October last he had formed the intention to consult Congress as to the advisability of entering into an arrangement with "Panama direct" to build the canal, or of taking "what other steps were needful in order to begin the enterprise." That would have constituted an application of the international eminent domain theory. It would also have been war—but we have already made war on Colombia. This avowal shows to what length this hot-headed and belligerent President of the United States was prepared to go in the furtherance of his canal policy, and it brings clearly into view the dangerous conditions which may arise in a nation when its executive power reposes in the hands of a man so ill-versed in public law, so inexperienced in affairs, and so reckless of consequences as to be capable of committing a great government to a policy of cowardly and ignoble aggression upon a weak neighbor, on the pretext that his proceeding is justified by a preposterous maxim of his own devising. . . . We shall be interested to hear the opinion of Congress upon the President's admonition, as peremptory in form as it is unusual in spirit, that it has no duty in these premises save to ratify the treaty. That is the most astonishing part of his message. He shuts out Nicaragua altogether, he construes the Spooner act to suit his own purposes, and has the hardihood to tell Congress that even if the Senate should fail to ratify the treaty it will make no difference with his policy and procedure on the Isthmus. We have never before had in the White House a President of the self-sufficient and magisterial temper exhibited by Theodore Roosevelt.

THE SACRED JUDICIARY.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Jan. 13.—The affecting letter in which Gov. Yates urged a judgeship upon the hesitating Haney referred to a wrong which was done that gentleman last June. That was the month in which Haney was defeated for reelection to the bench, when he ranked twenty-fifth in the general poll and third in the Eighteenth ward, where his vote was more than double that of any other Republican. Apparently, the wrong consisted in the limitations which prevented the Eighteenth from deciding the entire election after its own way. Mr. Brennan, now an inmate of the county

jail because of his activity in the ward on election day, will indorse this view, and he adds something to the rich vein of sentiment in the Yates letter. "I am glad," he remarked, when he heard of Haney's good fortune, "that he is doing well." As Richard Swiveller might say—may the wing of friendship never molt a feather.

THE GRIP OF LANDLORDISM.

Iron Trade Review (trade), Jan. 7.—In reply to an inquiry, Greenlee Bros. & Co., manufacturers of wood-working machinery, writes as follows: "The item in the Chicago papers regarding the removal of our plant to Rockford on account of labor trouble was entirely of their own assumption. We have built a new plant in Rockford for one department of our business, and are about removing this work to that place, but we do not intend to remove entirely from our present plant, which will continue in Chicago. We did not have sufficient capacity here for our increasing trade, and did not have any switching facilities nor could additional ground be obtained at reasonable rates.

THEATER DANGER IN CLEVELAND.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind.), Jan. 6.—The purpose of the local administration to remove as far as possible every source of danger from the theaters of this city has thus far been carried out without inflicting any undue hardship or inconvenience upon anyone concerned. The necessity of these precautions is admitted on all sides, and by none more freely than the theater managers, whose hearty cooperation with the city authorities has been one of the most gratifying features of the incident. No such drastic action as was taken in Chicago has been found necessary in Cleveland, chiefly because the construction of the local theaters renders it unnecessary, though the Mayor and his subordinates have made it plain that no violations of the building laws that threaten the safety of audiences will be tolerated.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

(Boston) Woman's Journal, Jan. 2.—Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island, has been named as a possible Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Such a nomination would lift the party to the true Jeffersonian level, and, if maintained, would insure its eventual return to national control. The statesman who has twice been chosen governor by the people of Rhode Island in defiance of the plutocracy of that corporation-ridden State, would be a fitting leader for a genuine national Democracy.

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.

Senate.

President Roosevelt's special message on the Panama question was read on the 4th (p. 428), and Mr. Morgan and others debated (p. 435) the same question. On the 5th Mr. Lodge participated (p. 530) in this debate. A proposed investigation into alleged frauds in the post office department was the subject of discussion (p. 562) on the 6th. The principal event of the 7th was Mr. Morgan's speech on his Panama resolution (p. 592) in reply to Mr. Lodge. Discussion of the postal frauds occupied the day on the 8th (p. 631), and adjournment was taken to the 11th.

House.

The question of postal frauds came before the House on the 4th on a privileged resolution (p. 452), resulting in the disclosure of no quorum (p. 457). The privileged resolution was referred on the 5th (p. 547)—118 to 98—to the postal committee.

On the 6th the House discussed the subject of local government in Hawaii (p. 573). There was no business of general interest on the 7th and 8th. Adjournment was taken on the latter day to the 11th.

Record Notes.—Text of President Roosevelt's special message on the Panama question (p. 428). Text of Senator Gorman's resolution of inquiry on same subject (p. 544). Speech of Senator Stewart (p. 557) on same subject. Text of Culberson resolution on the possible power of Panama to grant territorial concessions (p. 562). Text of Morgan resolution on the secession of Panama (p. 592).

MISCELLANY

WHAT A WINTER!

For The Public.
What a winter! Life cries;
What a winter! Death sighs.

What a winter for sleighing!
What a winter for—praying!

What a winter indeed,
For Life, Death and—Greed!

J. S. THOMASON.

Chicago, Jan. 13, 1904.

VICTORY FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN TASMANIA.

A bill granting full suffrage to women has passed both houses of parliament in Tasmania, making the fourth Australian state to take such action. Full suffrage was granted to the women of New Zealand in 1893, to the women of South Australia in 1895, to those of West Australia in 1899, and to those of New South Wales in 1902. In the last named year the federal parliament extended full national suffrage to the women of all the states of Federated Australia. This act placed the women of the four states in which full state suffrage prevailed on an absolute political equality with the male citizens of those states. The women in the three states which had not extended the elective franchise to them were in the position of being able to vote for all national officers and in all municipal elections, but not for members of the state parliament. Now one of these three, Tasmania, has granted full suffrage, with the sole restriction that women are not eligible to sit in the state parliament.

Australian women, like the great mass of women everywhere, are not ambitious for office, so they do not mind this. In time, doubtless, this restriction will be removed. It now remains for Victoria and Queensland to enfranchise their women, and then the women of all Federated Australia will be politically free.—Progress.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTER TO JOHN BULL.

HE IS WORRIED ABOUT PANAMA.
Printed from the original MS.
Dear John:—I've been a readin' Theodore's confession about this Panama

business. He is the worst boy I have to get his feet in his hat. What would you say, John, if you'd sent a boy to a neighbor's to borrow a quarter, or somethin' you wanted, with instructions plain, if he couldn't get it there to go to the next neighbor; and the boy turns highwayman, holds the first one up with a double-barrelled shotgun and takes it from him, without goin' to the second neighbor at all? Well, that's Theodore in the Panama business. If my Congress wasn't a Congress of commercial rabbits, they'd spank him good. Why, I had hopes of Theodore. I thought all New Yorkers were born diplomatic—took it natural like milk and measles; and here he breaks the law of nations with a football rush and a slide. It's all well enough on a college campus—you own the ground there; but it's sometimes a serious business in international law and means war.

Why, I mind the time of my civil war in '63; you, John, and Louis Napoleon had recognized the South as belligerents, and wanted bad to recognize 'em as the Southern Confederacy, but didn't quite dare. It was June, '63, or July, and Roebuck, who'd been over talking to Napoleon 3d, made a howling speech in the British parliament fer recognizing the independence of the South.

"Are they afraid of war?" says Roebuck, half quotin' Napoleon. "War with whom? With the Northern States of America? Why in ten days, sir, we should sweep from the sea every ship. Why the Warrior would destroy the whole fleet! Their armies are melting away. Their invasion is rolled back. Washington is in danger; and the only fear which we ought to have is lest independence is declared without us!" That's the way Roebuck gave it to 'em; and, John, I was pretty close run them days. But just at the time when they were a talkin' so peart an so sassy, some fellow started the yarn that France had actually done it; that Louie Napoleon had recognized the South fer a slice off Texas. Louie Nap. had just conquered Mexico and it looked likely. It was the same thing Teddy has done with Colombia. An' what happened then? Why everybody commenced a huntin' cover. Nobody really wanted the job of cleanin' me out in ten days. The French were scared to death in a minute. "The bourse became very much excited and a fall of the public funds occurred greater than had been known in so brief a space of time for several years."* My man Dayton at Paris—

*From diplomatic correspondence, Part 2, 1863, department of state, page 769.

he was a good one, too—he put on his hat and hunted up Napoleon's best man, Drouyn de l'Huys.

"Drouyn," says he, "what's all this?"

"It's groundless; it's all a lie," says l'Huys; "we don't want any war."

"Neither do we," says Dayton. And that ended it. It's all in the dispatches of the time, but it shows what happened them days when you just talked about stealin' canal land from a helpless fellow.

Of course, I don't keer much fer pinchin' Colombia. I ain't a doin' right these days, nohow, and I've pretty near lost all shame; but I hate to have the name fer breakin' treaties and fer general dishonesty that I deserve, an' I hate like time a precedent that I'll have to pay for some day. "Twon't be Colombia that'll raise the pint on me, but some chap with a big navy.

Now Theodore has gone and done this thumb-fingered thing. Instead of being neutral, he has taken sides fer a slice of territory, an' my funds 'll have to fall some time, I'm afeered, to pay fer it.

Cowboys don't make very good Presidents, John. They're too sudden.

UNCLE SAM.

THE NAVAJO INDIANS AS LABORERS.

In view of the customary slurs against the character of our American Indians, especially as regards industry, trustworthiness and similar virtues, it is interesting to read the following statement of experience, written for The Public by a friend who lives in Colorado.

It is some time since I received your request for a short paragraph on the Navajo Indians as laborers. At that time I had only our own experience to speak from. Since then I have tried to learn more.

The four men who worked for us through the haying, did their work as well as white men do the same work; but they could not take hold of so great a variety of things to do.

They were as alert, steady and thorough as other hired men. They were cleanly in person, and decorous in manner, when at table or about the house; and they showed a very keen and intelligent interest in pictures, drawings or designs of any kind. They were delighted to draw with colored chalk upon the blackboard figures of Indians dancing, animals, or designs for blankets. They carefully examined all articles about the house, and wanted to know how and where they were made, and what the price was. They were good judges of silverware,

and several of them were very fair silversmiths and jewelers.

Some people do not like Indians, because they peek into everything about the house; and some say they steal, but we never lost anything by them, though they manifest great curiosity.

They live in their own camp, with their wives, but take their meals where they work.

The women spend their time in washing and dyeing wool, spinning and weaving blankets.

They had many visitors of their own tribe, who were passing to and from the reservation in search of work. These were fed upon the earnings of those who worked.

They seem a lively and sociable people, full of fun, and ready to laugh and sing.

Their chief fault is gambling. After working all day in the fields they would be up over half the night playing cards; and we would notice the next day that many of their personal belongings had changed hands. They sometimes drink whisky to excess.

From 30 to 40 Navajos are working at the Durango smelter, where they have taken the places of strikers. They are kept on the premises, under guard to prevent communication with strikers, receiving from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day or night, and board. They have also found work shoveling dirt in the construction of railroads and ditches.

I am sorry to say that most white men look upon them as "niggers," and treat them accordingly. But they have never been enslaved, and are independent and self-respecting.

They have no prejudice against work, such as the Ute Indians have. They do not think it a disgrace to work. But white laborers do not look upon them with favor, and often object to sitting at table with them, or working in the field with them.

There are many thousands of them upon their reservation, where often by failure of water for irrigation they are reduced to want, and have to seek work amongst the white people to get food for their families. They raise corn, squash, melons and tomatoes upon their reservation, and keep sheep and ponies. Within a few years they have lost many hundreds of lives by starvation, owing to failure of the water supply.

MARY A. W. FAUNCE.
Mancos, Col.

"Well, come to think of it," said the rabbit, "I guess a rabbit trap is like the stock market—it won't hurt you if you keep out of it."—Puck.

RESPECTABLE CRIMINALS OF CHICAGO.

Editorial in the Chicago Tribune of January 12.

Yes; Mr. Jerome was right! The "prominent citizen" of lawless instincts, incited by greed and spurred on by avarice, commits most of the offenses which make Chicago the least desirable place to live in for purposes of pure pleasure of all the large cities in the United States.

"The prominent citizen" creates the soot and smoke which hang over the city, except on Sunday—when, for a pretense, he makes long prayers and thanks God that he is not as other men are.

"The prominent citizen" makes the stenches which the winds carry to all parts of the city.

"The prominent citizen" uses the sidewalk as a shipping yard and obstructs the main avenue of communication between the North and South sides.

"The prominent citizen" steals land from the streets and the river for switches and docks.

"The prominent citizen" cuts up the pavements with narrow tire wagons and trucks and grabs all the streets he can for car tracks without compensation to the city.

"The prominent citizen" tries by surreptitious, clandestine and fraudulent means to obtain valuable franchises from the city—and sometimes succeeds.

"The prominent citizen" owns most of the fire traps and filthy tenements in Chicago.

"The prominent citizen" periodically debauches the council and the legislature—when he can.

"The prominent citizen," fresh from his exhilarating and remunerative pastimes, lends the light of his countenance to select commercial organizations and therein expatiates upon the unregenerate nature, the depravity, the villainy of his less favored fellow citizen. He advocates municipal "beautification" for everybody but himself, and the suppression of crime which is inconvenient to him. With simple candor and earnest faith he denounces the violations of city ordinances which restrain poor men from doing wrong, but he "winks the other eye" when any of them infringe upon his own privilege of trespassing upon the rights of his fellow citizens. He who covers the sidewalk with his merchandise is properly shocked at the spectacle of a poor woman or child who throws a banana peel into the street. He, the creator of all pervading stenches, is offended by the mild smells of the alley garbage box.

On all public occasions "the prominent citizen" is an unsparing critic. He holds up the inconspicuous citizen to scorn as the enemy of the cleanliness, the beauty and the decency of the city. He who builds, owns and charges high rent for the rotten, insanitary fire trap in which the tenant breathes an insufficiency of good air, still deploras the man's lack of "sweetness and light" and his predisposition to ill health and stimulants.

The "prominent citizen," as Chicagoans know him, is one of those of whom it was said: "Ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which, indeed, appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness."

We know him, and we don't love him! Admiration for his rare qualities is confined to a rapidly narrowing circle in which he exercises a diminished authority, while elsewhere he is looked upon as one of the throng of law breakers—not better than any of the rest, but even worse; for, with abundant opportunities to do the right thing, he has chosen for sordid reasons to do that which is wrong.

PROSPERITY UNMASKED.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIST MAKES A CONFESSION—1903 WAS NOT A PROSPEROUS YEAR.

Throughout the entire year of 1903 the American Economist, the organ of the Protective Tariff league (which is composed of 1,000 protected manufacturers who pay \$100 each in dues), was boasting about the wonderful prosperity then existing. In its columns everybody was constantly employed at the highest wages ever known. There was no let-up in prosperity at any time. In the index, which runs from July to December, 1903, 17 lines are devoted to the word "prosperity," and two more to "prosperous." Here are some of these index lines:

Prosperity, Evidence of.
Prosperity, the Facts of.
Prosperity, General, Untouched.
Prosperity, Greatest Ever Known.
Prosperity, Our Unyielding.
Prosperity Rampant.
Prosperity, Solid.
Prosperity Stalks Abroad.
Prosperity, The Wave.
Prosperous Uncle Sam.
Prosperous Year, Bright Future.

During the last two months of 1903 the industrial conditions got so bad that nearly all the leading Republican newspapers had admitted that we were in the midst of a depression. Some estimated that by the end of the year 1,000,000 would be out of employment and the wages of most of those still employed would be greatly reduced.

All the trade papers contained long lists of closed mills and of wage reductions. Only the Economist remained to unflinchingly assert that prosperity was still rampant. It is true that Speaker Cannon and Congressman Hepburn did continue to speak of prosperity in the present tense, and to declare that there was work for every man who wanted to work, and that, too, "at a compensating wage," but their error may have been due to the implicit confidence which they placed in the American Economist, and to their lack of time to read the commercial and trade papers.

But now that 1903 is past and gone it is admitted, even by this protective tariff organ, that it was a year of closed mills, unemployed labor, adversity and disaster. Its leading editorial of January 1, 1904, devotes four columns to explaining why the Dingley tariff was not to blame for the hard times of 1903. It is entitled: "Causes for the Commercial Conditions and Results of 1903." Here are some extracts:

The free-trade orators and editors of this year will point to the adversities of 1903, and attempt to prove that they were due to the Dingley tariff. The echoes of these assertions will be found reverberating down through the ages till a decade or a generation or a half century; hence the voters of those times will be told that protection was a failure because of the calamities of 1903.

During the year more than 100,000 men have been idle a considerable portion of the time.

Fully half a million men have lost time and wages, running from a few days to several months, and it is quite likely that the earning capacity and purchasing power of the people at large have been lessened fully one billion dollars during the last 12 to 18 months, solely because of these so-called labor troubles.

That failures should increase to some extent under circumstances enumerated, is not surprising.

The Economist blames the labor unions, the inflated stocks and the high price of cotton, and declares that but for the protective tariff, the blessed Dingley law, times would certainly have been much worse. It says not a word about the steel and other protected trusts, whose excessive greed and high monopoly prices have sapped the life-blood of the people and exhausted their buying power. It reserves its censure for labor, greedy, foolish labor; utterly ignoring the fact that when the trusts had put prices up 40 per cent. labor was entitled to a similar advance in wages, and that wages had not advanced one-third as much as had the cost of living.

Moral: The tariff is a friend of the trusts but not of labor.

BYRON W. HOLT.

SOUP HOUSES AND HARD TIMES.

At the Vine street Congregational church, Cincinnati, January 10, 1904, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, discussed the return of hard times, taking for his text scenes in the local police court.

Hard times and free soup houses are with us again. Every day for months has brought us reports of factories closed and wages reduced. Despite the demagogue's assurance of continued prosperity, the depression which has been predicted is here. The ugly facts cannot be concealed even by the papers which have been preaching for so long that hard times is a Democratic malady.

Our daily papers are beginning to read like the history of ancient Rome. The hungry mob clamors for bread, and the political bosses vie with each other in their ostentatious charities. Here, for instance, is a news item:

Councilman Michael Mullen, of the Eighth ward, Wednesday morning established a free soup house at 435 East Front street. It was instantly crowded by poverty-stricken people with baskets, broken-spout coffee pots, bottles and tin cans to carry away solid provisions, soup and coffee.

The condition of the unemployed has become so desperate and thieving so epidemic that our machinery of justice, which is usually so relentless in the prosecution of little criminals, has broken down. In our police court we have had the remarkable spectacle of the callous sleuth of the law pleading for the accused and the judge, grown merciful, dismissing acknowledged thieves whose hunger drove them to crime.

Here is a scene in this court. A man is on the stand who was caught with stolen bread. The officer who arrested him is called as the prosecuting witness. He addresses the judge. But, behold, this Javert abandons his role of sleuth. He speaks as a man and a brother. Listen:

"Judge, there are nearly two hundred people down there who are starving. This man Jones is a working man and not a thief. He was going to share what he stole with the others. To prevent worse crimes, such as burglary, we must arrest these men. They are out from 3 o'clock in the morning for what they can find to eat. A loin of pork was stolen Monday morning and the grocer told us not to look for it. 'Lord knows they need it,' he told us. In the buildings at 318, 320 and 322 there are many who have not a cent and who have nothing to eat."

What is the judge's reply to this policeman's plea for mercy? The judge is not a preacher. Perhaps he is not a church member. He is a politician. He

is a member of the "gang." Possibly he is worse than many he sends to prison. But he is not without heart, and this is his verdict:

"The stealing of bread under such circumstances is no offense!"

Another prisoner is arraigned. This is Charles Stevens, a white man. The night before he had gone to the jail, said he was out of work and hungry and begged to be locked up. What crime has he committed? None. He is here to ask the judge for the privilege of being treated like a criminal. The judge says:

"You may go to jail, and when the sun begins to shine warm enough, go to the jailer and tell him you wish to be released. I will docket you as committed for \$50 and costs at your own request."

Later the judge addressed a body of city officials before whom he defended these strange decisions. "Why," said he, "nearly every morning at 1 and 2 o'clock policemen on their beats find the men picking potato peelings out of the ash barrels. Why, gentlemen, even I would not hesitate to fracture one of the ten commandments if placed in this position."

And now listen to the words of a preacher who visited the politician's soup house: "It is a sad picture. I have been studying this problem of human misery all my life, and am no nearer a solution than when I began. I presume as soon as they eat their bread and molasses they will be thoroughly contented and will not work again until they are hungry."

That is the preacher of it. In a comfortable study, he has been seeking for a solution all his life. And the ripe fruit of all this research is the hackneyed presumption that poverty must be due to laziness.

Blind leaders of the blind! They offer no solution which is not an insult either to God or man. Sometimes they say there is not enough to go around, that poverty is inevitable, and in that plea, they blaspheme the Creator. But if they save the reputation of the Deity it is but to malign his creatures.

I shall not charge the preachers with dishonesty. A more charitable view is that they have so long thought of themselves as the repositories of all wisdom that they cannot become as little children and enter that kingdom of truth whose gates welcome those who are willing to learn.

The fact is their gospel of free will and individual responsibility is but half the truth. Environment is one of the factors of destiny. These unfortunates have been hardest hit by a social order

which would seem to us a monstrous thing if our eyes were not blinded by custom. Why is there not always work in abundance for those who wish it? My Reverend Sir, drop your phrases about the fall of Adam and the blood of Jesus and tell me, why should there be, at any time, a lack of employment for men? Have you tried to answer that question? Do you really want an answer to it? I half believe you do not. I speak the words of Henry George. Already I see a supercilious curl on your lips. What do you say? "Crank!" "Panacea!" "Patent nostrum!" Those words are the shibboleths of ignorance.

Henry George answered the question. He showed that industry is half strangled by laws which confer private monopolies upon the few, and impoverish the many by artificial restriction of the natural opportunities of employment. Put the taxes where they belong, upon land values. Stop taxing men for doing things. Make it ruinous for speculators to hold land out of use. Will that bring the millenium? Will that secure to laziness a full stomach? No, but it will be the recognition of an economic law of gravitation. Learn the laws of nature. That is the beginning of wisdom. Obey them, that is the will of God. The programme of Henry George will do more than a thousand years of preaching to make impossible this shameful spectacle of able-bodied men starving for lack of work, in a country where boundless resources could well employ the labor of the world.

MR. MULLIGAN ON IDEALS.

For The Public.

The wood fire was burning merrily in Flynn's big store, and through the wide open door, the red flames, whirling and leaping, kinoscoped their movements upon the thoughtful face of Mr. Mulligan as he sat, the central figure of the little group that nightly gathered in this commoner's general assembly, of which he, Mulligan, was, by common consent, both president and orator licentiate. Whether our philosopher caught a recondite similarity between the mounting flames and the soaring aspirations of the human soul, or whether it was Donovan's reference to Tom L. Johnson's recent campaign that suggested the topic of the evening, is an open question. Anyhow, Ideals was the theme, and Mr. Mulligan rose to the occasion.

"Gintlemin," said Mr. Mulligan, "O! play second fiddle to no mon in the matter av lyalty to the holgh principles for which Mистер Johnson is

contending. Tom is all roight, as far as the principles, in thimsilves, is consarned. He makes the fatal mistake, however, av supposing that oideals is intinded fer ivery day use. Oideals, me frinds, are moral aarnimints, thot do no harrum to a political spaich if used in moderation, and discreetly. Roosyfell, himself the chief aarnimint av the American schtump, is past masher in the practical use av ideals. Phwat harrum did ut do anybody whin Roosyfell, in the wild abandon av frinzied aaritory, cried: 'Wurruds, me frin's, is useful whin backed by deeds, and only so!' Doesn't iverybody know, be the ricord av the mon, phwhat koin'd av deeds 'll folly thim worruds?

"Ye moight as well ate noth'n' but punkin poi, aall the pholle, marn'n', noon an' noight, wurruld widout ind. as t' throy t' live an oideals—an' Roosyfell has the sinse to know ut. An' roight here is whare Tom L. Johnson gets off! He is aall the pholle thryin' to revolutionize our schplendid system av government by intrrojucing his blashted maarl oideals into ligslation and practice! Faith, if that felly had 'is way, there wudn't be anny poor payple in the worruld! Sure, where wud be the incitemints to phil-anthropy—how cud a Rockyfelly or a Carnegie eximplify the lofty possibilities av althruism but for a needy pooblic as an object av their munificence? How cud the payple av the United Sthates dimonstrate their devotion to the golden rool, if tneere was no shtarving India, no bleeding Macedonia to excolite their ginnyrous impoises!

"Tom Johnson would say: 'Let the schpirt av iquity dominate aich and ivery individual, and thus, upan a foundation of univarsal althruism in perpetual practice, will arose the schplindid superstructure av univarsal affloonce and well-being!'

"Thru for you, Tom Johnson; but there's no illmint av picturesqueness about that koin'd av althruism. Man loves the schpectacular; ye can't hov plumed knoights wid flaming schwords, asthraddle av prancing shtees, widout somethin' betther nor a pig to shtick the sword into! for anny lanthern-jawed gossoon can shtick a pig, while it takes a sojer brrave to impale the cowering inimy upan his Damascooz blade! If yer oideal is but to do the square thing, phwhat's the use? Annybody can do thot—if he's a moind to.

"Besoides, Oi agree wid the Chicago Tribune—that there's an appearance av insincerity in Tom Johnson's

condooct. Grantin', fer argymint's sake, thot Mистер Johnson's principles are O. K., sthill, if they shud be adopted in practice, and afterwards it shud thranspire thot the gentlemon had been insincere in advocatin' thim, phwhat a humilliation ut wud be to society! Wud the binefits av iquity offset the chagrin av bein' juped? Not on yer loife, Mистер Johnson! As the Tribune says, Tom Johnson's a rich mon. He got his scads under the prevailing indoosthriple system: THEREFORE, d' ye moind—THEREFORE, phwhat roight has 'e to kick? The logic av the situation is a two-edged sword, an' ut hits Mистер Johnson both goin' an' comin'; he survoived undher the prevailing system, therefore it is probable that, in his heart av hearts, he approves av ut, no matter phwhat he says. And, anny mon thot cud survoive under the prevailing system, is a thraitor to his felly survoivors if he attimpts to make ut aisier for thim thot are loike to make a failure av ut.

"There is more practical value in this sthoyle av ralsoning than ye hov anny oidea av, Donovan. It logically estops the rich and powerful from butting in, and the poor and weak are, as all min av undherstand'n' know, a negligibubble facthor."

"Don't ye be so sure av thot," said Donovan. "D'ye moind the reign av terror in France, and the bread riots in Loondon?"

"Go way back an' sit down Donovan! Faith, ye're as green as ye luk! Ye don't seem to royaloize thot we hov a previntive of reigns av terror and bread royots thot thim back noombers hadn't sinse enough to use."

"And phwhat's thot?"

"Free soup. The souphouse is wan av the schplindid flowers av modern civilization. Ye can't scharve to death nowadays, Donovan, unless ye forgit t' ate. And here is another illoosthration av the practical value av the prisint aardher av things; for who wud furnish the soup for the shtarving payple, if Tom Johnson had 'is way, an' the monopolists and tax-dodgers couldn't save oop money agin the day av harrd toimes? And it comes wid a poor grace from the mon thot has accipted the succor av the rich to raise a howl agin a system thot presarved his loife, as we moight say. If he had shtarved to death, he moight 'ave had a kick comin', and aall the world wud be glad to listen to 'm!'"

"But," ventured Donovan, "ye'll not

be denoyin' thot the poor hov soom raison for complaint?"

"Oi'll not go agin' you on thot, Donovan. But lave the mon thot has got rich undher the prevailing system, kape schtill! And laye the mon thot has been saved from scharvation under the prisint system, kape schtill!"

"Wud ye think, Mистер Mulligan, thot thim thot's nayther rich nor poor wud hov a kick com'n'?" asked Donovan.

"No, sorr," answered Mulligan, decisively. "The affloont middle classes shud be the lasht in the wurruld to lay an indoictmint agin consichooted society. They are the invy, at wanst, av both the rich and the poor; the raypositories av the choicest fruits av social aarganoization, the bond av the body politic, the bulwark av civilization!—lave thim kape schtill!"

While Mulligan was putting on his coat and lighting his pipe, Donovan sat in profound meditation upon the words of wisdom that had fallen from his leader's lips. The click of the door latch roused him from his study, and, looking round, he saw Mulligan in time to stop him, by a last question.

"Oi say, Mulligan, ye hov confessed thot the poor hov cause av complain', and ye won't lave thim kick for thimsilves, an the ground thot they hov acciptid succor from the rich; and ye sctopt the mouths av the middle classes, be pointing to their affloonce; and ye rayfuse to hear Tom L. Johnson, because, as ye say, he moight be insincere. Now, Oi'm not pretind'n' t' argyfy wid you, d' ye moind; but Oi'm axin, phwat if the caase av the poor shud happen, soom toime, to rise oop, av itsif, an' fall down at yer feet—phwhat wud ye say to ut?"

"Kape schtill!" answered Mulligan, as he passed out into the night.

HORACE CLIFTON.

THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.

"All the delights of Heaven are conjoined with uses, and are inherent in them, because uses are the good works of love and charity, in the practice of which the angels live."

In the opening hours of the twentieth century—a supremè duty devolves upon parents and instructors, and that is the teaching of the young that labor—honest toil—is the most dignified ambition of man. Instead of having servants running after our children, it would be well if we should lead them to see that he who serves with a loving heart is great in the sight of God and of all whose approbation is worth the seeking. Honest toil gives expression to the spiritual being and

shadows forth the highest ideal of infinite activity. We must exalt labor by placing it on the throne of honor in the mind.

No man can escape the performance of the labor necessary to develop the individuality. Work is a divine privilege, not a curse from Adam. The very life as well as the joy of the normal soul and the proper development of the intellect depends upon it. It is by labor that we build, each his own character in his own way. It is through work that we prepare ourselves for the to-morrow of existence, so that when we pass into the higher order of life we shall not have to pass this way again or come in contact with the same problems of thought life.

Nor is it enough to toil grudgingly and with naught but sordid ends in view. He who works merely for gain loses the soul of labor, while he who labors for the sake of labor puts soul into every touch of the hands. Love for the work that is to be wrought glorifies labor, even as the rising sun glorifies the glistening mountain peak and its last smile bathes the valleys with golden splendor.

This is a commercial age, and the very commercialism which flaunts its tawdry robes and, Belshazzar-like, boasts of its greatness and its prosperity, has, by making gold and material wealth the end instead of a subordinate means to the end of life, served to dwarf the soul and shrivel the higher faculties of man until it is no exaggeration to say that there are few great, well-rounded intellects in America to-day,—few men whose mental and moral power is giving western civilization the elements of permanent greatness and enduring progress.

Think not that wealth wrung from slavery in any form, or power achieved through ignoring the moral law, can by any species of legerdemain spell out greatness. Rome was never so imposing to the casual spectator when viewed from afar as when, rotten at the heart, her mantle of material wealth covered a civilization stricken to death in all its vitals.

Let us not deceive ourselves or be deceived by false shibboleths. We are living in an age so given to commercialism that the highest utilitarianism as well as the noblest ethics are being subordinated by a society insane with the lust for gold.

So strong has been the reaction from the noble idealism that bloomed in the birth time of our republic and toward egoistic materialism, that the great institutions which should ever conserve the ethical and spiritual realities have become largely recreant to their trust. The school and the university to-day tend too much toward the teaching of

labor for gain and to a superficial view of life that is born of crass materialism. In religion, also, the same falling away from the spirit to the worship of things material and the dead letter is noticeable. That artistic element which enriches life by its great simplicity of thought and childlike attitude toward work for the joy of working, is happily far removed from the sordid side of human existence. Unlike the theological concept which regards work as a curse placed on man for sin, it finds in toil dignity, beauty, and peace which afford the weary mind the sweetest and most restorative rest.

We cease to live spiritually the very moment we try to shift the labor of the common, daily life onto the shoulders of others, and seek by cunning ways to absolve ourselves from contact with the humbler uses of this life. We are spiritually lost the very moment we try to escape from the common labor of the hands and the honest thought which is the fruit of that labor. It is, indeed, hard to keep pace with one's highest ideals in an age that is permeated with commercialism and when the lust for gain has made the gambling spirit not only tolerated but almost dominant in business life.

It is at our work that we must pray. It is good to pray in churches, but the real prayer of the soul is at the carpenter's bench, in the field, and at the household work. The scent of the shavings made in the little shop in Galilee was as an incense that mounted up to the heavens of man's fondest hopes. Our blessed Lord labored at the bench in the early morning of his life, and thus he left an impressive and practical example for the youth of the age wise enough to appreciate the true meaning of the gospel of service, the evangel of sane and healthy work. He forever dignified labor, making it the glory of God, not the curse of Adam. "My Father wrought hitherto, and I work,"—such were his words to the carping conventional critics of his age.

We are losing much of the value of real life in these days of materialistic commercialism, because of our worship of ephemeral baubles and our pursuit of pseudo-pleasures. We have lost the key to true growth, happiness, and contentment, and have come to entertain a false and ignoble view of common labor, the reverse of that held by the Master. Every artist knows that it is when he is at labor in his studio or with nature that the muse comes with her most soothing touch and uplifting inspiration, sending life thrilling into the clay or beaming from the canvas; and men call the result a work of genius. The artist knows full well in his own heart that it was his

preparation of common labor which made possible what the muse did while his hands were honest and his heart was sound.

The effort to escape work on the part of a portion of the community demoralizes society throughout all its ramifications. It curses the essentially dishonest ones who acquire what others earn, and it curses their offspring. It imposes unequal and enormous burdens upon others, making slaves where there should be freemen; and the consciousness of injustice deadens the finer and stimulates the baser elements in the nature of the poor. Thus, crime is augmented and the misery and wretchedness of society increased. Give man freedom, under just conditions, or an equality of opportunity, and it is astonishing how the divine will assert itself and greatness will spring from the ashes of baseness. We have a most impressive illustration of this character in the development of the Australian commonwealth. Little did England think when she sent her criminals to the wilds of Botany Bay that in so doing she was founding one of the most prosperous and powerful colonies of her domain. The secret of the development of the criminal up to self-respecting and ennobled manhood in this great colony was common labor and freedom to rise, without the artificial restraints and the injustice and inhumanity to man that one finds in the large commercial centers. The English criminal in Australia found himself in an entirely new environment, thrown on his own resources, and with plenty of honest toil at hand; and he demonstrated to the world that the human soul, if given a chance, will prove itself divinely good. London offered no opportunities to be good, for there the poor were the slaves of the wealthy class. The over-rich did not and do not give the poor much chance to be free and to live as God intended them to. In cunning and devious ways they shift the toil they themselves should do in this world onto the shoulders of their brothers, and the result is crime. Low cunning and the reaping where others have sown, far more than drink, are the causes of the poverty, wretchedness, and crime in the social cellar.

I know of no surer way of ridding man of cunning diplomacy than by leading him back to a wholesome respect for common labor, where each shares alike in creative and utilitarian service that makes for individual development and for the common weal.

Is it too much to ask the artist to work with his own hands on his own statues; the wife and mother to return to her own home and there labor for the good of

those who love and look up to her for the comforts that make for the honor and glory of right living; the man to go out into the field and come in contact with Nature in her sublime moods and there learn that honesty of dealing which lives and lets others live, and the wage-earner to learn to love and respect the toll that God has put in his way? When this is achieved, the most perplexing social and economic problems of the age will be near solution; for all classes will be coming together, touching hands on that high plane of usefulness where, according to the old Egyptian concept, the great god Ra, when he walks in the two countries of the soul—the upper and the lower—will find all men brothers, and when Isis, mother of beauty and of all living things, will find her children giving their true name honestly, and not withholding it, having it written in shining letters on their foreheads,—and that name shall be "Labor," the glory of heaven and earth—Labor, the symbol of eternal happiness; for God so loved the world that he came in His divine human nature and taught us at the carpenter's bench in Galilee the most useful lesson that humanity will ever learn.

Ra, in the sun boat, rises from the East,
The labor of a day dawns in the sky;
Man lifts the sleeping body from the ground,
Life is renewed under the blazing eye.

The sounds of nature rise in melting waves,
The heart of man throbs pure and strong;
The sower seeks the fields of earth,
The maiden laughs at labor with a song.

The sun boat sinks again in western glow,
The laborer leaves his work for honest sleep;
Evening shadows like a blessing fall,
And the souls of men are in God's keep.
—F. Edwin Elwell, in Arena for October, 1903.

"Well, if England evacuates Egypt will you evacuate Manchuria?" they finally asked bluntly.

Russia coughed in a deprecating way. "Pulling up stakes is one thing in the soft alluvium of the Nile and quite another thing in the frozen soil of the Yalu," protested Russia.—Pittsburg Dispatch.

Small Catherine spilled the ink over her mother's desk, the rug, the chairs, and her own apron. When her father returned at night, his little daughter met him at the door and asked: "How much does a bottle of ink cost?" "Oh, about five cents." "Five cents!" exclaimed the little girl, in a tone of deep disgust. "And just to think that mamma would make all that fuss about one little bottle of ink!"—Lippincott's.

BOOKS

THAT GREAT LYING CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Morrison Davidson's latest book is aimed against the English church ("That Great Lying Church of England," F. R. Henderson, 26 Paternoster Sq., London; paper 1s., cloth 2s.) It is significant that in his attack he finds strong support from earnest members of that very church. One of the most devout and zealous clergymen of the American church which especially represents the English establishment recently said: "I hate the church." He said this in spite of the fact that he literally gives his life to the church.

Whence the paradox? Does it not lie in the fact that there are two churches? Is there not a church of the humble, the modest, the faithful and obscure workers, the sincere worshippers who hold to the things of the soul? Is there not, on the other hand, a church of the organization, the officials, bishops, elders, stewards, priests, a church that indulges in the limitations of all other earthly institutions?

History takes account of the latter. This is the church of the council, and of metaphysical dogmas. This is the church that holds conventions and elects dignitaries. This is the church that entered courts in the middle ages, and is loud in modern newspapers.

The other church has ever been silent. It is made up of simple, honest priests and ministers who go about doing good, and of humble members who love true religion, and find consolation in the communion of common prayer and worship.

One may easily hate the one and love the other.

Thus it is that "the best men in the church," as Mr. Davidson himself says, "are the readiest to admit and unavailingly to deplore" the painful shortcomings of the authoritative, institutional, official, governmental forces that stand for the church of Christ. These forces no more represent the real body of the church than the official governments of the world have represented the best thought and will of the humble masses. Not so much; for the loud and aggressive elements have less opposition in the churches than they have in ordinary political life, and they push themselves forward over humble ministers of the church who are busy about their Master's business, and care as little as possible for bishoprics and other orders.

The church would have been dead long ago if its life depended upon bishops, councils and its various official paraphernalia.

The official church has always been on the wrong side. As Mr. Davidson says: "It is impossible to name a single great reform, for a century or more, that has not been met by the episcopate and clergy with cynical indifference or deadly enmity." This state-

ment is painfully true with two amendments. He should have said, for all centuries; but as to the clergy, he should have modified it by saying, those who have made themselves heard. The trouble is that the humble are humble, and have allowed the ambitious to misrepresent the true spirit of the real church. So it has been since Constantine brought officialdom into Christianity, and so it is to-day.

If anyone wants to see a striking illustration of the two churches, let him read the life of Francis of Assisi, and mark the difference between the church which he loved and the church which adopted his work and killed it.

Mr. Davidson's book is a terrible attack, but the official church deserves it.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Why I Am a Vegetarian, by J. Howard Moore, Purdy Publishing Co., Chicago, 25 cents.

—A Secular Anathema on Fakery in Business, Social and Professional Life, or Twentieth Century Conduct, by Charles Wallace Silver. E. B. Wright, Urbana, Ill., \$1.00.

—Concerning Human Carnivorism. By the Rev. J. Todd Ferrler. Paignton, Eng.: The Order of the Golden Age. Price, 38 cents, net. A series of essays against flesh-eating, in which the subject is treated with reference to history, science, economics, humanity and religion.

PERIODICALS.

It is a high compliment which the Nebraska Independent pays to single tax writers in its issue of December 31: "The editor of the Independent must confess that there is an unguarded place in his heart which the single taxers are always finding, and they do it with a grace and courtesy that come near disarming him." Some old philosopher long ago remarked that the surer the advocate was of his cause, the more courteous he could afford to be in presenting it.

J. H. D.

The following note, which comes from Kansas by way of the Springfield Republican, would have met the hearty approval of Herbert Spencer: "Miss — I wan yue 2 distinctly understand if I kepe susan ote of skul 2 help du the washenan skrubbin it is nun of yurs or the troont offers bisnes its me is runen mi kids and yue an the stalt of Kansas tend 2 yure owen bisnes, mrs —." Mrs. Blank is doubtless all unconscious of the fact that she and her

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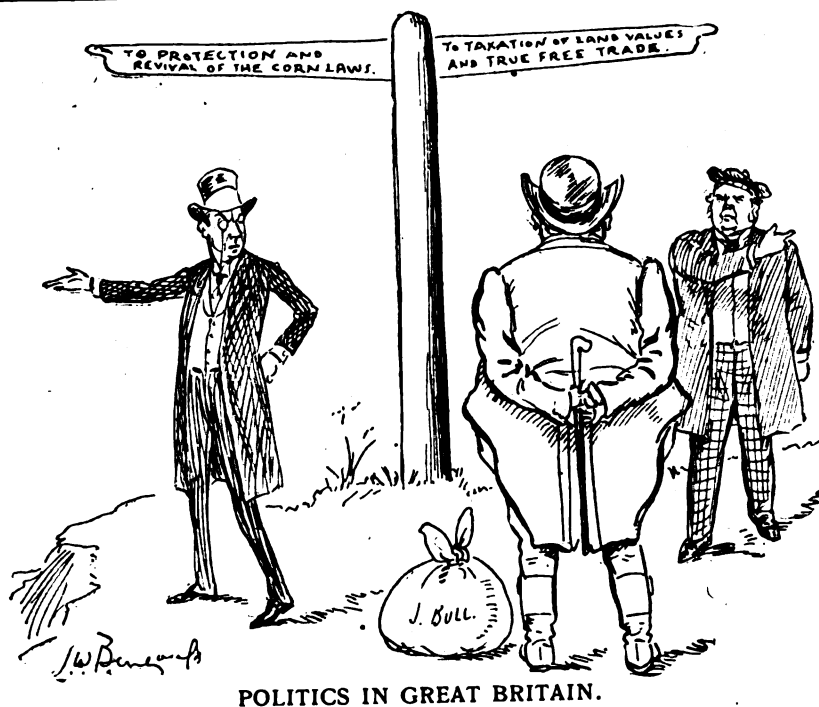
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POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

kids vs. Kansas, are a part of one of the greatest of problems. J. H. D.

Godwin Smith has an article in the January number of the Ladies' Home Journal on One Reason for My Eighty Years. He dwells particularly on the lack of strain in his early education. He seems to me to make a mistake in using the term "overwork," instead of the word strain. It is not overwork which hurts, but the nervous strain which comes from hurry and worry in the work. Incidentally, Mr. Smith speaks his misgivings about our great school system. His three criticisms are that it is inevitably mechanical, that it is unparental, and that it is "necessarily devoid, not only of religion . . . but it is also without moral training of any kind beyond obedience to order and regulations of the school." J. H. D.

Those who are familiar with the collects in the Prayer Book of the Episcopal church know what masterpieces they are. In compact, terse diction, as well as in beauty of religious spirit, they are unsurpassed. It seems impossible for modern effort to approach them. Dr. Henry van Dyke, for example, almost seems to succeed, and yet fails. There is a certain self-consciousness, and a certain tone of superciliousness and self-satisfaction, which misses completely the genuine spirit of devotion. In the December Ladies' Home Journal he has a Prayer for Christmas which carries an impression of the subtlest form of modern pharisaism. The fact is, we modern Americans are so stuck up that we cannot get rid of the spirit of complacency even before God. J. H. D.

Caroline H. Dall writes very entertaining contributions to the Springfield Republican on recent books. In her last letter she says: "A great many children's books have been sent me, and I confess that I do not know what to say of them. It seems to me that as a rule juvenile literature has deteriorated in quality. The best of it seems to be filled with impossible boyish adventures and an incipient tendency to create a warlike spirit." It is one of the curiosities of literature that juvenile books are likely to have the highest seasoning of the valnest and loudest tendencies of the times, and those of our day are no exception to this rule. Are we strenuous? Then our books for the young will be more so. Whatever ideals prevail, they will more abundantly prevail in the current books for the young. J. H. D.

Among the valuable articles in Chau-tauquan for January is one by John K.

Commons, on "Immigration During the Nineteenth Century." Another is by Charles Zueblin, on Metropolitan Boston.

Rev. Thomas C. Hall's essay on "Relativity and Finality in Ethics," in the January issue of the International Journal of Ethics, is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to ethical thought; for, in very simple phrase, it brings order out of a prevalent confusion in ethical controversy. Mr. Hall distinguishes between moral perception and ethical intelligence. What man intuitively perceives is not his precise duty in particular circumstances, but the moral imperative of ascertaining his duty to the best of his ability, and then doing it. There remains, therefore, says Mr. Hall, to the man who stands "firmly on the ground of our moral obligation, while at the same time freely recognizing the relativity of our ethical knowledge," the duty of bringing these together "in an ideal which is an advancing one, but for him embodies final obligation until a better idea takes its place."

SOCIALISM vs. SINGLE TAX

A verbatim report of the Turner Hall Debate between Louis F. Post, Henry H. Hardinge and John Z. White, Single Taxers, and Ernest Unter-mann, Seymour Stedman and A. M. Simons, Socialists, will be published in book form on Jan. 20, 1904, and advance orders will receive prompt attention. The volume will contain full-page portraits of Karl Marx, Henry George, and the six debaters, and will be handsomely printed on fine book paper with stiff paper cover. Price 25 cents, five copies for \$1.00, twelve copies for \$2.00, postage included. Address CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

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