

# The Public

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Congressman Hearst's Presidential boom, which has now burst through the confines of the Hearst papers and surprised the readers of other journals with its unexpected suddenness and unthinkable magnitude, bids fair to rank as the most cynical episode in the progress of American politics toward the bread-and-circus climax of McKinleyism.

It is commonly believed of Mr. Hearst that he is trying to buy a Presidential nomination, and then to buy the election. Circumstances seem to justify this impeachment. But what of it, and why not? Should that be his purpose, and should he succeed, the only novelty about it all would be the fact that he had done the buying himself and with his own money.

It is this novelty, however, that gives to the matter its cynical aspect. When Mr. McKinley's nomination and election were bought in 1896, the political proprieties were observed—superficially. Mr. McKinley bought no nomination. He bought no election. He furnished no funds. Mr. Hanna acted as purchasing agent, and the funds were furnished by the expectant syndicates of Wall street. So Mr. McKinley became President nominally in the old-fashioned way. He did not buy the office. It was bought for him.

Yet the fact that the Presidency was bought, proved that it could be bought; and with cynical shrewdness Mr. Hearst has set about gratifying his ambition by taking advantage of that discov-

ery. If the Presidency could be bought for McKinley, why may it not be bought by Hearst? There you have the psychology of the Hearst boom. "Is the office for sale, politicians and voters all? Is it money you want? Don't go to Wall street. I'll give money—my own money. And why tangle yourselves up with middlemen? I'll give it myself." That is the spirit of the Hearst movement.

While this is cynical to the verge of grim humor, it is due to Mr. Hearst to observe that there is "no string tied" to the money he is lavishing, save the one condition that it shall bring him the particular commodity he is openly offering to buy. Unlike the money that bought McKinley's election, no secret obligation to greedy syndicates goes with Hearst's money. On the contrary he is committed in most respects to an anti-plutocratic policy. In an interview, for instance, which is reported in the Chicago Tribune of the 19th, Mr. Hearst fairly shines as an aggressive Democrat. So he does in some of the editorials that appear in his papers. But there is a disturbing fear that in both interview and editorial his refulgence is a reflected light. Mr. Hearst publishes great editorials, but does not always write them. He sends impressive letters to public meetings, but modestly refrains from verifying their authorship by equally impressive appearances as a speaker. His experience in expression has not been extensive. Yet it must be said for him that in his Tribune interview—ostensibly an oral extemporary talk of two hours in duration—he appears to have exhibited a firm grasp of great and subtle questions and ready powers of expression, which orators with years of experience in extemporary debate on ques-

tions of state might envy. Had Mr. Hearst delivered this interview as a speaker on the floor of Congress, under fire and visibly before the country, where he could not shine by reflected light, it would have placed him beyond dispute among statesmen of the Presidential class.

But in the plutocratic atmosphere of the day Mr. Hearst cares less, probably, to be a statesman of the Presidential class than to be in the class of Presidential candidates who can command "the price" without being dependent upon anyone for a dollar. And certain it is that he has already played havoc with the Gormans and Parkers and all their kind, who are looking to Wall street syndicates to buy the office for them. In spite of the gravity of the matter, the consternation of these plutocratic Democrats is something to laugh at. But the situation is really very grave. That such a movement as Hearst's should have become formidable in American politics is a scathing commentary upon the degradation into which McKinleyism has plunged the country. Here you have the ripened fruit of the McKinleyistic gospel of "get there."

How great the relief to turn from that degrading gospel to the elevating and regenerating gospel which the real intellectual and moral leader of the Democratic party, William J. Bryan, is teaching, and to which he gave this expression in his speech at the welcome-home banquet in Lincoln on the 18th:

We are confronted with a condition that may well alarm the thoughtful and patriotic. We find corruption everywhere. Voters are bought at so much per head, representatives in our city government are profiting by their positions, and even Federal officials are selling their influence. What is the cause? The commercial spirit that puts

a price on everything and resolves every question into "Will it pay?" This commercialism has given popularity to that theory of government which permits the granting of privileges to a favored few, and defends the theory by an attempt to show that the money thus given directly finds its way indirectly back into the pockets of the taxpayers. We see this theory in operation on every side. The protective tariff schedules illustrate it; our financial system rests upon it; the trusts hide themselves behind it, and imperialists are substituting this theory for the Constitution. Is it strange that money is used to carry elections? If a party makes certain classes rich by law, will it not naturally turn to those classes for contributions during the campaign. If Congress votes millions of dollars annually to tariff barons, money magnates and monopolists, is it not natural that aldermen should traffic in the small legislation of a city council, and if officials high and low use the government as if it were a private asset, is it surprising that many individuals who are without official position yield to the temptation to sell the only political influence they have—namely, the ballot. What is the remedy? There is but one remedy—an appeal to the moral sense of the country—an awakening of public conscience. And how can this appeal be made? Not by showing a greater desire for the spoils of office than for reforms, but by turning a deaf ear to the contemptible cry of "anything to win," and by announcing an honest and straightforward position on every public question. If we would appeal to sincere men, we must ourselves be sincere, and our sincerity can be shown only by a willingness to suffer defeat, rather than abandon the cause of good government. Shall we accept imperialism as an accomplished fact in order to appease those who are willing to indorse "government without the consent of the governed?" There can be no thought of such a surrender, for who would trust us to deal with other questions if we prove false to the fundamental principles of self-government. Shall we change our position on the trust question in order to secure the support of the trust magnates? Not for a moment can we think of it. We want the trust magnates against us, not for us. Their opposition is proof of our party's fidelity—their support would cast suspicion upon us. Shall we abandon our advocacy of bimetalism in order to conciliate those who defeated the party in other campaigns? Never. Some phase of the money question is always before Congress, and no one can predict when the coinage phase of the money question will again become acute. No reform of any kind would be possible with the money changers in control of the party. Shall we change our position on the tariff question in order to win over Democrats who are enjoying the benefits of protection? It is absurd to sug-

gest it, for the same vicious principle runs through all of the abuses from which the people suffer. . . . Let us defend our position, not upon the low ground of dollars and cents, but by showing how Republican policies violate moral principles and invite the punishment that sooner or later overtakes the wrongdoer. Will such a course insure victory? The best that our party can do is to deserve victory, and an appeal to the conscience of the American people is sure to win ultimately and offers the best promise of immediate success.

A witty Jeffersonian, writing in the Springfield Republican, suggests to his fellow Democrats that the next national platform should consist of but two planks, as follows:

Resolved, That we reaffirm our faith in the substantial verity of the multiplication table as it is; but if the Republican party shall succeed in modifying it at any time we will acquiesce in such modification as an accomplished fact.

Resolved, That we adhere to the law of gravitation as a convenient rule, not to be departed from unless dissented from by Senator Gorman or other Democratic leader.

With this platform he thinks the great sine qua non, the carrying of New York, can be accomplished. Let us all join "Jeffersonian" in commending his suggestion to the next Democratic dinner to be given in that part of the country.

Gov. Cummins, of Iowa, has revived his "Iowa Idea" of free trade, and with greater emphasis than before. In his inaugural address on the 14th he declared for free trade with Canada for agricultural products and urged reciprocity treaties with all the rest of the world. That he might not be misunderstood he specifically denounced Mr. Hanna's "stand pat" policy. But then it is easy to silence Gov. Cummins. The protectionists have tried it with success. He either knows so little about the subject or cares so little for what he knows, that a puff of party authority bowls him over.

A wise decision regarding taxation was made by the farmers of the Kansas Grange at its 32d annual meeting, held in Arkansas City last month. They adopted a resolution requesting the legislature to

submit to the people an amendment to the State constitution striking out the cast-iron provision on taxation. When farmers begin to realize that the attempts they have been making to tax everything react against themselves, and demand that the way for discovering scientific taxation be cleared, there is hope for the future.

We would not be counted among the enemies to the "good roads" movement. On the contrary, we believe in good roads, and are confident that much of future progress will spring from that source. But let us not be deceived about the distribution of its financial benefits. So long as those land values which are due to public improvement are treated as the private property of land owners, the pecuniary advantages of good roads will be pocketed by land owners. The people generally, though they have better roads, will have to pay more for the privilege to the few who own the land which those good roads serve.

These reflections are suggested by a "good roads" tract which Congressman Brownlow is circulating extensively. Mr. Brownlow is the father of the bill now pending in Congress for subsidizing road building out of the Federal treasury. Upon his own showing in this tract, the subsidy is in the special interest of farmland owners. Mr. Brownlow speaks of them as farmers, but inasmuch as the proportion of the farming population who are landowners is small and growing less, he does not quite mean farmers. He means farm owners whether they happen to be farmers or not. Let us quote from his really candid tract:

Q. Do improved roads increase the value of farm lands?

A. Yes; in the States of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut and New York, and wherever roads have been built by State aid, values of farm lands have increased.

Q. Why is this so?

A. A good road enables the farmer to haul his produce to market the year

round, and to haul when it is wet and he can't plow. He thus can get a better price—he can haul twice the usual load in less time. It saves wear and tear on wagons, team and temper. The children can always go to school. A man buying a farm will pay more for it on a good road than on a poor one.

All of which is strictly true, but how does it show that good roads will benefit the farmer as farmer? The farmer who owns a farm will indeed be better off. But not as a farmer; only as a land-owner. Farmers who want to buy, will not be better off; they will have to pay in the price for the advantage of the good roads. Farm tenants will not be better off; they will have to pay for the good roads in higher rent. Farm hands will not be better off; there is no intimation (and could not be in truth) that good roads will increase farm wages. On his own argument Mr. Brownlow's measure ought to be called "A Bill to subsidize the owners of farming land."

In the January Bulletin of the Federal labor bureau, there appears at page 104 a statistical report by A. F. Davies upon land values and ownership in Philadelphia, from which some useful inferences may be drawn. Philadelphia is selected because it is regarded, owing to its history and physiography, as offering the most normal urban field in this country for such an inquiry. Some of the comparisons are very interesting as well as instructive. For example, take the following regarding the only wards dealt with in the report:

WARD 8.		
	1865.	1900.
Persons holding land.....	1,854	2,064
Population .....	24,877	15,757
No. of lots to each holder.....	1.42	1.53
Value to each holder.....	\$7,292	\$35,855
Percentage of land holders to population (per cent.).....	7	13
Value per capita of population .....	\$544	\$4,061
WARDS 24 AND 34.		
	1865.	1900.
Persons holding land.....	1,917	9,658
Population .....	24,328	96,906
No. of lots to each holder.....	1.50	2.37
Value to each holder.....	\$1,708	\$6,328
Percentage of land holders to population (per cent.).....	8	10
Value per capita of population .....	\$135	\$630
WARDS 1 AND 39.		
	1865.	1900.
Persons holding land.....	2,225	7,263
Population .....	28,238	78,296
No. of lots to each holder.....	1.41	2.34
Value to each holder.....	\$2,225	\$3,945

Percentage of land holders to population (per cent.).....	8	9
Value per capita of population .....	\$220	\$367

It should be explained that Ward 8 lies in the heart of Philadelphia, and embraces valuable business sites and aristocratic residence sections. Wards 24 and 34 embrace great factories, all grades of better class residence and small business property, and much vacant area. Wards 1 and 39 include business property, lower working-class residences, and very large areas of vacant land.

For years single taxers have sturdily contended that the aggregate land values in the city of New York far exceed the value of structures. The copious extracts from the record of the tax commissioners of that city, which appeared in its local papers on the 12th, make the most skeptical recognize the truth of that contention now. An analysis discloses what to single taxers themselves must seem a startling disparity between the value of the land and of the structures, even in the case of the largest and most recently constructed of the mammoth office buildings. The assessments are supposed to be on full valuation, and not, as heretofore, 50, 60 or 70 per cent. in the case of improved property and 20, 30 or 40 per cent. in the case of the unimproved. The aggregate value of ten of the most recently constructed and largest office buildings, the Hanover National Bank, the Stock Exchange, the Washington Life Insurance, the Clearing House, Exchange Court, Broad-Exchange and others, is placed at \$9,543,000; but the value of the land upon which these costly structures are built is placed at \$16,072,000—75 per cent. more than the buildings. When we take the case of ten other large office buildings, erected ten or more years ago, we naturally find the disparity much greater; the aggregate value of ten such buildings being \$4,768,400, while the land is valued at \$18,986,660,—or more than four times the value of the structures. In the

case of nine of the leading theaters we find the buildings assessed at \$1,290,000 and the land at \$7,900,000—six times as much. Sixteen of the leading hotels (excluding the Waldorf-Astoria) are assessed at \$6,445,000; but the land is assessed at three times that figure, or \$20,805,000. Scores of thousands of those who have walked up and down Fifth avenue and viewed the stately mansions of our multi-millionaires, have doubtless thought (if they thought at all upon the subject) that these magnificent structures are worth more than the land. Yet ten of the largest and more costly of them are assessed at \$5,065,000, while the land upon which they stand is assessed at \$13,355,000; the structures, therefore, being assessed at only 38 per cent. of the land values. While these are startling examples, they are evidently by no means unusual, as we find the aggregate assessed value of all the buildings in the city of New York is put at \$1,100,000,000, while the land is assessed at \$3,697,600,000. The value of the buildings, therefore, is but 23 per cent. of the whole assessment. If we take the borough of Manhattan alone, where practically all the costly structures are situated, it will be seen that they are assessed at \$600,000,000, or only one-fifth of the assessment of the land values, which is \$3,000,000,000. Yet there are people who think that land is an unimportant item in modern industry, and others who dare to assert that a tax exclusively on land values would hurt farming communities and allow cities to escape!

In coping with the difficulties precipitated by the Iroquois theater disaster (p. 642), the authorities of Chicago have acted more like men in a panic than like responsible public officers. They remind one of the careless servant whose unaccustomed diligence becomes obstructively officious after his indolence has involved his master in trouble. Following a long course of criminal negligence, these authorities, in their

panic over the Iroquois holocaust, suddenly closed all the theaters in Chicago. At no time in years would every theater, even the most dangerous, have been so safe. But, instead of requiring them to adopt means of safety as the alternative of being closed, the Mayor closed them peremptorily—not because they had become more dangerous than before, but because he was “tired” of being held responsible for allowing them to remain open. Thus thousands of people were turned out of employment in the dead of Winter and without notice. The Mayor was panic stricken. Then the city council also gave way to panic as it framed a new safety ordinance. This ordinance, passed on the 18th, is so drastic that in many useless details it will not be observed and cannot be enforced after the general feeling of fear has passed away. Then the whole thing will be forgotten. From neglecting the useless details it will be an easy step to neglecting others; and by easy stages we shall return to the old conditions, to be again aroused by another preventable disaster. Some idea of the doll-like intelligence with which this ordinance has been formulated may be derived from its requirement as to exits. The word “Exit” must not be used, “lest theater goers might not understand its meaning.” A luminous phrase takes its place—“This way out.” For greater security megaphonic phonographs should be required at every exit, adjusted like automatic sprinklers to go off at a certain temperature with repetitions of the words “This way out”; for theater goers who can’t learn the meaning of “Exit” might not know how to spell.

In the art of thinking without thought, the attorney general of New York appears to be accomplished. Asked for his official opinion as to the effectiveness of the death penalty in his State, he replied that it seemed to be effective because no man who had been subjected to it had ever again committed murder! This is an ar-

gument not merely for sustaining the death penalty but for extending it. If thus effective in preventing second murders it might be made effective in preventing all murders. Execute everybody and nobody would commit murder—unless execution itself is murder, in which case the question is more profound than a question of effectiveness.

It is evident from the reports of Congressional debates in the Record, that Congressman Baker’s speeches on fictitious prosperity (p. 602) have gone to their mark. The verbose Grosvenor and the pretentious but irresponsible Hepburn find it impossible to treat Baker with ordinary courtesy on the floor. Yet Baker has said nothing personally offensive. The stings in his speech were its indisputable facts and its unanswerable logic.

Detroit is to be counted among the cities that have adopted and clung to the Winnetka referendum system (vol. iv., p. 34; vol. v., p. 228). The report of the Detroit Municipal League, recently made, describes and comments upon it as follows:

The amendment to the rules of procedure adopted by the common council two years ago, granting an optional referendum on all franchise ordinances, was unanimously readopted this year and observed by the common council with the same good faith. The optional referendum permits an expression of the wishes of the voters, before the ordinance is passed, when five per cent. of the qualified electors by petition ask for it within 30 days after third reading. These rules thus give the people, when they choose to exercise the privilege, an equal opportunity with the corporation or the promoter to let their wishes be known to the common council. Under such rules the people themselves, only, are to blame if undesirable or harmful franchises are granted, while the aldermen deserve and receive the credit due for enactments that redound to the public good. The franchise speculators’ and trust promoters’ indorsement is lacking, otherwise the approval of these rules would be practically unanimous. The members of the common council and their constituents, so far as your committee learns, earnestly approve these amended rules of procedure that place them in closer touch. The

general public’s participation in the consideration of franchise problems is stimulated thereby, for the optional referendum rules give the qualified voters, when they desire it, the opportunity to formally express their approval or disapproval of a franchise-granting ordinance, before the ordinance is finally passed upon, a privilege heretofore denied the grantor—the public—but always given the grantee—the promoter, or the franchise-seeking corporation. With these rules in force, the chance for the passage of ill-advised or oppressive franchise ordinances, appears remote.

On Ellis Island, New York, a curious case of imprisonment may be observed. The prisoner is confined in a cage; literally in a cage, such as may be seen in menageries. It is about 9 feet long by 8 feet wide; the two ends are closed only with bars, so that the prisoner is never concealed from view; the whole contrivance stands in the middle of the floor of a basement room, and about 15 feet from the windows; and no one is allowed to approach it except in the presence of vigilant guards. The involuntary occupant of this cage is not a dangerous lunatic. He is not a convicted criminal. He is a sane gentleman of education and refinement, a peaceable subject of Edward VII., a man of affairs, a retail clerk (shopkeepers’ assistant) when at home in London, and the head of the shop assistants’ union of Great Britain. He came to New York to arrange for organizing the retail clerks of this country in an international union with those of Great Britain. As soon as he came he was arrested. But not for any crime known to the laws of any modern nation. He was arrested for the medieval offense of “disbelieving” something. The something which this gentleman does not believe in is organized government. It is because he “disbelieves in organized government,” and for nothing else—let us repeat, for nothing else, for that is all the official and the judicial records show—that this man, John Turner, is confined like a wild animal in that cage upon the mere say-so of a member of President Roosevelt’s cabinet. There is probably no place in the

civilized world to-day where such a spectacle would be possible—excepting only Russia, Turkey and the United States.

### THE CRISIS IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

An address bearing the above title was delivered by Mr. Frederick N. Judson, of St. Louis, at the Missouri State University in October last. Whatever Mr. Judson says or writes on any political or economic subject is worth reading, and this address, published in the St. Louis Mirror of December 24, will be read with special interest by those who have given any thought to the proposed reforms known as the Referendum and the Initiative.

In November, 1904, the people of Missouri will vote on an amendment to the constitution aimed to carry out these reforms. This amendment provides that a number of electors in each congressional district in the State, equal to ten per cent. of the whole number of votes therein at the last election for governor, may require any act or part of an act passed by the general assembly to be referred to the electors at the next general election by filing their signed demand with the Secretary of State not more than 90 days after adjournment. This, in general, is the Referendum. As to the Initiative, it is provided that 15 per cent., instead of 10 as above, shall have power to propose any law, amendment to or repeal of a law, and require that it be referred to the electors of the State. There is also a provision that 20 per cent. of the voters, determined as above, may propose an amendment to the constitution and require its submission to the people. And a further provision is that the veto power of the governor shall not be exercised as to the laws approved or exacted by the electors.

Mr. Judson argues—as always with great fairness and ability—against the amendment. He recognizes the degradation of legislatures and the failings of our attempts at popular government through representation, but he finds the remedy only in enlightened public opinion. "Other reforms," he said, "might be suggested, as in the adoption of pro-

portional or minority representative government. In the last analysis, however, whatever our device, we must bear in mind that popular government cannot run itself. It can only exist where there is a public opinion willing to make the necessary sacrifices of time and trouble for its maintenance."

Let us consider Mr. Judson's objections.

He first alludes to the question whether the proposed amendment would be valid under the clause of the Federal constitution guaranteeing to every State a republican form of government, and quotes certain authorities to the effect that a republican form of government is necessarily representative, and that "a representative democracy cannot be crossed by an absolute democracy."

Now to the average man this kind of talk, like so much of our technical constitutional discussion, seems idle quibbling. If the Initiative and the Referendum are good and desirable, there is no technical quibbling with definitions of the words republican and democratic which will prevent them. We may pass to the real basis of his objections, which brings us to propositions such as the common man, thanks to Mr. Chesterton, may express an opinion on as boldly as the constitutional lawyer.

Mr. Judson says that the people do not take enough interest in legislative issues to come out and vote. "Public indifference," he says, "is uniformly manifested when public measures are at issue, and not the personality of contending candidates." And again he says: "The evidence is thus overwhelming that it is impossible to arouse public interest in voting on public measures to the extent that we can arouse it in deciding between rival candidates for office."

With few exceptions, this, it must be confessed, has been the experience in this matter.

But is it not just what would be expected? Voters have so long been appealed to on grounds of personality which are superficial and sentimental, that they have not been educated to vote on questions of policy which are funda-

mental. Nor will they ever be so educated without practice.

Elections should be educative to the people, and there can be no comparison in this respect between a campaign of personalities and a campaign of principles and measures.

"But," says Mr. Judson, "the details of legislation require deliberation and discussion, and they cannot be left to the determination of those who cannot meet for discussion."

Why cannot voters meet for deliberation and discussion?

With the extension of the public press, with the frequency of public meetings, this objection seems without force. The fact that many voters will not give thought to such matters, and will not take advantage of opportunities to inform themselves, is only saying that many are superficial and are more attracted by the spice of personalities. But, as was said above, our elections have hitherto, in the main, accustomed voters to associate the franchise with personalities rather than with the determination of public measures. No one can deny that to change this would be a decided step forward in popular government. The longer voters permit themselves to be treated as children the longer they will be kept in the childhood state.

"The masses," says Mr. Judson, "can be interested in the personality of candidates when they will not be interested in the details of legislation." So it may be, but is it desirable that it should continue so? And is there any way to educate people to being interested in legislation except by beginning to appeal to them directly?

Besides, there is good ground for faith that it will not be so difficult in the future to arouse public interest in certain questions with which advocates of the Initiative and Referendum are particularly concerned.

For whence has come the degradation of legislative bodies? Why is there so much distrust of these bodies from one end of the land to the other? One of Mr. Judson's objections to the proposed amendment is that "the necessary effect of even a partial adoption of this system of direct legislation

would distinctly impair the dignity and sense of responsibility of our legislatures." To which it may be said that the people have for the past 30 years—since the special era of plutocracy set in—been steadily losing faith in the dignity and honesty of legislative bodies, from the Senate of the United States down to the smallest town council. And why, mainly, has this come to pass? Has it not come from the corruption incident to the greed for special privileges and for special legislation, the fruits of which have been bribery, plutocracy, and an ever increasing concentration of wealth? Honest members of legislatures will tell one that they are helpless, that they cannot stem the tide.

This is the abominable condition which advocates of the Initiative and Referendum seek to remedy, or at least to alleviate. They know that it will not be so easy then to bring to bear the subtle arts of the lobbyist and briber. They believe that these proposed measures will not destroy legislatures or impair their useful purpose, but that they will indeed act as a check to reckless legislation, or will spur on action which may be desired by the people and opposed by special interests.

This is the kind of legislation, that is, legislation affecting special privilege, with which the Initiative and the Referendum will be most concerned, and it is precisely the kind of legislation in which legislative bodies have shown themselves incompetent and faithless to protect and foster the public welfare. This, moreover, is the kind of legislation in which it will be easiest for people to see that their interests are immediately involved, and as to which it may be expected that they will be more and more ready to express their will by voting.

J. H. DILLARD.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 19.—The vote in the House on Thursday on the motion to reduce the salary of the Director of the Census (S. N. D. North) from \$6,000 to \$5,000, throws an instructive light on the way in which legislation is frequently influenced in Congress.

In presenting this motion Mr. Cowherd, of Kansas City, pointed out that

heads of similar departments in the government here were receiving \$5,000, and that it was but just to the others that Mr. North's salary should be placed at the same figure. His motion prevailed in the committee of the whole, by a vote of 92 to 47. When the matter came up in the House a few hours later this vote was almost exactly reversed. As members are not placed on record when they vote on any motion in committee of the whole, there is no way to determine which members changed their votes. The means by which this change was brought about, however, was indicated to me subsequently by Mr. Cowherd, when, on my expressing surprise that so many Southern Democrats had voted for the larger salary, he said: "They (North's friends) worked both ends against the middle. The Republicans were appealed to to stand by North, because, as secretary of one of the strongest protectionists' organizations in the country, he had performed yeoman service for them, while the Democrats were asked to stand by him, because he had discharged a 'nigger.'"

The hearing before the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries the same morning disclosed the same old "cloven" foot. While ostensibly there to advocate the appointment of a commission to determine how the American merchant marine was to be increased, without exception each of the speakers almost immediately argued for ship subsidies. Some threw off the disguise at once, and boldly demanded that the United States treasury be opened. They want a pipe line connection direct (without any elbow-joints) from the treasury to their offices. For fear that the funds in the treasury might not hold out, the American ship builders who were present, the Cramps, et. al., threw every other industry overboard, insisting that the subsidy should be given only to "American" built ships, and should not include all ships of American registry. It was the old story over again of "Good God help me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more."

The Democratic delegation in Congress from Missouri are said to be bubbling over as a result of the denouement following the decision of the Democratic national committee to meet at St. Louis. As the story goes, the St. Louis Republic has practically ignored the entire delegation, making no reference to them either in the proceedings of the extra session or of this, the regular session. Therefore, when Charles H. Knapp, the editor and proprietor of the St. Louis Republic, with others, spoke for and captured St. Louis as the city in which to hold the national convention, and when immediately after the selection of that city was announced Mr. Hearst telegraphed instructions for a complete printing plant which he had ordered some time ago, and which was

about to be sent to Boston to start a Hearst newspaper there, directing that it be shipped to St. Louis instead, thus assuring that the Republic would have an active and powerful competitor right in its own home, the Missouri delegation felt that the fates had evened things up for them with Mr. Knapp.

I trust the editor of The Public will afford me permission to state that after a two weeks' illness (ten days of which I was confined to the house), upon my return to my office I found a stack of mail which has simply since overwhelmed me. I therefore wish to take this opportunity to state to the hundreds of readers of The Public who have written me commending my speech of December 14, that I will as rapidly as possible reply to their letters and send one or more copies of the speech, as requested.

ROBERT BAKER.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Jan. 21.

The official calls for national conventions of the two principal parties are now out.

The Republican call, signed by M. A. Hanna as chairman of the national committee, and Perry S. Heath as secretary, was issued on the 16th. In accordance with the decision of the committee (p. 585), it specifies Chicago as the place of meeting and June 21st at 12 noon as the time. The convention is to consist of a number of delegates at large from each State, equal to double the number of its United States senators and its representative at large in Congress, and from each Congressional district and the District of Columbia two delegates, from each of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Hawaii and Indian Territory six delegates, and from Alaska four delegates. For each delegate an alternate is to be allowed to act in case of the absence of the delegate, such alternate to be elected at the time and in the manner of electing the delegate. All delegates are to be elected not less than thirty days before the meeting of the national convention. Notices of contests must be submitted in writing, accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the grounds of contest, and be filed with the secretary of the national committee twenty

days prior to the meeting of the national convention.

The Democratic call, signed by James K. Jones as chairman of the national committee and C. A. Walsh as secretary, was issued on the 18th. It announces that the committee has appointed (p. 647) July 6 as the time and chosen St. Louis as the place for the convention, and declares:

Each State is entitled to representation therein equal to the number of its senators and representatives in the Congress of the United States, and each Territory, Alaska, Indian Territory and the District of Columbia shall have six delegates. All Democratic citizens of the United States who can unite with us in the effort for a pure and economical Constitutional government are cordially invited to join us in sending delegates to the convention.

Mr. Bryan, since his return from Europe (p. 647), has again come into prominence as a Democratic leader whose large following must be reckoned with. On the 18th he was given a great and enthusiastic reception at a banquet in his home city, Lincoln, at which he spoke on "The Moral Issue," in the same spirit as in his New Haven speech (p. 647); but on this occasion he was more specific, and, what was most significant, he broadly intimated to the "reorganizing" Democrats that the battle they will have to fight in the convention will be one of principles and platform rather than one of candidates. On this point he said:

The Kansas City platform is sound in every plank, and the first act of the next Democratic convention should be to reaffirm it in its entirety, and its next act should be the addition of new planks in harmony with it and covering such new questions as demand consideration.

But he did not ignore the question of candidates. He merely made it secondary to the question of platform, for he continued:

Then the convention should select candidates who believe in the platform—candidates whose Democracy will not be an issue in the campaign and whose fidelity to Democratic principles will not be doubted at the election.

Regarding Democratic candidates, the movement for the nomination of William Randolph Hearst has now assumed large

proportions and is being apprehensively considered by other candidates. Until the current week Mr. Hearst's views have found few channels for expression outside of his own papers, published in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco; but the press generally is now exploiting him, and on the 19th the Chicago Tribune (Republican) published an extended interview with him, in which he outlined his idea of national issues. Referring to the conservative sentiment of the country Mr. Hearst said:

I should define conservatism as the preservation of those qualities, rights, and principles of proved value to the American people. I think that the fundamental American ideas which have developed this country, making its national wealth and greatness, while fostering the individual happiness and prosperity of its citizens should be conserved. I am conservative in the sense that I believe in the spirit and in the letter of the United States Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and in the characters and purposes of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Too often, unfortunately, those that call themselves the conservative element are endeavoring to introduce radical departures from these old conservative principles. I do not think my views are in conflict with those of any citizen, however conservative, if his conservatism takes the form of an earnest desire to preserve and perpetuate the original American form of government, and the liberty, equality, independence, and opportunity guaranteed under it. But I am in conflict with those so-called conservatives that are reverting to the ideas of former centuries and of other nations, seeking to exploit the mass of the people for their own profit. Such men are reactionary, they are not conservative.

Following these views on conservatism, Mr. Hearst discussed the trust question, regarding which he said:

I am in favor of organization and combination whenever the people are allowed to participate fully in the economies and advantages which result from combination. I am opposed to the combinations that establish virtual monopolies, and instead of making the people partners in the improved industrial conditions inflate their stock, increase the cost of the product, reduce wages through a monopoly of the employing power, interfere with the creation and distribution of wealth.

Asked what issues he considered paramount, he replied:

The main issue of a party of the peo-

ple is to attend to the main business before the people. The universal tendency of to-day is toward industrial combination and organization. The great issue of the day, therefore, is the regulation and control of that tendency to organization—in other words, the trust issue. In a mining region, the chief issue is the mining laws. In a cattle country, the chief issue is the laws affecting cattle and pasture. In this country of sudden trust development, the one dominating issue—made so by the trusts themselves—is the trust issue. The growth of the new industrial system on lines of wide combination cannot and should not be checked. But it can be kept within lines that will benefit the whole community and entirely suppressed along lines dangerous to public welfare. The trusts must be kept within the law, and if there are no laws strong enough to control them, then such laws must be made. The people are determined to dominate and direct the trusts and not to be dominated by them. They will find a way to bring that about.

Other points on which Mr. Hearst replied to the reporter's inquiries were the tariff, the Isthmian canal, the labor question and the money question. He favors protection "in order to promote any industry of which the full development will benefit all," but opposes it "when it becomes obvious that an enterprise protected by the tariff is a menace instead of a benefit to the country." Regarding the Isthmian canal, he prefers the Nicaragua route, but "if the party in power has positively determined to build no canal but the Panama canal, then it would not become the Democratic party to block what may be for the present the only obtainable solution of the canal problem." While "the demands of trade unions are not always just or wise," Mr. Hearst sympathizes with unionism as against trusts because "the unions at least ask pay for labor which they actually perform," and in illustration of his opinion on this point he narrates the following interesting and suggestive personal experience:

In my business, the producing of newspapers, there came simultaneously two demands. The trust demanded an increased price for paper and one of the unions demanded an increased price for labor. A number of my brother newspaper owners gathered in my office and suggested a union of newspapers to prevent an increase in the wages of the workers. I asked them why it would not be better to combine to prevent the trust from getting its arbitrary increase

in the price of paper. But I could not interest them in that. They seemed to think it all right for a great trust to ask for more money arbitrarily—but all wrong for men that work to ask for more money to meet the constantly increasing cost of living.

The financial question is coupled by Mr. Hearst with the labor and trust questions. He does not discuss the economic principles of finance, but addresses an argument ad hominum to the "gold Democrats," of whom he says that if they are sincere they—

should be in hearty opposition to the trust. Their chief objection to free silver, you remember, was their dread that it would diminish the value of the dollar and decrease constantly the purchasing power of wages. What has become of that tender solicitude concerning the workers' dollar? The decrease in the purchasing power of wages can be brought about just as effectively through increased cost of living as through the diminished value of the dollar. Personally, I have supported the Democratic party because I am a Democrat and for other reasons than the free coinage of silver. But those gentlemen who bolted the party and those who were so particularly concerned about the welfare of the laborer when it was proposed to make money more plentiful should be equally concerned now that they see as an accomplished fact an increase in the price of life's necessities and a decrease in the buying strength of the workers' dollar. They should unite again with the Democratic party in its warfare against criminal trusts.

On the Republican side, Gov. Cummins of Iowa has revived the "Iowa idea" (iv. pp. 280, 660; v. 354, 385; vi. 201, 404) in such a way as to accentuate what now appears to be a rapidly widening breach between the friends of President Roosevelt and those of Senator Hanna. In the political part of his inaugural address, delivered at Des Moines on the 14th, Gov. Cummins denounced the protection principle to which Mr. Hanna has approvingly given the names of "let well enough alone" and "stand pat." Said he:

I have never been a disciple of the doctrine expressed in a phrase that has now become famous, "Let well enough alone." Abstractly viewed, the maxim is beyond criticism, but its fatal weakness lies in the fact that there never was nor will be a day in which it was or will be well enough with any community, with any State, or with any nation.

When society ceases to grow better it has begun to grow worse. There is no such thing as rest in the economy of the universe, and no such thing as "stand pat" in the order of the living world. The dead may heed the injunction; no others can.

As he proceeded with his address Gov. Cummins became more specific, declaring:

It has been possible to make, and in my judgment it is still possible to make a treaty with Canada which would for years to come make us practically masters of the imports into that Dominion. In the last ten years American manufacturers have expended \$100,000,000 in the establishment of plants in Canada which would have been kept at home with all the labor which that implies, if there had been a fair and permanent relation existing between the two countries. Not only so, but every student of affairs knows that the chance we now have across the border will be completely destroyed unless we treat with our neighbors upon a fair reciprocal basis. The farmers of Iowa have lost something in the foreclosure of the opportunity to feed the men who are operating the plants to which I have referred, and they will lose more when Canada raises the barrier so that England, France, and Germany will supply the material for the wonderful development upon which she is just entering, and which we are so well prepared to supply. Which would you prefer to do, lose the market which would be created by our vast imports into Canada, or meet Canada in competition in the things which you produce? I assert confidently that in the sharp struggle with Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri you would never be able to discern the influence of Canada in corn, oats, barley, hay, cattle, horses, hogs, butter, and eggs. I go further. We can make treaties with Canada and South America, with France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, that will immensely increase our exports of manufactures to those countries so that for every man deprived of employment here we can put to work ten. You ought to have the chance to feed these added nine men, and why is it not given you? Simply because of the inertia which seems to prohibit the profane foot from planting itself within the sacred precincts of the tariff schedules. . . . Iowa has been faithful to the policy of protection, and she is still as true as the needle to the pole. The benefits she has derived have been great, but largely incidental. The time has come for her to raise high into the political heavens the twin flag, reciprocity. Let us for a lesson take the direct advantages and also the incidental blessings to fall upon others. Let us have the reciprocity demanded in the Republican platform of 1903.

That it was Gov. Cummins's intention in this inaugural address to throw down the Roosevelt gauntlet before Senator Hanna is fairly evident from the reports of his visit to Washington a few days later. A Washington special to the Chicago Tribune (Republican), appearing in that paper on the 20th, announces that—

Gov. Cummins, of Iowa, has thrown down the gauntlet to the "stand-patters" and there will be a fight to a finish in his state for the "Iowa idea." If the Governor and his followers win, the Iowa delegation will stand for the Iowa idea in the national convention. Gov. Cummins had a long and important conference with the President to-day, and in formed the chief executive of his determination to fight. This decision is important, as Gov. Cummins considers the contest being made against him on account of his tariff revision views as an indirect way of introducing into Iowa the anti-Roosevelt campaign. Notice was served on the "stand-patters" as soon as the Governor arrived here that he was well aware the fight is on and he is fully prepared to meet it. Regarding the stories that he had made an attempt to compromise with his opponents, Gov. Cummins said: "I have nothing to compromise and will not enter into any arrangement to divide the delegation to the national convention. That delegation will be made up as the people of Iowa want it, and I have no doubt it will be a Cummins delegation. It will also be for Roosevelt." Gov. Cummins was asked as to his views of the Presidential nomination. He said it was hardly necessary for him to reiterate them and he was unequivocally for Roosevelt. Inasmuch as the fight against Gov. Cummins is being led by J. W. Blythe, the friends of the Governor do not hesitate to declare they regard it as the beginning of an anti-Roosevelt fight in Iowa, instigated by the J. J. Hill interests.

The significance of this report was confirmed by a New York Herald dispatch of the 20th from Washington which announced that—

friends of the administration have suddenly decided to assume the aggressive in the fight for delegates to the national convention in Chicago. They believe they have waited long enough, and are going to combat the efforts which they are now convinced will be made to prevent instructions for the President, with a view of defeating him in convention by a stampede to some other Republican. There is to be lively fighting, not only in Ohio, where Senator Foraker is laying his plans for a campaign for the President, and against Senator Hanna, but in New York, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky, where the noninstruc-



tion idea seems to be gaining ground rapidly.

British politics (p. 646) has been further disturbed by the astonishing result of a by-election at Norwich on the 15th. Norwich has been safely Conservative for many years; and although an increased Liberal vote was expected, yet it was supposed that the advocates of a Labor party candidate would nullify the effect of that increase and insure the triumph of Mr. Chamberlain's candidate. The Labor candidate did poll 2,240 votes, but the Liberal nevertheless defeated the Chamberlain candidate by 8,576 to 6,756. That the Liberals should have come in with such an overwhelming plurality is regarded in London as making the result at this election the worst blow to Chamberlain's protection policy that it has yet received.

In France (vol. v, 633; vol. vi, 458, 475) the ministry suffered a defeat in the department of the Nord at a by-election on the 16th; but it was not important nor especially significant. Some attention was excited during the week by a split in the Radical-Socialist group in the chamber of deputies. The seceding faction has named itself the "Radical Socialist Left." But as both factions continue to support the ministry, this episode also is of slight importance.

It was demonstrated in the German reichstag (p. 584) on the 19th that the German government tolerates the operations of Russian secret police within the German Empire. A Socialist member, Haase, made the accusation. He said that Russia maintains a chief of spies in Berlin whose relations with the German government are such as to permit him to use the German police agencies and other instruments of the government as though they were Russian; that these spies make domiciliary visits to the homes of Russian students or other residents, occasionally getting at the postal officials and opening mail addressed to Russians; that they use the methods of housebreakers, seemingly without exciting police vigilance, and had forged a power of attorney to receive the mail of a Socialist member of the reichstag, suspected of being in corre-

spondence with Russians who were under the disapproval of the Russian government. Mr. Haase then asked the ministers if it was not true that Russians were conducted across the Russian frontier at the request of the Russian government without extradition proceedings or the bringing of specific charges. The secretary for foreign affairs, answering Haase, declared the German government was aware that the Russian embassy employed an official to watch over Russian anarchists in Germany, but the government was not aware that German subjects were likewise under observation. The government also was not aware, he said, that Russian agents had committed crimes or attempted to persuade others to commit crimes. Continuing, the secretary said that Haase had reproached the government with lending assistance to Russian agents. This, he admitted. The government had no reason to protect the revolutionary subjects of a neighboring friendly state. The common interests of civilization demanded watching over anarchists. The government had no other course than to deliver Russian anarchists to the Russian government. The German government simply put troublesome foreigners over whichever frontier it regarded as most suitable. This ministerial explanation was answered by Bebel, the Socialist leader, who denied that the Russo-German police understanding was directed against anarchists; he said a well informed Russian had assured him that what Germany regards as anarchists do not exist in Russia at all. Bebel characterized the delivery of Russians, whose only crime was discontent with the reigning political conditions, to the Russian police to be transported to Siberia or indefinitely imprisoned, as being barbarism. He added that the German government and the German empire had become "Russia's bootblack." The protest was not confined to Socialists. Schrader, a Liberal of the Barth faction, was among the others who supported the Socialist position. He protested vigorously against the exercise of police functions in Germany by foreigners. There was not the least doubt, he insisted, that Russian agents also watched Germans, since it

was impossible to watch Russian residents without watching their acquaintances.

The progress of the war in Santo Domingo (p. 612) brings us back to our own side of the Atlantic. On the 19th something extraordinary in the way of warfare occurred in this conflict. The Jiminez revolutionists in possession of Puerto Plata were attacked by the government forces. Before the battle began the commanders of the American and British warships notified both sides of the utmost limits of the fighting zone that they would tolerate. Both sides respected this fighting-zone order, as the two warships were in a position to enforce it. Finally when the fighting had progressed far enough to show that the Jiminez forces were defeated, eight marines from the American warship took the American flag and, going up to the firing line, ordered hostilities to cease. The order was obeyed. After the fight had been stopped by the eight marines the commander of the United States warship landed a force of 100 men and arranged for the surrender of all the Jiminez troops and turned the fort into which they had retreated over to Gen. Cespedes, the commander of the government forces.

A brief revolt against the Haytian government (vol. v., 599) occurred early in the month under the leadership of Gen. Montplaisir. It was immediately suppressed and Gen. Montplaisir with four of his following were executed at Cape Haytian on the 17th, after sentence by a military tribunal and in the presence of a large crowd of spectators.

The Republic of Panama (p. 630) was turned over on the 15th by the provisional junta to the recently elected (p. 613) constitutional convention. The convention had assembled for the first time on the same day and completed its permanent organization. Of the temporary organization G. B. Amador was elected chairman. Dr. Pablo Arosmena was elected president of the permanently organized convention, and Dr. Louis de Roux vice president. The first draft of a constitution was approved on the 20th. It provides

for the abolition of business monopolies of the Republic; the infliction of the death penalty for political crimes; the abolition of the army and the establishment of an efficient police force; and the Catholic church separate from the state. All citizens, with the exception of members of any military body which may be established, are to have the right to vote, and the press is to be free.

A bill for the annexation of Panama to the United States was introduced in the American Senate on the 20th by Senator Morgan. It appropriates \$10,000,000 as compensation to Panama for its cession; places \$10,000,000 at the disposal of the President for the compensation of Colombia, and appropriates \$60,000,000 for the purchase of the property of the New Panama Canal Company in Colombia, including the Panama canal. It is especially provided that the provisions of the bill shall not have the effect of repealing the Spooner act. A preamble to the bill sets forth that many nations have recognized the secession of Panama, that the independence of that Republic is an accomplished fact, that the President of the United States approved and protected the secession with the naval forces of the United States, and that the President and the Senate recognized the independence of the new Republic by appointing and accrediting a minister to that Republic. After providing for the construction of the Panama canal by the United States, the bill declares that all the rights and properties of the Republic of Panama of every description shall vest in the United States of America without reserve and shall be subject to their sovereign jurisdiction.

Senator Morgan also introduced in the Senate on the 20th a concurrent resolution directing the President to enter into negotiations with the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica for the construction of a canal by the Nicaraguan route.

Apropos of the traction question in Cleveland (pp. 647-48) it appears that recent press dispatches have been somewhat misleading. No extension of old franchises

has been given, but a franchise has been granted a new company which proposes to operate a road at three-cent fare, with other favorable stipulations as to transfers and ultimate municipal ownership. Franchises for the operation of connecting lines now owned by the monopoly company, whose franchise soon expires, have also been granted to the new 3-cent line. In addition, an ordinance (the McKenna ordinance) has been passed fixing fares slightly within the city limits at 3 cents on all the old lines. This would accommodate about 90 per cent. of the people of Cleveland with 3-cent fares. But there has been no compromise allowing the old companies to charge more than 5 cents anywhere. The 3-cent, 5-cent and 7-cent zones reported in the press dispatches as acceptable to Mayor Johnson were merely proposed by representatives of the company. Mayor Johnson has stated publicly that he would not accept such a proposition without a referendum. The 3-cent ordinance is to take effect on the 21st, when it is to be enforced if not enjoined by the courts.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—Geo. Francis Train, 74 years old, died at New York on the 18th.

—Ex-Gov. Asa Bushnell, of Ohio, died at Columbus on the 15th at the age of 70.

—The convention of the United Mine Workers of America opened at Indianapolis on the 19th.

—One of the Republican Senators in the Ohio legislature has introduced a bill to abolish Spring elections in municipalities.

—Charles Denby, formerly United States minister to China, died at Jamestown, N. Y., on the 13th, after giving a lecture there. His home was Evansville, Ind., and his age 73.

—James L. Blair, of St. Louis (son of Francis P. Blair, the candidate with Horatio Seymour for Vice President of the United States), recently general counsel for the World's Fair at St. Louis, died at Eustis, Fla., on the 16th.

—Hermann Eduard von Holst, author of "The Constitutional History of the United States," died at Freiburg, Germany, on the 20th. He was born in Russia, June 19, 1841; escaped political persecution by fleeing to the United States in 1867; and at the time of his death was head of the department of history in the Chicago University.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 585)

for the six months ending December 31, 1903, as given by the December Treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$77,017,182	\$482,906,678	\$304,110,304 exp.
G	13,010,593	51,231,179	38,220,586 imp.
S	21,635,634	13,939,268	7,756,366 exp.
	\$521,723,409	\$548,077,325	\$273,646,084 exp.

—On the 18th the Federal Supreme Court, following a previous decision in a similar case, decided in a case coming up from Texas that the exclusion of Negroes from grand juries in cases involving criminal charges against members of their race is in violation of the Constitution. The decision was announced by Justice Holmes in the case of a Negro of Alabama named Rogers, who was indicted for murder by a grand jury composed entirely of white men and from which, it is charged, all Negroes were excluded because of their color. The Supreme Court of the State upheld the regularity of the proceeding, but Rogers brought it to the Federal court with the result that the decision of the State court is reversed.

#### PRESS OPINIONS.

##### BRYAN'S STUBBORNNESS.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 19.—In Mr. Bryan's attitude, the compromisers, the timeservers and those with palms itching to lay hold of the campaign contributions of organized wealth will profess to see nothing but a blind and obstinate attachment to a dead issue. If the silver question were the only issue at stake, this charge of Bourbonism which the "reorganizers" bring against the leader of radical democracy might be of some force. . . . But that is the least of the things which it is sought to make the basis of compromise and concession. It is radical democracy in itself that the Bourbons would destroy. In Ohio, the radical democracy preached by Tom Johnson, although he never approved the free silver doctrine, was as objectionable to the "conservatives" as the radical democracy advocated by Mr. Bryan. It is not "free silver" that the plutocratic element fears, but democracy—democracy that does not profess devotion to the interests of the masses while secretly betraying them to their despoilers.

##### MILES FOR PRESIDENT.

San Francisco Star (Dem.), Jan. 16.—We are, in a general way, opposed to military men occupying civic office, but Gen. Miles is more than a military man. Although he served his country long, faithfully and well in that capacity—while agreeing with Sherman that "war is hell"—he found time to study statecraft, and knows the true meaning of Jeffersonian democracy, to which he is devoted. This we learned in conversation with him during his recent visit to this city. Gen. Miles is far better informed as to the leading questions of the day than many "great statesmen" in both the Democratic and Republican parties, who pretend to know all about them.

##### THE HEARST BOOM.

Chicago Chronicle (Ind.), Jan. 9.—In the first place, there are serious doubts as to the actual existence of such a character as the yellow kid. All have seen his portrait—thanks to his modesty and generosity—but who ever saw the kid himself? It would be exceedingly embarrassing to nominate a brilliant, saffron-hued charac-

ter for the Presidency and then make the discovery that there is no such person. In the second place, admitting that there is a yellow kid, what assurance has anyone that if he should be nominated and elected he could be found on inauguration day, or any other day, for that matter? Who ever knew of his keeping an appointment? When, for once, did the man of brass bands, torchlight processions, noise, bluster, cannons, red paint and war whoops face the music himself?

San Francisco Star (Dem.), Jan. 9.—Hearst wants the Democratic nomination, but he tells workmen that that party does not represent them, and that they should nominate a ticket of their own—that is, nominate him. His scheme is to have a national labor convention called in advance of the other conventions, and, having secured its nomination for President, force the Democracy also to nominate him. For months he has been at work on this scheme, and his agents everywhere have had money without limit to help it along. We have no objection to Hearst's ambition—however ridiculous it may be—but we do object to his trying to use the labor movement to further it.

#### ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 18.—There can be no question that Roosevelt is losing ground. Six months ago there was not a sign of opposition to his nomination in the Republican party. Such an eventuality was not deemed even worthy of discussion. To-day some of the leading Republican newspapers of the country are apposing his nomination and predicting that to make him the party's candidate inevitably would lead to defeat, while there is not a Republican newspaper or leader in the country that has not discussed the possibility of another candidate being brought forward to oppose him. When a party begins to question the expediency of nominating a candidate for the Presidential nomination it is a short step to rejecting him.

#### THE CHICAGO THEATER DISASTER.

The Frankfort, Ind. American Standard (Dem.), Jan. 14.—To some extent, probably, the insolent demands of "business interests" are thrust in the faces of the people of Chicago and other great cities oftener and more imperiously than in the country or the smaller cities; but that the whole nation has been taught to bow the knee to the "business" Baal is undeniable. Business interests slay their hundreds of thousands in this country every year. In the mills, the mines, on the railroads and in scores of other places where labor centers and congests the sacrifice of human life to the moloch of business interests goes on unheeded because so common—so invariable. Will it ever cease? Or will we finally surrender unconditionally to commercialism—greed alias "business interests?"

(Cleveland) Waechter und Anzelger (Dem.), Jan. 5, 1904.—Why so lax in enforcing the law? Whoever seeks a complete answer to this question will find that besides the bribing of building inspectors and the indifference of this people, he will have to add this fact: That site values in a city like Chicago have become so high that for most buildings only a fraction of the site is secured or used which sane and safe building regulations would demand. What to do about it? There you touch upon the most deepseated of all social questions—the land question.

#### PUBLIC DEBTS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 16.—Johnstown is to-day facing a sewer problem. Its immediate solution would bring an immediate benefit. . . . Yet the proposition is, not that those instantly benefited shall pay the cost of the improvement, but that upon people yet un-

born the burden shall be imposed. We say that as those unborn are to have the benefit of the sewers it is but right that we should ask them to pay. But . . . is not the full value of a public improvement reaped every year so long as it serves as such? Suppose the Franklin street bridge were swept away to-morrow? Where would the loss fall? On the people of 1934 or upon those of 1904? What land values would vanish with its collapse? Those of 1934 or those existing right now? And if an overhead bridge shall be built connecting the city with Prospect, is it the generations yet to come that are to receive the benefit or that which is now on the scene? Who is it demanding that overhead bridge? Your children's children or you yourself? Are you thinking of the value it will add to your lot in 1950 or of the value it will add the moment traffic begins to pass over it? The bonding issue is involved in the present municipal election. The discussion is therefore not academic. It is a vital present interest. Certainly a sewer system is needed. But we seriously question the wisdom of bonding the future to defray the cost.

#### IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 28 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 11-15, 1904.

#### Senate.

On the 11th only routine business was done; but on the 12th, an important debate occurred (p. 695) on the Panama question, and on the 13th the labor trouble in Colorado (p. 786) was the principal subject of discussion. The Panama question was again the subject of debate on the 14th and 15th, when the Senate adjourned to the 18th.

#### House.

On the 11th only routine business was done. Appropriations were made the occasion on the 12th (p. 717), of much desultory discussion, largely not germane, which was continued on the 13th and 14th, when the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill was passed (p. 842), and the House adjourned to the 18th.

**Record Notes.**—Text of Morgan concurrent resolution on Isthmian canal (p. 679). Text of Bacon arbitration resolution on relations with Colombia (p. 695). Senator Spooner's speech on trade relations with Cuba (p. 807). Text of documents relative to labor troubles in Colorado (p. 786). Senator Carmack's speech on relations with Colombia (p. 815). Discussion between Congressmen Goebel, of Ohio, and Baker, of New York, on bad government in Cincinnati (p. 826). Speech of Congressman Latimer on Congressional appropriations for good roads (p. 863).

## MISCELLANY

### HENRY GEORGE.

We are only common people,  
And he was a man like us,  
But he loved his fellows before himself;  
And he died for me and you,  
To redeem the world anew  
From cruelty and greed—  
For love, the only creed,  
And honor, the only law.

There once was a man of the people,  
A man like you and me,  
Who worked for his daily bread,  
And loved his fellows before himself.  
But he died at the hands of the throng  
To redeem the world from wrong,  
And we call him the Son of God,  
Because of the love he had.

And there was a man of the people,  
Who sat in the people's chair,  
And bade the slaves go free;  
For he loved his fellows before himself.  
They took his life; but his word  
They could not take. It was heard  
Over the beautiful earth,  
A thunder and whisper of love.

And there is no other way,  
Since man of woman was born,  
Than the way of the rebels and saints,  
With loving and labor vast,  
To redeem the world at last  
From cruelty and greed.  
For love is the only creed,  
And honor the only law.

BLISS CARMAN.

#### A PARABLE.

This parable, originally published in The Public of January 31, 1903, is now reproduced as a tribute to the memory of its author, C. D. James, of Davenport, Ia., who perished in the Iroquois theater disaster at Chicago, Wednesday, December 30, 1903.

In the early springtime a certain man, whose name was Labor, planted seeds of grain in a field, the name of which was Opportunity.

Then Nature, who was Labor's mother, sent sunshine and warmth, the rain and the dew, and behold, the seeds sent forth tiny shoots, and the man Labor was exceeding glad.

The growing plants he nourished tenderly, like unto his own children; and in their youth he christened them Wealth and Capital.

Now, when another moon had passed, behold, certain strange plants grew in the field of Opportunity, and their name was Monopoly plants, though the man knew it not. For when the man Labor was a little feller he went with other little fellers to a certain Rocky Feller's school, in which great and wise men taught the little fellers many strange and wondrous things.

Now it happened the wise men lived on Monopoly plants, and the great man who built the school—he, too, lived on the same strange food; and the Monopoly plants lived on the plants of Wealth and the Capital plants which the man Labor had planted.

So the wise men fooled the little fellers, and taught them to call all plants in the field Opportunity, Wealth and Capital plants.

And it came to pass that to save his little soul that little feller knew not a Monopoly weed from a Capital plant. So when the man Labor beheld the Monopoly plants, which he had not planted, thriving among the Capital plants which he had planted, he was again exceeding glad.

Now it happened that the Monopoly plants could not grow up into the sunshine without help of the Capital

plants; so the man Labor wound a Monopoly creeper 'round every Capital plant, and went away exceeding glad.

With another moon came again the man Labor to gather of the fruit of his labor; and behold, there was no fruit to gather, for the plants Monopoly had taken unto themselves the juices of the plants Wealth and Capital.

Now the man was filled with a great hate for Monopoly plants; and he cursed the wise men of his youth with a great cuss, because they taught him all plants in the field of Opportunity were Capital plants. And he went with a great hoe into the field to cut down the strange plants which had eaten the fruit of his labor.

The blindness of anger was upon the man Labor; and, behold, when the anger was gone, the Monopoly plants and the Capital plants were gone also, and there was no fruit for anyone.

Then the man Labor went away and thought a long think.

C. D. JAMES.

#### A CONSISTENT REFORMER.

From the Boston Herald.

Mayor Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, stands steadfastly to the policy of efficiency and non-partisanship in the public service which he instituted when he came into office. For instance, he then put the city waterworks in charge of Prof. Bemis, an intelligent and thoroughly competent administrator. He did this avowedly for the purpose of having the department operated on the merit system, instead of the political spoils system. Prof. Bemis was given a free hand in the matter of appointing and discharging employes. He retained those who were capable and efficient, discharged those who were inefficient, and filled their places, when necessary, wholly without reference to the partisanship of those retained, discharged or appointed. The Democratic spoils politicians promptly rebelled, and appealed to the mayor to restrict Prof. Bemis' discretion and give the party workers a preference. The mayor notified them that the superintendent was appointed by him, not for the purpose of giving employment to Democrats, because they were Democrats, but to conduct the department in the most efficient and economic way, as a public business should be conducted. The specimens submitted, because they had no choice. Since the state election, when Mr. Johnson, as a candidate for governor, was so overwhelmingly defeated, the sportsmen, thinking that he might have changed his mind, again approached him on the matter of giving Democrats a preferential chance in the water department, and

complaining bitterly of Prof. Bemis' indifference to party interests, by which many good Democrats, they said, had been alienated. The mayor told them that he should stand by Prof. Bemis, who was only carrying out his instructions, and the policy would not be changed.

#### PANAMA REVOLUTION A STOCK-GAMBLING JOB.

"Special Dispatch from New York to the Chicago Inter Ocean (Republican). Published in the Inter Ocean of Jan. 17.

The World prints a page article under the caption "Panama Revolution, a Stock-Gambling Plan to Make Millions." The article says:

"The World gathered these facts from men who took an active part in the events described. The greatest care was taken to substantiate all of the statements here given. Facts gathered from one source were submitted to others, usually those with interests antagonistic to the original informants, and a complete check was made by the World, as far as it could possibly be done, to verify all of its information. These facts show:

"1. That the Panama revolution was fostered and promoted in many ways by a syndicate of New York and Paris brokers who had formed an immense pool for speculating in the shares and other securities of the Panama Canal company. This syndicate furnished \$100,000, which was used by the revolutionary party in Panama to perfect the revolution. Of this money \$8,000 was used to bribe Colombian troops and get them to leave the isthmus.

"2. The agent or chief reliance of this speculative syndicate was Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the present Minister of the Panama republic to the United States. The leading member of the syndicate was Minister Varilla's brother, Maurice Varilla, editor of the *Matin*, a Paris newspaper. The shares of the Panama Canal company when the bankers' syndicate took hold of the revolutionary project were selling at 67 on the Paris bourse. Yesterday they were selling at 115. The profits of the syndicate at present prices are estimated at \$4,000,000.

"3. That the operation of the bankers' syndicate and the connection of Minister Varilla with the speculative pool was not known until quite recently by the native Panamanians, who went into the revolution purely out of a spirit of loyalty. There is no evidence that any of these joined with the speculative pool or reaped any of its profits.

"4. That the appointment of Varilla as Minister of the new republic to this

country was bitterly opposed by leaders of the revolutionary party on the isthmus until they discovered, through representatives they had sent to Washington, that nothing could be done in the way of getting assistance from this government except through Mr. Varilla.

"5. That some time before the revolution occurred Varilla insisted to the active leaders of the revolution that he must be made Minister of the republic to this country, in exchange for which he would furnish, first, the revolutionary fund necessary; second, that he would have United States warships on the scene at the proper moment to serve the interests of the revolutionists; third, that he would have the United States recognize the republic of Panama immediately after the revolution. Varilla kept all three pledges."

#### EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES: A FABLE.

Half a mile down the road was a pile of boxes, each box containing the economic life of one man for a year. At the starting point were five men in readiness for the race.

The first was physically and mentally excellent.

The second was physically perfect, but mentally deficient.

The third was weak in body, but intellectually brilliant.

The fourth was below par in both body and mind.

The fifth had a good body and mind, but was intensely sympathetic.

All started at the same place and time. All had the same distance to go. All were to use the same track, reach the same goal, receive the same reward—food, clothing and shelter for a year. What greater equality of opportunity could be conceived of?

The race occurred. The stupid, animal man ran on all fours because he thought he could go faster that way. The brilliant invalid and the weakling lagged. The sympathetic one stayed back to help them along. The strongest reached the goal ahead of the rest, took all the boxes and possessed himself of the economic lives of the others.

When the four suggested that it would have been more in accordance with justice to have a handicap race, the first replied: "The trouble with you is that you have failed to carefully differentiate between equal division, and access upon a basis of equality upon complying with like conditions." Then the four cursed the first for his great discovery.—Condensed from A. E. W., in *Lucifer*.

But when they thought a little, only

of them said: "You have possessed yourself of that by which we must live and which was the common heritage of us all. You are fewest, though you are first, and we do not recognize that title. You will please hand over to our tax department the full annual value of the opportunity of which you have deprived us."

Then the first cursed the four for their little discovery.—Bolton Hall, in Lucifer.

**STEEL WORKERS FIND THAT THEIR WAGES HAVE BEEN REDUCED 40, INSTEAD OF 20 PER CENT.**

In all the statements given to the press by the United States Steel Corporation as to the proposed reductions of wages to be made on January 1, in their mills, it was stated that the reductions would range from 5 to 20 per cent., and would average about 10 per cent. Thus, on December 15, the newspapers of the country printed the following dispatch:

New York, Dec. 14.—The statement was made to-day by a leading official of the United States Steel Corporation that, beginning January 1, 1904, about 90 per cent. of the employes of the corporation will suffer wage reductions, ranging from 5 to 20 per cent. This reduction will affect about 150,000 workmen in the various grades of the subsidiary companies. The remaining ten per cent. of the employes are members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, whose wage schedule runs to July 1, 1904.

On December 21 a dispatch from Pittsburg said:

Semi-official information was given out to-day that a general reduction in wages is to be made at all non-union iron and steel plants in the country that will average about ten per cent.

On January 5 it was reported from Pittsburg that there was dissatisfaction amongst the steel workers who had returned to work after a long idleness, and that, though they were willing to accept a reduction, they thought that their wages had been cut too much. The Iron Age of January 14 contains the old rates of wages, the new rates and the compromise rates, which the workers are willing to accept. If the reductions here shown are fair samples of the reductions made in other mills—as they probably are—it is not surprising that the workers are dissatisfied. These reductions will average more nearly 40 than 10 per cent. The least reduction appears to be 12 per cent., and the largest to exceed 49 per cent. Here are the rates for the skilled employes of the Homestead works—the scales showing

the rate of wage paid per hundred tons of output:

	Company's Men's		
	Old rate.	scale.	scale.
Heaters .....	\$2.72	\$1.74	\$2.00
Rollers .....	2.72	1.74	2.00
Manipulators .....	1.97	1.35	1.35
Cranemen .....	1.44	.87	1.23
Back table men.....	1.07	.97	.97
Greasers .....	.84	.65	.84
Bottom makers.....	1.76	1.16	1.50
Bottom makers' helpers.	1.45	.87	1.23
Pit and tong men.....	1.44	.73	1.22
Pit and tong helpers....	1.20	.65	1.07
Buggy men.....	.97	.80	.90
Recorders .....	.80	.65	.80

The above rates appear to apply to the 40-inch mill. Those for the 48-inch mill are in part as follows:

	Company's Men's		
	Old rate.	scale.	scale.
Rollers .....	\$5.50	\$2.94	\$3.87
Heaters .....	4.00	2.21	2.20
Shearmen .....	2.00	1.10	1.60
Heater helpers.....	1.63	1.28	1.40
Ingot yard cranemen....	1.25	.83	1.10
Ingot yard foremen.....	1.55	1.10	1.35
Pullups .....	.90	.53	.81
Guidesmen .....	2.25	1.38	1.85
Greasers .....	1.45	.98	1.25
Shear helpers .....	1.56	1.01	1.30
Weigh master .....	1.50	1.01	1.30

In the 30 and 35-inch mills, as well as in the others, dissatisfaction exists and compromise scales are being prepared.

The publication of these scales indicates how misleading and false were the statements given out by the officials of the steel trust a few weeks ago. We can believe nothing that comes from the headquarters of this trust. Deception and fraud are a part of the working capital of the trusts.

BYRON W. HOLT.

**BETTER THAN DIGGING A CANAL.**

A portion of a discourse delivered in the pulpit of the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, January 17, 1904, by the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow.

Since it is proposed to spend so many millions for a canal in Panama, it is well to ask ourselves, "Precisely what good is it going to do us?"

What is a canal? It is a labor saving device. Will the canal benefit the masses? Have labor saving machines been of benefit to them?

**MACHINERY AND LABOR.**

We should not stop inventing machinery because inventions have not materially increased the wages of labor. We should go on with our canal, notwithstanding the fact that wages for common labor will continue to be what a man can live on and no more. We should not put a stop to material progress because, forsooth, the benefits of progress have not been equitably distributed. But it is time we had learned this fact, that of greater importance,

even, than digging canals, is the work of amending our laws, to the end that the benefits of public improvements shall reach down to the bottom of society, and not be monopolized by a few at the top.

**WHERE DOES THE WEALTH GO?**

With canals, and railroads, and improved machinery, wealth production has increased enormously. Yet there has been no startling improvement in the condition of the masses. Where, then, does this wealth go? There are only three places for it to go. It must be distributed, either as wages, or interest, or rent.

There has been no increase in the rate of wages corresponding to the increase in the productiveness of labor. Have we not five bridges spanning the Ohio? Mighty triumphs of civilization! Yet it was only yesterday that a father surrendered two of his four children to a charitable institution because the wage he received as a clerk in a railroad office was not sufficient to support them all. This father could not have fared worse in this country a century ago, yet those were the days of ferry boats and stage coaches and hand tools.

Neither has the capitalist absorbed a larger share of this increased production. As a matter of fact, the rate of interest has gone down, and the capitalist, as capitalist, gets less than ever before.

**GROUND RENT THE SPONGE.**

But not so with rent. While interest and wages have stood still, rents have gone up. On the great average, wages and interest remain on a dead level, but rents shoot skyward. When our forefathers wanted to live and work on Manhattan Island, the Indians required of them but a few strings of beads. But this generation, before it pays interest on capital or wages to labor, must pay the Astors a tribute of hundreds of millions. It is into that ever-enlarging maw of the land monopolist that the first fruits of our advancing civilization go. Ground rent is the sponge that sucks up the wealth of the nation.

**THE NET RESULT.**

Suppose the Panama canal should so change the course of trade that New Orleans in a decade should grow to the size of Philadelphia. The net result would be that the men who own the site of the Crescent city would be able to collect millions where now they collect thousands in ground rents, while the masses there would be no better off than the masses in the Quaker city. Without the Single Tax that canal will be of trifling benefit to the masses. The landlords will be the chief beneficiaries. The money sunk in that canal will in-

crease neither interest nor wages. It will swell ground rents. It is the people's money, but they will never get it back, until they take these ground rents in lieu of taxes.

### MULLIGAN TELLS A CHRISTMAS STORY;

AND BROOKS, AN OCCASIONAL VISITOR, MIXES IN.  
For The Public.

"Open that schtove dure, Mulligan! Don't ye see ut's get'n red?" called Flynn, from behind the counter. Mulligan opened the door, and closed the damper below with the remark that if Donovan didn't "pay more attintion to his juties we'll hire another fireman."

"There comes Brooks," said Flynn, as a gentleman entered the grocery door; and he went forward to wait upon his customer.

"Come in, Misther Brooks, an' give an account av yerself," cried Mulligan. "It's a long toime since ye've attinded a meet'n."

Brooks lighted his cigar, and, deliberately resting his right elbow on the showcase, and placing his left arm a-kimbow, looked steadily down the room at the company, and puffed in silence, for a space. Then, taking a long pull, removing his cigar, he projected a cloud of smoke, and said: "Excuse me. I fear my smoking may be offensive to you gentlemen!"

"That deplnds upon the brand av the seegars," answered Mulligan. "Ye moight fetch the box down an' lave us schmell av ut!"

Brooks smiled, and wigwagged Flynn, who responded by serving the cigars to the company.

"Get up, Donovan, an' lave Misther Brooks have the arrum chayer," said Mulligan.

"Keep your seat, Donovan," protested Brooks, "a cracker box is good enough for me." But Donovan got the cracker box.

"Did ye hov a merry Christmas, Misther Brooks?" asked Mulligan.

"Fine!" answered Brooks, heartily, "fine! The merriest I've had for many a year."

"And how was that?"

"I attended a Christmas entertainment at a mission Sunday school," answered Brooks. "I got more pleasure in witnessing the happiness of those poor little children, at the feast, and then, when the presents were distributed!—you ought to have seen them! I tell you, Mulligan, those babes had discovered a new world, that Christmas eve; a fairy land, full of chicken pie, candies, tin horns, wooden soldiers, dancing clowns, doll babies and everything else that a

human being could ever wish for! It was worth while, Mulligan!"

"Faith, Oi belave you!" said Mulligan. "An' speakin' av poor childen, Oi'm moinded av a case. Yez know Katie Ryan—Bill Ryan's daughter; she taiches the furrst grade in the Jackson school. Katie came into our house to git war-rum, an' 'er way home, the day befoor Christmas. An' she had a big markud basket full av toys, up to the top, d'ye moind. 'An' phwhat d'ye think Oi hov here?' says she.

"Ye're not so owld, Katie," says Oi, 'but thim thrinkuds looks young fer ye!'

"Go on wid yer blarney!" says Katie.

"Thim prisints is fer a poor little gyurl an' boy that was n't goin' to hov anny Christmas. It was this way, Missis Mulligan," says Katie. "The childer at the school was all schtand'n' round me, an' thryin' t' tell me, all at wance, all about everythin' that Santa Claus iver brought thim—all but wan. Little Mollie Tinker, about foive years old, was pull'n' at me dhress, an' luck'n' up into me face wid her big brown eyes; an' her chin quivered ivery wanst in a pholle, but she niver schpoke." So, after a pholle Oi sez to thim: "Kape schtill now, childer, till OI schpake to Mollie." An' phwhin they'd all quieted down, Oi sez t' her, sez Oi: "Phwhat is ut, dear?" "Miss Ryan," sez she. "We aint goin' t' hove anny Christmas this toime, becuse brother had t' have a new pair av shoes!" An' she never whimpered, Missis Mulligan? Oi thought me heart wud burst wid think'n' av the pitifulness av ut! An' Oi looked down into thim dhry eyes av hers, troo the tears in me own eyes, an' phwhat did Oi see but a little dark grave, wid a shrouded baby's soul lying there, alone, an' shtill!" An' phwhat did Katie do, but go to the rich Widdy Flint and tell her all about ut! An' Missis Flint, she put on 'er sealskin coat an' goes wid Katie, an' she says to Katie, sez she: 'You pick out the prisints, an' Oi'll pay fer thim.' An', says Katie, 'there's goin' to be a resurrection of a baby's dead soul in little Mollie Tinker's house to-morry maarn'n', plase God!' And, thank God! there was," concluded Mulligan.

It was quite still in Flynn's store for the space of a few minutes. Then Brooks said, musingly: "Mollie Tinker—child of Joe Tinker's widow?"

"That same," answered Mulligan.

"I knew him well. Took him thirty years, working at a dollar and a half a day (what time he wasn't sick, or out of work) to pay for the little cottage where they lived; and then he died. But he always paid his taxes. Couldn't dodge them, for all he had was in sight; and it didn't take the assessor long to look at it, either. In fact, Joe did a good deal more

than to pay his own taxes; for he contributed, during all those thirty years, toward the payment of the rich Widow Flint's taxes."

"How's that!" exclaimed Mulligan.

"The tax 'ferrets' have just found out that she is liable for upward of seven thousand dollars taxes, on mortgages that she has been hiding from the assessor during a long period of years!" answered Brooks. "If the rich and highly sympathetic Widow Flint, and her class, would pay their own bills, the Widow Tinker, and her class, would fill their own Christmas stockings. From seven thousand dollars, plus, subtract a basketful of toys, and there remains against the rich Widow Flint a debit of seven thousand dollars, plus! God bless Katie Ryan!" continued Brooks, "and every other heart, that responds to a touch of nature! And God pity the rich Widow Flint, and all others who fall victims of a vicious system of taxation that holds forever before the rich, temptations so alluring that few can withstand them. As you know, gentlemen, I own a good deal of property, of various kinds. And I tell you, frankly, that I haven't more than enough moral fibre to induce me to pay my taxes. Not for want of sufficient money, but simply because I do not have to pay them. There is no incentive whatever, in regard to some of them, except a sense of moral duty. In fact, personal taxation is a farce. The poor contribute what they must, and the rich, as a rule, contribute what they please. The system crushes the poor, and demoralizes the rich.

"But I'm glad I came in to-night, Mulligan; I wouldn't have missed that little Christmas story for a good deal," continued Brooks. "The circumstances of the story, and the telling it and the hearing it, have developed one gratifying fact, and that is, that everybody's heart is in the right place. All we want is a little more light." Whereupon Mr. Brooks arose, and bidding everybody good night, departed.

"A quare lad is that Brooks," said Donovan. "He is wan av those fellys thot do be all the pholle think'n'. Phwhat's the name av thot society he's belong'n' to—Whifflethree, Oi think ut is they call ut."

"Singlethree," corrected Flynn.

"Single tax, ye mane!" exclaimed Mulligan, with an emphasis of disgust. "Sure annybody can see that yous fellys hov all the light ye need!"

"Annyhow, Oi'm think'n'," said Donovan, "that a single tax wud be better nor a double tax; and if they do be raisin' the tax rate loike fer a pholle pasht, we'll soon be pay'n' thrubble and quad-ruped taxes, Oi do'n' know!"

"Pass Donovan the box av tobaccy an' a match," cried Mulligan; "he has a polpeav 'ls own. An' kape schtill, Donovan, or ye'll hov the single tax thranslated into a span av mules an' a lumber wagon!"

"Phwhat is thot single tax, anyhow?" asked Flynn. Mulligan was in no hurry to answer. But presently, as he arose and began buttoning on his overcoat, he said:

"The single tax, fer wan thing, wud prevent tax dodg'n'."

"An' phwhat's the objection to ut thin?" asked Flynn.

"It wud prevint tax dodg'n'," said Mulligan.

"Oi undherstand;" said Flynn, "but phoy not adopt ut thin?"

"It wud prevint tax dodg'n'," repeated Mulligan, as he lifted the latch. Flynn was getting red in the face. "That's three toimes ye've towld me thot," he ejaculated, "an' Oi understud ut the furrst toime, and the second toime, and the thurd toime! An' now, if ye know (which Oi'm not think'n' ye do!), since ye're so sure ut wud prevint tax dodg'n', phwhat the devil's the rason they don't put the single tax in operation?" By this time, Flynn's crescendo had reached the top pitch, the last word fairly jarring the tea caddies; and he looked like one who felt that he had demonstrated his ability not only to hear and understand, but also, at a pinch, to speak the English language intelligibly!

"Oi beg yer parrdon, Mистер Flynn," said Mulligan, in sonorous, modulated, yet distinct enunciation; "but Oi understud ye t' ax me, phoy didn't they adopt the single tax?"

"An' phwhat else did Oi ax ye?" fairly shouted Flynn, his choler rising again!

"Well, thin," said Mulligan, "for the fourth toime—count thim!—Oi'll answer ye, that the rason they don't adopt the single tax is because, it wud prevint tax dodg'n'!"

Mulligan was gone. Flynn observed a smile in Donovan's eyes, and playing about the corners of his mouth. He brought out the box of cigars, and extending it, said: "Put wan av thim in yer face, Donovan; an' if ye see Mulligan, tell 'im there's wan here for him."

HORACE CLIFTON.

"Did he pass the examination for the post office position?"

"No. When the examiners asked him what honesty was he said it was the 'best policy.'"

G. T. E.

An eclectic system of therapeutics is perhaps best; say, allopathy forenoons, homeopathy afternoons, and Christian

Science nights, with osteopathy Sundays and legal holidays.—Life.

"What if it is proved that Smoot has more than one wife?"

"Then it will be proved that he isn't competent to be a Senator."

G. T. E.

## BOOKS

### THE NOVEL THAT MADE TROUBLE IN MISSOURI.

When Speed Mosby's novel, Ben Blunt (Speed Mosby, Jefferson City, Mo.) was first published, in a St. Louis newspaper, it made trouble for its author, who was at that time a deputy clerk of the Supreme Court of Missouri. Mr. Mosby was promptly and peremptorily requested to resign, because some of his superiors or their familiars felt the novel as a hit at themselves and could think of no more original way of ejaculating "ouch!"

Now that the novel appears in book form, those virtuous Missouri officials who seem to see the advancing shadow of some relentless Folk whichever way they turn, are not likely to be any the happier. Had they suppressed their indignation, Mr. Mosby's novel might easily have passed as a political satire written on lines somewhat different from those of the conventional novel of that kind, and as personal to no one in particular. As it is, readers can hardly avoid the inference that the characters of the story, instead of being types, are actual portraits. On the assumption that they are portraits, one can hardly blame the originals for venting their indignation upon the all-too-faithful author. Such men would rather not be photographed faithfully.

The hero of Mosby's story, Ben Blunt, is one of those honest souls who get a living at work below their abilities and live and move and have their being in their books. A lawyer by profession, but impatient of legal practice, Ben Blunt works as a department clerk and plays at being a tolerably useless scholar. He is as simple minded as Pickwick; and, like Pickwick, he experiences marked intellectual growth as the story goes on. It culminates in his becoming a great editor.

Through his employment in a government department, Blunt comes in contact with exalted and highly respectable public officials, whose peculiarities and slantindicular doings supply the story with much of its spice. The governor, the State auditor, the chief justice, the prosecuting attorney, the hangers-on of these in politics and society, all pass before Mr. Mosby's camera for a snapshot, and the snap-shot is remorselessly developed. One need not know the State officials of Missouri in order to appreciate Mr. Mosby's silhouettes; the type may be encountered at almost any State capital.

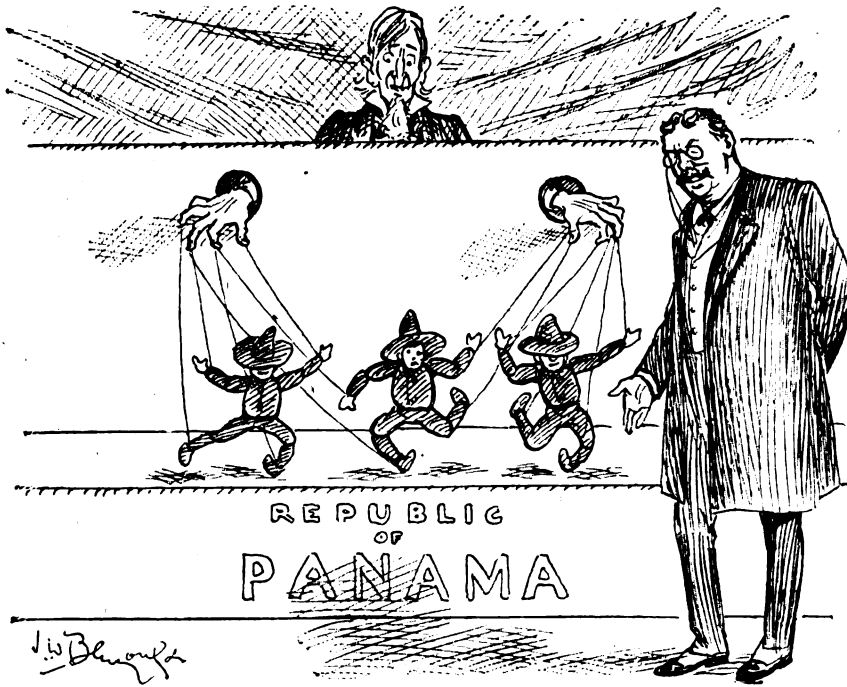
As a novel the story would probably not stand close criticism. It is not a rounded narrative, but is built rather upon the model of the loosely constructed Pickwick. Though the characters are clearly outlined, and the outlines are filled in well enough to excite interest in them, their mutual relations are more those of accidental contact than of inevitable intercourse. But loose construction does not detract from satire, as the Pickwick Papers amply testified to a former generation; and the sketches which Mr. Mosby has given us of official life in the United States, may prove to be all the better for their lack of artificiality.

### THE AMERICAN CLASS STRUGGLE.

This is a little pamphlet by A. M. Simons (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave. Price, 10c.), who traces the development of classes in the United States along the usual socialistic lines of exposition. It is an interestingly condensed story of certain economic phenomena. Mr. Simons naturally falls into the same logical ditch that caught Karl Marx. The present class struggle, he writes, "arises from a condition where the sources and means of national life are created and used by one class and owned by another"—as if the sources of life were created by any class. This is not an accidental and immaterial slip. All that is distinctive in socialism depends upon it. To get out of the logical ditch into which Marx led the way is to get out of socialism. A similar stumble, characteristic, however, of later socialist thought, relates to trusts, regarding which Mr. Simons writes: "The trust and concentrated industry have made all production collective." This notion that industry has only recently become collective is a favorite with socialist propagandists. Yet it is no more true than that horse racing has recently become speedy. Horse racing is more speedy than it used to be, and industry is more intensely collective; but that difference in degree is not a difference in kind. Industry in general has been collective ever since division of labor and trade began.

### ESARHADDON.

Tolstoy's contribution to the destitute Jews of Kishineff and Gomel (Esarhaddon, and Other Tales. By Leo Tolstoy. Translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price 40 cents net.) consists of three simple allegories. "Esarhaddon, King of Assyria," the leading story, is made to exemplify with telling effect the ethical importance of now and then putting yourself in another's place; while one of the others impresses the lesson of securing happiness through working for one another. The third teaches that the most important time



"AUTONOMY."

Showman Roosevelt—Ladies and gentlemen, you will "recognize" these figures as constituting a self-acting Republic.

for everyone is now, "because it is the only time when we have any power;" that "the most necessary man is he with whom you are, for no man knows whether he will ever have dealings with anyone else;" and that "the most important affair is to do him good, because for that purpose alone was man sent into this life."

CORRECTION.

In the review of Watson's Jefferson (No. 201) the type should have repeated the words "opposition to the supernatural." The passage would then read: "What wonder then that Jefferson, whose keen intellect was open to all of the new influences of science that were first beginning to flow, should have been carried away by its spirit of independent opposition to the supernatural. Opposition to the supernatural, as the word was understood in his day, was an almost inevitable incident of his open-mindedness and his naturally scientific disposition."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Ideals and Idealism, by Charles Wallace Silver. E. B. Wright, Urbana, Ill., 50 cents.

PERIODICALS.

McClure's for January maintains its high standard. Miss Tarbell continues her history of the Standard Oil Company. Carl Schurz contributes a notable article on the Negro problem. In fact, each one of the dozen contributions is good of its kind. The Touch of Nature, by Myra Kelly, is most clever, and ought to be read by all dealers in pedagogy. There is hardly a school in the country which has not suffered the affliction of such humbugs as "Miss Endora Langdon, lecturer on biology and nature study in a Western university, a shining light in the world of education, and an orator in her own conceit."

J. H. D.

A recent copy of the Nation gives a most interesting account of M. Gustave Herve, who has just published in France a History of France and Europe for schools, with the avowed purpose of using history as a means of teaching peace. Let us pray

that it will soon be translated, and that some Englishman or American may be moved to follow his example. It is one of our sins against youth that we put into their hands histories which glorify war, dwelling on its "fuss and feathers" and minimizing its gore and suffering. M. Herve lost his position as teacher in a college near Paris for writing contemptuously of the battle of Wagram, apropos of a celebration of the anniversary of that slaughter. J. H. D.

The Hibbert Journal continues to maintain its position as the foremost of the distinctly religious reviews. No. 6, for January, contains a most interesting symposium on the Alleged Indifference of Laymen to Religion. The concluding remarks of the editor are particularly striking. "Where is Christianity?" he asks. "Does the nominally Christian world mean to be Christian in fact? Shall society call itself Christian because, forsooth, after living all day by principles which turn the earth into a battlefield, it summons the ambulance in the evening and picks up the wounded, and sheds tears of pity over the dead?" The main trouble is, he thinks, that the plain man has a feeling that we are not really serious in professing Christianity. Christianity is a life, and he does not see this life in the church. J. H. D.

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Mr. White completes his engagement at Minneapolis and St. Paul, Sunday Evening, Jan. 24. He begins a week's engagement in Detroit, Monday Evening, Jan. 25. He has a few open dates between Feb. 1st and 10th. On Feb. 11th, 12th and 13th he is busy in Winona, Minn. Friends in Wisconsin or Minnesota who wish to secure Mr. White for open dates before or following his Winona, Minn. appointments please write at once to F. H. MONROE, President, Henry George Association, 134 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

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