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"Scum of the earth"! There is none—except what rises to the top.

The character of ex-President Cleveland's article in McClure's Magazine for July, and the great importance of its subject—the part taken by the Cleveland administration in suppressing the Chicago railway strike of 1894—seem to us amply to justify the space we devote this week to reviewing it.

A solution of the labor problem has been discovered by the head of the Methodist church in Canada—the Rev. Albert Carman, D. D.—bless his name. It is simple, too. All great things are simple. The highly perceptive Dr. Carman's solution is that every laboring man learn the Lord's prayer. Good! As far as it goes, excellent! But it is not enough for laboring classes to learn the Lord's prayer. Other classes also should learn it,—not its words, but its penetrating principles; above all, the ministerial class, and most of all, the Rev. Dr. Carman.

If Isaac H. Mayer, the Chicago lawyer, who is at least as "able and prominent" as the attorney for the railroad conspirators whom President Cleveland selected for the government's special counsel in the strike troubles of 1894, which those conspirators were then fomenting—if this Mr. Mayer were entitled to public gratitude for no other reason, he is entitled to it for his exposure

this week in the State courts of Judge Grosscup's proceedings in the Federal courts in connection with the Chicago traction cases (p. 137). It is to be regretted that there was no Isaac H. Mayer, representing property interests, to dissect the conduct of Grosscup and Woods, the Federal judges for Chicago at the time of the railroad strike of 1894.

The Republican national convention was an impressive example of political decay. Its principles were the selfish principles of piracy, phrased in the cant of decadent religions. Its delegates represented corporate instead of public interests. Its idealized dead were not its Lincolns but its Hannas. The vocabulary of its speakers, enriched with such sporty phrases as "stand pat," "four of a kind," a "fifth ace," "a full house," were suggestive more of gambling hells than of serious politics. Yet clergymen are applauding these sporty speakers as noble characters, this convention of corporation tools as a patriotic gathering, its piratical doctrine as moral precepts. Compare all that with the high moral principles and trend and tone of the Republican party when it exalted its Lincolns and denounced its Camerons, and say what it spells if not political decay.

If most lawyers were as sensitive to professional obligations in these times that "try men's souls" more literally than did the days of Valley Forge, there would be better reason for confidence in the triumph of law and order. Few though they may be, however, there are some such lawyers. One of them is John Brooks Leavitt, of New York, whose address to the graduating class of the law school of the Maryland University at Baltimore rings true to the best

professional traditions and measures up to a high standard of professional ethics. In utilizing the Colorado revolution to illustrate the general principles he had discussed, Mr. Leavitt said:

My remarks should not end without reference to the anarchy which has been reigning for long in one of our States. I have left it to the last, because I wished to deal mainly with causes rather than symptoms. Mention of Colorado is pertinent to enforce the position that we should revise our code of ethics and take active measures to see that our profession obeys the laws of the State in spirit and in truth. In that great commonwealth, a veritable El Dorado for beauty of nature and prosperity of man, unchecked lawlessness by corporations and labor unions, advancing from bribery through riot to murder, has spread to all classes in the community. Respect for law has disappeared. The judiciary has been treated with contumely by the executive. The writ of habeas corpus has been suspended, not by act of legislature, but by fiat of the militia. Colorado is an anarchistic State. She is a terrible example of what her sister States will become, unless the tide of lawlessness is stayed. It is the solemn duty, the sworn duty, of lawyers to stand for the supremacy of the law. It is useless for us to do so with our tongues, unless we stop sowing with our hands the seeds of lawlessness. This we have been doing for a generation under the enticements of the contingent fee and the corporational fee. If in hot indignation at corporations for bribery, or labor unions for murder, we demand to know who is the guilty cause, then let every conventionally respectable lawyer, who has accepted an unclean corporational fee, or manufactured an unholly contingent fee, say to himself: Thou art the man!

It is a pleasure to name Mr. Root, late secretary of war, as possibly having returned to those professional standards. He appears at any rate, in his Yale address, to have stood for the supremacy of the law with his tongue. Whether he will now stop sowing with his hands the seeds of lawlessness, remains to be seen. The part of Mr. Root's address which we reproduce with more than ordinary satisfac-

tion comes over the wires as follows:

The cry of "emperor," czar," and "man-on-horseback" are but extravagant appeals to an instinct which ought to exist and happily does exist among us against submission to unlawful authority, however trifling may be its exercise and however beneficent its despotism. There is a constant tendency to ignore such limitations and condone the transgression of them by public officers, provided the thing done is done with good motives, from a desire to serve the public. Such a process, if general, is most injurious. If continued long enough, it results in an attitude of personal superiority on the part of great officers which is inconsistent with our institutions, a destruction of responsibility and independent judgment on the part of lower officers, and a neglect of the habit of asserting legal rights on the part of the people. The more frequently men who hold great power in office are permitted to overreach the limitations imposed by law upon their powers, the more difficult it becomes to question anything they do, and the people, each one weak in himself and unable to cope with powerful officers, who regard any questioning of their acts as an affront, gradually lose the habit of holding such officers accountable, and ultimately practically surrender the right to hold them accountable. Constant accountability of public officers for strict observance of the limits imposed by law and customary and undoubted assertion of the private right of the citizen to have no power exercised over him except in strict accordance with the letter and the spirit of the law—these are the essential conditions of free government and personal independence.

Had these eminently sound doctrines been observed when the Philippine temptation came, we should have a grander history and a higher future; had they been observed in the Chicago strike of 1894, the Colorado usurpation might not threaten republican institutions now.

Before Dr. Gunsaulus made himself guilty of the unpatriotic act of denouncing the fundamental statement of the American Declaration of Independence, to the graduating class of the Armour Institute at Chicago this year, he should have made himself familiar with its doctrine. It is not good form for distinguished educators to trifle with the unripened minds of their students. And Dr.

Gunsaulus ought to learn that it is trifling to assume that the Declaration of Independence asserts that "all men are created equal" in every possible sense in which the term "equality" can be used. What that document does assert is, that in justice "all men are created equal" in their rights under just human laws. Lincoln interpreted this great Fourth of July document truly when he said:

I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men, but they did not mean to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say that all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This they said and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors, everywhere. . . . The assertion that "all men are created equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants; and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, that they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

All this is obvious upon any common sense reading of the American Declaration, and it is demonstrated by its context. Do the Gunsauluses deny the truth of its assertion as to equality in that meaning? If they do, why not deny it candidly? If they do not deny it, then why do they pettifog? For it is pettifogging to argue that because men are not created

"equal" as to height and might, or mental and moral temperament, they are therefore not created "equal" as to legal rights, and that the great Declaration of human liberty is as to this, its basic clause, "a glittering generality" or "an interesting falsehood."

In his baccalaureate address President Hadley, of Yale, traced "almost every evil—political, social, or commercial—which constitutes a serious menace to the permanent prosperity of our country, to our tolerant acceptance of selfishness." It is an encouraging sign of the times that a man occupying President Hadley's position recognizes definitely that conditions are "menacing." If it were possible for him, with his wide influence, to denounce the means whereby selfishness becomes a social menace, some of the evil manifestations of selfishness as a social factor would speedily disappear. That the menacing conditions to which President Hadley points are logical and necessary consequences of adequate causes, will not be denied by anyone who believes that this is a universe of law; and no one will find it easy to account for them adequately upon any other theory than that they are the pains of social disease caused by legal privilege. There is consequently but one cure for them, and that is the destruction of legal privilege. Most of the manifestations of selfishness to which President Hadley alludes spring from a sense of that utter helplessness of the individual in the face of narrowing opportunities, from a realization that life is a struggle against overwhelming odds, from a consciousness of complete absence of equality of legal right and opportunity as a heritage of all. They are merely self-defense reduced to its lowest terms. If President Hadley, resisting every impulse of his mind to perpetuate institutions as they are, with all their defects and perversions and oppressive possibilities, and inspired solely by a motive to translate moral truth into terms of economic and

political truth, will lend the weight of his authority candidly to truth as he sees it, those political, social and commercial "evils" which constitute a "serious menace to the permanent prosperity of our country" will the more speedily disappear. The first, the greatest, the most important of all the causes which result in "menacing conditions" he will find to consist, if indeed he does not already know it, in legal power to control natural opportunities. If it were unprofitable to control land not fully in profitable use, an immediate, spontaneous, automatic and beneficent consequence would follow. There might still be selfish desires among men. But if there were they would only raise questions of conscience. They could do no social harm with legal sanction. On the contrary, they would operate for general good instead of general harm.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND THE CHICAGO STRIKE.

That ex-President Grover Cleveland is a receptive candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, is an open secret. Never once have his closer friends abandoned effort or hope.

While the monopolistic interests of the country were content to manage the Republican convention, as they did, even with the erratic Roosevelt injected into the bargain, there is from that quarter no lack of broad hints that "Cleveland is not half bad" and "could probably defeat Roosevelt if the Democrats were sane enough to nominate him."

Cleveland himself has indeed refused to be a candidate (vol. vi, p. 553). He has not only refused himself; he has named Parker (p. 8). But his conduct has not in this respect been well calculated to inspire confidence.

He has repeated his approval of Parker (p. 137) in a manner well adapted to make that reticent jurist uneasy, an effect which this left-handed approval is said upon good authority to have produced.

He has recently seemed to court favor in the South by protesting over-indignantly that he never allowed a Negro (p. 65), no matter

how much of a man the Negro might be, to meet him as Booker T. Washington met Roosevelt.

He has for the first time since his retirement to private life publicly defended the "bond deal" of 1894 (p. 83), whereby his friends, J. Pierpont Morgan and August Belmont, reaped a rich financial harvest at the expense of the public treasury and in defiance of the sanest public opinion.

He has lectured on the Chicago railway strike (p. 65), ten years after the event, eight years after the good faith of his participation in the suppression of that strike had been publicly and circumstantially challenged by Gov. Altgeld, and two years after Altgeld's power of reply had been taken away by death; and in doing this he has broken a silence on that subject, a studied silence in which he had persisted from the beginning, a silence as profound as the present silence of Altgeld's grave,—has broken it by attacking this dead man with whom in life he did not venture to try conclusions. That attack is now renewed by Mr. Cleveland in an article in McClure's Magazine. Since cowardice is not one of Mr. Cleveland's faults, this conduct toward Altgeld is not easily accounted for by any other theory than Mr. Cleveland's desire to court the favor, for campaign purposes, of those plutocratic circles wherein the erratic Roosevelt is supposed to be regarded as a Hobson's choice.

It is fairly evident, then, that Mr. Cleveland is industriously erecting Presidential lightning rods, with their tips invitingly pointed toward the two most important centers of magnetic energy in politics—race insanity at the South, and "frenzied finance" at the North.

But it is not with his Presidential ambitions that we concern ourselves. So far from shuddering we regard those ambitions with composure, believing that if the Democratic convention is to be governed at all by monopoly corporations, as was the Republican convention almost wholly, it were better that the candidate be Mr. Cleveland. He truly and fully represents corporate interests, and would be more quickly and generally recognized as representing them than anyone else—even

Gorman or Parker. What we purpose here to consider is not Mr. Cleveland's ambitions, but his version of his administration's connection with the Chicago strike, as he gives it in the July McClure's.

I

Like his "bond deal" story (p. 83), Mr. Cleveland's strike story is too long for verbal reproduction here, even if that were proper. We therefore offer a syllabus, which, for convenience of distinguishing, we shall print in smaller type than our comments:

"In the last days of June, 1894," writes Mr. Cleveland, "a very determined and ugly labor disturbance broke out in the city of Chicago." This was the strike which Eugene V. Debs led, and which the Federal government suppressed. "Almost in a night," Mr. Cleveland continues, "it grew to full proportions of malevolence and danger. Rioting and violence were its early accompaniments; "railroad transportation was especially involved in its attacks; "the carriage of United States mails was interrupted; inter-State commerce was obstructed, and railroad property was riotously destroyed."

The trouble began with a strike on the 11th of May by the Pullman car-building employees. No injury was done or attempted while the strike was confined to these men, and during that time very little disorder occurred. But on the 22d of June, 1894, the convention of the American Railway Union—"an association of all the different classes of railway employees," in which "the employees of the Pullman Palace Car company could not on any reasonable and consistent theory be regarded as eligible to membership," although "nearly 4,000 of these employees were enrolled"—declared that "unless the Pullman Palace Car company should adjust the grievances of its employees before noon of the 26th day of June, the members of the American Railway Union should, after that date, refuse to handle Pullman cars and equipment." No adjustment having been made at that time, the railway strike accordingly began all over the country.

The city of Chicago was "the field of its most pronounced and malign manifestations, as well as the place of its final extinction." "Early and persistent complaints of mail and inter-State commerce obstructions" came from that city. On the 30th of June the district attorney at Chicago reported the stoppage of mail trains by strikers and recommended appointment of special deputies for protection of mails. "In reply to this dispatch Attorney General Olney on the

same day authorized the marshal to employ additional deputies as suggested, and designated Edwin Walker, an able and prominent attorney in Chicago, as special counsel for the government, to assist the district attorney in any legal proceedings that might be instituted." The attorney general advised this special counsel to proceed not only criminally, but by means of injunctions, against "interference with the mails and the obstruction of inter-State commerce."

On the 1st of July the district attorney reported legal preparations, and that "very little mail and no freight was moving, that the marshal was using all his force to prevent riots and the obstruction of tracks, and that this force was clearly inadequate. On the same day the marshal reported that the situation was desperate, that he had sworn in over 400 deputies, that many more would be required to protect mail trains, and that he expected great trouble the next day." Instructions were thereupon sent to the district attorney, directing him to report "if the process of the court should be resisted by such force as the marshal could not overcome, and suggesting that the United States judge should join in such report." At same time a dispatch was sent "to the special counsel requesting him to report his view of the situation as early as the forenoon of the next day."

"There was plenty of domestic violence in the city of Chicago and in the State of Illinois during the early days of July, 1894," Mr. Cleveland here interposes, by way of meeting the objection that he sent troops into Illinois without application from its constituted authorities; "but no application was made to the Federal government for assistance." He adds: "It was probably a very fortunate circumstance that the presence of United States soldiers in Chicago at that time did not depend upon the request or desire of Gov. Altgeld."

Resuming his narrative, Mr. Cleveland tells of official reports from Chicago on the 2d of July. The district attorney and the special counsel, Walker, reported "a sweeping injunction" against Debs and others, and "the special counsel also expressed the opinion that it would require government troops to enforce the orders of the court and protect the transportation of mails." Military orders were thereupon given on the 2d by Gen. Scofield, major general commanding the army, to "make all necessary arrangements confidentially for the transportation of the entire garrison at Fort Sheridan—infantry, cavalry and artillery—to the lake front in the city of Chicago." But it had not "been definitely determined that the use of a military force was inevitable." On the 3d, however, a letter was received "from Mr. Walker, the special counsel,

in which, after referring to the issuance of the injunctions and setting forth that the marshal was engaged in serving them, he wrote: 'I do not believe that the marshal and his deputies can protect the railroad companies in moving their trains, either freight or passenger, including of course the trains carrying United States mails. Possibly, however, the service of the writ of injunction will have a restraining influence upon Debs and other officers of the association. If it does not, from present appearances, I think it is the opinion of all that the orders of the court cannot be enforced except by the aid of the regular army.'" A few hours afterward the request for troops came. The marshal stated that a mob of from 2,000 to 3,000 persons had ditched a mail train and prevented the passing of other trains, whether mail or not, and that when he read the injunction to them they merely jeered and hooted, and shortly afterward blocked the track. He said he could not disperse the mob, and believed "regular troops of the United States" were necessary. Upon that statement, Judge Grosscup, the district attorney and the special counsel, Walker, declared their opinion that the immediate presence of United States troops was necessary. Accordingly, troops were ordered by Gen. Scofield "to execute the orders and processes of the United States court, to prevent the obstruction of the United States mails, and generally to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States." They were to "confer with" the marshal, the district attorney, and the special counsel (Walker). On the 4th they were on the ground.

On the 5th General Miles, then commanding at Chicago, reported rioting, and that "the injunction of the United States Court is openly defied, and unless the mobs are dispersed by the action of the police or they are fired upon by United States troops, more serious trouble may be expected, as the mob is increasing and becoming more defiant." Rioting continued on the 6th, and on that day Mayor Hopkins issued a proclamation against riots. On the same day Gov. Altgeld put a brigade of State troops on duty in Chicago. A presidential proclamation against rioting was issued on the 8th; on the 10th Debs was arrested under indictments "for complicity in the obstruction of mails and inter-State commerce;" three days afterward "our special counsel expressed the opinion that the strike was practically broken;" on the 17th Debs was prosecuted for contempt of court for disobedience of the injunction; and on the 20th the Federal troops were withdrawn.

As "part of the history of this perplexing affair," Mr. Cleveland now describes "a contribution made by the governor of Illinois to its annoyances."

Alluding here to Gov. Altgeld, he says: "This official not only refused to regard the riotous disturbances within the borders of his State as a sufficient cause for an application to the Federal government for its protection 'against domestic violence' under the mandate of the Constitution, but he actually protested against the presence of Federal troops sent into the State upon the general government's own initiative and for the purpose of defending itself in the exercise of its well-defined legitimate functions. "The beginning and the end of Gov. Altgeld's dispatch of protest are quoted by Mr. Cleveland, but he omits the whole of Gov. Altgeld's statement of his grounds of protest, as being "a lengthy statement which so far missed actual conditions as to appear irrelevant and, in some parts, absolutely frivolous." His own reply to Gov. Altgeld is given in full, but Gov. Altgeld's response, like his original protest, is divested of all but the opening and concluding sentences, the omitted part being described as "a rather dreary discussion of the importance of preserving the rights of the States and a presentation of the dangers to constitutional government that lurked in the course that had been pursued by the government." His patience "somewhat strained" by Gov. Altgeld's insistence, President Cleveland closed the controversy by telegraphing: "While I am still persuaded that I have neither transcended my authority nor duty in the emergency that confronts us, it seems to me that in this hour of danger and public distress, discussion may well give way to active efforts on the part of all in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property."

Mr. Cleveland concludes his version of this strike and the relation to it of his administration by telling of the result of the contempt proceedings against Mr. Debs. They were decided against Debs by the circuit court in December, 1894, and by the Supreme Court in January, 1895. The latter established "the inherent power of the government to execute by means of physical force through its official agents, on every foot of American soil, the powers and functions belonging to it," and "the government's resort to the court, the injunction issued in its aid, and all the proceedings thereon, including the imprisonment of Debs and his associates, were fully approved."

II

It is to be regretted that a man of Mr. Cleveland's importance should have dealt so unsatisfactorily with a subject which he himself evidently regards as one of extraordinary historical value. His most devoted admirers can-

not but feel some sense of disappointment, if they make themselves acquainted with the facts; while impartial readers who test his statements will be inclined to modify very considerably such good opinion as they may hitherto have had of him.

To a man so deeply concerned as is Mr. Cleveland in the events of which he writes, full allowance should of course be made for such color effects as he may give to his story, provided they are not produced by deliberate misrepresentation or suppression of important facts.

We may therefore be generously considerate of his misleading form of statement, that the strike was declared by the Debs organization because the Pullman Palace Car company did not "adjust the grievances of its employees" before the 26th of June. It was in fact declared because that company refused to "arbitrate" those grievances.

For Mr. Cleveland to have frankly written "arbitrate," instead of "adjust," would have given a different color to the origin of the strike. It would have indicated that the strikers were not so bad a lot at heart as Mr. Cleveland makes them out to be. Still, the discrepancy is not vital, and we are more disposed to charge it to Mr. Cleveland's rather partisan point of view, than to any deliberate purpose of misrepresentation. As an indication, however, of partisanship to the verge of unfairness, it ought not to pass without mention. The fact that the strikers demanded not "adjustment" of grievances but "arbitration" of grievances, must have been known to Mr. Cleveland; for his own strike committee, consisting of Carroll D. Wright, John D. Kernan, and Nicholas E. Worthington, reported to him November 14, 1894 (see their official report: Senate Document, 53d Congress, 3d session, Ex. Doc. No. 7, at page xxxix), that—

the delegates, under instructions from their local unions, unanimously voted that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26 unless the Pullman company would consent to arbitration.

Another bit of color, much more excusable on every ground, is ob-

servable in the care Mr. Cleveland takes, when applauding the Supreme Court for establishing "government by injunction," to avoid the use of that common name for this revolutionary policy. He says of "those most nearly related by executive responsibility" to the events he has narrated, that they "may well congratulate themselves especially on their participation in marking out the way and clearing the path now unchangeably established." Part of this path is the practice then invented by his administration, and in that case sustained by the Supreme Court, of abolishing juries and other safeguards of innocence in criminal cases, by resorting to injunctions. This is now well known as "government by injunction."

But Mr. Cleveland was entirely at liberty to avoid using that unpleasant term. No one but Wendell Phillips ever condemned the old slave oligarchy for avoiding the word "slavery" and substituting "peculiar institution;" and Mr. Cleveland has as good reason for avoiding the disagreeable phrase which his administration has evoked—"government by injunction."

We are not so sure that he is quite excusable for an omission of fact in connection with the origin of "government by injunction." He tells his readers that Debs was arrested July 10, on indictments for obstructing the mails and inter-State commerce, and that on the 17th he was prosecuted for contempt of court for disobeying an injunction. The story of this contempt case Mr. Cleveland follows to its conclusion; but he makes no further mention of the indictments.

That omission seems to us significant, possibly, of a disposition to give to the story a higher degree of color than can be justified by personal point of view, or excused on grounds of partisanship. It is calculated to create an impression that Debs was convicted of crime, whereas the record shows that he was never convicted of crime and in all probability was not guilty.

Let us explain.

The indictments charged Debs with the same acts which

the injunction forbade—obstructing the mails and interfering with inter-State commerce. In the contempt proceedings he was found guilty of these acts. But those proceedings were before a judge without a jury. They were devoid virtually of all the more important safeguards of innocence, and constituted a sort of "star chamber" trial. The judge was Woods, of Indiana, a man of very unsavory reputation, as any reader of the New York Evening Post of a few years before will remember. It is upon this conviction that Mr. Cleveland implies the criminality of Debs. Yet Mr. Cleveland says nothing of the indictments. Possibly the story of what became of them may explain why.

Debs was brought to trial on those indictments before a jury. As the trial was coming to a close one of the jurors fell ill. Debs offered to proceed to a verdict with the other eleven men, but the prosecution refused. Debs offered to take another juror and proceed, but the prosecution refused that also. There was consequently a mistrial. When Debs subsequently appeared in court and demanded another trial, the prosecutors evaded a jury's verdict by then and there, in open court, abandoning the prosecution.

Common report had it at the time that the prosecution had utterly failed to make out a case against Debs, and this view was confirmed by President Cleveland's "strike commission," named above, which declared at page xlv:

There is no evidence before the commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence, or destruction of property.

Was it quite fair of Mr. Cleveland to assert Debs's conviction and to imply his criminality, from his trial for contempt before a judge without a jury, and yet remain silent about his trial before a jury, in the regular and orderly course of criminal procedure, when the latter trial resulted in the abandonment of the indictments against him? Was this fair, especially when Mr. Cleveland's own "strike commission" reported that they could find no evidence of criminality against Debs, and

he does not mention that fact either?

Still another of Mr. Cleveland's omissions, while possibly not altogether culpable, is hardly suggestive of a judicial attitude of mind. We refer to his avoidance of details when describing the dreadful character of the strike.

It began on the 26th of June. It was "very determined and ugly." "Almost in a night it grew to full proportions of malevolence and danger." "Rioting and violence were its early accompaniments." Those are some of the descriptive sentences. But in all Mr. Cleveland's article not a single act of violence prior to July 3 is stated with sufficient circumstantiality to make its corroboration or explicit refutation possible.

We concede that extreme particularity as to incidents is not usually necessary in a descriptive article. In most articles of that kind unverified generalization is sufficient. But Mr. Cleveland's unverified generalizations relate to an important period and a serious dispute.

Gov. Altgeld has denied that these terrible conditions existed during that period, and Mr. Cleveland must know of this denial. Why, then, and especially as he makes his article the occasion for an attack upon Altgeld, does he merely generalize about "rioting and violence," prior to July 3d, naming no instance? Is it because there were no instances to name?

That can hardly be, for there really was some disorder prior to July 3, as Mr. Cleveland's "strike commission," named above, reported to him. At page xliii of their report they quote the superintendent of police as saying:

"So far as I understand, there had not been very much violence or depredations committed prior to the 3d of July, when the troops arrived."

He added that "the indications looked bad and the arrival of the troops," he thought, "was opportune," because he "had at that time 3,000 or 3,100 men in service, and every one of them was engaged in that particular business of preventing violence." Of his whole statement the commission reports that it "appears to be a correct statement of the situation

prior to July 3." So there was no serious violence prior to the coming of Federal troops, and such as threatened was prevented—which were Altgeld's contentions.

That conclusion is supported also by Mayor John P. Hopkins, a partisan of Cleveland's, whose testimony at page 344 of the report reads:

"So far as I know, and I believe I am thoroughly conversant with the case, the police did all the work required of them. In fact, I have the assurance of the officials of the different railroads that they received the most efficient protection they had ever received during similar troubles; that condition of things existed until July 5.

Such being the circumstances can Mr. Cleveland's readers who want the truth, fully excuse him for indicating that there was prior to July 3 a condition of lawlessness so vast and malevolent as to warrant him in making the bare generalizations on which he rests his insistence upon the necessity for having ordered Federal troops to Chicago? Can they not see that his neglect to specify is accounted for by the fact that specifications would have been absurdly insignificant?

Again, such being the circumstances can those of Mr. Cleveland's readers who like fairness, respect Mr. Cleveland's candor when he blames Gov. Altgeld for neglecting to call upon the Federal government for assistance, and states that "there was plenty of domestic violence in the city of Chicago" during "the early days of July, 1894"? By early days of July he must in this connection have meant the 1st and 2d, for he ordered out the Federal troops on the 3d; after that, Gov. Altgeld had no occasion to ask for Federal assistance, whether he thought it needed or not. What manner of accuser is this Mr. Cleveland who accuses so recklessly?

It is worthy of remark, also, that Mr. Cleveland is as silent in his article about one important fact in connection with the Chicago strike as he was until recently about the entire subject. He does not once mention the General Managers' Association. This is highly significant, for the strike was a direct conflict between the American Railway Union, which represented the strikers and which

Mr. Cleveland frequently mentions, and the General Managers' Association, which represented the combined railroads and which Mr. Cleveland never mentions.

It is not pleasant to suspect Mr. Cleveland of repeatedly resorting to that subtle form of misrepresentation which consists in suggesting the false by suppressing the true; but this suspicion becomes more and more obtrusive as the facts disclose themselves.

A legitimate explanation of this ignoring of the General Managers' Association is, it is true, ready at hand in the suggestion that it was not a criminal body nor managed in a criminal way, and therefore that it has no proper place in Mr. Cleveland's story of the great "malevolence" which he boasts of suppressing with the strong arm. But that explanation is untrue. The General Managers' Association was not only as important a factor with reference to the action of the Federal government as was the Debs organization, but it was criminal under the very law—the Sherman anti-trust act—under which Mr. Cleveland's injunction was asked for and granted and finally sustained against Debs.

This is evident from the report of Mr. Cleveland's "strike commission," quoted from above. At pages xxviii to xxxi, that report describes the General Managers' Association as follows:

"This voluntary, unincorporated association was formed in 1886, and has as members the 24 railroads centering or terminating in Chicago. . . . In its constitution the object of the association is stated to be 'the consideration of problems of management arising from the operation of railroads terminating or centering at Chicago.' It further provides that 'all funds needed shall be raised by assessments divided equally among the members.' There are no limitations as to 'consideration of problems' or 'funds' except the will of the managers and the resources of the railroad corporations. . . . It dealt with all questions concerning transportation centering at Chicago in which the roads had a common interest. It thus determined the policy and practically fixed the relations of all of the roads toward the public as to switching, car service, loading and unloading cars, weights of live stock, rates, etc., and sustained each road in maintaining the position of the association as to these matters. Until June, 1894, the association dealt incidentally and infrequently with wages. . . . In March, 1893, the switchmen demanded more pay

from each road. The association concluded that they were paid enough—if anything, too much. . . . This was the first time when men upon each line were brought sharply face to face with the fact that in questions as to wages, rules, etc., each line was supported by 24 combined railroads. . . . This association likewise prepared for its use elaborate schedules of the wages paid upon the entire lines of its 24 members. The proposed object of these schedules was to let each road know what other roads paid. . . . It was an incident of the General Managers' Association to "assist" each road in case of trouble over such matters, one form of assistance being for the association to secure men enough through its agencies to take the places of all strikers. . . . The further single step of admitting lines not running into Chicago to membership would certainly have the effect of combining all railroads in wage contentions against all employees thereon. The Commission questions whether any legal authority, statutory or otherwise, can be found to justify some of the features of the Association which have come to light in this investigation. If we regard its practical workings rather than its professions as expressed in its constitution, the General Managers' Association has no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line Pool. It cannot incorporate, because railroad charters do not authorize roads to form corporations or associations to fix rates for services and wages, nor to force their acceptance, nor to battle with strikers. It is a usurpation of power not granted. . . . The association is an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislators. An extension of this association, as above suggested, and the proposed legalization of "pooling" would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties as well as to employees and their rights. . . . It should be noted that until the railroads set the example a general union of railroad employees was never attempted. . . . The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action.

Yet that arrogant and lawless body, of which Mr. Cleveland makes no mention in his article, was able to call into its service unquestioningly the law department and the military department of the Federal government

under President Cleveland. No wonder Mr. Cleveland refrains from mentioning even the existence of this lawless General Managers' Association, notwithstanding that it stood throughout the strike in the same relation to the railroads as the Debs organization to the strikers, and was quite as conspicuous throughout the contest.

But can Mr. Cleveland be regarded as altogether candid after the significance of this studied omission of his is exposed?

That Mr. Cleveland's reticence regarding the General Managers' Association is really a conscious and studied and purposeful reticence, is susceptible of proof.

Turn to his article at page 232 of McClure's for July, and you find him saying that Attorney General Olney designated Edwin Walker, "an able and prominent attorney in Chicago," as special counsel for the government.

Why did Mr. Cleveland take the pains to describe Mr. Walker as "an able and prominent attorney of Chicago," which is to be presumed, and yet say no more to identify him? The answer will be found in "Who's Who in America," for 1903-1905.

"Who's Who in America" is "a biographical dictionary of notable living men and women of the United States." It is published by A. N. Marquis & Co., of Chicago, and edited by John W. Leonard. The biographical data are obtained directly from the persons concerned. This is what appears with reference to Mr. Walker, the "able and prominent attorney in Chicago," whom the Cleveland administration employed as special counsel against the Chicago strikers of 1894:

Walker, Edwin, lawyer; b. Genesee Co., N. Y., 1832; academic ed'n; admitted to N. Y. bar at Buffalo, 1854; practiced Logansport, Ind., 1854-65; removed to Chicago, 1865; has represented several railroads as gen. solicitor since 1860. Illinois counsel for Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. since 1870; also partner in firm of W. P. Rend & Co., coal miners and shippers. Was counsel for the ry. cos. and sp'l counsel for U. S. in the lawsuits growing out of the great railroad strike of 1894. Residence: 2612 Michigan Av. Office: 184 La Salle St., Chicago.

So Mr. Walker was not only a railroad corporation lawyer, the

general solicitor of several roads for over 30 years, and Illinois counsel for one of the great railroads concerned in the strike and belonging to the arrogant and lawless General Managers' Association, but he was counsel for that arrogant and lawless Association itself. He implies this in his little autobiography, wherein it appears that he "was counsel for the ry. cos. and sp'l counsel for U. S. in the lawsuits growing out of the great railroad strike of 1894." Mr. Cleveland's reticence as to the General Managers' Association and his superfluous description of Mr. Walker as an able and prominent attorney in Chicago," are thus fully explained.

At the same time, Mr. Walker's employment as special counsel for the government is fully accounted for. Mr. Walker was employed by Mr. Cleveland as special counsel for the government because he was already the favorite attorney of the General Managers' Association. It was their "pull," and not Mr. Walker's ability and prominence, neither of which was extraordinary at the Chicago bar, that brought about the appointment.

Through that appointment, the General Managers' Association became for all practical purposes, in connection with the strike, the government of the United States.

III

One of Mr. Cleveland's sins of omission in his McClure's article is so conspicuously unbecoming as to demand attention by itself. This is his evisceration of Altgeld's protesting telegrams.

Altgeld's protest and his reasons for it constitute the central fact or core of all that gives serious historical value to this Chicago strike. Without that feature no story of the strike would be much more than a reminiscence, and Mr. Cleveland is not indulging in reminiscences. No other documents, therefore, are so vital, in every word, to the merits of the case Mr. Cleveland is trying to make for his administration, as Altgeld's telegrams and Cleveland's replies. Yet Mr. Cleveland, while giving his own replies in full, cuts out from Altgeld's dispatches all but the bare protests.

Simply as historical writing this treatment of the subject is so bad as to raise a presumption against Mr. Cleveland either of incompetency or something worse.

Moreover, it is such treatment of an adversary as no one with a particle of chivalry in his character, to say nothing of the most primitive sense of fairness and decency, would be guilty of. Cleveland's real attack in his article is upon Altgeld. He aims to leave the impression that Altgeld was wantonly indifferent to law and order. This effort he attempts two years after Altgeld's death, he having remained silent during all the preceding eight years, although challenged by Altgeld to do then what he essays to do now. Circumstances might excuse his silence during Altgeld's life; circumstances might excuse his breaking that silence after Altgeld's death. But, granting this, there are still no circumstances conceivable which would tempt a fair man, upon breaking silence for an attack after the death of his adversary, to cut ruthlessly out of a document he quotes, the brief and respectful defense which that adversary had left behind and in his hands. Yet that is what Cleveland does.

The first telegram from Altgeld to Cleveland, dated July 5, 1894, is quoted in part by Mr. Cleveland at page 238 of McClure's. We give the whole telegram below, putting in blacker type the part that Mr. Cleveland characterizes as "a lengthy statement which so far missed actual conditions as to appear irrelevant and, in some parts, absolutely frivolous," and which, with that explanation, he cuts out:

Executive Office, State of Illinois, July 5, 1894.

Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Sir:—I am advised that you have ordered Federal troops to go into service in the State of Illinois. Surely the facts have not been correctly presented to you in this case, or you would not have taken this step, for it is entirely unnecessary, and, as it seems to me, unjustifiable. Waiving all questions of courtesy, I will say that the State of Illinois is not only able to take care of itself, but it stands ready to furnish the Federal government any assistance it may need elsewhere. Our military force is ample, and consists of as good soldiers

as can be found in the country. They have been ordered promptly whenever and wherever they were needed. We have stationed in Chicago alone three Regiments of Infantry, one Battery and one troop of Cavalry, and no better soldiers can be found. They have been ready every moment to go on duty, and have been and are now eager to go into service, but they have not been ordered out because nobody in Cook county, whether official or private citizen, asked to have their assistance, or even intimated in any way that their assistance was desired or necessary.

So far as I have been advised, the local officials have been able to handle the situation. But if any assistance were needed, the State stood ready to furnish 100 men for every one man required, and stood ready to do so at a moment's notice. Notwithstanding these facts the Federal Government has been applied to by men who had political and selfish motives for wanting to ignore the State government. We have just gone through a long coal strike, more extensive here than in any other State, because our soft-coal field is larger than that of any other State. We have now had ten days of the railroad strike, and we have promptly furnished military aid wherever the local officials needed it.

In two instances the United States marshal for the Southern District of Illinois applied for assistance to enable him to enforce the processes of the United States court, and troops were promptly furnished him, and he was assisted in every way he desired. The law has been thoroughly executed, and every man guilty of violating it during the strike has been brought to justice. If the marshal of the Northern District of Illinois or the authorities of Cook county needed military assistance they had but to ask for it in order to get it from the State.

At present some of our railroads are paralyzed, not by reason of obstruction, but because they cannot get men to operate their trains. For some reason they are anxious to keep this fact from the public, and for this purpose they are making an outcry about obstructions in order to divert attention. Now, I will cite to you two examples which illustrate the situation:

Some days ago I was advised that the business of one of our railroads was obstructed at two railroad centers, and that there was a condition bordering on anarchy there, and I was asked to furnish protection so as to enable the employees of the road to operate the trains. Troops were promptly ordered to both points. Then it transpired that the company had not sufficient men on its line to operate one train. All the old hands were orderly, but refused to go to work. The company had large shops which worked a number of men who did not belong to the Railway Union and who could run an engine. They were appealed to to run the train but flatly refused. We were obliged to hunt up soldiers who could run an engine and operate a train. Again, two days ago, appeals which were almost frantic came from the officials of another road stating that at an important point on their

line trains were forcibly obstructed, and that there was a reign of anarchy at that place, and they asked for protection so that they could move their trains. Troops were put on the ground in a few hours' time, when the officer in command telegraphed me that there was no trouble, and had been none at that point, but that the road seemed to have no men to run trains, and the sheriff telegraphed that he did not need troops, but would himself move every train if the company would only furnish an engineer. The result was that the troops were there twelve hours before a single train was moved, although there was no attempt at interference by anybody.

It is true that in several instances a road made efforts to work a few green men and a crowd standing around insulted them and tried to drive them away, and in a few other cases they cut off Pullman sleepers from trains. But all these troubles were local in character and could easily be handled by the State authorities. Illinois has more railroad men than any other State in the Union, but as a rule they are orderly and well-behaved. This is shown by the fact that so very little actual violence has been committed. Only a very small percentage of these men have been guilty of infractions of the law. The newspaper accounts have in many cases been pure fabrications, and in others wild exaggerations.

I have gone thus into details to show that it is not soldiers that the railroads need so much as it is men to operate trains, and that the conditions do not exist here which bring the cause within the Federal statutes, a statute that was passed in 1881 and was in reality a war measure. The statute authorized the use of Federal troops in a State whenever it shall be impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States within such States by the ordinary judicial proceedings. Such a condition does not exist in Illinois. There have been a few local disturbances, but nothing that seriously interfered with the administration of justice, or that could not be easily controlled by the local or State authorities, for the Federal troops can do nothing that the State troops cannot do.

I repeat that you have been imposed upon in this matter, but even if by a forced construction it were held that the conditions here came within the letter of the statute, then I submit that local self-government is a fundamental principle of our Constitution. Each community shall govern itself so long as it can and is ready and able to enforce the law, and it is in harmony with this fundamental principle that the statute authorizing the President to send troops into States must be construed; especially is this so in matters relating to the exercise of the police power and the preservation of law and order.

To absolutely ignore a local government in matters of this kind, when the local government is ready to furnish assistance needed, and is amply able to enforce the law, not only insults the people of this State by imputing to them an inability to govern themselves, or an un-

willingness to enforce the law, but is in violation of a basic principle of our institutions. The question of Federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment, but, under our Constitution, Federal supremacy and local self-government must go hand in hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution.

As Governor of the State of Illinois, I protest against this, and ask the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from active duty in this State. Should the situation at any time get so serious that we cannot control it with the State forces, we will promptly ask for Federal assistance, but until such time, I protest, with all due deference, against this uncalled for reflection upon our people, and again ask the immediate withdrawal of these troops. I have the honor to be, yours respectfully,
JOHN P. ALTGELD,
 Governor of Illinois.

The Democrat who could describe as irrelevant and frivolous that part of the above telegram which we print in black type, is not a safe guardian of democratic principles.

To the foregoing dispatch President Cleveland replied as follows:

Executive Mansion,
 Washington, July 5, 1894.

Hon. John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, Springfield, Ill.:

Sir:—Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the United States, upon the demand of the post office department that obstructions of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the Federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of Federal authority, the presence of Federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary; and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Gov. Altgeld's reply is treated by Mr. Cleveland in his McClure's article with the same lack of historical consideration and personal generosity that the initial telegram received. This omitted part he describes as "a rather dreary discussion of the importance of preserving the rights of the State and a presentation of

the dangers to constitutional government that lurked in the course that had been pursued by the government." We print the whole telegram, distinguishing the part Mr. Cleveland omits by putting it in blacker type:

To the Hon. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Sir:—Your answer to my protest involves some startling conclusions and ignores and evades the question at issue—that is that the principle of local self-government is just as fundamental in our institutions as is that of Federal supremacy.

First—You calmly assume that the executive has the legal right to order Federal troops into any community of the United States, in the first instance, whenever there is the slightest disturbance, and that he can do this without any regard to the question as to whether that community is able to and ready to enforce the law itself, and, inasmuch as the executive is the sole judge of the question as to whether any disturbance exists or not in any part of the country, this assumption means that the executive can send Federal troops into any community in the United States at his pleasure, and keep them there as long as he chooses. If this is the law, then the principle of self-government either never did exist in this country or else has been destroyed, for no community can be said to possess local self-government, if the executive can, at his pleasure, send military forces to patrol its streets under pretense of enforcing some law. The kind of local self-government that could exist under these circumstances can be found in any of the monarchies of Europe, and it is not in harmony with the spirit of our institutions.

Second—It is also a fundamental principle in our government that except in times of war the military shall be subordinate to the civil authority. In harmony with this provision, the State troops are ordered out to act under and with the civil authorities. The troops you have ordered to Chicago are not under the civil authorities, and are in no way responsible to them for their conduct. They are not even acting under the United States Marshal or any Federal officer of the State, but are acting directly under military orders issued from military headquarters at Washington, and in so far as these troops act at all, it is military government.

Third—The Statute authorizing Federal troops to be sent into States in certain cases contemplates that the State troops shall be taken first. This provision has been ignored and it is assumed that the executive is not bound by it. Federal interference with industrial disturbances in the various States is certainly a new departure, and it opens up so large a field that it will require a very little stretch of authority to absorb to itself all the details of local government.

Fourth—You say that troops were or-

dered into Illinois upon the demand of the postoffice department, and upon representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the courts could not be served, and upon proof that conspiracies existed. We will not discuss the facts, but look for a moment at the principle involved in your statement. All of these officers are appointed by the executive. Most of them can be removed by him at will. They are not only obliged to do his bidding, but they are in fact a part of the executive. If several of them can apply for troops, one alone can; so that under the law, as you assume it to be, an executive, through any one of his appointees, can apply to himself to have the military sent into any city or number of cities, and base his application on such representations as he sees fit to make. In fact, it will be immaterial whether he makes any showing or not, for the executive is the sole judge, and nobody else has any right to interfere or even inquire about it. Then the executive can pass on his own application—his will being the sole guide—he can hold the application to be sufficient, and order troops to as many places as he wishes and put them in command of any one he chooses, and have them act, not under the civil officers, either Federal or State, but directly under military orders from Washington, and there is not in the Constitution or laws, whether written or unwritten, any limitation or restraint upon his power. His judgment, that is, his will, is the sole guide, and it being purely a matter of discretion, his decision can never be examined or questioned.

This assumption as to the power of the executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a government of law, and not a government by the caprice of an individual, and, further, instead of being autocratic, it is a government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess, or claim to possess, greater power than is possessed by the executive of the United States, if your assumption is correct.

Fifth—The executive has the command not only of the regular forces of all the United States, but of the military forces of all the States, and can order them to any place he sees fit; and as there are always more or less local disturbances over the country, it will be an easy matter under your construction of the law for an ambitious executive to order out the military forces of all of the States, and establish at once a military government. The only chance of failure in such a movement could come from rebellion, and with such a vast military power at command this could readily be crushed, for, as a rule, soldiers will obey orders.

As for the situation in Illinois, that is of no consequence now compared with the far-reaching principle involved. True, according to my advice, Federal troops have now been on duty for over two days, and although the men were brave and the officers valiant and able, yet their

very presence proved to be an irritant because it aroused the indignation of a large class of people, who, while upholding law and order, had been taught to believe in local self-government and, therefore, resented what they regarded as unwarranted interference.

Inasmuch as the Federal troops can do nothing but what the State troops can do there, and believing that the State is amply able to take care of the situation, and to enforce the law, and believing that the ordering out of the Federal troops was unwarranted, I again ask their withdrawal.

JOHN P. ALTGELD.

Mr. Cleveland gives his reply, already reproduced in our syllabus of his article, with the following explanation: "I confess that my patience was somewhat strained, when I quickly sent the following dispatch in reply to this communication."

That Mr. Cleveland should have regarded Gov. Altgeld's second dispatch as "a rather dreary discussion," which "somewhat strained" his patience, goes far to indicate that Mr. Cleveland has no very profound interest in the principles of American statesmanship.

Who can revere the democratic character of the Democratic President who figured in that correspondence? Who can admire the personal generosity of the man who is capable of treating a dead adversary as Cleveland treats Altgeld with reference to that correspondence? Who can respect the judicial fairness of the official historian who thus emasculates this correspondence in publishing what purports to be an authoritative narrative of the historical episode of which it is the central fact?

IV

The labor strike of which Mr. Cleveland writes so unfairly and with the manifest purpose of awakening pleasant recollections among the monopolists of the country on the eve of the Democratic convention, was caused as well as managed by the arrogant and lawless conspiracy of railroads known as the General Managers' Association.

Organized in 1886 to oppress the public generally, this Association had reached the point in 1893 where it could dictate terms of employment by railroad combination

and arbitrary power. Through it, all the roads could be concentrated against segregated unions of workmen and the deadly "black-list" be thereby universally applied. To meet that emergency the entire railway labor service was organized in 1893 into the American Railway Union, under the leadership of Mr. Debs.

Among the members of this union were the employes of the Pullman Palace car shops. While the union was yet young, these members, oppressed by exasperating hardships, insisted upon striking. The officers and directors of the union "did not want a strike at Pullman" and "they advised against it," says Cleveland's "strike commission" in its report at page xxvii; "but the exaggerated idea of the power of the union, which induced the workmen at Pullman to join the order, led to their striking, against this advice;" and, "having struck, the union could do nothing less, upon the theory at its base, than support them." So the delegates at their convention at Chicago, acting "under instructions from their local unions"—we are quoting from the same report at page xxxix—"unanimously voted" on the 21st of June 1894, "that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26 unless the Pullman company would consent to arbitration." The Pullman company did refuse to arbitrate, and "on June 26 the boycott and strike began." And "throughout the strike," continues this official report, "the strife was simply over handling Pullman cars, the men being ready to do their duty otherwise." There was no conspiracy to interfere with the post office service.

Meanwhile, and we quote now from the same report at page xlii, "on June 22 an officer of the Pullman company met the General Managers by invitation, and the General Managers, among other things, resolved: 'That we hereby declare it to be the lawful right and duty of said railway companies to protest against said proposed boycott; to resist the same in the interest of their existing contracts, and for the benefit of the traveling public, and that we will act unitedly to that end.'"

The General Managers' Association might have prevented the

strike by advising the Pullman company to arbitrate. But that would have frustrated their chief design, which evidently was to take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the American Railway Union and make their own lawless combination resistless. They therefore agreed to act unitedly; and, according to the official report of Mr. Cleveland's "strike commission" at page xliii, "from June 22 until the practical end of the strike the General Managers' Association directed and controlled the contest on the part of the railroads, using the combined resources of all the roads to support the contentions and insure the protection of each."

Continuing with reference to this General Managers' Association, which it finds to be arrogant and lawless, President Cleveland's "strike commission" further says at page xliii:

Headquarters were established; agencies for hiring men opened; as the men arrived they were cared for and assigned to duty upon the different lines; a bureau was started to furnish information to the press; the lawyers of the different roads were called into conference and combination in legal and criminal proceedings; the General Managers met daily to hear reports and to direct proceedings; constant communication was kept up with the civil and military authorities as to the movements and assignments of police, marshals and troops. Each road did what it could with its operating forces, but all the leadership, direction, and concentration of power, resources, and influence on the part of the railroads were centered in the General Managers' Association. That association stood for each and all of its 24 combined members, and all that they could command, in fighting and crushing the strike.

One of the forces they commanded for that purpose was the "pull" necessary to secure the appointment by Mr. Cleveland's administration of their own lawyer, Edwin Walker, as special counsel for the Federal government.

What purpose Mr. Walker served, Mr. Cleveland, despite his reticence on that tender point, discloses in his McClure's article. As soon as the injunction was procured, the special counsel asked for United States troops. This was on the 2d. On the 3d he asked again. And when troops had been sent and Debs had been arrested,

he it was who expressed the opinion, not that order had been restored—no great disorder had existed; and, at any rate, suppression of disorder was not the purpose he had in view—but, as Mr. Cleveland quotes him, that “the strike was practically broken.”

To break the strike and destroy the American Railway Union, not to enforce law, were the objects of the General Managers' Association; and President Cleveland brought the government to its aid for those purposes, the point of contact between him and the Association being Walker, the “able and prominent” lawyer who was the paid counsel for both.

There had been but little violence until the troops came, and none with which the local authorities could not and did not cope. The Mayor, one of Mr. Cleveland's own followers in politics, did not find it necessary to issue a proclamation against rioting until July 6, three days after the arrival of Federal troops. No call was made upon Gov. Altgeld for State troops until that time, and he promptly responded with a brigade.

Nor was the influence of the lawyer for the lawless General Managers' Association, the man whom Mr. Cleveland's administration selected for special government counsel, confined to getting Federal troops. Observe this quotation from the Cleveland “strike commission” report at page xlv, of which, by the way, Mr. Cleveland takes no notice in his McClure's article:

United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3,600 were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads, and acted in the double capacity of railroad employees and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent, that might well lead to serious consequences.

One of the serious consequences may not improbably have

been destruction of railroad property by those deputies for the purpose of charging the crime to strikers. At any rate, the deputies are not free from that suspicion; and they appear to have been at least as capable of the crime as were the strikers. Of the character of the deputies Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, then a Chicago reporter and now one of the editors of McClure's, gave an unflattering account in his testimony before the “strike commission.” At page 370 he said of their character: “From my experience with them I think it was very bad indeed. I saw more cases of drunkenness, I believe, among the United States deputy marshals than I did among the strikers.” Why may it not be, as the strikers charge, that these deputy marshals caused such disorder as occurred?

It is not true that Altgeld refused to send troops when they were called for. The contrary is the fact, as the records show.

It is not true that the destruction of railroad property was great. This destruction is estimated by the “strike commission” at \$685,308, including the “hire of United States deputy marshals;” and up to the 6th of July, according to the Chicago fire department's official report, the total damage had been less than \$6,000.

It is not true that freight movements were stopped by rioting at Chicago prior to the coming in of the Federal troops. On the 2d of July the General Managers' Association published reports stating that freight and passenger trains generally were running without interruption.

It is not true that the mails were obstructed at the time of the appointment by the Federal government of the General Managers' lawyer as special counsel for the United States. That appointment was made on the 30th, yet on the 30th the superintendent of the railway mail service at Chicago reported to the department: “No mails have accumulated at Chicago so far; all regular trains are moving nearly on time with a few slight exceptions.”

Mr. Cleveland may have been sadly perplexed by the situation,

as he says he was, but his action calls for the reproach of all law-abiding men.

He found a lawless and arrogant combination of railroad corporations striving to crush a defensive organization of railroad workmen; and instead of assuming an attitude of impartiality, he entered into collusion with the lawless railroad combination and appointed their own attorney as the special legal adviser of the government.

Acting then in accordance with the plans of this lawless organization, he ignored and finally insulted the governor of the State, and over his head threw a Federal military force into his State and placed it at the service, through this special counsel, of the special counsel's lawless client, the General Managers' Association.

He also appears to have connived at the appointment of 3,600 hired servants of this association as United States deputy marshals, under its own immediate control—men of bad character and bad conduct, to whom, as reasonably as to the strikers, may be attributed such violence as occurred.

And now he boasts of having been sustained by the Federal courts in this evil policy, and in his device for “government by injunction” which was part of it.

As to those revolutionary decisions of the courts, even that of the Supreme Court, which Mr. Cleveland regards as having established a permanent policy, he should not forget how ephemeral the Dred Scott decision of that same Supreme Court proved to be.

As to Mr. Cleveland himself, in connection with this strike, he merited impeachment for his high-handed course in affiliation with the General Managers' Association, rather than the praise and the prize he covets for his success in breaking a labor strike that was meritorious, on pretense of putting down a labor insurrection that had no existence.

Mr. Cleveland's article may confirm the confidence in him of the plutocratic classes whose favor he solicits by it; but it can have no other effect upon fair-minded men who test it by the facts, than

to make them ask how the official career of such a President could possibly have ended otherwise than it did—in administrative disaster and popular distrust.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, June 30.

The Republican national convention (p. 182) closed on the 23d with the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for President of the United States, and Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice President.

The vote for Roosevelt was not only unanimous, but every one of the 994 delegates voted. They represented 45 States, 6 Territories, the District of Columbia, and the two Colonies—Porto Rico and the Philippines. Ex-Governor Black, of New York, made the nominating speech and Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, made the seconding speech. The nomination of Mr. Fairbanks was by acclamation. Before the afternoon of the 23d was half gone, the convention, which had been opened for the day with prayer by the third day's chaplain, the Rev. Thaddens A. Snively, adjourned sine die.

George B. Cortelyou, of New York, a member of President Roosevelt's cabinet, was chosen as chairman of the national committee, with Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, as treasurer.

The Prohibition national convention met at Indianapolis on the 29th. Homer L. Castle was made temporary, and A. F. Wolfenbarber permanent, chairman.

The Democratic convention for Missouri met on the 29th. It instructed for United States Senator Francis M. Cockrell.

Conditions in the strike regions of Colorado (p. 184) are reported as having improved, but the improvement appears to be such only from a strictly military point of view. The fourth wholesale deportation of union workmen by the military under Gen. Bell took place on the 28th, the number deported

on that occasion being 34. This makes a total of 181 deportations.

Plans appear to be on foot to place Denver also under martial law, Gen. Bell having so indicated on the 25th, in an interview published in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 26th by saying:

I should not be surprised if Denver were to be put under martial law, and I think we shall have to do it before this insurrection in the State is suppressed. The streets of Denver are filled with the men we deported from the mining districts, and they will start trouble here before very long.

An address to all organized labor has been issued by President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, in behalf of the Colorado strikers, calling for moral support and financial assistance. More pronounced action has been taken by the executive committee of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, of which Frank Buchanan is the president. This committee adopted a series of resolutions on the 23d reciting the facts about the military usurpation in Colorado, concluding as follows:

These circumstances demand a protest from all good citizens. In that protest we join, with the hope that a way may yet be found to give it legal effect, and to the end that the law may be respected by all classes because enforced without partiality for any. Finally, we hereby request the officers of the American Federation of Labor, of the Mine Workers of America, of the Western Federation of Miners, and of all other national, international, and central federations of labor, to call an emergent delegate conference, to meet at an early date in some city centrally located, for the purpose of dispassionately considering the circumstances and dangers to organized labor in general of the Colorado situation, and we recommend that this conference take positive action in at least three particulars, namely: First, that it vigorously set in motion proceedings to discover and lawfully to punish the perpetrators of the dynamite crime at Independence, without regard to whether the criminal acted as an agent of the miners, or as a matter of personal animosity, or as the agent of the mine owners. Second, that it vigorously set in motion legal proceedings to punish the corporate and official criminals who have outraged the rights of union labor in Colorado; and third, that it adopt measures calculated to prevent in the future any repetition, whether in Colo-

rado or any other State, of corporate and official lawlessness of like character.

No action in accordance with the above request appears yet to have been taken by the officials appealed to, unless it be the call by Mr. Gompers, noted above, for moral support and financial aid.

It is reported that the Department of Commerce and Labor of the United States is making an investigation of the Colorado situation and the facts leading up to it, under the direction of Mr. Carroll D. Wright.

News of an impending battle of great magnitude in the Russian-Japanese war (p. 185) has been coming over the wires for several days. From this it appears that the Japanese had got as far north as Kaichow, as reported last week, and have even pushed farther northward. The impending battle is expected to occur between Kaichow and Haicheng, probably near Simucheng, about 15 miles southeast of Haicheng and the same distance eastward from the line of railway. The opposing armies are four, the Russian main army under Gen. Kouropatkin, and three Japanese armies, one under Gen. Kuroki, one under Gen. Nodzu, and the third under Gen. Oku. These three Japanese forces are reported to be advancing from three points—south, southeast and east—toward Haicheng, their apparent point of concentration.

A slight naval diversion was created on the 23d by the escape in the night of the whole Russian fleet from Port Arthur harbor. It was attacked by the Japanese fleet eight times before dawn on the 24th. Late in the afternoon of the 24th the Russian vessels sought refuge again in the Port Arthur harbor.

NEWS NOTES.

—John Alexander Dowle landed in New York on the 25th upon his return from Australia by way of England.

—Pericardis and Varley, the captives whom the Moorish leader, Raisuli, was holding to ransom (p. 157), were released on the 24th.

—Helen Keller, the young woman, now 24 years old, who has been deaf, dumb and blind from infancy, received

the degree of bachelor of arts from Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., on the 28th.

In the London Times of the 27th there appeared a ten-column article by Tolstoy denouncing war in general and the Russian-Japanese war specifically.

The National Educational Association opened its annual session on the 28th at St. Louis. The President, John W. Cooke, of Illinois, read a paper suggesting the reestablishment of corporal punishment in schools and attacking trade unions.

Mgr. Guidi, apostolic delegate to the Philippines, who was sent to the Philippine islands nearly two years ago as the representative of the Vatican in the negotiations with the Philippine commissioners for the sale of the friar lands to the American government, died on the 26th.

A complimentary dinner to John Z. White upon his return to Chicago from his single tax lecturing tour in the East, was attended by over 150 persons. Judge E. F. Dunne presided and the speakers besides the chairman and the guest of the evening were Western Starr, Leonora Beck, Henry George, Jr., and Louis F. Post. The arrangements were made under the management of Olive Maguire.

On the 24th the following cabinet appointments were announced by President Roosevelt: Paul Morton, of Illinois, secretary of the navy, in place of Mr. Moody, who became attorney general in place of Knox, appointed senator in place of Quay; Victor H. Metcalf, of California, secretary of commerce and labor, in place of Cortelyou, who becomes chairman of the Republican national committee.

The Negro regiment of the Illinois militia, Eighth I. N. G., commanded by Col. H. C. Marshall, has been barred from the St. Louis exposition. It had prepared to attend the Fair, but Col. Marshall was informed that Negro troops could not be allowed in the barracks occupied by white troops, and that if they went to St. Louis they must provide a camp and commissary outfit of their own and go into camp outside the grounds. The regiment has therefore abandoned the trip.

The coroner's jury at New York in the case of the burning of the General Slocum, at Hell Gate, (p. 171), with great loss of life to a party of Sunday school excursionists, returned a verdict on the 28th of criminal responsibility against Frank A. Barnaby, president of the Knickerbocker Steamboat company; J. K. Atkinson, secretary of the company; all the directors, Capt. William H. Van Schaick, Mate Edward Flanagan, and Henry Lundberg, assistant United States steamboat inspector, who approved the fire fighting apparatus of the boat before it was placed in commission in May.

PRESS OPINIONS.

"SANE" DEMOCRACY.

(Cedar Rapids, Ia.) "Why." (s. t.) June.—"Safe and sane Democracy" as it has come to be known—therefore, is at best merely a reflection of modern Republicanism. Its devotees follow the same path, are moved by the same prejudices and dominated by the same god of commercial greed. People who want to get what the safe and sane Democracy says it wants, can get it more certainly and in fuller measure by voting the Republican ticket.

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY.

Dun's Review (com'l), June 18.—Industry suffers from an epidemic of ultra-conservatism—emanating apparently from the theory that a season of depression must come every ten years, while the coincidence of a presidential election furnishes another precedent. As a result, stocks of merchandise have been reduced, railway traffic is lessened, preparations for future business are curtailed, and less money is distributed in the form of wages; while those having capital to invest confine their attention to the highest classes of bonds or hold back for still lower security prices. All these factors have combined to produce a reaction entirely out of proportion to the natural readjustment that was really started by abnormally high prices of raw materials and other excessive costs of production resulting in accumulation of goods that could not be sold at a profit. Retrenchment has made considerable progress, wage earners, as a rule, recognizing the importance of accepting reductions in pay.

REPUBLICAN DEADHEADS.

Detroit Times (Ind.), June 24.—There were not many things about the national Republican convention at Chicago that are worth talking about. One important thing was the invitation to the delegates, by Senator Depew, on behalf of the railroads, to visit the St. Louis exposition at the expense of the railroads—an invitation that was quickly accepted. And this morning, three special trains, laden with delegates to the national Republican convention, left Chicago for the world's fair city. As the railroads are not given to hauling large numbers of persons around for nothing—not in the habit of giving anything, unless they expect something in return for it—it becomes of interest to inquire why these particular thousand men have been singled out for such a special privilege. Nor does it seem likely that it will be necessary to go far to find a solution of the mystery. These thousand men are politicians. Most of them have attended national conventions before, and many of them will attend national conventions again as delegates. As politicians, they have nothing of their own to give the railroads in return for the privilege of riding to and from St. Louis free of charge, but they have something that belongs to the people that the railroads want. That "something" is the right to make party candidates, party platforms and, indirectly, national history.

MISCELLANY

JANE ADDAMS.

For The Public.

(See Public of June 11, p. 158.)

When good Jane Addams passes away
I want to die in that hour and day;
For the gates of Heaven will swing so far,
'Mid triumph shouts to welcome her,
That I'm sure a lot of us common fry
Could in the dazzling light slip by!

B.

AN EASTERN EXAMPLE.

The following remarkable story appears in Mr. Whigham's "Manchuria and Korea." "A Cossack, in a fit of drunkenness, had shot a Chinaman, and it was necessary to bring several of the men

to the bedside of the dying victim for purposes of identification of the culprit. The Chinaman, however, refused absolutely to single out the guilty man, saying: 'Why should he be killed, since I must die in any case?' Then they explained to him that the man would only be severely punished, to which the Chinaman responded that since he forgave the culprit there was no reason why he should suffer. Then the theory of punishment was induced as an argument—the Cossack must be punished in order that he might not repeat the offense. 'But,' said the Chinaman, 'he will never do it again, when he knows that I forgave him,' and there the matter ended."

—Concord.

A CHORUS OF CRIPPLES.

At the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, June 26, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, discussed the meaning of human misery.

In a children's hospital was a group of little ones singing a hymn. The condition of the children was a sufficient comment upon the sentiment of the hymn:

God will take care of you. All through the day,
Jesus is near you to keep you from ill.

Every child who joined in that hymn had been mutilated by some cruel fate. One boy had lost a leg. Another had a hump on his back. Tuberculosis of the hip joint had frightfully crippled a third.

But the visitor forgot the rest in his interest in one little face, the most beautiful and the most tragic of all. A girl of five years, perhaps. A tinge of gold in her hair. Dancing eyes. Complexion like the blush of the lily kissed by the rose. The face of a dream-child but for one over-shadowing blot.

On the lip was a cancer-like growth, standing out as big as an egg—a loathsome parasite, feeding upon that innocence and beauty. With a background of such loveliness, the parasite seemed transformed into the shape of a living monster, with gleaming red eyes and hairy tentacles that held the fair little life in their murderous grip. Even while that horror was creeping upon her, the child sang:

God will take care of you. All through the day,
Jesus is near you to keep you from ill.

The cancer gave the lie to the song. We shall not lose anything in the end if we are honest with ourselves and subject our religion to the test of facts. God did not prevent the growth of the cancer. Neither will he touch the little lip and make it well. Who, then, is God, and what is the cause of our sufferings?

The universe is a school house. The plan seems to be to give man an opportunity to acquire grace and strength of character. If the child is to learn to walk, it must be allowed to fall. There is no God to save it when it stumbles. If the parent saves it, he may consult his own feelings rather than the good of the child, and prove an unkind providence in the end.

How could there be virtue in intelligence if man had not been compelled to work his way up from ignorance? How could there be strength of character if the soul were not made to choose between right and wrong? Sin is but the shadow of virtue. Misery is the promise of heaven. Possibility of evil is opportunity for good.

When government is corrupt and commerce is craven and ships go to sea in greedy haste, reckless of the lives they carry, no God will curb the fury of the flames or command the waves to cease. Virtue is more precious than life.

What is the lesson of the cancer? Ignorance and greed cause social injustice. These social wrongs increase ignorance and greed. Trade is a kind of war. The common weal is forgotten in the scramble for private gain. Selfishness adulterates the food of the nation. Poverty and ignorance eat it. The poor stifle in tenements. The palaces of the rich are locked and lonely. A Boss-ridden city empties its filth into the river, and the little children drink the water of pollution. Disease rises from the vapors of the sweltering slums like an avenging fury.

Would you see what our civilization really is? Behold the child's face—beauty expiring in the coils of ignorance and greed and social wrong.

God cannot prevent the cancer without repealing the moral law. While ignorance and greed last, human misery will prove the morality of the universe. Let men learn the lessons of justice and mercy and truth. Then, if they are miserable, they may impeach the Almighty.

Righteousness is the law of the universe. Let human society obey that law and the earth, love-enchanted, will ring with the laughter of perfect children, and painless old age will find in death but a moment's sleep before the dawn.

The truly religious man is he whose thought and life are in accord with the righteousness of the universe. The noblest form of worship is the labor by which we strive to teach the world to deserve the rewards of righteousness. This religion is the salvation of society

and the redemption of the soul that receives it.

MULLIGAN ON THE WATER WAGON.

For The Public.

"I have thirty cints in me pockud," said Donovan, "an' if you and Flynn'll come along we'll blow ut in."

"I'm not dry," said Mulligan, "and nayther is Flynn. Sit down, Donovan, while I tell ye a bit av a shstory."

"Is it a good wan?" asked Donovan, as he resumed his seat.

"It is not," said Mulligan, significantly, "but I hope it'll do yez good to hear it."

"Fire away!" cried Donovan. "I'm all ears."

"Ye don't need to tell us that!" said Mulligan.

"Don't ye be bladgin' about Donovan's ears, but give us th' shstory," said Flynn. "Here," (extending the tobacco box), "fill yer polpe an' go ahead."

Mulligan filled his pipe leisurely, struck a match on the sole of Donovan's shoe, which happened to be in a convenient position, apologized for it, remarking that he had mistaken it for the cracker box, lighted his pipe and began:

"I attended a convention of builders in Saint Louis last month. The object was to get acquainted and to discuss questions of common interest. But it's not of the business av the conviction that I'm going to tell yez, but av some av the diversions.

"One evening, in the hotel, a gentleman I'd got acquainted wid clapped 'is hand an me shoulder, an' says: 'Come on, Mulligan.' I wint wid 'im, through a hall, into a little room just off the barroom. A half dozen other min had gone along wid us, and everybody took chairs about a table in the cinter av the room. Then comes a waiter wid a bottle of champagne and glasses.

"I could see that half, or more, av the company had drunk more than was good for him alrhand. 'Mulligan,' says I to meself, 'get onto the wather wagon, an' do ut quick!' So I says to me frind, says I, 'I'm a saart av a shtick in a place like this, for I don't drink. If you'll excuse me—'

"It's no matter," he says; 'take a cigar or a glass av 'polinaris wather.' And the whole bunch insisted on me shtayin', an' so I shtayed; but I hung onto the wather wagon.

"Well, a bottle av wine filled the glasses about once round. An' wan bottle was no more than imptied when another was called for. It's the

truth I'm tellin' yez, gintlemin, I've never seen a gang av bricklayers rush the can like thim captains av incoosthry chased the bottles av champagne. An' the more they drunk, the faster and louder they all talked. By an' by wan av thim gets up an 'is feet an' shteadies 'imself be the table, an' 'e says: 'Shay, boys, don' lemme mish me thrain.'

"What toime does yer thrain go?" axed wan av thim. But the man had already forgotten about 'is thrain, an' was makin' a speech, an' the rist av the crowd laughin' at 'm.

"Well, to cut it short, after about an hour in that room, we all wint out, and Mulligan the only sober man in the company. I lost sight av all av thim, except wan man, a rich contrahctor from Philadelphia. He was a handsome felly. He was dressed in the height of shstyle—patent leathers, fancy vest an' silk hat. He was unsteady an' 'is feet, as 'e stud wid 'is hands in 'is pockets, gazin' out av the windy. Purty soon he shteppped out onto the sidewalk, and I followed 'm. Two gerris, about twenty years av age, I should judge, were passing by, and I heard him schpeak, but couldn't hear what 'e said. I'll never forget the frightened look in the gerris' eyes, as they glanced at 'im and darted away! I was glad when, very soon aither, he staggered back into the house.

"Nixt day I heard a group av me wine-room frinds laughing and joking about their experiences av the night, after they left the wine-room."

Mulligan stopped here, as if he had reached the end of his story. Presently Donovan asked: "What sort av experiences were those?"

"Wan av the gintlemin lives in this city," said Mulligan. "His wife is a most excellent lady, and their two daughters are in the high school. I hope they'll never know how far along th' road to hell their father wint that night! I thought av thim—and av another woman and her daughters—my daughters, God bless thim, and her—as I listened to the drunken rallery av the revelers!

"No more av that part av the story; here's the other part av it: Back av our house, on the next street, lives a mechanic wid his wife an' three little children. I knew nothing av thim till to-day, when Missis Mulligan was tell'n me. She says: 'Those people haven't a thing in the house to ate. The man's been drunk for three days, an' has spint all av 'is week's wages. And lasht week, an' the week before it was the same. The poor woman done some work for Missis Gallagher yesterday an' got 50 cints for ut. She

spint 45 for food for the family, and that brute made 'er give up the last nickel; an' whin she cried, 'e got mad at 'er. The landlord came to-day for the rint, an' she couldn't pay ut. An' now he's ardhred thim out av the house.'

"There's a story for yez, gintlemin, in two parts. I haven't told yez the worst av ut in either case, because it's betther not told; besides, yez can imagine it betther than I, or anybody else, could tell it. But I haven't been dry since that conviction; and whin I heard Missis Mulligan's story av the family on the next shreet, I says to her, says I: 'Ye never saw me dhrunk, dear, but I've taken a drop now and then, as ye know. Did ye ever fear that I wud dhrink too much, dearie?' She started to speak, but something caught in 'er throat. 'Don't thry to answer me, dearie,' I says; 'I see how it is. But set yer heart at rest; I'll dhrink no more.'

"There were tears in the little woman's eyes, and a smile on her face whin she put her hands an me shoulders, looked me in the face an' said: 'That's a good word from a man whose word is good!'

"And that little woman's at home, waiting for me now. Come, Donovan, let's be going—an' take yer thirty cints wid ye."

HORACE CLIFTON.

The Colonizer:—"The price of civilization comes high."

The Presumptuous Native:—"Higher, sometimes, than civilization itself."

G. T. E.

Pray heaven no superior people may hear of the Colorado imbroglio and send a beneficent army to give us good government.—Goodhue Co. (Minn.) News.

BOOKS

TWO NOTABLE BOOKS.

The new Chicago publishing house, the Hammersmark Publishing company, begins its career in promising fashion with the publication in attractive form of two notable books. One is the unpublished manuscript left by the late Gov. Altgeld, "The Cost of Something for Nothing;" and the other is a series of strong and timely essays by Edgar Lee Masters, opening with "The New Star Chamber," which lends its title to the book.

In his "New Star Chamber" essay Mr. Masters writes as a lawyer, yet with literary force and polish, on the development in modern times of "government by injunction" from the practice of the old Star Chamber court of

England, with which he identifies it in character and with which it can be very closely identified historically. The essay on Roosevelt is excellent, and so is that on Chief Justice Marshall. The former is more timely just now; the latter is timely, too, and much the more important. It is well designed to meet present tendencies toward Hamiltonism, which Jefferson overthrew at the polls but which Marshall revived by constitutional construction. The other essays in this volume, and they are all good both in form and substance—evidently written because the author had something worth while to say and not because he wanted to write—are on Jefferson, Hamilton, Bryan's campaigns, imperialism under the constitution, Federal judges, despotism, the Philippine conquest, the new policy, political tendencies and democracy. As to the latter subject, failing to find the principles of democracy in the platform of the Democratic party, Mr. Masters analyzes it and finds the components of ideal democracy to be—"the free city, the free township, the free county and the free State, cooperating in a synthetic process to the national government."

Gov. Altgeld's posthumous book, the other of these two, has already attracted wide attention. Many of the newspapers have liberally published extracts from it. Owing to the way in which Altgeld was maligned while he lived, the sentiments of this book come to most people as a genuine surprise. They cannot understand how so bad a man could have written so good a book. Yet the book is but a definite statement over his own signature of the kind of life Altgeld not only preached but lived. It is because he lived such a life in earnest, and not merely preached it, that he was so malignantly misrepresented until the clouds had fallen upon his coffin lid. The theme of this book is the simple one of the old saw that "honesty is the best policy;" though Altgeld carries his theme farther than conventional moralists do. It is his idea that immutable natural law has consequences in morals as in physics which no one can escape, and that therefore a righteous life brings the natural rewards of righteousness while "the cost of getting something for nothing" is a fearful price whether you go into jail or into a palace. He does not mean of course that a righteous life will be rewarded with wealth and honors. His own life bore strong testimony to the contrary. Neither does he mean that an unrighteous life fails to reap just those results. He means that righteousness has rewards of its own, which unrighteousness cannot possibly give, and that these rewards are not to be compared with empty honors and personal

luxury. Happy the nation whose young men shall read this book and make its principles their guide.

Both Altgeld's book and Masters's have been brought out by the Hammersmark company in attractive typography. The price of each is one dollar, net.

PAMPHLETS.

"The Ethics of Imperialism," by A. L. Clark, a paper read before the Durban (Natal, South Africa) Ethical society, and now printed by that society, is a scholarly development of the idea that imperialism is an unsatisfiable thirst for power and dominion.

The Rev. S. S. Craig, a strictly orthodox clergyman of Toronto, addresses his clerical brethren in a pamphlet on "The Corruptions of Theology," wherein he likens modern biblical scholarship to the doctrine of the Pharisees in the time of Christ. Mr. Craig is not opposed to true learning, to true education; but that higher biblical culture which is paraded under these names he regards as a huge imposition. His pamphlet is not the outcry of a disappointed man. It is the calm and scholarly protest of a sincere believer who feels that the so-called higher criticism is a profanation.

Senator Gibson's recent speech in the Senate of the United States in favor of repealing the desert land act, part of the homestead act and the timber and stone act, ought to be read by every public-spirited citizen. It can be obtained of any Senator or Representative in Congress. Mr. Gibson makes a significant statement when he says in this speech: "I am aware that the most determined efforts are being employed to prevent the repeal of these land acts, but I submit that such efforts are inspired chiefly by men who are employing millions of dollars in acquiring directly from the nation large holdings of timber lands, agricultural lands and pastoral lands."

PERIODICALS.

Samuel Smiles, the well known author, died in April of the present year, at the age of 92. His books were all in praise of honest endeavor and virtuous living. The most famous, "Self-Help," was translated into every European language, including Turkish, and has passed through numberless editions in English. "He never took a military hero for his theme," says the Springfield Republican, "and his books attest by their popularity to a sound basis in human nature for a higher, even if a largely material, idea of life than the war books minister to."

J. H. D.

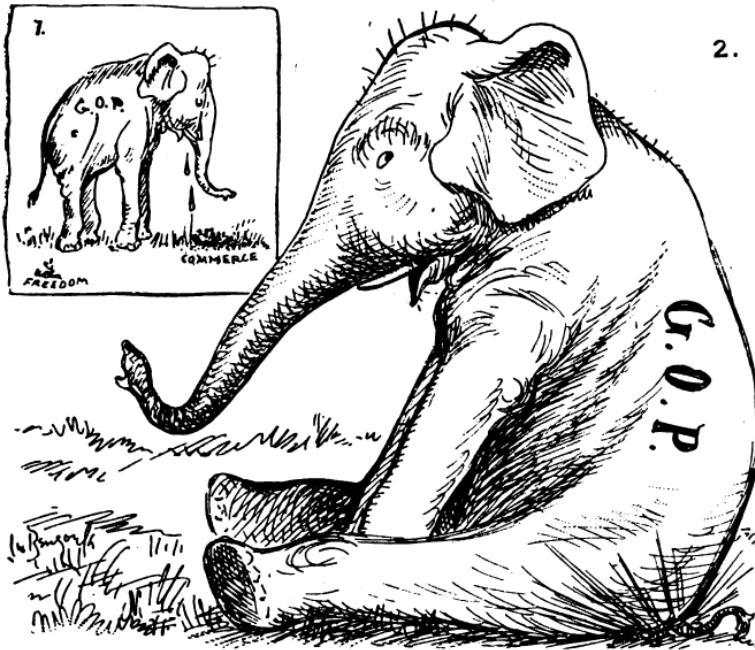
To the editor of the Nebraska Independent—commenting on the passage of a single tax measure in the House of Commons, and remarking that the taxes will have "to be paid and the money will have to be earned to do it. Who will earn the money?"—E. O. Bailey replies as follows: "The money will have to be earned by those who use the land, as it is earned now, but to-day it is paid to Sir John and His Grace, who use it for their own exclusive benefit. The workers have been paying this tax all the time, but it has not gone into the common treasury. It has gone to support an idle aristocracy."

J. H. D.

We are making progress, afar off, in doing social stunts in the fine old-world way. Philadelphia's four hundred, as many as could get aboard, augmented by Miss Roosevelt and Countess Cassini, drove through the town last Saturday in six gayly painted coaches, between long lines of admiring spectators. "On every seat," says the Philadelphia Press, "were types of the fairest and best-dressed women (the reporter ought to have said 'smartest'), and the most darling and expert of the men whips"—in tall hats, of course. Driving is great fun, and there is no harm in coaching, but the self-conscious, flamboyant, spectacular, crowd-gaping display of it is as silly an imitation of the real thing as the variegated hood of a college doctor.

J. H. D.

An article in the Fortnightly Review on



"PROTECTION."

An Elephant, having trampled upon a mother-Lark, looked with Compassion upon the Brood and said, "Poor little Things—I will protect you!" So saying she sat down on the nest.

the True Greatness of Thackeray rebuts the idea that he was cynical in any bad sense of the word. The author thinks the so-called cynicism came from "a moral indignation, which had its groundwork in an intense love of truth and hatred of shams." Thackeray aimed his bolts against two forms of social humbug—the hunting after titles and worldly honors, and the prostitution of love and marriage to money. Is his satire, asks the author, any less needed now than when he delivered it? Thackeray, we know, put "Henry Esmond" first among his works. This author gives the palm to "Vanity Fair."

J. H. D.

If the Waste Basket keeps up the spirit of sincerity and simplicity shown in its first number just received, it will be one of the last periodicals its receivers will wish to consign to the suggested receptacle. It is published at Leclaire, Ill., and seems to be the organ of Leclaire college, which has been established by Mr. Nelson in connection with the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing company. In the present number Mr. Nelson himself has an account of Leclaire, the Frenchman after whom the Illinois settlement was named, and there are other interesting contributions. The book-notice of Zola's "Labor" is refreshingly unlike stereotyped criticisms, and suggests the wish that all papers and magazines would contain reviews of those books alone which the reviewers had actually read and thought about. J. H. D.

The Athenaeum publishes half a dozen hitherto unpublished letters of Tom Moore, which of course make most delightful reading. One of them, written September 1, 1817, copies the lines he had just received from Byron containing the often quoted stanza:

"Here's a sigh to those who love me,
And a smile to those who hate,
And, whatever sky's above me,
Here's a heart for any fate."

It seems not to be generally known that Tom Moore was one of the list of authors who fell into debt and faithfully worked out of it. Through the defalcation of his deputy, whom he mistakenly allowed to do his work in a subordinate government appointment, he incurred a liability of

£6,000. Friends came to his immediate assistance; but he insisted upon finally paying the last penny. J. H. D.

God and My Neighbor

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

Author of "Merrie England"; editor of the London "Clarion."

The book of the day in England. Scores of ministers are preaching about it. Bishops and workmen are discussing it.

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