

# The Public

Seventh Year.

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Democrats have no good reason to be proud of their Illinois convention. It was controlled not by the delegates chosen at the party primaries, but by a clique of monopoly corporation agents.

This clique was led by John P. Hopkins, of Chicago, whose only virtue in politics is the one of which high grade criminals have always been fond of boasting—that bad though he may be in all other respects, he keeps his word when he pledges it. Hopkins took advantage of his position as chairman of the old State committee to dictate to a convention in which his elected supporters were but a small minority.

Utilizing that advantage, he revised the list of delegates, and named the temporary chairman, whom he seated by sheer force of authority, backed by platoons of policemen and regardless of the wishes of the convention. Under his direction this chairman carried Hopkins's programme through with his gavel, shutting off debate and denying roll calls even to the limit of gaveling himself into authority as permanent chairman. Only one roll call was allowed—the one which a Hearst delegate demanded on the question of Presidential instructions.

The convention was farcical, and two of the aspirants for governor performed a public service by refusing it the use of their names as candidates to be either "gaveled through or gaveled down." The gentleman who allowed himself to be nominated may be worthy

enough, and we believe he would make an honest governor of the State; but he must bear the odium and suffer the natural consequences of a nomination by a convention so organized and controlled. There is no reasonable possibility of his election under these circumstances, and in all good conscience there ought not to be. Democrats who know the facts will be entirely justified in registering their protest by voting for Deneen, the Republican candidate for governor, as thousands of them doubtless will.

On the Presidency, Hearst seems to have swapped everything for his own indorsement. That was the price Hopkins paid for the submission of the Hearst faction to his high handed procedure. So long as Hearst's name is before the national convention the Illinois delegation must vote for him; but when his name drops, then, if we mistake not, a majority of the delegation will be found voting for Grover Cleveland and by the unit rule forcing the others to join them. The delegation was "stacked" by Hopkins, and Hopkins is playing the Cleveland game as well as that of the corporations—of which, indeed, the Cleveland game is part.

Bryan was cruel to the plutocratic press of both parties when, having as they say absolute control over the Nebraska convention and being the author of the platform, he made no demand in the platform for "16 to 1." True, he has been saying over and over again in his speeches, speeches that certainly were not lacking in lucidity, that the silver question is not now an issue. But as he explained that he believed it might again become one in the future, and also pointed out the fact that other phases of the money

question are issues, the plutocratic writing-machines have short-handed these expressions into 16 to 1 sentiment and woven them into their editorial products. Now, however, comes this Nebraska platform, in which even plutocratic newspaper scribblers cannot spell out any pressing demand for "16 to 1." Hence their funereal humor.

The Nebraska platform is a model for the Democratic national convention. It reaffirms the Kansas City platform. This is necessary to preserve the democracy of the party, since, if for no other reason, the plutocrats have made its abandonment the test of their resumption of power in the party. To ignore or repudiate that platform is to surrender the Democratic party to August Belmont, Grover Cleveland and J. Pierpont Morgan. But the Nebraska platform does not stop with reaffirmation. It reiterates the opposition of the party to all private monopolies, to imperialism and militarism, and to the administering of the Federal treasury by money-mongering syndicates; it demands the abolition of protective tariffs; and in addition to other sound demands it insists upon frankness and definiteness in the national platform. With such a declaration from St. Louis next month, coupled with nominations calculated to guarantee its sincerity, the Democratic party may hope to win a victory worth winning, with reasonable confidence that its 1892-95 experience of victory at the election and defeat afterward will not be repeated.

Ex-Gov. Boutwell—nomen praeclarum et venerabile—combines, as perhaps no other amongst us quite so much, the wisdom of age with that robust faith in ideals that belongs to youth. He was born in 1818, and still believes in

God and the people. He recently delivered an address before the Reform Club of Fitchburg which contains many thoughts worth laying to heart among the others this:

If the mass of the people are determined to secure a change for the better, that change, time being given, will be accomplished. If they are indifferent, it is impossible for superior power, through the exercise of that power, to secure a change that shall possess practical value.

And this:

The only governments that possess the means of perpetual life and the only governments that deserve to live, are what may be called home rule governments, in which the people are consulted as to what shall be done; governments in which they have the power to limit expenditures and to name the source of taxation, and the extent to which the resources of the people shall be taken for public purposes.

After elections there is generally so much excusing and explaining that the frank expression of George Bernard Shaw is quite refreshing. Those who know Mr. Shaw's literary work will not be surprised; but his outspoken assertion that his defeat as candidate for the London county council is due to personal unpopularity must be amusing to politicians. Speaking of the result he said:

I do not account for it. It is a perfectly simple record of the fact that after my six years of progressive work for the citizens of South St. Pancras on their borough council they so thoroughly disapprove of me and mistrust me that they have given my opponents the most splendid victory in the whole battle.

The facility, according to the first clause of an old epigram, with which questions can be asked, is exemplified by the International Economist for June. This flourishing business periodical quotes one of our paragraph editorials which refers to a native uprising in Africa (p. 113) and in which, after explaining that the object of the uprising is "Africa for the black man," we ask: "And why not? If we have 'America for the white man,' why not 'Africa for the black man?'" Thereupon our commercialistic contemporary

wants to know "how we could have 'America for the white man,' without an almost total disregard of a logically prior tenet, 'America for the Indians;'" and if we follow out this idea how we could have civilization. This question is supposed by the astute questioner to be a solar plexus blow at what he regards as "the fountain head principle of the single tax." In fact it gets nowhere near to the single tax. Moreover it implies that The Public stands for "America for the white man," whereas the paragraph in question was intended simply as a comparison to illustrate, through a look at "ourselves as others see us," the utter absurdity of that wretched slogan of race exclusiveness. We shall add a word with reference to the International Economist's unwarranted assumption that we might answer its rather puerile question by demanding that "justice be done though the heavens fall." The heavens are in danger of falling not when justice but when injustice reigns. Justice is a law as immutable in morals as the law of gravitation is in physics, and it must be treated with similar respect. Our motto, therefore, is not "Let justice be done though the heavens fall;" but "Let justice be done lest the heavens fall." We suggest to our recklessly inquisitive contemporary with the commercial eye that there are better things even in a commercial world than cent-per-cent.

Bolton Hall writes of a reprehensible habit which he finds reformers addicted to. "Twice within the last ten days," says Mr. Hall, "I have received papers containing articles written by earnest and energetic reformers containing 'statistics.' One of them states that 'we allow the few men who control our steam railways to take annually \$550,000,000 above the fair return of interest on actual capital invested.'" The Interstate Commerce Report of 1902 shows that in 1900 the net income above operating expenses was only about \$580,000,000. In 1903 it was \$600,000,000. Upon calling the

attention of one author to some of these reckless figures he wrote me that he had taken them 'from an article in some newspaper' and that he did not know anything about them, but that they were good figures, and that the article would have a large circulation." By way of comment Mr. Hall adds: "In my judgment economic reforms of any kind, and chiefly the single tax, is strong enough not to need a bolstering up by reckless statements and statistics, as one would expect from Carroll D. Wright. I ask for the publication of this, because the evil is a growing and disgusting one." We cordially agree with Mr. Hall. One of the irritating phases of economic discussions is reckless misuse of statistics. Carroll D. Wright and the plutocratic scribblers who copy from him are especially culpable. He and they are also especially dangerous, for they usually lend some weight of expert authority to what they say. But this vice is a bad one for reformers to imitate. It is bad for them personally, and it is bad for any cause they champion. Thomas G. Shearman used often to quote, "figures won't lie, but liars will figure," and we suggest that this species of figuring be left to the experts who invented it.

In the decision of the United States Supreme Court nullifying the Cleveland 4-cent street car ordinance which was adopted under an administration preceding Mayor Johnson's, there is more reason for satisfaction than appears upon the surface. A contrary decision would, indeed, have been more desirable; for that would have cleared the way for passing and enforcing an ordinance for 3-cent fares, something which this decision prevents. But the decision makes it perfectly plain to the people of Cleveland that in renewing the street car franchises now nearly expired, they will be absolutely bound to a 5-cent fare if they allow the renewals to be made on that

basis. In these circumstances the 3-cent-fare movement in Cleveland will probably gain more from the good influence of the adverse decision on public sentiment than it will suffer from loss of revising power over franchises by the city council.

A crusade against salary "loan sharks" is being made by the Chicago newspapers in the "interest of the poor." How easy! How very much easier than attacking the really dangerous enemies of the poor—the enemies that make them poor. "Loan sharks" may be very bad men, but even if they were the worst alive they could not force people to borrow from them nor to pay them exorbitantly for loans. They do not coerce people to borrow. What they do is to refuse to lend except on their own terms, and where is the wrong in that? The borrower is at perfect liberty to reject the proffered terms. To enact legislation limiting those terms can result in only one or both of two things: (1) devices for circumventing the restrictive law, or (2) a lessening of opportunities for borrowing. And pray how are the poor to be benefited by legal restrictions upon borrowing opportunities? What they need is to be freed, not from lenders who cannot lend to anyone who refuses to borrow, but from legal monopolists, who, by denying them their natural rights, force them to forego a lion's share of their earnings. These "loan sharks" are to monopolists as a sunfish to leviathan.

#### THE COLORADO LAWLESSNESS.

"A gigantic combination of American mines" by the Standard Oil "crowd" and under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller himself! Such is the startling disclosure of the news reports of the present week.

The par value of the stock of this gigantic combine is reported to be no less than two billions and a half in dollars; and the combine is to control the whole mineral

output of the United States, with the possible exception of the Calumet and Hecla copper mine in Michigan. Thus doth the pious process of subduing the earth and the inhabitants thereof go on at a thrilling pace.

It appears that the plans for this great monopolization have been secretly in the way of execution for a decade. "For ten years," say the press reports, "the Standard Oil millionaires have been acquiring the mines of America through their banking interests. In Colorado David Moffat and Dennis Sullivan, of the First National Bank of Denver, have paid out many millions in the past six years for productive mines, and are said to control 70 per cent. of the productive gold, silver and lead mines of the middle Rocky Mountain district."

In the last clause of that report there is much food for serious reflection with reference to the present disturbances in the mining regions of Colorado. That the Standard Oil "crowd" owns the fuel mines of Colorado and large connecting railway interests was already known; but that this lawless "crowd" also owns controlling interests in the gold mines there, was only suspected. The fact that they do control those mines is enough to account for much—for very much indeed.

It accounts for the scandalous bribing of the Colorado legislature (p. 154), for the purpose of overriding the lawfully expressed will of the people, which is described in McClure's for May; this is one of the Standard Oil's well known methods of riding rough-shod over public law and popular rights.

It accounts, moreover, for the contemptible subserviency of the Governor of Colorado; the control of public administrators, whether by corruption or intimidation or Mephistophelian "jolly-ing," is another well-known method of Standard Oil lawlessness.

It accounts, also, for the employment of troops, not to maintain the law of the State impartially,

but to overthrow it in the interest of these millionaire monopolists; this also is a Standard Oil method, although detectives instead of State troops have hitherto been used when the monopolists have furnished the funds.

It accounts, likewise, for the effrontery with which this monopoly revolution has been executed; effrontery in lawlessness is peculiarly a characteristic of the Standard Oil "crowd."

It accounts even for the diabolical explosion at Independence; for explosions, with cruel indifference to human life, are among the methods to which the Standard Oil "crowd" resorts when it has any advantage to gain thereby, as Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth" clearly proves by reference to several instances, including that of the competing oil refinery at Buffalo in the 'eighties.

The Colorado explosion certainly has served the mine owners' purposes; and if the mine owners' interests and the Standard Oil "crowd's" interests are the same, it has served the Standard Oil "crowd." They charged the infamous thing to the strikers, thereby securing an advantage with public opinion and affording an excuse to their tools in the official service of the State for overthrowing all law and turning the militia into an armed and organized and nominally legal mob. It is evident, then, that the Standard Oil "crowd" had a motive, sufficient according to their past record, to account for resorting to this piece of diabolism. They had much to gain and only a little to risk. To find a motive for it on the part of the strikers is not so easy. The strikers had much to lose by it and nothing to gain. The only guilty motive that can with any show of reason be attributed to them would be revenge, or insane anger. This must have been individual if it existed at all; it could not have been organic. So far as motive is concerned, therefore, it points most strongly not toward the strikers but toward the mine-owners; and if they are dominated by the Standard Oil

"crowd," the trail becomes fresher, since Standard Oil methods stop short of nothing, not even of bribing the underlings of an adversary to destroy property and human life by means of explosions.

And when we consider opportunity for the crime, the element that comes next in importance to motive, it is evident that the strikers had almost no opportunity, while the opportunity of the mine owners' tools was perfect. What opportunity was there to plant an elaborate infernal machine under a railroad station, with connections for exploding it extending a hundred yards or more away—what opportunity could there have been for strikers to do this, when the whole place, in the hands of the company, was guarded day and night by detectives? The strikers were under surveillance. It was therefore practically impossible for them to place and explode so elaborate a contrivance as the infernal machine at Independence is described to have been. But a Standard Oil detective, or a bribed miner under the protection of such a detective, could easily have done the deadly work, and thereby have served the mine-owners' purpose.

It is by no means at all improbable, then, that the suppressed story of this explosion from Cripple Creek is true—the story that when bloodhounds were put upon the case they ran to the houses of the company watchmen, and that thereupon the attempt to run down the criminals with bloodhounds was abandoned.

The advantage which this explosion has given the mine owners over the strikers, and which could by either side have been foreseen, is clear. It has enabled them to throw down with impunity every legal barrier to the end they seek.

They have suspended the civil law; they have driven officials out of office and put mine owners' tools in their places; they

have censored a newspaper and then destroyed its plant; they have gutted cooperative stores and destroyed the goods they contained; they have arrested men in shoals and deported them from the State by scores, for nothing but refusing to join the mine-owners' union; they have governed without right or justice and slaughtered without reason or mercy. This they have done in the name of law though against the law, under the orders of the governor who obeys their commands, by means of a militia paid by them and officered by their employes, and for the furtherance of their own schemes of mine monopolization.

They have even closed a peaceably conducted competing mine, where there had been neither disorder nor a strike, driving five hundred men out of peaceable employment, and by the orders of the militia officer in command forbidding the owners of the competing mine to resume operations with any other workmen than such as hold cards from the lawless combine (presumably the Standard Oil "crowd") permitting them to work.

Here is lawlessness worse than has ever been charged to labor unions, and all the more dangerous for being done falsely in the name of law and order.

Had labor organizations been half as lawless, either in hostility to officers of the law or in harmony with them in the name of law, the newspapers of the United States from coast to coast would have rung with denunciation daily, and the primary necessity for law and order would have been iterated and reiterated in their columns.

Why, then, are the papers so indifferent to law and order now?

In the editorial pages of the Chicago papers, Hearst's and Walsh's alone excepted (and the latter is brutally frank in defending the monopoly law-breakers), the silence on this subject is painful. This silence has been broken in only two or three instances, and

then so weakly and apologetically and pusillanimously, as to inspire contempt.

A press that stands up for law and order only against a puny element of lawlessness in trade unions, not daring to demand law and order nor to denounce lawlessness when the law-breaker is the Standard Oil "crowd," is but an apology for journalism. Can it be true, as workmen in growing numbers assert, that law and order, no longer a bulwark for all, is only a luxury for the rich? Is it true that respect for law is a card to be played when the monopolists' game needs it, but to be discarded whenever it weakens their hands?

In this emergency, when their erstwhile "law and order" song has no charms for the newspapers, it is unhappily true that but little encouragement in restoring just and orderly government comes from the trade unions. Their most influential leaders seem to have no conception of the importance and magnitude of the struggle in the opening battle of which they are especially involved.

To some, the Colorado affair means only the suppression of a rival labor organization; and why should they bother about that?

To others, the sun will shine and the rain will fall as long as "business agents" can bargain with "capitalists" about trifling questions of hours and wages; and why should they get excited over the arbitrary arrests and lawless deportations of workmen whose "business agents" couldn't bargain.

To nearly all, the issue is only a "labor" issue at most, and in an emergency like this they are stunned. Pathetically they find it "a' a muddle, a' a muddle."

Perhaps the worst exhibition of the incompetency of labor organizations at this crisis was the demand, both from Denver and Chicago labor organizations, that President Roosevelt intervene. Roosevelt might be worthy of more respect if he had replied with courtesy, at least to the Denver application. The rudeness of silence, such as he has exhibited

toward the miners of Colorado who appealed to him, he never exhibits toward "business" classes when they appeal. But bad manners aside, Roosevelt is right in refusing to send troops. True, Cleveland sent troops to Chicago when the railroad combine asked for them; but he was able to say the Chicago strike interfered with the United States mails. That was a subterfuge, to be sure, but it was a plausible subterfuge. Roosevelt could have made no such excuse even if he had wanted to comply with the demand of the miners. But suppose a plausible subterfuge had been available, what is to be thought of labor leaders who invite the worst forms of tyranny by committing themselves to the theory that the President may invade a State with Federal troops whenever he wants to? Have they no notion at all of the kind of conflict in which we are all involved? Do they not realize that American liberty is at stake in the lawless use of military power against workingmen, and that if the man-on-horseback has not yet come the corporation-on-horseback is already here?

This is no mere labor fight. It is a great conflict between interests—the centralizing interests of monopoly on the one hand, and unorganized or only loosely-organized non-monopoly interests on the other.

The line between them is not yet sharply drawn, but it will be soon. At present the centralizing monopoly-interests are getting control everywhere of the machinery of government. When they shall have accomplished that, and after it is too late for the people to divest them of their enormous centralized power, then will the line be drawn; and, amazing as it may sound, then also will "business" men who are now helping the monopolists, find themselves on the nether side of the line along with workingmen.

The significant thing about the present stage of this acquisition of power and division of interests is not the explosion at Indepen-

dence nor the arbitrary arrest and deportation of Colorado miners. The most significant thing in Colorado is the lawless closing down, by soldiers under command of the centralized mining corporations, of a competing mine.

Let no one suppose that this is a partisan question. The Standard Oil "crowd" is as non-partisan as a citizens' league. Republican officials are doing their work for the most part, but that is only because Republicans are in power for the most part. Monopolists can find the necessary tools among the politicians of both parties. In the Democratic party nationally they would be as well content with your Cleverlands and your Parkers as with such Republicans as will dominate the convention at Chicago next week. In Colorado it happens that their subservient governor is a Republican, but might they not have gained the good will of a Democratic governor had one been in the chair?

Like Jay Gould in the early days of the present trend toward government of the people by and for privileged corporations, the Standard Oil "crowd" are Republican in Republican localities and Democratic in Democratic localities, but for Standard Oil interests everywhere. Significantly enough they have not yet been detected in the disguise of Bryan Democrats or La Follette Republicans. From that fact a valuable lesson might be learned by intelligent voters in both parties.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK.

Lake Mohonk, N. Y., June 4.—Perhaps the newspapers are not to be blamed for slighting the Mohonk peace conference. When a number of men, most of them men of influence in their respective communities, who gather together to ask for international arbitration pride themselves on their "practicality" and take advantage of every opportunity to insist that they are not "fanatics," "dreamers," "visionaries," it is not surprising that they are taken not quite seriously by chroniclers of the doings of the world. They were so intensely practical that while assuming to be leaders in this cause, they were forever

fearful of getting ahead of public opinion. Their chief proof of being practical was their insistence on the inevitability of war "under present conditions," one of their spokesmen who has taken part in several previous gatherings even declaring his belief that wars would continue "until God shall change the hearts of men." If such men are determined to find a scapegoat upon whom to lay the blame for the greed and lust of kings, emperors and other rulers, surely it would be more fitting and less irreverent and illogical to blame the devil. While men who affect to lead in the cause of arbitration are open fatalists, those who profit from war and warlike preparations need not worry that their business of supplying \$7,500,000 battleships and 100-ton guns will come to an end. It was not necessary to scratch very deep to find even in this "peace" gathering many who are worshipers of war. So wedded to the old idea were they that they saw nothing inconsistent in a suggestion that an international army be created to compel obedience to the decrees of The Hague court. Force, force, force! One might think that moral considerations or influences have no place in the world.

Much importance was attached to the formation during the recent session of Congress of an American section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Arbitration. The Union is said to number some 1,500 members, or about half the entire membership of the parliamentary bodies of which they are members. How intense is their devotion to the cause of universal peace and good will among the nations of the earth is seen in the fact that each of the parliamentary bodies in Europe of which these men are members is annually increasing army and navy appropriations. If anything like half the membership of European parliamentary bodies were sincerely desirous of establishing a world's peace, would they in their several bodies vote increasing taxation upon the poor to provide funds for larger and ever larger armies and navies? They cannot now, if the total membership in the Inter-Parliamentary Union is correctly stated, plead that they would reduce the appropriations for their own country if other countries would do likewise. To do that is to impeach the good faith of their fellow members in the Union.

I fear that little importance can be attached to the numerical strength of the I. P. U. for A., for its European members treated it about as seriously as the Americans do. How seriously it is regarded here, and how little it affects their official acts, is shown in the fact that although 43 members of Congress were present at the meeting in January when the American group was formed, and about 100 others subsequently gave in their names, only one other member

joined with Congressman Burton in opposing, not immense naval appropriations, but two additional battleships; while but one voice, my own, was raised against the appropriation of \$75,000,000 for a big army. You see it wouldn't do for us to show the "white feather." The European members of the I. P. U. for A. might even think we were serious in joining that body whose ostensible, but apparently only transcendental object is to do away with war. Besides, how are we to live up to our new dignity of a "world power" if we don't compete with European nations in the size of our army and navy? Duty and destiny lead us on.

It was not inappropriately a woman, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, who pointed out that the cost of one battleship such as the Iowa exceeds the total outlay, from its foundation to the present time, for Harvard college, and yet that naval officials admit that the life of one of these modern wholesale destroyers is but 13 years.

The conference was regaled with much laudation of the so-called great "civilized" powers, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary. But there was no word of commendation for Chili and Argentina for their actually doing something to minimize the possibility of war by disposing of recently constructed warships and agreeing to submit all their disputes to arbitration. As one of the smallest countries, Switzerland, is the leader among the nations of the earth in achieving the democratic ideal of self-government and has made the greatest advances in the science of government, so two of the smaller, Chili and Argentina, have taken the greatest step towards the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

It was pleasing to note that there were a few at the national conference who would not "bow the knee to Baal." One of these was Rabbi Charles Fleischer, of Boston. He insisted that the usual conception of patriotism was simply an enlarged egoism, an enlargement of individual pride. To such their country was merely "a big I." Real patriotism, he contended, is the applauding of one's own country when it stands for high ideals, but equally to applaud any other country when it stands for justice and right.

Another speech along the same lines was that of the Rev. Lyman Abbott, who pointed out that the war feeling was largely an individual matter: that so long as it was encouraged in the home, in the school, in the factory, so long would it express itself in the action of the nation; that to eliminate the possibility of war it is necessary to teach the idea of mutual respect among the individuals who compose the nation. One of the officers of the organization sub-

sequently expressed this opinion privately: "We have heard the real Lyman Abbott to-night."

The speech, however, which it is to be hoped will make the most lasting impression was that of Baron Kontari, a former member of the Japanese government, now visiting America. It must have been somewhat mortifying to those ardent patriots who imagine that America leads the world in all things, many of whom are equally ardent admirers of kings and emperors, to learn that as long ago as 1875, when Japan was making its debut among the nations of the world, upon a Chilean vessel's bringing, 500 Chinese slaves to Japan they were immediately freed, despite the protest of Chili. It should have been even less flattering to their vanity and reverence for the doings of monarchs to be told that not one European nation approved of Japan's action, but that on the matter being referred to the czar as arbitrator he declared in Japan's favor. There was a well merited rebuke in Kontari's remark that whereas he had been told that the God of the United States and of Europe had said: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," he was obliged to infer that they had misunderstood the Saviour, for they seemed to assume he meant: "Blessed are the strong, for they shall take all they can get."

If so much stress had not been laid upon the fact at the opening of the conference that a large proportion of those present were clergymen and educators, it would have been difficult to believe that any such were present. For the little that was said against war was not against its immoralities, its tragedies, its engendering of hatred and malice, its destruction of human life, its robbery of the poor to pay for its glory and tinsel, or even of its infraction of the moral law. Such opposition as was made to war was based upon its injurious interference with trade, especially with our trade with the far East, whose possibilities were pictured in alluring colors. Perhaps nothing more could have been expected if the gathering had been made up exclusively of devotees of cent per cent.; but surely something more could be looked for in a gathering of "leaders" in the cause of peace.

Not a word of sympathy for those who had lost father, son or brother; not a word of regret for the 600 or 700 lives lost in the destruction of the Petro-pavlovsk. But much laudation of heroism. Yet heroism unaccompanied with the beating of drums, the call of bugles, the tinsel and display of armies was not applauded. The truly heroic act of the D. L. & W. engineer who a week ago backed his engine through a roaring fire on one of the company's piers, and, hitching to a car at the end of the pier which contained dynamite, hauled it through flames that he well knew might

at any moment ignite the car and cause an explosion, was not even referred to. So far as I have observed this act of genuine heroism has not been recognized by the company even to the extent of a \$50 bill, although if that engineer had refused to endanger his life in going through the flames with his engine to haul that car out it must soon have exploded and would probably have wrought wholesale destruction of life and property.

So fearful were the members of the conference of taking "advanced" ground, so determined to be conservative in their handling of the subject, that I was impelled to ask them whether they really were for peace or not, insisting that it was useless to expect that the American people could come to take any earnest interest in international peace until domestic peace was had, and that this could not be so long as children were taught to worship and prepare for war in school and the States were appropriating immense sums to build armories in our cities. If they really desired international peace it seemed to me that they must set their faces against all warlike measures, domestic as well as foreign, and that we, owing to our unique unassailable geographical position, could take a position on the subject in advance of any other nation. As was to have been expected, this view was dubbed crazy "sentimentalism." The warriors present immediately jumped into the arena and insisted that so long as other nations were increasing their warlike preparations we must do the same. Thereupon this gathering of "peace" advocates applauded. When the platform was presented it was seen to contain not one word in favor of disarmament, present or prospective. I therefore urged the incorporation therein of a declaration in favor of partial disarmament as a practical step towards ultimate peace. The proposal received about as much consideration as a plea for vegetarianism would get in a den of lions.

ROBERT BAKER.

BOSTON.

Boston, Mass., 6 Beacon street, room 621, June 13.—While the recent Centenary of Richard Cobden's birth was widely celebrated in England, it elicited slight recognition in this tariff-ridden country. It was, however, observed in Boston by the American Free Trade League, in the form of a dinner at the Hotel Verdome, on the evening of June 3rd.

Charles Francis Adams, Edward Atkinson and Louis R. Ehrlich of New York, paid worthy tributes to the great leader of the Anti-Corn law agitation, vindicating the principles for which he stood. It was an earnest and uplifting occasion, the heartiest response greeting the most radical utterances.

The commemoration was exceptional inasmuch as no compromising note or disclaimer against immediate reform found expression. Mr. Adams declared himself an unreserved free trader to the extent of abolishing custom houses. Mr. Atkinson, who was not in his usual bodily vigor, yet spoke with unusual force and feeling, riddled the claim of Chamberlain that the United States owe their prosperity to the protective tariff, incidentally calling attention to the land question in Great Britain and Cobden's denunciation of the landlords. Mr. Ehrich's address was an eloquent and ethical treatment of the philosophy of the free trade movement.

Taken as a whole, the gathering was most encouraging, indicating the advance made in the twenty years since the organization of the "Tariff Reform League." At that time, when Charles Francis Adams, its first president, declared himself a free trader, the announcement was met with humorous toleration, such as would have greeted an expressed belief in the near approach of the millennium.

It was refreshing to see the cordial reception accorded John DeWitt Warner's pregnant words: "Free trade is an inalienable right—for trespass upon it, revenue is as little justification as 'protection';" a significant sentiment, as the constitution of the League which has just put him at its head draws the line at tariff taxes "except those imposed for revenue only." It is evident that the limit must be removed if the League is to do effective work on the lines of principle. While that restrictive clause is retained an excuse will always be afforded the timid and half-hearted to hold back and discourage an aggressive propaganda. It is trusted that the change will be accelerated by the accession of new members who are concerned more for fundamental principles than for present expediency or political advantage.

It is now time for the League to broaden its efforts into national and international scope. Beginning as a State, developing into a New England organization, it finally assumed the national name. It has a few Canadian and English members and will welcome more, free trade knowing no geographical divisions.

The present management, unexpectedly called to the position, have taken up the work in the faith that fresh recruits and added enthusiasm will accrue to the association. The rules of membership make no distinction of sex; women are cordially invited to participate on equal terms. The growth of the woman's movement could hardly be better served than by such economic education as is to be had in this and the inseparable and wider movement which is aimed at land monopoly.

The annual fee of one dollar entitles a member to all documents published by

the League and to any of the past publications on hand. Those at a distance could do valuable work by the circulation of free trade literature, to be obtained on application at headquarters. Besides the material aid upon which all organizations must depend, there is also urgent need for earnestness and zeal to make head against the tide of materialism now threatening the foundations of democracy and civilization. In the moral uplift and association that come from unselfish assistance in a noble cause there is exceeding great reward.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, June 16.

The amazing lawlessness in Colorado (p. 153) continues with few signs of abatement. After the censorship on the 7th of the organ of the Western Federation of Miners, the Victor Record (p. 156), the employes of that paper were driven away under threats of death by a mob acting under the protection of the militia, and under the same protection the plant of the paper was wrecked. After the attack by troops upon a labor camp at Dunnville on the 8th (p. 157), in Fremont county, a county adjoining Teller and not under martial law, an attack was made by troops upon labor union men at a place called Big Bull Hill. In these attacks the militia suffered no injury, but some of the persons attacked were wounded, one was killed, and the rest were taken prisoners. The military began deporting union miners on the 9th, and on the 10th about 75 Teller county miners, charged with no offense known to the law, were violently escorted by a detachment of Colorado militia to the Kansas line. They were there ordered out of the railroad train, which returned, and were warned to leave the State of Colorado. The militia left them on the open prairie without food or shelter, and they were met by a Kansas sheriff who ordered them back. They were finally cared for by the Salvation Army at Holly, Colo., near the Colorado-Kansas line. Further deportations were made on the 14th and there have been a large number of military arrests. Most of the persons arrested are confined by the military at the mine owners' headquarters, but

some have been taken to the county jail charged with murder in connection with the Independence explosion. Among the military prisoners against whom no charge is made is Frank J. Hanks, a lawyer and the leading attorney at Cripple Creek for the Western Federation of Miners. The regularly elected judge for the judicial district and the Teller county judge refuse to hold court in Teller county while this reign of military lawlessness continues. They explain that if they were to appear within the sphere of the military operations they would incur the danger of being forced by the Mine Owners' association to resign under threats of death, as so many other civil officials have been already forced to do.

The military on the 9th ordered the Portland Gold Mining Company (which has refused to join the Mine Owners' association), to close down its mine. This mine has not been involved in the strike and was being lawfully and peaceably operated. According to the Cripple Creek news dispatch published in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 10th—

The Portland mine does not belong to the Mine Owners' association. Last August it conceded the demands of the union and since has given employment to about 500 unionists. The mine will be allowed to reopen only with men holding cards issued by the Mine Owners' association.

Gen. Bell's explanation of this act, as given in his closing order, is as follows:

Whereas, The Portland mine, situated in said county, is, and for a long time has been engaged in employing and harboring large numbers of dangerous, lawless men who have aided, encouraged and given comfort and assistance to those who have been so guilty of said crimes and outrages, so that said mine has become, and now is, a menace to the welfare and safety of the good people of said county, and a hindrance to the restoration of peace and good order. Now, therefore, by virtue of the power conferred upon me as commander of the military forces, it is ordered that said mine be at once closed, and all persons found therein or thereabouts, who are dangerous to the community be arrested and held until further orders.

The "comfort and assistance," etc., mentioned in the foregoing recital, consisted in contributing

money for the support of unemployed miners on strike against the Mine Owners' association. The same Record-Herald dispatch further stated, with reference to contemplated proceedings in the Federal courts for injunctions in behalf of this mine that—

James F. Burns of the Portland Mining Company, in his petition for a restraining order, will also ask that the military be withdrawn from the vicinity of his property and that he be allowed to protect his men when they go back to work. The military authorities are credited with saying that when the injunction is asked for Burns will be arrested on the criminal charge that he incited riot, not personally, but by maintaining the unions in employing union laborers.

A like statement appeared in the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Chronicle of the same date. No further reports regarding injunction proceedings are yet at hand.

The regularly elected coroner of Teller county, Mr. Doran, undertook on the 9th to impanel a coroner's jury for the investigation of the assassinations by the infernal machine at Independence (p. 153), but the military authorities ordered him to desist. He had resigned his office under duress a few days before, a mine owners' mob having demanded his resignation or his life, as they had that of the sheriff (p. 156), but he insisted that a resignation so obtained was void, and for that reason was proceeding with the investigation as coroner. The military promptly forbade this, and protected in that function one George Hall, a mine-owners' representative, who had been appointed coroner by the county commissioners upon the demand of the mine-owners' mob after they had forced Doran to resign. The jury empanelled by this coroner rendered a verdict on the 11th finding that—

said explosion was exploded by an infernal machine purposely and willfully set and discharged by some person or persons to your jury unknown, for the purpose of willfully, maliciously and feloniously killing and murdering said persons and others; that said crime is one of the similar crimes designed and committed in the Cripple Creek district during the past few months and perpetrated for the purpose of killing and intimidating nonunion miners, and there-

by preventing them from working, and that said crimes are the result of a conspiracy entered into between certain members of the Western Federation of Miners, and known, incited and furthered by certain officers of that organization.

The good faith of that verdict is criticized on the ground that a jury which was unable to identify the criminal or any of his confederates could not have been in possession of sufficient incriminating evidence to indicate so definite a purpose. The verdict is therefore denounced as a mere mine-owners' statement. In an authorized statement on this subject, on the 11th Gen. Bell said:

I have indisputable evidence in my possession which will lead to the conviction of a number of union men for the murder of nonunion men who were killed in the Independence depot explosion. We have between thirty-five and forty men in the bull pen who will swing for this crime. We are only waiting to capture two or three men before we tell what our evidence is.

But the Western Federation of Miners, in a statement made on the 11th, charge this Independence crime to the Mine Owners' association.

That statement of the Federation, made officially by the executive board, is as follows:

The cause of the strike of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado is one of long standing and involves the failure on the part of mine managers in various parts of the State to live up to their own written agreements. As far back as 1884, as a result of the strikes at that time, the mine owners agreed that eight hours should constitute a day's work, that the minimum daily wage should be \$3, and that there should be no discrimination against union men in the hiring and discharge of labor. At the outset of the present trouble Manager MacNeill of the Standard mill at Colorado City, peremptorily discharged forty-five men, members of the Western Federation of Miners, for no other reason than that they had become union men. All of these were old employes of from two to six years' standing. Millmen are affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, and are entitled to all of the protection that goes with such membership. To-day the only questions involved are the enforcement of the eight-hour day, the right of men to organize in the unions and to prevent discrimination against union men of all kinds. The responsibility for the lawlessness connected with the contests rests entirely on the shoulders of the mine operators, the Citizens'

Alliance and their allies, backed up by the ready power of the State government. The responsibility has been placed on these persons and organizations by District Judge Theron Stevens, who denounced the military usurpation of Telluride in strong language from the bench; by District Judge N. Walter Dixon, Republican, who openly condemns Governor Peabody and severely criticizes his acts, involving the deportation of men from the State without trial or other chance of hearing; by ex-Governor Charles S. Thomas, who plainly points to the Mine Owners' association and Citizens' Alliance as being responsible for the many outrages committed on the persons of helpless and innocent miners; by the recent Democratic State convention which denounced in scathing terms the line of policy pursued. The events of the present week in the Cripple Creek district justify every accusation contained above. The following crimes on citizenship have followed swiftly upon one another: The resignation of Sheriff Robertson of Teller County, forced by a mob at the point of a pistol and a coil of rope; the forced resignation of Coroner Doran of Teller County, of the city marshal of Victor, of various aldermen and justices of the peace in the district, the entire official directory of the city of Goldfield; assault upon and demolition of the union hall in Victor; forcible entrance into the four union cooperative stores and destruction of the contents; destruction of the Victor Record by an armed mob; invasion of Dunningville, outside the military lines, by an armed force under military command; arrest of men at their work and incarceration within the military lines; hundreds of men confined in unsanitary bull pens; forcible shut-down of the great Portland mine, employing union men, by order of the military commandant on the plea of military necessity, and subsequent deportation of the men therein employed.

Concerning the explosion which wrecked the depot at Independence and killed sixteen unfortunate non-union miners, it need only be said that the self-confessed train wrecker, McKinney, in the employ of the Mine Owners' association, had a few days previously been released from custody at the behest of the attorney for the association, and that this same McKinney was observed going down Potts Canyon in the immediate vicinity of the wreckage only a short time after the disaster, and that the bloodhound used to follow the trail of the criminal went directly to a house occupied by a detective in the employ of the Mine Owner's association, and was promptly called off. McKinney stated on cross-examination during the trial of the union miners who were accused of the attempted train wrecking that he and other detectives said that for a money consideration he would pull spikes and wreck a train.

Photographs of marked miners re-



ferred to by General Bell, who, he claims, were marked for death, must be regarded as an invention of his own brain. The photographs in question are those of strike-breakers, and were kept for the purpose of publishing a scab list with the pictures of the men accompanying their description, so that members of organized labor all over the country would become thoroughly acquainted with these men, who have committed treason to themselves and to their class. The pictures are nothing more than the ones which those having charge of the strike in the district have publicly used for many months.

Charges that miners are not allowed to vote on questions of strike are utterly absurd. The present strike is a result of a direct vote of the unions of the district.

Absolutely no deaths have occurred during the contest for which the Western Federation of Miners can or ought to be held responsible. Some fifteen men were killed in the Stratton Independence mine through the incompetency of the men employed and the culpable negligence of the management. These men were unfamiliar with the work, and were such as this mine and other mines in the district have been compelled to employ at the behest of the mine owners' employment agency.

We are unfortunately forced to abide by the acts of an unbridled military despotism that is driving our members from pillar to post. Their fortitude under the circumstances is a marvel of the age, and shows that the Western Federation of Miners is composed of the highest type of American citizenship.

Besides issuing the foregoing statement, the Federation made the following appeal by telegraph on the 10th to President Roosevelt:

A duty devolves upon you as President of the United States to investigate the terrible crimes that are being perpetrated in Colorado in the name of law and order. We will render every possible assistance to the proper authorities in such investigation, to the end that the people of the country may realize the outrages that are being inflicted on innocent persons by those in temporary official power.

To this appeal President Roosevelt is not yet reported to have made any reply, other than is hinted at in the following news dispatch of the 11th from Washington:

It was given out at the White House to-day that the President will not send troops into Colorado in response to the plea of the miners to stop the persecution by the civil and military authorities. The President will not act

unless the legislature petitions for interference.

Several labor organizations have taken notice of the Colorado crisis. The Chicago Federation of Labor on the 12th appealed—

to the President of the United States to at once set the machinery of the government in action to the end that the working people of the State of Colorado may be given the protection which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to them; that they be protected in their right to organize and meet in peaceful assembly, and that, if necessary to enforce such condition, he send the Federal troops into that State.

This body decided also to appoint a general committee to procure legal advice and take whatever action may be deemed proper to aid the Colorado miners, and it telegraphed a long message to President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, asking him to take immediate action looking to the assembling of an emergent delegate conference of that Federation. On the same day the Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo., which claims to represent 25,000 union men, urged President Gompers to call a meeting for the purpose of devising means to settle the Colorado labor trouble, and it telegraphed President Roosevelt asking him to investigate. To Gov. Peabody it sent a telegram condemning his action as un-American, uncivilized, and barbarous. To this Gov. Peabody replied, with an assumption that the Kansas City labor body approves crime, an assumption which its telegram at any rate did not warrant. He said:

The fact that your council indorses assassinations, train wrecking and dynamiting by the lawless element in the Cripple Creek district but proves the necessity for my present action in suppressing all such from the soil of Colorado. Become wise before you attempt to teach.

The Federation of Labor of Minnesota, in session at New Ulm on the 14th, is reported to have adopted a sweeping resolution of condemnation of the action of the Governor of Colorado in the Cripple Creek mining strike, and as appealing to the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the military forces, to

compel an investigation of Gen. Bell and Gov. Peabody. At the meeting of the Illinois miners' officials at Springfield on the 15th the acts of the military authorities of Colorado were denounced as murderous, despotic and unconstitutional. Telegrams were sent to President Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, asking them to use their power and influence to bring the conditions to an end. The Allied Printing Trades Council, also in session at Springfield on the 15th, asks Gov. Yates to request President Roosevelt to take some action.

Legal measures were taken by the Colorado miners on the 15th to check the military aggressions against them. They appealed to the Federal court in session at St. Louis, for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of their president, then in military custody at Telluride, San Miguel county, and in whose behalf the Supreme court of the State had refused to interfere (p. 155). Their application was based upon the contention that Moyer is held without due process of law, that he is deprived of his liberty as a citizen of the United States, and that no specific charges have been made against him. After an argument lasting three hours the Federal judge, A. M. Thayer, granted the writ of habeas corpus. It is directed to Gov. Peabody, Gen. Bell and Capt. Wells, and commands them to produce Moyer before the Federal court on the 5th of July. As soon as this decision had been made the State authorities abandoned their assertion of military power in San Miguel county. Gov. Peabody declared martial law at an end in that county and dismissed the troops from duty there. In consequence, the military delivered Moyer into the custody of the local civil authorities, to whom the Federal writ of habeas corpus is not directed.

An important revelation regarding mine-owning interests was made by general press dispatches on the 13th. These dispatches came from New York and stated:

Official announcement will be made soon of a gigantic new combination of capital in the United States and Eu-

rope. It is nothing less than an amalgamation of all the valuable metal mines of America, and the man who is to consummate this stupendous transaction is John D. Rockefeller. Men who have some knowledge of the work going on in furtherance of the plan say the new corporation will have a par capital of \$2,500,000,000. It is expected to control absolutely the mineral output of the United States except, possibly, that of the Calumet and Hecla copper mine of Michigan.

The same dispatches allude to Standard Oil interests as controlling 70 per cent. of the producing gold, silver and lead mines of the middle Rocky mountain district. Dennis Ryan, of St. Paul, said to be one of the best known mining men in the Northwest, is quoted in those dispatches as saying with reference to Mr. Rockefeller and his plan for this great combination:

I don't know very much about it, except when he gets the thing in working shape and springs it on the public it will take people's breath away. When he discloses what he controls in the way of mines that are producing real ore he will make the mining speculators of the world wonder whether they have been awake or asleep for the last ten years.

Democratic conventions (p. 157) have been held this week in the States of Utah, Virginia, Arkansas and Mississippi. The Utah and Virginia conventions, meeting on the 10th, did not instruct, the latter refusing instructions asked for in behalf of Parker. At the Arkansas convention, which met on the 15th, instructions were ordered for Parker by a vote of 258½ for Parker to 182½ for Hearst. In Mississippi, also, and on the same day, instructions were ordered for Parker.

The most important Democratic convention was that of Illinois, which met at Springfield on the 14th. There were three strong factions here, which converged and diverged in a puzzling manner. They may be loosely described as the "reorganizer" and corporation or Hopkins faction, the Mayor Harrison faction, and the Hearst faction. Some of the Hearst delegates had been elected by means of local combinations with Hopkins at the primaries, while others had been elected in opposition to Hopkins. The outgoing State committee, which

had authority to pass primarily on delegates' credentials and to name the temporary officers of the convention, was under the control of Hopkins, who used this power to dominate the convention. His first act was to admit contesting delegations regardless of the merits of contests. He then chose the temporary chairman and refused to allow a roll call. By such means the permanent organization was arbitrarily secured, the temporary officers being made permanent by the declaration of the temporary chairman without a roll call. Harrison's faction was turned out almost bodily, and Hearst, although he had an overwhelming majority, barely escaped the loss of binding instructions for himself as the State's choice for Presidential candidate. For some reason the chairman allowed a roll call on this question, and Hearst won by 936 to 395. Following are the instructions as they passed:

Believing William Randolph Hearst, as President of the United States, would not make terms with monopolies or criminal trusts of any kind, however rich or powerful they may be, that transgress the fundamental doctrine of equal rights for all and special privileges for none; and recognizing him to be the champion of the commercial, laboring, and producing classes as against the oppression of aggregated wealth in the hands of the unscrupulous; and furthermore believing the principles of true democracy as advocated by him are in accordance with and prolong the lines of principles as advocated by Jefferson and Jackson, we instruct our delegates to the Democratic national convention at St. Louis, July 6, 1904, to vote for William R. Hearst as long as his name is before the convention as the candidate of the Democratic party for president.

These instructions, as originally presented, would have required the national delegates to vote for Hearst "as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency and to use all honorable methods to secure his nomination." But Hearst's supporters were not satisfied, and successfully insisted upon changing this clause to the words of the final clause of the resolution as adopted. All other questions were peremptorily decided without a roll call vote by the chairman's gavel; and notwithstanding his victory as to instructions, Mr.

Hearst was able to get only one Hearst supporter upon the delegation at large. This was one of his editors, Andrew M. Lawrence. His political manager in the State, M. F. Dunlap, a leading Democrat of the State, was kept off the delegation. The other delegates at large are John P. Hopkins, Ben T. Cable and Samuel Alschuler, none of whom are Hearst men.

Owing to the arbitrary manner in which the convention had been managed, two of the three leading candidates for governor refused to allow their names to go before it. One of these was William Prentiss, of Chicago. In withdrawing Mr. Prentiss said:

An arbitrary State committee has ruthlessly unseated a large number of representatives of the Democrats of Illinois fairly chosen. They have been deprived of speech in this convention, and others are occupying their seats, although without right or title. This convention, therefore, does not represent the Democracy of Illinois. Even the delegates who are seated are not permitted to vote on questions before the house. A man is in the chair who would not have been chosen if Democratic representatives had been given a voice. The delegates to a noble convention have been silenced by the gavel of one man. As a Democrat who loves his country, as a Democrat who believes in the principle that the people shall rule, I could not go before the people with the gavel stamp. If Democrats were allowed to speak, this procedure could not be tolerated. The people will not place in the gubernatorial chair one who comes forth the product of the gavel of one man. As a man who loves his country I cannot allow my name to be gavelled through or gavelled down. I've a record to conserve, and I decline to have my name presented to this convention.

The second candidate, Mayor Crolius, of Joliet, followed Mr. Prentiss, saying:

I arise to second every utterance, every sentence, every syllable, uttered by Judge Prentiss. The success of Democracy demands that law be obeyed. When men who try gavel rule and gag law have learned this lesson, then, and not till then, will the dreams of Jefferson and his peers among the party leaders be realized. I would not go home to my family with a nomination that had the stain of dishonor about it. I could not go back to the people who have honored me with their indorsement with a

nomination that was simply knocked out by a chairman's gavel.

Both declarations were received with a tremendous outburst of approval by the delegates, and it was soon after this demonstration that the chairman first allowed a roll call, that on amending the instructions for Hearst. Lawrence B. Stringer was nominated for governor.

It was announced on the 10th from Omaha that William J. Bryan has declined the offer to make him chairman of the Nebraska delegation at the St. Louis convention. But he has expressed a desire to represent Nebraska on the committee on resolutions, and it is understood that his selection for that place will be made.

Mr. Bryan is to be the principal speaker in New York on the 20th at a convention of Democrats called to oppose the nomination of Parker. Another prominent speaker before this convention will be Frederick W. Hinrichs, who was the Palmer-Buckner candidate for governor in 1896, and the Citizens' Union and Republican fusion candidate for comptroller at the recent municipal election. The convention at which Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hinrichs are to speak was originally called for the 18th, but to accommodate Mr. Bryan's engagements has been postponed to the 20th. The call for it, largely and representatively signed, makes the following explanation of its purpose:

The Albany convention was a disappointment. The platform is meaningless. The section of the State which furnishes Democratic majorities is misrepresented despite the protest of its delegates. The convention adopted an ambiguous platform and pledged the Democracy of the State to a candidate whose political views can be surmised only from the character of his sponsors. The majority of the convention registered the will of a leader who has been repudiated by the people. We warn the national Democracy that a candidate who has no principles, or does not declare them, and stands on a platform of platitudes, cannot carry the State of New York and does not deserve success. The good of the nation and common honesty require that the national Democratic platform shall express the purpose of the party clearly, and so define its policy with reference to present

issues that it cannot be misunderstood. We hereby call a convention of the Democrats of the State to protest against the action of the Albany convention and to appoint a delegation to present the views of the meeting to the national convention in St. Louis, July 6, 1904. Our purpose is solely to protest against the action of the Albany convention. The meeting shall have no authority, and is not designed to promote the interest of any candidate.

In preparation for their national convention on the 21st, Republicans are already beginning to gather at Chicago.

News from the Russo-Japanese war (p. 158) is still untrustworthy. Although there is much gossip about a long drawn out battle in the region of Port Arthur, nothing authoritative is yet at hand.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The annual meeting of Christian Scientists at Boston began on the 12th.

—Jose Pardo was elected President of Peru on the 12th.

—Manuel Quintana was elected President of the Argentine Republic on the 12th.

—Abner McKinley, brother of the late President McKinley, died suddenly on the 11th at his summer home at Somerset, Pa.

—Delegates, representing every State in the Union, were present on the 15th at the convention of the National Association of Credit Men.

—Attorney General Knox was appointed on the 9th by the Governor of Pennsylvania to fill the senatorial vacancy caused by the death of Senator Quay.

—It is announced from London, though unofficially, that Earl Grey, lord lieutenant of Northumberland, has been appointed to succeed the Earl of Minto as governor general of Canada, whose term expires in October.

—The thirty-first annual meeting of the national conference of charities and correction was opened at Portland, Me., on the 15th. The annual address of President Jaffrey Brackett, of Boston, was a plea for a wider recognition of the professional worker in the field of charity.

—The strike on the great lakes (p. 72) came to an end on the 14th after lasting six weeks. It was brought about by the surrender of the masters, who, with the pilots, have been holding out for a more uniform scale of wages for this season than had been offered them by the boat owners.

—The Delaware Tax Reform and Eco-

nomie League, an educational organization to awaken public interest in the discussion of the initiative and referendum, the municipalization of public utilities, the abolition of the tariff, and the adoption of the single tax, was organized at Wilmington on the 3rd with Francis I. Dupont, the powder manufacturer, as president.

—In the burning on the 15th of an excursion steamer, the "General Slocum," while passing through Hell Gate, East river, New York, from 800 to 1,200 persons, mostly women and small children, are reported to have been burned or drowned. The steamer carried 1,400 excursionists of the St. Mark's German Lutheran Church of New York city, of which the Rev. Geo. C. F. Haas is pastor.

—The International Women's Congress called by the League of German Women's societies began at Berlin on the 13th. There was a large attendance of women from all the continental countries, the United States and Australia. Frau Marie Stritt, of Dresden, president of the German league, opened the congress with an address, to which the Countess of Aberdeen, president of the International Council of Women, responded. At the reception at the palace on the 14th Susan B. Anthony was described by the Empress as "my special guest on this occasion."

#### PRESS OPINIONS.

##### THE COLORADO CRIME.

Chicago Chronicle (Con. Dem.), June 14.—General Bell has done all things well and the only pity is that he does not live in Chicago.

Dubuque Telegraph Herald (Dem.), June 14.—Who are the anarchists in Colorado, and who the greater menace to society—the striking miners or the corrupting corporations?

Nashville Daily News (Dem.), June 12.—The mob spirit animates the military now ruling Cripple Creek as truly as it did the striking miners. The whole situation in the Cripple Creek district is most unpleasant for Americans to contemplate, and the outlook is most discouraging.

Akron (O.) Times-Democrat (Dem.), June 11.—The issue in the Colorado mountains is not the cause alone of a few miners—however pitiable their condition. It is the cause of human liberty, of representative government, of the reign of law, of the sovereignty of the people, of the omnipotence of the ballot.

Durango (Col.) Wage-Earner (lab.), June 9.—The remedy lies in the use of the ballot. . . . By an intelligent use of the ballot relegate Peabody to the obscurity from which he emerged and to the contempt he deserves. Then by the ballot elect men to the next General Assembly who will by wise legislation change the law which makes it possible for a Colorado governor to degenerate into a despicable military despot.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), June 13.—Not one word of sympathy with or apology for any miner who has engaged in violence will be said by any decent citizen; but no such citizen should for a moment countenance the wrongful acts of the mine owners and those in conspiracy with them. Had the State government been disposed to act with an eye single to duty, enforcing law with strict impartiality, order might have been established ere now and a shameful situation averted.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), June 10.—Is the lawlessness of the union miners or

their desperado sympathizers to be cured by the lawlessness which wrecked the office of the Victor Record; by the summary deportation of men who have not been proved guilty of any offense; by the arbitrary closing of mines merely because their owners continue to operate with union men under agreements made with the unions? . . . Only by being absolutely impartial and lawful can the authorities or the citizens bring permanent peace and order to the sadly disturbed and shamefully lawless districts of Colorado.

Columbus (O.) Press-Post (Dem.), June 14.—Suppose the officials of Colorado and the so-called Citizens' Alliance had been contriving a method to injure the cause of the union and thereby strengthen their own cause, which even the most partial do not claim is strong, could any better means be found than by the commission of that dynamite outrage and the fastening of the blame upon unionists? So long as the mystery is unsolved, it is impossible to say what skulduggery lies behind the commission of the crime. That the officials of Colorado and the mine owners would not stop at killing a few people in order to make their point has been clearly shown.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem), June 9.—And this is what Republicanism means at home when it joins hands with corporations and starts in to subjugate American citizens as it subjugated the little brown men of the Philippines. Colorado is a long way off. But the despotism that is afoot there may travel fast when once fairly started.—(June 11). Anarchy reigns. And its supreme head sits in the executive chamber at the capitol. Its defenders and apologists control the plutocratic press of the United States. Its victims are the inarticulate masses who have had the hardihood to unite for protection against the relentless aggressions of monopoly and privilege.

The (Chicago Baptist) Standard (rel.), June 18.—The conservative of the affected districts, districts now proclaimed in insurrection and rebellion by the governor of the State, have arisen in pardonable wrath, and set their faces against unionism in a fight obviously to be prolonged to the death. The affiliated mine owners and members of the citizens' alliances will win, but they will not win lawfully. It is lawful to restore order by military force where civil force is inadequate; but it is unlawful to deprive a man of civil rights, of residence in the place where he may choose to reside, because he fraternizes with a labor union even, possibly with others among whom are criminals.

Butte (Mont.) Evening News.—The employees' conspiracy in Colorado is merely a land owners' conspiracy, for the whole power of those Colorado corporations is due to their ownership of valuable mining lands. . . . The Colorado militia has been used as lawlessly as any labor mob has ever been used, and a lawlessly used militia is far more dangerous to law and order than a labor mob can be. Many people have been deceived because the conduct of the militia had a few surface indications of enforcing law and order. General Bell's statement should undeceive the people who have been misled. . . . It is not law and order that the Colorado corporations want. They did not bribe the Colorado legislature to secure law and order. What they want is lawlessness and disorder that will be profitable to them.

Iron Moulders Journal (lab.), June.—If other governors should follow in the footsteps of this man, the injunction that attempts to deny certain of our inalienable rights could be cast aside as a wornout makeshift, and as the first sign of industrial discontent, martial law would be declared, all trades-union officers and active spirits arrested and confined until the wage-earners were willing to labor uncomplainingly under the conditions imposed by their employers, and we would then enjoy a government of corporations, by the corporations, for the corporations. . . . For a time they may have an advantage, their very strength may cause the timid to lose courage and to despair; but if we are true to ourselves and our fellow-men, tyrannical governors and lawless corporations can speedily be relegated to their proper sphere.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), June 10.—It is evident that under the pressure of industrial warfare long strides are

being rapidly taken in these United States towards the creation of centralized and arbitrary authority for dealing with exigencies whose arising we have not had the wit or the disposition to avert. Strikingly illustrative of this is the assumption by the courts of equity of power to make law as well as to enforce law; and equally impressive in illustration is this judicial sanction of the assumed power of the governor of a State, at his own will and discretion, to set aside the civil government and all constitutional restraints and protection for the citizen, and govern as an absolute monarch. It is matter of a disturbing character, and indicative of tendencies which should engage the attention of all men who have faith in democratic institutions, and would preserve them.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), June 11.—Owing to the shocking nature of the crime at Independence, there is a natural resort to extreme measures against the union miners. It is impossible to epithet hairs in such an emergency, and if it appears that men are coerced and deported without proof of guilt and without being given an opportunity to defend themselves, if membership in a union is held to amount to a conviction, if all union professions of abhorrence for the recent crimes are judged insincere and the ordinary safeguards of civil liberty are disregarded by those in power—all this does not mean the establishment of a permanent tyranny. It is simply the extraordinary remedy applied to the extraordinary disease, and if it should leave some troublesome complications they will be attended to later. The thing of supreme importance now is the restoration of order and the suppression of a certain kind of terrorism. Should advantage be taken of the confusion to set up a new kind of terrorism and bend the State to the selfish uses of individuals the reaction will be as inevitable as the present uprising has been.

#### ILLINOIS CONVENTION.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 16.—It is clear that the Hopkins "safe and sane" Democracy, though by means of its intrigue with its bitterest adversaries it has established itself in control of the State machinery, is even more foreign to the real spirit of the Democratic party than Lorimer and Jamieson were to that of the Republican party.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), June 16.—Every interest at stake in the Springfield convention was ruthlessly subordinated to the desire of the Hopkins-Walsh machine to control the party organization and the delegation to St. Louis. With John P. Hopkins in control of the State committee, and with such men as Robert E. Burke, John Colvin and Stanley H. Kunz as delegates to St. Louis, it would be absurd to contend that the action of the Springfield convention represented the sentiment or the wishes of the Democracy of Illinois.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), June 15.—As a result of the Springfield convention the Democratic State organization has come more completely under the control of John P. Hopkins and the sinister influence in politics for which he stands than it was before. High-handed methods sufficed to unseat delegates in large numbers without any regard for justice. The Hopkins bargain with the Hearst element, however, had to be carried out, as even the large number of bruisers with whom Hopkins had provided himself did not suffice to overawe the determined men who spoke for the aspirant for Presidential honors. To that extent the Hopkins tactics failed.

## MISCELLANY

### THE LITTLE LONELY LIFE OF HIM.

#### I.

The little lonely birth of him! He made His way to earth alone and none could aid Him with a word of cheer,  
Could reach his little unattuned ear  
To tell the waiting welcome, the soft breast  
Whereon his drooping little head should rest—

His to command by noon, or night,  
In dark or light—  
The life-milk and the bliss  
Of gaining it through the long, deep-drawn  
kiss,  
The never-tiring arms, the cuddling croon,  
How could he know that all this boon  
And benison were his, when he should win  
The harbor-passage in,  
Should reach the port of earth  
Through that tempestuous voyage men  
call birth?

#### II.

The little lonely life of him! He dwelt  
Cored in our hearts, yet only partly felt  
The love which folded him. How could we  
pour  
The rapturous lore  
Of love with which we bubbled to the brim,  
So it might also flood the heart of him?  
Our syllables and their strange ways  
Came in half-foreign phrase  
To little, unaccustomed ears, while his wee  
words  
Fluttered like baby birds,  
Untaught of flight,  
Could he know, quite,  
The meaning of the cuddling care? And  
did we reach  
Without the definite harmonies of speech  
The surest, sweetest tone  
To chord his little being with our own?

#### III.

The little lonely death of him! True, at the  
best  
All men must sup alone with the last guest.  
The sweet and sun-lit living room  
Is ever built beside the quiet tomb.  
Between them is a passage, not so wide  
That ever two may tread it side by side.  
Hard, hard! yet, groping down the narrow  
hall,  
The journeying one may hear our saddened  
call,  
Our cheering, sympathizing cries,  
Or the shared sorrow of the last good-byes  
But he, the little, wee one, could he know  
Our hearts were cloven with the woe?  
The love which glids the dark distress,  
The blossom in the wilderness,  
The one sweet in the bitterness,  
The human murmur of the moan,  
The music in the dirge men call a groan,  
He could not know. Alone! alone!

#### IV.

And is he lonely still? The dazed mind  
gropes  
Amid a labyrinth of doubts and hopes.  
The firmest-founded faith  
Melts to a misty wrath  
Up-raising, like a wild bird's cry,  
The fierce demand of "Why?"  
Nay, mock me not by saying He who gave  
Has cradled the wee body in the grave.  
God were not good to grant such gift and  
then,  
Capricious, fitch it back again.  
Life is for living. Should the lamp be  
torched  
To break it ere the wick be scarcely  
scorched?  
Lonely? Ah, only half I hope that he is  
not,  
Fearing that we who loved and love him  
are forgot.  
Selfish, I own, but love's delicious wine  
Breathes ever forth the sweet bouquet of  
"Mine!"  
Lonely? How were he else? Does not the  
baby flower  
Droop in its tender hour,

Transplanted? Thrives it in the stranger-earth

As in the native soil which gave it birth? Lonely? But in the sea of loneliness, The great sea where the tide of death's distress

Rises and ebbs and rises till the press Floods our own nostrils with its bitterness, In that sea is a Beacon, and its flame Kindles the heart of man to-day the same As in the uncounted centuries which are fled—

Faith of reunion with the loved and dead.  
—Edmund Vance Cooke, in *The Book-lover's Magazine*.

#### LET US BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN HEART IS ON OUR SIDE.

Prof. William James before the Anti-imperialist League in Boston, as reported in the *New York Evening Post* of December 3, 1903.

Our tactics in this situation would seem to be the simplest in the world. We must individually do all we can to circulate two phrases, so that the public ear becomes inured—"Independence for the Philippine Islands," and "Treat the Filipinos like the Cubans"—and we must do all we can to force the hands of both parties to a positive declaration before the next presidential campaign. The Republicans will certainly not make a declaration for perpetual retention, and every open spring from that issue helps public opinion the other way. Constant dropping wears the marble. Phrases repeated have a way of turning into facts.

I hope you have not all forgotten the great speech on "Public Opinion" which Wendell Phillips made in 1852. Read it again, anyhow, for it is full of inspiration for us here. "Hearts and sentiments are alive," said Phillips, "and we know that the gentlest of nature's growths or motions will in time burst asunder or in time wear away the proudest dead-weight man can beat upon them. You may build your capitol of granite, and pile it as high as the Rocky Mountains, but if it is founded on or mixed up with iniquity, the pulse of a girl will in time beat it down. . . . This heart of mine, which beats so uninterruptedly in the bosom, if its force could be directed against a granite pillar, would wear it to dust in the course of a man's life. Your capitol, Daniel Webster," continued Phillips—if he had been speaking here, he would have used other names—"your capitol is marble, but the pulse of every humane man is beating against it. God will give us time, and the pulses of men shall beat it down. The day must be ours, thank God, for the hearts, the hearts, are on our side."

#### UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: I notice your action in Thibet, but I'm tendin' more to my own business than I was. I guess the Japs will look after the Eastern question now, anyway. After they get well in the saddle, with 440,000,000 enthusiastic Chinese at their backs, will it be Asia for the English? I guess not. The mountain air of Thibet will be too rare for your lungs, John; and, soon or late, you'll retire.

But I'm interested chiefly in my own politics. I'm a-gettin' scared. I mistrust my Republican party has been in office long enough. I turned in with 'em about 40 years ago, and freed the slaves, and then I quit. Since then, just anybody could run it and it was all right. Anything goes. I liked the old party mighty well. In Fremont's time, and Lincoln's, it was pure and fine. It staked money and life for principle; to join it was a spiritual lift. To belong to it was to belong to the only nobility. But it's a long fall from Lincoln to Roosevelt, from Appomattox to Cripple Creek, from old-fashioned Republican principles to slaveholder principles before the war; and that's where the modern Republicans have landed at last. Blamed if it don't look to me as if I'd got to fight that old slavery fight over again, this time against the conquerors! Well, hurrah for Fremont and Dayton! Hurrah for Lincoln and Hamlin! At 'em again, boys! At 'em again! Why, it looks to me if I don't get a move on pretty soon I won't have any country, and no liberty at all. The Republicans are all gone anarchists. The sentiment of the Colorado officials, "to hell with the constitution," runs through the entire party, from the Supreme Court of the United States to Victor. If you don't believe it of the Supreme Court, read the dissenting opinions of its members, where it is charged and proven. If you don't believe it of Colorado, eat fish for more brain power. Think of the darn impudence of turning out duly elected men—men elected by a majority—and appointing sheriffs! Well, what could such fellows do with the constitution, anyway?

I'm a-growin' tired. The Republicans have muzzled the press by bribery. They have suppressed free speech. They have overthrown two republics, and divided and despoiled a third. They have disregarded treaties, and soiled the national honor. They have stained the flag of the free. They have made the rich wealthier; they have

made the poor poorer. They are lost to shame.

They have handed to the banks the money of the people, and have shared with them the spoils. They have waged a war of infernal cruelty against an unoffending people, where the command was, "Shoot all over ten," and wage it still. They pose as decent men. They have slaughtered innocent thousands, and laid taxes for the expense. The Sermon on the Mount, the charter of John, the Declaration of American independence—chief flats of human equities and rights—are all ignored. Their judiciary have cast aside the revered ermine of the court and stooped to politics and affairs. The old ideals are abandoned, the old principles of America are treated with ignominy and contempt. Root and branch, twig and leaf, flower and perfume, the old party is lost beyond redemption, seems to me. In self-defense I've got to turn it out.

UNCLE SAM.

#### HERBERT S. BIGELOW'S RELATION TO POLITICS.

From the *Citizens' Bulletin* for June 4. The *Citizens' Bulletin* is a small, clean-looking weekly paper, published by Elliott H. Pendleton at 519 Main street, Cincinnati, "for the information of all citizens who believe in a clean government and an honest and economical administration."

You have asked me why I went into politics and why I went out.

I might make short work of this subject by quoting a facetious editor who said that the announcement of my intention to step out was superfluous, because really I was never in.

I am glad, however, of an opportunity to state to the readers of the *Bulletin* precisely what my motives have been.

Three years ago Mayor Johnson announced his purpose to devote the rest of his life to politics. What was his aim? His adversaries said: "Personal ambition." I knew better.

Mr. Johnson believes that our system of taxation is fundamentally wrong. He believes that the first step toward a better system should be an amendment to the State constitution permitting the exemption from taxation of personal property and improvements. His activity in state politics has no other motive than this, namely, to secure, eventually, a State legislature which shall remove the constitutional barrier to reform in taxation.

Being in perfect accord with Mr. Johnson in this matter, I undertook, at his suggestion, to find some one in Hamilton county who would take the lead in this new movement within the Democratic party. The opposition

of the politicians of the party was anticipated. It seemed best to begin a crusade against them, for such a movement was certain sooner or later to have all the political Hessians enlisted against it.

I failed to find anyone who was willing to undertake this task in Cincinnati. Therefore, on Mr. Johnson's urgency, I undertook it myself. We fully realized the existing prejudice against the "preacher" in politics. But at the time it seemed to be "preacher" or nothing. Therefore, I suppressed my aversions for the work and decided to make a beginning. I thought of the movement as one which would last until the aim had been accomplished. But I never thought of my leadership as anything but temporary. It was our expectation that after the first few battles other men would be found to take the lead.

I feel that the time has now come when I may step back into the ranks. In some ways the elimination of my personality will be a benefit to the cause. As soon as the national election is over State issues will become paramount and the crusade for "home rule and just taxation" will be carried on, under Mr. Johnson's leadership, with renewed vigor. Another year in Cincinnati, I believe Mr. Johnson will have more friends than ever before, and the irrepressible conflict will continue here, as elsewhere, until principle prevails or the party is destroyed.

Personal ambition is a mistake. The only man who can afford to be active in politics is he who does not want office and who is indifferent to political honors. It seems to me it is the duty of the preacher to inspire such men to take an active interest in public affairs; men who, if they do not live to hear the glad voices of the reapers, will find reward enough in the knowledge that they helped to break the ground and sow the seed.

My three years' experience in politics has been worth everything it has cost. I have had a shocking revelation of the weaker side of human nature. I have also come to know men whose character and patriotism outweigh all the discouragements and leave a balance on the side of faith in man and hope for the republic.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

#### FREE TRADE A LAW OF NATURE.

A portion of an address delivered by Louis R. Ehrlich before the American Free Trade League, at Boston, June 3, 1904.

A law that is based on truth has this characteristic: It is true and applicable

universally, true at all times and in all places. If the benefits of protection are based on a true economic law, then protection must be good not only between our nation and other nations, but also between each of our States, and between every city of the continent. A cry has already been heard from Illinois and from California asking protection against the cheaper labor of other States; and that cry is simply protection carried to its logical conclusion. Protection, if economically sound, must have been good at the foundation of the republic, it must be good now, and remain good forever. This protectionists disclaim. They have clamored for aid to so-called "infant industries," with the implication that the protection would be abolished when the infant had grown to self-support. Even Alexander Hamilton, in that "Report on Manufacturers," which has been considered the Gibraltar of protectionism, said: "The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success." At that time, 1791, the iron and steel industry was already a lusty infant. Mr. Hamilton, speaking of the manufacturing establishments of the United States, says: "It is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity which surprises;" and among these he especially mentions "bar and sheet iron and steel." In the tariff then introduced this infant was contented with a duty of eight per cent. To-day, after 113 years, this same (now billion-dollar) infant needs to be sustained with protection pap enriched to a 45 per cent. solution.

Many Republican presidents have expressed the desire for ultimate free trade. President Garfield said: "I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade." President Roosevelt, less than 20 years ago, wrote: "Political economists have pretty generally agreed that protection is vicious in theory and harmful in practice." Even that president whose name was synonymous with protection, in the last speech preceding his assassination three years ago, expressed himself: "We should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past." One is tempted to inquire: "Why should there ever have been a period of exclusiveness?"

We maintain that the theory of free trade is based on a fixed law of na-

ture, the law of diversity; the diversity between man and man, climate and climate, soil and soil. We maintain that, under this law, it is economically best for each man, or each body of men, to produce that which he or they can produce to the best advantage, and to exchange these products freely and without restraint for the products of other men. We contend that this free, unimpeded exchange of product will be to the direct advantage of all parties; that it will increase the demand for labor and thereby advance wages; and that it will at the same time increase the exchange value of wages and thereby minister to the added comfort and physical well-being of the wage-earning class. We affirm that free trade is the best policy between men, between States, and between nations; that it was the best policy at the dawn of civilization; that it is the best policy now; and that it will continue to be the best economic policy until the end of time—constantly increasing the wealth of the race, bringing nations into closer and more brotherly relations, and feeding those springs of mutual self-interest and interdependence which form the best guaranty for international concord and peace. As was beautifully said by a distinguished Englishman: "Commerce is, after all, the great peacemaker of the world. Commerce is never militant. It binds us all together in links of gold, like marriage-rings."

#### "THE PLUG IN THE KEYHOLE."

An extract from the Memorial Day address delivered by Henry H. Wilson, at Monaca, Pa., May 30, 1904.

We used to believe "that all men are created free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" we used to quote Thomas Jefferson, who said that the only title to land was the use of land; yet to-day we live, move and have our being in a social system which is a reproach to men and a mockery before God, for it both preaches and practices that it is not man who robs his brother, but that it is God who disinherits His children by giving thousands of idle acres to one and not even a grave to another; that it is God who brings children into this world who must pay some other man's son for the privilege of living "in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" and that it is God's wisdom which makes some men the dispensers of God's bounty.

I have pointed to the munificence of Providence, and said that the portals of God's storehouse begged opening with the key of labor. Private

appropriation of land value is the plug in the keyhole. Labor will never get its just share of production until every employer bids against a man's ability to labor for himself. That day will be when the plug in the keyhole is drawn, by public instead of private appropriation of land value, for then will be the day of equal opportunity when every man can go to nature's store without paying tribute to monopoly or privilege.

To tax is to take, and when the public, through its authorized agents, takes this land value by concentrating all taxation on such value, it is neither repudiation nor confiscation.

It is not repudiation, because you and I, and the child born this minute, are as much the children of God as were our grandfathers, and we have never been a party to a contract or grant of land to one man to the exclusion of others, in case that grantee failed to use that land. It is beyond human power to make a grant of land that does not bear the implied condition of use. Our existence depends upon our access to land; it is our life, our liberty, and our pursuit of happiness; all these are contained in a grant of land; the barter and sale of land is the barter and sale of blood, and we have no more right to sell our land into the bondage of slavery, for they are one and the same thing.

It is not confiscation, because land value is something which comes from and attaches to people or population.

When in 1787 the commonwealth of Pennsylvania granted 300 acres to Ephraim Blaine for the trifling sum of \$210 it had little or no value, but when those 300 acres have a population of 3,000, and they become the site of the town of Monaca, they have an assessed value of \$800,000, and this value does not belong to the grantees of Ephraim Blaine, nor to the descendants of Ephraim Blaine, even though one of them was the plumed knight from Maine, but that value was created by and belongs to the 3,000 souls who live their lives, do their work and have their homes in this beautiful and busy town.

That this is the only sane and safe way to combat many ills and most remedies, permit me one illustration, remembering that man has no life apart from land. Suppose that instead of wool sheep grew clothes, that instead of leaves trees brought forth bread and meat, that instead of the busy bustle of menial service all processes of the home were performed by the silent messengers of magic;

suppose that without labor, desire, like Aladdin's Lamp, conjured up its own gratification, what then would become of the man who held no land, of you men who own nothing but your ability to work?

Yes, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that so long as the present systems of land tenures and taxation are continued, just so long will invention and the onward march of progress, with ever increasing cruelty, condemn men to the refuse heap as an incumbrance upon the earth where God meant them for the masters.

"Do you think that Judge Parker's silence is a detriment to him?"

"Well, it makes him unavailable as a candidate of the Women's Party."

G. T. E.

"I see," remarked Mr. Reedley, "that Carnegie is to give a million to the Republican National Committee."

"Give!" snorted Mr. Zharper, "don't you suppose that he expects to get it back?"

G. T. E.

BOOKS

THE DARROW ENIGMA.

Melvin L. Severy's mystery story (The Darrow Enigma. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company) is vulnerable in too many places to escape criticism or to be entitled to escape it. At some points it is fantastic; at others it is labored; frequently it is false; and now and then, as in its use of the trail of the thumb mark, it introduces the commonplace with too much of an air of novelty.

But in spite of its defects of detail, the story does stimulate curiosity and hold the interest of the reader from the occurrence of the mysterious homicide to the final explanation, through all the ramifications of mistaken theories and false scents. And that, after all, is the vital requisite of a mystery story.

Some critics have intimated that the author should have made himself more familiar with court proceedings; and, indeed, the story of the trial of an innocent suspect who has pleaded guilty does seem very non-technical. But it is probable that Mr. Severy's critics are mystified by the peculiar circumstance of a trial upon a plea of guilty. This trial is indeed informal. The author describes it, however, more with reference to results in successive stages than to details of procedure, and in that view of it the criticism is undeserved. In real life judgments in capital cases are not delivered merely upon pleas of guilty. Trials upon such pleas are required by the law, because accused men have been known to make false pleas of guilty. But trials in cases of that kind are, as may well be supposed, much less

formal than in contested cases, and the author appears to have recognized this fact. As a realistic picture Mr. Severy's trial scene would be a failure; but as part of the process of unraveling the mystery its verisimilitude as to substance is sufficient.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The American City: A Problem in Democracy.—By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price \$1.25 net. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The International Socialist Review for May is a handy reference compendium of political Socialism in the United States at the present date.

The Metropolitan Magazine has become one of the best of the light entertainers. The first story in the June number is by Anthony Hope, and is delightfully new and clever. A rich young fellow is rich from his inherited interest in a tailoring establishment, of which fact he is somewhat ashamed. On the continent he meets a charming, rich young woman. They fall in love with each other; but before any declaration, the unfortunate man hears his innamorata declare, in a burst of democratic zeal, that she would draw the line at no pursuit—except, alas, that of tailoring. He is in despair. But finally the truth comes out that she is the chief owner of a large clothing house. So the businesses are combined, and they live happy ever after. J. H. D.

The London Saturday Review in a recent article on the "German Government and Socialism" says: "As a theory socialism is accepted more deliberately in Germany than it is in any other country, and the government has responded more readily to the pressure put upon it than have the governments of other countries. Yet Germany is the most autocratic and aristocratic of all the European (Christian) nations with the exception of Russia. None of the nations who claim the distinction of possessing representative institutions in the most complete form, England, France, the United States, has done so much towards carrying out many of the ideas of socialism as Germany has done." It may be that the German socialists are after something else than to have socialism handed out by the present autocratic

The REPUBLIC of PLATO

This work, written in the fourth century before the Christian era, is the earliest and also the best of all the utopias, of all the books written to suggest the reconstruction of society on an ideal plan, without any full recognition of the obstinate economic forces that must be reckoned with in practice. In Plato's work can be found most of the utopian theories that have at various times and by various people in later ages been put forward as original.

Plato's Republic has until lately been the property of the leisure class. Most editions of it have been in the original Greek, and the English versions have been in a difficult style, suitable only for scholars, and sold at high prices.

Prof. Alexander Kerr, of the University of Wisconsin, is now engaged in preparing a new translation, closely following the thought and even the forms of expression of the original, yet written in a strong and simple English style that is easy to understand. Plato's Republic is divided into ten books. Three of these have previously appeared in Professor Kerr's translation, and the fourth has just been published. The price is fifteen cents for each part, or sixty cents for the four parts that are now ready. This includes postage.

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