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It was some time in October, 1896, and the speaker was Myron T. Herrick. Mr. Herrick has since become governor of Ohio. At that time he was the confidential friend and political coadjutor of Marcus A. Hanna and William McKinley. "I am now absolutely sure," said Mr. Herrick, "that Bryan will be badly defeated."

This was not a rough-and-ready prophecy inspired by the hopes of a partisan; it was an expression of Mr. Herrick's conclusion from facts which are only now coming to light. He made this significant remark in the course of a conversation with Mr. George A. Robertson, then and now editor of the *Cleveland Recorder*. Therefore a Republican, Mr. Robertson had served in a confidential capacity for the Republican candidate for President in the Garfield campaign, and had ever since been upon friendly terms with the prominent Republicans of northern Ohio.

Mr. Herrick and Mr. Robertson met on the street in Cleveland. The Bryan-McKinley campaign was at its height and the election but a few days off. Robertson, whose fundamental democracy had now drawn him to Bryan as in his youth it had drawn him to Lincoln, expressed supreme confidence in Bryan's election. His confidence was born of enthusiasm. Herrick also was confident, but not with enthusiasm. His manner was cold, calculating, deliberate. But it carried conviction. He had an air of hinting at facts from which only one infer-

ence would be possible were he at liberty to divulge what he knew.

This is the substance of what Mr. Herrick said in response to Mr. Robertson's expressions of confidence in Bryan's election:

I thought so myself until a few days ago. It seemed to me that the Republican campaign was going to pieces, overwhelmed by a Bryan tidal wave. But I have just come from Chicago, and what I learned there, in a conference of gentlemen, while it convinced me that my fears of Bryan's election had been well-founded, assured me that the tide is about to turn. In a few days you will find it turning full against Bryan. I am now absolutely sure that Bryan will be badly defeated.

What it was that Gov. Herrick learned at that "conference of gentlemen," and what was the nature of the "gentlemen's agreement" there concocted, may be inferred from the following statement of Mr. Thomas M. Lawson, published in *Everybody's Magazine* for July. We quote from Mr. Lawson's introduction to a series of articles he is writing for that magazine on some of the phases of American plutocracy:

I shall deal with a bit of the nation's history, in which, within a few days of the national election of 1896, a hurry-up call for additional funds to the extent of \$5,000,000 was so promptly met as to overturn the people in five States and thereby preserve the destinies of the Republican party, of which I am and have always been a member.

If Gov. Herrick would tell what he knows of that episode in the campaign of 1896, he might be as interesting as Mr. Lawson promises to be, besides being corroborative.

The Republican national convention resembles nothing so much as a mass meeting under the management of a committee of corporation directors. If the delegations had been distinguished by railroad placards in-

stead of State placards, the picture would have been realistic. The La Follette men understood the situation. "If we are beaten in the committee on credentials," said one of them, "it will be by the corporations, as we were turned down in the national committee." Continuing, he said, and every well-informed Republican knows he was hitting the bull's-eye in the center—

If beaten it will be by the man who during 30 years has been the chief lobbyist of the Northwestern railway. I mean John C. Spooner, senator from Wisconsin. Why, you can see all of the railroads fighting La Follette here. If you want to get a line on possible members of the credentials committee where do you have to go? Why, right over there in the corner and pump Alexander Mackenzie, the ambassador from the court of Jim Hill, railroad king.

What was true of the national committee and the committee on credentials was true of the convention. A more impudent display of corporation authority and humiliating exhibition of political servility was never seen even in a Republican convention. Could the convention chaplain for the first day have felt this? His prayer suggests it: "Surely Thou wilt never forsake this people. May no dominance of greed, no riot of passion, no weakening of religious conviction or enthronement of matter over spirit ever cause the people to forsake Thee. . . . We pray Thee to overrule the deliberations, conclusions and issues of this convention for the good of the American people and the welfare of mankind." It is a wise chaplain who understands a modern Republican convention.

We shall soon know whether the Democrats can match it. They have done so in Illinois, New York and New Jersey; and the one ambition of the reorganizing element

is to do so at St. Louis. Perhaps they will succeed. In Illinois John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker, through Hopkins for his Democratic lieutenant, literally owns the State machinery of the party. The delegation is under instructions to vote for Hearst while he is a candidate; but that was the cheap price Walsh and Hopkins paid Hearst to keep his papers quiet about the rough-riding tactics whereby they exacted all they needed from a convention in which they were in a hopeless minority. One purpose of this forcible reversal of the primaries by methods which included the unseating by the gavel of whole delegations whose seats were not contested, was to deliver Illinois to Cleveland, who is Walsh's choice. But back of that there lay a local purpose. Walsh is scheming for corporation legislation, to be secured through a Democratic-Republican ring—for Walsh is bipartisan when he chases the merry dollar. Fortunately his Republican lieutenant failed him, though not intentionally, and an anti-ring candidate for governor was nominated in the person of Deneen. Scores of thousands of Illinois Democrats, who have learned through the bold action of the ring at the Illinois convention that Hopkins's leadership means corporation control, will vote for Deneen. Their double object will be to rebuke their own convention boss, and to make sure of a veto for any corrupt corporation bill which the Walsh-Hopkins-Lorimer ring may work through the legislature.

In all this, Hearst exhibits a pitiful figure. So intent was he on getting an "instruction" for the Presidential nomination, so fearful it might slip through his fingers, and so ready to swap everything for this compliment, that he lost such an opportunity as seldom comes to any man for proving his right to leadership by leading. A large majority of that convention would have followed him against the Hopkins dictatorship as well as the Harrison machine,

and he could have had, not only "instructions," but a friendly delegation, a friendly State ticket, a friendly State organization with only a ludicrous rump convention to protest, and the prestige of having redeemed Illinois Democracy from corporate dictation. That opportunity Hearst swapped for a chromo for himself and a place on the delegation at large for one of his office boys. What would such a weakling do in a national crisis?

When Professor Sumner, of Yale, announced over twenty years ago, that incorporated capital was becoming more and more indispensable, John S. Crosby, now of New York, marveling at the optimistic complacency with which Sumner and others seemed to regard those excrescences upon the body politic known as private corporations, took occasion to write in substance that they were indeed indispensable to the rapid accumulation of the enormous fortunes then beginning to pile up. He added the prophecy that the time was not distant when every industry would be controlled by its corporate magnate as railroads, telegraphs and petroleum already were, and when the price of labor would be adjusted by dominant and pooling corporations. That prophecy has come true. The condition it foretold obtains now except in so far as the counter but unincorporated organization of wage earners has withstood the corporate assaults upon the price of skilled labor. Every industry and all the products of industry are virtually controlled by the trusts, or great corporations. The question heard on every hand now is, How shall we control these "indispensable" accessories to modern industrial progress? For few even now venture to criticise their conduct without first gingerly disavowing any and all such heresy as is involved in questioning their assumed necessity and supposedly benign mission. Instead of taking so much for granted, is it not time for some one to point out why private corporations are indispen-

sable, wherein they are beneficial to the public, and by virtue of what legitimate function government presumes to grant corporate privilege? Can natural competition ever obtain among unnatural or artificial persons?

How thoroughly plutocratic the Philippine conquest was is "given away" by that ultra-veracious newspaper correspondent, William E. Curtis, in a recent letter from Manila. Mr. Curtis explains, with graphophonic fidelity no doubt, why American capital has been so much slower in making investments in Philippine monopolies than was expected. American capitalists fear that the Filipinos will not be as docile as we Americans, under plutocratic dominion. That is rather uncomplimentary to American public spirit, to be sure, but Mr. Curtis writes:

There is not the slightest doubt that plenty of capital will be offered, and all the transportation facilities needed will be promptly undertaken in the Philippine islands whenever an assurance can be given that authority will not be turned over to the natives and investors placed at their mercy. . . . Of course no one can anticipate the action of Congress, but there is not the slightest probability that the Philippine islands will ever be declared independent or that the natives will be given sufficient control of affairs to endanger any investments that may be made here.

So the truth about the Philippines is leaking out by degrees, often through such unexpected apertures as Curtis's letters, and fools who read as they run may become aware thereof. The object of subjugating the Filipinos by the military power has been to turn the monopolies of their country over to the plutocratic wizards of Wall street. A great hullabaloo was raised over the friars' lands question. Yet the friars got those lands through the voluntary concessions of their converts to Christianity. But now railroad franchises and lands are to be turned over to the Standard Oil "crowd" and their confreres; and to perpetuate this iniquity vested rights guarantees are de-

manded, not only against independence but even against an autonomy that might endanger titles to American monopolies in the islands.

True words were those of a New Jersey vice chancellor in a speech at the State Bar association at Atlantic City on the 17th. "The world is living," he said, "in a state of international lynch law, where might makes right and where the biggest army and the biggest guns rule." International law has gone out of fashion and national hold-ups have taken its place. Chancellor Stevenson honors the thing too much when he calls it lynch law; for lynch law is a crude method of doing justice, whereas this thing is undisguised freebooting.

But this lynch-law state, as Chancellor Stevenson stigmatizes it, is not international alone. It is rapidly becoming domestic. When our plutocracy threw democratic principles to the winds in order to play at empire in the Philippines, they opened the way to playing at empire in Colorado, and the game there is going merrily on. The owners of the Colorado mines own the State (p. 163), and free speech, free press, private property and personal liberty are no longer secure without a certificate from the mine-owners' union. Even Denver papers have had warnings. Under the influence and coercion of the mine-owners' organization, Senator Patterson's papers, the Times and the News, are facing an advertisers' boycott for having opposed gubernatorial and military lynch law. Fortunately, Patterson is not disposed to yield the freedom of the press, and a fight is being waged by him in his papers which may prove to be a tocsin of revolt against government by and for monopoly corporations.

If it be true that bloodhounds, when put on the trail of the miscreant who caused the dynamite explosion in Cripple Creek, Colo., by which a dozen non-union miners

lost their lives, followed the trail to the houses of watchmen for the mine-owners, then W. J. Ghent ought to change the title of his Independent article from: "The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism," to: "The Present Step: A Benevolent Assimilation, a la Filipino," and alter the text accordingly.

**"WORTHY OF SOME CONSIDERATION."**

The following editorial observations of the Iron Trade Review of May 26, 1904, are peculiarly worthy of consideration at this time:

The advisability of protecting prices in all possible advances would be more easily defended were it the fact that such high prices are maintainable over long periods, so that the consumptive trade could be adjusted to the conditions. This is not the case. Every great upward or downward swing in iron and steel prices leaves many manufacturing consumers with enormous losses because they have been unable to keep their purchases and sales in parallel grooves. Finished iron and steel products are in general but the raw material of other manufacturing processes, and those who are engaged in such later manufacturing operations have some grounds for the complaints they sometimes diffidently make, that protection to the producers of rolled iron and steel and less finished products actually works out, in periods of price inflation, as an absolute and artificially produced injury to themselves. That the trades which consume such iron and steel products are worthy of some consideration can be seen by comparing the value of goods containing iron and steel in the form in which it finally wears out with the value of such iron and steel in the form in which it leaves the iron industry proper.

It may be noticed that the writer of the foregoing quotation draws the line of economic class division between those who own the sources of raw materials and those who use them in making finished goods. That he does not consider the interests of those who "wear out" the goods is manifest, for he says that: "The advisability of protecting prices in all possible advances would be more easily defended were it the fact that such high prices are maintainable over long periods, so that the consump-

tive trade could be adjusted to the conditions." No objection whatever to the monopolist of raw material—the natural source of supply—being "protected in all possible advances" of price, if by any means "such high prices" could be "maintained over long periods," so as to enable the "manufacturing consumers" to adjust their "purchases and sales to parallel grooves." But there's a screw loose somewhere with the deplorable result that many manufacturing consumers are subjected to "enormous losses," both going and coming.

Surprising, isn't it?

But let us have patience; The "historical school" of economists will possibly hazard a surmise as to the (under some imaginable circumstances) hypothetical cause of the phenomenon some time within the next few thousand years. It is never wise, you know, to "jump to conclusions."

True, a casual observer might imagine that the "iron industry proper," i. e., that branch of industry that mines, smelts and shapes raw materials for the manufacturing consumers, enjoys an enormous advantage in the monopoly of the sources of supply. A man unacquainted with Comte might speculate somewhat after this fashion:

A few men own all the available mines and all manufacturing consumers must buy of them or quit business. They might buy of Europe but for the fact that the monopolists of the American mines are protected by a tariff as follows:

Pig iron.....	\$4.00
Billets .....	6.72
Rails .....	7.84
Structural .....	11.20
Sheets, gauges 21-25.....	17.92
Sheets, gauges 26-32.....	24.64
Tin plate.....	33.60
Wire, gauges 14-16.....	33.60
Wire rope.....	50.40
Wire nails.....	11.20
Cut nails.....	13.44
Scrap iron and steel.....	4.00

Trade activity, on the upward swing of the industrial pendulum, is so great that the manufacturing consumer does, in spite of this tremendous tariff handicap, buy large quantities from abroad. But the manufacturing consumer has no monopoly. He pays a monopoly price for his raw materials,

and sells his product at a competitive price. The monopolist gets all the benefit of the protective tariff. The manufacturing consumer enjoys no protection whatever in the tariff. He simply collects the amount of the tariff from the purchasing public and hands it over to the monopolist of raw materials.

The tariff on raw materials is added to the price of the home product, and the manufacturing consumer pays the amount in the price of what raw materials he buys, and it goes into the price of his finished product, just as does any other element of cost, the consumer paying the bill.

The manufacturing consumer cannot get any benefit from a tariff on the class of goods that he produces, unless he be protected by some sort of monopoly, as by patent or other special-privilege right. Where competition prevails it will tend as strongly to modify the profit margin on protected goods as on any others.

Competition does not ask what is the cause of a profit margin; it only asks: Where is it? and attacks it at sight, if it exceeds the normal profit mean. Competition never attacks prices—it attacks nothing but the margin of commercial profit. If it be answered that, in times of industrial decline profits disappear and selling price falls below cost, I will answer that is not competition; it is business wreck.

Competition does not attack price; it attacks the profit margin only. He who produces a thing at a lower cost than anybody else, ceteris paribus, may defy the competition of the world; unless his selling price is above the cost line of some competitor. If his profit margin be so small as to permit his selling price to fall below the cost line of his competitors, he will have the field to himself; for competition does not pay any attention to price, whether it be on a high or low level, but to profit only.

It is only where domestic competition is eliminated that protective tariffs benefit; and they benefit here only because they eliminate the competition of the foreigner.

I repeat, the tariff does not ben-

efit the American capitalist whose business lies in the competitive field, because home competition will affect the rate of profit in a tariff-protected industry precisely to the extent that it will in a non-protected industry.

It is because of this that "every great upward or downward swing in iron and steel prices leaves many manufacturing consumers with enormous losses because they have been unable to keep their purchases and sales in parallel grooves." They buy in a monopoly market and sell in a competitive market. They are the cat's-paw of the monopolists. Their competition with one another results in enriching, not themselves, nor general society, but the monopolist of raw materials.

Of course they cannot keep their purchases and sales in parallel grooves. Monopoly grooves and competitive grooves run on different angles as a matter of course.

Does the manufacturing consumer imagine that the monopolist of raw materials is in business for the sake of his health?

The monopolist of raw materials does not intend to destroy the manufacturing consumer (though it is within his power to do it at any moment), because that would injure himself. But he does intend to squeeze out of him all that the traffic will bear; and sometimes, being fallible, he squeezes this monopolist too hard, with the result that the "upward or downward swing in iron and steel prices leaves many manufacturing consumers with enormous losses."

The editorial quoted above says:

That the trades which consume such iron and steel products are worthy of some consideration can be seen by comparing the value of goods containing iron and steel in the form in which it finally wears out with the value of such iron and steel in the form in which it leaves the iron industry proper.

This is purely and simply a piteous cry for mercy on behalf of the "trades which consume such iron and steel products"!

To whom is the appeal addressed? Who is it that is thus admonished that "the trades which consume such iron and steel products are worthy of some con-

sideration"? Who else but the monopolists, who hold the price of "iron and steel products"—raw materials to the manufacturing consumer—so high as to absorb all benefit of the protective tariff, and, further, as to leave a pitifully meager commission to the manufacturing consumer for his strenuous efforts in collecting it. In other words, the agent of the monopolist, namely the manufacturing consumer, is pleading for an advance in his wages.

To repeat another part of the quotation at the head of this article:

Finished iron and steel products are in general but the raw material of other manufacturing processes, and those who are engaged in such later manufacturing operations have some grounds for the complaints they sometimes diffidently make, that protection to the producers of rolled iron and steel and less finished products [the Steel Trust] actually works out, in periods of price inflation, as an absolute and artificially produced injury to themselves.

It would seem, then, that the competing manufacturers are beginning to recognize the fact that protection to the products of the steel monopoly is sometimes injurious to themselves. It is to be hoped that, standing upon such vantage ground, slight though it is, their expanded vision will reveal to them the fact that the margin of profit in monopoly is at all times susceptible of sufficient expansion to enable it to absorb the full benefit of all protective tariffs.

A "protective" tariff enables monopoly to add the amount of the tariff to the price of its product, because that product can be procured only from the domestic monopoly or from his foreign competitor. The alternative of the buyer is to pay the foreigner's price, plus the tariff, or to buy from the monopoly at a price equal to the foreigner's price, plus the tariff. And no matter which he buys from, the whole of the price paid is an element of cost, pure and simple; and the margin of profit to the manufacturing consumer will be determined by the greater or less intensity of competition in the subsequent manipulation of the materials. And as this competition does not relate to price levels, but to profit margins.

its tendency is to reduce all profit to a common level, without the remotest reference to the character of the various elements of cost.

The monopolist adds the amount of the tariff to the price of his product, thus augmenting cost to the manufacturing consumer and correspondingly curtailing the purchasing power of the final purchaser—the public.

The tariff benefits the monopolist because it harms everybody else, including the "manufacturing consumer."

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.**

**PITTSBURG.**

Pittsburg, Pa., June 19.—During tax assessment time this year the Pittsburg newspapers gave considerable space to the protests made by representatives of corporations whose holdings in franchises, such as the lighting companies, telephone companies, and others, have been subjected to a higher valuation for taxation. The demurrers of the corporations' legal representatives afforded a fine exhibition of squirming and word jugglery, and gave a new significance to the saying that language was invented to conceal thought. Over in Washington county, where many thousands of acres of coal lands are held out of use, the tax commissioners disturbed the serenity of the holders by raising the assessment on these idle acres to the same rate paid on operated land. Nearly all of the Washington county coal land is owned by Pittsburg capitalists, and in this city early in April the county tax commissioners gave a hearing to the attorneys of the different companies. The briefs of the lawyers showed how humorists had mistaken a calling and unwisely entered an already crowded profession.

A summary of all the arguments against the levy is that these thousands of back-lying acres, being far removed from the lines of transportation, and under ordinary conditions of supply and demand would not, for 10 or 15 years, come within the productive zone, the injustice of the new valuation would at once appeal to the honorable commissioners. With indignation running riot, the legal men told the commissioners that more clearly would be understood the real outrage of such an inequitable levy when they were informed that these lands "held in reserve" had been purchased at prices less than one-fourth paid for lands operated, and when one alert commissioner inquired why so much land was held "in reserve," he was told there

was no necessity for its being opened and made productive! The commissioners were really alarmed, it is believed, when they were informed that the imposition of this new tax meant the closing up of mines, throwing thousands of men out of employment, and the paralysis of Washington county's prosperity, and, further, that negotiations now pending for the purchase of several thousand more acres (also to be held in reserve) would be abandoned. As a final appeal, the legal humorists recited the injustice which would be done to a large number of "poor farmers" who were holding their coal land, and who would to a large degree be most sorely oppressed by the proposed tax. Widows and orphans and the poor farmer is the large shield in the armory of monopoly.

Apropos of Pittsburg's social condition, a circular letter issued to club women of this city and Allegheny City by the "Permanent Civic Committee of Women's Clubs of Western Pennsylvania," is certainly not optimistic, and not in accord with Congressman Olmstead, he who recently said on the floor of the House of Representatives, while the Quay collar rested heavily upon him, that there was not an able-bodied man in the State of Pennsylvania that could not command a wage of two dollars a day. The circular letter, in part, is as follows:

In every great city there is, of necessity, a large class of poor people, who live in filth and squalor, under most wretched conditions that are demoralizing alike to body and soul; conditions that affect not only those immediately surrounded thereby, but, to a lesser degree, but none the less surely, the whole community. In that amid such surroundings are generated contagious diseases that spread throughout the whole city, and among such people are found the bulk of our criminal classes. Pittsburg, being the great industrial center that she is, attracting to her doors day by day thousands of the lowest of foreigners, is necessarily the possessor of greater numbers of these poor and ignorant classes, of wider areas of filth, noisome plague spots, than most any other city in our country, and yet she has done less towards the correcting of such evils than almost any other city of her size in the land.

The well meaning women composing the organization with the high-sounding name believe that the only means of lifting up these "lowest of foreigners," is by means of personal cleanliness, and an appeal is made to the public for \$100,000 with which to build and equip public baths. It is presumed that these women have noticed that, according to the newspapers, 5,000 of "these poor and ignorant classes" from beyond the sea have but recently arrived and taken up their residence in this district.

In one of my former letters brief mention was made of the little regard in which human life is held in this district. The growth of crime in these

valleys (and crime and vice is rampant throughout the commonwealth) has simply appalled the authorities of Allegheny county. It is seldom that from the pulpit comes a warning voice, and because it is exceptional the following extract from a recent Sunday sermon, delivered by a leading clergyman, is noteworthy, for it was entirely devoted to the subject of "Why Pittsburg is Filled with Violence." Prefacing his discourse with the statement that "if our good people should get all the facts as to the evils that abound in Pittsburg they would be horrified beyond expression," the speaker continued:

Our laws for the suppression of crime are disregarded and the police act more as if they were heathen gods than men, for they have eyes and see not, and ears have they, but they hear not. The Lord's day is turned into a day of traffic and carousing. The saloon, that hotbed of every kind of vice and crime, is compromised with for a certain sum of money, and we compound with felony. As we sow, so shall we reap! It is amazing the indifference that prevails. Our boys and girls are regaled with the vilest of police publications and we wonder that they take to evil. Surely, there ought to be a decent effort, at least, to enforce good laws, if we have regard for the future of our city. I do not know that the situation here is worse than in other great centers of population, but it is frightful in the extreme. The record in this county since the beginning of 1904 is 11 murders in 15 weeks; 286 met deaths by violence, while the assaults and crimes in various forms would almost fill a volume. No amount of explaining will change the fact that a dreadful condition of society exists, and demands the attention of all serious people.

That's Pittsburg, a city where more beer and whisky are consumed in a year than in any other city in the world, excepting none. And it is in this same city, too, where Mr. Carnegie has established the headquarters of the commission which shall dribble out a pitiful dole of dollars and award trinkets in the name of athletic heroism. Out in Homestead is an army of heroes daily giving up their lives in sweat and blood, to make possible the payment of interest on Mr. Carnegie's bonds.

For some weeks a reign of terror existed at Garrett, a little mining town in Somerset county, this State. Outrages upon human rights were being perpetrated and the laws were temporarily prostrate. The idea of the authorities appears to have been to let the parties to the conflict fight it out between themselves, subject to subsequent responsibility for their acts. There was an armed force guarding the mines and an armed mob on the outside threatening attack. The army of invasion was reported to be in possession of the town, and men armed with rifles and shotguns were patrolling the streets. In the mining regions of this State this condition of affairs has become chronic. The only special feature of the Garrett insurrection, which for the hour attracted gen-



eral attention, was the firing of a striking miner's little home and the death in the flames of the miner's wife, three of her children and two grandchildren. The crime is charged to some of the imported workmen who have taken the strikers' places.

At Garrett was enacted the same tragedy witnessed almost yearly in this State.

It is a simple matter to trace the cause. Every large corporation in this Commonwealth, with rapacious greed, has steadily encroached upon the just demands of workingmen. The organization of labor in self-defense has furnished excuse for employers to fill strikers' places with imported laborers. For, while the swarms of immigrants who have come to this State in the past 15 years have not been under contract to work in mines and mills, their presence has been availed of with the greatest eagerness by mine operators and the beneficiaries of the Protective system. The freedom with which thousands of the so-called pauper labor of Europe have been admitted to our shores gave to such immigration a greater impetus than would have existed under a free right of contract. Fifteen or twenty years ago it was the exception to find other than American-born men engaged in mining coal and in varied industries. Now the rule is reversed, and the payrolls of mine operators, where the number or check system is not used, read like the pages of a Slav directory. In this studied employment of the foreign laborer the protected industries especially have shown their wonderful solicitude for the protection of the American. And so 'tis a truth that Protection has proved an open Pandora's box. Here in Pennsylvania, perhaps, is the real falsity and infamy of the whole system of Protection more apparent than in any other State of the Union. Only because of the mental enslavement of men could such a monstrous absurdity exist. Absolute Free Trade in men who must compete with others for a day's wage; for the products of labor barriers erected against their admission because our great industries must be protected! It is, then, clear why a steady influx of a cosmopolitan flood into this State and into other States is causing with greater frequency the signs of a great social disease. These natives of Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Poles, Russians and all branches of the Slavonic race soon turn against corporate greed, and there is re-enacted, with greater intensity, the revolt of humanity against injustice. In view of the complacency with which the administration views the proposition to import coolies to dig the Panama canal, it would not be surprising to have Baer et al. requisition the government for the services of the Asiatics, should any survive the pestilential climate of the Isthmus.

In this great center of human activity,

where might rise an imperial city, a city whose name, synonymous for all that made for civic righteousness and true happiness and prosperity, would be known wherever the American flag is floated, the great tragedy of life as we know it in our present state of civilization is presented in all its hideous forms. It is not always a pleasure to record the truth, and if this crude picture of existing conditions is shaded darkly, it is for the reason that the palette has been scanned in vain for pigments of a brighter hue.

JAMES A. WARREN.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, June 23.

The event of the week is the Republican national convention (pp. 157, 171), which opened at Chicago on the 21st.

Prior to the convention's meeting the national committee prepared the roll of delegates for the temporary organization, and for that purpose passed preliminary judgment on contests. In a Delaware contest the committee decided in favor of the followers of J. Edward Addicks (vol. v, pp. 312, 378), usually distinguished in newspaper reports as "Gas" Addicks. This decision was sustained by the committee on credentials, afterward appointed by the temporary organization of the convention. In the Louisiana contest between the organization of white Republicans ("lily-whites" as they are called by their rivals) and the organization of white and black Republicans ("black-and-tans" as they are called by the other faction), the national committee decided against the "lily whites," but the credentials committee of the temporary organization partly reversed this action by admitting both delegations with half a vote for each delegate.

The most important contest was that from Wisconsin (p. 119)—most important alike in magnitude and political significance and possibilities. This fight is between the supporters of the old Republican machine or "stalwarts," led by Senator Spooner, and the followers of Gov. La Follette, whom the "stalwarts" call "half-breeds." The contestants were the "stalwarts," and they were accorded on the 17th the Wis-

consin seats in the temporary organization by the unanimous vote of the national committee. When the contest came before the committee on credentials on the 21st the La Follette delegation submitted a written statement of their case, which contained the following declaration:

The national committee did not examine our record or appoint any sub-committee to do so, but at the close of the argument, immediately decided the contest upon the conflicting and wholly contradictory oral statements of counsel for the respective parties. An examination of these records and evidence "would at once have disclosed the fact that every material claim advanced by the attorneys of said contesting delegates was without any foundation in fact." The conduct of the committee in deciding the contest immediately without examining the records or any of the credentials of delegates made it clear that the case had been determined by them in advance of its presentation. We now find on the credentials committee a number of gentlemen who as members of the national committee were most active in their support of the cause of the contesting delegates. Other members of said credentials committee, as we are credibly informed, have expressed themselves in favor of the contesting delegation, while every member of the credentials committee, as we are informed, has been approached in advance of the hearing for the purpose of securing a determination of the contest in favor of the contesting delegates. Believing, in view of the foregoing, that it would be futile to present our cause before this committee, we prefer to rest it with the Republican voters of the State of Wisconsin for their determination.

Thereupon the La Follette delegation returned to their homes. A sub-committee of the credentials committee entered, however, upon an investigation of the case and in accordance with its report the whole committee reported to the convention rebuking the La Follette delegation for impeaching its integrity and declaring in favor of the regularity of the "stalwarts." Only a small scattering vote against this report was heard in the convention. In an interview on the 22d, Lieut.-Gov. Davidson, of Wisconsin, stated that the question will be carried to the people of Wisconsin, who know that—

the influences which combined to shut out the representatives of the majority of the party in Wisconsin were: First,

"senatorial courtesy," because of the personal relations between the 26 senators who were on the floor and Senator Spooner; second, congressional fear, inspired by Mr. Babcock, who dispenses the funds of the Congressional committee; third, the post office clique, consisting of the army of postmasters under the leadership of Postmaster General Payne; fourth, the combined railroad influences of the country, which to the last one are arrayed against Gov. La Follette, because he demands that they treat the people justly.

The convention was called to order on the 21st by the postmaster general, Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin, acting chairman of the national committee. He introduced as chaplain for the day the Rev. Timothy P. Frost, pastor of the First Methodist church of Evanston, Ill., who made the prayer. Mr. Payne then nominated as the temporary chairman selected by the national committee, Elihu Root, ex-secretary of war, of New York, whose nomination was, upon motion of Gov. Odell, of New York, unanimously accepted by the convention. Mr. Root made a long and carefully prepared speech of acceptance which, it is reported, is designed for use by the party as the keynote document of the campaign. At the close of this speech the committee decided to admit two delegates from Porto Rico and six from the Philippines, the latter, however, to have but two votes. Without further business, other than the announcement of committees, the convention adjourned for the day.

The second day's session began on the 22d with prayer by the chaplain of the day, the Rev. Father Thomas E. Cox, an assistant pastor at the Roman Catholic cathedral in Chicago (who is also a well-known disciple of Henry George). Permanent organization was then effected with Joseph G. Cannon, speaker of the House of Representatives, as permanent chairman.

The principal work of the convention on the second day was the adoption of the platform, and the most important feature of this business was its disposition of the tariff question. In the committee on resolutions that subject was the only one that elicited any considerable discussion, and the

tariff revisionists were voted down. The only concession to them was the declaration that with changing conditions tariff schedules should be readjusted; but this was coupled with the proviso that readjustments must always be in the interest of protection. As adopted by the convention the platform recites at length the accomplishments of the Republican party in the 50 years of its existence; compliments the administration of McKinley and Roosevelt; charges the Democratic party under President Cleveland with refusing to enforce Republican laws against trusts, and claims to have enforced those laws since superseding the Democratic party in the government; characterizes protection as "a cardinal policy of the Republican party," the measure of which "should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad," and, insisting upon the maintenance of protection, demands that rates of duty "be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands these alterations," a work which "cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party;" calls for reciprocity treaties "consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor or any American industry;" renews its party's pledges to the gold standard of money; advocates ship subsidies; favors a navy powerful enough to defend the Monroe doctrine and guard our commerce and people; declares for Chinese exclusion, the civil service law, liberal pensions, international arbitration, and protection of citizens abroad; favors such Congressional "action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited," and if such is the case demands "that representation in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States;" and asserts that combinations of labor and of capital "when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither

can be permitted to break them." Although a delegation of Republican women appeared before the resolutions committee and asked for a plank favoring "the submission by Congress to the various State legislatures of an amendment to the Federal Constitution forbidding disfranchisement of United States citizens on account of sex," there is no clause in the platform favoring woman suffrage.

No other business of importance was done at the second day's session except that a decision was made as to the status of Hawaii. Territories are allowed 6 delegates with one vote each; "possessions" are allowed from 2 to 6 delegates, but with only two votes for the whole delegation. Thus, New Mexico has 6 delegates with 6 votes, while Porto Rico with 2 delegates and the Philippines with 6 have only 2 votes. In behalf of the Hawaiian delegation it was contended that Hawaii is a Territory and not a "possession," and is therefore entitled to 6 votes. But the convention, by a roll call vote of 497 to 490, decided otherwise. So Hawaii, while allowed 6 delegates, was accorded only 2 votes.

Democratic conventions (p. 170) have been held in Louisiana, which instructed for Parker on the 20th; in North Dakota, which refused on the 21st to instruct for any candidate; in Vermont, which refused on the 22d to instruct for Parker; in Texas, which instructed for Parker on the 22d; and in Minnesota, where the convention, though organized on the 22d by Hearst's supporters, refused to instruct.

The situation with reference to instructions for Democratic candidates (p. 105) is now as follows:

Hearst—	Delegates.
Arizona .....	6
California .....	20
Florida .....	10
Idaho .....	6
Illinois .....	54
Iowa .....	26
Massachusetts .....	6
New Mexico .....	6
Nevada .....	6
South Dakota .....	5
Washington .....	10
Wyoming .....	6
Total .....	164
—	
Parker—	
Arkansas .....	18
Georgia .....	28
Connecticut .....	14

Indiana	30
Louisiana	18
Mississippi	20
New York	78
Tennessee	24
Texas	36
Total	266
Oney—	
Massachusetts	26
Wall—	
Wisconsin	26
Gray—	
Delaware	6
Uninstructed—	
Alabama	22
Colorado	10
Kansas	20
Kentucky	26
Maine	12
Michigan	25
Minnesota	22
Montana	6
Nebraska	16
New Hampshire	8
North Dakota	8
Ohio	46
Oklahoma	8
Oregon	8
Pennsylvania	68
Rhode Island	8
South Carolina	18
Utah	6
Vermont	8
Virginia	24
West Virginia	14
Total	384
Contests—	
District of Columbia	6
New Jersey	24
Total	30

William J. Bryan spoke on the 20th at the anti-Parker conference of Democrats (p. 171) in Cooper Union, New York. This conference was called to order by Melvin G. Palliser, and was presided over by Samuel Seabury, one of the judges of the City Court of New York city. In addition to Judge Seabury, Mr. Palliser and Mr. Bryan, the speakers were J. W. Forest, Albert J. Boulton and Frederick W. Hinrichs. The auditorium was full of people and thousands are reported to have stood in the surrounding streets vainly endeavoring to gain admittance to the crowded hall. The conference adopted resolutions wherein Judge Parker's majority for chief justice of the Court of Appeals in 1897 is explained on the ground that the name of his opponent did not appear on the ballot of the Citizens' Union in New York city, and he is described as "the candidate of tariff beneficiaries, imperialists, monopolists and those who profit by special privileges and seek to uphold them as vested rights." The conference warned the national con-

vention against nominating Parker. In the course of his speech, occupying an hour and a half in delivery, Mr. Bryan said:

I believe, according to statistics, the platform upon which I ran in 1900 received in this state 124,000 votes more than Judge Parker received the last time he was a candidate for office in this State. And therefore I think I am entitled to say that I have some evidence that the doctrines we cherish in the West are not so unpopular in New York State as some would have you believe. . . . I am glad to speak on this platform with one who has disagreed with me on some questions. I am not at all ashamed to stand on this platform with one who in 1896 opposed my election to the Presidency. It does not lessen my opinion of Mr. Hinrichs' honesty that he should have openly opposed me. I respect him a good many times more than I do the man who opposed me secretly. The influence that Mr. Hinrichs had he cast against me openly. The influence that David B. Hill had he cast against me secretly, lacking the courage to come out in the open. Late in the Fall of the year Mr. Hill wrote a letter to a Republican in this State and stated that he had not then decided what he himself would do; that, while he was a Democrat, he had not made up his mind. His refusal to say one word to indicate what he would do cast every influence he had against instead of for the ticket. Now this gentleman who speaks here to-night as a representative of those who differed with us on the money question agrees that there is a great issue running through all these questions. I agree with Mr. Hinrichs that the great question in this campaign is not the money question, nor the trust question, nor imperialism, nor any other of those questions, but it is the question as to whether we shall have a plutocracy or a democracy. . . . I charge that while Judge Parker has concealed his views from the mass of the people, he has made known his views to the people who are putting up the money to push his candidacy. On the 18th of this month Harper's Weekly had an editorial which brags of the success Judge Parker and his friends have met without letting his views be known. . . . Harper's Weekly says that Judge Parker's strength is due to the adroit work of Mr. Belmont. If you will look at the contract Mr. Belmont got while Mr. Cleveland was President you must know that he gets a good consideration for his work. Would he do so adroit work for a man and not know his views? . . . Do you suppose the man who lends money with such careful security is going to lend money for this campaign without knowing that

he is going to get the goods after the campaign is over? The Democrats of this country are honest. Will they look favorably on a candidate that adds hypocrisy to his other sins? Hypocrisy, because a man who tells you that judicial ethics prevent him from taking the public into his confidence and then takes into his confidence these men who are adroitly managing his campaign, is a hypocrite in all that the word implies. If Mr. Parker dealt honestly with the Democrats of this country he would say to Mr. Belmont as he has said to the farmer and the laborer, "I cannot talk to you, as my lips are sealed by the office I hold." But if he had said that, he would never have been proposed for the nomination by any New York newspaper or any of the men who are backing him to-day. A man who discloses to the money magnates his inner conscience and views and then pretends that he cannot lower the dignity of the bench by taking the public into his confidence I denounce as one who does not deal honestly with the people from whom he expects support.

After Gov. Peabody, of Colorado, had released San Miguel county from military occupation, upon the granting by the Federal Court at St. Louis of a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, and Moyer had consequently been delivered by the military into the custody of the civil authorities at Telluride (p. 169), he was transferred by those authorities on the 18th to a secret service agent of the Mine-Owners' Association and transported to Cripple Creek, where the military are still in control. The charge upon which he is held is participation in an explosion in the Vindicator mine, Nov. 1, 1903, which resulted in two deaths. On the 21st he was arraigned before a justice of the peace at Cripple Creek—one of the appointees in place of a regular justice forced under the military occupation to resign under threats of death. The charge preferred against Moyer was murder. He was prosecuted by Deputy District Attorney Crump, attorney for the Mine-Owners' Association, who was thrust into his office as prosecutor by mob action under military protection.

Military usurpation by Russia in Finland has provoked the assassination of the Russian gover-



nor-general, and brought on a condition which looks much like a popular revolt. In the process of the assimilation and Russification of Finland (vol. v, pp. 40, 234, 490, 502, 600), Count Bobrikoff, the governor-general, has been exceedingly drastic in his methods. As Russian officials describe him "he was personally haughty and austere and ruled firmly but justly." Unofficial dispatches from St. Petersburg say of him:

Lieut. Gen. Count Bobrikoff has been described as the most hated man in Finland. He was appointed governor general of Finland in 1899, when the Russification of Finland began. His measures for carrying out the Russian policy were necessarily severe. He abolished the Finnish army and compelled Finnish soldiers to serve in any part of the empire. He made Russian the language in all courts, and decreed that at the end of five years only Russian should be taught in the schools. When the citizens assembled to protest he dispersed them with Cossacks armed with knouts. He suppressed 150 Finnish newspapers. The last recorded act of Gen. Bobrikoff was in March of this year, when he issued a proclamation forbidding the people to darken their windows at "unusual hours." People who chose to go to bed before ten o'clock at night were subject to heavy fines. This step was due to the neglect of the Finns to illuminate their houses in honor of the beginning of the war with Japan.

His assassination occurred on the 16th, while he was entering the Finnish senate at Helsingfors. The assassin was Eugen Schaumann, a son of the Finnish Senator Schaumann. Two of Schaumann's bullets caused slight wounds in the neck and chest. The third penetrated the abdomen and necessitated a serious operation. The wounded governor-general was sent to St. Petersburg, but it was stated that his wounds were mortal. He died at 1 o'clock the following morning—the 17th.

The following letter, published in the Aftonbladet at Stockholm on the 20th, is said to have been sent by young Schaumann to the Czar. The published copy had been forwarded by Schaumann, so the Aftonbladet explained, to a friend not in Finland, with the suggestion that this was done because the writer doubted if the original would ever be allowed to

reach the Czar. The letter as published reads:

Sire:—Through the Senate, which is obedient to Bobrikoff, the latter has succeeded in creating lawlessness in Finland. Through lies and false representations Bobrikoff and Plehwe (minister of the interior) have induced your Majesty to issue ordinances incompatible with Finnish laws, which you promised at your succession to guard firm and unshaken. The best officials of the state have been removed without trial in favor of fortune-hunters and others ineligible to state offices under Finnish laws, and your most intelligent and truest subjects have been banished. Plehwe, whose duty it is to report to your Majesty all matters concerning the grand duchy of Finland, is not a Finlander, has no knowledge of Finland's laws and customs and has common interests with Bobrikoff. Therefore your Majesty does not get true knowledge of the real situation. As it is not probable that the real situation will be known to you in the near future unless Bobrikoff be removed, there is only one way to take in self-defense, and that is to render him innocuous. The remedy is violent, but it is the only one. Your majesty, I have done my deed alone after mature deliberation, and in the moment of death I swear there was no conspiracy. Knowing your good heart and good intentions, I implore solely that you seek information regarding the whole Empire, including Finland, Poland and the Baltic provinces. Signed with the deepest veneration, your Majesty's humblest and truest subject,  
Eugen Schaumann.

It was reported from Copenhagen on the 20th that information had been received there of a revolt in Helsingfors, the capital of Finland. A band of Swedish revolutionists were reported to have sacked the offices of the governor-general on the 18th and killed eighteen employes, including a son of Admiral Pinken. They were also reported to have demolished the police offices, and it was believed that the revolt would spread. More serious news is anticipated, but all information was suppressed in official quarters.

The reports of fighting in the Russian-Japanese war (p. 171) are becoming intelligible, although nothing quite definite is yet at hand. While not relaxing their command of Port Arthur on the land side from Nanshan hill and the region of Kinchow (p. 134), the Japanese have made an aggressive movement northward to prevent the relief of Port Arthur by the

Russian army in their rear. In the course of this movement they fought a battle on the 16th, under Gen. Oku, at Vafangow, between Kinchow and Newchwang, in which they completely routed the Russians under Gen. Stakelberg. He had intended, according to his own report, to attack the Japanese right flank, but just as his troops were beginning their attack the Japanese fell upon his right flank with superior forces, and he was compelled to retreat to the north. His losses were heavy, but they are not yet reliably reported. According to Japanese reports the Japanese troops hung close to the rear guard of the retreating Russians, in a desperate effort to encircle the Russian right wing. This object seemed on the point of being accomplished when a violent thunderstorm, which broke in the middle of the night, choked up the roads that lay between the two armies and checked the advance of the Japanese. Freed from harassing pursuit the Russian army was enabled to retire gradually toward Haitchen; but it is announced from St. Petersburg that a sanguinary battle was in progress at that point on the 20th, and that the Russians were retreating still farther northward to Liaoyang. This is denied, however, by the Russian general staff at St. Petersburg; although there seems to be no doubt that severe fighting was taking place on the 21st at least as far north as Kaichow.

A rush out of Vladivostok under cover of night has been made by three Russian cruisers, which have since destroyed three Japanese transports, with a loss of life to the Japanese of about 900 out of 1,500. The transports were the Hitachi, the Idzumi and the Sado; the Russian cruisers were the Russia, the Gromoboi and the Rurik. At latest reports the Russian cruisers had not returned to Vladivostok, but neither had their whereabouts been discovered by the Japanese.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The fifth annual automobile race for the James Gordon Bennett cup was won on the 17th by a Frenchman, Thery, who made 348 miles over a difficult and dangerous course in Ger-

many in 5 hours, 50 minutes and 3 seconds—almost a mile a minute.

—Paul Morton, son of the late J. Sterling Morton, a member of President Cleveland's cabinet, has been offered the post of secretary of the navy in President Roosevelt's cabinet and has declined it.

—The annual convention of the national order of leather workers on horse goods, in session at St. Louis on the 21st, adopted a resolution condemning the State officials of Colorado for their action in connection with the troubles that have grown out of the miners' strike, and decided to give all the assistance possible, both financial and otherwise, to the miners.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 90) for May shows on hand May 31, 1904:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash.....	163,287,515.82
Total .....	\$313,287,515.82
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1903.....	\$284,394,275.78
Decrease .....	\$71,106,759.76

—In making plans for the history of industrial democracy in the United States (vol. vi, p. 794) the production of which he is superintending, Prof. Richard T. Ely purposes to include a history of the single tax movement. He is therefore asking contributions of periodical literature bearing on that subject, to be sent to Wisconsin university, Madison. He is assisted in this work by Prof. John R. Commons.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see vol. vi, p. 810) for the 11 months ending May 31, 1904, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for May, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M ..	\$1,397,516,720	\$969,457,644	\$428,059,076 exp.
G ..	79,539,442	94,169,075.02	14,230,221 imp.
S ..	45,087,068	24,977,041	20,110,027 exp.
	\$1,422,543,230	\$1,028,644,348	\$463,898,882 exp.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 90) for the eleven months ending May 31, 1904, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff .....	\$239,422,386.73
Internal revenue.....	211,773,065.32
Miscellaneous .....	42,104,838.42
	\$493,300,290.47
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$178,308,913.06
War .....	107,569,780.58
Navy .....	53,809,075.02
Indians .....	9,631,196.33
Pensions .....	122,094,335.92
Interest .....	24,218,796.00
	\$545,577,071.51
Deficit .....	\$52,271,841.04

The item of civil and miscellaneous expenses is swelled by payments to the Panama Canal company and to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition company, of an aggregate of \$54,600,000.

PRESS OPINIONS.

ROOSEVELT AND PEACE.

The Nation (Ind.), June 9.—Commissioner McParland was almost ludicrous, at the Lake Mohawk Arbitration Conference on Thursday, in urging the election of President Roosevelt as the best way to expedite arbitration treaties. What we really want to know is, not whether Mr. Roosevelt believes in arbitration, but whether he believes in peace.

COLORADO CRIME.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), June 17.—The deportation of citizens from Colorado and the appeals that have been made to the national Executive to protect banished citizens in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights are causing President Roosevelt considerable uneasiness. In justification for his failure to interfere, the President cites the Constitutional provision that requires a call from the Governor or the legislature before the Federal Executive may send troops into a State. . . . If conditions were changed—if it was a "Bloody Bridles" Waite that was deporting mine owners and forcing Republican officials to resign with threat of being lynched it would be different. Then there would be a dozen different provisions in the Constitution that would demand that the President interfere.

(Omaha) World-Herald (Dem.), June 17.—Under the Constitution and in accordance with American principles, the Peabody government of Colorado, operated as it is to the partisan advantage of the mine owners and trust magnates who corrupted the Colorado legislature, is an official mob. Those who are so ready to condemn every lawless act charged to the Colorado workingman, while they have nothing but praise for the lawless acts attributed to the Colorado authorities, should pause and consider whether the greatest danger to society lies in the official mob that may be readily put down by the strong arm of the law, or in the official mob composed of strong and determined men representing, for the moment, the authority of the Commonwealth, but acting as partisan guards for one of the parties to a great controversy.

THE DRAMA.

"The 'Playgor' of the Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 19.—Students of sociology might find profit in turning their attention for awhile from the manner in which people live to the manner in which they amuse themselves. If they did they might find that the stage mirrored nature in a remarkable way, although hardly as the adage intended. Perhaps they might reach the conclusion that the theater, like politics, cannot lift itself above the level of the public of its day. They could not, in any event, avoid the discovery that the theater of to-day is a reflection of to-day's public. Vice versa—and here is the meat for the sociologist—the public may be judged on the theatrical standard it has created. Finally, the formal handing down of such an opinion might bring about the happy result of inducing to ineluctable silence the writing squadron which harps continually upon the dramatic power of the stage. Also, it might end the useless pleading of the band of theorists who want a national theater, who want dramas no one else desires, and who mourn and mourn because they do not dent the wall of public sentiment. It is true that the stage is poverty stricken of great ideas; it is true there are no signs of a coming light, and it is true that the heaven of the theorists would be a beautiful heaven. But the public is well content with its earthy fare, and for that reason will continue to be given what it wants. Managers, as a composite body, have a keen sense of public taste. So after all, the public has to stand all the blame.

PENALIZING OPINIONS.

The (London) New Age (Rad.), June 2.—There is no suggestion of illegality in the treatment to which Mr. Turner has been subjected. The mere holding of certain speculative opinions is regarded as disqualifying a foreigner from receiving permission to enter the United States. The principle once admitted may be developed to any required extent. Probably in another generation it will be a ground of exclusion that a man has blasphemed Rocke-

feiler or holds heretical, unspoken opinions of the Standard Oil Trust. Here in England we are invited to enter upon legislation which would open the door to similar facilities. Mr. Turner's experiences should enlighten us as to the aims of those who are furthering the Alien Immigration Bill.

THE POVERTY OF THE POOR.

The Churchman (rel.), June 4.—Some startling facts were presented at the conference of the C. A. I. L. by its tenement house committee. Out of 512 families investigated by Dr. Daniel, of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, one in a little less than eight lived in rear houses, though these have been legally forbidden for years; two-thirds (377) lived in houses with dark halls; only 40 in houses where the halls were really light. But one of the houses could be reported as in really good condition; 22 were in moderately good repair; 255 dirty and out of repair. The earnings of these families averaged \$3.81 a week, and of this they paid almost exactly half, \$1.86, for rent. The number of persons in a family averaged 4.26, so that there was left after paying rent, 46 cents for each person for food, clothing, heat, light and rest.

MISCELLANY

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

For Thé Public.

What's the score? Five to four.  
Every time it is the same  
When the Court, Supreme by name,  
Says with a judicial "no,"  
"Constitution doesn't go  
With the flag." No jury tries  
Man who looks with longing eyes,  
Toward the coast of Washington  
From the despot's Isle Luzon.

What's the score? Five to four.  
Five against the rights of man;  
Four that claim the blood that ran  
For the cause of freedom meant  
That to all the testament  
Of equality should be  
Truth and tangibility;  
Meant that then and evermore,  
Naught to mine should be the score.

G. T. EVANS.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

HE APPROVES OF FACILITATING PUBLIC, OPEN-AIR SPEAKING.

Max Hayes called upon Mayor Johnson yesterday afternoon to urge him to provide more adequate platforms for open air orators on the public square this summer. Mr. Hayes is of the opinion that the impromptu rostrums which served last summer are altogether inadequate. The Socialist party, of which Mr. Hayes is a leader, last summer utilized the square every day for the promulgation of doctrines. They intend to follow the same programme this summer, and ask for better facilities.

"I believe," said Mayor Johnson, "that every facility should be provided for this speaking on the square. I shall take the matter up with the park department, and it is probable that good substantial stands will be provided for the speakers."—Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 11.

**"THE YELLOW PERIL."**

"Talking about the yellow peril, did you ever stop to think about the people of Japan seriously?" asked a man who thinks well of the Flowery Kingdom. "If you have not it would be well for you to look into a few things before you make up your mind on the issues involved in the struggle now being made in the far East. For instance, here is a thing I take from Japanese verse of about the eighth century:

SHE.

"While other women's husbands ride  
Along the road in proud array,  
My husband up the rough hillside  
On foot must wend his weary way.

"The grievous sight with bitter pain  
My bosom fills, and many a tear  
Steals down my cheek, and I would fain  
Do aught to help my husband dear.

"Come! Take the mirror and the veil,  
My mother's parting gifts to me.  
In barter they must sure avail  
To buy a horse for thee!

"But listen to what the husband  
says in response to this noble offer:

"If I should purchase me a horse,  
Must not my wife still sadly walk?  
No, no! Though stony is our course,  
We'll trudge along and sweetly talk.

"Now, what do you think of that for a yellow peril? What do the men and women of this beautiful and altogether delightful country think about the people who would thus regard the sacred relationship which ought to exist between the husband and the wife? I will not press the question. At any rate there is no such thing as a yellow peril when you come to think of it. Firstly, here is a man who was considering his wife in an affectionate way, in a section of the world where we did not expect to find it. But mark you with what nobility she met the issue.

"Take the mirror and the veil,  
My mother's parting gifts to me.

"This is no small offer for a woman to make. She loves the mirror and the veil. She will love them more if they are her mother's parting gifts. Yet there is somehow ample compensation in the refusal and the promise of the husband:

"We'll trudge along and sweetly talk.

"My dear fellow, the Jap is not a heathen. He is very far from it. He is probably farther from it than we dream at times. At any rate let us forget the yellow peril."—N. O. Times-Democrat.

**RENT LESSONS IN ST. LOUIS.**

An extract from editorial correspondence from the St. Louis exposition, in the American Machinist of June 2, 1904.

Exhibitors declare with practical unanimity that the expense of main-

taining an exhibit here is much greater than at any other of the great exhibitions of modern times. Men are here who have had the experience upon which to base comparisons. Whether this is more than would be accounted for by the general advance in the cost of living that has taken place during the past few years, it is difficult to say; but it is quite certain that expenses here are considerably higher for the same grade of accommodations than they were at Chicago or at Paris. President Francis, speaking at the Press Congress, told how much money the citizens of St. Louis had subscribed for the fair, declared they did it from patriotic motives, and did not expect a cent of it back. Those of them, however, who happen to be in a position to charge visitors for things they need are getting a few cents back in that way. Hotel keepers in the western portion of the city will, without the blink of an eye, ask you \$6 a day for a room without bath or running water—a room dear at \$2 a day in New York city. This of course is a detail of the general rise in rents that has taken place and which is working real hardship to many St. Louis citizens. A friend of mine living here told me of one case of a man who had been paying \$60 per month rent for the house in which he lived. The rate has been raised to \$175 per month, and the man declares he can do no better than to remain and pay it. This increase in rent is, of course, representative of St. Louis' present guess as to the value of opportunities to get money out of visitors to the fair. There are those who think that the guess is too high and that there will be a slump. The value of the opportunity will of course decline toward the end of the exhibition, but some of those who are at present paying the higher prices are anxiously wondering whether or not the decline will be to the former level; especially workmen and others employed in the city whose incomes are fixed, or practically so, and who have no opportunity to get at the visitors' pocketbooks but must pay just the same as though they had such opportunity.

**NATIONAL COLLECTIONS OF OBLIGATIONS BY BOMBARDMENT MUST CEASE.**

An extract from a letter written by Hon. John Sharp Williams to the New York World, published in the World of June 3. The World had called Mr. Williams's attention to the following quotation from a letter written by President Roosevelt under date of the White House, May 20, and read at the Cuban banquet by Mr. Root:

"Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendliness. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with decency in industrial and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, then it need fear no interference from the United States. Brutal wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may finally require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the western hemisphere the United States cannot ignore this duty."

**JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS WRITES:**

The most absolutely indefensible thing which the president says, in the quotation which you send me, is this: "If a nation pays its obligations, then it need fear no interference from the United States." The necessary inference is that if a nation does not pay its obligations, then it must "fear interference from the United States."

This is the most absolutely reckless, unsafe, and I had almost said, insane, utterance that has ever been attributed to a president of the United States. I cannot believe that the president said it. You must have misquoted him.

As far as individuals are concerned criminal procedure for the collection of debts has been abolished in all civilized countries. Dickens made the people of England and of the world ashamed of imprisonment for debt. Now comes along the president of the most enlightened nation of the world and intimates that it is the duty of that nation to resort to interference whenever a nation in the Western Hemisphere refuses to obey its obligations.

What would the interference be? Why, if serious and if resisted, it would result in the bombardment of cities, landing of troops and killing of men, besides rendering women and children houseless. "Imagination of poet, madman or lover" never went further than the imagination of the acting president, when he says, if he does say, that it is the duty of the United States to make of itself a universal national collecting agency; if he meant the same simply to apply to people of the Western Hemisphere, then an American hemispheric collecting agency.

The truth is that commercialism ought to be taught a valuable lesson, to wit, that if it chooses to do business in unsafe countries, without stable institutions and among semi-barbarous peoples, it does it with its eyes open, it takes its own risk, and the armies and navies of the world, especially those of the United States, maintained by taxing the people, cannot be used as constables,

without warrant or other process, for debt collection purposes.

If I choose to buy Dominican or Venezuelan securities or permit Hayti or either of the other countries to run in debt to me, it may be that I am a fool from a business standpoint, but my folly does not entitle me to have my debts collected by the navy and army of the United States, and the government of the United States ought not only not to place itself in that attitude, but it ought to go further and announce to the world that, so far as the hemisphere of America is concerned, at any rate, collection of money obligations by bombardment must cease. If a private individual killed another because that other had fraudulently incurred a debt which he refused to pay, we would hang the individual who did the killing.

#### THE TIRED MAN'S PRAYER.

The following is a portion of a sermon delivered at the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, June 19, 1904, by the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow.

"Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest." Psalms 55:6.

So long as the world remains what it is, life, for men of conscience and sympathy, must be serious business.

It is pleasant to lie on the shore, watch the stately sails and dream of groaning argosies and distant lands. But the sailor has a truer view of life who knows the sickening monotony of the beating sun and the breathless sea, or who has heard the straining of the timbers, and has seen the waters open like a grave before the floundering ship.

The housekeeper, harried by a thousand cares; the factory worker, distracted by the ceaseless din; the business man, haunted by fears of failure; countless thousands, goaded by daily needs to relentless toil, behold the distant hills from their prison-houses and cry in their hearts: "Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest."

Last Sunday night a young man came to me who until two weeks ago had been employed in a Cincinnati factory. He was one of many who had been laid off because of sagging trade conditions. Every day for two weeks he had looked for work. While he could keep himself neat and clean he had hope. But his last penny was gone and there was nothing with which to pay for clean linen or baths, food or shelter. "Do you think," said he, "that it would be wrong for me to take my life?"

He stood at the parting of the ways. One road led to crime. The other led

to beggary. Which should he take? But wait! There was yet another road; the road of self-destruction. Might he not take that to save himself from the other two?

The battle was going against this young man. His desperation had half-crazed him. He had come to understand the Psalmist's cry: "Oh, that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest."

Look at the faces of these men, standing all the day idle in the market place. Think of the places where they dwell. See the sickly children and the sad old men. A spear of grass will not grow here. The flowers that are planted sicken and die. The deafening noise of the streets, the gagging smells from the gutters, the carousals in the grogeries, staggering men, swearing women—alas, what a civilization! This is what a certain editor calls "our social cellar."

This hurrying, haggling, hateful city—what will become of it? Will some social Vesuvius bury its shame? Will this voiceless despair one day find a Marat and a Robespierre? Or will it sink ignobly into the dust of ages, unconscious of its chains?

Whatever its fate, any man who tries to save it will be taught by his experience the meaning of the Psalmist's prayer: "Oh, that I had the wings of a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest."

But wings did not come in answer to the Psalmist's prayer. Neither did he organize a colony and bury himself in the wilderness. Apparently he stayed in the fight. He kept the faith. In spite of all his doubts and discouragements, he hoped and labored on.

Whether he lived to see the fruits of his labor we are not told. But whatever the external results may have been, he felt that in hoping when others despaired, and in fighting when others fainted, he had won a moral victory which was worth to him all it cost. His manhood, at least, had never suffered defeat. At the end he could say:

He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle which was against me.

#### COLORADO LAW.

Extracts from an editorial in the Denver (Col.) Daily News of June 15, 1904.

The News has not attempted to assail the decision. It has not even hinted that it is not the law. It has plainly accepted it as the law, for hath not the court so decided? All it did and all it will do is to make clear what the court says is the law when it comes to the Governor declaring that

an insurrection exists, whether it does or not, and his arresting and imprisoning citizens without charge, to be bereft of habeas corpus and trial by jury and to be kept imprisoned until it suits the pleasure of his excellency, the Governor, to call off the insurrection.

The Governor and Sherman Bell are working out the clear intent and meaning of the Moyer decision every day since it was rendered. Having declared Teller county in insurrection, they seize citizens by the hundreds, not alone federation miners, but tailors, shoemakers and lawyers, and throw them into a common prison, to later (separating them from their families) deport them at the points of bayonets and the muzzles of guns, into other States, with the direst threats against their lives should they venture to return. Take the case of Hangs. Hangs is a splendid young lawyer, zealous, faithful, unpurchasable and not to be terrified. Because he stood by his clients and quite sparingly exercised some of the rights of American citizenship, Peabody and Bell decided that to suppress "insurrection" he also should be cast into jail, probably to be deported; and what can Hangs or anybody else do about it? . . . Should Hangs apply for release under habeas corpus, what must the court do under the Moyer case? Simply reply, when the Governor filed his answer setting up this insurrection proclamation: "This court can't look into the question of an insurrection, for the Governor has said there is one; and whether you have done any wrong or not we can't inquire, for Sherman Bell says you have, and that's the end of it. True, there is no charge against you, and the courts are open in the county, yet you have no right to a jury trial nor relief through the writ of habeas corpus until the Governor shall withdraw his proclamation of insurrection—which may be to-day or may not be for a year—so back to prison you must go. The courts can give you no relief."

Take the miners who are being forcibly deported. That they are deported is proof positive that they were neither principals nor accessories to the Goldfield explosion. If they were they would be held in prison instead of being sent out of the State. Should they apply for relief from the courts they could get none—for they were arrested in a county declared in a state of insurrection, and the courts are powerless until the proclamation is withdrawn. Both Peabody and Gen.

Bell boastfully proclaim that they are proceeding within the law as declared by the Supreme Court, and who will say they are not? . . .

Sherman Bell issued a proclamation charging that the Portland mine was harboring lawless and insurrectionary persons and ordered his troops to close down and take possession of the mine. This they promptly did, and the mine is now in possession of Bell. All this has been done under the authority of the Moyer decision.

The News is quite willing to admit that Bell is not what a good many charge him with being—a lawless, free-booting, roughriding, tyrannical swashbuckling militiaman. He is doing what he has a right to do under the decision of the Supreme Court. It is true, his judgment may be at fault and he may abuse his discretion, but that is not a matter that the courts can in any way control. So long as he maintains that what he does is necessary to put down the "insurrection" no court in Colorado can obstruct his course.

#### BEFORE THE PANAMA LARCENY. AMERICAN NATIONS MUST RESPECT EACH OTHER'S RIGHTS.

An extract from the speech delivered by Theodore Roosevelt, then Vice-President of the United States, at the formal opening of the Pan-American exposition, Buffalo, May 20, 1901, as found at pp. 233-235 of "The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses," by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: The Century Co., 1902.

To-day on behalf of the United States I welcome you here—you, our brothers of the North, and you, our brothers of the South; we wish you well; we wish you all prosperity; and we say to you that we earnestly hope for your well-being, not only for your own sakes, but also for our own, for it is a benefit to each of us to have the others do well. The relations between us now are those of cordial friendship, and it is to the interest of all alike that this friendship should ever remain unbroken. Nor is there the least chance of its being broken, provided only that all of us alike act with full recognition of the vital need that each should realize that his own interests can best be served by serving the interests of others.

You, men of Canada, are doing substantially the same work that we of this republic are doing, and face substantially the same problems that we also face. Yours is the world of the merchant, the manufacturer and mechanic, the farmer, the ranchman and the miner; you are subduing the prairie and the forest, tilling farm land, building cities, striving to raise ever higher the standard

of right, to bring ever nearer the day when true justice shall obtain between man and man; and we wish god-speed to you and yours, and may the kindest ties of good will always exist between us.

To you of the republics south of us, I wish to say a special word. I believe with all my heart in the Monroe doctrine. This doctrine is not to be invoked for the aggrandizement of any one of us here on this continent at the expense of anyone else on this continent. It should be regarded simply as a great international Pan-American policy, vital to the interests of all of us. The United States has, and ought to have, and must ever have, only the desire to see her sister commonwealths in the western hemisphere continue to flourish, and the determination that no Old World power shall acquire new territory here on this western continent. We of the two Americas must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise we will make it understood as a cardinal feature of our joint foreign policy that, on the one hand, we will not submit to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power, and that, on the other hand, among ourselves each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that, instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all strive upward in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder.

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE DOES NOT SANCTION ACTS OF AGGRESSION BETWEEN AMERICAN NATIONS.

An extract from the speech delivered by Mr. Roosevelt, then Vice-President, at the Minnesota state fair, September 2, 1901, as found at pp. 289-290 of the above cited work.

There is not the least need of blustering about [the Monroe Doctrine]. Still less should it be used as a pretext for our own aggrandizement at the expense of any other American state. But, most emphatically, we must make it evident that we intend on this point ever to maintain the old American position. Indeed, it is hard to understand how any man can take any other position, now that we are all looking forward to the building of the Isthmian canal. The Monroe Doctrine is not international law; but there is no necessity that it should be. All that is needful is that it should continue to be a cardinal feature of American policy on this continent; and the Spanish-American states should, in their own interests, champion it as strongly as we do. We do not by this doctrine intend to sanction

any policy of aggression by one American commonwealth at the expense of any other.

#### A REPORT FROM THE SEAT OF WAR.

An interview with Mr. Loftin Johnson, of Cleveland, published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 8, 1904.

A sojourn of three months in the Orient as a special war correspondent gave Loftin Johnson opportunity for a careful study of the conditions existing among the Russian and Japanese armies that are engaged in a struggle to the death over Manchurian territory. Mr. Johnson has just returned to his home in this city after a half year in the East, three months of which time he was with the Russian army.

"You people at home," he said last night, "really know about as much about the war as we did on the other side. The press censorship is so strict and the limitations placed upon a correspondent are so numerous that it is only by the exercise of unusual ingenuity and physical bravery that a news writer is able to secure the 'copy' his editor at home demands.

"When I arrived in the East, I went at once to Tokio where I hoped to be able to attach myself with some column bound for the front. The Japanese placed a positive prohibition on correspondents, so our party did the next best thing and crossed over the channel to join the Russian forces. We were permitted to travel as far as Newchwang where we were bottled. Twelve correspondents were in the party and on only one condition would the Russians permit us to join the army bound for the seat of war. That condition was that we would stay with the army until the conclusion of the war, whether that lasted two years or ten. Three of the American correspondents, including Middleton, of the Associated Press, and three foreign correspondents assented to those terms and are now with the Russian forces in the field.

"In my opinion, there is little hope for ultimate Japanese victory. They have neither the wealth nor the resources in men to prolong the struggle for many years. On the other side, the Russians have unlimited resources and they are capable of prosecuting the war for 50 years if necessary. The men they have lost up to date are but a drop in a bucket to those that could be put into the field.

"Probably three things are operating against Russian success at this



time. The first of these is the little preparation they seem to make to meet any contingency. The second is the meager patriotism that is displayed among the Russian masses and the enlistment of half-breed Chinese in their ranks. The third, but one that will be soon remedied, is their tendency to consider the Japs and the Japanese army a huge joke. They have not yet learned that this war is serious business.

"On the other side, the Japs have been prepared for this fight for years. Even the children in the streets are imbued with the war spirit. In the schools, children of six years are taught the regulation drills and the manner of handling firearms. On every occasion of Jap victory, the entire populace of the Japanese cities turn out for a celebration. Women with children in their arms parade the streets singing patriotic songs and shouting for their army. Boys of 12 and 15 years, just old enough to carry a rifle, fight for an opportunity to enter the ranks and become one of their emperor's soldiers.

"Such a spirit as the Japs display will be hard to conquer. The Russian army is made up, if anything, of men on a lower order of civilization than the Japs. They are brave, with the bravery of ignorance. Of patriotism they know little or nothing. The Russian officers are a good lot of fellows. As a rule they are well educated and they treated the correspondents as leniently as possible under the circumstances. They are all suspicious of each other, however, and for that reason their operations are seldom marked with success. The war will be a long and a hard one, but in the end the superior natural resources of Russia will be victorious."

#### MR. BAER AND THE PRICE OF COAL.

Editorial in the Dubuque Telegraph of May 27.

"Testifying before the interstate commerce commission Mr. George E. Baer, head of the coal trust," say the press dispatches, "smilingly declared that the price of coal was not fixed so much by the cost of mining and transportation as by the willingness of the consumer to pay what is asked. 'We don't reduce the price of coal because we are good merchants. As long as there is a demand for all the coal we can mine at the price we ask there will be no reduction in the cost to the consumer.'"

This expressed attitude of the coal

trust toward the public has been evidenced before this. The graduated increase of ten cents a ton during periods of normal conditions is proof of all that Mr. Baer says.

The head of the coal trust speaks as a business man, not, presumably, in the present instance, as one of the men whom God in His infinite wisdom has made custodians of the wealth of the world. God probably never directly or indirectly communicated to Mr. Baer the suggestion that it would be suiting divine favor to turn the screws on the coal consumer until there was a squeal of protest.

Stripped of all else, Mr. Baer's statement amounts to this, that the policy of the coal trust is to charge all that the traffic will bear, regardless of cost of production. If the public had an alternative, there would be a minimum of objection to the policy of the coal trust. Having none, there is great objection. Coal is a necessary of life. The body must be kept warm, food must be cooked or sickness and death will follow; sickness and death and great privation did result from the dearth of coal and the high prices incident to the great strike.

Mr. Baer's statement will appeal as a rational one to the men of business who disregard the equitable view point. Probably anyone engaged in business would charge, all that the traffic would bear. The great point is that when one controls a necessary of life—and the coal trust absolutely controls the anthracite coal supply, we should not in justice to our million fellows permit him to extort unfair return for the product.

The American people are apparently insensible to their rights as conferred by the plan of the universe, and to their rights as expressed in their necessities, or they would end the iniquitous system that permits a few dollar worshipers to capitalize their necessities and to hold the health of all the people in their grasp.

The coal which Mr. Baer and his trust owns was put in the earth for the benefit of all the people. It would be sacrilegious—an impeachment of His infinite justice—to assume that the Maker of the universe intended that the necessities of life should be cornered by a few men. Why should the man of virtuous life and industrious habits, and seeking to discharge his full duty to society, be handicapped in the struggle for existence because his father left him without means enough to become a party to a syndicate or trust controlling one of the

necessaries of life? a trust that men whose fathers happened to leave them enough money to become such are the guiding geniuses of? Why, because we must have coal, should we permit a few rich men banded together in conspiracy against us, to control a necessary of life and charge a price for it that only the best to do of us can afford to pay? Why should we ourselves—the millions of unprivileged who must have our necessities supplied—not own and control the natural sources of supply of this necessary of life?

The condemnation is not of the men who are charging all that the traffic will bear. It is of the laws that admit private ownership, synonymous with private monopoly, of the natural sources of supply of the necessities of life.

Mr. Baer is simply a product of monopolistic conditions. There have been men of his type throughout the world—the slave master in Rome and the slave master in America were prototypes. The laws that make their development possible supply the mainspring of their selfishness. Until these laws are changed the best we can hope for is to prescribe the limits of the ills they may inflict.

Hillite—Is your friend deaf?

Hearstler—Yes, he is deaf and Parker.

G. T. E.

Domley—What sent the nunny to the Philippines to dredge for gold?

Holmes—Oh, he read in some fool paper that the government had sunk \$520,000,000 there.

G. T. E.

Little Charlie—"Is honesty always the best policy, papa?"

Mr. Kabinet—"Yes, my boy—that is, unless the other fellow has no navy."

G. T. E.

"I dreamed that all traces of Bryanism were removed from the Democratic party."

"What was left?"

"Cambric tea."

G. T. E.

#### BOOKS

##### DOLLARS AND DEMOCRACY—AN ENGLISHMAN'S VIEW OF AMERICA.

This is the title of a new book by Sir Philip Burne-Jones, published by Appleton & Co., at \$1.25. This Sir Philip is not to be confounded with the more famous artist, Edward, his

father, who died in 1898. The book is the chatty record of a year's stay in America. It is superficial, but entertaining, and contains a fair proportion of admiration and censure. Some of his comments, though we may have heard something like them before, are well worth attention.

His first impression was that of frightful hurry and restless bustle. "One wondered again and again," he says, "what could possibly be of such overwhelming importance as to justify this atrocious economy of time—at the expense of such tremendous nerve strain, of health, and often of life itself." He attempts no explanation. He does not see that the cause lies in the fact that we have given everybody half a chance and made believe it is a whole chance, and that consequently we are all hungry and unsatisfied. What he sees is the painful fact. "The popular expressions," he reminds us, "such as 'to get a move on,' 'to hustle,' 'to step lively,' and the more dignified allusions by the president himself to the 'strenuous life,' are all colloquial straws that show which way the national wind is blowing."

"Another thing," he says, "one notices at once is the absence of all signs of poverty in the streets. That poverty exists in New York as dark and terrible as that of London or Paris one knows; but unless one burrows beneath the surface, one knows it only by hearsay—one sees nothing of it." Sir Philip did not get out in the morning before the garbage was removed, or happen near a bakeshop about 12 at night, else he would have modified his statement. And yet there is truth in what he says. The American pauper has not yet lost all pride, as is the case with the European pauper, and so is more inclined to hide. But if we keep on progressing as at present, we shall "get there" in the shamelessness of poverty, as well as in coaching, in the distinguished uses of flattery, and in other outward and visible signs of progress and poverty.

This is the way the candid author spells our society. "Of late years," he says, "there has grown up in America a sort of aristocracy of great wealth, the outcome of the immense fortunes that have been made in a comparatively short time, which presents an extraordinary spectacle, probably unique in the history of the world." The reckless expenditure of these people, their sense of importance, and the court paid to them, struck the author with amazement. "Their personalities," he says, "are getting to be tolerably familiar to the masses." "The middle classes accept them cheerfully as the best available substitute for dukes and duchesses," and "the newspapers help to keep up the fiction."

Our newspapers, of all our institu-

tions, receive the fullest amount of the author's chiding. "It is impossible," he says, "that such garbage, under the guise of 'journalism,' as is at present offered to the men and women of the United States can continue long to be acceptable. . . . It panders to the very lowest instincts for personal gossip and morbid sensationalism. It is absolutely indifferent to truth. If facts are not exciting or startling enough, it invents lies." This is putting the case rather strongly, but Sir Philip's story tells how he suffered, especially in Chicago.

American politics puzzled him. "They seemed," he says, "so complicated. I was once told by a distinguished individual (perhaps it was the sage of Princeton himself) the difference between 'Democrat' and 'Republican,' but I've forgotten what it was."

On the whole the more or less friendly criticisms of the author are, as we have said, worth reading, and some will think well enough of the book to wish that it had been supplied with an index.

J. H. DILLARD.

#### A MODERN LOVE STORY.

It was the fashion once to end love stories with the marriage of the hero and the heroine. A somewhat later fashion has lifted the veil and let the story reader into some of the secrets of love after marriage. But too exclusive use is often made of the kind of material that divorce courts furnish; and such stories, however true to the life in particular cases, are not typical of life outside of books and off the stage. It is a very different kind of after-marriage love story that Katrina Trask tells in "Free Not Bound," published by the Putnams. Hers is a typical story of the struggle of marriage love for mastery over natural influences which act from within, and with far greater force than illicit influence from without, to disrupt marriage unity.

The framework of this story is the Revolutionary days in old New England. But the place and time are framework only. There is no attempt to make a historical picture. The picture that is made might as well have been framed in some historical episode of any other time or country.

"Free Not Bound" is a story of the development of marriage love between a sturdy puritan patriot, with distorted conceptions of religious duty, and his beautiful British wife who rebelled in her heart, nor in heart alone, against the unnatural restraints of puritanism. And it is really a story, and not a psychological essay in story form. The characters are alive, the action is spontaneous and vital, and the incidents are interesting in themselves and rapid in movement.

Without detriment to the story, suggestive reflections often find formal ex-

pression. Take for instance this explanation, at page 32, of Old Testament inspiration: "The Jews were a people who, in an age of oppression and idolatry, kept fast hold of the spiritual concept of a great and only God. They sought Him, prayed to Him, called Him their King; and to them came the inspiration that comes to any person or people true to a great spiritual ideal. The Lord did speak to their hearts as He speaks to yours—and mine. But they translated that message into the simple, barbaric language of a primitive people; and they had not the spiritual development nor power of discrimination to know when it was the Divine within them that spoke and when it was the self."

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Cost of Something for Nothing." By John P. Altgeld, ex-Governor of Illinois, author of "Oratory" and "Live Questions." Chicago: The Hammarmark Publishing Co. Price, \$1 net. To be reviewed.

#### PAMPHLETS.

Prof. John R. Commons's contribution to the Quarterly Journal of Economics on "The New York Building Trades," which has been put in pamphlet form and may be had of Mr. Commons at the Wisconsin university, Madison, is a carefully prepared and judicial exposition of the recent labor difficulties in connection with New York building operations, and it is lucidly presented. Simply as a historical narrative this is a very valuable paper.

Two Chinese pamphlets lie before us. One is a translation into Chinese, by W. E. Macklin, M. B., Nanking, China, of Patrick Edward Dove's "Theory of Human Progression"; the other is a similar translation by W. E. Macklin and Li Yu Shu, of "The Basis of Political Liberty and Human Rights," from Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics." In neither is the translation verbal. Instead of translating the words of Dove and Spencer the translators have summarized their thought and given it Chinese expression, also substituting Chinese illustrations for those of the original authors.

A more luminous yet concise presentation of the machinations of the trust promoters than that made by Edward B. Whitney in the Yale Review for May, now published in pamphlet form (Edward B. Whitney, 49 Wall street, New York), we are not aware of having seen. It derives extra force from the fact that Mr. Whitney is not a "teamster howler," but is a Wall street lawyer, who held the position of assistant attorney general of the United States under Mr. Olney. The occasion for this pamphlet is the Northern Securities Co. decision by the Supreme Court; but it is devoted principally to the character of "holding" corporations, which are now the principal implement for trust construction. This subject Mr. Whitney considers with the skill of a well-trained lawyer and the solicitude of a democratic citizen. While the work of a lawyer peculiarly familiar with the more obscure and therefore more dangerous methods of the great combines, this pamphlet is written for laymen and is perfectly intelligible without technical knowledge.

#### PERIODICALS.

R. H. Debeck writes to the Nebraska Independent from Woodford, Mo., arguing that the money question and other questions cannot be settled until certain superstitions can be got out of the minds of people. "Legislation upon the money question may," he writes, "change the methods of getting a tribute from the people, but tribute must exist while superstition lasts. Let us then settle the question of 'Who owns the earth?' For that is the basis upon which all other questions rest, and until that is settled, no other question is of much value to the public." J. H. D.

There is a clever and witty paper in the  
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### ROOSEVELT'S PUZZLE.

*Problem—To get at the Trust without disturbing the Tariff.*

Atlantic for June on the Ethics of Taxation. Our present methods are laughed at in delightful style. When it comes to the constructive part the author is not entirely consistent. It is not easy to see how exemption of personal property is consistent with the dictum, which he seems to uphold, that "contributions to public needs should be determined by the contributor's ability." In one place he speaks sheeringly of "those obsessed with the idea" of taking in taxes only "what society is alleged to have created in the rental values of land;" and yet his only difference from single taxers is that he would tax buildings and improvements on the land as well as the land-values. J. H. D.

ly, and also to the Democratic party, as it will draw off the extremists and take away from the Democratic party the sting of being too far in advance of the people. It will perform for the Democratic party the same function that the Abolitionists performed for the Republican party in 1860." J. H. D.

What harm can be done to the rest of a State by permitting any locality to raise its local taxes by any method it chooses? Yet when Colorado had the opportunity of leading in this great movement for home rule in the most vital of political issues, her people refused to accept the proposition. All the wealth, power, prestige and prejudice of special privilege were banded to defeat it. That many localities would have availed themselves of the permission seems evident from the example of New Zealand. "The single tax," says the San Francisco Star, "continues to win victories in New Zealand, where a local option law has made possible its adoption by local governments. Westport, a coal-mining center adjoining two towns that some time ago adopted the single tax, has joined them in the plan after observing the results achieved by them. A second borough having the same name, but situated some 600 miles distant, and West Harborn and Maori Hill, two suburbs of the city of Dunedin, have also adopted the plan of exempting everything but land values from taxation." J. H. D.

That great men are not to be measured in memory by the position they hold in life has many a time been illustrated in history, but to a majority of contemporaries of course, position makes the man. "The great celebrations of the Cobden centenary in England the past week remind us once more," says the Springfield Republican, "that men of ideas generally make a profounder impression upon their age than the men of management or action. Who were the statesmen that ruled England in Cobden's day? Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell. Yet no one would think it worth while to get up celebrations in honor of the centennial of the birth of any of those men." Sir Robert Peel, indeed, was the statesman who carried through the repeal of the corn laws and destroyed the protective fiscal system, but his birthday centenary attracts no attention. "Cobden never was prime minister; he never was in a cabinet." J. H. D.

Eltweed Pomeroy has a very delightful and clever article in the June Arena, entitled a Political Forecast. "Prophecy," he says, "is satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the reader according to his point of view; usually disastrous to the reputation of its maker, but fascinating to both." It would be unjust to the reader to destroy the fascination of Mr. Pomeroy's forecast by too much quotation, but what he says of the Socialist party may be told without harm. "It has 20,000 paying members, which really means at least 200,000 voters, but what is this compared with the 13,000,000 voters in the country. Still, it represents principles and a class. And it will grow during the coming campaign. Its activity will be very valuable educational-

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