

# The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1904.

Number 309.

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Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post Office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

Some Democrats — most of them plutocrats at heart—love Grover Cleveland for some of the enemies he has made. But the masses of the party, those who are democrats at heart as well as by partisan affiliation, they distrust him for many of the friends he has made.

Having subjugated the Boers in the Transvaal in the name of civilization; the British imperialists are now proposing to Christianize Chinese laborers by bringing them to the Transvaal and holding them there as slaves—in “a delightful bondage,” as these graft-hunting word-mongers phrase it. Imperial civilization and a devilish Christianity go well together in the merry chase after unearned dollars.

In two years—December 10, 1905—the centennial anniversary of the birth of William Lloyd Garrison occurs, and Whim suggests that it be made the occasion of a hearty outburst of appreciation. Every lover of liberty will second that suggestion. William Lloyd Garrison was a splendid embodiment of the spirit of uncompromising enmity to wrong. “I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard.” Those were Garrison’s words of faith, and that is the spirit that has accomplished everything in the moral world worth accomplishing since time began. Garrison’s memory is not alone a subject for celebration by Negroes, although the Negro who should be

indifferent would be despicably ungrateful; it calls for marked recognition by all races and classes who in this era of retrogression from high moral standards see in devotion to those standards the only hope for true and lasting progress in everything.

The school of economists who have been assiduously teaching the upside-down doctrine that the value of the finished product determines the value of the constituent materials, may now stand up and explain why flour has advanced in price in response to the advance in the price of wheat. And while they are at work upon this problem they might also subject their work to the test of prophecy. Thus: When the price of flour declines will it follow or precede; be the effect or the cause, of a decline in the price of wheat? They might also profitably consider the suggestion that perhaps they are overworking the demand side of the supply-and-demand equation. While it may be true that demand operates to affect the price of materials through the price of finished goods, it may also be true that supply operates conversely to affect the price of finished goods through the price of materials. And when this thought is followed out to the end, it may be found that supply rather than demand is the determining factor, since supply has natural limitations and demand has not.

David M. Parry’s real object in making a crusade against trade unionism has now been exposed by his own non-union employes. He has pretended that his object is to protect workmen from the slavery of unions. But the strike last week of his own non-union workmen tells a different story.

Since August last he has systematically forced down piece wages in his factory, by cut after cut, until the reduction aggregates over 25 per cent. As his men were unorganized and were not allowed to deal with him in a body—being absolutely free men, with no trade union shackles enslaving them!—they were compelled to submit to these reductions. But Parry’s last wages-cut broke these freemen’s will. They organized and struck. Whereupon Parry found other free men to take the strikers’ places—free men so helplessly in the unobstructed enjoyment of Republican prosperity, that they did this rather than starve. Mr. Parry’s notion of freedom would have delighted old Senator Toombs, of ante-bellum memory, who expected to call the roll of his slaves at Bunker Hill.

It is strange that anyone should be fooled by the drivel of men like Parry about the slavery of trades unionism. Unions are voluntarily organized. No one need join them if he doesn’t want to. Neither do they keep any workmen out who want to come in. To call that sort of thing slavery is either to display lack of intelligence or to assume that the public lacks intelligence. Yet Parry has imitators. One of them is a certain Chicago judge whose services are in extraordinary demand when employers want injunctions against strikers. His name is Holdom. This judge has within a few days imposed jail sentences upon labor union officials for acts which if committed at all were indictable crimes. Yet Holdom tries them without a jury, and upon affidavits drawn in lawyers’ offices, and, regardless of the denial to them of the ordinary safeguards for the innocent, convicts and sentences them. In this he acts in accordance with the ordinary pro-

cedure under the new-fangled method of judicial usurpation known as "government by injunction." But in the course of his decision he displayed his own class animus. "Members of unions have no individuality," said he; "no free course. They are under contract like slaves and they must do the bidding of their master—the union. Members of union labor are worse off in this than were their colored brothers of the South before emancipation." That kind of sentiment is bred in the atmosphere of plutocratic social clubs.

"It is a unique spectacle," said a labor orator, arguing for ship subsidies before a Congressional committee the other day, "to see Labor coming to Congress to plead the cause of Capital." Unique it may be, but not remarkable. Capital buys even labor orators when it needs them; and of labor voters it always keeps an abundant and varied supply in stock.

Booker T. Washington pathetically appeals to the pulpit and the press in behalf of his persecuted race. "Is it not possible," he asks, "for pulpit and press to speak out against these burnings in a manner that shall arouse a public sentiment that will compel the mob to cease insulting our courts, our government, and our legal authority, cease bringing shame and ridicule upon our Christian civilization?" Unhappily it is not possible. The press of the country has become "the advertisers' own," and Negroes are not of much account as advertisers. As to the pulpit, few preachers are sensitive to the wickedness of any burnings at the stake that have not yet become mellow with age. Those that are so sensitive and speak their minds are pretty certain to lose their pulpits: for the pulpit, like the press, is more under the influence of inhuman race and class hatreds than of anything which with the least regard for verbal propriety can be called Christian civilization.

Once in awhile some bold preacher thunders against the wickedness of the classes that dominate society. Among these the Rev. R. A. White, the Universalist minister of Chicago, may be quoted. He denounces all law-breaking, including "the respectable law-breaking class—the men who in popular definition rank as 'good citizens;'" and has expressed his suspicion that the real danger to society lies not with the habitual criminal class but with "the respectable law-breakers." Mr. White is quite specific in this just denunciation; but then, as he is not an orthodox clergyman, it may be that he cannot properly be included among clergymen who are Christians even to martyrdom in spite of the paganistic worldliness of their churches.

Among respectable law-breakers, Judge Dunne, also of Chicago, classes the wealthy who draw huge unearned incomes from the growth of the city, yet keep the city in a disgracefully poverty-stricken condition by dishonestly dodging their just taxes. "While the city of Chicago is one of the wealthiest communities in the United States," he declared at the banquet last week of the Commercial Club, "and while its citizens possess property of incalculable value, amply sufficient as a basis for all the needs of the State, county and municipal governments, it is the dirtiest, most ill-kept, ill-clad and poverty-stricken municipality I have ever known of. Both county and State are in a constant state of mendicancy. This results mostly from dishonest tax-dodging on the part of wealthy citizens and wealthy corporations." In this connection Judge Dunne pointed at the county commissioners as conniving at these respectable crimes by refusing to comply with the law by publishing the tax lists. He said:

Within the last 30 days the chairman of the County Board publicly declared that the county could not comply with the law requiring the publication of the tax assessors' lists on account of the want of income. This may be true,

but if I were in his place the assessor's lists would be published if every other arm of the government, except the poorhouse, the hospital and the jail, had to be closed. As long as these lists are suppressed tax dodging will continue. If there is anything on earth that will stop tax dodging it is publicity. In my humble opinion, if the assessors' lists had been published, as the law requires, neither the city nor the county would be in the abject condition of poverty which now disgraces them.

Another subject to which Judge Dunne called attention in this speech invites consideration wherever throughout the country the abuse exists. We refer to the custom of so organizing the courts of the poor as to foster the sale of justice. Judge Dunne spoke without reserve:

The justice court system that prevails in this community would be a disgrace to Turkey. A system which compels a judicial magistrate to depend for his living upon the fees paid him by the plaintiffs in litigation is so scandalous as to cry to heaven for redress. Aristides the Just, if selected as a justice of the peace in the city of Chicago, would not be able to retain his reputation or appellation one year after his appointment. The fact that any of the justices of the peace in the city of Chicago have preserved any sort of a reputation for fairness under this infamous system is a standing testimonial to their high and exalted integrity.

It may not be generally known, but it is a fact that in one particular this infamous practice prevails in the judicial system of the United States. We refer to the practice in enforcing extradition treaties. When arrests under these treaties are made it is by warrant from United States Court commissioners. The prisoner is brought before the commissioner issuing the warrant, and he, as a judicial officer, inquires into the presumptive evidence of the crime. As the foreign government seeking to enforce extradition may select any United States commissioner at discretion, and as the selected commissioner must look for his pay to the foreign government that selects him, no very vivid imagination is needed to understand why it is

that almost invariably sufficient judicial grounds for extradition are discovered by the commissioners. It is doubtful if any adverse decision has ever been rendered except in the case of the absconding Irishman at Indianapolis just before last Fall's elections; and Senators Hanna and Beveridge are reputed to have taken a political and personal interest in that case.

Another telegraph messenger strike is on in Chicago. These messengers get the munificent pay of half a cent each for delivering messages, and, like Oliver Twist, they have the impudence to ask for more. But it is not of the merits of their strike that we would speak. We wish rather to call attention to the moral degradation to which these children are subjected in order to earn dividends for pious investors in human flesh and blood and souls. The circumstances are sufficiently indicated by the following pathetic extract from an address put out by the messengers' union upon learning that girls were to take their places:

Mothers, your girls face grave dangers when they become carriers of telegrams. Messengers are compelled to go into all sorts of places. Even the most respectable may be dangerous to a girl. Men think they can say anything to a little girl that is carrying messages. The girls may not be injured by going out in the street and meeting all sorts of people and things, but they soon become slangy and acquire the ways of messenger boys. The little girls that work near Newsboys' alley are made almost as tough as the boys by their experience. I know that many girls are forced by conditions over which they have nothing to say to carry messages, to sell papers and to go into saloons and other bad places, but I hope that you mothers will make an extra effort to save your daughters from the many pitfalls that will be set for girls who carry messages. Besides placing your girls in a dangerous position by letting them take our jobs they are being used to defeat us. We are only fighting for just principles. Messenger boys must fight everybody and everything. Their life is a hard one; too hard for a girl. We are made fun of in the funny papers. They say we are slow and of no account, but many boys carry messages to support their mothers. We get half a cent for every message,

which we think is not enough, and we shall some day ask for higher pay. Then the company will want to hire your girls to take our places. We hope you won't allow it for your sake, for the welfare of your daughters and for our sake.

Children with musical or dramatic talent have been forced off the stage by "prevention of cruelty to children" societies; but message-carrying for telegraph companies, at all hours of day and night and into all kinds of places—well, "philanthropic societies are not organized to interfere with business."

A new departure economically has been taken by the Ross ministry of Ontario in connection with the construction and operation of the Temiskaming railway. This railway is wholly an affair of the Provincial government (corresponding to a State government on this side of the line), which is building and is to operate it as a government highway. It runs north from North Bay station, on the Canadian Pacific railway, to New Liskeard, on Lake Temiskaming, and thence still northward to a junction with the new transcontinental line, the Grand Trunk Pacific, at a point near Lake Obitibe. Probably it will then be extended to Moose Factory, on James Bay, at the Ontario tide-water. The action of the Provincial ministry to which we refer above, relates to town sites at stations along the line. The subject is presented in the leading editorial of February 23 in the Toronto Globe, the leading Liberal paper of Canada, which approvingly says:

Of all the new departures of an economic kind initiated by the Ross administration, none are more far-reaching in their effects, more equitable in their character, or more certainly profitable in their operation than the provision made in the Temiskaming railway bill of this session for the designation and control of town sites along the line. If the railway from North Bay extends no farther for the present than the point of junction with the trans-continental railway undertaken by the Dominion, there will be several important town sites and not a few sites of villages about the stations. Presumably the Provincial legislature will apply the same principle to the towns

and villages along the trans-continental railway, the total length of the two lines within the more favorable areas for settlement being not less than 700 or 800 miles. It will be found on a moderate estimate that, over and above the value the town sites would have if sold as farm property, there will be an entirely new source of public revenue, producing at least a million dollars a year and lasting a generation. . . . The method of procedure prescribed by the measure now before the Legislative Assembly is simplicity itself. The great bulk of the land along the line of the railway is still vested in the crown. In the case of a proposed town site on such land power is given to the government to transfer by order of Council to the Railway Commission, as trustees for the Province, such land as may be deemed suitable in the vicinity of "stations or proposed stations." But many of the surveyed lots along the line of railway are now owned by private persons, and in the case of a town site on such lands the commission is authorized to acquire the necessary area in the same way as it acquires land for right of way or station grounds, that is to say by negotiation, with expropriation as an alternative. It is interesting to note that these town sites are not to be included under the charge created in favor of the holders of the bonds issued by the commission, and that the revenue from the sale of town lots is to be regarded as a part of the income of the commission, to be spent on the "preservation, improvement and maintenance" of the railway. Ordinarily all such revenue has been heretofore diverted into the pockets of private speculators.

It is not improbable that when these sites are secured steps will be taken to amend the law so as to prohibit the sale of lots, thereby securing for the Provincial revenues an annual and increasing income from them for all time.

THE CHICAGO STREET CAR QUESTION.

In about four weeks the people of Chicago are to vote (p. 705) on the question of immediate municipal ownership and operation of the city street car system.

By "immediate" is not meant, as those who try to darken counsel profess to think it means, that public ownership and operation are to be expected the next day after an affirmative vote, nor the next week, nor month, nor year. It means that an affirmative vote will be a popular direction to the municipal authorities to proceed immediately, in good

faith, and without dilatory contracts with the traction companies, to establish the street car system upon the basis of municipal ownership and operation.

No doubt many obstructions will be encountered in making this change, and much resistance will have to be met. But that is no reason why the voters who prefer public ownership to the present wretched stock-jobbing system should not vote in the affirmative on the three questions to be submitted at the approaching April election.

Those questions are as follows:

**First:** On the adoption of the Mueller law. This vote is mandatory. If in the affirmative it will enable the city to acquire, own and operate street car systems under the provisions of the Mueller law.

**Second:** On the immediate establishment of municipal ownership and operation under the Mueller law. This vote is not mandatory. It is only advisory. Consequently an affirmative result will not bind the city authorities. They may disregard it. But they are not likely to do so if the majority is emphatic.

**Third:** For short-term licenses, and no more franchises, to the street-car owners, pending the accomplishment of public ownership and operation under the Mueller law. This vote also is advisory and not mandatory.

These three propositions draw the line between the stock-jobbing traction interests and the public. No voter can vote "No" on any of them without consenting to give aid, comfort and rich spoils to the stock-jobbing interests.

Irrespective of detail, the real issue presented by those questions is that of municipal ownership and operation.

So far as we have been able to ascertain the only remaining objectors to the immediate adoption of this system are of three classes.

The first class comprises voters who are directly or indirectly, honestly or corruptly, influenced by their own pecuniary interests. These will vote "No," and it would be a waste of honest breath to argue with them.

The second class is composed of

voters who honestly believe that the legal and financial obstacles in the way of the change are at present insuperable and that a compromise with the traction interests is therefore imperative. Attention will be given to this view of the matter later on. We are assured that it is a mistaken view, due to popular ignorance of the facts and misleading representations by the traction interests.

In the third class, which includes also some of the second, are voters who fear the demoralizing effect upon local politics of an army of street car employes whose appointment and removal would depend upon the favor of politicians. To this class we have a few suggestions to offer now.

They should bear in mind that the danger of spoils-hunting is no reason for farming out to private corporations any function that is governmental in character. The government should attend to its own business.

And the business of operating street cars is governmental in character, as a comparison with non-governmental business will show.

Take storekeeping, for instance. That is primarily a private business. No franchise is necessary. Anybody can engage in it who has capital. Consequently the policy of municipalizing grocery stores, dry goods stores, or other stores would have to be justified by some such socialistic reason as that the private advantages of capital should be abolished.

But that is not the ground upon which municipalization of street car systems rests. No one can go into the street car business, no matter how much capital he has, without first getting a franchise from the municipality.

Now, what does that fact imply? It implies that the street car business is primarily not a private business depending upon private capital, but that it is a public business into which no capitalist has the right or power to intrude until the municipality gives him permission—gives him a franchise. In other words, like the courts, like the taxing office, like the police, like every other public function, the street car business is in its nature and out of the very necessities of the case, a public busi-

ness. Historically, court functions have been farmed out to private interests; tax collecting also has been farmed out; so has police protection; and it is common in our time to farm out such public functions as street car service. But this does not thereby become a private function any more than the courts, the taxing power, and the police power did. Like them, it is a public function temporarily under private control.

The policy, therefore, of municipal ownership and operation of street cars does not involve the question of making a private business public. The only question it involves is the question of restoring a public business to public management. It is not innovation; it is restoration.

But apart from that fundamental consideration is the fact that street car employes are now dependent upon the favor of politicians. The objection, therefore, that municipal operation would immensely increase opportunities for political graft is unfounded. When not made in ignorance, it is made in bad faith. It assumes, innocently, or deceptively, that no political "spoils" are connected with the street car service now. But street car appointments are notoriously included in the category of political "spoils;" and these "spoils" could be no richer under public ownership and operation of our street car systems, than they are already under the present method of ownership by corporations and operation by stock jobbers. They would not be as rich.

Should you seek employment in the street car service, for yourself or a friend, you would have to be sagacious enough to procure the "recommendation" of your alderman or fail. Were you to neglect that little "pull", the applicant who did have an alderman's "recommendation" would get the job in preference to you or your friend. But what do you suppose your alderman would expect in return for his favor to you in giving you that "recommendation"? You are not innocent enough, of course, to imagine that he does the favor either for his own health or for yours? He would expect your vote at the ballot box when

he happened to need it, and you couldn't be ungrateful enough to disappoint him.

Go a step farther. What do you suppose the traction stock jobbers would expect of your alderman in return for their favor to him in giving you or your friend a job upon his "recommendation"? No more than aldermen, do stock jobbers do favors for anybody's health. They would expect your alderman's vote in the city council whenever they might need it. The alderman knows this, and his constituents ought to.

Political "spoils", indeed! "Graft", forsooth! What possible political "spoils" or "graft" under municipal ownership and operation of the street car system could be worse than the political "spoils" and "graft" under the corporation ownership and stock jobbing operation which now prevail?

None could be as bad. Under public ownership and operation, street car employes would come within the rules of the merit system of civil service. Their appointment and retention could not be used either to strengthen the political fences of corrupt aldermen nor to promote the schemes of yet more corrupt traction stock jobbers.

Nor is the use of appointments by street car corporations for the purpose of bribing aldermen and voters the worst "graft" of traction stock jobbers. Were the whole truth about political corruption in cities known, we should see that it is caused for the most part by the devious methods of public service companies and their stock jobbing managers. City officials cannot be corrupted unless some outsider has an interest in making their corruption profitable. Where there is no "graft" there are no "grafter". But the richest "graft" of the present time in cities, is that which flourishes in private ownership of public property and private operation of public functions—especially when nurtured by stock jobbers, as is the great street car "graft" under which Chicago has suffered for half a century.

The day in politics of the mere "tax eater" has passed; that of the franchise grabber and manipula-

tor is at high noon. Corruption in politics is no longer due in any great degree, to the corrupting influence of office "spoils" and party "spoils-men". It is now due chiefly to the corrupting methods of "business interests" in franchise privileges. As ex-Mayor Low, of New York, recently put it: "The day of open robbery is gone, but an era of intrigue has replaced it. Tweed's ring stood brazenly in the old days for open robbery; public service corporations and their stock jobbing managers stand for the secret corruption of the new era of franchise intrigues."

Abolish public-service franchises, and you abolish the most powerful and subtle of all the existing causes of political corruption. It is by getting rid of these franchises, not by perpetuating and fostering them, that good government is to be secured.

An opportunity to do this will be afforded the people of Chicago at the coming municipal election. If it is allowed to pass, no opportunity as good may occur in many years. If the questions then submitted are voted down, the city officials would be warranted in assuming that the public opinion of Chicago is favorable to the stock-jobbing schemes of the traction interests, and in therefore settling the whole matter in accordance with the demands of their representatives.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, March 3.

The strict censorship by both Russia and Japan makes it impossible to give any clear and full idea of the situation at the seat of war (p. 743), but reasonable confidence may be reposed in the reports that some kind of naval demonstrations were made at Port Arthur on the 24th, 25th and 29th. On the 24th the Japanese made an attack. According to the Russian official report this was done with numerous torpedo boats, and was repulsed, two Japanese vessels being wrecked and their crews saving themselves in small boats. The official Japanese report of the same event is to the effect that four old vessels, escorted by some

torpedo boats, were run into the entrance of Port Arthur by the Japanese for the purpose of blocking the mouth of the harbor, and that this object was accomplished. On the 25th there appears to have been a three hours' general engagement brought on by a Japanese naval attack; and on the 29th, according to Japanese reports, there was a similar engagement. The probabilities are that all this fighting is merely part of occasional skirmishes, demonstrative rather than destructive, between the Russian fleet in the harbor and the Japanese fleet which is watching it from without. The situation is not dissimilar to that at Santiago while the American fleet held Admiral Cervera in the harbor; and the event of the 24th is likened to Hobson's exploit in sinking the Merrimac.

A diplomatic reply was made by Japan on the 1st to the diplomatic complaint of Russia (p. 743) charging Japan with violation of the fundamental rules of international law in her manner of beginning the war. Japan's reply asserts that the answer to Russia's charges may be found in the action of Russia herself. It proceeds:

That her government never entertained any sincere desire for peace can be clearly seen from its own conduct. Throughout the whole course of the negotiations Russia persistently refused to meet the proposals made by Japan in a moderate and conciliatory spirit. By delays that could not be construed as otherwise than wanton and unnecessary, she put off the settlement of the questions at issue, while at the same time busily extending her naval and military preparations. Her warlike preparations in the far East since last April, when she failed to carry out her treaty engagement to evacuate Manchuria, are in full confirmation of these statements.

Then follows a lengthy statement in detail of the action of Russia in strengthening her military and naval forces at points menacing Japan, and thereupon the reply continues:

In view of these facts who can say that Russia had no warlike intentions or that she was unprepared for war? Seeing that the situation had become so critical that it admitted of no further delay the Japanese government was compelled to break off negotiations that had proved abortive and to take the necessary steps for self-protection.

But the responsibility for the challenge to war rests not with Japan but solely with Russia. On the 6th of February Japan announced to Russia her decision to terminate the pending negotiations and to take such independent action as she might deem best to defend her position menaced by Russia and to protect her established rights and legitimate interests. At the same time the government of Japan informed the Russian government that as its moderate and unselfish proposals in the interests of a firm and lasting peace in the far East had not received the consideration which was their due, Japan had resolved to sever her diplomatic relations with Russia, which for the reason named had ceased to possess value, and so withdrew her legation. The term "independent action" naturally included the opening of hostilities. The fact that Russia was unable to understand it in that light is, of course, no reason why Japan should be held responsible for the misinterpretation made by Russia. It is the almost unanimous opinion of international jurists that a declaration of war is not an indispensable prerequisite to the opening of hostilities. Indeed, it has been the common practice in recent wars to declare war after hostilities have been begun. Japan's action, therefore, is not open to the least criticism in this regard. From the standpoint of international law it must be understood that the charge made against her does not come with good grace from Russia, inasmuch as there are not only many historical instances of Russia herself resorting to hostilities without declaring war, but in one case, that of her invasion of Finland in 1898, when she began war before there had even been a rupture of diplomatic relations.

Further reports of fighting the Moros in the Philippines (p. 536) were received at Washington on the 29th. These reports are from Gen. Wade and tell of an engagement at Jolo, on February 14, in which 600 Moros were either killed or captured by an American force under Major Hugh L. Scott. Gen. Wade says firing was stopped twice to give the Moros a chance to surrender, but they declined. The American force lost one officer and six privates wounded. One has since died. The original force of these Moros is reported from Manila as 3,000, now reduced to 15. The island is said to be now under control of the American authorities.

Apparently there are revolutionary disturbances in Luzon, for the reports from Manila make oc-

casional references to outlawry of a kind and magnitude which suggest Filipino patriotism rather than crime. One of these reports, appearing in the Chicago Tribune of the 3d, was as follows:

Manila, March 2.—Del Pilar, the leading spirit of the Carib insurrections against Spain and the United States, who was exiled to Guam, but who returned and accepted the oath of allegiance, has joined the outlaws, who are defying the authority of the government.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—John R. Commons has been appointed to a chair in political economy at the University of Wisconsin.

—The local elections in Vermont on the 1st indicated a reaction from the policy of licensing of liquor selling which was strongly approved last year.

—The price of May wheat (p. 744) rose as high on the 25th at Milwaukee as \$1.09. It had fallen on the Chicago Board of Trade on the 2d to 99¼ cents.

—By 17 to 15 the common council of Detroit, voted on the 1st to reject Andrew Carnegie's offer of \$750,000 for central and branch public library buildings in that city.

—South African papers report a largely attended Boer Congress at Pietersburg, in the Transvaal Colony, on January 29, which adopted resolutions in favor of immediate self-government.

—Petitions are out in Oregon for the submission at the State election in June, under the new initiative and referendum clause of the Constitution, of a local option liquor law and of a direct primaries nomination law.

—The State capitol building at Madison, Wis., was practically destroyed by fire on the 27th, the loss being estimated at \$800,000. The stuffed body of "Old Abe," the famous eagle of the Civil War, was lost in the fire.

—Charles S. Dick, nominated by the Republican legislative caucus of Ohio to succeed Marcus A. Hanna in the United States Senate (p. 744) was elected on the 1st. The Democrats in the legislature voted for John H. Clarke.

—A British by-election for the Northampton division of Yorkshire on the 1st resulted in a Liberal victory by a largely increased majority. At the last previous election the Liberal majority was 1,419; it is now 3,946.

—Ratifications of the Panama treaty (p. 744) were exchanged on the 26th at Washington between Secretary Hay and the Panama minister, Bunau-Varilla, and on the same day President Roosevelt formally proclaimed the fact.

—Congressional elections in Cuba on the 28th are reported to show that, while the Liberal representation in the lower

House appears to have been increased by several seats, the small Republican majority in the Senate will prevent any radical legislation.

—In the case of John Turner, held for deportation as an immigrant who "disbelieves in all organized government" (p. 722), the Supreme Court of the United States on the 29th set a hearing in habeas corpus proceedings for the 4th of April and released Turner on bail meanwhile.

—Noah Raby, said to be 132 years of age, died on the 1st in an almshouse near New Brunswick, N. J. As he had been an inmate of this institution for 40 years, and appeared to be a very old man when he entered it, the evidence of extreme old age is in his case exceptionally conclusive.

—A 50-year street car franchise for Hammond, Ind., was granted by the city council on the 2d, after a bitter fight for a year or more. It is denounced as a "steal" by a local labor party, but the aldermen defend themselves by declaring that the ordinance was approved by a "citizens' committee."

—On the 1st it was decided at a meeting of President Roosevelt's cabinet not to send the Third Infantry to Panama (p. 744), the explanation of this change of plans being the disinclination of the cabinet to have two jurisdictions, army and navy, on the Isthmus at present. As naval vessels must remain there for some time it was thought better to allow the marines to continue doing land duty.

—The truce between the Chicago traction companies and the city (p. 598) was extended by the city council on the 25th until the 29th, and on the 29th until the 15th. R. R. Govin resigned on the 25th as one of the United States court receivers of the Union Traction company, and on the 1st the arguments in the case of this company's receivers on the basis of the 99-year franchise began before Judge Grosscup, United States Circuit Judge at Chicago.

—The first congressional district to choose delegates to the Democratic national convention is the Nineteenth of Ohio, of which the convention was held at Warren on the 27th. A bitter contest was waged between the McLean and the anti-McLean factions. The McLean faction was badly beaten and organized another convention. The regular delegates were instructed to support William R. Hearst for President.

—President Roosevelt sent to the Senate on the 29th his nominations for the Panama Canal commission as follows: Chairman of the commission, Rear Admiral John G. Walker, U. S. N., retired, District of Columbia; members of the commission, Major General George W. Davis, U. S. A., retired, District of Columbia; William H. Burr, New York; Benjamin M. Harrod, Louisiana; Carl Ewald Grunsky, California; Frank J.

Hecker, Michigan, and William Barclay Parsons, New York.

—In injunction proceedings against a press feeders' union of Chicago in behalf of an employing printers' organization, Judge Holdom on the 26th imposed the following sentences for contempt: Union, fined \$1,000 for violating the injunction secured by the Typothetae; W. H. Woerner, its president, fined \$250 and sent to jail for three months; J. M. Shea, secretary, fined \$100 and sent to jail for six months; Jerome Collins, agent of the union, two months in jail; Harry Brown, agent of the union, forty days in jail; Michael Flannery, agent of the union thirty days in jail.

—August W. Machen, former superintendent of the free delivery system of the post office department; Samuel A. Groff, inventor of a letter device; Diller B. Groff, his brother and business partner, and George E. Lorenz, formerly postmaster at Toledo, O., were convicted in the criminal court at Washington on the 26th of conspiracy to defraud the government in connection with contracts for furnishing letter box fasteners. On the 27th the court overruled motions for new trial except as to Samuel A. Groff, and imposed sentences of two years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. Appeals were taken and bail given in \$20,000.

—Mrs. Helen Wilmans Post, the mental scientist convicted in the United States Court at Jacksonville, Fla., of fraudulent use of the mails (p. 713), was sentenced on the 29th to imprisonment for one year and one day in the penitentiary at Nashville, Tenn. An appeal was taken, pending which she was released on \$5,000 bail. When asked by the judge if she had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon her, Mrs. Post replied: "You cannot pass sentence of guilt against me. The sentence you are going to pronounce will be against the ignorance of the age, and this sentence will not only fail to condemn me, but it will exonerate me from all participation in such ignorance."

—It having been reported since Congressman Shafroth's resignation (pp. 721, 747) that the Denver election frauds, the revelation of which caused him to resign, had been committed mainly by women, Mr. Shafroth publicly made the following statement on the 19th:

Of the persons implicated very few were women—not more than one in ten at the outside. The frauds were committed in the lowest part of Denver, where not many women live. It is preposterous to make the incident an argument against woman suffrage. Everybody knows there are bad women as well as bad men; but what would any good man think if it were proposed to take his vote away from him because a few bad men somewhere had cheated at an election? In Colorado the women vote as generally as the men, and fraud is much rarer among them. As a rule their election methods are honorable and the influence of woman suffrage upon the State has been distinctly for good.

—In a strike of telegraph messenger boys at Chicago Judge Kohlsaat, of the United States District Court, has issued an injunction restraining the boys from

interfering in any way with the business or employes of the Western Union, American District, and Illinois District Telegraph companies, and from loitering in crowds in the vicinity of the telegraph offices or threatening any person having business with the companies. The injunction is issued by the Federal Court under the inter-State commerce law, on the ground that the telegraph companies' business relates to inter-State commerce, in that messages from other States and nations are received for transmission by the companies and the local work of the messengers is an integral part of the business and necessary to the transmission of the messages from other States and nations.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE SINGLE TAX AND FARMERS.

(Cedar Rapids, Ia.) Why (s. t.), February.—In reply to a question, in the course of a speech in the House of Representatives, Congressman Richardson, of Alabama, said that the single tax would not help the farmers of the South. It would wipe out all the profits of farming, he said. He had been complaining bitterly of the penniless condition of the tillers of the soil in the South and blaming Republican legislation for it all. People who have studied the single tax and know what it means would like to have him explain how it would wipe out the meager profits remaining to them. Even a congressman ought to know that the single tax is not a tax on land but on land values; that it means the exemption of every form of improvement on land, from a drain to the most costly dwelling; that all live stock, implements, and all wealth, moveable and stationary, would not bear a cent of taxation. Unless Mr. Richardson believes with the Republican party that taxation makes a man prosperous he will hardly contend that an arrangement of this kind would wipe out any profits of the farmer. Land values make up less than one-third of the average farm. This has been ascertained by statistics, so that a tax on such a basis would fall lightly on the farm and proportionately heavier on unused land of great value. To the extent that a farmer or any other owner of land held land idle he would pay a higher tax than his neighbor who improved it up to its full utility. The single tax is based on the theory that the man who adds to the wealth of the community, or who invests capital in productive enterprise and employs labor, should be encouraged in those commendable and civilizing habits. The plan of taxation which Congressman Richardson evidently upholds fines a farmer for his industry and awards a prize to every speculator and land gambler.

THE SHADOW OF CLASS GOVERNMENT.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Feb. 24.—The policies of the Republican party are rapidly culminating in capitalistic class government, which is being answered by the Socialist demand for a class conscious workingman's government. Between the two extremes lies the democratic theory of government of, for and by the people, which, unfortunately, is a theory to which the Democratic party has not had the courage wholly to commit itself, but in which lies the only escape from class government.

HANNA AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The (Chicago) Catholic Citizen (rel.), Feb. 27.—To display a smug satisfaction

in the approval of the plutocratic class does not become a true churchman. Too much approval from the statesmen of commercialism, instead of flattering, should induce an examination of conscience. Let there be added to the litany: "From the praises of plutocrats, from the ideals of the commercial class, from the uses to which they would put the Church as a police power over the masses, Good Lord, deliver us!"

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 38 of that publication.

Washington, Feb. 22—27, 1904.

Senate.

On the 22d, after prayer by the chaplain, the birthday of Washington was recognized by the reading of Washington's farewell address (p. 2267); and this ceremony was followed by a discussion of the Panama question by Mr. Hoar (p. 2275), Mr. Foraker (p. 2280), Mr. Carmack (p. 2284) and Mr. Cullom (p. 2286). This discussion was continued on the 23d by Mr. Bacon (p. 2333), Mr. Teller (p. 2335), and Mr. Simmons (p. 2336), and at its close the Senate went into executive session (p. 2336) for action on the treaty with the Republic of Panama. The injunction of secrecy being removed (p. 2347) from the action on the treaty in executive session, it appears that a motion by Mr. Bacon for compensating Colombia for loss of sovereignty over Panama was defeated, 24 to 49, and that the treaty was adopted by 66 to 14. After executive session the agricultural appropriation bill (p. 2357) was taken up and discussed. Its discussion was continued on the 24th (p. 2397) and 25th (p. 2437), when, with amendments, it was agreed to (p. 2461). No business of general interest was done on the 26th and 27th.

House.

Prior to resumption of regular order of business on the 22d, Mr. Williams, of Mississippi, addressed the chair, and the subsequent proceedings were as follows (p. 2291):

The Speaker. For what purpose does the gentleman arise?  
Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of making a motion to adjourn. I ask, Mr. Speaker, that the Clerk read the Farewell Address of George Washington, and that immediately upon the termination of the reading the House adjourn.  
Mr. Payne. I make the point of order that that motion is not in order.  
The Speaker. The Chair sustains the point of order as to the motion. The Chair will submit the request for unanimous consent, if the gentleman desires that to be submitted.  
Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. A parliamentary inquiry. Mr. Speaker. Would it not be in order to move that at the expiration of a certain time the House adjourn? Then, if that be true, is it not in order that at the expiration of a certain contingency the House adjourn?  
The Speaker. There are these motions: To adjourn, to adjourn to a day certain, and a motion to take a recess.  
Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Now, Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do adjourn. Pending that, I submit my request for unanimous consent. I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk may read—  
The Speaker. The Chair will submit the request for unanimous consent standing by itself; but nothing is in order when the motion to adjourn is made.  
Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. I was merely anxious to get the two together if I could, Mr. Speaker.  
Mr. Payne. I call for the regular order.  
Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Then I ask unanimous consent, this being the 22d day of February, that the Clerk may

read from the Clerk's desk George Washington's Farewell Address to the American people.

Mr. Payne. I demand the regular order. Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker. The gentleman from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that George Washington's Farewell Address be read at the Clerk's desk. Is there objection?

Mr. Payne. I demand the regular order.

The Speaker. The gentleman from New York demands the regular order.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker—

The Speaker. The regular order is demanded.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. I want to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The Speaker. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Would it be in order to put into the shape of a motion what I have asked unanimous consent for?

The Speaker. Not against the demand for the regular order.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will move what is in order.

I move that in memory of George Washington, this House do now adjourn.

The Speaker. That motion is not in order. [Laughter.] It is in order to move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Then, Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn; and the country will understand the issue.

The Speaker. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the yeas seemed to have it.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The question was taken; and there were yeas, 66; noes, 85.

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. I now call for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Tawney. A parliamentary inquiry.

The Speaker. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. Tawney. Would it be in order for me to read a motion that was made by a Democratic member from New York [Mr. Cummings] in the second session of the Fifty-third Congress on the 22d day of February?

Mr. Williams, of Mississippi. I demand the regular order.

The Speaker. The Chair thinks debate is not in order.

The yeas and nays were ordered. The question was taken; and there were yeas, 93; nays, 104, answered present, 10; not voting, 175. . . . So the motion was rejected.

Consideration of the naval appropriation bill was then resumed (p. 2293). It was continued on the 23d (p. 2348), the 24th (p. 2419), the 25th (p. 2461), and the 26th (p. 2536), when the bill was passed (p. 2565). No business of public interest was done on the 27th.

**Record Notes.**—Speeches on naval appropriation bill by Representative Hitchcock (p. 2251) and Representative Burton (p. 2293). Text of Washington's farewell address (p. 2267). Speech of Thomas W. Hardwicke (p. 2313) on the cost to us of the Philippines. Speech of Representative Livernash on the seamen of America (p. 2363). Speech of Senator Spooner on the Panama question (p. 2467).

It is not the hoarding of silver and gold alone which earns the miser's name and shame; it is the excessive sense of possession anywhere, and the holding of means of power out of use. And to sit gloating over one's accumulated facts and syllogisms, finding effort's full reward in adding fact to fact and syllogism to syllogism in little systems like piles of gold and silver, this is to be a brother of Shylock, and a partner in his doom. —Rev. Orville E. Watson.

## MISCELLANY

### THE ORPHAN'S WELCOME.

A real incident.  
For The Public.

Clouds, lined with gold, along the western sky

Sailed in a sea of glory; 'twas the hour  
When setting sun glids earth with glow of heaven.

The maple grove had changed its leaves  
for gems

That flashed the sunlight back in rainbow hues;

For it was winter and the bending boughs  
Wore winter's gleaming garniture of pearl.  
Behind that jeweled splendor stood the home

Of wealth and luxury, where Mammon's power

Commanded all that longing eyes could crave:

The home of one whose hard, unbending key

Locks fast the warmth of thousands of the poor.

The children in that mansion warm, well-clad,

Lithe-limbed and healthy, in a merry play,  
Brimful of gladness—childhood's sacred right—

Mingled their carols with the flute-like songs

Of feathered captives from far tropic lands.

A stone's throw from this palace, within sound

Of all its mirth and music, one lay prone  
Upon a bed of pain, benumbed with cold,  
Heart-broken with her sorrow; praying God

For Christ's dear sake to open heaven's wide door

And take her with her baby home to him—  
Her husband, whom Death claimed a month before;

One of our brave coal miners, overwrought  
And paid a starving pittance; hour by hour  
Treading Death's downward path that Sloth might live.

And so the end came as he stood at work.

The dreadful hours wore on in deepening cold

And keener pain; at last the infant's cry  
Wailed feebly out upon the freezing air

Just for a little space, then all was still:  
The widowed mother knew she was alone.

The baby-soul had fluttered back to heaven,

Back from a land too cold to take him in;  
A city crowded with the struggling poor,  
Dishonored, too, by many a needless grave.

O heartless world! upborne by toiling hands,

Was this fit welcome for a Workman's child?

O ye! whose artist hands adorn our homes,  
Who weave the social fabric day by day,

Do ye not dream what power lies folded deep

In every free, enfranchised human soul?  
Do ye not know God's children guided are

With flame sent from that quenchless altar-fire

Of perfect freedom? Follow where it shines.

Rise from your kneeling posture. Justice claims,

'Tis yours to break the spell that binds earth down.

You hold the weapon, but you use it not.  
Sweep from our land the power that makes us slaves.

Remove Greed's clutch from forest and from mine,

From meadow and from grain field till all earth

Is free as sunlight to God's humblest child.  
Revere the sacred ballot, brothers all,

And wield it for the saving of the world.  
Bring ballots by the million, till the air

Is filled as with the flakes of winter storm.  
Pie them up mountain high. The time has come

To crush beneath Truth's awful avalanche  
The age-long tyranny of greed and power.

MARY M'NABB JOHNSTON.

### NEEDS MENTIONING.

Wife—I seldom see the title "Honorable" prefixed to anybody's name in print, except a politician's. Why is that?

Husband—That's all right. The public would never suspect that some politicians were "Honorable," without being reminded of it every time their names are mentioned.

T. W. GRAHAM.

### THE MAKING OF A NATION.

They were three minutes proclaiming the new republic, and ten minutes more getting the recognition of the great Powers of the world.

But the business of providing a flag and a constitution was likely to take a day or two, and time was precious.

As they counseled together, in this emergency, the waves of the sea cast up a Sunday newspaper.

"God is good!" exclaimed the pious people, and unanimously adopted the comic supplement as the design of their flag.

Inside the paper they found the advertisement of a malted cereal, with rules for living to be a hundred years old, and this they enacted into a constitution, without one dissenting voice. —Life.

### THE BOY KNEW.

"Are you a Christian?"

This question was put to a 14-year-old boy who had come to the pulpit to shake hands with Charles N. Crittenton, after the meeting last evening in Moody church.

"No, sir; I'm not a Christian," was the hesitating reply.

"Well, well, my boy, you shouldn't be on the outside," said Mr. Crittenton.

"I can't be a Christian in my business," explained the boy. "I'm a telegraph messenger."

"How would that interfere?"

"Well, it's the grafting you know."

"The what?"



"There's too many temptations to make extra money. You can't make that extra money, the 'shakedown,' and be a Christian."—Chicago Tribune, of Jan. 23.

**GOOD CITIZENSHIP.**

What is a good lamp? It is not the most elaborate, the finest wrought, that of the most precious metal. A good lamp is a lamp that gives good light. And so also we are men and citizens, not by reason of the number of our goods and the pleasures we procure for ourselves, not through our intellectual and artistic culture, nor because of the honors and independence we enjoy; but by virtue of the strength of our moral fiber. And this is not a truth of to-day, but a truth of all times.—Charles Wagner, in "The Simple Life."

**AS TO THE TEACHER.**

If there is a single public school system in the United States where there is official and constitutional provision made for submitting questions of methods of discipline and teaching, and the questions of the curriculum, text-books, etc., to the discussion and decision of those actually engaged in the work of teaching, that fact has escaped my notice. Indeed, the opposite situation is so common that it seems, as a rule, to be absolutely taken for granted as the normal and final condition of affairs. The number of persons to whom any other course has occurred as desirable, or even possible—to say nothing of necessary—is apparently very limited. But until the public school system is organized in such a way that every teacher has some regular and representative way in which he or she can register judgment upon matters of educational importance, with the assurance that this judgment will somehow affect the school system, the assertion that the present system is not, from the internal standpoint, democratic seems to be justified. Either we come here upon some fixed and inherent limitation of the democratic principle, or else we find in this fact an obvious discrepancy between the conduct of the school and the conduct of social life—a discrepancy so great as to demand immediate and persistent effort at reform.—Dr. John Dewey, in the Elementary School Teacher, Dec. 1903.

**WE NEED A PATRIOTIC WALL STREET.**

The Washington Continental Guard of New York City celebrated Washington's Birthday with a luncheon in the afternoon at the historic "Fraunce's Tavern." Walter S. Logan was the toast master and

principal speaker. According to the Chicago Tribune Mr. Logan said in part:

There is no doubt that the poor people and the people of moderate fortunes are intensely patriotic. The men are ready to shed their blood for this nation whenever the occasion demands it. The great trouble is, whether we have patriotic dollars in the nation and whether the men of wealth represented by Wall street will be as ready to shed their dividends as the people are ready to shed their blood for their country.

This nation needs more than anything else a patriotic Wall street. It is the one thing this country lacks. I'm glad to see this celebration here to-day within the shadow of Wall street. I'm glad to see this building preserved and something devoted to patriotism in the shadow of Wall street. It was not a patriotic Wall street that organized the United States Steel corporation. It was not a patriotic Wall street that fathered the Northern Securities company, contrary to the laws of the land. We need a great infusion of patriotism in Wall street; the Wall street that contributes money to corrupt elections, that makes its money in New York and spends it in Europe, that gathers together the money of the people of the American nation to spend where it brings anything but credit to the people of the American nation.

**WHY JOHNNIE CHANGED HIS MIND.**

**THE ISSUE IN PANAMA.**

"Say, Pa, when I grow up I want to be a Statesman. Do you care?"

"What got that idea into your head, my son?"

"Oh! I've been reading politics lately and I notice Statesmen all have good easy jobs and they must have lots of fun."

"If you get to be a Statesman it may not seem so funny. When will you begin?"

"I want to begin right now and learn all I can. Will you help me?"

"Certainly I will help you. What do you want to know?"

"Well, Pa, What's all this fuss about Panama? Did we steal Panama from Colombia?"

"Nonsense, Son; Panama rebelled and declared itself Independent."

"Didn't we help the Rebels, Pa?"

"Help them how?"

"Didn't we stand Colombia off?"

"Yes, we stood her off. We had to do it. Our Treaty with Her compelled us to do it. If we didn't interfere there would have been War and that might

have stopped Traffic over the Isthmus."

"I know that, Pa, but Colombia hadn't done anything to interfere with Traffic over the Isthmus, had she?"

"No, but if she undertook to subdue the Rebels they might choose the right of way for fighting ground and that might obstruct the Railway Traffic, isn't that clear?"

"Yes, Pa, I see that, but it seems to me as though it would be the Rebels who obstructed Traffic, and OUR duty under the Treaty would be to stand THEM off."

"Look here, my boy; you don't understand Diplomacy and should not question the Acts of your superiors. Now I want you to listen carefully while I explain this matter to you so you WILL understand it, and not utter any more Treasonable sentiments. Logic is all right, my son, in its place, but when Complex questions of Duty and Destiny are involved only GREAT minds can grasp their subtleties, and Logic must give way to Diplomacy. Did you read the President's Message?"

"I read all he had to say about Panama and the Canal, Pa."

"That's right, my boy. If you had been older it would not be necessary for me to explain it. You will learn later on Not to question anything you see in a Message. A President can't lie. George Washington set the precedent. When you see anything in a Message that looks shady, just remember that you are a Finite Being. If the Message harmonizes with your reason, Well and Good. If it doesn't, just skip along and don't worry. Everything will come out all right in the end if we 'let 'er rip,' besides it's the only way to be comfortable."

"The situation, My Son, was this: Our President knew a Revolution was brewing in Panama several weeks before it occurred. He says so in his Message. Now an ordinary man, in his place, might have conceived it his duty in the interest of Peace and of Traffic across the Isthmus, to notify Colombia and if necessary assist her in preventing a disturbance."

"I admit if I had been President that is probably the way I should have blundered in construing our Duty to Colombia under the Treaty."

"The Trouble is the ordinary man doesn't understand Destiny. Roosevelt does. He can recognize it 10,000 leagues away. In less than 15 minutes after Destiny landed on the Isthmus he 'Caught on.' Anybody that understands Destiny knows it's no use to fight it. All our War Vessels and Marines or any army we could muster would be pow-

erless to prevent a revolution with Destiny backing it up.

"Roosevelt knew better than to sacrifice Lives and Treasure in a vain attempt to eject Destiny from the Isthmus; besides such an effort would be Sacrilegious. Destiny, my son, is only another name for, the 'Will of God.' It takes an extraordinary mind to interpret the WILL OF GOD six weeks ahead of its manifestation. It's lucky we have Statesmen that are Bred to do it.

"So the President lay low and quietly sent a few Gunboats to the Isthmus to protect Destiny in case Colombia should interfere.

"The Colombians are an inferior race, with no Statesmen worth mentioning. THEY did not know that Destiny had been smuggled into their Territory by the Revolutionists, or they might have hesitated about going up against it. Roosevelt COULD have explained the situation to them, but he knew they would not comprehend what he was talking about. HOW COULD THEY, when so many people in our own enlightened land can't grasp the idea? There was but one thing for HIM to do—Display Our Navy and Land the Marines. The Colombians COULD understand that. THEY DID, and were saved.

"Just think, my son, what might have happened to Colombia if Roosevelt had allowed that country to fight Destiny, and how shamefully ungrateful they appear for the favors shown them. But that doesn't matter. No mercenary hope of gratitude inspired our Noble President's Act. If something more substantial in the shape of Territory shall come to us, we can't help that—It's Our Destiny.

"Verily, my son, the old adage that 'Good Deeds Bring Their Own Reward' has been amply verified since Duty and Destiny were joined in Holy Wedlock and our Statesmen have risen to ethereal planes where vision is unobscured and communion with Delty renders mistakes impossible.

"Do you understand the Panama question now, my boy?"

"Not very well, Pa. I guess I'm stupid. I can't see why Colombia hasn't as good a right to whip HER Rebels as we had ours."

"There you go again trying to REASON it out. Didn't I tell you the situation does not admit of Logic? You must break yourself of that habit if you ever expect to be a Statesman and become the Agent of Destiny."

"Well, Pa, I guess I'll give up being

a Statesman. It is not the snap I thought it was. I believe I had rather WORK for a living."—T. W. Graham.

#### THE WASHINGTON SPIRIT TOWARD OTHER NATIONS.

An address delivered by Walter H. Beecher at the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, Feb. 22, 1904.

Mankind may be connected like one great family in fraternal ties.

This anniversary is a fitting time and this old Church, our Temple of Liberty, the very place for us to ask again and again the question: Are those wise principles on which our fathers aimed to found the American Republic, Justice, Liberty, and Brotherhood, faithfully expressed in the foreign policy of our government? Have they tempered as they ought the official acts of our public servants toward the people of other lands? Do we sincerely respect the rights of our neighbor nations? If not, then it behooves us to remember well that

Laws of changeless justice bind  
The oppressor with the oppressed;  
And close as sin and suffering joined  
We march to fate abreast.

Deny the rights of another people, and you have already begun to destroy your own. And since our foreign policy during the last four years has been ordered in flagrant violation of the Golden Rule, in contemptuous disregard of the precepts of Washington and of that kindlier spirit which sees, as Washington saw, the possibility of a brotherhood among the nations; since our public officials have sown fear, hatred and war where there should have been trust, friendship and peace, it is no less wise than right that we should care greatly whether we have been loyal to our country's early ideals, the ideals of Washington, or have forsaken them.

What were the Washington ideals?

Here is one of them. "I consider," said he, "that mankind may be connected like one great family in fraternal ties. I indulge the fond hope that the benefits of a free commerce shall pretty generally succeed to the devastations and horrors of war." Now, recall some of our modern departures from this ideal of Washington; scan them in the spirit of this noble hope, and you will find:—

1. That in our dealings with the Republic of Colombia we have not done as we should have wished, if we had been in Colombia's place, a stronger nation should do by us. We have denied her the right of control and self-preservation within her own borders;

the right to suppress a conspiracy of secession and theft; and have accepted from her traitors the stolen Panama Canal, which she was unwilling to deliver to us at the price we had offered.

2. That we have denied to Porto Rico even that degree of self-government which she had enjoyed under Spain; and, having fastened upon her an alien control, we make no acknowledgment of responsibility for the corruption, oppression and unwonted distress we have thus wrought upon her, and no promise to enlarge her liberties and establish the full rights of her people.

3. That, by our career of despotism in the Philippine Islands, we have seemed to publish to the world that we no longer believe freedom is the gift of God to all mankind. Ought we not to protest now and here against this modern American infidelity.

When, after five years of criminal effort to "bestow" any kind of government at all upon the Filipinos; after five years of a muzzled Filipino press; after five years of a treason law that dooms the Filipino to fine, imprisonment and exile for the mere utterance of the hope that his country will some day be free, that there should still be Americans and Cincinnatians so insensible of their country's disgrace that they are willing to pay honors to a fellow townsman whose greatest distinction at this moment is that he has helped to frame and enforce such laws, and that, as an alien governor of the Philippine Islands, he has helped to destroy a native Republic and rear in its place a benevolent despotism—is it not especially fitting, I say, that now and here, we disclaim and condemn the faithless, skulking, ruffian policy that has authorized or abetted this kind of government in the name of freedom-loving Americans? That a public servant of ours, just retiring from an office wherein to unknown hundreds of Filipinos who have had the courage to say to him, "Give us liberty or give us death," he has answered in our name by giving them exile and death,—that such a public servant should return to-day to the civic hearthstone, whose very name, Cincinnati, commemorates the virtue of defending native land against foreign rule,—return with the nippant retort, "That the Filipinos are not yet fit to govern themselves;" yea, and with such an insult on his lips to the intelligence of his country and the memory of Washington, return as a guest of honor at a Washington birthday celebration, such a sacrilege, such a sign of the times,—is a sight for American

to behold with amazement, sorrow and shame. And while we say:

Reville him not, the tempter hath  
A snare for all;  
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,  
Best, his fall.

Nevertheless, when the privileged citizen of a country aspiring to be free, a citizen endowed with many splendid opportunities, elected to high honors of public service, owing sacred obligations of loyalty to that liberty which he knows would pour out blessings upon all mankind as it has poured out fortune upon him, squanders his birthright as a leader in the world's struggle for larger freedom and more righteous laws, betrays the trust of his heritage and his country's heritage, and, for whatever reason, lends his name and hand to the overthrow of popular government, whether it be at home or abroad, it is time for all who revere the precepts of Washington and would revive our Nation's faith in the wisdom of respecting everywhere human rights and the laws of God in human society, to join with one voice in that just judgment and scorching rebuke pronounced in an earlier crisis of American liberty:

Shame on the costly mockery of piling  
stone on stone,  
To the men who won our liberties, the  
heroes dead and gone,  
While we look coldly on and see law-  
shielded ruffians slay  
The men who fain would win their own, the  
heroes of to-day.

We have already celebrated this month the birthday anniversary of Lincoln; and still fresh in our hearts is that high resolve which he has voiced for us, "That this country, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." Shall we not to-day highly resolve, also, that this nation, so far as its influence and example go, shall aid and only aid other nations in winning their freedom, and that we, to the extent of our power, will assure our public servants and our fellow-citizens that there is alive in this land, a patriotism of reason and humanity, a patriotism dedicated not alone to our own rights, but to the rights of MAN, a patriotism whose motto is, "The world is my country and mankind are my countrymen."

**AN "OLD MAN OF THE SEA" STORY.**

A portion of a "digression" by A. Wangemann, of Edgewater, Chicago, published in the Vermont Union Signal of January 2, 1904.

Theo. Z. Wangemann, a son of mine, not as yet arrived at that age when sons are "knowinger" than the old folks,

asked me the other day about the difference between monopoly and capital, and, as I did not care to confuse him with theories, I told him a story, a fact—the story of the Colby mine. Here it is, just as I told it to the boy; a true modern tale out of my personal experience in Wisconsin.

About a hundred years ago (A. D. 1803) a certain Frenchman owned a number of our present States, reaching up to and including Wisconsin. That vast amount of real estate was called Louisiana. It so happened that this Frenchman of the name of Napoleon needed the money, so he made a dicker with our daddies and sold them his property at the rate of two cents a square mile, aggregating \$15,000,000 altogether. We will have a celebration about it shortly in St. Louis, you know, which will cost us more than we paid for all these States to that Frenchman.

Now our daddies of course did not know anything about Mr. Henry George, for the good reason that the gentleman was as yet not born. Even if they had heard of what we know now of Mr. George, it is doubtful whether they would have acted different than they did, because they were conservative, which in turn means to leave things exactly as they are; not to change them as they ought to be changed, when everything gradually grows to be different. Some, I told Theo. Z., call such folks conservatives, others call them mossbacks, also pillars of the church and state, because pillars don't move, you know, but stand still. But let that pass. We are still trying to get at that Colby story.

After the purchase our daddies had what is called a monopoly on all that land. All the Americans then living had paid the cash to get that monopoly, so it was theirs. It belonged to all of them. Consequently they did not keep it for the benefit of all of themselves, but sold their monopoly in parcels to any one caring to have a personal monopoly on as much of it as he could buy at the rate of \$1.25 an acre. And in course of time most of that land ceased to be the property of the nation. It became sacred property.

Way up in Northern Wisconsin that land had a rich soil and was covered till lately with primeval big hardwood and pine timber. But that timber had no commercial value for many decades, because everybody had all the wood he needed and it could not be sold elsewhere for several reasons. Yet some

long headed men went after and acquired the monopoly of owning it, because as the country grew, they foresaw that a lot of other folks would gradually create a demand for it, prices would go up, and the owners would be made wealthy without working. It's entirely legitimate, that, in our present stage of public intelligence.

Now, about 20 years ago some hunter discovered that below this timberland lay good iron ore. This of course pleased the \$1.25 purchasers of it, and among other discoveries it was found that a whole mountain up there was really composed of clean high grade iron ore, and could be shoveled out as easily as you can work a gravel pit with a steam shovel. The easiest method of mining known—surface mining. The ore, once dumped into railroad cars, could be run a few miles on trestle docks on Lake Superior, dumped in steamers and sold to any furnace around the lakes. Also shipped by rail to interior points.

Exactly that was done. It's only the methods used which clearly bring out the difference between a special privilege or monopoly, and honest capital.

The \$1.25 an acre owners did not care to work themselves, so they sold their new special privilege to the Colby boys for a royalty on each ton of ore taken away from that land which Napoleon sold to us for two cents a square mile. The Colby boys in turn did not feel like working, and sold their newly acquired, now sacred royalty to Morse & Co. These gentlemen were not anxious either for physical exercise or troubling themselves with labor, hence they engaged capital in the shape of a Captain Sellwood, who happened to own a steam shovel and a desire to do actual work, and he began to shovel, with the aid of hired laborers, that divine property into railroad cars, to be in time converted into iron by capital and labor elsewhere. Become useful to the people.

Right here my son Theo Z. asked me the meaning of royalty. That is a Norman-English word with the root "roy," which means a king. A royalty then means a tax or a tribute paid to a king. In this republic it means a tax or a tribute paid to another citizen or a number of them, owning some sort of a special privilege or a monopoly (cinch). All such private taxes are beyond public control, and are extorted in addition to, but independent of the national system of taxation. I told my son that we, as a nation, consider such private taxation by roy right, as just and proper, and

even sent out soldiers to kill or maim such persons as are of a different mind on this score.

Theo Z. asked then, of course, why we do this, having read in school that declaration that every one is entitled to equal cracks at opportunities in the pursuit of life, liberty and so-called happiness, and I told him to write a letter, inclosing stamp, to a Mr. David Parry, in Indianapolis, Ind., who was a specialist on all questions pertaining to liberty, and who no doubt would furnish the information promptly. I also told him that it's a poor policy for boys to get away from the original question asked.

To cut that Colby yarn short we jointly figured out the profits of monopoly for the first year (1885), and also the profits of capital and labor for the same year:

Iron ore taken out: 84,312 tons, sold f. o. b. cars at \$2.80, \$236,073.60.
Profits of vested rights (monopoly):
Land owners received..... \$33,724 80
The Colby boys..... 10,539 00
Morse & Company..... 118,036 80
Captain Sellwood..... 63,234 40
Profits of actual capital and labor employed..... 10,539 60
\$236,073 60

Statistics of this mine are now withheld for the very sufficient reason that the Rockefeller crowd owns or controls now every inch of iron land around Lake Superior. The above figures mean that for every dollar paid to capital and labor the special privileges interested received \$22.30.

If you talk with a kid, my dear fellow, always try to put in a story to clinch whatever you tell him into his mind. For this case I asked him to get down the "Arabian Nights" and I read to him the story of "The Old Man of the Sea." Read to him how the sailor Sinbad awoke one morning and found that a tough old personage had so dexterously twisted his legs over Sinbad's shoulders and neck that he could not shake the old sinner off. Read how Sinbad became virtually the slave and beast of burden for the old man of the sea, and so forth. Read it yourself.

Well, my Theo. Z. can see a barn when it is pointed out to him, but he could not see exactly what capital and labor could do to rid itself of the incubus of vested special interests. Neither could I furnish exact information.

For an age (now past) the following represented public opinion:

For every evil under the sun,  
There is a remedy—or there is none;

If there is—apply it;  
If there is not—never mind it.

Now, my dear boy, explain what is an evil? Did these timber grabbers consider that mountain of iron an evil? or any of the royalty crowd, or the present owners? all of them very Christian gentlemen. Let's call it (gambler's) luck, or anything but the right word. Is there a remedy? If you have one on tap, let us see it. Trot it out, please. The "never mind it" attitude certainly is unworthy of American citizenship. Pax vobiscum!

MULLIGAN RESUMES THE RELATION OF HIS DREAM-TRIP TO XANADU.

It will be remembered that Mulligan, in consequence of a previous engagement, was obliged to break off the relation of his dream-visit to the pleasure dome of Kubla Khan, in Xanadu. The next evening Donovan and Flynn had both importuned him to finish out the narration, but, much to their disappointment, he was not able to recall the vision, beyond the point where Kubla Khan had declared his conscientious scruples against extending any special privilege, on the ground that, to do so, would be to subject the beneficiaries to the demoralizing effect that Christian philosophers had taught him was sure to follow the circumstance of "getting something for nothing." No doubt, the novelty of the declaration on the part of a despot that it would be quite as demoralizing to a landlord to get something for nothing as for any other beggar, had, in some degree, paralyzed Mr. Mulligan's mentality. However, the electric touch that was needed to close the circuit of his memory was at last given by Donovan.

Mulligan and Flynn had been smoking in silence for the space of a quarter of an hour, when Donovan entered the door of the grocery, singing. And what he sang, as he walked down to the stove, where his two friends were sitting, was this:

"There's a beautiful isle, the fair land of me birth,  
Like a gem on the breast of the ocean,  
That is home to me heart, the one spot of earth  
That forever shall claim me devotion!

"Oh, the cot by the spring, where the sham-rock grows,  
Time nor distance from mem'ry can sever,  
But the incense of love, like the breath of the rose  
Will linger around it forever!"

"The cot by the spring, is it?" cried Mulligan. "Sure, I'll tell yez the rest av me dhream now, alright,

f'r 'twas about springs I was dream'n'. Not on'y wan spring, but two av thim—big wans."

"Whisht! Donovan," said Flynn, "don't spake a wurrud or he'll be forget'n' it agin."

"It was the quarest dream I ever had," said Mulligan. "It seemed to me I was tin years in Xanadu; an' if I cud remimber all that passed while I was there it wud make a story as long as to Corrk an' back agin.

"Ye'll remimber, we had been ex-poort'n' some av the sarplooz projuce be dump'n' it into the sea. Well, we got back to poort, an' the nixt day Kubla Khan axed me wud I like to take a walk down to the big spring. An', begorra, it was a big spring, right! A stream av wather as big as a r-rail-road tunnel flowing out av the side av the mountain an' spreading out in a basin about tin acres in extint. Ye cud look down t'rough the clear cold wather a distance av 50 feet an' see the white pebbles on the bottom as plain as if ye held thim in yer hand. At the far end av the lake was the outlet, where the wather wint pour'n' an' tumb'l'n' down to the valley and far away t'rough the pasture lands, and out av sight. All the paypl' av Xanadu got their wather from the spring; and the country folk beyant, from the stream that issued from ut.

"It was a beautiful sight to see the bare-futted gyerrls-dt'n' the wather in earthen joogs an' carry'n' it away an their heads. I says to Kubla Khan, says I, 'That's the finest iver I saw.' 'Is it so?' says 'e. 'Faith, I have someth'n' betther nor that to show ye: I have another spring. Come along wid me an' I'll show it t' ye.' So I wint wid'm down to the base av the mountain, into the valley below, an', begorra, there was a spring, half as big as the other; but instid av wather, what was it but pethroleum?

"There's ile f'r ye!" says Kubla Khan, 'a plinty f'r the whole popylation, an' more.'

"'Beggorra!' says I, 'this is a greaat country, where ile is free as wather.'

"Where ile is what!" cried Kubla Khan, in a voice like a clap av thunder.

"Where ile is free,' says I.

"Free?" shouted Kubla Khan, in a voice like two claps av thunder!

"I was get'n' scairt. I did'n' know what 'o say. But Kubla's little eyes was borin' into me like two streaks av burn'n' blazes! An' so I says to 'im says I: 'I beg yer highness' parrdon, but if I've said annythin' offinsive I didn't intind it.'

"Ye must think I'm an aisy maark!"

says Kubla; 'D'ye think he is anny freer in Xanadu, nor it is in the United States?'

"Faith, I never thought av that," says I.

"D'ye see the tanks below?" says Kubla.

"I do," says I.

"There's where the he goes," says 'e. 'Enough av ut is refined to supply the demand, and the rist is condoocted to a big cavern undher the mountain where it runs down out av sight.'

"What price d'ye charge?" I says.

"Fifteen cints a gallon," he says.

"And why do n't ye charge f'r the wather?" says I.

"Faith," he says, 'I never t'ought av that. If I undherstand ut,' he says, 'wather is free in the United States,' says 'e.

"It is," says I.

"An' why don't they charge f'r wather there?" he axed; 'is it becace they think it morally wrong?' he axed.

"That quistion maakes me home-sick!" I says.

"How's that?" says Kubla.

"It sounds like Donovan," says I. "The raison they don't charge f'r wather," says I, 'is the same as wid ye—they can't.'

"The spring is mine," says Kubla.

"But," I says, 'ye'd have to put an army av guarrds around it, and all along the whole lin'th av the river.'

"I'll do ut!" he says.

"The paypl' 'll dig wells and cisterns," I says.

"I'll tax the wells and cisterns," he says.

"But the paypl' won't stand for ut," I says; 'wather is the wan taxable thing f'r which there is no soobsichute; an' being a perpituall univarsal necissity, the cost av colliction would exceed the tax; it wouldn't pay.'

"Right you are, Mulligan," says Kubla. 'I parcelve,' he says, 'that wather is beyond the raich av monopoly. But, me frind Mulligan,' he says, 'the situation raises a quistion in sociology: Wud it be right to charge f'r the wather if ye cud make it wurruk?'

"The solution av the problim is an aisy matther, yer Ryal Highness," says I. 'As monarch av Xanadu, everything in the counthry is yours. Ye have the power to give special privileges av all sorts to yer fav'rites. Anny wan av yer subjects would be glad t' accpt the gift av a monopoly av annything but wather. Now,' I says, 'I'll till ye how ye could give away all ye have, widout losing annything.'

"How's that?" says Kubla Khan.

"Pick out the best man in the coun-

thry,' I says, 'an' give 'im the monopoly av he, and land, an' everything else, including wather, the whole to revert to yerself in case he fails to exercise effectively the monopoly av wather.'

"I'll do ut," says Kubla. So he done ut. And the follying day, after dinner, as Kubla Khan an' mesilf was sitt'n' undher the pleasure dome, smok'n', in comes the newly-made monopolist, on 'is hands and knees, bump'n' the fiure wid 'is head at every step, as he approached the t'rone.

"Yer imperial highness," he says, widout luk'n' up, 'I crave the privilege av makin' a prisint to Mистер Mulligan.'

"What d'ye want to give 'im?" says Kubla.

"The monopoly av wather," he says. An' begorra, gintlemin, I flopped down on me hands and knees, an' begun thump'n' me head on the fiure to bate the band! 'Don't lave 'im do ut, yer Ryal Highness!' I says. 'I have to go back to the United States nixt week,' says I, 'and I couldn't attind to the business.'

"Stand up on the two feet av ye, Mulligan," says Kubla Khan. 'Bad cess to the man that wud harrum a hair av yer head,' says he. 'And as f'r you, Hop Hoy—address'n' his thrembling subject—another affront av the kind to me frind Mulligan 'll cost the head av ye!' and Hop Hoy bunted the fiure till 'is nose bled.

"Have ye colliected the wather rints?" axed his highness.

"Most glorious Son av the Sun," answered Hop Hoy, 'I tried to, but the blashted anarchistic mob trun the slave av me lord into the spring, an' wouldn't lave me out till I promised not to ax f'r anny more wather rints! Parr-don, sire; I pray ye, take back the priv-ileges.'

"I parrdon ye," says Kubla. 'Go wash yer face.'

"When we was wanst more alone Kubla says to me, says he: 'The paypl' seem to think they own the wather, Mulligan.'

"They do so," says I. 'And what do ye think about ut?' I says.

"I think they're right," says he.

"So ye think," says I, 'the private monopoly av wather has no basis in right?' I says.

"That's what," says Kubla.

"Thru'e f'r you, Kubla Khan," says I. 'An' now,' I says, 'we're purty close to the solution av the whole problim. Answer me thru'e,' says I: 'What's the raison ye don't monopolize wather?'

"It can't be done," says Kubla.

"Exac'ly so," I says. 'The quistion is, can I, or can I not? Is ut possible or is

ut not possible? It's not a quistion av right at all, but simply av might. The paypl' have as clear a right to the he as to the wather; but the poor div'ls don't know ut. Ye can kape on schkin'n' thim till they get their eyes open—' At this, Kubla Khan's face turned black wid rrage; his whiskers and moustachios stuck out straight, an' squirmed an' wriggled like so manny living snakes. His hair stud on end. His eyes shone like coals av fire. His long, bony fingers clutched the arrums av his t'rone. He rose, to a crouch'n' position, his frame thrembl'n', his head thrust forward, and hissing at me t'rough 'is teeth, he cried: 'Anarchist! What ho! me guarrds!' And I woke up.

HORACE CLIFTON.

THE LIGHTS OF THE WORLD ARE J. D.'s.

For The Public.

I

We're fast in the grasp of a dangerous man—

The lights of the world are J. D.'s; He governs the oil in tank, pipe and can—

The lights of the world are J. D.'s. If our land were as free as we claim it to be,

He couldn't own you, and he couldn't own me

Once we were blind but now we can see That the lights of the world are J. D.'s.

II.

Robs orphan and widow for mission's sweet sake—

The devil's own saint is J. D. By his gifts to a college, free speech is a fake—

The devil's own saint is J. D. He does up his neighbor, then passes the plate.

He lies under oath, is a churchman great. Once we were blind but now we can see That the devil's own saint is J. D.

III.

Not content with his billions, he reaches for more—

"The earth shall be mine," says J. D. Ships, railroads and banks and steel mills galore—

"The earth shall be mine," says J. D. He crowds wages down and makes prices soar.

He corners the market and makes millions more.

Once we were blind but now we can see That "The earth shall be mine," says J. D.

IV.

The laws of our land are naught to this man—

A law to himself is J. D. The courts and commissions conform to his plan.

A law to himself is J. D. The father of trusts, dictator of freights, He kills competition by illegal rates.

Once we were blind but now we can see That a law to himself is J. D.

V.

He'll drive us like slaves if he keeps on his course.

The jail is the place for J. D.

Oppression and suffering count him as their source.

The jail is the place for J. D.  
Enforce the law, 'twill yet save the State.  
Do it at once before it's too late.  
Once we were blind but now we can see  
That the jail is the place for J. D.

PAUL MARTIN.

The beneficiaries of privilege have the optional alternative of surrendering their privilege, or of submitting to whatsoever bungling methods ignorance may employ to rid itself of the unjust burden.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

"I'm sorry," said the Private Secretary, "but the President will not see you."

"Try again, won't you?" persisted the White House visitor. "Tell him I'm the man in the brown hat that stood in the crowd when the Rough Riders left Tampa for the front."—Philadelphia Press.

"Josh Medder's son Bill is a director of a big trust in New York now."

"Gosh! When he lived here he didn't know beans."

"He don't now; that's why they made him a director of th' trust."—Puck.

Judge—You admit you sand-bagged the man. Have you any excuse?

Prisoner—Yes, yer Honor. De sand-bag wuz me own property and J. P. Morgan says a man has de right ter do wot he pleases wit' his own property.—Puck.

A member of a labor union began to read a paragraph relating to the land question in one of the union's meetings. He was stopped by the objection that the union label was not on the publication containing it.

Was this any less foolish than the refusal of the drowning Presbyterian to be rescued by anyone but a Presbyterian?—Daybook and Ledger, of Oak Lawn, R. I.

## BOOKS

### SOCIALIST AGITATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Socialism is a theory of inevitable and unpremeditated social evolution, rather than a deliberate movement for social reformation. According to this theory all social changes proceed from economic or industrial variations. A history of socialism, therefore, in the strictest sense, would be a history of economic improvement and its consequent developments of social structure.

But such a work would be more in the nature of a treatise than of a history. Even though it incidentally mentioned

the popular agitations that might be supposed to stimulate inevitable evolution, it would not satisfy the demand for a distinctive story of those agitations. With all his faith in economic fatalism, the socialist nevertheless wants to organize for the purpose of helping Fate along, and likes to read the history of his organized efforts to that end.

While the logic of his "science" requires him to disbelieve in ideals, his nature as a man compels his devotion to organized and self-sacrificing work for ideals.

The history of that work is consequently not only interesting to him and instructive to all; but in his own mind as well as in the minds of others, it seems to be the history of the fatalistic evolution itself. A contribution to this type of socialist history is the "History of Socialism in the United States," by Morris Hillquist (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls company), which was issued late in the year just closed.

Mr. Hillquist allows his readers to infer through many pages, nearly half his book, that organized socialism in the United States originated in the communistic experiments of the last century. In these experiments he includes not only the non-religious Owenites and Fourierites, but also such religious organizations as the Shakers, the Amana community, the Oneida community and the Mormons at Nauvoo. With so broad a conception of the origin of modern socialism, it is difficult to understand why the author was content with so late a date as the last century. Along with the religious sects that he names, to which communism was an attachment, he might properly have included primitive Christianity, and the monastic life both before and after Christ; and to the Icarians, with Etienne Cabet's mythical "Voyage to Icaria" as their inspiring text book, he might have added an old communistic experiment or two in the British possessions of America under the inspiration of Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia."

The truth is that experiments in practical communism have no more originated modern socialism than they have originated populism, or any other theory for the abolition of competitive industry. Even the individualistic reforms of the day might as well claim descent from these old movements, for in the last analysis they were nothing more than outward manifestations of dissatisfaction with the existing order of things and an aspiration for an order of human brotherhood in its place. Socialism may be said to be one of the many children of those old agitations and experiments, but not the only legitimate heir.

It is noticeable, however, that Mr. Hillquist seems to file a first lien for modern socialism upon nearly the whole

history of social and industrial agitation in America during the past hundred years, until he begins the second part of his book. He then lifts the lien as to the communistic theories and experiments, by observing that these "had but little influence on the formation of the modern socialist movement in the United States"—that "the two movements are entirely different in nature and origin." From this point on the book is devoted to the story of the rise of the existing Socialist party.

The origin of that party is in the old International Workingmen's Association, of Europe, popularly known and amazingly feared as the "International." The first American affiliation with this body was in 1868. It would seem that the author might properly have been a little more full and specific in accounting for the integration of the "International," and the transfer of the remnant to the United States. But he does present a considerable mass of information regarding the early organizers and organizations of socialism on this side of the Atlantic. Most of this information must have been gathered at no inconsiderable pains, and it appears on the surface to have been presented conscientiously.

Some of it, however, is not firm enough to be correct; and this naturally tends to cast a cloud over the trustworthiness of the rest. With reference, for instance, to the United Labor party's convention at Syracuse, N. Y., in August, 1887, Mr. Hillquist makes it appear that the socialist delegates were expelled, and that this expulsion was because they were socialists. The fact is that in a contest from one district, based upon several grounds of contest, the decision went against the socialist contestants from that district on the ground that those particular individuals belonged to another political party—the Socialist Labor party—to which they gave their allegiance in preference to the United Labor party, in whose convention they were demanding seats. This decision did not exclude socialists as such. From other districts there were socialist delegates. There was no expulsion of these. But when the decision in the contested district went against the supremacy of the Socialist Labor party in organizations of the United Labor party, the socialists whose seats were not contested voluntarily withdrew. They were not expelled, as would be inferred from Mr. Hillquist's history.

Other errors of partisanship, due for the most part to inadequate, rather than untruthful statement, mar the otherwise good work of Mr. Hillquist as a party historian. It must be conceded in his behalf, however, that in the histories of other parties by partisan historians one would doubtless find ample precedent for any onesidedness

of statement or color of which he may be guilty.

Briefly summarized, Mr. Hillquist's history tells of a variety of political organizations in the United States, more or less socialistic, down to 1877, when the "Socialist Labor Party of North America" was organized at Newark, N. J. On the question of political action sentiment in that party was divided, but "in several places and at several times" the party "alone or in conjunction with its political allies succeeded in polling a comparatively large vote." One of these places was the Tenth Assembly district, New York city, where the party polled annually about 1,000 votes. Its alliances with other reform parties were with a view to infusing into them "as much of the doctrine of socialism as possible." A similar motive governed its activity in labor union movements, notably the Knights of Labor, which it tried to capture. The period down to 1885 was marked by growth, factional controversies, decline, revival. In that year, when its fifth annual convention met, the party was stronger than it had yet been; and in 1886 it went bodily, as a party, into the United Labor party, of New York, and the United Labor party, of Chicago, besides several other reform parties in different parts of the country.

When some of its members were seated, as stated above, at the Syracuse convention of the United Labor party of New York, and the others withdrew, they organized in September, 1887, another party called the "Progressive Labor Party," of which the Socialist Labor party was the unnamed but dominating factor, as it had set out to be in the United Labor party. This new variation of socialistic politics resulted in a vote of some 5,000 in New York city.

After these experiments in making its political warfare in the name of other political movements, the Socialist Labor party did what some of its local bodies had been doing before; it went into politics in its own name. A presidential ticket was nominated 1888, for which the entire vote of the country was considerably less than 5,000. Since then the Socialist Labor party has steadily placed candidates in the field at all elections, and with encouraging results down to 1898, when its national vote had risen to 82,204

But then came the Debs movement. When Debs was in prison for contempt in violating a labor injunction, he became a socialist. But he did not join the Socialist Labor party. He assisted in the organization in 1879 of the "Social Democracy of America," a bolt from which, a year later, resulted in the organization of the "Social Democratic party." Meanwhile factional quarreling in the Socialist Labor

party had inclined many of its members favorably to the new organization; with which, after much difficulty, they united in 1900, under the name of the "Socialist party."

There are, therefore, two socialist parties now in the political arena in the United States—the "Socialist party" and the "Socialist Labor party." The Socialist party polled 100,000 in 1900, while the Socialist Labor party polled only 35,000. In the Congressional elections of 1902, the former polled nearly 250,000, and the latter about 50,000.

Mr. Hillquist is a prominent member of the Socialist party. In so far, therefore, as his history may be influenced by his sympathies and environment, as between these two parties, it doubtless favors the Socialist party. On the whole, however, we are inclined to regard Mr. Hillquist's work as a reasonably successful first effort to deal briefly and fairly with all the data of the subject, some of which is obscure, much of which is conflicting, and not a little of which is still colored by the passions of factional quarreling. Whatever the defects may be—and such a work must, out of the very necessities of the case, have many—it is a readable book on a phase of American history with which Americans ought to be familiar, but about which they with few exceptions know next to nothing.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Agnosticism to Theism, by Rev. C. F. Dole. James H. West Co. 30 cents.

The Ancient Lowly, a History of the Ancient Working People, by C. Osborne Ward. Purdy Publishing Co., Chicago. \$2.50.

—The Sale of an Appetite. By Paul La Fague. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Illustrated by Dorothy D. Devine. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

—"American Socialism." By O. D. Jones. Edina, Mo.: O. D. Jones. Price, 25 cents. A discussion of the socialist tendencies in America, not in exact conformity to orthodox socialism.

—Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History. By Antonio Labriola, professor in the University of Rome. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. To be reviewed.

—Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi; a Study of the Religion of the Babi's. By Myron H. Phelps, of the New York Bar. With an introduction by Edward Granville Browne. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS.

The most notable political pamphlet that has appeared in many years is an anonymous defense of Roosevelt. "Mr. Roosevelt and the Presidency, by a Spectator." is its title, and it may be had of the American News Co., 39 Chambers St., New York. After making due allowance for the bitterness of ignorance which the writer displays toward Bryan, this pamphlet may fairly be described as one of the most powerfully persuasive political documents with which the electorate of the United States has ever been favored. It outranks every other apology for the new order of things in which Mr. Roosevelt is general master workman; and is all the stronger, no doubt, because its author is evidently a man of ideals who in his heart of hearts deprecates this era of high-class "graft." He is able to plead for Roosevelt because, while Roosevelt's ideals are many of them not his, and although he regards Roosevelt's book on

American ideals as "sometimes thin and meretricious," and his doctrine of the strenuous life as "distinctly tiresome," yet Roosevelt "has ideals and he endeavors to realize them," and those ideals are generous, large and lead to honest work and plenty of it." This distinguishes Roosevelt favorably, in the eyes of his apologist, at a time when he can ask the plutocratic critics of Roosevelt, "where are your ideals who judge him?" and truthfully answer, "Gone with your vanished youth!" The pamphlet is on the whole a wholesome production and may be read with benefit, even if not with satisfaction, by citizens of all shades of political opinion.

PERIODICALS.

One of the evils of war is that it diverts attention from internal social questions. Rulers know that it has this effect. "In such absorption," says the Nation, "in the single subject of war, we see the temptation of unscrupulous rulers hard beset in matters of domestic policy. It is the insidious temptation which Seward placed before Lincoln in 1861—only, of course, to have it quietly pushed aside—to 'change the subject' before the country by getting up a foreign war." J. H. D.

To the February number of The World To-Day, a Chicago magazine which is steadily improving, Francis W. Parker, a member of the Illinois Senate, contributes an instructive article on the machine in politics. A descriptive and critical article on the Chicago Art Institute, by Will H. Low, appropriately supplemented with one on art education, by the director of the Institute, Wm. R. French, both very attractively illustrated, adds much to the value of this issue of the magazine.

The Appeal to Reason charges that its recent edition, dealing with the outrages of the military authorities in Colorado, was held up for inspection. It quotes as follows from the Pueblo Star-Journal: "Under instructions, Postmaster J. H. Mitchell this morning held for examination a large bundle of copies of the paper." But neither in the full quotation from this paper, nor in the Appeal's comments, is there a statement of the result of the investigation. The matter is one of extreme importance, and a clear account of the whole affair should be made public. J. H. D.

Prof John Bascom, of Williams college, writes to the Springfield Republican a letter criticising the Democratic party, and incidentally telling some plain truths about public matters. "Most, if not all," he says, "of the monstrous increase of wealth in the hands of commercial leaders, by which the heritage of the people has been stolen from them, is due to a plain inequality of advantages conceded under law and custom to the few at the expense of the many."

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THE FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKE.

There are only two possible sources of public revenue, and Uncle Sam (like the effete monarchies) taps the wrong bag.

Prof. Bascom despairs of a redress of evils by means of the Democratic party, but does not advise what we are to do about it. J. H. D.

Leslie's Monthly for March gives the third of Mr. Brandenburg's papers on Imported Americans, and the second article on the Fight for Copper, by Wm. MacLeod Raine. Mr. John F. Brownell contributes an article on Senator Gorman, calling him a past-master in politics. "He has come to his high estate," says the writer, "undoing the work of other men. . . . He made a mook and travesty of the Wilson Bill." Another striking contribution to this number is on Trades Unions in Petticoats, telling what the women who work in Chicago have done and are doing for themselves through their own unions. J. H. D.

Poor Mayor McClellan! Though a Princeton man, he has not shown enough "college spirit;" and so the Princeton Tiger objects to him, and cannot understand why anyone "when through his Princeton alumnship he has had a chance to ally himself with at least one decent course and some decent people, fails to do so." At which Life laughs in such a way that the Tiger and other college journals ought to be able to see that they are beginning to make themselves ridiculous by their superciliousness. They need to be careful that the country does not soon take college spirit to be an offensive form of caste spirit. J. H. D.

Frank Vierth's monthly "Why?" calls attention to an interview in the Boston Post with Rev. Lewis B. Bates, father of the governor of Massachusetts, in which the clergyman is said to have predicted that "war would inevitably be the outcome if hatred between the classes continues to grow." On which "Why?" remarks that "it may pertinently be asked what the ministers of Christ have been doing all these years that they have permitted this horrid feeling of caste to grow and assert itself. It will not do to say that it has grown outside of the church, for, as all unprejudiced observers must admit, the intolerance which marks class is strong in every class denomination." J. H. D.

The third of Henry George, Jr.'s, series of articles on "Modern Methods of Finance," which began with the January

issue of Pearson's, appears in the issue for March. It deals with the asphalt trust. The fourth, to appear in the April Pearson's, will deal with the shipbuilding trust. It is to be hoped that these articles, with all their wealth of verified facts, may be published in book form. They present a picture of the politics and business of the time which is photographic in its severe fidelity. In these articles may be seen exactly what manner of men are the practical Wideners, and Elkinsees, and Whitneys, and Keenes, and such professional advisers of theirs as the Lauterbachs and the Ellihu Roots.

"Mr. Chamberlain has held the ear of the British Empire," says Mr. Talcott Williams, in the Booklovers' Magazine for February, "not because his voice is loud, but because the Empire is ready to listen." Mr. Williams argues that the adoption of the protective policy in England would not affect the United States. "In round numbers," he says, "not one-quarter of our exports of agricultural products, and not a tithe of their total product, would feel the effect of English preferential duties. Men often forget that the United States is as self-sufficing as a planet." This is just what protectionists fail to mention, whether or not they forget it—namely: our great internal system of free trade. This copy of the magazine, among other handsome illustrations, contains a striking photograph of Father Huntington. J. H. D.

In the Commonwealth (St. Louis) for January-March, William Vincent Byars is represented by a paper on "The Last Days of Henry George," in which George's character is finely portrayed. Intimate friends of George will recognize the significance of one quotation. He was revising an article Mr. Byars had blocked out for him, in which the mortality of children in the tenement house districts of New York was mentioned. "Stop!" exclaimed George, as a reference was made to their having immortal souls: "we must change that. We must not say 'they have immortal souls,' but that they are immortal souls." Mr. Byars goes on: "Then without many words he suggested to me his deepest controlling idea—the idea that this planet is a place where immortal souls are sent by an all-wise power of love and kindness that they may grow to their full strength in power and fitness for freedom."

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filling.

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Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

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A Philosophical Work by Charles Kendall Franklin entitled:

The Socialization of Humanity

An Analysis and Synthesis of Nature, Life, Mind and Society through the Law of Repetition—A System of Monistic Philosophy. To quote the first sentence of the preface, "The object of this investigation is to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws, so that the subsequent expenditure of energy in nature, life, mind and society may be determined for human welfare." This is what the book attempts, and in a large measure accomplishes. The work is complete in one large octavo volume of 482 pages. The paper is of extra quality, and the binding tasteful and substantial. The price, including prepayment of expressage to any address, will be \$2.00. CHARLES H. KERR & CO., Publishers, 56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO.

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