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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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The decision of the Supreme Court in the railroad merger case does no more than determine, 5 to 4, that a consolidation of railroad lines by means of a corporation organized to hold and control their stock, violates an act of Congress about the Constitutionality of which there is no substantial disagreement in the court. On this point it is difficult to understand how any disagreement could have arisen. The "holding" company device is so manifestly a subterfuge, a mere mask for a combination in restraint of competition, that there seems to be no possibility of a violation of the Sherman law by "high financiers" if this device does not violate it. In economic effect, it is doubtful if the decision will produce any beneficial result. You can't tie up locomotives with pack thread; neither can you hold powerful monopolies in check with restraining statutes. No anti-trust law can cope with trusts that own grants of sovereign power, as railroad companies do.

What has become of the "full dinner pail," that prestidigitatorial present of the political bunko man to American workingmen? The coal miners have dolefully answered, in the expressive language of the street, "You may search me!" They wanted to strike against a reduction of wages; but John Mitchell urged them not to, because times are hard and getting harder. So they have voted against a strike, agreeing to accept lower wages; not because they wanted to, but because times are getting so dull they dared not do otherwise. But why are times dull? Bryan is politically dead. Isn't he? Johnson was defeated, wasn't he? and by the "full dinner pail" vote, which responded so confidingly to Mr. Hanna's cheering appeal to "stand pat!" These enemies of the Hanna-McKinley dinner pail haven't brought on hard times. They haven't had a chance to. Everything has been under the control of Hanna, McKinley, Roosevelt and their protection "joss," who, as Roosevelt has put it, gives us good times under Republican administrations and bad times under Democratic administrations. It begins to look as if the Republicans would be caught in a Presidential election with empty dinner pails on their hands, which they can neither fill nor again successfully pretend to fill.

"What we need to-day in our discussion of capital and labor," said George B. Cortelyou, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, in his speech at Chicago last week, "is less twaddle and more truth." That was a very just and very timely observation, and we shall be glad to learn that Mr. Cortelyou is disposed to take his own advice and to act upon it as fully as his official position will permit. He gave some evidence of an intelligent disposition in this direction during the rest of his Chicago speech; but only some, as the local papers reported the speech. For, while he recognized the often neglected truth that the special interests of hired workmen do not by any means comprise all labor interests, yet he treated his subject as if capital consisted of every kind of business property. But in truth some kinds of business property are legitimate capital, while others are illegitimate monopoly. The man who does not distinguish those essential differences, cannot discuss the subject of capital and labor in any of its phases without indulging in more twaddle than truth.

Groverclevelanditis seems to be the most appropriate name for a subtle species of political inflammation which the respectability of its victims forbids one to designate by a more inclusive and colloquial term. This disease consists for the most part of what, being a moral disease, may be described as a tendency to suggest the false by suppressing the true. Its peculiarity limits it, however, to a particular interesting episode in American political history. Victims of this disease are observed to point with gentle pride to the overwhelming popular vote for Grover Cleveland in 1892, and then with a snarl to the defeat of Bryan in 1896, from which they feverishly infer that Bryan demoralized the Democratic party. They suppress, with some manifestations of effort, the fact that Bryan polled more votes and a larger percentage of votes in 1896 than were cast for Cleveland in 1892, and the further fact that at the intermediate Congressional elections of 1894, in the middle of Cleveland's administration and before Bryan had been heard of except as a brilliant Democratic member of Congress, the Democratic party absolutely collapsed. To a normal mind those facts would indicate that Cleveland demoralized the Democratic party in 1894 and that Bryan made much headway in reviving it in 1896. Not so with the victim of groverclevelanditis. By suggesting the false through suppressing the true, he deceives even himself.

One of the most virulent cases of groverclevelanditis has developed in the editorial columns of the Brooklyn Eagle. In its issue of the 10th, the Eagle displayed

unmistakable symptoms in this paragraph:

> Twelve years ago Grover Cleveland carried the commonwealth of Illinois. The State then spoke for Democracy with no uncertain sound, backing the credentials of the victor in that year with a majority of more than 25,000. Four years later it went the other way, after the fashion of an avalanche, giving to McKinley more than five times the majority placed to the credit of his immediate predecessor as President of the United States. Bryanism operated either as an opiate or an irritant. Whether it chloroformed or incensed, it had one ultimate, one net result—it demoralized.

"Twelve years ago"—1892; "four years later"—1896. Observe the symptomatic omission of 1894. A truth suppressed. What is that truth? Turn to your political almanacs and see. In 1894, before Bryanism was heard of, the Democratic delegation in Congress from Illinois was reduced from 11 to 0, and the popular plurality of the State was changed from 26,993 Democratic to 123,427 Republican. This truth is concealed by the Brooklyn Eagle for the purpose of suggesting that Democratic demoralization occurred in 1896 under Bryan's leadership and not in 1894 under Cleveland's. A clear and somewhat aggravated case of groverclevelanditis.

The endorsement of William Randolph Hearst by the Democratic convention of Rhode Island as its candidate for President, has shocked the Cleveland contingent of the East into journalistic spasms. They see in this Eastern declaration for Hearst, coming in the midst of a bitter faction fight between Hillism and Clevelandism in New York, the waning of their fond hopes for a revival of the era of pluto-Democracy. In their consternation, they begin to realize, furthermore, that New Jersey may make the same endorsement. They are horrified to learn, also, that Illinois can be saved to them, if it can be saved at all, only by the desperate and to their minds unpleasant expedient of substituting Mayor Harrison of Chicago, for the distinguished friend of J. Pierpont Morgan, the ex-President they so much admire, who swapped the tariff issue on which his party was united and he was elected, for the money issue on which his party was divided and he was not elected. Between Cleveland and Hearst the choice is a hard one for democratic Democrats. In the light of that alternative, even the erratic Roosevelt looms up invitingly. Harrison as a Cleveland substitute doesn't help matters. But the consternation the Hearst movement has wrought among the "remorganizers" is not altogether disagreeable to the on-looker who, even if he doesn't know Hearst, does know Cleveland.

An associate of the late William C. Whitney, Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, of New York, who describes himself as a Democrat, and who may possibly be one notwithstanding his suspicious associations, is reported as advocating the nomination by the Democratic party of a Southern man for President. The suggestion is not at all bad. There should be an end to the sectional bigotry which disqualifies a Presidential candidate for no other reason than that he hails from a part of our common country which once waged a war of secession. That war ended nearly 40 years ago, and it is high time that its animosities and its prejudices, its hypocrisies and its vanities, should be ignored. If a man of John Sharp Williams's abilities and democracy were suggested for the Democratic nomination, his being a Southern man ought to raise no objection. But let the Democrats beware of picking up some railroad tool at the South, and putting him forward in the garb of a Southern candidate.

Governor Herrick has warned President Roosevelt that he must distribute Federal patronage in Ohio in strict accordance with the rules of the spoilsman's game. Senator Dick must have as much of the plunder as Senator Foraker, or Gov. Herrick will know the reason why. Let us quote his own words, spoken at a Republican committee meeting in Cleveland on the 12th:

> The two United States Senators from Ohio represent all of the people of the State, and have all of the people of the State behind them, and I want to say right here that we, the people of Ohio, shall request, nay, we shall demand, that these two men shall be shown equal consideration and respect at Washington.

What Gov. Herrick meant by "all of the people of the State," he disclosed farther on in the same speech. He meant the Republican machine. For he said:

> I want to say that I believe in absolute party loyalty, which is loyalty to those in control. I believe that no man should accept or retain any office when he is disloyal to the organization that bestows it.

That there might be no mistake about his confusion of the interests of a spoils-grabbing and spoils-distributing party machine with the interests of the State, this full-blown flower of Republican virtue, this delectable representative of "our better classes, gentlemen, our better classes," proceeded:

> The interests of the party, and when I say the party I mean the State, demand that the individual give way his personal allegiances to allegiance for the party. If we follow this principle we shall go on to success.

If by going "on to success" Gov. Herrick meant anything higher or nobler than gathering in more and more of the spoils and plunder of official power, he gave no indication of it. How marked the contrast between this pigmy partisan and his recent political adversary, Tom L. Johnson, who, in his administration of the Mayor's office in Cleveland, has challenged the spoilsmen of his party by putting public interests first and party interests second, and casting out spoils interests altogether. It is because he has done that, that Gov. Herrick and his party have used their party power in the State legislature to discourage independent voting in the Cleveland municipal elections. In partnership with "Boss" Cox, of Cincinnati, Gov. Herrick and his re-

spectables have done this by whipping through a measure abolishing Spring elections in Ohio. Their confessed purpose is to promote partisanship by placing municipal candidates at the foot of Presidential and gubernatorial tickets. This is done by Gov. Herrick and his ring to promote the machine interests of their party (and when he says "the party" he means "the State," so he now explains) by a scheme of election adjustments which in effect "demand," as he puts it, that the "individual give way his personal allegiances to allegiance for the party." If, now, the "better classes" of Republicans in Ohio would stop advocating "civil service reform," they might escape the imputation of being hypocrites as well as spoilsmen.

Mr. Bacon in the Senate and Mr. Baker in the House protested last week against accepting the imperial present of a statue of the imperial Prussian, Frederick the Great (vol. v, p. 97). Mr. Baker made his protest in the form of a resolution, which recites that the Emperor of Germany has offered the statue, that the President has accepted it without the consent of Congress, that Frederick was an enemy to the political rights of man and an embodiment of the spirit of militarism and absolutism, and that he was actuated in his early recognition of American independence solely by hatred for Great Britain; and upon the basis of this recital it resolves—

> That this House, while earnestly desiring the most friendly relations between the United States and the German Empire, and also recognizing the valuable addition to our citizenship of those of German birth, and because we are mindful that the emigration of those people hither is due chiefly to a desire to escape the absolutism and militarism of their mother country, therefore we disapprove the acceptance by this government of the statue of Frederick the Great, regarding such acceptance as an indorsement of that military spirit which is not only inconsistent with but inimical to American institutions; and resolved, that this house condemns the acceptance of the statue of Frederick the Great, or of any other statue, by the President of the United States without the consent of Congress, as a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of paragraph eight of section nine of article one of the Federal Constitution, and as indicating a dangerous spirit of Executive usurpation.

Mr. Baker's resolution is sound in both its parts. The acceptance of such a present from such a source is significant of a reactionary tendency; and its acceptance by the President without the consent of Congress is an assumption of doubtful authority which ought not to be permitted to pass without rebuke. In speaking on the 10th in support of his resolution, Mr. Baker gave point to these objections when he said:

> For centuries two ideas have been struggling for the mastery. One is the idea that God made every man in his own image, placed him upon this earth to work out his own salvation, and endowed him with the same equal and inalienable rights as every other man. This idea has never yet been acknowledged in its fullness, but it has found its highest expression in the United States and in American institutions. The other idea is diametrically opposed to this. It is based upon the assumption that the Creator in his infinite wisdom designed that one man, or a few men, should rule over their fellow men—the idea of the divine right of kings; the idea from which springs militarism and absolutism. Should the American people formally accept this statue, they will by that act strengthen the monarchical idea; they will be holding up militarism and absolutism as ideals to be worshiped. Should the President accept this statue without the concurrence and formal assent of Congress, not only will militarism be encouraged, but absolutism will be strengthened, and a tremendous impetus will be given to the idea that the head of our nation is responsible only in a limited degree to the will of the people.

POSSIBILITIES OF IMMEDIATE MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF THE TRACTION SERVICE IN CHICAGO.

In discussing the traction issue now pending before the people of Chicago on referendum vote, we took occasion two weeks ago (p. 755) to address one class of objectors to immediate municipal ownership and operation—those who fear the demoralizing effect upon local politics of an army of street-car employes subject to appointment and removal by politicians.

We think that we then demonstrated not only that a public function, like a city's traction service, should be performed by the public even at the risk of spoils influences, but also that spoils influences are no less injurious to the civil service under private operation of public functions and that worse forms of corruption are generated by it. Street car appointments in Chicago are even now a part of the patronage of Chicago aldermen, and street-car investors are the worst corruptors of the Chicago council.

On another class of objectors—those who are guided by their own financial interests, present or prospective—we wasted no space in our previous article, nor shall we now.

But still another class we recognized as objecting honestly, and promised to give attention to their views later on. It is our purpose now to redeem that promise. The class in question comprises those who object to immediate municipal ownership and operation, because they believe that the legal and financial obstacles in the way are at present insuperable, and that a 20-year compromise with the stock-jobbing traction interests is therefore imperative.

Let it be remembered that "immediate" municipal ownership and operation does not mean that the change from the stock-jobbing system is to be instant. What it means is that no dilatory contracts shall be made for the purpose and with the effect of postponing municipal ownership and operation. To demand of the city authorities that they adopt the policy of "immediate" municipal ownership and operation is simply to insist that they shall immediately proceed in good faith, and without dilatory arrangements with the traction stock-jobbers, whether residents or absentees, to establish the street car system of Chicago as a municipal system under city ownership and management.

That is not an impossible policy, nor is its success dubious. Obstacles there are, and no one blinks them. But they are not insuperable. They will cause some delay; they may cause considerable delay. But they will not cause as much delay as the postponement would cause. Neither

will the delay demanded by the stock-jobbing interests involve inferior traction service while it lasts.

Of all this we are assured by men in whose competency and disinterestedness we have confidence. Upon the faith of their assurances, weighed against the strongest opposing theories from the most trustworthy sources in opposition, it seems as clear to us as any question can be which must be decided by men, that the way is now open as it never has been before, and probably will not be again for more than a generation, to put a reasonably speedy end to the whole stock-jobbing conspiracy through which the people of Chicago have for two generations been pestered with inferior traction service, and have had their politics demoralized by corruption funds in city council and State legislature.

To give effect to this policy one thing must be done by the people themselves, and it must be done now. They must vote for the municipal ownership and operation policy at the April election. If the people do not vote for it, their opposition or indifference will be utilized by the stock-jobbing interests as an excuse for reviving the monopoly carnival in the City Hall.

In order to vote for this policy, the people of Chicago must vote for the three traction propositions that will be submitted to them at the city election on the 5th of April.

By voting "Yes" on one of these propositions, they will give legal life in Chicago to the Mueller law, which authorizes Illinois cities "to own, construct, acquire, purchase, maintain and operate street railways."

By voting "Yes" on one of the other of these three propositions, they will advise the city authorities to proceed at once, under the Mueller law, to establish municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago street car system.

By voting "Yes" on the third of these propositions, they will advise the city authorities to give no more franchises to the corporations as their franchises expire; but, in order to provide for traction service during the interval between the expiration of those franchises and the establishment of municipal ownership, to give to the existing companies short-term operating licenses.

This policy of immediate municipal ownership and operation having been thus approved by the voters of Chicago, the next appropriate step would be an offer by the city to purchase the property of the street railway companies.

If they refuse a fair price, the city should then proceed, under the Mueller law, to condemn that property to municipal use, just as railroad companies condemn private property to their uses.

To pay for this property, whether purchased or condemned, another appeal to the people would be necessary. The city could not issue its own bonds, for it would thereby exceed its constitutional debt limit. But by referendum authorization it could, under the Mueller law, mortgage the acquired property and issue certificates therefor.

If the companies pursued a policy of obstruction by refusing to accept those certificates, which would be as good a financial investment as a franchise, except for stock-jobbing purposes, the certificates could be offered to the people themselves in denominations of $10 and upwards. In floating such an investment there is no real necessity for dependence upon great financial syndicates. More than one experiment has demonstrated that the masses of the people are quick to invest in public securities when they are distributed in certificates of small denominations; and the certificates in question would be equivalent to the best of public securities, for they would rest upon a mortgage pledging not only all the tangible property of the municipalized system, in case of nonpayment of the certificates, but also a 20-year franchise. Nothing but a financial conspiracy could prevent the flotation of such a debt even in financial circles. Nothing whatever could prevent its flotation among the people if the certificates were in small denominations.

These steps taken, municipal ownership would be an accomplished fact; and if a referendum vote under the Mueller law had meanwhile resulted in favor of municipal operation, that also would be an accomplished fact.

Against the foregoing programme it is urged that the city cannot totally condemn traction franchises owned and operated by private corporations, for any such use as ownership and operation by a municipal corporation.

The objection is manifestly baseless so far as it rests upon the assumption that the Mueller law does not grant the power of condemning franchises.

An act which expressly authorizes the condemnation, as this act does, of all the property of the traction companies, "real, personal or mixed," cannot be said to withhold authority to condemn franchises.

The contention that such authority is withheld, borders on the absurd when one thing is considered. The Mueller law expressly provides, as to franchises, that in no valuation of street railway property in condemnation proceedings shall any sum be included as the value of franchises, "except of street railways now operated under existing franchises." Here is a distinct requirement that existing franchises shall be valued in the authorized condemnation proceedings. No law which so distinctly requires the valuation of a specified kind of property when condemned, can be supposed to withhold authority to condemn.

So far as the objection to condemnation rests upon the contention that franchises granted to a private corporation cannot be wholly condemned for the same use by a municipal corporation, either with or without statutory authority, it is, as we are assured by reputable members of the Chicago bar, equally baseless. Their reasons are that the Constitution of Illinois authorizes the condemnation of the property of incorporated companies; that the Mueller law provides for the condemnation to municipal ownership and use of the existing traction franchises of incorporated companies; that under the uniform decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois, the legislature is the sole judge of the propriety of condemnation for public use, except as to whether the use is public and the proceedings are regu-

lar; and that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that legislatures can authorize condemnation of the franchises of private corporations by municipal corporations for the same public use when such condemnation is necessary for the use intended.

If these views are sound (and they have not yet been controverted by any lawyer otherwise than with professional "hot air"), the validity of condemnation proceedings under the Mueller law would be sustained by the courts. Consequently, irresistible proceedings to take over the traction property—99-year franchise and all—can be instituted immediately after the Mueller law is adopted at the coming election, should the companies refuse to sell on fair terms.

The foregoing answer to the objections to condemnation proceedings serves as an answer also to part of the objection that the proposed certificates would be of dubious legal validity and therefore of little or no commercial value. If the condemnation proceedings were valid the certificates also would be valid, so far as that ground of objection to them is concerned.

But it is further urged that the constitutional limit to the city's indebtedness would stand as an objection to the validity of these certificates even though they created no liability against the city at all, but only against the particular property of the city for the purchase of which it gave the certificates. This objection appears to be purely fanciful. No court decisions have been cited in its support, while very respectable and pointed court decisions are cited against it. Some of these have been favorably referred to by the Supreme Court of Illinois; and that court appears itself to have decided one case bearing on the question, by which it sustains the principle that, unless a municipality incurs liability for an excess of debt, the excess of debt is not within the constitutional prohibition. On that principle these street-car certificates would be valid so far as the debt limitation affects them.

Yet it is further objected that although the certificates be valid they are involved in undecided legal questions, and no one would buy them until their validity had been established by the highest court.

Perhaps financial syndicates would not buy them, though the probabilities are otherwise. Financial syndicates are accustomed to taking "long chances" that the courts will strain a point to enforce public liabilities in favor of "widows and orphans" and other innocent investors.

But whether financial syndicates would take these certificates or not, the people of Chicago would have no hesitation in buying those of small denominations.

Moreover, let the traction companies once realize that "the jig is up" with them, that the city is determined to take over the traction service and put an end to stock-jobbing in street monopolies here—let the companies once realize that this is to be done, and they will take the certificates for their old plant and their corrupt franchise claims as eagerly as a schoolboy takes a vacation.

These are points which require no special knowledge to understand. If one understands human nature one understands enough to know that the financing of the municipal street car system will be the easiest of the difficulties to overcome.

The difficulty most likely to influence timid voters is the possibility which the complicated situations offers for "endless litigation."

Those who are at all influenced by this consideration do not seem to realize that "endless litigation" cannot be prevented if the companies determine to fight to the last ditch. It cannot be prevented now, if they so determine, nor can it be prevented 20 years from now, should the city weakly buy them off with a compromise ordinance.

The ordinance with which it is proposed to buy them off is pregnant with all manner of litigious possibilities at the end of the proposed term. One of its provisions is so manifestly calculated to offer opportunities for "endless litigation" as a club with which to demand another 20-years' franchise, that it alone need be mentioned.

In considering it let the reader remember that this proposed ordinance is made ostensibly for the purpose of buying peace, by giving a highly valuable franchise of 20 years for a waiver of the 99-year claim upon the basis of which all the "endless litigation" is threatened. By that ordinance this claim would indeed be waived; but in such a way that it would almost certainly revive—at least for all the purposes of again threatening "endless litigation"—at the end of the new grant.

This is the manner of it: During the 19th year of the grant, neither before nor after, the city council may give notice that it will take over the companies' plant and not renew the franchise. If it gives such notice, it must either take over, paying an immense lump sum at the expiration of the 20th year, or find a corporation that will. In the event of the failure of the city council to give that notice within that particular year, it must grant a further franchise, at the expiration of this one, "on terms to be then agreed upon."

That provision makes the whole matter turn on the action of the council in office during the 19th year of the franchise. If that council be negligent, or corrupt, or find the city in no financial position at that time to make a binding contract, the notice will not be given. And thereupon the city would be bound to extend the franchise on "terms to be then agreed upon."

If the company would not make reasonable terms, but should demand 20 years more, the city would have to accede, or the waiver of the 99-year claim would lose its force, and that claim, with all its possibilities of "endless litigation," would revive. The city council has been advised by its own able and distinguished lawyers that in those circumstances this claim would revive, and their advice is doubtless sound.

The plain truth is that if the traction companies can now effectively threaten endless litigation, despite all their waivers of their 99-year claim, there is no contract into which the city could enter with them that would be an absolute guarantee against the force of similar threats in the future. "Endless litigation" will be a possibility as long as the public function of traction service in the city remains in private hands.

The only wise course is to challenge this threat of "endless litigation" now, and have done with it. That is also the only honest course. We of this generation in Chicago have no right to hand down the traction monopoly burden to our successors as our predecessors have handed it down to us.

It is a burden that ought never to have been taken up. Having been taken up it ought to have been thrown off 20 years ago. Having been strapped on tighter than ever then, it ought to be thrown off now.

That this can be done we have shown already. That the inconvenience of bad service or no service during the litigation is not to be dreaded can easily be shown.

Pursuant to the policy of immediate ownership and operation, no new franchises would be granted as old ones expired. But this would cause no deterioration of traction service. If the city were not yet ready or able to take over, whether for legal or financial reasons, the city council could grant revocable or short-term licenses to the existing companies. Should they refuse to operate under such licenses, the question as to them would be out of the way. But they would not refuse. The time has not yet come when a traction company will refuse to operate its existing plant for 5 cents a fare for a 2-cent ride even under a revocable license.

But is it asked what kind of service they would give? They couldn't give worse than they have given for years and are giving now; and if the city council chose, it could compel them to give better service.

The advantages of "endless litigation" are not all on the side of the stock-jobbers. The city is now in better condition to ameliorate the hardships of "endless litigation" than the companies are. They would suffer as much or worse than the people would, and in a more sensitive place—the pocket nerve. The city may never again be in a better position to fight for its rights. Besides the advantages indicated above, it has others which the companies fear and which would doubtless be decisive if availed of.

Let the people of Chicago vote emphatically at the April election for the policy of immediate municipal ownership and operation, and the prophecy is a fair one that the people will have good traction service under municipal ownership and operation sooner than there is any reasonable probability of getting it through compromises with the traction stock-jobbers.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON.

Washington, D. C., March 14.—The throttling power of party organization has seldom been more conclusively shown than in the action last week of the Republican members in the matter of investigating the post office department. For days, member after member had risen on the Republican side and delivered bitter speeches denouncing that department for including their names in a report to the committee on post offices and post roads, this report having made specific mention of 151 Congressmen who had recommended increased post office allowances, either for rent, for clerk hire, or for "separating." As the report was headed with "Charges Against Congressmen," they were justified in assuming that their constituents would be prejudiced against them, no matter what the particular circumstances of their recommendations might be, and that the fact that whoever drew up this "unfathered" report had added a paragraph near the end to the effect that "where the increased allowance had not been discontinued or reduced it was according to law," would not relieve them of the cloud of suspicion which must necessarily rest upon every man whose name was mentioned therein Grosvenor even denounced it as being "conceived in sin and born in iniquity."

Not alone Democrats, but Republicans, were furious. They charged that the purpose of the wholesale inclusion of the names of Congressmen was an intimation to Congress that it had better go slow in ordering an investigation of the post office department, as that department held over their heads matters which, if disclosed, would "queer" them with their constituents.

When the size and temper of the storm became apparent to the Republican leaders, attempts were made by Mr. Overstreet, the chairman of the committee on post offices and post roads, to postpone the debate until this week; but having failed in that on the 9th, he attempted on the 10th to get the vote upon the resolution postponed until the 12th, his object obviously being to secure all the time possible to whip the Republican recalcitrants into line; and this, notwithstandng that he had originally refused to consent to set apart the amount of time which the Democrats insisted was necessary for a proper discussion of the report. In fact, having failed to postpone the debate until this week, he announced to the House on the 9th, at the end of the one hour which he had secured in order to discuss his motion, that he had achieved the "real" purpose he had in mind, viz., the securing of an extra hour for debate. It is claimed, and I think with good warrant, that the death of a South Carolina member early on the 10th, and the consequent adjournment of the House immediately after the reading of the journal of that day, was the only thing that saved the Republican leaders from being swamped by insurgent Republicans. They thus had a whole day to "put on the screws" and bring pressure upon the insurgents, who confined themselves to speeches of protest against the report, so as to set themselves right with their constituents, but abstained from carrying that protest to the point of voting down the substitute for the "Hay" resolution which the Republicans had drawn and entrusted to McCall, of Massachusetts.

How general and bitter was the feeling, not only at the post office department, but even at the White House, was shown in the remarkable demonstration on the 11th, when William Alden Smith, of Michigan, having cited the cases of Blaine and Garfield as men who had been taken from the House membership to become the party nominee, said that he hoped the time was near at hand when the 30 years of service of Speaker Cannon would be crowned with the Republican Presidential nomination. The instantaneous and ostentatious endorsement of this proposition embraced practically the entire membership of the House, saving only a few Republican leaders like Payne, Dalzell, Hepburn and Overstreet. Had the Speaker followed the suggestion made shortly after by Congressman De Armond, and permitted the point of order raised against the Democratic substitute motion to be decided by the House itself, I think there can be no doubt that it would have been declared in order and adopted, and the effect would not unlikely have been to have drawn the line sharply and distinctly between the House and the President. This would have made Speaker Cannon the central figure of the antipathy of the Republican members to the President, so that the refrain would probably have at once been taken up, "Cannon, Cannon, four long years of Cannon," thus creating a popular idol around which the opposition to Roosevelt could gather, and which might possibly have defeated him for the nomination. The Speaker was thus shown to be either a poor politician, in depriving his friends of the opportunity of making him a popular idol, or else so intense a partisan that he would not permit even the bait of a possible Presidential nomination to interfere with his use of the great power of his position to prevent a thorough investigation of the postal department.

In this case, as in that of the Cuban reciprocity bill, the Republican insurgents deliberately voted for the motion to prevent their doing the very thing which they insisted they wished to do. Such is the stifling power of a party organization under the rigid rules of the House when the party whip is cracked.

ROBERT BAKER.

CLEVELAND.

Cleveland, March 16, 1904.—After the tremendous pluralities the Republicans secured in this State and city last Fall, it was generally supposed that Tom L. Johnson had been eliminated from practical politics, being so completely discredited at home that thenceforth he could be ignored by the Republicans as a "has been," and allowed to serve the remainder of his term in peace, then to follow the example of defeated politicians generally by passing into retirement. But the Republican leaders are evidently fearful that Johnson is not destined to follow the exampe of discredited politicians. For four successive elections he has defeated them here, and notwithstanding their great victory over him last Fall they have already given evidence that they are afraid to meet him in the political arena this spring. They know at what cost they won their victory over him in this county last Fall, and they do not care to have a repetition of that experience, when in all probability they would have the cost and lose, too. In order to avoid a contest with him they have passed what is known as the Chapman bill, a bill to abolish Spring elections.

"Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo is also a factor in this legislation. He has been quite troublesome to the machine in his city and it is intended to retire him as well as Johnson.

An effect of the Chapman bill in Cleveland is to continue in office for eight months, the Mayor, City Solicitor, City Treasurer and City Auditor. They will go out of office January 1, 1906, instead of May 1, 1905.

It likewise continues in office one-half of the members of council, the school director and one-half of the members of the school council; two justices of the peace, and a police judge for a similar period.

This new law makes all municipal, county, State and national elections occur at the same time. The next ballot here will have nearly four hundred names upon it, as there will be about seventy people to be elected and five or six tickets on the ballot.

The so-called "Rickets law," passed at the same time, will submit to the voters of the State a constitutional amendment whereby all municipal elections will occur in the Fall of odd years and all State elections in the Fall of even years. Under the Longworth law adopted two years ago this constitutional amendment can be placed in the party column if endorsed by the State political conventions, thus getting the benefit of the straight party vote either for or against it, as the State convention decides. Without the party vote of the Republican party the amendment cannot carry; so the separation of State from municipal elections is still left in the hands of the Republican State convention.

The citizens of Cleveland are very much excited over prospective school legislation. Two plans are before the legislature for a reorganization of the schools of the State, made necessary by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State making all the school laws pertaining to municipalities invalid. These plans are known as the Cincinnati and Cleveland plans.

The former requires a large school council, the members being elected by wards and the council having entire charge of the executive and legislative branches, as well as of the department of instruction.

The latter requires a small board elected at large with legislative duties only. The executive is elected independently. The department of instruction is under a superintendent, responsible only to the executive head and not responsible to any body for the appointment of teachers.

The difference between the systems is, in substance, that the tenure of teachers in Cincinnati is determined by politics, while in Cleveland it depends on efficiency and good behavior. The Cincinnati plan is championed by Geo. B. Cox, of that city, sometimes called "Boss" Cox. The Cleveland plan is unanimously favored by the people of Cleveland regardless of political affiliations, excepting the Republican machine, now known as the "Herrick-Dick-Cox Combination," which has taken up the mantle of the late Senator Hanna. The prominent educators of the State favor the Cleveland plan, and President Eliot, of Harvard College endorses it heartily.

The friends of Mayor Johnson are very jubilant over the situation, as they believe that the independent voters of this city will never be cajoled again into voting a party ticket for the sake of harmony.

D. S. LUTHER.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, March 17.

Persistent rumors in connection with the Russo-Japanese war (p. 775), rumors emanating, however, from Japanese sources, have for several days encouraged a belief that Port Arthur has been evacuated by the Russians. These rumors have been as persistently denied from Russian sources. There is as yet no conclusive news regarding the matter, but the probabilities are that there has been no evacuation.

Naval skirmishes in the region of Port Arthur have continued, the most important of the war having occurred on the 10th. Reports of this fight are conflicting. They depend upon their origin—whether Russian or Japanese. Taking them all together they indicate that both sides suffered considerable loss in men and ships, but that no decisive or immediate advantage was secured by either.

The strict neutrality of China during this war between foreign Powers on her own territory is demanded by Russia, to the extent even of holding her troops to the south of the great wall. Notice to this effect was reported from St. Petersburg and Pekin on the 10th to have been given to China. In obedience to that notice the Chinese government must not send troops beyond the great wall, and must exercise its influence to restrain Chinamen to the north of the wall from interfering with railway and telegraph lines. Failure on the part of China to heed this warning is to be considered by Russia as a breach of neutrality.

Peremptory action to guarantee neutrality on the part of the United States was taken on the 10th by President Roosevelt. He issued a proclamation supplementary to his original proclamation of neutrality, directing "all officials of the government, civil, military and naval," not only to observe the formal neutrality proclamation, "but also to abstain from either action or speech which can legitimately cause irritation to either of the combatants."

The most notable event of the week in the United States is the decision in the so-called "railroad merger" case (p. 41), rendered by the Federal Supreme Court on the 14th. This case grew out of an attempt made about two years and a half ago (vol iv., p. 505), to centralize railway control west of the Mississippi. A "holding" corporation had been organized under the laws of New Jersey, called the Northern Securities company. Its capital was $400,000,000, and its

immediate object the settlement of a railroad war between the Morgan-Hill and the Harriman-Rockefeller interests. The "holding" corporation was empowered to purchase the stock of other corporations. Believing that this move would result in destroying the railway competition which the laws of Minnesota design to perpetuate, by consolidating in one control such competing lines as the Northern, the Burlington and the Northern Pacific, Gov. Van Sant, of Minnesota, took steps (vol. iv., pp. 534,617), to prevent the consummation of that purpose. Application was in consequence made to the Supreme Court of the United States, in behalf of the State of Minnesota (vol iv. p. 634), for leave to proceed against the New Jersey company by original process from that court. The application was argued on the 27th of January, 1902, (vol iv. p. 681); it was denied on the 24th of the following February (vol iv., pp. 739, 746), on the ground that all parties in interest could not be made parties without depriving the court of jurisdiction. A similar application was afterwards made by the State of Washington, there being some technical difference; and the State of Minnesota began suit in her own courts (vol. v., p. 27). The Washington case was set for hearing, and the Minnesota case was removed by the merger people to the Federal court (vol. v., pp. 42, 346); but nothing appears to have come of either. Meanwhile, however, the Federal government began suit under the Sherman anti-trust law. The suit was begun in the Federal court in Minnsota (vol. iv., p. 746) against the Northern Securities company, the Great Northern railway company, the Northern Pacific railway company, James J. Hill, William P. Clough, D. Willis James, John S. Kennedy, J. Pierpont Morgan, Robert Bacon, Geo. F. Baker and Daniel Lamont. The Federal Court in Minnesota decided this suit last April (vol vi., p. 22) in favor of the government, holding that the stock of the Northern Pacific and of the Great Northern railway companies, held by the Northern Securities company, had been "acquired in virtue of a combination among the defendants in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States" and in violation of the Sherman law. An injunction was accordingly granted. From that decree an appeal was taken (p. 41), and it is this appeal that the Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 14th.

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The decision of the Supreme Court was made by a divided bench—5 judges to 4. The minority judges voted for reversal. They were Fuller, White, Peckham and Holmes. The majority voted for affirmance of the decision of the lower court. They were Harlan, who delivered the opinion, and Brown, Brewer, Day and McKenna. Accordingly the decision of the lower court was sustained and the Northern Securities company is finally adjudged to be an illegal trust within the terms of the Sherman anti-trust law.

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The essential point of the decision is briefly expressed as follows by Justice Harlan in the opinion of the court:

> The government . . . does not contend that Congress may control the mere ownership of stock in a State corporation engaged in interstate commarce. It does not contend that Congress can control the organization or mere ownership of State corporations, authorized by their charters to engage in interstate and international commerce. But it does contend that Congress may protect the freedom of interstate commerce by any means that are appropriate and that are lawful and not prohibited by the Constitution. It does contend that no State corporation can stand in the way of the enforcement of the national will, legally expressed. What the government particularly complains of, indeed, all that it complains of here, is the existence of a combination among the stockholders of competing railroad companies which, in violation of the act of Congress, restrains interstate commerce through the agency of a common corporate trustee designated to act for both companies in repressing free competition between them.

It is this that the court forbids, doing so upon the long established Constitutional principle that "the power over commerce with foreign nations and among the several States is vested in Congress as absolutely as it would be in any government having in its constitution the same restrictions on the exercise of power as are found in the Constitution of the United States." Applying that principle to the case in hand, Justice Harlan says:

> Is there, then, any escape from the conclusion that, subject to such limitations, the power of Congress over interstate and international commerce, is as full and complete as is the power of any State over its domestic commerce? If a State may strike down combinations that restrain its domestic commerce by destroying free competition among those engaged in such commerce, what power, except that of Congress, is competent to protect the freedom of interstate and international commerce when assailed by a combination that restrains such commerce by stifling competition among those engaged in it?

The dissenting judges did not controvert the position of the majority on the law in the abstract. They were of the opinion that the concentration in a "holding" company of the stock of competing railway companies doing an interstate business does not amount to restraint of inter-state commerce such as Congress has the power to prohibit.

In American politics the most interesting fact of the week, and one not without marked significance with reference to the approaching Presidential campaign, is the action of the Democratic convention of Rhode Island. This body, which met at Providence on the 10th, endorsed William Randolph Hearst for President. Six of the eight delegates chosen were Hearst men, and the whole delegation was instructed for him. Gov. Garvin has taken no part in the contest, which was bitterly fought, his position being that the national platform or declaration of principles, is the chief concern of Democrats who desire success this year, and that the right man will be found to lead the party to victory if the platform be good.

Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, has renewed his 3-cent street car fight (p. 679) in a manner which will probably throw the whole burden of responsibility for opposing it upon the overwhelming Republican majority in the State legislature. In a formal address to the city council of Cleveland on the 14th he described the situation at length, especially with reference to the many court injunctions he has encountered, based upon the claim that the legislature has not conferred upon the munic-

ipalities of the State of Ohio the power to regulate street-car fares; and, referring to a proposed legislative bill accompanying his address, he recommended that the city council.—

by resolution or otherwise, request the members of the General Assembly representing the county of Cuyahoga, to present this bill and press for its enactment. That the matter may properly come to the attention of the General Assembly, it would seem wise that some memorial be prepared by the council to accompany the bill, and that a copy of it be presented to each member of the Cuyahoga delegation, and copies likewise to the Governor of the State, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chamber of Commerce and the United Trade and Labor Council of the City of Cleveland, with a request that they examine the proposed measure and express their opinion upon it to the members of the General Assembly from this county.

Of this new move on Mayor Johnson's part the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in describing it says:

In view of statements hitherto made by the Mayor in regard to contemplated action by the legislature, it is hardly probable that he has serious hope that that body will heed the request of the Council of Cleveland. If, however, the legislature should act as is desired, it would provide a most speedy termination for the agitation of three years towards the goal of lower fares. Balked by injunction and every possible device of litigation at home, checks made possible by the existing street railway laws of the State, Mayor Johnson, should he obtain the petitioned aid from his political enemies at Columbus, could, with the concurrence of a friendly city council, in three weeks' time reduce the fare on every railroad in the city of Cleveland to the desired 3 cents. And, under the provisions of the amendment which he has proposed, the railroads would have no redress in the usual procrastination of litigation. To throw directly upon the legislators, with their mammoth Republican majority, the onus of providing 3-cent fare for Cleveland, will remove for a time the storm center of the low fare fight to Columbus.

The city council immediately referred an appropriate resolution to a committee.

The crisis in British politics (pp. 729, 758) approaches more and more obviously. On the 9th the Balfour ministry came to the verge of defeat, its majority being reduced to 46. A Liberal, Mr. Pirie, had moved that the House, "noting the continued agitation in favor of protective or preferential tariffs, which is encouraged by the language used by certain of His Majesty's ministers, deem it necessary to express its condemnation of any such policy." After three hours of debate, in which the Premier participated in opposition to this motion, the motion was defeated by a ministerial majority of only 46. The result came very near being absolutely disastrous. A ministerial member had moved an amendment "approving the ministerial declarations of the fiscal policy, as including neither a general system of protection nor preference based on the taxation of food," whereupon over 100 of Chamberlain's followers notified the ministerial leaders that unless this amendment were withdrawn they would abstain from voting on the Pirie motion. As that would have left the ministry in the minority, the amendment was withdrawn. And yet the ministerial majority was only 46.

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Within a week thereafter the ministry was actually defeated. John Redmond, the Irish leader, moved on the 15th for a reduction of the Irish education estimates by $2,500. He did so for the purpose of calling attention to grievances in connection with the Irish schools. The ministry opposed the motion and was defeated by a vote of 141 to 130. As the small vote suggests, this was really no test of ministerial strength. The vote was taken immediately upon the making of the motion, when the attendance was slight, and it was soon after changed to a ministerial majority of 25, on another and more vital point. Notwithstanding that, however, the circumstances are regarded as indicative of a steady weakening of ministerial power.

Again a single tax measure for British municipalities has come before the Commons, making a further gain. This measure would enable municipalities to levy site value taxes for local purposes. It is what would be known in this country as a measure for local option in taxation. The measure was first voted on in Parliament on the 19th of February, 1902, (vol iv. p. 754), upon a motion that it pass the second reading. After a strikingly radical line of debate, both for the measure and in opposition, its second reading was defeated by a vote of 158 to 229, a majority against the measure of 71. About a year later, March 27, 1903 (vol. v., p. 82; vol. vi., p. 72), the measure was again voted on in the Commons on second reading and again defeated. But at that time the adverse majority was only 13. Under the description of "the land values and rating bill," the measure came before the Commons for the third time, on the 12th of the present month, and again the question was on the passage of the stage of second reading. The vote stood 223 for and 156 against—a majority of 67 for the measure. The bill now goes to third reading. If it passes that stage it will go into the House of Lords to challenge the great landed interests represented there.

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This vote in Parliament is not a haphazard thing. It has come as the result of long agitaion, and is probably due most immediately to a formal address by the corporation of the City of Glasgow to the other rating (local taxing) bodies of Great Britain, issued December 28, 1903, and attested by the town clerk of Glasgow. This address makes several requests relative to the parliamentary matter in question, the principal one of which closes the following extract:

The question of the taxation of land values has been before this Corporation for several years. On 21st October, 1902, they convened a conference in the Hotel Metropole, London, which was attended by representatives of over 100 rating authorities, when the following resolutions were adopted, viz.:—

(1) That this Conference of representatives of municipal and other rating authorities approves of the principle of the taxation of land values for local purposes as being just and equitable.

(2) That this Conference of representatives of municipal and other rating authorities cordially thanks the Corporation of Glasgow for their recommendations regarding the taxation of land values for local purposes, and pledges itself to support by every competent means, and at the earliest possible moment, with a view to its becoming law, any equitable and just measure giving effect to the foregoing resolution.

At that conference a committee, consisting of representatives of twenty-five rating authorities, was appointed, and that committee have had several meetings. A second Conference was held in the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on 9th instant. The accompanying pamphlet contains a full report of the proceedings to date.

I am instructed to ask you to be good enough to submit this communication, with the pamphlet before referred to, to

your Council at their first meeting, and to request their co-operation in the movement.

As a result of that address several city councils took affirmative action. Chief among these was that of Liverpool, which, on the 2d of February, adopted the following resolution by 51 to 30:

That in the opinion of this Council it is desirable that amendments should be effected in the law governing the assessment of property to the local rates, by requiring (1) that land and the buildings standing thereon should be separately assessed; (2) that land should be assessed, whether occupied or not; (3) that in the cases of tenancies created after the passing of the Act, the tenants should be entitled to deduct the rate on the land from the rent payable to the landlord; that the Council is of opinion that the draft bill embodies the principles above set forth, but that further provision should be made for safeguarding existing contracts; that copies of these resolutions be sent to the Prime Minister, the President of the Local Government Board, and all the members of Parliament for Liverpool.

It is doubtless in consequence of widespread municipal action of that kind that the Conservative House of Commons has passed the Liberal measure for taxing land values through its second reading. While the above demand and the parliamentary measure are extremely moderate, it is to be observed that both in the municipal councils and in parliament the affirmative has been supported on the ground that the "unearned increment" of land belongs of right to the public, while the negative has been supported on the ground that it belongs of right to landowners.

NEWS NOTES.

—Judge MacLean, of the New York State Supreme Court, has established a precedent by appointing a woman as referee in an action for foreclosure of mortgage. She is Miss Gabrielle T. Stewart.

—Harold Cox has been succeeded as secretary of the Cobden Club by G. H. Perris, editor of "Concord," the organ of the English Arbitration Society, who spoke on international questions in several American cities about a year ago.

—Mr John Farrell, at one time editor of the Daily Telegraph, of Sydney, New South Wales, and a staunch personal friend of Henry George as well as prominent Australian advocate of the single tax, has recently died.

—The various labor movements and the allied social movements are about to be investigated by Prof. Richard T. Ely, and the results compiled in a volume to be called "The History of Industrial Democracy in the United States."

—The Chicago city council has extended the street franchise of the Chicago City Railway (pp. 757, 777) until January 1, 1905, the company agreeing to pay a license fee of $100 per year per car 13 trips to constitute a car day. The ordinance passed 55 to 8.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 713) for February shows on hand February 29, 1904:

Gold reserve fund	$150,000,000.00
Available cash	223,068,505.51
Total	$373,068,505.51
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1903	384,394,275.58
Decrease	$11,325,770.07

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see pp. 713-14) for the eight months ending February 31, 1904, shows the following:

Receipts:		
Tariff		$175,784,376.72
Internal revenue		157,260,235.98
Miscellaneous		32,276,636.85
		$365,321,249.55
Expenses:		
Civil and misc.	$93,203,464.69	
War	79,104,862 35	
Navy	66,122,087.85	
Indians	7,463,675.94	
Pensions	96,635,724.54	
Interest	17,909,120.52	
		$360,438,935.89
Surplus		$4,882,313.66

PRESS OPINIONS.

RAILROAD MERGER CASE.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Mar. 16.—That decision gives more power to the Federal elbow to deal with all corporations which do business outside the limits of their own States. And the great majority of large corporations do business outside the limits of their own States.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Mar. 15.—Men who now attempt what Hill and Morgan attempted may be set down as conscious lawbreakers, whatever their methods. The decision destroys the old sophistries at the very least, and puts a lasting stigma upon capitalistic anarchy.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Mar. 16.—The decision leaves everything except the Northern Securities Company in its present form exactly as it was on the day the merger was challenged. The "logic" of the opinion is of no consequence, and no morals or lessons are to be drawn from it. Are any other railway systems illegal? We do not know, say the judges and the government; we only know that the merger is illegal. Such an attitude is at least safe. It leads to nothing in an industrial and social sense, and its practical effects are nil.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Mar. 15.—Carried to its logical conclusion, the decision concedes the power of Congress not only to prohibit restraint of trade, but to say who shall and who shall not own certain railway stocks. Its effects are far-reaching. It gives to Congress great power—power that may be used for good or evil. The court, however, declined, and quite properly, to consider the effects of the decision. Congress has made the law. It was for the court to determine if Congress had exceeded its powers, not to judge whether it had used its powers for good or evil.

THE HEARST CANDIDACY.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Mar. 11.—Editors of metropolitan papers would become very indignant were they charged with deliberate and persistent misrepresentation; and yet, these editors are just now engaged in the effort to make it appear that there is a tie-up between Mr. Bryan and William R. Hearst, to the end that Mr. Hearst shall become the Democratic nominee. . . . The charge that there is a tie-up between Hearst and Bryan is made in the face of the fact that Mr. Bryan has repeatedly, in his paper and in newspaper interviews, declared that such was not the case. Mr. Bryan has made no tie-up with any candidate for the Presidency, and he has frequently explicitly stated that he has made no combination with Mr. Hearst. . . . It is true that many of the men who supported Mr. Bryan are favorable to Mr. Hearst. The same may be said of those who favor Carter Harrison, of Chicago, and those who favor Congressman Williams, of Illinois, and those who favor Gen. Miles and Gov. Garvin, and a number of other gentlemen, whose names have been mentioned for the Democratic nomination. Mr. Bryan cannot, however, hope for fair treatment or for honest statements at the hands of the editors of the metropolitan papers that are so vigorously opposing him in his effort to prevent the Republicanization of the Democratic party.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), Mar. 4 (weekly ed.).—None of the conservative Democrats, who exulted over Tom Johnson's tremendous defeat in Ohio last Fall, had an idea that the wiping out of Johnson meant greater momentum to the Hearst candidacy. Yet does not a strict regard for the truth of history compel one to point out that in crushing Johnson they helped to raise up Hearst? Had Mr. Johnson even made a fairly close race for governor, he would surely have been the Presidential candidate of the more radical wing of the Democracy, and at least he would have made a decent, respectable leader. But the Ohioan was terribly beaten by the aid of gold Democratic votes. And now the Hearst candidacy profits from the absence of Tom Johnson in the field. The descent from Johnson to Hearst is frightful—it might be said that it is tragic.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Mar. 12.—The friends of Mr. Hearst are alert and determined. They are making hay while the sun shines. The absence of any other active candidacy is an important help to them, and the utter inability of the reorganizers to unite upon any one is an additional encouragement to the Hearst movement. As far as the radicals are concerned no one is even mentioned, except Gov. Garvin, of Rhode Island, as a possible choice. Thus it is coming to look like either Hearst or a reorganizer. And as between Hearst and any reorganizer thus far suggested or that could be suggested it is a safe guess that democratic Democrats will not long hesitate.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the offical 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, March 7-12, 1904.

Senate.

On the 7th consideration of the naval appropriation bill was resumed (p. 3043), and the bill, amended, was passed (p. 3043); after which, consideration of the army appropriation bill was begun (p. 3057). This was continued on the 8th (p. 3118) and 9th (p. 3184), when it was passed with amendments (p. 3190). Prior to action on the army bill on the 9th, a resolution of-

fered by Senator Hoar relative to the exclusion of private correspondence from the mails was agreed to (p. 3183). No business of general interest was done on the 10th, 11th and 12th.

House.

On the 7th consideration of a report of the committee on post offices and post roads (p. 3067) proposing an investigation of charges made against Congressmen by Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Bristow was begun. This subject was afterwards postponed until the 9th (p. 3068), and the post office appropriation bill taken up (p. 3068). The report relative to Bristow coming up again on the 9th (p. 3201), no conclusion was reached. Adjournment was taken on the 10th out of respect to the memory of a deceased member (p. 3253); and on the 11th, after further debate (p. 3264), a motion to investigate the post office department generally was ruled out of order (p. 3293), and a motion to refer the charges against members to a select committee of seven (p. 3295) was adopted (p. 3298). A motion by the Democratic leader for general investigation of the post office department, being objected to by Republican leaders (p. 3301) and requiring unanimous consent for its presentation, failed of consideration. No business of general interest was done on the 12th.

Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Depew on naval appropriation bill (p. 3103). Text of Hoar resolution requiring Senate committee on post offices and post roads to inquire whether legislation is necessary to secure rights of persons whose correspondence is excluded from the mails (p. 3183). Text of Morgan bill for the government of the canal zone at Panama (p. 3316).

MISCELLANY

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

For The Public.

The hour hand was nearing six o'clock.
The workman stood before his lathe and mused
Upon a chance remark he'd heard that day.
'Twas from an applicant for work, refused,
And cut the kindly workman to the heart:
"You cannot work unless you find a boss!"

The workman turned it o'er and o'er; 'twas true—
True as the sun to its appointed hour.
The boasted rights of man were but a sham—
A promise to the ear, false to the hope.
The man who thought himself a sovereign born
Had not the right to work for daily bread
Except he found some man to hire him!

He knew 'twas false—he knew that every man
Was born with equal right to labor and to live.
How had it come that man, the lord of earth,
Had fall'n so low as e'en to beg for work?
"The truth shall make you free," rang in his ears
And there determined him to find that truth.

Would priest or minister give answer true?
He sought in vain; for soon he found that they
Were busied with affairs not of the earth.
E'en in the universities and schools he found
No answer to his queries; and that they
Reflected but the voices of earth's lords:
"With workmen free, who then would work for us?"

His union officers could tell him naught—
A patent case of blind men led by blind.
A statesman wise whom he approached and asked:
"How comes it mankind is not free to work?"
Replied with heat: "You are an anarchist!"
A politician winked and whispered low:
"Sh—! If you do not wish to kill your scheme,
Don't damn it with that epithet called 'free'!"

So, far and wide, he carried on his quest,
But none could tell him why this thing should be.
None saw the light of freedom or of truth—
Or, if they saw the light they made it dark.
They talked of "education," "moral growth" and such—
Of "shackling cunning" and "suppressing vice"—
And "evolution's slow but perfect work."

Then came to him the thought that Holy Writ
Would show some law provided for this case,
And he was minded of that law of God:
"The land shall not be sold for aye—'tis mine!"
It was to him a lighthouse, shining clear
To show the entrance to the harbor sought.

This was the law which men had disobeyed
And lost the right to labor for their bread!
The earth is made the property of some
Who use it not, but hold it back from men,
Only permitting work when rents accrue
Or good fat purchase price is rendered up.

Alas! the politician's words prove true,
And men who prate of "Freedom" strangely shrink
From those who cry "Free Land! Free Trade!"
And so the weary world rolls on its way.
"Free work" we won't, "Free men" we cannot have—
Though, when hard pressed, the poor may have free soup.

STEPHEN BELL.

THE SMALLEST STORE IN NEW YORK.

The smallest business house in New York city is a little tailor shop located at 13 North William street, a small thoroughfare just east of the bridge and off Park row. The actual inside measurements of the little shop are three feet nine inches by four feet two inches, and there is just room for a small gas stove and two three-legged stools. On one of these the tailor sits at his work. The other is for the waiting customer, for the business in this shop is mainly in the nature of emergency repairs. If there should be a rush of two customers, one of them would be obliged to remain outside until his turn came.

The shop from the outside looks bigger than it is, for on the wall there is a showcase filled with garments, which looks like a store front. It is, however, part of the wall. For this tiny little shop the lessees, a father and son, pay $75 per month rental and make a living besides. Only one of the men is in the store at a time for obvious reasons.—New York World.

THE TURNER DEPORTATION CASE.

The Declaration of Independence is as much a part of our Constitution as is Magna Charta of the Constitution of England. The Declaration of Independence says that governments are ordained amongst men to promote liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

If the right is inherent in the people to abolish any form of government (as it certainly is, with or without any written declaration), they certainly have the right to discuss the abolishing of any form of government. And if this right of discussion exists, it cannot be limited by any person's notion of what particular forms of government or of social union are sacred from discussion. If this man Turner can be deported for a mere political opinion, upon which he has not opened his lips, freedom of thought has ceased in this country.—C. E. S. Wood, in the Pacific Monthly for March.

E. Q. GRABB'S RECIPE FOR SUCCESS.

Always take the part of your fellow creatures—for your own share of the world's wealth is a bagatelle.

Depend on others when you are climbing and show manly independence the minute you need no help.

Believe in yourself; it is often comfortable to be lonely.

Hard work—of others—can be made the foundaton of your advancement.

Have a care for your conscience—it might break loose and interfere with business.

Condescend to those of low estate as long as their money lasts. Be affable if there is anything to be gained and grin if you have it all.

Make friends—and retain them within the limits of policy and convenience.

Live steadfastly beyond your means while your fortune is in making.

Found charities, taking good care not to let the founding get beyond a real estate option and a bluff.

Get all you can and while you are getting remember that counsel fees are high

and jails confining. Therefore get plenty.—New York Herald.

THE LAND-CRAB.

"I'm absolutely unchangeable. Nothing can turn me aside one hair's breadth from my purpose," said the little Land-crab, as he left his winter quarters in the hills and began his regular spring journey to the Sea. But during the winter a line of telegraph poles had been placed along his track. Land-crab came to the first pole. He would not turn aside one inch. He spent all day climbing up the side of the pole, and all the next day climbing down the other side, then on till he came to the next pole. Another frightful climb up and over and down again. And so he went day after day, and when the summer was gone they found the body of the poor little Land-crab dead at the bottom of one of the poles only half-way to the Sea, which he might have reached easily in half a day had he been contented to deviate six inches from his usual line of travel.

Moral: A good substitute for Wisdom has not yet been discovered.—Ernest Thompson Seton, in The Century.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR.

"Hello, central! Give me Main 542—Is this Father McCabe?—Well, this is Mr. Pullman, of the Pullman Packing company.—Yes, we were glad to send that check of $500 to you, Father, for your new steeple, because we recognize that your church is a power for the social order of this town. I am not a Catholic myself, Father; but I esteem the Catholic church as a great conservative force in these days of shifting sands.

"And, by the way, Father, you know we employ two hundred of your congregation in our works. Well, there have recently come in among our workingmen several organizers of the Industrial Federation of Labor. They are causing discontent with our wage scale. Moreover, I believe this new Federation is tainted with socialistic and even anarchistic teachings. I think your people ought to be warned against such things from the pulpit. Not all our workmen are church-goers; and I often think that the non-church-goers may contaminate the believing Christians, especially touching the contract relations between employers and employes, and the duties of the latter to the former. Yes, Father McCabe, I really think these matters ought to be discussed from the pulpit—in the conservative view of your grand old church, Father."—Catholic Citizen of February 27.

TARIFFS AND PROGRESS.

NEW SOUTH WALES'S EXPERIMENT.

That a tariff is not a necessary accompaniment of progress the recent history of New South Wales conclusively shows. In 1896 that colony adopted the policy of progressive free trade. Duties were to be gradually reduced over a period of five years, when in 1901 only those on tobaccos and liquors should remain. The deficiency in public revenue was met by a land tax, a crude and partial application of Henry George's plan, supplemented by an income tax. The effect was startling. The decennial census of 1901 showed great gains in the population for the free trade colony, while her sister colony, Victoria, separated only by a river and enjoying a highly protective tariff, had actually lost. Sydney, the capital of the former colony, gained 102,000, or 30 per cent., while Victoria's capital, Melbourne, had gained but 3,000, or a trifle over one-half of one per cent.

For every vessel docked and repaired in the protection colony, there were seven in the free trade colony, and there were four times as many deep sea ships in the harbors of New South Wales as in those of Victoria. The census also showed one-third more men engaged in manufacturing industries in the free trade colony than in the colony enjoying a protective tariff.

A committee from the Trades Hall in Melbourne, hearing that wages were higher in Sydney, went to learn the cause. They found the wages as high, and in many cases higher than in Melbourne, while the cost of living was about one-third less. After studying the situation six weeks, they returned home confirmed free traders.

The farmers flocked across the river from protected Victoria into New South Wales for the privilege of paying the land tax, knowing when they paid this tax they got off much cheaper than in Victoria, where everything they used for consumption, or for the farm, was heavily taxed by the tariff of that country. The progressive element of New South Wales is now demanding, as a further installment of the land value tax, that it be increased to three pence in the pound.

When it is considered that up to 1891 Victoria had the larger population, these results are seen to be startling. No wonder the plutocratic agencies worked to secure federation of the colonies. But it is probable that the little leaven in New South Wales will leaven the whole commonwealth.

So long as America has a tariff at all, there will be interested persons seeking tariff favors, with what success our tariff history abundantly shows. All tariffs are robbery. The only difference is in the degree of the robbery; and equity admits of no degree. One robber party is enough. Then why does not the Democratic party cut the Gordian knot and pronounce for human liberty—absolute free trade?

A. FREELAND.

Mt. Pleasant, Tenn., March 20, 1904.

A CITY'S CRIME.

At the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, O., March 13, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, spoke on the Springfield Mob. He quoted the fourth chapter of Genesis:

"Therefore, whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold."

In the story of that primeval murder the mark of Cain was intended as a protection against mob violence. "Every one that findeth me shall slay me," cried the murderer. "And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him."

The ethical teaching of this story is in strange contrast to the prevailing sentiments of our day. To-day the mark of Cain is a bait for the mob, and even preachers are found who absolve murderers of murderers.

Ohio is the last to respond to the roll of dishonor. The story of that Springfield mob is horrible. It is sad enough when one man does a murderous deed. But the revolting savageness of the multitude is infinitely worse. To look into the heart of that beastly mob is like looking into the mouth of hell. When the tiger leaps forth in the man—that is terrible. The tragedy is not in the loss of life. It is in the loss of reason; it is in this sudden transformation of the man into the fiend; it is in the revelation of the baseness and brutality that lie so near the surface of the human heart.

Ohio is in disgrace. The mark of Cain is on the brow of one of her fairest cities. But we do not yet merit the contempt of the world. The worst has not yet happened. The real character of a man is shown, not by the sin which he commits, but by his conduct afterwards. So with a city. The city of Springfield is now on trial. Was that mob Springfield? Was that a fair sample of her citizenship? She has yet the chance to redeem her name. She may deal with the perpetrators of that crime in such a way as

to set a needed example to the nation. She may do more now for the cause of civilization than the mob has done for the cause of savagery. Let her punish those blasphemers of justice and publish to the world that Springfield is not the city and Ohio is not the State to tolerate this thing.

Those murderers in the streets of Springfield are worse than their fellows in the penitentiary, for they boast of their crime and call it justice. Let the judge and the preacher declare and let the public also say:

That the sin they do by two and two,
They must pay for one by one.

SALVATION BY THE TRUTH.

Extract from a sermon delivered by Rev. Quincy Ewing, in the Church of the Advent (Episcopal), Birmingham, Ala., March 6, 1904, from the text: "If I say the Truth, why do ye not believe me?"

The indictment that stands against scribe and Pharisee stands, and has always stood, against the world's majorities. They are not unreservedly interested in truth; they are not uncompromisingly seeking it; nor yet fearlessly ready to be sought by it, and put under obligation of its new commandments, and made witnesses of its new fulfillments. The uncompromising truth lovers, and seekers, and servers, and welcomers, are the peculiar people of our time, as they have been the peculiar people of every time.

And here we have the reason why, despite all the intellectual achievements and marvels of the race, our world to-day is not more civilized than it is in the only true sense of the word, the moral sense—the fact that so rare is the moral heroism waiting to welcome any great truth, on its own conditions, and in all its greatness; that so few are the souls willing to see, save through the mist of prejudice, or to serve, save hobbling on the crutch of custom. Do we need to ask how to get rid of incalculable misery in this world that ought not to be—how to throttle and crush out of human life barbarous sentiments and cruel practices, which are responsible for the larger part of mankind's wretchedness? There is not a social problem unsolved, to-day, which might not be solved and settled by human faculties in their present stage of development, let them but be employed in an uncompromising search and service of truth.

"If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?" What would have happened on this earth before any of us were born; what light and glory and joy would we all be witnesses and recipients of to-day, if 100 years ago no great-souled Leader of men had needed to ask that question in the face of humanity, as Jesus Christ asked it, 1,900 years ago, in the temple at Jerusalem? Who will feel disposed to return a meager answer!

Aye, the problem of problems, lengthened out through time, compared with which all others pale into insignificance, is how to get the majorities of men and women to love truth and welcome it, with a love and welcome that give themselves to service: is how to get them to quit being scribes and Pharisees, on a big scale or little, in or out of the church—scribes and Pharisees social, commercial, political, as well as ecclesiastical: is how to get them to clear their ears of the wax of bigotry; to strike from their eyes the scales of prejudice; to shift off their souls the stupefying incubus of selfishness; and be free, untrammeled, fit, to hear and see and walk after an uncompromising Christ!

This problem solved, others that are pressing heaviest on the heart of humanity would not wait long for solution and settlement. Their difficulties would vanish in the light of truth, let it but shine steady and strong enough. And until men are willing to will that it shall shine with all possible strength and steadiness in all the world's walks and ways, the problems unsolved of society must remain unsolved, and the old tragedies and the old wretchedness which darkened the yesterdays will live on through the to-days, and darken the to-morrows of human existence.

Blind partisanship will never free or save. It has been everywhere tried, and has everywhere failed! Deaf bigotry will never free or save; it, too, has been tried, and has done nothing better than to weight freedom with shackles, and transfer souls from one dungeon of death to another! Narrow visioned selfishness will not free or save; as often as it has been tried, hell hath enlarged itself in the rightful territory of the Kingdom of Heaven!

Nothing can free but truth; nothing can save but truth; and truth, only on condition that it be truly loved—fearlessly, humbly, reverently, heroically welcomed and sought and served.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

For The Public.

CUMULATIVE VOTING IN TORONTO.

Up to January, 1904, the city of Toronto, Canada, was governed by a mayor and 24 aldermen; the mayor being elected annually by a general vote of the city, and four aldermen annually in each of six wards. The chief executive power was vested in a board of control of five members, consisting of the mayor and four "controllers," the latter being elected annually by the aldermen from among themselves. It required a two-thirds vote of the city council to reverse a decision of the board of control on finance, contracts and other important matters.

Educationally, the city had a public school board of 24 members, elected by wards; a high school board, nominated; and a technical school board, also nominated.

In the spring of 1903, changes were made as follows, to take effect at the next election: The four controllers hitherto elected by the aldermen were to be elected by the city at large; and the number of aldermen was reduced to three from each of the six wards, thus making a city council of 23, namely, mayor, four controllers and 18 aldermen. All three school boards were to be amalgamated into one board of education, consisting of only 12 members, elected by the city at large, for a two years' term, six retiring annually, so that 12 were to be elected in 1904, and six in each year thereafter. Polling to be on New Year's day.

The new plan gave us four different municipal elections, namely: 1, mayor; 2, controllers; 3, aldermen; 4, educationists. But this year Mayor Urquhart got a second term by acclamation, and there was no mayoralty election.

The cumulative system of voting was used this year in the election of the board of control, and partly in electing the educationists; whilst the old "block vote" was retained for aldermen.

For the board of control, each elector had four votes, which he could cumulate if he chose. He could give them all to one candidate, or divide them among four candidates, or between two or three; in fact could distribute them as he liked. In doing so he marked one cross for each of his four votes.

Then for the board of education the power of cumulation was partial. Although each elector had 12 votes, he was not allowed to cumulate more than three of them on any one candidate; so that the greatest concentration he could make was three votes on each of four candidates. Subject to this limitation, he could scatter his 12 votes just as he liked.

For aldermen, the block vote was retained, and no cumulation was allowed.

These three varying modes of elec-

tion bothered the average elector, and were a serious handicap to the cumulative plan. Another complication arose from the fact that 46 candidates competed for the 12 seats on the board of education. The disbanding of the three old and larger boards was responsible for this, because many of their members were candidates. But it made a huge ballot, and added to the voters' perplexities. There was a good deal of grumbling, but not nearly as many spoiled ballots as one would expect.

Of the six daily papers published in Toronto, two vigorously attacked the cumulative plan, and another was also hostile, two were neutral and one—the Globe—editorially favored it. Attacking an innovation is always popular.

I attended at one of the polling subdivisions as scrutineer, and while the votes were being counted I took a special tally in order to ascertain how far the power of cumulation had been used by the electors. I found that for the board of control three out of every four votes had been cumulated—I am using round figures—and there was a still larger proportion of cumulation in the voting for educationists. Subsequent reports from other subdivisions showed that an overwhelming majority of the voters had used the power of cumulation.

This is a popular declaration in favor of the system. The voters could use it or let it alone. They chose to use it, and thereby set the stamp of their approval upon cumulation as compared with the "block vote." They wanted to concentrate their voting power instead of "spreading it out thin;" and that is a healthy electoral instinct. I found a striking confirmation of this desire in the voting for aldermen at my subdivision. As already stated, cumulation for aldermanic candidates was not allowed. I found that only about half the electors used their three aldermanic votes, while about a fourth of them used two votes, and the remainder "plumped" for one candidate. They wasted part of their votes rather than help candidates they were indifferent to.

Most of the spoiled ballots were in the aldermanic vote, caused by voters acting on the natural assumption that they could cumulate for aldermen as well as for controllers and educationists. Another fruitful cause of spoiled ballots was that four votes could be cumulated for controllers, and only three for educationists. The simple remedy would be to allow cumulating for aldermen, and to allow a voter to cumulate all his votes in every case. As only six educationists are in future to be elected, the use of crosses would present no difficulty.

I regret to say that a large amount of personation and ballot stuffing has been practiced at this election. Several returning officers and poll clerks have been arrested or summoned, and a thorough investigation is being made by the authorities. Public opinion is thoroughly aroused. There is no doubt that these practices have been going on for some years. The fact that the exposure has taken place in the same year as the adoption of the new system is due to the fact that certain results arising from the election of controllers at large and the use of the cumulative plan led to an official scrutiny and recount being demanded. Then frauds were discovered, and a rigorous investigation was set on foot. Our vicious system of allowing an elector to vote for aldermen in as many wards as the elector owns property makes electoral frauds more easy. It is an illogical system of plural voting that ought to be abolished.

THE SINGLE VOTE AND THE CUMULATIVE VOTE.

Suppose that 24,000 voters go to the polls to elect the four Toronto Controllers, what is the true principle by which those 24,000 should be represented? Simply that any one-fourth of them should be allowed to unite freely and elect one Controller, without interference from the other three-fourths. In other words, that the 24,000 should by the act of voting divide themselves into four groups of about 6,000, each group being represented by one Controller, and the units composing each group being drawn from the whole city. Similarly, in electing the 12 members of the Toronto Board of Education, any 2,000 electors ought to be able to elect one member, no matter what the other 22,000 voters chose to do. Then, if the voters divided on strict party lines, and there were 14,000 Conservatives and 10,000 Liberals, there should be elected:

Seven Conservatives,
Five Liberals;

so that each party would be represented in exact proportion to its voting electoral strength. This is the origin of the name "proportional representation." It is evident that in such a case there would be no political advantage to be gained from introducing party politics into school matters, and it would not be done.

Now, take the single vote—or, to give the full definition, "the single vote in a large district"—and suppose you are electing our four Controllers, and that there are eight candidates, whom we will call A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H. Each voter has only one vote that counts; that is, he has a Single Vote. Now take round figures, and suppose that the 24,000 votes were distributed as follows:

A, 6,000.	E, 2,500.
B, 4,500.	F, 2,000.
C, 3,500.	G, 1,500.
D, 3,000.	H, 1,000.

Then A, B, C and D are elected, because they are at the top of the poll. Notice particularly that none of A's supporters gave a vote for any other candidate. They concentrated themselves on the one man that they wanted, because they had only one vote each. The same thing is true of all the other candidates. Now A has one-fourth of all the votes cast, and no possible combination could beat him.

I spoke of a true proportional representation giving four approximately equal groups of 6,000 each—one-fourth of the total vote. Yet here we have eight unequal groups, varying from 1,000 to 6,000; and E, F, G and H, the defeated candidates, have received 7,000 votes between them, which at first glance seem to be wasted votes, electing nobody; whereas one principle of proportional representation is that practically every vote should be effective, and none should be wasted.

Now, if, while confining each elector to a single ultimate vote, we had allowed him to mark a first choice and a second choice, and third and fourth choices; and if we had begun by counting the first choices only, so as to give effect to them, if possible; then the foregoing figures would represent the first choices, and we would have to begin with the lowest man, and transfer "H's" 1,000 votes to whoever were second choice on his ballot. The ballots cast for "H" would then not be wasted on the defeated "H," but would go to help some one with a better chance. This process would be repeated until all the votes had been concentrated on the four elected candidates, whoever they were. I am not attempting to give details, but merely indicating how a system of transfer could concentrate all the votes on the four successful candidates. So that you can either have the system of:

A Single Transferable Vote,
or,
A Single Untransferable Vote;

and the latter is much the simpler.

Now, here is a good point to be specially emphasized. When votes are transferred they usually go to the candidates at the top of the poll, and the

transfers make no difference in the result. In the example given, a system of transfers might possibly put "E" above "D," and elect "E" instead of "D;" but in most cases A, B, C and D would be elected, notwithstanding the transfers.

This was the experience in Tasmania, where six different Parliamentary elections were held under a transferable single-vote plan known as the Hare system; and in each case the candidates heading the poll on first choices were those ultimately elected. The transfers made no difference.

Therefore, the single vote without transfers, is a good practical system, and gives true proportional results in most cases. But if you want to make perfectly sure of these results always, you must add some plan of transfer, direct or indirect.

If my reader has followed me thus far, he has got an insight into the principles of proportional representation which will give him the key to any voting system he may read about hereafter.

Now for cumulative voting. It is simply a compromise between the single vote and the old block vote, enabling a voter to use either. In the election for the four Toronto Controllers, each voter was given four votes, with liberty to distribute them or concentrate them as he pleased. He could give all his four votes to one candidate, if he liked; or two votes each to two candidates; or one vote to each of four candidates; in fact, distribute them as he pleased. This is really giving each voter a single vote, with liberty to split it as he pleases; because, if every voter cumulated all his four votes on some one candidate, it would be just the same thing as if each voter had only one vote. Therefore, one-fourth of the voters, all cumulating fully, could elect one of the four Controllers, no matter what the other voters might do; and that is Proportional Representation, so far as it goes.

ROBERT TYSON.

A QUESTION.

For The Public, by Rev. Cassius Roberts.

Is it right to be sad—
To find men are bad?
Or shall we be glad
That the world is but mad?

When gold buys but lust
In a world where true trust
Finds naught but a crust,

And when 'twill not do
To tell what is true,
(Except *entre nous*)—

Dear God that's above,
Whose true name is Love,
Come down in thy might
And scatter this night.

Amen!

For each of these Imperialism brought a gift: New markets for the Merchant, thrills for the Patriot, capital for the Politician.

The Ordinary Taxpayer burst into tears.

"Is there nothing for me?" he sobbed.

Imperialism hastily felt in all her pockets.

"Hush! Here is some nice, new horizon for you!" she said, soothingly. —Life.

"He is worth a hundred millions, the most of which he stole."

"Gracious! And he belongs to the church?"

"Oh, no, the church belongs to him."—Puck.

BOOKS

REALITIES.

Some of the best editorials on general subjects that have appeared in any newspaper for many years were those which James Arthur Edgerton (the author of "The God who reigned over Babylon is the God who is reigning yet"), contributed to the Sunday issues three or four years ago of the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver. Many of these editorials have now been republished in a small volume, "Glimpses of the Real" (Denver: The Reed Publishing Co.), wherein they appear in logical series, the connecting thought being that sentiment which Mr. Edgerton himself once phrased in the fewest possible words: "The laws of right are eternal laws; the judgments of truth are true."

A few extracts will serve at once to suggest Mr. Edgerton's line of thought and indicate the vigorous English in which it is expressed:

The real progress of the race has been away from selfishness.

Injustice breeds injustice.

Optimism does not consist in shutting your eyes to conditions as they are. It is shown rather in facing the worst, while working and hoping for the best.

While we are sending missionaries to all lands and races, we are just beginning to be converted ourselves. . . . Our work will never be done until we have a civilization that is the perfect expression of God's kingdom on earth.

We should both dream and do. He who sees how to make inventions and never makes them is of as little use as he who does things in the hardest ways with no thought as to the improvement of methods. The materialist is only half a man. He leaves out one whole side of his being. But the monk who shuts himself in a cell to see visions and never gives the world the benefit of anything he sees is little better. We need the balance between the two. We want the faith and we demand the work.

Religion is not a theory; not a form; not a creed; not a book. . . . All these are but . . the paraphernalia. . . . Religion, as some one has said, is the life of God in the soul of man. . . . The mere intellectual apprehension of things is not enough. It is the living them that counts.

Progress? Yes, there is progress, but we have only been in the basement of it. . . . We have been gazing at the reflection of the sun in a mud puddle instead of casting our eyes upward at the glory of the heavens.

The final statement of religion, then, is in Character. It is for that we build; and we cannot build it in the sands of immorality, but on the rock of virtue and truth.

This is a universe of law. On the physical plane is law. He who transgresses that law destroys his own body. On the civic or social plane is law. He who transgresses that law destroys his harmonious relations with his fellows, his liberty. On the moral and spiritual plane is law. He who transgresses that law destroys his own soul. The great lesson we have to learn is that of . . . obedience to the laws of our own being. The physical self must obey the spirit.

All truth is axiomatic and is capable of simple statement. It is so clear that most look through it and see nothing. It is so apparent that all accept it on the mere statement. Yet it is infinite, and only as much comes to you as you are capable of taking. . . . If you would know the truth you must be in the humble, the teachable, the receptive attitude of mind. "Except ye become as little children." Lay down your prejudices and preconceived opinions. Put aside the self and be in the frame of mind to say: "Thy will, not mine, be done." Then open the windows of your soul and let the light flow in. It will come to you as fast as you demand it and are ready to receive it.

Men talk about finding God in nature, in books, in what other men have said, in systems, or institutions or creeds. They cannot so find him. The place to look for God is in the temple of your own soul. If you find him there, then you will find him everywhere. . . . We make the mistake of regarding manifestations as real entities. They are not. They are but the expressions of entities. A particular combination is to-day and to-morrow is not; but nothing has passed out of being; the combination merely has changed.

We are in the habit of looking at things inverted. We are not bodies possessing souls, but souls possessing bodies.

This outline of Mr. Edgerton's thought is filled in with as strong and wholesome a discussion of living questions, social and religious, as any person of vigorous thought and human sympathies could wish to read. There are 31 essays in all this book of only 202 pages, among the titles of which are "Living the Truth," "The Brotherhood of Man," "The Social Trend," "The Thought of the Soul," and "The Triumph Over Death." The book is free from all that wearisome paganistic cant of which churchly publications are apt to be full. It is vital with the genuine religious spirit.

For including a familiar poetic quotation, one that contrasts intellectual with moral or spiritual vision, the author is to be especially thanked:

The night hath a thousand eyes,
The day but one;
Yet the light of a whole world dies
At set of sun.

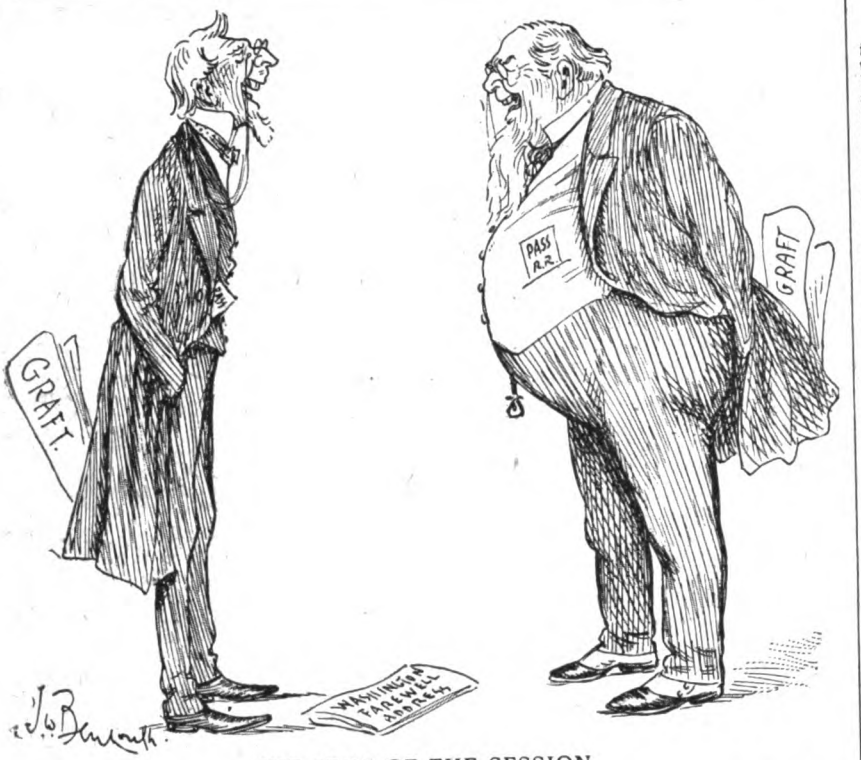
The mind hath a thousand eyes,
The heart but one;
Yet the light of a whole life dies
When Love is done.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Twentieth Century Money Law. By Timothy Wright. New York: Peter Eckler, 35 Fulton street. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The many admirers of B. O. Flower all over the country will be glad to know that he is once more to take supreme command of the editorial pages of the Arena. This magazine, after many vicissitudes since its establishment by Mr. Flower in 1889, now passes into the hands of Albert Brandt, whose publishing house at Trenton, N. J., has become famous for its handsome "Brandt books." The publisher announces that while the Arena "will give special attention to progressive and constructive thought, which is in alignment with the



THE JOKE OF THE SESSION.

First Congressman—"The crank actually wanted to have the house adjourn on account of What-you-call'm's Birthday!"

Second Congressman—"Yes, and read his farewell address!"

fundamental principles of free institutions or the genius of democracy, rather than favor reactionary and imperialistic theories and ideals, it will ever strive to be strictly just, candid and fair to the other side." Mr. Flower's work as editor is to be supplemented with a full page cartoon every month from the pencil of Dan. Beard, who has been styled the Tom Nast of our day, but whose superior merits as a cartoonist entitle him to the higher praise that he is simply Dan. Beard.

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Speaking of the annoyance to returning tourists occasioned by custom-house officers, the New York Herald says: "To judge from constant complaints it would seem that the provisions of an objectionable law are still offensively carried out." But is there any way to carry out any such law that would be inoffensive? Is it not as certain that people, as tourists, would cheat the law in their luggage as it is certain that they do cheat the law, as citizens, in other processes of taxation? Would that all tax gatherers and assessors could be as offensive and effective as the New York custom-house officials!

J. H. D.

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The country is full of educational journals, most of them filled with superficial comments mostly worthless. A notable exception is The Educational (Spartanburg, S. C.), which begins its third volume with an exceedingly thoughtful and interesting number. The editorials are especially good. One of these tells in an earnest way the plain truth about the silly talk of strenuousness which Roosevelt has set going. "We shall never suffer," says the editor, "for a lack of the strenuous life; heedless, unthinking impulsiveness will be always with us; and we shall ever be dazzled by the shining glamour of the merely spectacular and showy. As a nation, we should pray more and more for the abiding virtues of sanity, restraint, and reasoned, tempered judgment." If the schools can get more of the spirit of this excellent magazine, we may take heart that the present era of spectacular strenuosity will pass.

J. H. D.

—

Good Housekeeping (Springfield, Mass.) is one of the best of the many magazines of its kind, but it follows the crowd in seeking notoriety by publishing platitudes on any subject from people who are famous, whether or not they have anything really worth saying on the given subject. One would think that ex-President Cleveland would actually feel ashamed when he reads in print his contribution to the March number on the Family and the Public Schools. If there is one single thought that is new, or a single thought that is put any better than it has been said a hundred times, we have failed to find it. The first sentence is a fair specimen of the whole composition—"Nothing that has to do with our children during the formative period of their lives should be unrelated to the molding influences and creative incidents of their homes." Can one imagine a magazine publishing such wordy platitudes unless they were signed by a big name?

J. H. D.

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The editors of the Arena do not spare adjectives in lauding the contributions to their valuable magazine. Perhaps they overdo it a little. Does not the reader like to be left alone sometimes to his own judgment? And if a contribution is "powerfully dramatic," will it not speak for itself? Certainly Miss Will Allen Dromgoole's story in the March number does speak for itself, and is worthy of much that the editorial note says of it. It is dramatic and it does well to show heroism in the most humble and unlettered mother, but to say that it is "an unsurpassed illustration of the noblest heroism known to history" is pretty strong language to use of a short story that is certainly overdrawn in some details. In this number Mr. Leavitt writes of a Remedy Against the Telephone Monopoly, arguing that the point of attack should be upon the patent law; Prof. Maxey writes of the Balance of Power in Europe, showing the likelihood of its upsetting; Mr. Flower calls attention to David Graham Phillips as a novelist with democratic ideals; Mr. C. Vincent has a notable paper on Cooperation Among Western Farmers, and Mr. George H. Shibley writes of the decision by the Oregon supreme court declaring the majority rule system, by means of the initiative and referendum, to be constitutional.

J. H. D.

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 filing.

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